Critical Planning

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In *The Great Promise of Urban Environmental Policy*, Meg Holden considers environmental and social justice broadly, and challenges planners to consider how we can create environmentally ethical societies. She identifies four elements—the use of democratic processes, the integration of scientific and social-humanistic methods, a focus on basic needs in local, lived environments, and an incorporation of historic rural and indigenous knowledge—that are necessary for transformative urban environmental policy that would direct us towards sustainable cities.

In *Are Planners Prepared to Address Social Justice and Distributional Equity?*, Thomas Sanchez asks a question that bears on issues of justice. Based on a review of courses offered in accredited graduate planning programs, he suggests that planning students have little opportunity to learn social impact analysis or other methodologies aimed at quantitatively describing distributional patterns of service delivery. Sanchez proposes that planning programs should offer more specific courses on such topics.

At the back of the book are two brief essays by undergraduate students, followed by book reviews. The undergraduate students are Christine Rojas and Donny Le from the University of Southern California, participating in a tradition we began last year of providing a venue for up-and-coming local scholars.

Their work is followed by a review essay by Ruei-Suei Sun of two books that critically examine the complicated consequences of globalization: *Living the Global City: Globalization as a Local Process*, edited by John Eade, and *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, edited by Ayse Öncü and Petra Weyland. Sun is interested in showing how these works more successfully connect global and local issues in theorizing the role of urbanization in developing countries than the previous literature on the topic.

Finally, Dan Chatman reviews three recent books that are concerned with the new regionalism: *The Regional City: Planning for the End of Sprawl* by Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton; *Regions That Work: How Cities and Suburbs Can Grow Together* by a team of authors led by Manuel Pastor; and *City Making: Building Communities Without Building Walls* by Gerald R. Frug.

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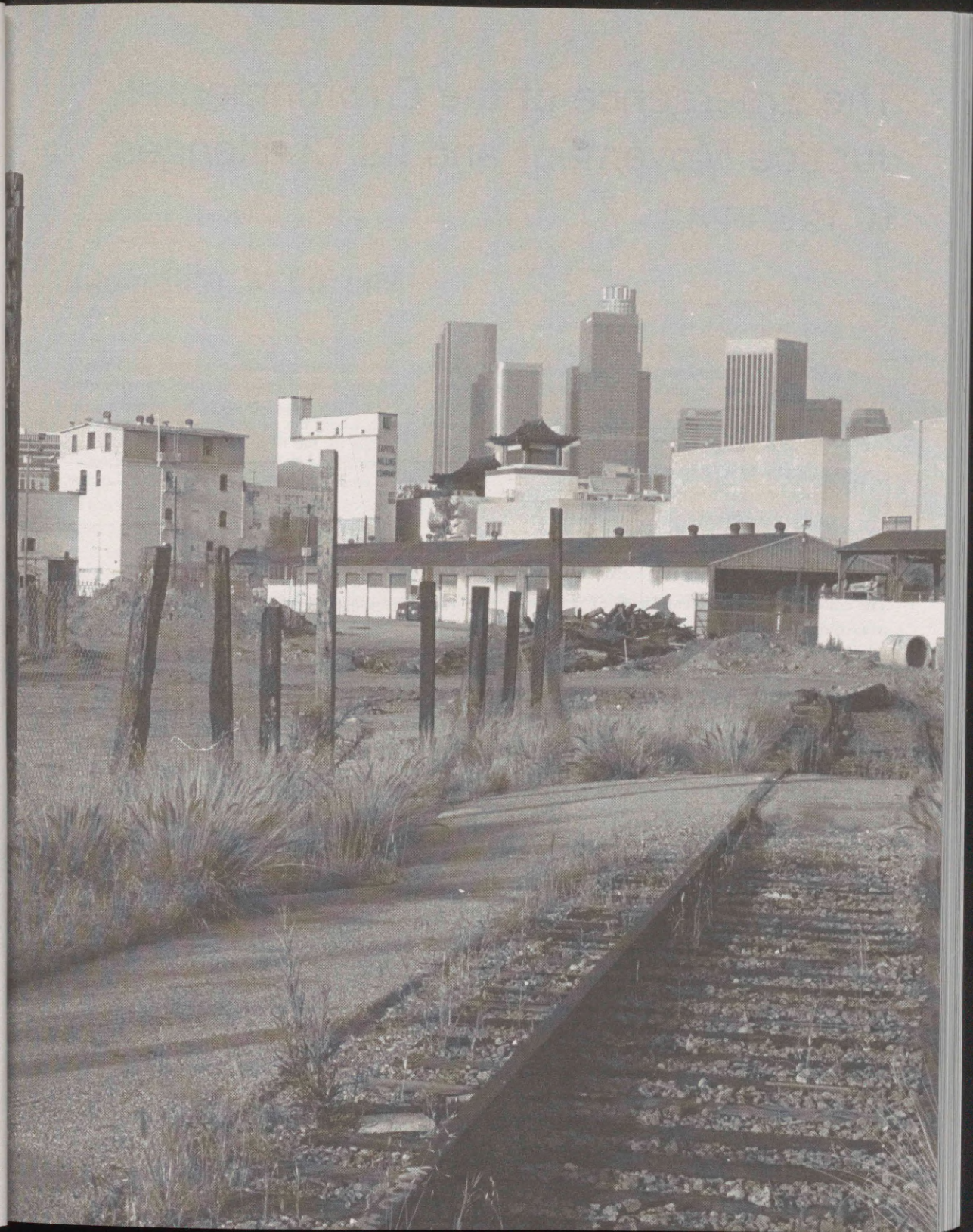
The Emergence of the Environmental Justice Movement and Its Challenges to Planning

Martha M. Matsuoka

Environmental justice activism has created its own ideology and begun to shift the power relationships of the environmental movement and the federal government. In doing so, this emerging environmental activism has established a multi-issue, place-based social movement. By reestablishing environmental justice within the political framework from which it originally emerged, I highlight key challenges for the field of planning and policymaking that address the environmental issues of low-income communities of color.

Introduction

The concept of environmental justice has found its way into the planning field, focusing planning on issues of race and class in theory and practice. Within planning, environmental justice includes two types of literature. The first and more extensive literature tests the disproportionate impact of environmental, industrial and land use policies on particular disadvantaged groups of people and their communities. A seminal study by the United Church of Christ in 1987 was one of the first to use the term "environmental racism" to describe both the concentration of toxics in communities of color and inequities in the way federal environmental laws were applied in these communities. Research on the role of race and income (Bullard 1993; Lee 1993), industrial siting (McEvoy 1980) and immigrant status (Marcelli, Power and Spalding 2001) attempts to identify the key factors that explain disproportionate impacts and negative environmental conditions in low-income communities of color.[1]

This first type of environmental justice literature also includes research on the inequitable distribution of public resources and regulatory protections in low-income communities of color (Bullard 1994; Pulido 1993). A 1992 study by the National Law Journal was one of the first to document disparities in environmental regulation enforcement by the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). In its review of census data, civil court dockets and the EPA's own records, the study found that penalties imposed under hazardous waste laws at sites with high populations of whites were 500 percent greater than penalties for those sites located in communities with fewer whites (Bullard 1994: 9).

The second type of environmental justice literature positions environmental justice within a framework of activism and social movements (Bullard 1993, 1994; Castells 1997; Harvey 1996; O'Connor 1997; Pulido 1996b; Szasz 1994; Taylor 1997). This literature documents a number of grassroots struggles, including the United Farm Workers campaign against the use of pesticides (Pulido 1996a), organizing by the Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles to stop the siting of an incinerator (Hamilton 1994), and a campaign by People United for a Better Oakland (PUEBLO) that forced Alameda County and the City of Oakland in California to take responsibility for the removal of lead from homes and public spaces in low-income neighborhoods (Calpotura and Sen 1994; Sandercock 1998). This literature also documents the use of legal strategies, such as the formation of a coalition of legal advocates that won an out-of-court settlement worth $15 million for a blood-testing program of low-income children in Alameda County (Bullard 1994).[2] Such strategies are increasingly documented in the planning literature as ways in which communities facilitate change, often through institutional and regulatory procedures put in place by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Executive Order on environmental justice signed in 1992.

Environmental Justice as a Social Movement

Academic interpretations of environmental justice as a social movement have been provided from different perspectives, ranging from identity politics to Marxist doctrines to cultural politics. Among other things, this work debates whether the environmental justice movement is distinct from the earlier struggles of the civil rights, environmental and feminist movements.

Harvey (1996) sees the environmental justice movement as a link between environmental struggles and struggles for social change, and therefore believes that it outlines an agenda for an eco-socialist politics. Similarly, O'Connor (1997) understands environmental justice as an illustration of socialist ecology doctrines, and argues that socialism can be achieved by highlighting the contradictions between the social organization and the ecological conditions of production, rather than simply class contradictions.

Sandercock (1998: 129), on the other hand, refers to environmental justice struggles as a new cultural politics, because environmental justice brings to life "new kinds of cultural and political literacies which constitute a new radical praxis for planning." She cites environmental struggles by PUEBLO and by the Mothers of East Los Angeles to illustrate how local communities have struggled within and against the state on urban and environmental issues. Though she does not fully examine the specific structural dimensions of the two grassroots struggles, she argues that they share similar historic and economic processes that define the condition, space and place of their "insurgent practices." These processes are rooted in their shared history and relationships to capitalist society—a long cycle of industrial pollution, non-compliance by industries, lack of state regulatory enforcement and local government accountability, multigenerational poverty, cycles of immigration,

disinvestment of public services, and industrial restructuring and job loss.

Castells (1997: 132) describes the environmental justice movement as "an all encompassing notion that affirms the use value of life, of all forms of life, against the interests of wealth, power, and technology" and represents a new stage of development of the environmental movement. Szasz (1994) sees the movement as a growing environmental populism emerging from the organizational and ideological development of the hazardous waste movement. Taylor (1997) argues that environmental justice is its own social movement and is distinct from earlier environmental, civil rights and feminist movements.

Not only does this literature situate environmental justice in a political framework, it also demonstrates the range of perspectives that attempt to explain environmental justice as a social movement. A closer historical examination identifying the conditions and factors that catalyzed environmental justice as a concept and emergent social movement is useful to clarify the relationship of environmental justice to planning and policymaking.

The Emergence of the Movement

The term "social movement" requires definition. Garner (1977: 1) defines a social movement as a set of collective acts that "are self-consciously directed toward changing the social structure and/or ideology of society, and are carried on outside of ideologically legitimated channels of change or use these channels in innovative ways." Darnovsky, Epstein and Flacks (1995: vii) further define social movements as collec-tive efforts by politically and socially marginalized people to examine the conditions of their lives: "These efforts are a distinctive sort of social activity: collective action becomes a "movement" when participants refuse to accept the boundaries of established institutional rules and routinized roles. Single instances of such popular defiance don't make a movement; the term refers to persistent, patterned, and widely distributed collective challenges to the status quo."

While Garner's definition points out the importance of the strategy used to challenge the dominant social structure and ideology, Darnovsky, Epstein and Flacks suggest that such challenges to the status quo must reach beyond single instances of protest in order to constitute a social movement. Both definitions situate the collective challenge of power and ideology as a central tenet in defining a social movement, and provide a useful starting point to examine the emergence of environmental justice as such a movement.

Environmental justice as a political and social movement emerged in the 1980s as part of the growing activism of low-income communities of color responding to environmental hazards in their communities. Civil rights protests, grievances, actions and social movements focused on the environment had occurred years before, in the form of struggles over environmental resources such as land, water and air, as well as workers' rights to safe working conditions. Resource struggles included resistance by Native Americans to land appropriation and relocation programs and conflicts between farmers and urban in-

dustrialists over resource ownership and use. Workplace struggles began as early as the 1930s. During the Gauley Bridge incident, for example, immigrant and African American workers organized and filed suit against Union Carbide because of the company's failure to provide protections against dust emissions that caused the deadly lung disease silicosis. More recently, the United Farm Workers has sought to secure the rights to organize for agricultural workers exposed to environmental hazards, such as the growing use of pesticides in the 1950s and 1960s (Gottlieb 1993).

The emergence of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, and its challenge to racism, segregation and discrimination, also included struggles over environmental issues. In 1967, a student protest erupted at the predominantly African American Texas Southern University in Houston following the drowning death of an eight-year old African American girl at a garbage dump. A subsequent lawsuit filed by African American homeowners in Houston charged racial discrimination over the proposed location of a municipal solid waste landfill in their community.

The framing of these environmental protests reflected a civil rights approach to an environmental issue. These environmental struggles remained localized protests until 1982 when 500 protestors, including national leaders of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Congressional Black Caucus, were jailed over protests of the Warren County, North Carolina polychlorinated biphenyls

(PCB) landfill. The protest focused on the selection of a rural African American community in that county as the burial site for 30,000 cubic yards of soil contaminated with PCBs. It marked the first time African Americans mobilized a national campaign against what they called "environmental racism" (Bullard 1994).

The marches in Warren County and the coalition of politicians and national church leaders were a direct application of strategies previously learned and practiced as part of the civil rights movement, such as direct action, protest and nonviolent action. The ability to launch a national campaign against environmental racism demonstrated the powerful national organizational infrastructure and the ideology of that movement. The civil rights movement had what resource mobilization theorists have identified as the resources necessary to generate and sustain collective action—a national infrastructure, pre-existing networks and indigenous organizations (McAdam 1982; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Piven and Cloward 1977).

Prompted by the Warren County protest, a study by the US General Accounting Office (1983) found a strong correlation between the location of hazardous waste landfills and the race and income of the communities in which the landfills were located. A subsequent study by the United Church of Christ (1987) argued that race, more than any other indicator, was the primary predictor of where industrial pollution was reported and where hazardous waste sites were located. These studies, and others that documented environmental degradation in low-income commu-

nities of color, as well as regulatory negligence in environmental oversight, helped fuel the growing grassroots environmentalism led by people from the civil rights, Native American, feminist and environmental movements.

Building on its civil rights history, the growing environmental justice movement targeted two key actors in national environmental policy: mainstream environmental organizations and the federal government. In 1990, more than a hundred activists and representatives of community-based groups, organized by the New Mexico-based Southwest Organizing Project, issued a letter to the "Big 10" national environmental organizations arguing that they had failed to consider issues pertaining to communities of color.[3] The letter demanded that the organizations review and revise their policies relating to economic development and toxic hazards in low-income communities of color, and that the organizations address their poor record of hiring and promoting people of color at the board and staff level (Gottlieb 1993).

"We Speak for Ourselves"
In the fall of 1991, environmental justice activists held The First People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington DC. The summit symbolically launched a movement led by people of color on an issue that had traditionally reflected white middle class interests (Bullard 1994). The summit drew more than 650 delegates, participants and observers, consisting of environmental activists, civil rights advocates, trade unionists, farm workers, sci-

entists, environmental lawyers and participants from the philanthropic community. The 301 delegates from communities of color included fifty-five Native Americans, 158 African Americans, sixty-four Latinos and twenty-four Asian Pacific Islanders, with equal gender representation (Lee 1993: 51). If the Warren County protest sparked a national movement of civil rights on environmental issues, the Summit catalyzed the development of a distinct environmental justice ideology and helped clarify the relationship between environmental justice and the civil rights and environmental movements.

The stated purpose of the summit was to "redefine the environmental movement and develop common plans for addressing environmental problems affecting people of color in the United States and around the world" (Bullard 1994: 7). Although leaders from the mainstream environmental movement attended the summit, the explicit focus was on the grassroots struggles of the people of color who had planned it, and it was those delegates who crafted the resulting seventeen-point set of Environmental Justice Principles. The slogan "We Speak for Ourselves" emerged as a key theme. The slogan was a public assertion of the importance of the perspectives of low-income communities of color in environmental planning and policymaking.

Gottlieb (1993) notes that activism leading up to and following the summit focused on addressing the unequal power relationships that characterized national environmental policymaking. Environmental justice activists demanded a transformation of the paternalistic relationship between national environ-

mental organizations and grassroots environmental justice organizations to "a relationship based on equity, mutual respect, mutual interest, and justice" (Alston, as cited in Gottlieb 1993: 5). This relationship applied not only to powerful mainstream environmental interests but to federal decisionmaking agencies as well. A key environmental justice principle states: "Environmental justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decisionmaking, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement, and evaluation" (Environmental Justice Principles 1992).

In response to environmental justice activism and the increasing number of studies that showed a disproportionate impact of environmental hazards in low-income neighborhoods, President Clinton signed Executive Order No. 12898. The order established an office of environmental justice within the EPA, set up a National Environmental Justice Advisory Commission, and required all federal agencies to review their policies and programs to estimate negative environmental impacts on low-income communities of color and to develop plans to address these impacts. The institutionalization of environmental justice principles marked a significant victory for activists, who now had an institutional framework that linked race with the environment and within which they could continue to push for changes in their communities.

"Where We Live, Where We Work and Where We Play"

In challenging the Big 10 environmental organizations and policymakers, environmental justice activists asserted an alternative definition of the environment:

> For us, the issues of the environment do not stand alone by themselves. They are not narrowly defined. Our vision of the environment is woven into an overall framework of social, racial, and economic justice... The environment, for us, is where we live, where we work, and where we play. The environment affords us the platform to address the critical issues of our time: questions of militarism and defense policy; religious freedom; cultural survival; energy and sustainable development; the future of our cities; transportation; housing; land and sovereignty rights; self-determination; employment—and we can go on and on. (Alston, as cited in Gottlieb 1993: 5)

The reframing of the environment as "where we live, where we work, and where we play" is a definition that reflects the large leadership role by women of color in the movement. In her discussion of environmental justice, Krauss notes that the particular position and narrative of women of color "grow[s] out of concrete immediate everyday experience of struggles around issues of survival" (1994: 256), in which race plays a central role. In a comparison of women involved in toxic waste protests, she found that for white blue-collar women, the critique of the corporate state and the realization of full democratic participation by women are central tenets of environmental justice. For women of color, on the other

hand, narratives link race to the environment more strongly than they do to class (Krauss 1994: 270).

The early and ongoing struggles by women of color and their leadership in the movement reflect this point. Concerned Citizens of South Central, led by African American women, organized to stop the siting of an incinerator in a low-income African American community in Los Angeles. Women leaders of the Asian Pacific Environmental Network organized Laotian girls and their families to secure a multilingual early warning system to notify the low-income residents near a Chevron refinery in Richmond, California about explosions and hazardous leaks. Currently, women also lead environmental justice organizations such as the Southern Organizing Committee and the Northeast Environmental Justice Network.

Taylor (1997: 70) argues that the central role of women of color in the movement is a reason why environmental justice as a movement emerged apart from the civil rights and environmental movements:

> If women of color could have fit their activism within the framework of one of these three already existing movements (ecofeminism, feminism and other sectors of the environmental movement), they would have done so. Precisely because of the complexity and uniqueness of the issues women of color fight, and their approach to tackling these issues, there wasn't a perfect fit with any of these movements. If there had been, there wouldn't have been a need for the environmental justice movement and the movement wouldn't have grown so rapidly.

The Movement's Critique of Capitalism

In addition to addressing waste, exposure to toxics, and occupational health and safety, the environmental justice movement has linked these issues to housing, jobs, economic development and transportation. Because of the integration of these issues, Taylor (1997) suggests that the environmental justice movement resists the modes of capitalist production and consumption that generate environmental hazards. This critique of capitalism is reflected in the seventeen-point Environmental Justice Principles. Three of these principles include demands for the cessation of production of all toxins, hazardous wastes and radioactive materials; the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment; and opposition to the destructive operations of multinational corporations.

While Harvey (1996) recognizes the environmental justice movement's critique of capitalism, he argues that the movement raises the political problem of the possibility for infinite particularisms ungrounded in a universal, and concludes that class politics must be strengthened for the movement to be successful. However, an alternative view has asserted the environmental justice movement's permanence: "For the environmental justice movement the theme of solidarity, although not present in all contaminated communities, implies a nationwide movement 'community' transcending racial, geographic, and economic barriers and resting on the claim that no community's solution should become another community's problem" (Capek 1993: 8).

This vision grounds "militant local particularisms" into a possible universal "permanence," giving rise to the possibility of a politics transcending a Not-In-My-Backyard (NIMBY) attitude to arrive at a politics of Not-In-Anyone's-Backyard (NIABY). This new politics represents a combination of the ideology drawn from civil rights, the emergence of a redefinition of the environment as a place to live, work, and play, and a critique of capitalism.

The Movement's Challenges to Planning

Despite Harvey's critique of the environmental justice movement, he views the movement as "an intense politics of place" (1996: 371). This new politics of place establishes a context that enables people of color to form an identity politics rooted in place but with space for coalition politics to form. Grace Lee Boggs, a scholar and environmental justice activist in Detroit, argues that the movement's focus on place provides the cohesion necessary to cross disparate identities and perspectives:

Place-based civic activism...has important advantages over the activism based on racial and gender identity that in the last few decades has consumed the energies of most progressives... Thus they have tended to isolate rather than to unite different constituencies. On the other hand, place-based civic activism provides opportunities to struggle around race, gender, and class issues inside struggles around place. (Boggs 2000: 1)

By refocusing environmental justice on the political framework from which it originally emerged, this new politics of place raises key challenges for planning and policymaking. First, the environmental justice movement has heightened awareness of issues of race and class in public participation and policymaking. The Executive Order, for example, mandates federal government agencies to include the public in their development of programs and plans through public participation and outreach. The environmental justice movement has asserted new definitions of the environment and in doing so has also shifted power relations within the landscape of environmental policymaking.

Second, the environmental justice movement suggests that traditional conceptions of the environment ignore key aspects of daily life in communities. If the full integration of such a principle challenges planners to critically examine how public participation involves low-income communities of color, it also forces planning to substantively consider how issues of hazardous waste, occupational health, public safety, and natural resource preservation and conservation are linked to housing, transportation and jobs. Redefining the environment as the place where "we live, work, and play" challenges the traditional understanding of the environment as the place for the conservation of natural resources and challenges planners to integrate environmental planning with employment, public health, job security and safety, shelter, economic development and gender relations.

Finally, the environmental justice movement reveals the limits of the authority of environmental planning institutions to order, regulate, distribute, and manage polluting industries and uses. The

movement's Principles of Environmental Justice assert that issues of equity and justice should be at the core of environmental planning. While the concepts of equity and justice require further definition, environmental justice activism raises the potential for translating these concepts into new planning approaches. Social impact analysis might, for example, be integrated with traditional environmental impact reports. Similarly, risk assessments for the environmental cleanup of military facilities and brownfield sites might be based not only on scientific analysis but also on the perceived sense of safety and security of nearby residents. Planners might refer not only to the Executive Order on environmental justice but also to principles of environmental justice for guidance on addressing issues in low-income communities of color.

Conclusion

As a movement, environmental justice has challenged policy at the local, state and federal levels. The inclusion of environmental justice concepts in planning has begun to assert race, class and gender as core aspects of planning analysis and practice. An increased focus on land, political struggle, equitable distribution of public resources and equitable standards of protection has influenced how participation is conducted and analysis of impact performed. Yet if environmental justice is to build a sustained movement based on the principles of environmental justice, there is much more to be done.

Ongoing environmental justice activism suggests potential for advances in environmental planning

and policymaking. The legacy of the movement today has resulted in institutional reforms and suggested alternative conceptions of the environment. The growth and strength of the movement, however, will depend on its ability to continue to target the structural relationships that undergird policymaking. The movement must include planners and policymakers working in alliance with environmental justice leaders and activists. Hamilton (1993: 75) provides a useful framework that challenges not only environmental justice activists but planners and policymakers as well:

Individuals and societies can no longer stand apart from nature and other people. Overcoming the divisions within society and between society and the natural world must be the goal of the environmental justice movement. Only this struggle against alienation's perversion of humanistic and ecological values can bring us closer to an alternative way of life predicated on a healthy, just, and sustainable relationship to the natural world and each other. This must be our ultimate task.

Endnotes

[1] I use the term "communities of color" to refer to communities where the majority of residents are non-white. For the purposes of this paper, and unless otherwise noted, Native American peoples are included in this definition.

[2] Members of the coalition included the Natural Resources Defense Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Education Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Legal Aid Society of Alameda County.

[3]The "Big 10" national environmental organizations consisted of: National Wildlife Federation, Izaak Walton League, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund, Environmental Policy Center, Friends of the Earth, and National Parks and Conservation Association.

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MARTHA MATSUOKA (matsuoka@ucla.edu) *is a doctoral student in the Department of Urban Planning at UCLA. Her research, in the area of neighborhood and metropolitan development, focuses on organizing and planning as strategies for social change.*

The Origins and Future of the Environmental Justice Movement: A Conversation With Laura Pulido

Kathleen Lee and Renia Ehrenfeucht

Lee: Why did you get interested in the environmental justice movement?

Pulido: I grew up here in Southern California and I was always interested in questions about the environment since I was a kid. Questions like why doesn't it snow here? Or why isn't there a forest here? So, I always had an interest in environmental issues. In the second and third grade, I remember becoming conscious about racial inequality, poverty and injustice. I had no idea how to put these two things together. I went to California State Fresno for my undergraduate degree, and I studied geography because of my interest in environmental issues. When I started my Master's degree, there was no language to talk about environmental justice. We used to call it "minorities in the environment." There was no idea of environmental justice or environmental racism. It was very interesting that, just when I finished my Master's thesis in 1987 and came to UCLA, that was just when stuff was beginning to hit the ground. I think the United Church of Christ study came out in 1988. And, Bullard was starting to talk about environmental justice and environment racism. That provided a framework for the type of work I was already doing.

Lee: You have made important contributions to the literature on environmental justice. How did you develop the concept of environmental justice for your work?

Pulido: I don't think a lot about environmental justice. I have two concepts that have have guided my work. First of all, questions about social movements... How do people organize, how do they coalesce, and how do they come together to fight various forms of injustices? What I looked at mostly are environmental issues that affect low income and marginalized communities. Environmental justice wasn't a key thing. It was mo-

bilization. How do people fight the powers that be? How do they try to create a revolution or change the larger social formation? The other question always has been about the relationship between race and class. In order to understand how racial inequalities operate in all kinds of arenas, including environmental quality, class differences and class exploitation. In particular, I was interested in how these are expressed in the landscape, and how those two dynamics, race and class, intersect. This has been my big passion, more important to me than environmental justice.

Lee: What are the problems with the environmental justice concept?

Pulido: First of all, it is an incredibly broad term. When I first began doing this kind of work, environmental justice was about non-white people and poor people organizing around environmental issues. From there, tensions have developed within the movement. Some people would take environmental justice and say, "No, it is just about people of color organizing against environmental racism." In order to make the race and class link, other people would say, "No, it also includes poor white people." Lately, some people are saying, "No, it is also about justice for the fish, justice for the trees." They are really pushing [the term] out and expanding it in another way. On one hand, I am in favor of rights for the fish and trees, but how is that different from the original environmental movement? I think the environmental justice movement started with something really different in terms of interjecting the question of social justice into environmental issues. I still think that. And, I am comfortable talking

about it that way. I can talk about the work of the environmental justice movement, but I have enormous difficulty talking about it as a concept.

Ehrenfeucht: Do issues like parks, safety, and street design fall under definitions of environmental justice?

Pulido: That can definitely be part of environmental justice, but it depends on who is doing it and for what purposes. If it is something from a marginalized community itself, then it has to be respected. If they want to call it environmental justice, then call it environmental justice. I think that's great. This disparity in green spaces and neighborhood resources is just another form of inequality. It is important, however, for another reason too. I think it has been unfortunate that so much of the attention has focused on negative environmental problems. There has been the need to do that, but there is also the question about how to create a more positive environment. And, that gets left out.

Lee: Who are the major players in the environmental justice movement?

Pulido: There are lots of different players, including community organizations, policy-makers, academics and even corporate wanna-be types. Within the movement itself today, I see lots of different lines and splits. One of the most important is around social status or class lines. That works in a couple of ways. First of all, it works in terms of membership—who qualifies to be a member? This is a very tricky question. Clearly you have those groups representing a classic type of environmental justice movement:

working class, brown/black, female, inner city. They are the "authentic" members, so to speak. And, then you have this whole stratum of professionals, people working in the EPA, and the City of Los Angeles, academics, consultants. They are really feeding off of grassroots mobilization.

There is another group who I see as much more allied with the state, for example the EPA. From my point of view, the EPA has approached environmental justice from "how to contain this" and "we have to address these gross kinds of injustices, but we don't want to rock the boat." There are groups of people who ally with the state and corporations.

And, it has become an opportunity particularly for professional people of color to get access to places. I don't begrudge them. I could be in that category myself if I wanted to. But then again, it is very important that we become really conscious of the class politics. What are we about and what kind of politics are we promoting if these are the kinds of activities that we are involved in?

Ehrenfeucht: How do corporations fit into the environmental movement?

Pulido: Sometimes corporations in fact can do things to benefit people, but there is usually a larger context for why they do what they do. They can be part of a movement because a movement is people and organizations coming together to shift the distribution of power, resources and thinking around a given set of issues. Corporations can be part of that. But, in the movement, you get splits because people say, "No, I don't want to ally myself with a corpora-

tion because I am suspicious of anything they do." Another bunch of people say, "But look, they are helping this community, putting their best foot forward, they are changing things, we have to work with them, and we have to live with them." So, we see these splits and different tendencies developing, which all can be contained in one movement. It is misleading to think of movements as consolidated and hegemonic kinds of entities. They are not. They are always tremendously fractured with all kinds of contradictions.

Lee: The traditional environmental movement has been criticized by some people for promoting the "not in my back yard" idea. Is NIMBYism an issue in the environmental justice movement?

Pulido: I don't see any community that is NIMBY-like within the environmental justice movement. This is because that is not the way people are cultured into the movement. They are taught something else. They are taught it is not ok in anybody's backyard. So, you don't have that problem of people saying: "I just don't want it near me and you can just put it over there." There is much stronger level of solidarity. What you do see though is that people can be really reactionary in other issues. There are struggles within these environmental justice movements around all kinds of political struggles: around worker issues, gender issues, homophobia and immigration. I know a lot of the talking heads for the environmental justice movement who do a very good job of trying to frame issues in a progressive way, hoping that groups in fact would see this and buy into this. A lot of them do. I don't mean to say

that in a cynical way. There is a genuine kind of learning process.

Lee: How does the environmental justice movement contribute to democracy?

Pulido: Not as much as we might like it to, but it definitely does. We can see it in couple of ways. First of all, when people find out what polluters are allowed to do, they are really outraged. It brings a whole new level of awareness in terms of the power of the state. Second of all, there has clearly been a set of demands to impact the production process. Why are polluters doing this? We have to go back and see what they are making, how are they making it and how can they can do it differently. I think this is one of the weakest links. Often, people in the environmental justice movement don't have the background or the skills and understanding of the manufacturing process, of political economy, to understand the complexities about why in fact we have these ecological chains of environmental destruction that we have. But, they are clearly making demands for democratizing production. We can see the trickle-down effects of the environmental justice movement in terms of political participation and empowerment. It is phenomenal. You know what this movement has created when you look at people who never adventured beyond the home in a public capacity, and then, they are transformed into political activists. So, they in turn go on to create other organizations to address other issues. So, I think it had—I hate to use the term—a capacity-building effect on grassroots communities.

Lee: Is environmental justice a coalition building strategy or is it a rethinking the environment itself?

Pulido: Absolutely both. It is very much a self-conscious challenge to conventional notions of the environment. People organize around everyday spaces and places in their lives. It is also very self-consciously political about building a network and building a movement. The groups within the environmental justice movement see themselves as the inheritors of the civil rights movement, as people who are bringing together in an effective way a much broader base of people. It is also interjecting a firm kind of class analysis into the political arena. This goes back to the question you asked earlier about parks and the built environment. If your criterion for membership is being involved in an environmental justice issue, the broader you define it the better, in terms of getting people to be part of your network.

Lee: Does this broader and more diverse membership fragment and cause conflicts within the movement?

Pulido: It does happen, but not the way you would think. The bottom line is, are you a community of color? Are you a working class community? Is this a predominately female type organization? Your class position becomes important and what we have seen is that it doesn't matter so much if you are fighting for a park or fighting against pesticides. It is your political position within a larger social formation which becomes so important in influencing your political line and where you are going to go. So far, it has worked in bringing together a large group of

people. Again, there are differences and tensions, but there is really a high level of consolidation.

Lee: How do communities actually mobilize around an issue and what political leverage do they use to get something changed?

Pulido: It will start one or two ways. Either someone will notice what is going on or somebody on the outside will go around the community and say, "Look at what is being planned for your community." And, the people in the community will say, "We need to find out what's happening." People don't start out cynical or with the attitude of "Let's get the polluter." They find out what's going on first.

Then there would be a meeting between the powers that be and the community. At that point, people might realize that they are going to get the short end of the stick. Mobilization takes off in a whole different direction once they realize this. They might call another organization that has been through a similar issue. Or someone would hook them up with one of the networks. Other organizations might come and tell them here is what you have to do. They would help them through the whole political mobilization process.

Lee: What about environmental issues at the transnational scale? Who are the main players?

Pulido: I don't know enough about it, but I know that the environmental movement has been very active on transnational issues. Because of where I live and what I study, I see in the case of the US-Mexican border most clearly where there has been a real sense of solidarity between environmental justice groups. This is one of the most exciting aspects of the environmental justice movement today. It is more difficult to do outreach to the Philippines, other parts of Asia, Africa and deeper Latin America, but people have done that and will continue to make the effort.

Ehrenfeucht: What are you doing now?

Pulido: I've made a conscious decision to not work on environmental justice issues. For one, within the academic and professional circles, I was becoming a poster child. "**People** of color care about the environment." I didn't feel comfortable to be seen that way. Also, I could not have the kinds of conversations that I wanted to because I was too focused on environmental issues. My real passions are questions around social movements and political activism and questions about race and class. How do those forces work to oppress people? How do people organize in terms of those forces to build a better tomorrow? Several years ago, I began a comparative history project in which I compare Black, Chicano and Asian-American Leftists in Los Angeles in the 1950s and 1970s. The history of the Left of color is an unknown history. For about ten years, I have been a volunteer at the Labor Community Strategy Center. I knew that there were other histories and I knew some of the founding members and their involvement in revolutionary struggles such as CASA and the August 9th Movement. So, I was curious about this. And, five years ago, there was a big labor struggle at USC. In getting to know the union people, I could discern that there was a stratum of

people that had different histories. I had an idea about how groups are racialized, or differentially racialized, mainly around distinct forms of politics. So, I am looking at the racial order of that time in Southern California, different positions groups had, and how that contributed to the radical politics that they developed. I was definitely informed by the work I was doing on environmental justice. I learned a tremendous amount by studying the environmental groups over time and furthering my analysis about how race and class work in political activism and movement building.

KATHLEEN LEE is a doctoral student in the Department of Urban Planning at UCLA. Her dissertation research deals with "flexible geography of production" in the the film and TV industries in Southern California. RENIA EHRENFEUCHT is a doctoral student in the Department of Urban Planning at UCLA.

Unauthorized Mexican Immigrants and Business-Generated Environmental Hazards in Southern California

Enrico A. Marcelli, Grant Power and Mark J. Spalding

Recent research suggests that foreign-born residents and lower-income communities are exposed disproportionately to environmental hazards in the United States. Employing 1994 Mexican immigrant legal status survey data, the 1990 PUMS, and 1991-98 Toxic Release Inventory (TRI) data, this paper investigates whether business facilities were more likely to emit toxic releases, and at higher levels, in southern California neighborhoods with higher numbers of unauthorized Mexican immigrant resident workers (UMI) during the 1990s. Controlling for other ethno-racial minority groups and for neighborhood economic conditions, results confirm these two hypotheses, suggesting the need to move beyond simple race and class explanations.

Introduction

Despite efforts by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to slow illegal immigration to the United States during the past decade, unauthorized Mexican immigrant workers (UMI) continue to be an integral component of the US economy (Benson 1999; Cornelius 1998; Griffith 1999; Marcelli 1999, 2001). While this trend is consistent with the finding that the demand for lower-wage workers has risen in the United States since the late 1970s (Bernstein 1999), empirical evidence also suggests that residents without US citizenship, especially unauthorized immigrant workers, face greater environmental, occupational, health and safety risks than legal immigrants and citizens (Simcox 1997). For instance, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) recently announced a $72,000 settlement with a Minneapolis Holiday Inn Express as a result of complaints about retaliatory firings of unauthorized immigrants resulting from stepped-up union recruitment efforts. The EEOC also attempted to reassure unions that it will back away from labor disputes when such involvement may encourage employers to exploit unauthorized workers (Cleeland 2000). In another recent case, a national contract labor firm pleaded guilty to hiring unauthorized Latino workers to remove carcinogenic asbestos from buildings (Environmental News Service 2000). The fear of losing one's job is only one reason why unauthorized immigrant workers may be less likely to report environmental hazards or mistreatment by an employer. The threat of deportation is arguably at least as dissuasive.

The purpose of this paper is exploratory and straightforward. We investigate the spatial association between the estimated number of UMI residing in southern California (Los Angeles, Riverside, San Bernardino, Orange and Ventura counties) and two proxies for industrial environmental hazards: (1) the number of busi-

ness facilities having reported releasing toxic chemicals, and (2) the level (pounds) of released toxic chemicals reported by neighborhood. The analysis employs 1991-98 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Toxic Release Inventory (TRI) data, data from the 1994 University of Southern California (USC) and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF) Foreign-born Mexican Household Survey, and the five percent Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) of the 1990 Census.

Recent research has supported the claims of environmental justice advocates that lower-income and certain ethno-racial minority groups are disproportionately exposed to toxic waste or air pollution (Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001), and Hunter (2000) finds that foreign-born residents are more likely to live near large-scale hazardous waste generators and proposed Superfund sites. But no study to date has examined whether those who are perhaps most vulnerable to environmentally unsafe toxins in the workplace or neighborhood—namely, immigrants residing in the country illegally—are disproportionately exposed. If it is true that some corporations have intentionally sought out communities less likely to defend themselves against the existence or introduction of toxic chemicals (Bullard 1990), and that unauthorized immigrants are less inclined to resist environmentally hazardous chemicals in the workplace, then it seems reasonable to hypothesize that this may also be the case geographically. But even if a statistically significant spatial association between environmental hazards and members of vulnerable minority groups is the result of residential in-migration rather than the product of intentional location and polluting deci-

sions by businesses, results may inform contemporary environmental and land use policy decision making.

This paper is analytically modest in the sense that the goal is not to establish whether businesses intentionally polluted where disproportionately high numbers of UMI resided in the 1990s. Rather, the task is simply to investigate whether a spatial association existed at the neighborhood level between toxic releases from business facilities (which may have been present before 1990) and the number of UMI. Only when the 2000 Census data become available will it be possible to match them temporally with the EPA's toxic release data in a way that makes the testing of the "move-in" versus "placement" hypothesis possible (Sadd et al. 1999b).

The Three Waves of Environmental Concern

Most research by demographers and economists on environmental issues during the past two centuries is located within a much larger literature on population and economic growth within developing nations (Pebley 1998; Torras and Boyce 1998). Before World War II the dominant analytical framework held that changes in demographic behavior (e.g., fertility, migration, mortality) were motivated by socioeconomic structural changes accompanying industrialization (Davis 1945). Subsequently, three waves of concern about population and environment have been identified (Ruttan 1993). The first emanated from Malthusian fears of an "overcharged population" that would outpace food supply (Foster 2000: 92) and arrived in the 1940s and 1950s. The second came in the 1960s and 1970s and focused on environmen-

tally harmful by-products of production and consumption. The third has concentrated attention on global environmental change (e.g., climate, acid rain, ozone) and emerged in the 1980s.

Only very recently, however, has empirical demographic research moved beyond first-wave environmental issues. According to Davis (1991), it is not that most demographers viewed population effects on the environment as unimportant. To the contrary, they have generally accepted that rapid population growth is detrimental to natural resources, but have concentrated their research efforts on investigating mechanisms for reducing fertility in poorer countries. Other demographers have emphasized the importance of considering other mediating feedback effects, such as social institutions (McNicoll 1990), technology (Boserup 1981; Simon 1981), and fertility reduction (Lee 1987, 1997), in addition to population growth. Finally, the challenges of collaborative interdisciplinary research and sparse longitudinal data compete with demographers' *a priori* assumptions concerning the relationship between population growth and the environment as an explanation for the fact that empirical demographic attention to environmental issues is a newer-wave phenomenon (Pebley 1998).

One strand of this newer empirical work, employing census and other local-level data, has begun to investigate whether hazardous waste sites and air pollution are more likely to be found in ethno-racial minority and relatively poor neighborhoods (Anderton et al. 1994; Morello-Frosh, Pastor and Sadd 2001; Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001; Sadd et al. 1999a; White

and Hunter 1998). This newer strand is also different in its focus on the effects of environmental degradation on population, as opposed to population effects on environment. While grappling with various data and methodological limitations, several of these studies have supported the assertion of environmental justice advocates that low-income and racial minority groups are disproportionately exposed to toxic waste and air pollution because they tend to live near such potential hazards (Boer et al. 1997; Mohai and Bryant 1992; Ringquist 1997; UCC 1987; US GAO 1983).

Other environmental justice researchers are calling for more specificity concerning demographic characteristics and economic factors as they relate to environmental hazards. Blanket classifications of neighborhoods like *minority* and *low-income* do not fully explain the location of environmental hazards. For instance, Baden and Coursey (1997) find little evidence of environmental injustice in Chicago with regard to African American populations, but note that Latinos tend to reside in areas surrounding hazardous sites. And, although Anderton et al. (1994) find no nationally consistent variation in racial or ethnic composition of metropolitan census tracts which contain commercial hazardous waste facilities, they note that in regions with comparatively large percentages of Latino residents, waste facilities are more likely to be found in tracts with Latino groups. Lastly, in a nationwide longitudinal study, Been and Gupta (1997) found that the proportion of Latinos in their study areas had a significant impact on the likelihood of receiving a toxic waste facility when controlling for

the percentage of local industrial employees and population density.

Partly because of these findings, some researchers have begun to study the relationship between demography and environmental risk based on factors other than race and class broadly defined. Hunter (2000) recently undertook the first nationwide empirical study of foreign-born residents' exposure to environmental hazards in the United States. Using a county-level nationwide data set reflecting immigrant and environmental risk presence, she suggests that counties with higher percentages of immigrants, particularly those with a high concentration of non-English speaking households, tend to have comparatively large quantities of hazardous waste generators and proposed Superfund sites. Focusing historically on Los Angeles County, Pulido (2000) traces the region's residential and industrial segregation patterns by race. She reports that all ethnic minorities in Los Angeles appear to be disproportionately exposed to environmental pollution to some extent. More important for the present study, Pulido writes, "Latinos' exposure is more a function of their role as low-wage labor within the racialized division of labor and the historic relationship between the barrio and industry.... As a result, Latinos live near industry, since both are concentrated in central LA and industrial corridors, and they are exposed to hazards on the job.... Thus, their exposure is a function of their class and immigrant status, as well as their racial position" (32).

Here we take this question a step further by investigating whether and to what extent a person's legal residency status might further explain the level and severity of environmental hazards she or he is exposed to. We are particularly interested in learning whether UMI were more likely to be exposed to business-generated environmental health hazards than other foreign-born residents who are either legal immigrants or US citizens during the 1990s.

Previous work has highlighted at least three main methodological problems that bear on this study. Two such issues are the determination of appropriate units of demographic analysis (or "aggregation error") and the direction of causality between demographic, economic, and environmental variables (Hunter 2000: 464). Several studies also note a third problem: the proximity of a community to a pollution source cannot, by itself, be considered an adequate measure of environmental health risk (Anderton et al. 1994; Anderton 1996; Been 1994; Boer et al. 1997). For example, in the case of air pollution, weather conditions and other factors may create risks in more distant communities as well as nearby ones. These problems have meant that researchers' conclusions about the extent of exposure to pollution among demographic subgroups are tentative. Indeed, the demand for more rigorous standards of measurement and greater precision reflects to some extent a wider disagreement among researchers whether the evidence available allows us to infer that environmental discrimination is present at all (Anderton et al. 1994; Bowen 1999; Oakes, Anderton and Anderson 1996:125; Szasz and Meuser 1997).

In the context of this debate, a wave of new environmental justice studies have fine-tuned their research methods to try to overcome lingering doubts about the validity of previous studies' findings. These methodological modifications include the geocoding of site locations and the connection of these with US Census tract data to compare visually the location of toxic waste facilities with the demographic characteristics of proximate neighborhoods (Boer et al. 1997); matching new EPA data on toxic releases and models of ambient air exposure with US Census tract data (Morello-Frosch, Pastor and Sadd 2001; Sadd et al. 1999a); longitudinal analysis to identify post-siting effects in host and adjacent census tracts (Oakes, Anderton and Anderson 1996); and accounting for the effects of neighborhood ethnic transitions on the likelihood of receiving toxic facilities, since lower neighborhood social cohesion reduces the possibility of formulating an organized response to siting decisions (Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001). Several of the studies noted above have focused on pollution exposure patterns in Los Angeles County. Their focus on one area has helped to overcome problems of aggregation error, better track environmental hazards in the context of regional industrial clusters and a distinct regulatory regime, and examine environmental risks in relation to diverse communities undergoing rapid demographic and socioeconomic change. In general, analysis of geography, demography and pollution data suggests that after controlling for other factors, the geographical association of toxic releases and of minority populations in Los Angeles County is statistically significant.

Only one study (Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2000) to date, using toxic storage and disposal facilities data rather than EPA toxic release reports from business facilities, has provided evidence that industrial siting is a more important causal factor in this association than minority in-migration. Thus, so far there is little evidence that industrial location decisions are concentrated in minority areas, rather than minorities concentrating in areas with pre-existing polluters. But environmental inequity (e.g., racism) may occur even in the absence of intent. For instance, the presence of white privilege that permits one racial group to purchase homes and to reside in relatively cleaner environments is a result of past individual, industrial and state actions that encouraged decentralization and suburbanization (Pulido 2000).

There are at least two reasons to study whether UMI tend to be disproportionately located in neighborhoods characterized by higher levels of toxic release in the southern California region. First, the region has become the focus of much recent environmental impact research that finds statistically significant correlations between neighborhood ethno-racial composition and environmental hazards (Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001). Second, it is home to the largest share of UMI in the nation and the location where one of the leading legal residency status estimation methodologies has been developed (Heer et al. 1992; Marcelli 1999; Marcelli and Heer 1997; Marcelli, Pastor and Joassart 1999).

Estimating the Spatial Association Between Unauthorized Mexican Immigrants and Toxic Releases

The data we employ in this study are the EPA's 1991-98 Toxic Release Inventory (TRI), a database of toxic chemical releases reported by business (mostly manufacturing) facilities in the southern California region; a 1994 Los Angeles County Foreign-born Mexican Household Survey; and the five percent 1990 PUMS. For the purposes of this paper, the southern California region includes the counties of Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernadino, and Ventura.

A manufacturing facility is required to report its polluting activities to the EPA if it (1) has ten or more full-time employees; (2) produces or processes more than 25,000 pounds of designated chemicals or uses more than 10,000 pounds of any one designated chemical;[1] or (3) conducts selected manufacturing operations. There were a total of 19,917 such (self-identified) facilities from 1991-98 in southern California, and 16,377 (82 percent) reported having released toxic chemicals.[2] In addition to a large firm size bias, the TRI data are also known to include locational reporting errors and to ignore some hazardous chemicals (Sadd et al. 1999a: 109). Finally, as noted above, a more general limitation is the assumption that proximity to a hazardous release reflects a health risk (Bowen 1999).

The 1994 USC-COLEF Los Angeles County Foreign-born Mexican Household Survey is a probability sample of County census tracts in which twenty-five percent or more of the total population was born in Mexico, according to the 1990 Census. Adults from 271 households in which at least one person was born in Mexico were asked a series of questions pertaining to legal status and other demographic characteristics. In addition to ensuring potential respondents that their answers would be anonymous, the surveyors informed them that this was a joint project between one Mexican and one US university, and only Mexican-origin interviewers administered the surveys.[3] From these data we generate immigrant legal status predictors by logistically regressing reported legal residency status (LS) on AGE, SEX (female), TIME (time residing in the US since first arrival), and EDUC (highest level of education attained). Legal status is correctly predicted eighty-five percent of the time with these four demographic variables (see Equation 1). While AGE, TIME, and EDUC are negatively related to the probability of having been an unauthorized Mexican immigrant, females are more likely to have been unauthorized.

$$LS = f\,(AGE,\ SEX,\ TIME,\ EDUC) \qquad [1]$$

We apply these four immigrant legal status predictors to each foreign-born, non-US citizen, Mexican adult enumerated in the 1990 five percent PUMS to compute a probability that he or she was a UMI. Aggregate-level estimates produced by this survey-based methodology are very similar to those generated by those obtained from the use of composite or components-of-change estimating methodologies (Heer and Passel 1987, Marcelli 1999).

After separating unauthorized and legal Mexican immigrant adults, and creating other demographic and

economic variables from the 1990 PUMS that will be used in our analysis, the last step in our data preparation was to merge TRI and the modified PUMS data at the Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA) level.[4] Because the TRI data has zip code and city but not PUMA-level variables, we mapped zip codes to PUMAs and used PUMAs as the unit of analysis.[5] There are 92 PUMAs in the five-county area.

We first examine the relationship between the number of facilities that reported emitting toxic chemicals (FACILITY), the amount of toxic release (TR) in pounds, and the percentage distribution of UMI, using simple descriptive statistics. In the final stage of our empirical analysis, we control for other minority and economic factors using ordinary least squares regression. We regress FACILITY (and TR) on UMI; the number of other foreign-born persons (OFB), Latinos (LAT), non-Latino Asians (ASN), and non-Latino African Americans (BLK); median total income (MEDINC); the number of poor persons (POOR), where the poverty threshold is set at 150 percent of the US Census poverty threshold; and whether the PUMA is located inside Los Angeles County (LA=1) (see Equation 2).

$$FACILITY \text{ or } TR = f \text{ (UMI, OFB, LAT, ASN, BLK,}$$
$$POOR, MEDINC, LA) \qquad [2]$$

While both dependent variables (FACILITY and TR) represent reported environmentally hazardous activities of mostly manufacturing facilities from 1991 to 1998, all independent variables are taken from the 1990 PUMS (except for UMI, which requires the use of both the 1990 PUMS and the 1994

USC-COLEF data). Furthermore, all variables are aggregated to the PUMA level. Thus, we are able to test directly whether the presence of UMI and the propensity of facilities to pollute were spatially correlated during the 1990s in southern California by controlling for other ethno-racial group characteristics and neighborhood economic conditions.

Results of Analysis

The number of business facilities reporting to the EPA's Toxic Release Inventory declined during the 1990s. While 2,867 (eighty-three percent) of 3,450 facilities reported having emitted a toxic chemical in 1991, as of 1998, 1,735 (eighty-five percent) of 2,049 did. During the entire period, there were 16,327 facilities (eighty-two percent of all those reporting) that reported toxic emissions. Similarly, the level (pounds) of toxic materials released fell during the 1990s (see Figure 1, facing page). Only in 1998 is there a slight rise in the number of facilities reporting and the level of toxic releases reported. Slightly over fifty million pounds (or 11,000 tons) of toxic chemicals were reported in 1991, approximately twenty-three million pounds (or 25,000 tons) in 1997, and about twenty-eight million pounds (or 14,000 tons) in 1998. Given that the average level of toxic release by facility fluctuated only slightly during the 1990s (between 14,816 and 17,623 pounds), the decline in emissions is directly related to the reduced number of facilities reporting having released any toxic material during this period.

Applying our previously generated immigrant legal status predictors to the non-US citizen, Mexican-

Figure 1
Pounds of Toxic Chemicals Released, Per Year, 1991-98
Five-County Southern California Area
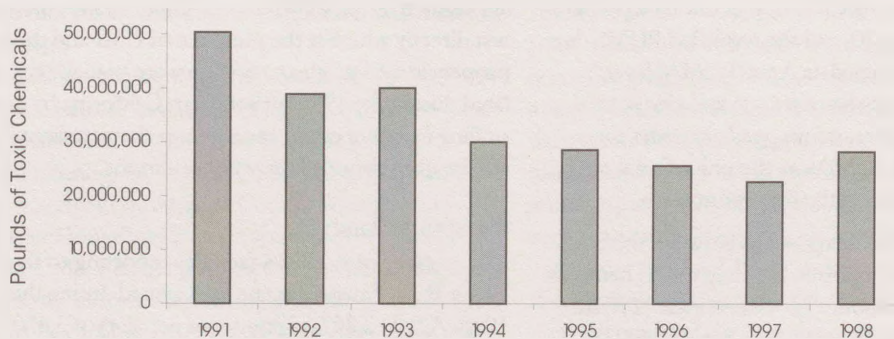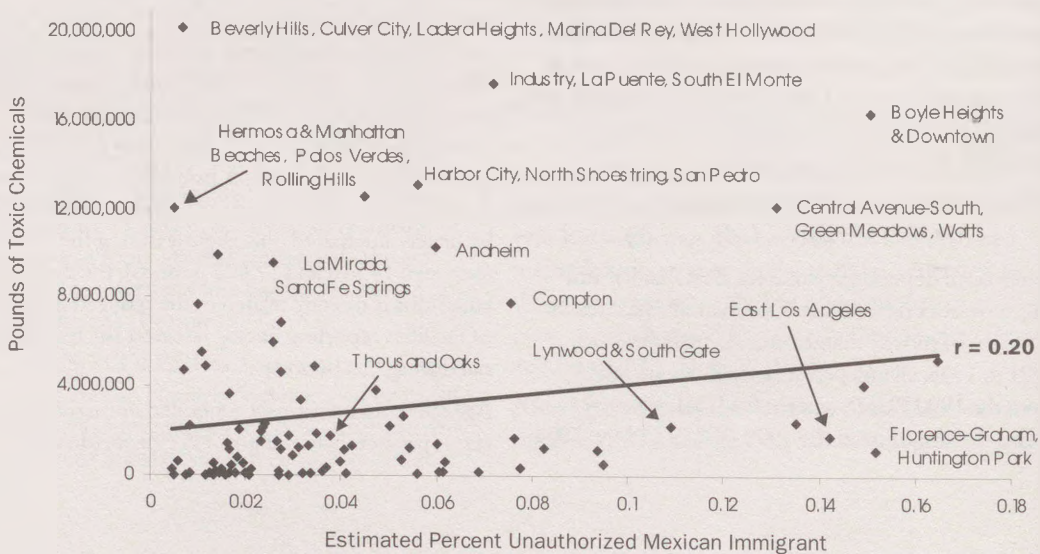Source: EPA Toxic Release Inventory

Figure 2
Pounds of Toxic Release and Estimated Percent of Unauthorized Mexican
   Immigrant Workers by Public Use Microdata Area
Totals for 1991-98, By PUMA, Five-County Southern California Area
Sources: EPA Toxic Release Inventory; authors' estimates

born adult population enumerated in the 1990 PUMS and residing in the southern California region results in an estimated 272,237 unauthorized Mexican immigrants in the five-county region.[6] Merging UMI and Toxic Release Inventory data at the PUMA level reveals a positive association between UMI and both the number of facilities having reported that they released toxic chemicals (FACILITY) and the level (pounds) released (TR). The correlation between the percent UMI and FACILITY is 0.34 and between percent UMI and TR is 0.20. Figure 2 (previous page) shows a scatterplot for percent UMI and pounds of pollutants released.

To be more precise about the correlation, it is necessary to control for other mediating factors that may influence whether business facilities pollute in a given neighborhood (and at what level), and where UMI reside. Table 1 (facing page) reports descriptive statistics for all variables used in subsequent regression analyses by low, intermediate, and high level of toxic release. PUMAs falling into the bottom third of the total toxic release value distribution (which range from zero to slightly more than twenty million pounds for the 1991-98 period) had both a smaller number of facilities that reported a toxic release (120) and a lower per-facility release (11,449 pounds) than PUMAs falling into either the middle or top third of the distribution. Further, whereas the percentage of UMI, OFB, LAT, ASN, and POOR, and the proportion of PUMAs within LA County (LA) were higher in PUMAs with relatively high levels of reported toxic release; the percentage BLK as well as MEDINC and RENT were lower.[7]

After controlling for these other demographic and economic variables by PUMA, and for the clustering effects produced from aggregating at the PUMA level, we find that only two variables (UMI and ASN) remain positively related to FACILITY and TR (see overleaf, Table 2). However, the significance of the positive relationship between UMI and FACILITY/TR must be viewed with some caution. Because the number of UMI is itself an estimated independent variable, the standard deviation for UMI is underestimated, leading to a possible overestimate of statistical significance.[8]

The number of non-UMI foreign-born persons (OFB), on the other hand, was inversely correlated with whether facilities reported toxic releases and the levels reported. Specifically, Table 2 reports the coefficients resulting from regressing FACILITY (Column 1) and TR (Column 2) on all demographic and economic variables. Overall our model explains variation in the number of facilities that reported having released toxic materials ($R^2 = 0.22$) better than the level of releases reported ($R^2 = 0.10$) across PUMAs. Given the relatively small number of observations (n=92), this relatively low level of explained variance is unsurprising. Indeed, while it may be tempting to dismiss the models' results simply because of unsatisfactory levels of explained variance, such levels are common among some of the most recent and most sophisticated empirical environmental justice impact studies (Boer et al. 1997; Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001; Sadd et al. 1999a). If factors other than those representing the two dominant hypotheses in the literature to date (e.g., neighborhood ethno-racial

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Low, Intermediate, and High Levels of Toxic Release By PUMA, Five-County Southern California Area, 1991-98

	Level of Reported Toxic Release		
	Low	Intermediate	High
Number of PUMAs	79	10	3
Facilities reporting toxic release (FACILITY)	120	465	732
Total toxic release in pounds (mean)	1,373,926	10,204,684	18,058,595
Average toxic release in pounds (by facility)	11,449	21,946	24,670
Unauthorized Mexican immigrants (UMI)	4.10%	4.49%	7.63%
Other foreign-born residents (OFB)	28.94%	25.65%	40.50%
Latino residents (LAT)	29.95%	29.41%	53.59%
Asian American residents (ASN)	9.06%	7.54%	11.67%
African American residents (BLK)	6.89%	13.86%	2.42%
Poor residents (POOR)	12.34%	13.43%	18.33%
Median household income (MEDINC)	$21,632	$21,186	$18,333
Within-PUMA mean of household median rent	$682	$624	$596
PUMA in Los Angeles (LA)	63.29%	50.00%	100%

Note: "Low" PUMAs had less than 6.6 million pounds of toxic release reported between 1991 and 1998. "Intermediate" PUMAs had between 6.6 and 13.3 million pounds reported, and "High" PUMAs had more than 13.3 million pounds reported.

Sources: 1990 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) 5 percent sample; 1991-98 EPA Toxic Release Inventory data; authors' estimates of UMI.

characteristics and socioeconomic status) are found to be statistically related to environmental hazardous activity, then perhaps they warrant immediate public policy and future scholarly attention.

Focusing on the impact of UMI on FACILITY first, we see that a within-PUMA increase of 2,931 unauthorized Mexican immigrant workers (one standard deviation) is associated with an additional 158 facilities having reporting toxic releases.[9] Further, a one standard deviation increase in the number of Asian-origin persons (5,326) was also positively related to the number of facilities having reported affirmatively, but this impact is substantially smaller (69 additional facilities). In contrast, a one standard deviation rise in the number of non-UMI foreign-born persons (12,221) was associated with a decrease of 147 facilities reporting toxic releases. The comparison group for each of these results is US-born, non-Latino Whites. Also, facilities in LA County were more likely to have reported emitting toxic releases.

From Column 2 we can see similar effects, but on a different scale, given that we are estimating the association of UMI and other demographic characteristics with pounds of toxic release (rather than number of reporting facilities). A one standard deviation increase in the number of UMI (ASN) was related to an additional 2.1 (1.2) million pounds of reported toxic release. Alternatively, a rise of one standard deviation in the number of OFB was associated with a reduction of 2.9 million pounds of reported toxic release. To our surprise, neither the number of African American nor Latino residents appears to have been related to either of the two dependent variables. Similarly, neither of our neighborhood economic variables is statistically significant.[10] Facilities located in an LA County PUMA, however, were more likely to have reported higher levels of toxic release.[11]

Discussion

Only recently has environmental equity research begun to look beyond simple race and class categories in an effort to understand the spatial diffusion of environmentally hazardous activities in the United States. This paper builds on Hunter (2000), who found that although the presence of foreign-born persons by county throughout the United States was not significantly related to toxic air releases, it was positively related to large-scale hazardous waste generators and Superfund sites. Our findings, obtained from data cut across a smaller geographic level within southern California, suggest otherwise. A higher number of UMI was positively associated with a higher number of business facilities reporting toxic releases and higher levels being reported by PUMA in southern California, even after controlling for other neighborhood demographic and economic factors. A higher number of other foreign-born residents had the opposite effect. Except for Asians, the presence of other minority ethno-racial groups was not statistically related to the number of reporting facilities or the level of toxic releases reported, and none of our neighborhood economic contextual variables (level of poverty, median income, and mean rental price) was statistically significant.

Table 2

Spatial Association Between Unauthorized Mexican Immigrant Residents and (a) Facilities Reporting Toxic Releases, (b) Pounds of Toxic Release[1]

By PUMA, Five-County Southern California Area, 1991-98

	(a) Number of facilities (FACILITY)	(b) Pounds of toxic release (TR)
Unauthorized Mexican immigrants (UMI)[2]	0.054 *** (0.017)	727.55 ** (360.15)
Other foreign-born residents (OFB)	-0.012 *** (0.005)	-241.27 *** (94.28)
Latino residents (LAT)	-0.000 (0.004)	-25.87 (100.09)
Asian residents (ASN)	0.013 * (0.007)	247.21 * (142.00)
African American residents (BLK)	-0.001 (0.003)	-34.59 (60.76)
Poor residents (POOR)	0.006 (0.007)	154.18 (153.48)
Median household income (MEDINC)	0.005 (0.008)	-15.03 (164.58)
PUMA in City of Los Angeles (LA)	101.421 * (56.382)	1,764,752 # (1,215,794)
Intercept	-29.745 (205.752)	2,643,943 (4,520,551)
N	92	92
R^2	0.22	0.10

Legend: *** = p<.01; ** = p<.05; * = p<.10; # = p<.20.

Note: Standard errors reported in parentheses.

[1]Results of ordinary least squares regressions of FACILITY and TR on independent variables in left-hand column. See text for further explanation.

[2]Estimated by the authors based on parameters from a logistic regression using 1994 USC-COLEF data, as applied to PUMS data. See equation 1 and previous discussion.

Sources: 1994 USC-COLEF Los Angeles County Foreign-born Mexican Household Survey; 1990 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) 5 percent sample; 1991-98 EPA Toxic Release Inventory data; authors' estimates of UMI.

The finding that the presence of UMI was independently and positively associated with the number of reporting facilities and the reported level of toxic release crystallizes conceptually what is hinted at by previous research on racially-based environmental inequity (Morello-Frosh, Pastor and Sadd 2001; Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001; Pulido 2000; Sadd et al. 1999a). Our results suggest that in addition to more traditional race and class variables, immigrant legal status may also be an important factor because those residing in the United States illegally may be less likely to report environmentally hazardous toxins for fear of being detected and possibly deported. In this sense our results are consistent with (1) Bullard's (1990) claim that businesses may intentionally seek locations with relatively compliant populations; (2) evidence suggesting that UMI are more likely to be exploited in the workplace (Cleeland 2000; Environmental News Service 2000); (3) the claim that those on the short side of power relations in the United States receive the larger slice of the pollution pie (Boyce 1994; Boyce et al. 1999), and (4) recent empirical work that shows, using more sophisticated econometric techniques, that lower-income and ethno-racial minority minorities (Morello-Frosh, Pastor and Sadd 2001; Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001)—and more recently foreign-born residents (Hunter 2000)—are more likely to reside in geographical areas populated with higher concentrations of toxic storage and disposal facilities, polluting business facilities, and toxic releases.

Growing concern about disproportionate or inequitable distributions of toxic materials by race, ethnicity, income, and legal status is also related to the recent policy efforts of President George W. Bush and Governor Gray Davis that may favor the utility industry over disadvantaged community interests. Bush-appointed EPA administrator Christie Whitman revoked former President Clinton's higher arsenic standards for drinking water in March 2001 (Shogren 2001a); more recently, the current administration suspended environmental cleanup regulations relating to use of publicly owned land, regulations imposed on the mining industry by former President Clinton on his last day in office (Shogren 2001b). Meanwhile, at the state level and in the midst of an energy crisis, California's governor recently negotiated a deal with twenty generators to supply $43 billion worth of electrical power during the next decade (Morain 2001). Little is known about the environmental risk this plan will ultimately impose on vulnerable communities. But given that the state has supposedly promised to pay for some of the industry's pollution credits (at about $45 per pound) when their pollution exceeds allowable limits strongly suggests that considerations of social cost (e.g., environmental hazards) have taken a back seat to issues of market cost (e.g., the dollar price of electricity). At least this is the case when it comes to polluting at home. Davis has simultaneously signed three environmental agreements with Mexico's President Vicente Fox to tackle pollution problems emanating in Tijuana but spilling over into southern California (Smith and Bustillo 2001). If recent empirical evidence is accurate, ignoring the need for policy changes in California is likely to increase the

adverse environmental impacts in those communities already experiencing higher levels of pollution.

This study's analysis, while exploratory and limited by data constraints, provides additional support to concerns of environmental justice and immigrant rights advocates. Unfortunately, the Toxic Release Inventory data simply do not permit a causal evaluation of health risks associated with business-generated toxic releases at this time, given their restricted chemical and locational coverage, firm-size bias, and inability to weight toxic releases for real or perceived health risks. Furthermore, we are unable to speak to the which-came-first debate—that is, do polluting businesses intentionally seek vulnerable neighborhoods or workers to exploit (the "placement" hypothesis) or are UMI and other minorities more likely to move into areas and accept jobs that have higher business-generated toxicity levels (the "move-in" hypothesis). The only study of southern California that approaches this question in an empirically credible manner (Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001) provides stronger support for the placement hypothesis.

Still, "uncertainty about causality does not imply a lack of policy lessons or needs" (Sadd et al. 1999b: 137). Even if firms do not intentionally locate in neighborhoods with higher concentrations of UMI (or other lower-income or ethno-racial minorities), this does not imply that nothing can be done to offset the probable disproportionate health risks generated by proximate toxic releases in one's community. The finding that UMI are concentrated in neighborhoods with higher levels of business-generated toxic release suggests that in addition to income and skin color, legal status may influence where and at what level businesses pollute. In the meantime, Sadd et al.'s (1999a) call for more fairness in the siting of future polluting facilities, and a wider distribution of information about areas currently experiencing relatively high levels of environmental risk, regardless of the concentration of unauthorized immigrant residents, seem two modest steps in the right direction.

Endnotes

[1] There were 350 designated chemicals from 1987 through 1994, and 643 thereafter.

[2] Statewide, 35,149 facilities reported. Of these, 28,574 (81.3 percent) reported having released environmentally hazardous materials. Thus, all facilities that reported (as well as those that reported toxic releases) in southern California represented fifty-seven percent of the state total.

[3] These data and the survey methodology have been more fully explained in previous published studies. We direct the interested reader to Marcelli (1999), Marcelli and Heer (1997) and Marcelli, Pastor and Joassart (1999).

[4] In the southern California region, PUMAs have a mean population of about 150,000 people and 75,000 workers.

[5] We used land area to match overlapping zip codes and PUMAs because we do not have population information by zip code. There were very few zip codes that crossed PUMA boundaries.

[6] The mean number of UMI by PUMA is 2,959 and the standard deviation is 2,931.

[7] RENT is computed from the 5-percent 1990 PUMS as the within-PUMA mean of household median rents. This variable was not part of our original model and does not appear in the regression results reported in Table 2, because it was not statistically significant and its inclusion did not affect the impact of other variables in the model. RENT is highly cor-related with MEDINC, another control variable in our model that was also not statistically significant. We report the mean value of RENT by level of toxic release in Table 1.

[8] See Pagan (1984) for a discussion of estimation problems associated with generated regressors.

[9] This figure is computed by multiplying an assumed one standard deviation change in UMI (2,931) by the parameter coefficient (0.054). All subsequent conver-sions are accomplished similarly.

[10] We included RENT in subsequent regression runs of both models but this had a very minor impact on results reported here. Interested readers may contact Marcelli to obtain detailed results.

[11] Using STATA functions, we ran a full set of statis-tical diagnostic tests. No multicollinearity or other statistical problems were detected. Results available upon request from Marcelli.

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ENRICO A. MARCELLI (marcelli@ucla.edu) is Visiting Scholar at the Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies at UCLA, and Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. GRANT POWER is Research Assistant at the Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies at UCLA. MARK J. SPALDING is Lecturer in International Environmental Policy & Law at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at the University of California at San Diego.
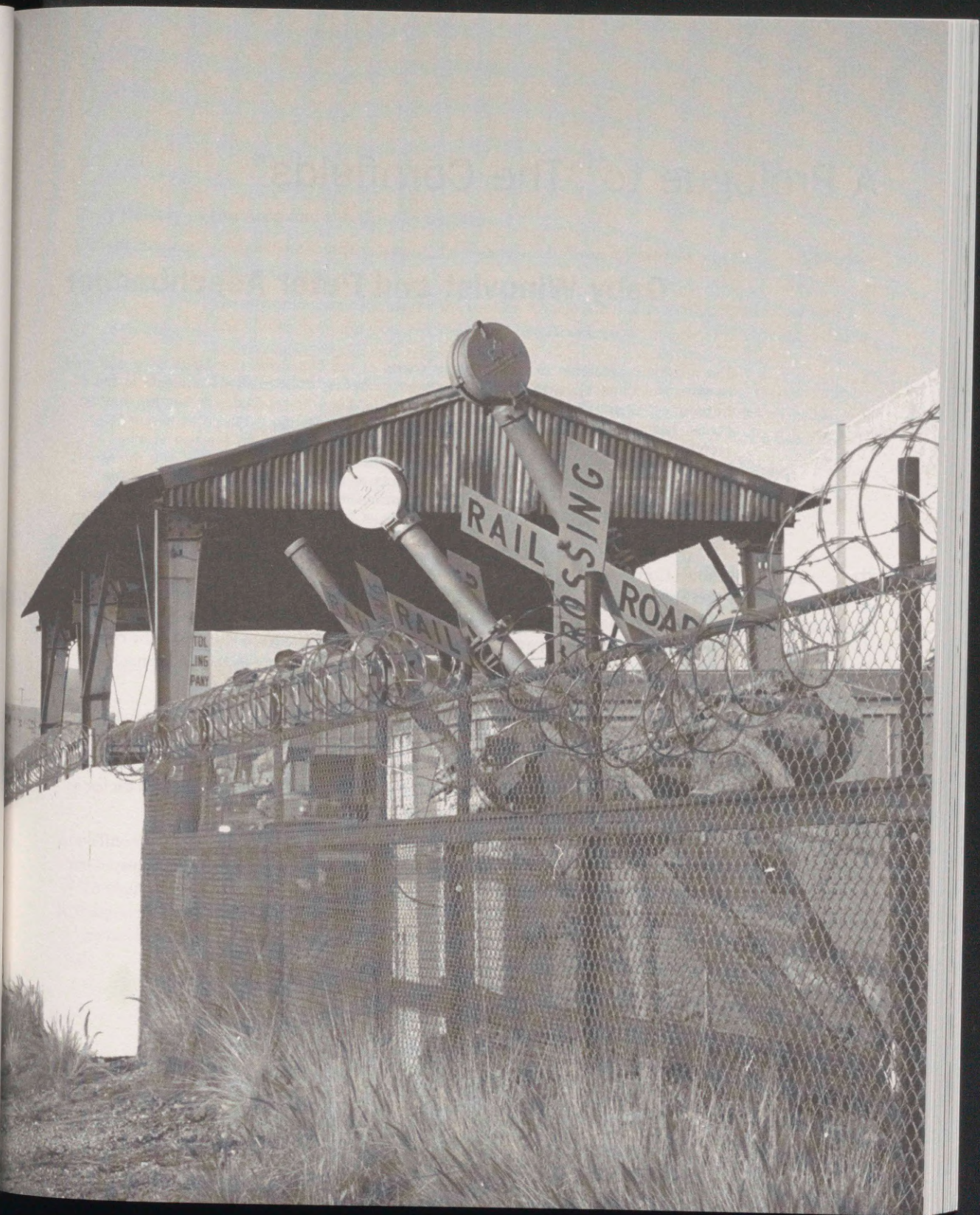
A Prologue to "The Cornfields"

Gaby Winqvist and Peter Aeschbacher

The materials excerpted to create this overview of the Chinatown Cornfields were authored as part of a Comprehensive Project by a team of former UCLA graduate students in the Department of Urban Planning: Peter Aeschbacher, Lauri Ames, Roderick Burnley, Kathrin Lenck, Jean Lin, Hilary Struthers and Gaby Winqvist. Under the guidance of former UCLA professor Marco Cenzatti, the team produced a resource manual for the use of all constituencies mobilizing around the transformation of the Cornfields site. The manual included three elements: an analysis of the facts and issues raised by the sale of the property, a synthesis of the best and most applicable ideas for the site and brownfields like it, and a set of principles to guide the form of future redevelopment of the Cornfield.

The so-called "Chinatown Cornfields," located north of Chinatown near downtown Los Angeles, is an historically significant piece of land adjacent to the Los Angeles River, Elysian Park and downtown tourist destinations. It has recently become the site of a struggle over the provision of amenities for Los Angeles residents.

Seen in historical context, this recent transformation is the latest in a series of uses. During the Gabrielino period, Native American trade routes enabled the original settlements of the Los Angeles basin. Later, the Spanish implementation of the *zanja* irrigation system allowed for agricultural use of the area. Finally, the introduction of rail enabled Los Angeles's industrial development in the 1800s.

For a century, the Southern Pacific railroad used the site as a freight depot and switching yard. In 1991, after it had stood vacant for years, Southern Pacific put the site up for sale. In subsequent years, various proposals for the site emerged. In 1999, Majestic Reality announced a plan to develop the Cornfields for light industrial and warehouse use. The community mobilized in response to the questionable development process and proposed uses.

The potential uses for the site inspired a broad coalition of local residents, preservationists and environmental organizations whose activism and planning finally resulted in the site being purchased for use as a park.

The Cornfield struggle is a microcosm of conflicts in greater Los Angeles, a poly-ethnic drama played out every day in the city. The struggle was brought to public attention largely because of the intersection of politics, economics and concerns for social justice.

Early History of the Area and the Cornfields Site

Early Settlement — Yangna, the central village of the Gabrielino Indians, established near the river more than 3000 years ago.

1700s — Governor DeNeve selects the site for Los Angeles on the site of the current City Hall, a few blocks from the river. El Pueblo de Los Angeles is founded. The *zanja madre* dam is built to supply water and irrigation.

1800s — Land is ceded to the United States and the Anglo government takes over control of the *zanja madre*. Chinese immigration to Los Angeles begins. The first immigrants come in search of gold, then to work on the railroad. Railroad connects LA with the East Coast.

1900s — For more than a century, the Southern Pacific railroad uses the Cornfields site as a freight depot and switching yard.

Chronology of Redevelopment Events

1989 — Southern Pacific puts the Cornfields site up for sale.

1989-1991 — LAUSD discusses with Southern Pacific the possibility of using the site for a high school.

1991 — KDG Development Consulting prepares a study proposing residential and commercial uses for the site.

1992-1993 — Downtown Strategic Plan recommends 12,000 dwelling units be built on and near the site.

1998 — The Friends of the Los Angeles River organizes community meetings to discuss the site.

1999 — Mayor Richard Riordan introduces Genesis L.A., an economic incentive program to develop fifteen underutilized or blighted industrial/retail sites, including the Cornfields. A deal by Majestic Realty to purchase the site from Southern Pacific to use as an industrial park is announced. Opponents of the plan submit a letter to HUD charging the proposal violates provisions of the federal Civil Rights Act and requests that HUD pressure city officials to require an environmental impact report (EIR).

2000 — Majestic project site plan reviewed and approved by the Department of City Planning. The Chinatown Cornfields Alliance appeals the city's determination that the project does not require a EIR.

2001 — The Trust for Public Land signs an option to purchase the site with plans to sell it to the state for creation of a park.
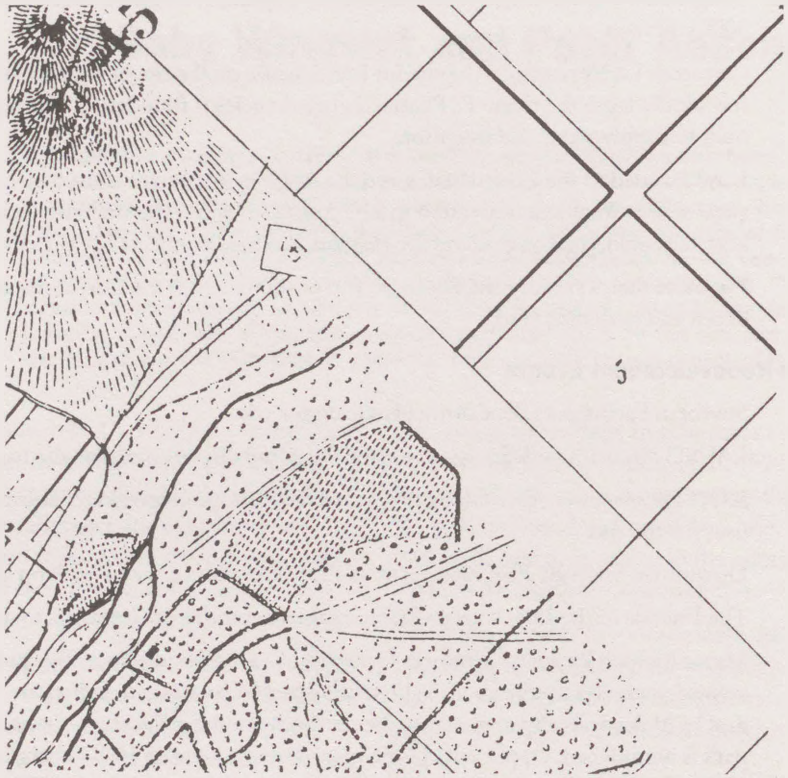
1849 Plan de la Cuidad de los Angeles by E.O.C. Ord

First survey of Los Angeles, indicating roads and land use.
(Does not include all of future Cornfield site.)
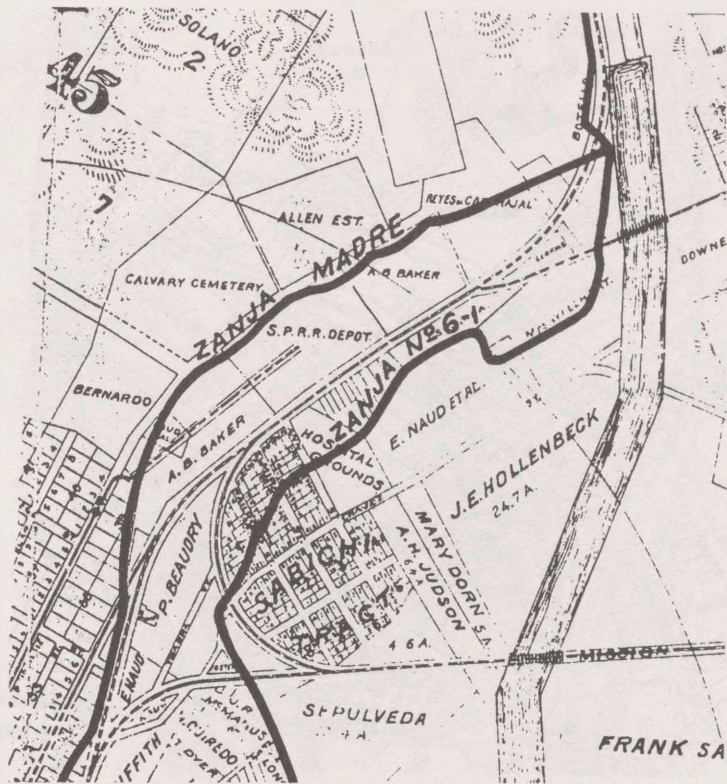
**1876 Map of Los Angeles by H.J. Stevenson,
traced by F.L. Olmstead, Jr. 1910**

Indicates *zanja* system, multiple ownership of site, mix of rail and
agriculture and adjacent lot subdivision.
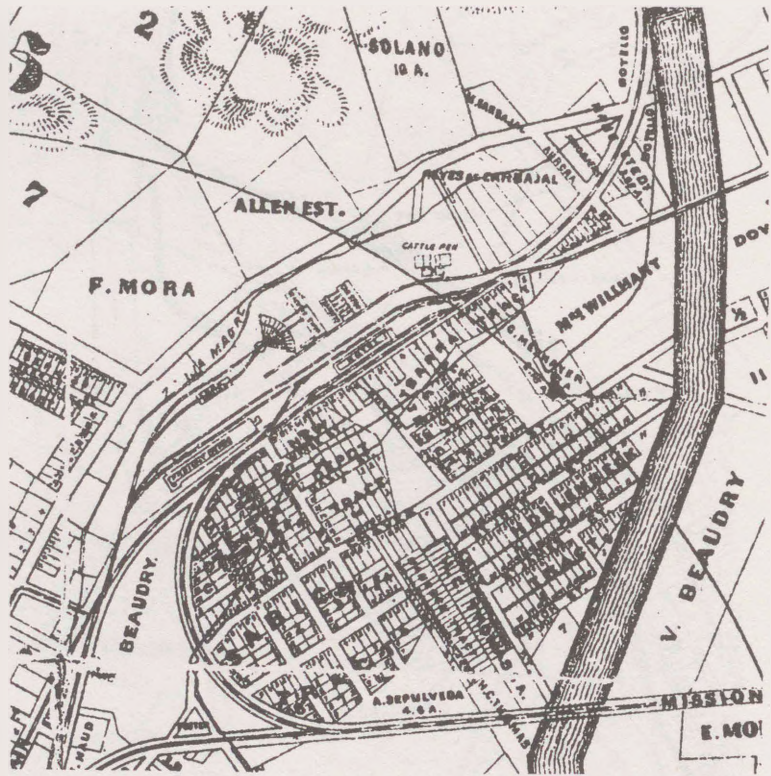
1884 Map of Los Angeles by H.J. Stevenson
Indicates property subdivision, cattle pen, turning yard, railroad-related
buildings and *zanja* system.
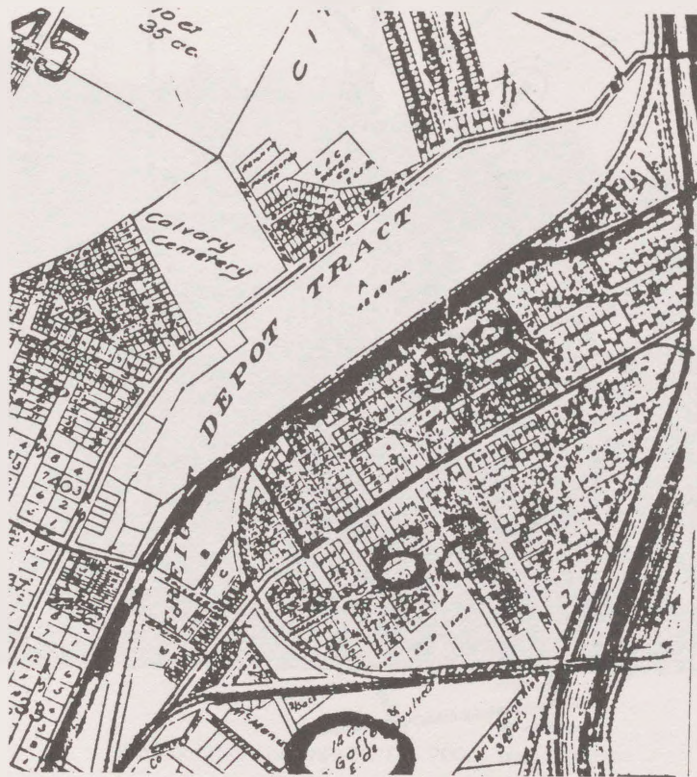
1902 Reuger's Map of Los Angeles
Indicates Cornfield site (fully owned by railroad), rail lines and surrounding property subdivision.
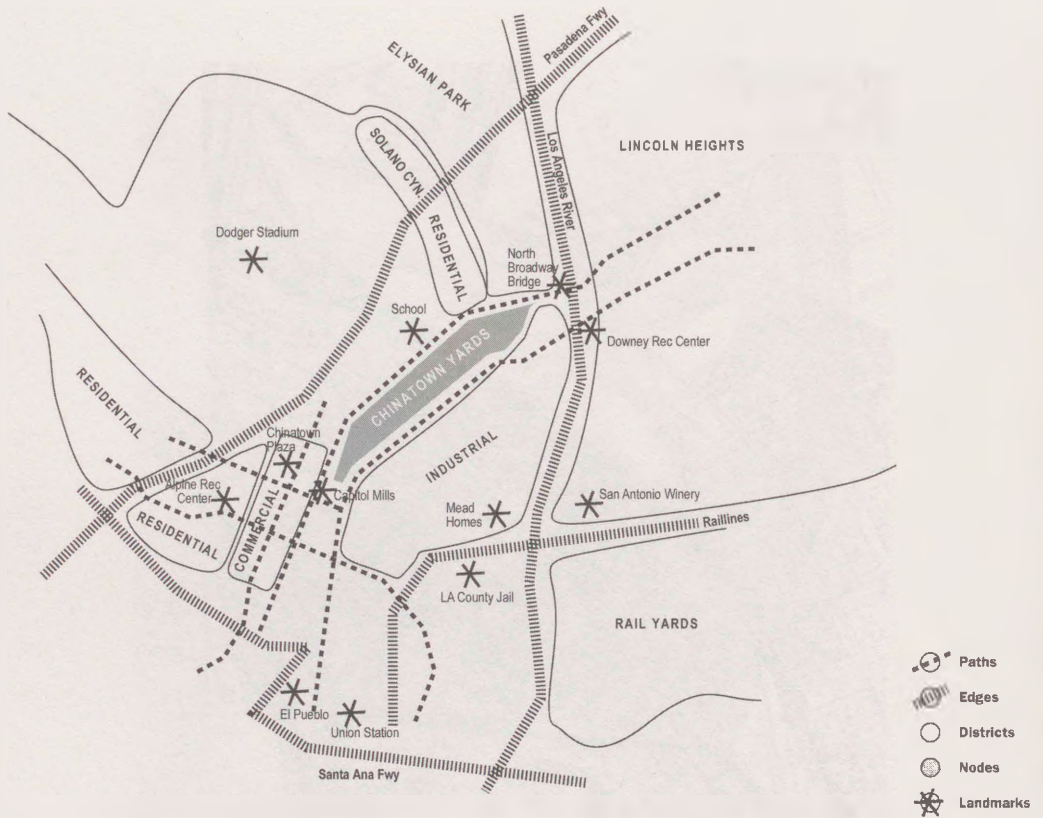
2000 Cognitive map of the Cornfield area by Peter Aeschbacher

Legend:
- Paths
- Edges
- Districts
- Nodes
- Landmarks

Map labels: ELYSIAN PARK, Pasadena Fwy, SOLANO CYN. RESIDENTIAL, LINCOLN HEIGHTS, Los Angeles River, Dodger Stadium, North Broadway Bridge, School, Downey Rec Center, CHINATOWN YARDS, RESIDENTIAL, Chinatown Plaza, INDUSTRIAL, Alpine Rec Center, Capitol Mills, Mead Homes, San Antonio Winery, Raillines, COMMERCIAL, RESIDENTIAL, LA County Jail, RAIL YARDS, El Pueblo, Union Station, Santa Ana Fwy

The Cornfield, Los Angeles, CA, 2001   *Gaby Winqvist*

GABY WINQVIST is a 2000 graduate of the Department of Urban Planning and was a member of the "Cornfield of Dreams" Comprehensive Project team. She practices as a planner in Los Angeles. PETER AESCHBACHER is a 2000 graduate of the Departments of Urban Planning and Architecture & Urban Design, and was a member of the "Cornfield of Dreams" Comprehensive Project team. He is the Rose Architectural Fellow at the Los Angeles Community Design Center.

The Chinatown Cornfields: Including Environmental Benefits in Environmental Justice Struggles[1]

Heather Barnett

This paper explores the way in which an environmental justice effort based on opposition to a proposed development of warehouses and light industry in Los Angeles's Chinatown includes arguments about the unequal distribution of environmental benefits as well as environmental risks. This heightened focus on environmental benefits can be seen as an expansion of the predominant environmental justice discourse, and is closely tied to a community-centered planning process. It also serves to highlight the environmental justice movement's broader social justice concerns.

Introduction

In July of 2000, a crowd faced the Los Angeles Central Area Planning Commission. The first three rows of chairs were filled with Chinese American senior citizens holding signs that read: "We need parks!" "We need schools!" and "No warehouses!"[2] Behind them were community leaders from an impressive variety of groups. Together, these citizens had formed the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance. They were appealing the city's approval of a limited environmental review and mitigation measures for a proposed light industry and warehouse development on a forty-acre plot of open space just northeast of downtown.

Named the Chinatown Cornfields for its historic agricultural use, the site was a Southern Pacific Rail yard until it was abandoned ten years ago. It lies between Chinatown and the Los Angeles River in a census district that is 81% Asian Pacific Islander (Cornfield of Dreams 2000: 79). The Chinatown area is comprised primarily of small, family-owned businesses and has high levels of unemployment. The neighborhood has few parks, and high school students are bused 45 minutes each way to school. The Alliance contends that the Cornfields site is the last available place to build a park and high school for the underserved community and should be developed with these and other amenities, instead of with environmentally damaging industries and warehouses.

On the other side of the room at the planning commission meeting sat the lawyers and business executives of Majestic Realty, well known as the developers of the downtown Staples Center sports arena. Majestic wanted to purchase the Cornfields site for a proposed one million square-foot warehouse development. Los

Angeles mayor Richard Riordan supported Majestic's plan, and the city's Office of Economic Development had identified the site as part of its Genesis LA project, which aims to "revitalize underutilized and blighted industrial and retail sites in disadvantaged communities" (Genesis LA n.d.). The city and other supporters of the development pointed to the depressed business environment in Chinatown and hailed the project for its potential to bring a thousand jobs to the area.

The city planning department had approved Majestic's development, finding it to be in compliance with the area's light industrial zoning designation. At this meeting, the planning commissioners were to decide if a full environmental impact report (EIR) should be prepared for the warehouse development, or if Majestic's environmental mitigation measures were sufficient for approval without further reviews or citizen involvement.

A look at the arguments presented over this land use struggle informs environmental justice theory and practice in a number of ways. This paper will first briefly review how the predominant environmental justice discourse came to be framed around the unequal distribution of environmental hazards. It will then turn to a discussion of an alternative definition of environmental injustice that has been largely unexplored in the literature: the unequal distribution of environmental benefits.

The bulk of the paper consists of a case study exploring how an alliance of various interest groups framed its resistance to a proposed development adjacent to Chinatown in Los Angeles. The Cornfields case challenges the predominant environmental justice discourse to include injustices facing Asian American communities. By expanding concepts of environmental injustice from a focus on the unequal distribution of environmental hazards to concerns about the distribution of environmental benefits, the Cornfields case demonstrates how environmental justice concepts might apply more broadly to disadvantaged neighborhoods. This focus on environmental benefits highlights the environmental justice movement's connection to larger civil rights struggles and creates a fulcrum around which more inclusive planning processes can be leveraged. Identifying environmental benefits to be protected and provided can also serve to broaden the base of opposition in an environmental justice struggle, as other civic groups find their interests aligned with the goals of the local residents.

The Unequal Distribution of Environmental Risks

The fear of serious health risks in many communities has rallied local environmental justice movements around opposition to environmental hazards; thus the movement has largely come to be framed as a concern with the unjust distribution of environmental risks. A frame can be defined as a social movement's articulation of a problem, its source and appropriate remedies. As Robert Entman (in Sandweiss 1998: 33) describes it, "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way

as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

A movement's discourse can then be defined as the communicating text—written, spoken and acted—through which the frame is conveyed. A brief review of environmental justice history can illustrate how the movement came to be framed.

The beginning of the environmental justice movement is often dated to 1982 when a group of African Americans protested the decision to site a polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) disposal facility in predominantly African American Warren County, North Carolina. Protesters, joined by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), unsuccessfully attempted to prohibit the siting on the grounds of racial discrimination (Mowrey and Redmond 1993). Others date the birth of the environmental justice movement to 1978, when low and middle income residents in Buffalo, New York organized the Love Canal Homeowners Association out of concern over health problems in their community. The residents discovered they were living on top of an abandoned toxic waste dump. Eventually the federal government bought their homes (Dryzek 1997: 177). These incidents heightened the concern that environmental risks were borne disproportionately by nonwhite and lower-income communities. A number of empirical studies confirmed this concern, and many researchers and activists concluded that environmental hazards were more closely correlated to race than to economic class

(US GAO 1983; Bullard 1987; United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice 1987) although this is contested (Foreman 1998). As Dryzek (1997: 177) points out, the hazards targeted by environmental justice opposition have evolved: "The risks in question related initially to toxic waste dumps, but concern soon broadened to encompass nuclear facilities, waste incinerators, air and water pollution, mining operations as they threatened the health of rural people (especially Native Americans), and pesticide use as it threatened the health of migrant farm workers."

Reflecting these struggles, definitions of the environmental justice movement have focused more on the unequal distribution of environmental harms than on environmental benefits. Consider Dryzek's (1997: 177) definition: "The environmental justice movement is concerned with the degree to which the environmental risks generated by industrial society fall most heavily on the poor and ethnic minorities," or Schlosberg's (1999: 12) discussion of the meaning of the term environmental justice: "Obviously the justice in environmental justice refers, in one key respect, to the inequity in the distribution of environmental risks." Both of these authors zero in on environmental risks as being central to defining environmental justice—understandably so, considering the movement's history. But there is another side to this perspective.

The Unequal Distribution of Environmental Benefits

According to Bullard (in Sandweiss 1998: 35), "Low-income and minority communities continue to bear greater health and environmental burdens, while the more affluent and whites receive the bulk of the benefits." But the conception of environmental benefits has yet to be fully explored in the environmental justice literature.

The central challenge of defining environmental benefits relates to how broad a definition of *environment* one employs. A narrow definition would consider the natural environment and focus on distinct media such as air, water and soil. Environmental benefits would then be the absence of environmental harms, for example, clean air, clean water and uncontaminated soil. A broader definition of environment, however, is *surrounding conditions*—a definition that planners often employ, as in "the urban environment." Environmental benefits can then be defined to include conditions that improve the human experience of a physical environment, from attractive buildings to safe bus stops, for example. The Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice proposed a similar definition in 1992, saying that the environment included "the totality of life conditions in our communities – air and water, safe jobs for all at decent wages, housing, education, health care, humane prisons, equity, justice" (cited in Szasz 1994: 151).

This broad definition is similar to the basic tenet of *justice* in every facet of life, and highlights the environmental justice movement's connections to larger social justice concerns. Stephen Sandweiss (1998: 32) sees a strong relationship between the discourses of the environmental justice and civil rights movements: "The mobilization of activists and the securing of an official government response to the demands for environmental justice can be attributed, to a considerable degree, to the ability of the movement to tap into the potent collective action frame of the civil rights movement."

Environmental benefits could then be seen as part of the larger civil rights agenda. David Camacho sees little distinction between the issues addressed by the two movements. He writes of the environmental justice movement, "This socially inclusive, multiracial coalition connects environmental issues with those of racial and gender inequality, lack of health care and social services, inadequate housing, poverty and other economic barriers that have been the focus of the civil rights and social justice movements" (Camacho 1998: 1).

A large body of scholarship addresses equity in the provision of and access to public services. The provision of police services, parks, streets, libraries, fire protection, housing inspections and education have been examined, as well as more recent research on access to transportation, housing and potable water.[3] However, these lines of research have rarely converged with the environmental justice discourse.[4]

While the distinction between public services and environmental benefits remains unclear, the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance case shows how some debates on public services are indeed environmental justice struggles. Parks, and the recreational

opportunities they provide, allow residents to experience the natural environment, and therefore fall more easily into a definition of environmental benefits. Schools can also be viewed as an environmental benefit, as education is often linked to individual and community health. Similarly, historic and cultural preservation serve in the development of community identity.

An Environmental Justice Movement

"Chinatown should not become 32 acres of industrial wasteland." Collin Lai, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the Chinese American Citizen's Alliance (Ramos 1999: B1).

Environmental justice protests have traditionally focused on particular sitings of noxious facilities. The primary claim has been that environmental risks are being disproportionately borne by nonwhite and low-income communities. Activists and scholars have argued that this pattern is due in large part to imbalances in power regimes and political representation. The Cornfields Alliance members have engaged in environmental justice discourse by highlighting the warehouse development's disparate impacts on nonwhite and low-income communities, and the failure to include the Chinatown community and Los Angeles River interest groups in the planning process. The Alliance's written appeal to the planning commissioners states:

Proceeding with the warehouse proposal without full exploration of the alternatives would result in the continuing environmental degradation of Los Angeles and would work an extreme environmental injustice on the surrounding communities, which are disproportionately communities of color and low-income communities. We have requested an EIR to analyze the impacts of the project and to provide a public forum for consideration of the alternatives, but the city has failed to comply. (Chinatown Cornfields Alliance 2000: 8)

As opposed to the hierarchical structure of mainstream environmental groups, the environmental justice organizational structure is typified by local, grassroots groups that form loose networks. In addition, there often exists a recognition of difference among groups (Schlosberg 1996, 1999). The Cornfields Alliance follows this structure; it is a loose coalition of groups, each with different interests in the site. Historic preservation organizations, Latino organizations, Chinese American associations, established environmental justice groups, local park and environmental organizations, resident associations, and mainstream environmental groups are all members of the Alliance.[5]

There is one way that the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance does not resemble a typical environmental justice effort: the disputed site is in an Asian American community. Asian Americans are often perceived to be outside the group of minorities suffering from environmental injustice. Robert Bullard once defined environmental racism as "practices that place African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans at greater health and environmental risk than the rest of society" (1993: 319). Other authors in the environmental justice field have implied that Asian Americans do not suffer the institutional racism that other minority groups do (Bath, Tanski and Villarreal 1998: 135).

The Chinatown Cornfields Alliance has made a point of demonstrating the history of institutional discrimination against the city's Chinatown community. Their written statement begins this history with the Chinatown Massacre of 1871, when nineteen Chinese residents were lynched by a mob that included police officers. Discriminatory housing policies in the first half of the century are discussed as well as the demolition of Chinatown in 1933 to build Union Station (the first building razed was a school). The Alliance concludes this section by stating that "the dominant white society remains deeply implicated in environmental degradation that adversely impacts Chinatown" (Chinatown Cornfields Alliance 2000: 27). The mayor's promotion of Majestic's project, and the city planning office's acceptance of no EIR preparation, continues this disregard for Chinatown's neighborhood and its history.

Framing the Chinatown Cornfields Debate

"There is a disparity of acres of parkland by race in Los Angeles. There are alternative locations to create jobs. There are not alternative sites for mixed use, parks and schools." Attorney Robert Garcia, Environmental Defense, July 2000 planning commission meeting.

At the planning commission appeal hearing, speakers from the Cornfields Alliance asserted that the warehouse development would have significant adverse environmental impacts on the Chinatown community. Residents were especially concerned about the potential negative community health impacts from diesel truck emissions. Children at a nearby elementary school and at the adjacent William Mead Homes, one of the oldest and largest housing projects in the city, were seen as especially vulnerable, not only to air quality threats but to accidents associated with increased truck traffic. Moreover, the development would sandwich the housing project between warehouses and a jail. Concerns were also raised about runoff from the site affecting water quality.

Yet the speakers went beyond this list of objections and discussed what they envisioned should be developed on the site instead. Specifically, they demonstrated the need for a park, school, and cultural and historical preservation. The case was made most strongly for the need to develop part of the Cornfields as a park in order to begin to address the unequal distribution of parkland in Los Angeles. The Cornfields Alliance's written appeal states that the site's city council district has 0.9 acres of parkland per thousand people compared to 1.7 acres in more affluent areas of the city. One UCLA study found that in some Chinatown neighborhoods the number is closer to 0.3 acres and puts the Los Angeles average at 0.9 acres per thousand residents (Cornfield of Dreams 2000: 90). At the planning commission meeting many people said that Chinatown has "one postage stamp size park." Compounding this problem, the William Mead Homes' playground has been closed because of lead and hydrocarbon contamination. In their written statement the Alliance claims, "The warehouse proposal would have an adverse disparate impact by perpetuating the history and pattern of unequal access by people of color and low-income communities to parks and recreation pro-

grams in the Cornfields area...and throughout Los Angeles" (Chinatown Cornfields Alliance 2000: 23).

In addition to the lack of park space in Chinatown, the Cornfields site borders the Los Angeles River, the target of greenway efforts by several environmental groups. These efforts include river ecology restoration and the creation of community parks and bike paths along the riverbank. The Cornfields' proximity to the river and potential for parkland use may have played a large role in inspiring mainstream environmental groups such as the Sierra Club to join the Alliance—groups which have been criticized for ignoring minority health concerns and issues relevant to low-income people.

The speakers at the planning commission meeting were quick to point out the lack of schools in the neighborhood. The shortage of schools is a chronic problem in Los Angeles, often worst in central city areas such as Chinatown. The Chinatown Cornfields, the Alliance claims, is perhaps the last available site to build a high school in Chinatown.

The Alliance is also concerned with preserving historical and cultural resources at the Cornfields site. Both Mexican American and Chinese American cultural histories are represented at the Cornfields. The site is directly adjacent to Chinatown, and its former use as a railroad yard hearkens back to a time when Chinese immigrants worked on the railroads. Chinatown residents are hoping to have a shoreline temple built on the site, which would help create a stronger sense of Chinese American culture in the community. The recent discovery of tile remnants of

an historic irrigation ditch by renegade archeologists (who excavated the site at night) solidified the Cornfield's importance to Mexican American cultural history. The *zanja madre* (mother ditch) was constructed in 1781 to bring water from the Los Angeles River to the original Mexican pueblo, where the Olvera Street historic area is now located.

At the planning commission meeting, Alexis Moreno of the Latino Urban Forum explained the Cornfield's importance to Mexican American cultural history and said that an EIR was needed to investigate historic preservation issues. In addition to its cultural significance, members of the Alliance view the *zanja madre* as a community asset that could boost tourism to the proposed park. Majestic's plan to memorialize "the ditch" with a placard, or a display of the tiles at another location, was characterized as thoughtlessly casting aside an important part of the city's cultural history.

The Chinatown Cornfields Alliance has in large part based its resistance to the warehouse development on the unequal distribution of parks and schools, and the need to promote historical and cultural values, which can be seen as subjects of environmental benefits. Concern over the unequal distribution of environmental benefits is not a novel concept. There has always been an implicit reference to environmental benefits as well as risks in the movement's discourse, and certainly communities have often rallied to procure a just provision of public services. The Chinatown Cornfields Alliance, however, can be viewed as a case where community activists are including discussions of environmental benefits as a

central aspect of their claims of environmental injustice. In focusing on the potential for parkland, schools and historical preservation, as well as air and water quality threats, the Alliance broadened the definition of environmental health to include other quality of life concerns. In doing so, mainstream environmental groups, Latino organizations and smaller groups focused on parks have aligned with the Chinatown community in resisting Majestic Realty's proposal. Thus discussions of environmental benefits have helped to broaden the Alliance's base.

Environmental Benefits and Process

"From our experiences in South Central, we learned the importance of EIRs in allowing for community participation," Juanita Tate, Executive Director of Concerned Citizens of South Central LA, July 2000 planning commission meeting.

One strategy that often unites various communities in environmental justice struggles is the repeated calls for a more inclusive political process. Imbalances in power dynamics are often seen as the main reason that minority and low-income communities have been forced to bear the bulk of environmental hazards. Increased community participation and political clout in the planning process is a primary goal of many involved in environmental justice movements. As activist Chi Mui, director of Friends of Castalar Elementary School and the Chinese and American Elderly Association, asserted at the July meeting, "Zoning can be changed. Planning should be for the community—not just for the developers."

The focus on the need for parks in Chinatown, and the Cornfields site's connection to the Los Angeles River greenway projects, helped increase community participation in the planning process. This participation led to an alternative plan that incorporated the interests of a wider group of people. The Alliance's written statement explains, "The Cornfields can provide land for a multitude of uses, enriching and enhancing the quality of life for the surrounding residents and for all the people of Los Angeles. To make this vision of the Cornfields into a reality, an unprecedented multicultural coalition of community, civil rights, environmental, historic preservation and business interests has joined together in the Alliance to bring badly needed parkland to a City and a neighborhood that is park poor" (Chinatown Cornfields Alliance 2000: 1).

Despite this inspiring vision, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce was motivated to support the city's Genesis LA project and Majestic's warehouse development because it seemed the most likely plan to make the site productive again. But others questioned the extent to which the proposed warehouse development would provide jobs and economic development for the Chinatown community. As the director of the North East Renaissance Corporation said at the July hearing, "How many Chinese truck drivers do you really think are going to be driving out of those warehouses? ... Businesses [advocating for the development] who say they represent the community don't." A 1996 survey conducted by Asian American Economic Development Enterprises Incorporated found that local Chinatown

business owners overwhelmingly saw increased tourism as playing a vital role in the area's redevelopment and desired to see amenities such as parks, schools and a cultural center (Cornfield of Dreams 2000). This suggests that not all community businesses would support the warehouse development.

Friends of the Los Angeles River (FOLAR), a local environmental organization, met with Chinatown residents in January and February of 1998 to gather their ideas for the site. Residents suggested a mixed-use development with a school, a park, a bike path along the river and an area for commercial and industrial use. These ideas were then written into a formal plan by a team of architects, landscape architects and urban planners.

Alliance members' identification of the environmental benefits that could be provided on the Cornfields site inspired a proactive community planning process that contributed to the development of an alternative plan. Everyone was invited to articulate his or her dreams for the site, an exciting and engaging opportunity that increased overall participation in and attention to the process. The FOLAR planning process has served throughout the Cornfields struggle as a model of what the Alliance means when they call for a more inclusive planning process in the Chinatown community. It stands in stark contrast to the existing planning process, in which the city identified the community as disadvantaged, declared the Cornfields to be a Genesis LA site, and then supported Majestic Realty's plan to build warehouses and light industry with financial incentives in an effort to bring jobs to the neighborhood.

The alternative plan also played a key role in the Cornfields Alliance's legal strategy. In formulating the basis of a civil rights violation claim, attorneys had to first point out the disproportionate negative impact the warehouses would have on the Chinatown community, and then to demonstrate that a less discriminatory project alternative (the FOLAR plan) existed. If the purpose of Genesis LA is to revitalize the community, FOLAR's plan, the Alliance contends, would be just as effective. At the planning commission hearing, Dr. Jack Foley, a professor in the Department of Leisure and Recreation Studies at California State University Northridge, asserted that parks often improve the economic vitality of an area and cited examples from other cases around the country where this has occurred. A park on the Cornfields site, he said, could be an economic development strategy.

Conclusion

Despite the Alliance's efforts, the Central Area Planning Commission was unconvinced by the July appeal and voted to uphold the city's approval of Majestic Realty's proposal.

However, in central Los Angeles, where undeveloped land is scarce and locations next to the Los Angeles River embody the greening hopes of the city, arguments about righting the injustice of an unequal distribution of parklands have resonated with a larger community. A news reporter wrote:

> For more than a decade, numerous grassroots groups in Los Angeles have been fighting to improve the urban landscape. Their banner has been

environmental justice... In large part, the fights have been defensive maneuvers, aimed at keeping new sources of pollution from being introduced to minority neighborhoods...but a different kind of urban activism is emerging, a more proactive one, that seeks to redevelop forsaken inner-city areas into places where people can picnic, play soccer and enjoy nature. (Mozingo 2000)

Candidates in the 2001 mayoral election declared their support for the community's alternative plan for the Cornfields (Re-Envisioning the LA River 2000), and Los Angeles Times editorials have supported a park as well (2000a, 2000b).

Most significantly, the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance's struggle to stop the warehouse development was ultimately successful. In March 2001, the Trust for Public Land purchased the forty-acre site from Majestic Realty for $30 million and will turn the site over to the State Parks and Recreation Department when state funds are secured.

The question now is the extent to which an inclusive planning process for further development of the site will occur. A Trust for Public Land (2001) press release indicates that once the land is turned over to the state "a community planning process [will] be initiated to determine future uses for the parkland and to come up with a design for the property." Towards this end, FOLAR has already initiated another planning session with members of the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance. Their tentative design includes a shoreline temple and a magnet school on the site. If a version of this plan is implemented, the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance will have successfully resisted the siting of a large warehouse and light in-

dustry development in a disadvantaged Chinese American neighborhood and instead developed it for uses that bring environmental benefits to the community.

The study of the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance struggle raises several points for scholars and activists. The focus on an unequal distribution of environmental benefits has ultimately been a successful strategy in this case, likely more successful than if the focus had been only on environmental hazards. It has also inspired a proactive community planning process, which reflects the environmental justice aim of increasing nonwhite and low-income people's control over local planning decisions. By highlighting issues relating to environmental benefits, the Chinatown Cornfields Alliance expanded the environmental justice frame beyond a traditional emphasis on hazards. Doing so demonstrates the ways in which environmental justice struggles often simultaneously address broader social justice concerns.

Endnotes

[1] I would like to thank Raul Lejano, James Spencer and the anonymous reviewers of *Critical Planning* for their assistance in writing this paper. I would also like to thank Anne McEnany at the Trust for Public Land for her conversations with me.

[2] All references and quotes from the July 2000 public hearing are based on the author's notes from that meeting.

[3] Empirical studies have resulted in mixed findings about the equity of public service distribution, complicated by numerous possible definitions of equity.

For a review of the public services literature see Mladenka (1989), on access to transportation see Ong and Blumenberg (1998), on housing see Dear and Wolch (1987).

[4]The provision of affordable and senior housing, and retail development at the site, have also been discussed by the Alliance. I do not focus on these issues at length because they seem to have become secondary concerns of residents.

[5]The Alliance includes the Chinatown-Alpine Hill Neighborhood Association, the Chinese-American Citizen's Alliance, Citizens Committee To Save Elysian Park, Coalition L.A. 1st District Organizing Committee, Concerned Citizens of South Central L.A., The Advancement Project, the Echo Park Community Coordinating Council, the Elysian Heights Residents Association, Environmental Defense, Friends of Castelar School, Friends of the Los Angeles River, Latino Urban Forum, Lincoln Heights Neighborhood Preservation Association, William Mead Homes Residents Association, Mothers of East L.A. Santa Isabel, National Resource Defense Council, Northeast Renaissance Corp., Northeast Trees, People for Parks, Sierra Club, Southern California Council of Environment and Development, and Communities for a Better Environment.

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HEATHER BARNETT (hbarnett@ucla.edu) is a master's student in the Department of Urban Planning at UCLA. She is studying environmental policy and sustainable development in California with an eye on integrating social justice concerns.

A Community Based Outreach Strategy for Environmental Justice: The COELT Program in Florida

Jaap Vos

This paper discusses and evaluates the Community Outreach Environmental Leadership Training (COELT) program in southeast Florida. The program provides environmental and leadership training to residents in low-income and minority neighborhoods in Miami-Dade, Broward and Palm Beach counties. The goal of the program is to train a cadre of environmental leaders who will develop environmental consciousness and a greater sense of environmental stewardship and accountability in their neighborhoods. The program has been effective in raising awareness of environmental issues among minority and low-income residents, as well as increasing participation in environmental decision-making. This paper explores the reasons for the program's success and shows how other programs can benefit.

Introduction

After research in the mid-1980s and early 1990s showed that environmental regulation has disproportionate effects on minority and low-income communities, environmental justice has become an important aspect of environmental policy. However, most of the research on environmental justice issues has focused on past environmental injustices, while there is little or no literature on how to prevent the occurrence of new environmental injustices.[1] This paper attempts to address this void in the environmental justice literature by discussing the Community Outreach Environmental Leadership Training (COELT) program instigated by the Center for Urban Redevelopment and Empowerment at Florida Atlantic University (FAU-CURE).[2]

COELT is an environmental outreach program specifically targeting low-income and minority residents. The goal of the program is to establish a cadre of environmental leadership in southeast Florida that is informed about environmental issues and is able to get involved in environmental decision-making before environmental injustices occur. The basic premise of the COELT program is that the occurrence of environmental injustices can only be prevented by informing people about the consequences of environmental decision-making for their communities and providing them with the skills that they need to successfully participate in environmental decision-making. The program is different from most other environmental outreach programs in that it is not organized to receive input from minority and low-income residents on one particular environmental topic. Instead, COELT discusses a wide array of environmental issues as well as leadership skills that can help residents to organize themselves.

This paper starts with an overview of the emergence of environmental justice as an important policy issue, to show that the environmental justice literature has focused on the occurrence of past environmental injustices rather than the prevention of future injustices. It then briefly explains the need for minority and low-income residents to become involved in environmental decision-making in southeast Florida. After this, the paper explains the institutional organization of the COELT program, its contents and the results of COELT so far. This part of the paper draws on the personal experience of the author with the program, both as a coordinator and as one of the trainers. The paper concludes with lessons learned from the program and recommendations for similar environmental outreach programs elsewhere.

Environmental Justice

There is a substantial body of literature on the disproportionate impact of environmentally hazardous activities and the negative side effects of environmental regulation on communities with a high percentage of racial minorities. Although articles about environmental injustice date back to the late 1960s and early 1970s (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 1968; US EPA 1995), environmental justice did not become a major issue until 1982. In that year, more than five hundred people were arrested while blocking trucks loaded with PCBs in Warren County, a rural and predominantly Black county in North Carolina. Residents had been protesting the proposed siting of the PCB landfill for four years and finally resorted to civil disobedience. Although the landfill, in the end, continued to oper-

ate, the national media coverage of the events in Warren County focused the attention of both researchers and government agencies on the relationship between pollution and race (Lee 1993).

One result of the protest in Warren County was a study by the US General Accounting Office (GAO) concerning the racial and socio-economic makeup of four communities surrounding hazardous waste landfills in the southeastern part of the United States. The GAO found that three out of the four landfills were located in predominantly poor and black communities (US GAO 1983). Although the results were clear, the regional geographic scope was an important shortcoming of the GAO study, which made it impossible to generalize the findings to other parts of the United States.

The first comprehensive study about the occurrence of environmental justice was done four years later in 1987, when the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice published the results of a comprehensive national study of the demographic patterns associated with the sites of hazardous waste facilities. The study found that race was the single best predictor for the presence of a commercial hazardous waste facility in a community (United Church of Christ 1987). The study also found that it was difficult for minority communities to obtain information about environmental hazards. Finally, the study pointed out that although race is the single best predictor for the occurrence or non-occurrence of a commercial waste facility, there was a link between the economic situation in a community and environmental problems in general. The study con-

cluded that eliminating hazardous wastes in minority communities should be a priority at all levels of government.

Later studies showed that racial minorities were not only disproportionately impacted by landfills and hazardous waste facilities, but were in general exposed to higher levels of pollutants. In a national study of lead poisoning in children, the federal Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (1988) found that, independent of social class factors, African American children were two to three times more likely than white children to suffer from lead poisoning. Other researchers found a relationship between air pollution and race, independent of social class variables such as income, education and occupational status. Gianessi, Peskin and Wolff (1979) performed a national analysis of the distribution of air pollution by income and race. Using data from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to calculate an estimated dollar amount suffered from exposure to air pollution, they found that racial minorities were much more likely to suffer greater damage from air pollution than whites at all income levels. In another national study, Gelobter (1992) used pollution exposure indices and found that over a period of almost fifteen years (1970-1984) racial minorities were consistently exposed to significantly more air pollution than whites.

Bullard (1992) and Taylor (1993), among others, have pointed out that it is impossible to achieve lasting solutions for environmental problems as long as environmental injustices persist. They argue that as long as it is possible to pass on the costs of environ-

mental pollution to a powerless group, most environmental legislation follows an "effects-oriented approach," in which harmful environmental effects are shunted from affluent areas to poor or disenfranchised areas. According to these authors, we need a source-oriented approach, in which it is not possible to pass the costs of pollution to others (Bullard 1992: 22; Taylor 1993: 54).

Although there is agreement about the occurrence of environmental injustices in most of the literature, there is little consensus about the reason. Some authors argue that minorities tend to be passive about environmental issues and do not typically get involved in environmental decision-making, which in turn makes it more likely that they will become the recipients of environmentally undesirable facilities (Hershey and Hill 1978; Kreeger 1973; Mohai 1985). Others argue that minorities are deliberately marginalized or altogether excluded from serious deliberations of environmental issues (Bryant and Mohai 1992; Bullard 1990; Vos, Sapat and Thai, 2001). Lazarus (1993: 820) found that policy makers seldom solicit the involvement of racial minorities on environmental planning and decision-making boards. Similarly, Vos, Sapat and Thai (2001) found in a study about solid waste management in northern Illinois that minorities were not involved in decision-making because they were simply never asked, nor informed, about the opportunity to get involved. Other researchers have found that white domination of environmental planning and decision-making bodies forms an invisible race and class barrier for racial minority involvement in environ-

mental decision-making (Bryant and Mohai 1992: 64; Bullard 1993: 19).

Even where attempts are made to involve minorities in decision-making, the timing, location and format of such deliberations or outreach can make the motives appear suspicious and untrustworthy to minorities. Checkoway (1981) demonstrated that notices in the legal section of newspapers, meetings held in locations distant from public transportation and during daytime/weekday hours, technical language in documents, and procedural rules for public hearings and meetings that constrain two-way communication worked against adequate representation of minorities in public participation activities. Some authors argue that the suspicion of "mainstream" environmental groups is grounded in historical precedence, particularly experience of "environmental racism" against minority communities (Bullard 1990, 1994; US GAO 1983; US EPA 1992). This sentiment was captured in a blunt statement by Gary Bledsoe, head of the Texas State Conference of the NAACP, who stated: "Find the smokestacks and you find the black community, pure and simple" (Rose 1998: 14).

Although there is disagreement about the reasons for the occurrence of environmental injustice, there is general agreement among researchers that there is a difference in participation levels between whites and racial minorities in environmental issues. In light of the marginalization of minorities from environmental policy processes, recent initiatives by governments at the federal, state and local levels have made citizen participation the launch pad of environmental decision-making, planning and remediation. For example, the EPA in its 1997 strategic plan states: "Citizens are also taking a more active role in environmental decision-making—demanding a seat at the table as local, state and national issues are debated. Recognizing the value and potential of a well-informed and committed citizenry for affecting positive change, the Agency supports meaningful public involvement in environmental issues" (US EPA 1997b: 15). In its 2000 strategic plan, the EPA takes public participation a step further by not only explicitly acknowledging that certain people have traditionally been excluded from environmental protection efforts, but also stating that the EPA will increasingly have to rely on local initiatives. "We are committed to encouraging environmental action and stewardship more broadly throughout society and are working to make information widely available so others can understand and help solve environmental problems. Our efforts involve businesses and industry, but they also include individuals and organizations that have often been on the fringes of environmental protection efforts in the past" (US EPA 2000: 14).

Although there is a growing awareness that environmental agencies need to reach out to low-income and minority communities, they often lack experience in how to successfully do this. Interestingly enough, there is also not much literature on the topic.

Environmental Decision-Making in Southeast Florida

Environmental issues play a very important role in decision-making in southeast Florida. The area is extremely vulnerable to environmental degradation

because of its subtropical climate, its sandy soils and its shallow aquifer. Located on the eastern edge of the Everglades, the area is confronted with a fast-growing population and the negative effects of urban sprawl. Over the past decade, these circumstances have brought environmental issues to the top of the agenda of local, state and federal officials.

The most important current environmental initiative in southeast Florida is the $7.8 billion Everglades Restoration Plan that has been submitted to Congress by the US Army Corps of Engineers. The plan encompasses an area of approximately 18,000 square miles, stretches from Orlando to the southern tip of Florida, includes sixteen counties and is home to 6.3 million people (US Army Corps of Engineers 1999: E15-18). The plan will not only have tremendous impacts on south Florida's ecosystem, but also on its communities, especially since it deals with the distribution of water among different stakeholders. Although the Everglades restoration plan is the most visible of the environmental issues in south Florida, there are other equally pressing issues:

1. Broward County alone has eight Superfund sites;

2. There are a total of two thousand brownfields in Miami-Dade, Broward and Palm Beach counties;

3. Biscayne Bay, southeast of Miami, is seriously endangered because of overuse and pollution;

4. Beach erosion requires continuous and expensive renourishment programs;

5. The coral reef of the Florida Keys is declining because of nutrient enrichment, boat anchoring and sewage problems; and

6. Exotic species are threatening the continued existence of all ecosystems in southeast Florida.

With the exception of the cleanup of one particular Superfund site, the participation of minorities in decision-making related to these environmental issues has been minimal. However, that does not mean that minorities are unwilling to participate in environmental decision-making. Although many minority residents are not aware of the issues nor the consequences the decisions regarding these issues might have for them, the lack of participation by minorities is at least partly because local officials have not actively reached out to minority residents. For instance, public hearings for the Everglades Restoration Plan were held in predominantly white neighborhoods lacking public transportation, and the two-day public meetings of the Governor's Commission for a Sustainable South Florida were held at expensive hotels. More subtle, but just as important, is the lack of positive images of minority residents in informational materials and the general focus of these materials towards a white audience.

The Center for Urban Redevelopment and Empowerment

The Community Outreach Environmental Leadership Training (COELT) program was developed by Florida Atlantic University's Center for Urban Redevelopment and Empowerment (FAU-CURE). FAU-CURE was established in 1992, following the receipt

of special funds from the Florida Legislature for Florida Atlantic University (FAU) to undertake community research and training activities. The Florida Board of Regents then formally established FAU-CURE as a type II research center. The center is responsible for such activities as applied research, community outreach, program design and evaluation, policy analysis and non-credit educational activities relevant for enhancing redevelopment and the quality of life in low- and moderate-income neighborhoods in the university's service area.

FAU-CURE's programs are based on the premise that minority and low-income residents must acquire the capacity to improve their situation themselves. Instead of giving residents ready-made solutions for the problems in their neighborhoods, FAU-CURE tries to empower residents by providing them with hands-on training programs tailored to their strengths and needs. FAU-CURE does not provide solutions, but offers training, workshops, facilities and computers to enable residents to make a positive change.

The COELT Program

The COELT program is based on increasing the understanding of environmental issues and the effects of environmental decision-making on everyday life in South Florida. It is designed to train a cadre of community residents to serve as spokespersons in their immediate and neighboring communities on environmental issues in southeast Florida, such as the Eastward Ho! initiative, brownfield redevelopment, the Everglades Restoration Project and other related environmental concerns. The reasoning is that

residents, rather than "unknown" and "not-to-be-trusted" technocrats/experts from public agencies, are more effective transmitters of environmental information in their communities. COELT is intended to ensure "quality control" in the information disseminated to communities and provide ongoing technical, research and other back-up support for the residents.

The COELT program is an intensive twenty-hour leadership training program that consists of an organizational session, a series of four four-hour-long training sessions and a field trip. Sessions are typically held on Saturday mornings or Friday nights. Table 1 gives a brief overview of the topics that are typically addressed in each session. For each group, the organizational session and the sessions about environmental justice and the state of the environment are similar in structure and content. The other two sessions and the field trip vary depending on the interests of the group.

The first COELT group was particularly interested in Superfund and brownfield sites and focused most of its attention on a local Superfund site. Additional readings on brownfield redevelopment, risk assessment and soil cleanup were distributed and a field trip was organized to the Superfund site. The second group was more interested in how they could contribute to a cleaner environment by making changes in their own daily activities. When the trainers found out that most of the group members had extravagant electricity and water bills, a considerable amount of time was spent on learning how to reduce these bills. Participants also did a home energy survey to

Table 1. Structure of COELT sessions

Session	Readings	Activities
Organizational	-COELT flyer	1. Determine dates and location of sessions 2. Explain program 3. Determine knowledge level 4. Discuss topics and interests of participants 5. Decide on field trip
Environmental leadership and environmental justice	Environmental justice: -Bullard, 1993 -US EPA, 1995 Leadership: -Rosen, 1996 -Bryson and Crosby, 1992	1. Discuss history of environmental justice 2. Relate environmental justice to participants' personal experiences 3. Discuss general leadership issues 4. Show participants how they can organize their community 5. Discuss the role of different organizations and groups in leadership 6. Determine leadership roles in participants' communities
State of the environment	-World Resources Institute, 1998 -US EPA, 1997b	1. Give overview of state of environment 2. Discuss state of environment in participants' communities 3. Discuss basic environmental terminology 4. Use computers to look at local environmental conditions
Overview of federal, state and regional initiatives	-Kraft and Vig 1997 -Restudy overview -Eastward Ho! Overview -Governor's Commission on a Sustainable South Florida	1. Discuss historical Everglades 2. Discuss Everglades restoration 3. Visit websites about Everglades restoration 4. Explore local opportunities and threats
Environmental issues in urban areas	-US EPA, 1997b -Beatley and Manning, 1997	1. Show video about Times Beach, MO 2. Discuss Love Canal 3. Do exercises about risk assessment 4. Discuss brownfields in tri-county area 5. Talk about sustainability
Field trip	Background material	1. Invite speakers 2. Write paper about impressions for newsletter 3. Decide upon follow-up activities

identify specific sources of energy loss. Finally, the third group was most interested in Everglades restoration and land use. This group read additional materials about the Everglades Restoration Plan and participated in a day-long field trip to Everglades National Park.

The flexibility of the program requires the trainers to be well informed about a large variety of environmental and social issues in south Florida. The program has therefore relied heavily on faculty of FAU's Department of Urban and Regional Planning to perform the training. Faculty involvement not only brings additional knowledge to the program but also gives it credibility and stability. Furthermore, the faculty's willingness to participate in sessions during the weekends and at night emphasizes to participants the trainers' commitment to the program.

The COELT program is not just a free environmental outreach and education program. It requires a commitment from the participants to engage in follow-up activities such as the organization of conferences and contribution of articles for the COELT newsletter. People who are interested in the program need to apply and show that they are either active in their communities or willing to become active. At the same time, the COELT program makes it easy for participants to put their knowledge to use by supplying possible avenues of action. Besides the activities organized by the program itself, such as the newsletter and conferences, representatives of environmental organizations and government agencies are invited to give short presentations about opportunities for involvement.

COELT Participants and Funding

The first three training groups were funded directly by FAU-CURE. The first group of residents began the program in November 1998. Trainees for this group were recruited through a grassroots personal-contact strategy, in which informational material was sent to individuals in the community who had constituencies or networks to which they could spread the word about the program. Phone, mail and face-to-face contacts were made with individuals and groups to explain the program, its goals, process and expected outcomes. Since the aim was to start small with a handful of trainees, a response from eleven community residents who signed up for the program (nine from Broward County and two from Miami-Dade County) was a surprising but impressive number to inaugurate the program. Local media were used to publicize the program at the end of the first cycle of training, when it was clear that the program was off to a good start.

One of the members of the first group was affiliated with the Environmental Justice Committee of the Fort Lauderdale branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This led to a second training group that was put together by the NAACP Environmental Justice Committee. The second group began in May 1999 and consisted of eight participants: seven Broward County residents and one Miami-Dade County resident. Some participants in the first group also attended the second cycle, as occasionally did members of local chapters of national environmental organizations and local government.

Collaboration with the NAACP and a local minority-owned environmental consulting organization, Earthwise Productions, led to the formation of a third group of thirteen residents: two from Palm Beach County, two from Miami-Dade County and nine from Broward County. This group consisted of a wide variety of people, including both those with community activist experience and those who had never been active in decision-making. The fourth group began in February 2001, this time funded by the South Florida Community Urban Resource Partnership through a grant secured by one of the participants in the third group. A fifth group is expected to start in the summer of 2001 and will be funded by Weed and Seed in Miami. This group will be recruited by one of the first COELT participants who found funding to run the program in Miami-Dade County at the Weed and Seed facility.

Observations and Results So Far

The success of the COELT program has far exceeded the expectations of its founders. Graduates have become active in local organizations and committees such as the Sierra Club, the NAACP Environmental Justice Committee and the Everglades Ecosystem Task Force. Graduates have also successfully raised environmental issues in their neighborhood organizations and churches. The activities and commitment of the COELT graduates have increased the credibility of the program in the community, which in turn has led to outside funding for the fourth and fifth groups of the COELT program. The fact that the outside funding for both groups was initiated and

secured by COELT graduates of the first and third group is even more remarkable.

Graduates of the first and third COELT groups organized regional conferences on environmental justice and environmental issues in south Florida. Each of the conferences attracted over fifty people from local government agencies, neighborhood organizations, environmental groups and economic development groups. Since both groups strongly believed that youth should play an important role in environmental decision-making, high school students attended and gave presentations at both conferences. The presence of high school students resulted in a partnership with the Kids Ecology Corps, which not only secured partial funding from the South Florida Community Urban Resource Partnership for the fourth COELT group, but is now also working with planning students at FAU to write an environmental curriculum for students at Norland Senior High, an inner city high school in the City of North Miami.

In order to maintain momentum and help each other, the groups have taken on several initiatives. First, all COELT graduates are included on a mailing list that receives frequent updates about environmental issues in south Florida. Graduates not only receive reliable and up-to-date information about environmental problems but also about opportunities such as grants, conferences and tree planting programs. Graduates also frequently call each other for help with particular issues and inform each other of opportunities. The second initiative is a newsletter that is sent to all COELT graduates, local and regional government agencies, neighborhood organi-

zations and local papers. The newsletter is written and put together by COELT graduates and mailed out by FAU-CURE. Finally, the last COELT group organized a picnic for all COELT graduates and invited potential future participants.

Lack of trust was an issue in the beginning of the program, but when a rapport developed between trainers and trainees, this became less and less of a problem. The fact that COELT was organized by FAU-CURE was an important factor for the initial establishment of at least a basic trust. Over the years FAU-CURE has built a solid reputation in low-income and minority neighborhoods; this was an important advantage for the COELT program. Particularly important is that FAU-CURE is willing to partner, rather than compete, with local groups when applying for grants. Minority groups are distrustful of universities that march into their communities to "help" after receiving a grant. They rightfully believe that either they should have received the grant themselves or that they should at least be equal partners.

After the first group completed the program, both rapport and trust increased quickly, and trainers were invited to become members of the NAACP Environmental Justice Committee. Minority organizations also began to call, asking for information and advice. After three successful groups of COELT graduates, minority organizations have realized that COELT is a program that can help them organize themselves around environmental issues, provide training for their members and volunteers and is

willing to be an equal partner in any environmental activities.

Besides the affiliation with FAU-CURE, another important point in establishing constructive relationships with low-income and minority residents was the willingness of the trainers to participate and support activities organized by other groups. Trainers participated in meetings organized by environmental groups and neighborhood organizations, they became active in the NAACP Environmental Justice Committee and they helped to publicize events organized by other groups.

Conclusions

The COELT program is too young to be able to draw definitive conclusions, but based on the experiences so far, there are several important observations about the ingredients that are needed for effective environmental outreach.

First, outreach requires that a rapport exist between those transmitting and those receiving information. This may have to be cultivated at the start of an outreach program. The effectiveness of outreach is enhanced when based on, or emanating from, mutual trust and dialogue. With the COELT program there was no connection between the trainers and trainees prior to the start of the program, but the trainees had a pre-existing connection with FAU-CURE. During the program a good relationship between trainees and trainers quickly developed. This rapport was further cultivated by extracurricular activities during and after the sessions. The relationship between

trainees and trainers is particularly important for outreach programs to address when the outreach is focused on minorities. Minority residents are, rightfully so, very distrustful of outsiders coming into their communities telling them what to do.

Second, outreach implies that information of a certain or specific nature must be transmitted. The scope, flavor and configuration of the information, along with other elements discussed in this paper, determine the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of outreach. Information must be packaged in a manner that is comprehensible, easy to transmit and absorb, and relevant to the practical reference or value points of the population targeted by the information.

Third, outreach necessarily implies and requires that the dynamics of information exchange (sharing, learning, and application) occur between the transmitter and receiver of information. Outreach is essentially a multi-dimensional communication process where all the parties involved learn and broaden their perspectives by sharing information. The parties gain more, or better, insights into each other's positions on issues and, as a result, reconcile their differences while complementing each other's common viewpoints.

Fourth, outreach requires a systematic course of actions or steps that move the parties in an outreach process from where they are to where they want to be. Outreach cannot and should not happen by chance or accident, or as a desperate reaction to a sudden situation of environmental crisis, conflict or discord in the community. A set of coherent, system-

atic, sequential and synchronized measures must be engineered by some or all of the parties involved in an outreach process or program in order for the program to be effective. A related point is that outreach is most effective when it is ongoing. Continuity, monitoring, evaluation and reinforcement of an outreach process helps to build the relationship between relevant parties in the outreach process. Short-lived outreach is likely to self-destruct, while continuity in the outreach process helps to engender a sustained process of information exchange in a community.

Finally, in order for outreach to be ongoing, it is important to have good institutional support. The COELT program draws heavily on the time and expertise of FAU faculty and the resources and reputation of FAU-CURE. Funding has been a problem from the beginning and the program would never have been able to get off the ground without the financial support of FAU-CURE. Although funding seems to be less of a problem now that COELT graduates themselves are working to secure funding to continue the program, ongoing outreach requires a steady funding source and it seems unlikely that this could completely be secured by outside funding.

Endnotes

[1] There are several case studies on citizen activism with regard to flagrant environmental cases such as Love Canal, Times Beach, South Chicago and uranium on Navajo Lands, but they are by definition narratives of events after an injustice has occurred, rather than discussions of methods to avoid the occurrence of new environmental injustices.

[2]For more information about CURE and its programs, contact:

Center for Urban Redevelopment and
    Empowerment
Florida Atlantic University
220 SE 2nd Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301
954.762.5270
faucure@fau.edu
http://www.fau.edu/cure/

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JAAP VOS (jvos@fau.edu) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at Florida Atlantic University. His research interests are in environmental justice, environmental outreach and sustainable development in urban areas.

The Great Promise of Urban Environmental Policy[1]

Meg Holden

The anti-urban bias in environmental policy must end. To fulfill its great promise to turn cities toward social and environmental responsibility, urban environmental policy must address four neglected areas. Processes and institutions of governance must be democratically transformed to include a large number and diversity of people. Scientific, technical, and social forms of knowledge, communication, and action must be employed. Explicit attention must be given to both basic needs and a common vision of sustainability. Finally, we need to incorporate regional and historical rural and indigenous perspectives as we realize new sustainable urban settlements.

Introduction: The Case for Urban Environmental Policy

The environmental movement rose in the 1960s against threats of global species extinctions and natural resource depletion. In the 1970s, the movement began to confront global pollution and waste problems, such as ozone depletion and climate change. Resulting laws and international environmental conventions have brought some remarkable benefits to many Western cities: urban air pollution is down, toxic releases and disposal are better regulated and recycling has become an institution. At the same time, particularly in cities in poor countries, "the absolute quality of the urban environment continues to deteriorate in terms of depletion of natural resources, pollution of neighboring areas through disposal of urban waste, and weaknesses of environmental governance" (Cohen 1992: 23).

Cities and their residents are rarely consulted about environmental policy and infrequently have the power to pursue environmental improvement on their own. Instead, they have "a global agenda for local governments to inherit and be expected to act upon . . . [which is] quite different from a locally conceived agenda" (McCarney 1995: 230). Urban activists and social justice organizations often have considered themselves in opposition to mainstream environmentalism. For example, Carl Stokes, mayor of Cleveland and prominent Black civil rights leader, said "the nation's concern with the environment has done what George Wallace was unable to do: distract the nation from the human problems of black and brown Americans" (in McGurty 1997: 305).

A good deal of environmental thought has classified cities on the side of environmental evil. Ecologist William Rees (1992: 125) characterizes cities this way: "However brilliant its economic star, every city is an ecological black hole drawing on the material resources and productivity of a vast and scattered hinterland many times the size of the city itself." But this thinking is changing. Environmental philosopher Andrew Light (2000), for example, tells a personal story of an ordinary evening in Manhattan, rejoicing as the stars come out and only later realizing that they are not stars at all, but the electric lights of the financial district embellished by the camera flashes of tourists. Light suggests that cities should be treated as real rather than artificial lived environments and as the most promising sites of human inspiration for the development of useful environmental ethics.

Both ideas are true. Cities are environmentally destructive; their resource requirements and outputs stress surrounding regions and their structures modify and deplete the ecosystems in which they sit. At the same time, cities are the places where their residents experience the natural environment; it is here that society and nature intersect. For these reasons, cities can and should inspire environmentally ethical societies. To achieve this, however, cities must develop their own urban environmental agendas.

The global environmental agenda is strongly influenced by the theme of sustainable development, that is, development that does not deplete long-term economic, natural, human or social capital. Locally conceived urban environmental policy does not deny the importance of global environmental problems but rather considers their effects on urban people and the challenges that urban residents face, such as urban food supply, waste disposal, transport, health, water, energy use and shelter (Stren 1992). Sustainability is also a call to recognize our moral obligation to future generations, but this "has a terribly hollow ring if it is not accompanied by a moral obligation to protect and enhance the well-being of *present* people who are poor and deprived" (Anand and Sen 2000: 2038). Thus, the great promise of urban environmental policy lies in improving the lives people lead in cities, without discriminating between groups alive today and not yet alive.

An urban environmental agenda would include policy questions about how cities should respond to environmental problems, and empirical questions about the relationship between cities and the natural environment. The policy questions revolve around the need for an inclusive, democratic process and a mix of technical and humanistic methods. These are discussed in the first two sections of this paper. The empirical questions center on the selection of critical issues and alternative perspectives on the meaning of sustainability. These two questions are addressed in the final two parts of this paper. In essence, the task of urban environmentalism is to hold cities as both hopeful and realistic sites for a global move toward sustainability.

No urban environmental agenda will have a large effect without human and financial investment, critically important in cities suffering from greater stress and degradation. Achieving this will be no easy task.

This paper, however, is concerned with the highest and best purposes to which more power and resources could be put. I hope to show that a focus on urban environmental decision making is more than pollution management, poverty containment or provision of green amenities in rich cities—instead, urban environmental policy can transform urban environmental governance and direct cities toward an ethical, sustainable future.

The Process of Urban Environmental Policy: The Promise and Problems of Democracy

At the national scale, democracy is widely recognized as the most legitimate system of governance. Democratic political institutions give citizens the ability, the right, and the responsibility to participate in governance. Similarly, at the urban level, democratic processes provide the most reliable guide to urban environmental action. It is the best method so far conceived to address differences among people of diverse backgrounds and interests. In addition, involving people meaningfully in planning for urban sustainability is the surest route to cultivating urban environmental citizenship.

Sustainability can be achieved in two ways: by expanding the world's ability to absorb the negative impacts of development or by setting new limits on activities that have such impacts (Meadows 1972; Tarr 1996). How to decide between these approaches, and who chooses the particular issues to focus on within each approach, are procedural questions rarely addressed by national governments and international bodies. At the municipal level, many officials and citizens alike have either lost or never learned the

habits of democratic citizenship (Gleeson and Low 2000).

National governments and large environmental organizations commonly ignore the importance of democratic processes when determining environmental policy and provide neither resources nor guidance to local governments and groups best placed to implement policies. For instance, the national level practice of environmental impact assessment exists primarily to assuage the public that all possible problems already have been considered in order to ensure the implementation of projects (Leis 2000).

The history of large environmental organizations is no more democratic. In 1971, the Audubon Society reasoned: "Naturally the well-to-do are often best equipped to press [environmental] issues because [this] take[s] time, know-how and money. But this does not make the results less applicable to the people as a whole" (1971: 35). But, poor and urban people are no less natural environmentalists than the wealthy and non-urban dwellers.

Continued experimentation with local-level democratic approaches to urban environmental improvement can build more efficient, innovative and inclusive democratic practices, improving in turn the resulting environmental policies. Currently, in countries without a political commitment to democracy, raising environmental concerns can be dangerous or impossible. To take one example, the Nairobi-based Green Belt Movement was undermined by the government when its leader spoke out against plans to build a huge office building in place of a public park

(Pearce 1991). For many countries, environmental problems are recognized and can begin to be addressed once a democratic political climate is established. This has been the case in Cubatao, Brazil, for example, where uncontrolled industrial emissions and the consequent air pollution could only be regulated once democratic politics had been restored in the 1980s (Di Pace et al. 1992).

Greater involvement of underrepresented groups in government is much more likely to facilitate action at the local level. Further, involvement of underrepresented poor groups in policy concerns is likely to bring about an increasingly comprehensive approach to urban planning, including the interrelated issues of economy, society, and environment. In Cebu City, Philippines a critical mass of non-government organizations allied in 1996 to push watershed protection onto the city landuse policy agenda, as well as to establish task forces on health, nutrition, sanitation, women's issues, education, street children and community information. This has led to improved access for the urban poor to social services and to greater empowerment of the poor residents through better information about their rights and opportunities (Etemadi 2000).

To municipal officials and technical staff, democratic approaches can be threatening because they yield unpredictable outcomes. They also are perceived to be slow and tedious. Democratic negotiation tends to bring conflict to the surface, gives voice to dissent and requires conflict to be addressed. It is not always the case, however, that openness and inclusiveness must slow the implementation of effective policies.

In Quito, Ecuador, for example, officials initiated a Machángara River quality indicator project in conjunction with local residents. Information sharing through this process has convinced residents that solutions exist superior to the prior practice of sealing off the river with concrete, and has brought about official recognition of the legitimacy of experiential knowledge. Residents now see that what they do affects the state of the river and that acting as the river's guardians is in their best interest. Local officials have learned to respect poor residents, who now provide a cheap and effective river monitoring system, and government information and action has become more publicly accountable. While complete rehabilitation of the river remains a distant goal, the democratic process of addressing the problem has provided a fast and effective start (Vásconez 1999).

The Means for Urban Environmentalism: Technical and Social-Humanistic Approaches

Experts, particularly scientists, are defined by their privileged use of a specific vocabulary and narrow worldview in their area of expertise. Specialized knowledge is important and provides many beneficial tools for action but it cannot handle the most complex social aspects of environmental issues. In urban environmental problem solving, political representation—and the social learning, trust and common interest that develop within the process—is at least as important as scientific evidence or technical means (Dryzek 1987). That is, the most important problems of urban environmental policy are communicative rather than scientific or technical: "the secret of any negotiation therefore resides in the cor-

rect dimensioning of the communication space so that no one can be misled with impunity" (Leis 2000: 104). Approaches that include both social-humanistic and technical approaches lead to a higher probability of implementation and acceptance.

Cities have a long history of technological innovation in municipal service provision; better sewers, solid waste disposal systems and water supply have made urban growth possible (Armstrong, Robinson and Hoy 1976). Scientific and technical means to address environmental degradation may be more prevalent simply because these are easier to implement than decreasing the consumption patterns of the wealthy or transferring resources to the poor (McCarney 1995). Attention to the social and environmental consequences of urban technology is relatively new, although these effects have always been substantial (Melosi 2000), and in some cases, the centralization of services has stifled household level innovation (Goldman 1997).

With the roots of environmentalism in ecological science (e.g., Carson 1994), most attempts at environmental policy have either consisted of technical means for isolated solutions, such as chemical treatments, pollution abatement technologies and recycling facilities, or have targeted complex and fragile natural ecosystems. However, equal attention should be given to the fragility of cities and what this implies for urban dwellers. Cities around the world are characterized by dynamic instability on demographic, political, cultural, economic and environmental fronts (Gleeson and Low 2000). New cities in poor countries are gaining population wildly, without suf-

ficient economic growth or basic infrastructure provision. For some poor residents, long-term investigations into ecological planning approaches may seem incompatible with their dire needs for potable water and sanitation service. Many environmental regulatory mechanisms used in older cities in richer countries, like pollution standards and environmental impact assessments, are ineffective and inappropriate in new cities in poor countries where much of urban development is unregulated.

In some situations, a humanistic approach may be more effective than a scientific approach. In Belo Horizonte, Brazil, for instance, waste and pollution became a source of livelihood for poor people. Street Scavengers, a program that provides public waste drop-off and warehouse sorting facilities for recyclable materials, worked with an association of homeless people, ASMARE, that gained the right to collect and receive compensation for sorting the city's recyclable materials. The program takes scavenging and sorting off the street, develops a comprehensive and less polluting solution to solid waste disposal and offers employment to and raises the social status of some of the city's poorest residents. From an initial membership of thirty-one scavengers in 1993, the cooperative has now grown to 235. Overall, recycling has increased from fifteen tons to 500 tons per month. Total local funding for this project, ongoing since 1993, is just over $4 million in local government funds (ICLEI 1999).

Leis (2000: 103) proposes the creation of "environmental negotiation spaces" as a means to gather the different actors in urban environmental decision

making into a team representing many diverse interests and areas of expertise. Scientists, government bureaucrats from various agencies, environmental groups, business people, trade unions and other civil society groups would be represented on a board, and together would establish environmental regulations. Collaboration between scientists and nonscientists in environmental decision making needs to occur to determine in which situations technical and scientific solutions are appropriate and when social programs will better accomplish the stated goals.

The Goals of Environmental Policy: Critical Environmental Issues

Urban environmental policy would have moderately scaled, direct benefits. Its approach emphasizes environmental problems and their intersection with local, lived environments. It offers the potential for short-term economic gains and small environmental improvements, and through this, encourages greater attention to environmental quality. Urban environmental policymakers must not only consider what improvements are needed, however, but also who will benefit from the changes.

The costs of degradation and benefits of environmental action are not distributed equally along race and class lines. The environmental justice movement first addressed the extent to which the poor and people of color disproportionately bear the costs of environmental pollution and are systematically excluded from environmental decision making. An urban focus in environmental policy takes up the environmental justice task to correct these disparities

in the process of improving environmental, social and economic development in cities (Gorman 1997).

Many aspects of the mainstream environmental research and action agenda have been driven by the middle- and upper-class citizens of rich countries, addressing problems that threaten or impair *their* health or *their* access to natural resources. Environmental consciousness in poor countries also reflects these issues. Thus, for example, chemical agents are emphasized more than biological agents in the water, air and soil, although the latter are responsible for most sickness in poor countries. Indoor air pollution is not considered a major environmental problem compared to tropical deforestation, although on a global scale, it is equally destructive to human life (Hardoy, Mitlan and Satterthwaite 1992).

The global environmental bureaucracies, in emphasizing such issues as reducing population growth and implementing "clean" production processes instead of limiting consumption and waste generation, blame poor people for much environmental degradation. In an urban environmental conception, by contrast, poor people may be found to hold many solutions. For example, some produce their own food, which may save energy, reduce vulnerability, produce income and improve the landscape. Urban agriculture is a large and important urban phenomenon, a strategy possibly undertaken by over two-thirds of urban households in much of the developing world and parts of Europe. Furedy (1990) reports on "informal" or "incidental" greening in at least twenty Asian cities, where people grow

vegetables in ghettos, keep animals for food and recycle wastes into fertilizer.

Forgotten places in cities revert back to wild places that serve important ecological functions and rouse people's sense of belonging in the world. When Utah naturalist Terry Tempest Williams, for example, visited the Bronx's Pelham Bay Park with a local resident, Williams saw "an urban wasteland" but the resident "saw the beauty inherent in marshes as systems of regeneration. … When she motioned us down in the grasses to observe the black-crowned night heron still fishing at dusk, she was showing us the implacable focus of those who dwell there" (Williams 1994: 30-31). Places like this serve as sanctuaries to people whose city lives offer little memory of wilderness.

Programs for basic needs provision can concurrently address human fulfillment, environmental and lifestyle issues. This potential is demonstrated by the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) in Surabaya, Indonesia. Kampungs are urban indigenous settlements that house sixty-three percent of the Surabayan population on seven percent of its land area. The KIP, begun in 1969 and locally financed since 1990, provides an example of urban development that benefits the city's poorest residents while improving and building appreciation for a clean environment. KIP projects, such as concrete footpaths, side drains, public washing and trash facilities, halls, schools, markets and recreational fields, are designed in progressive steps according to existing local conditions. Community members have

control over all aspects of the projects, including the determination of which houses and properties will be affected by improvements and how to compensate the property owners (Jessup 1995).

One of the keys to the success of the KIP is its gradual approach. Widespread attitudinal change in favor of environmental respect and improvement will require small steps and tangible benefits. A promising strategy for increasing environmental considerations in urban policy is to begin with those aspects already included in physical planning processes. In addition, policies with benefits that can be achieved within politicians' terms of office are the most likely to be implemented and to overcome the general political apathy to long-term environmental threats (Oosterveld 1999).

The Proper Ends of Environmental Action: Alternative Knowledge and Sustainable Cities

Cities have the potential to provide fulfilling and sustainable lives for people, but existing cities are not equipped to teach mutual respect, commonality of purpose or the sacredness of life and diversity. On the contrary, most if not all cities have depended on the subordination of their hinterlands and natural resources for their growth and development (Tarr 1996; Wackernagel and Rees 1996).

If the ultimate end of urban environmental policy and action is not merely to clean or green current practices but to develop richer, more rewarding human societies, attention must be paid to human history and diversity, and relationships between people and with the natural environment. Many non-indus-

trial cultures offer alternative notions and institutions: collective rather than individual identity, non-proprietary and transgenerational knowledge, common ownership, tenure and access to property, and limits to consumption and trade (Abram 1996; Mander 1991).

Some of the primary lessons from rural history are economic. Small, cohesive groups have the potential to operate gift economies either alongside or in place of market economies. In gift economies, the most socially valuable commodities, such as arable land and food, are viewed primarily as gifts to be exchanged so that surplus flows toward need rather than wealth accumulation. Gift exchange is intended to establish and maintain emotional ties among people. The process requires the coordination of group bonds (Hyde 1983). For example, the First Nations of the Pacific coast of North America had rules of reciprocity to ensure the equitable allocation of resources. These rules were manifested in part through potlatches "commonly held by many groups, [as] a mechanism for sharing the surplus of their fishing activities . . . and a disincentive to accumulate wealth" (Berkes 1999: 50).

Global commodity exchange markets offer undeniable advantages and market relationships make sense given predominant assumptions of individualism, privatization of common property resources and the emergence of the state (Scott 1998). Gift economies, in addition to paying heed to the sacredness of life and individual diversity, offer the possibility of increasing social cohesion, responsibility and continuity, whereby "knowledge, values, and identity are transferred to succeeding generations through the annual, cyclical repetition of livelihood activities based on traditional ecological knowledge" (Berkes 1999: 24). Market relations are not incompatible with sustainable cities but neither are they spaceless or timeless; the workings of markets need to be subsumed under social and ecological limits through strong local, national and international policies. As the role of the gift economy decreases, legal contracts replace social bonds and the imposed structure of law and policy replace the structure of faithfulness and gratitude (Hyde 1983: 137). These changes alienate people from their environment and from one another and therefore are a root cause of environmental degradation.

Lessons from traditional and indigenous cultures include valuing specific knowledge in addition to abstract knowledge. All successful traditional institutions and management strategies for common resources such as fisheries, forest resources and water rights have depended on close experiential knowledge of the particular resource, along with a sense of common purpose and shared future (Berkes 1999; Ostrom 1990). Settlements could be designed with this in mind, according to what Orr (1994: 2) calls ecological design intelligence: "The capacity to understand the ecological context in which humans live, to recognize limits, and to get the scale of things right; the ability to calibrate human purposes and natural constraints and to do so with grace and economy."

In the James Bay Cree worldview, the world "has a unity and an integrity that is Creator-given, and it is the task of humans to discipline their minds and

actions to recognize and understand its workings" (Berkes 1999: 91). Trosper (1995) argues that there are four commonly, though not universally, shared attitudes of respect toward nature: a community-of-beings view with social obligations and reciprocity, connectedness, concern for future generations and humility. With the right institutional structure and philosophical focus, cities can incorporate these attitudes. They can teach people to live within limits, encompass both urban and rural activities and emphasize the importance of species other than human beings and of generations other than those present. They can be based on quality and dignity, not only quantity and grandeur.

Conclusion

The great promise of the urban environmental policy agenda is universal: "To design and manage human settlements in such a way that all the world's people may live at a decent standard based on sustainable principles" (White and Whitney 1992: 36). This challenge will only be met through specific measures designed in place by strong urban governments and citizens.

In this paper, I have described the four areas in which cities may gauge their progress toward urban environmental policy that legitimately seeks to free all people in cities, today and tomorrow, to live fulfilling lives. First, cities need democratic institutions, engaged in environmental decision-making processes that are inclusive both in terms of the number and the diversity of people involved. Second, social-humanistic approaches to solutions should receive as

much attention as scientific and technical issues and methods. Cities need the technical and scientific capacity to develop and implement solutions to local problems and the sensitivity to recognize which problems cannot be solved by such means. Third, the priorities of environmental policy must include basic needs and the quality of local, lived environments, and integrate environmentally sustainable ethics and values. Finally, to find new sustainable development patterns, cities need to include the perspectives of non-urban traditions and cultures. We need to use this added perspective to foster non-exploitative relationships within the city, with other cities, with the surrounding region and with ecological systems. Attention to these four areas will help cities find their place as potential and realizable sites of environmentally ethical societies.

Cities everywhere have much learning still to do. Legitimate urban environmental policy needs to consider the who, the how and the why of urban environmental decision making, as well as what life might look like when we get the process right.

Endnotes

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MEG HOLDEN (holdm136@newschool.edu) is a doctoral student at the New School for Social Research in New York City and an expatriate Canadian environmentalist learning to live in Brooklyn.

Are Planners Prepared to Address Social Justice and Distributional Equity?[1]

Thomas W. Sanchez

Planners have stated their commitment and responsibility to assure fairness in community and regional planning activities. Evidencing this is an abundance of literature on the theoretical perspectives of social justice and planning ideals. But is this stated concern for social justice and equity reflected in the training that professional planners receive in US graduate planning programs? Unfortunately, it has not been translated into providing practical methods to measure and assess fairness that can be applied in the field. While such methods exist and have been researched by related disciplines, planning has fallen short of developing and incorporating them into curricula along with transportation, demographic and economic analysis methods. A review of US graduate planning program curricula reveals few course offerings that cover social justice analysis methods.

As agents of the capitalist state, planners are inherently unable to deal successfully with problems that result from capitalistic accumulation. At best, they can throw up a smokescreen of good intentions behind which capital is free to pursue its relentless pursuit for private gain without concern for the intricate web of communities and people's lives. (Friedmann 1982)

Introduction

Two 1965 articles published in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (JAIP), one by Bernard J. Frieden and the other by Paul Davidoff, highlighted the planner's role as "advocate" and promoted "pluralistic" planning approaches. Frieden and Davidoff called for intelligent planning practice as a means to achieve equal opportunity (Davidoff 1965; Frieden 1965).

Planning a fair distribution of public resources requires training as well as personal motivation for social action. Approximately twenty articles on the subjects of advocacy and social justice have been published in the JAIP (later, the *Journal of the American Planning Association*, or JAPA) since the Frieden and Davidoff articles. However, these have not sufficiently addressed the need for planning techniques in this area.

Progressive planning activists organized groups during the 1960s and 1970s that were interested in promoting advocacy through urban policy (Clavel, Forester and Goldsmith 1980). But these efforts, sometimes referred to as "equity planning" (Krumholz and Forester 1990), have been criticized in terms that echo those of Frieden: namely, that they are characterized by broad and abstract objectives in addressing social goals, but do not provide specific means for planners to employ in addressing social inequities. Other equity-based critiques

of planning theory and practice include a lack of innovation in planning education and planning techniques (Brooks and Stegman 1968; Skjei 1972), institutional barriers resulting from the existing power structure (Mazziotti 1974), lack of expressed ethical responsibilities by planners (Marcuse 1976) and the composition of planning staffs that do not represent the social and cultural values of their constituents (Hoch 1993).

Over the years the lack of training in equity-oriented research and analysis has not gone unnoticed. Davidoff and Boyd ask, "Why do planning analysis courses consider economic and demographic factors but ignore fairness issues? Why do they ignore studies of proportionality and balance in the distribution of resources?" (1983: 54). A number of planning academics have identified a need for appropriate methods and techniques for equity planning (Canan and Hennessy 1985; Castells 1982; Checkoway 1989; Kaufmann 1989; Krumholz and Clavel 1994). More recently, social impact assessment research has included the use of geographic information systems technology (GIS) as a means to analyze distributional impacts (for example, Heikkila and Davis 1997; Sanchez 1998a, 1998b; Talen 1996, 1998). In addition, planning faculty have initiated efforts to put neighborhood problem solving issues directly in the hands of students through research and planning studio projects (see Reardon 1998). However, these efforts have not produced systematic methodologies with broad applicability. Washington and Strong (1997) noted the "marginal role" that planners have played in the environmental justice movement, which is closely related to social justice concerns. The lack of attention to the distributional aspects of planning activities has been conspicuously missing from city development policies (Alexander 1981).

Among other things, urban planning is a process of recognizing opportunities. In some cases these opportunities are naturally occurring, such as waterways for transport or recreation. In other cases, legal mechanisms such as zoning, development activities such as road building and service provision such as library or park construction meet important economic, social and cultural needs. Public service provision influences social and economic opportunities, and provides some citizens with a greater proportion of service benefits compared to others (Lineberry 1974, 1977; Thomas and Krishnarayan 1994). Even though the issue of proportionality is of direct concern to planners, it appears that the majority of analyses devoted to distributional equity have come from the fields of public policy, public finance and public administration. Policy analysis in planning has remained focused on areas such as regional science, labor, transport, environment and housing while struggling to be perceived as "rational" (Friedmann 1987).

Distributional Analysis

Distributional analysis is a subset of social impact analysis. In addition to identifying and measuring the impacts of policy interventions, social impact analysis is concerned with direct effects such as how individuals or groups adapt to these interventions. Such adaptations can take the form of physical or psychological responses, such as health outcomes, as

well as economic responses, such as residential reloca-
tion. Distributional analysis generally identifies the
outcome of a decision-making process as it differen-
tially affects demographic subgroups, but does not
address such responses, nor does it identify weak-
nesses or biases in the system that produced the out-
come.

In an effort to evaluate distributional equity, many
studies have compared the quantity of public ser-
vices provided within neighborhoods with the in-
come class and racial composition of each neighbor-
hood. Examples include the provision of libraries
(Levy, Meltsner and Wildavsky 1974), parks (Koehler
and Wrightson 1987), police services (Mladenka and
Hill 1978) and streets (Antunes and Plumlee 1977).
Other equity studies have attempted to measure
public service delivery levels as a function of admin-
istrative and bureaucratic changes over time (Miranda
and Tunyavong 1994). A common criticism of these
analyses is that they do not adequately account for
the quality of the services being provided, nor do
they consider that the utility of some services varies
for different segments of the population. For in-
stance, the use of park facilities is different for house-
holds with and without children. In addition, service
needs and preferences can change as populations age
or neighborhoods undergo redevelopment,
gentrification or housing market shifts.

Public service distribution analyses typically use quan-
titative comparisons of service levels between geo-
graphic units (Benson and Lund 1969; Miranda and
Tunyavong 1994). The demographic characteristics of
geographic units at the neighborhood level (usually

census tracts or municipal districts) are correlated
with service level indicators (Newton 1984). These
measures are used to determine the magnitude and
direction of the relationship between socioeconomic
characteristics and service levels. For example, a nega-
tive correlation between income and benefit levels
suggests that higher income groups receive lower
levels of service. Typically these calculations are based
on the assumption that the relationship between
socioeconomic indicators and service levels is linear.
But some researchers have found that a U-shaped
curve is more appropriate, reflecting the fact that the
lowest and highest socioeconomic strata receive
higher levels of service, while those in the middle
receive lower levels (Rich 1982).

The courts have recognized the appropriateness of
analytical approaches in examining distributional
equity of public services and actions. Three particular
court cases have addressed urban service delivery eq-
uity, especially as it relates to planning analysis meth-
odologies: Hawkins v. Town of Shaw (1971), Beal v.
Lindsay (1972) and Ammons v. Dade City (1986).[2]
In each of these cases the court reviewed statistical
data to determine whether service distribution was
inequitable. Nevertheless, no precedent regarding
accepted quantitative methods was established. It is
likely that if more communities employ indicators
of equitable urban service delivery, the courts will
pass judgement on which forms of measurement
are most appropriate.

The equal protection clause in the Fourteenth
Amendment of the United States Constitution has
been interpreted to mean that services must be pro-

vided in a non-discriminatory way throughout communities. This has led the Supreme Court to find unconstitutional a number of discriminatory state practices, including school segregation, mal-apportionment in legislative districting, and residency requirements for welfare recipients. Enforcement of the equal protection clause has also offered remedies for blatant discrepancies in municipal service allocation, such as the failure to provide service in certain neighborhoods. The evaluation criteria of the courts are of particular importance to planners. Planning policy that is legally viable will be durable and stand a better chance of discouraging or minimizing occurrences of service delivery inequity.

Thus, despite their relatively undeveloped state, analysis techniques focused on social equity and fairness do exist, have been applied in a research context and have some legal standing. Many examples are applicable to community and regional planning activities and could be used by professional planners. But, as we will see below, sufficient training may not be provided by academic planning programs.

Why Measures of Equitable Service Delivery Are Useful

Measures of equitable service delivery by no means provide proof that households and neighborhoods are or are not being treated equally. But these measures can be used to indicate imbalances, much like a doctor uses body temperature and blood pressure as indicators of a patient's health.

Social impact indicators may be criticized as not providing evidence of the causal relationship between discrimination, service delivery and social problems. Again, biased service delivery patterns are only indicators of a problem. The information from social impact analyses can inform citizens and public officials about system-wide service delivery characteristics as well as provide the means for policy selection, design and administration (Finsterbusch and Wolf 1977). Where there is an indicator of a discriminatory service delivery pattern, the availability of this information may stimulate more detailed analysis of deficiencies, and eventually lead to corrective action. The information can also be used in cases where citizens feel that systematic bias in service delivery patterns persist.

Monitoring equality of service provision is "a mark of seriousness of intent, as it provides some indication of whether outputs and actions are consistent with rhetoric" (Riley 1994). Similar to reporting requirements for environmental impact assessment and fair-housing initiatives, and to the way some states require specific elements in community plans, a "social impact" or "equity impact" element could be required by state or local jurisdictions for applicable planning activities (Pinel 1994).

Thus, the utility of using measures of social equity is twofold. First, these measures can inform planners of potential imbalances. Second, they can promote public awareness of equity issues and stimulate public debate.

Are Planning Schools Teaching Methods to Assess Distributional Equity?

Because social justice and equity issues are a stated priority within the planning field, it seems logical that this concern should be reflected in how planners are trained. The core requirements of most planning programs include a variety of quantitative methods, along with planning history, theory and planning law. Many programs also require course work in economics (or economic development), environmental assessment, housing and infrastructure planning. These and supporting courses are designed to prepare planning students to recognize and frame problems, collect and analyze appropriate data, and report policy relevant findings.

Social impact analysis and equity measures should be included along with standard population, economic and environmental applications taught in standard analytic methods courses. The use of these measures does not require substantial additional quantitative training on the part of planners because it involves simple descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, regression analysis and survey research techniques. These traditional analysis tools are taught in most, if not all, planning programs in the US.

In the *Criteria and Procedures of the Planning Accreditation Program*, the Planning Accreditation Board (1999: 20) specifies that program curricula should reflect a range of "knowledge, skills, and values necessary for becoming competent professional planners." The "values component" of the course curricula that the accreditation process reviews includes "issues of equity, social justice, economic welfare, and efficiency in the use of resources" (22). However, while the accreditation guidelines recommend that students "be able to identify and debate the importance and effects of the following values in relation to actual planning issues" (22), no direction is given regarding how this can be accomplished.

Are planning schools teaching methods to assess distributional equity? I examined course offerings from graduate US planning programs (as listed by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning in Fisher 1996) with an eye toward those classes that focus on methods for social impact assessment. This analysis dealt only with graduate planning programs because graduate courses tend to be more advanced and specialized compared to undergraduate studies. In addition, there are relatively few undergraduate programs compared to graduate programs in the US. Graduate courses listed on internet sites for each of the seventy-seven graduate planning programs were surveyed.[3] Of the seventy-seven programs listed by ACSP, fifty-eight of the program web sites displayed full course offerings. Sites that only displayed core requirements or concentration areas were excluded. The majority of the fifty-eight sites selected also provided a brief course description along with the course title. Because course content is not always easily discernible from course titles, the descriptions helped in categorizing courses as being related to both social equity and planning methods. In the cases where course descriptions were not available, course title wording was used for categorization. In addition, courses that appeared to be primarily directed readings, practicum or thesis research were excluded from the survey of classes.

Because the area of social equity has a wide variety of elements spanning race, gender, culture, class, religion, lifestyle and location, certain keywords were used to categorize planning courses: social, poverty, welfare, diversity, gender, women, inequality, racial, advocacy, monitoring, evaluation and justice. In most cases the emphasis of the class could be easily distinguished as being either related to history, theory or policy through course titles (e.g., PLDV 452 Planning, Policy-Making, and Social Change at USC, CRP 427 Social Policy Planning at ISU). In other cases course titles were very explicit about course objectives being oriented to planning methods or techniques (e.g., P11.2609 Measuring and Analyzing Social and Economic Change at NYU, UP 256 Social Impact Analysis at UCLA). Course descriptions were also helpful in determining if course objectives were theoretically or methodologically based. For example, there is an apparent analytical orientation in the course descriptions from the University of Rhode Island and the Pratt Institute as compared to the University of Illinois at Chicago course shown below. In this case the first two courses met the criteria while the third did not. While the first two descriptions contain fewer relevant keywords than the third, they include language suggesting an explicit attention to analytical and methodological tools, while the third does not.

CPL 543, Methods of Social Policy Analysis. Methods and techniques of social public policy analysis as applied to social problems and the evaluation of policy options, programs, and quality of life. (University of Rhode Island)

PL 679, Monitoring Community Change. The purpose of this course is to develop practical skills in analyzing community change. Technical methods, such as survey and sampling techniques and selected topics in regional economics and demographics, are covered in class through lectures. The class is divided into working groups, which jointly select and carry out a case study of a community. As part of the group project, a community survey is developed and administered. The group projects may be linked to one of the department's studio courses. (Pratt Institute)

UPP 516, Issues of Class and Race in Planning. Critically examines the significant role of race/racism, class, as well as ethnicity/nationality and gender as factors in the field of planning and in public policy formation, implementation and evaluation; emphasis is placed upon a survey of the effects of these factors at the global, national, urban and inter community contexts of planning and policy analysis. (University of Illinois at Chicago)

Overall, I found eighteen courses that were directly concerned with equity planning analysis techniques. Out of the 2096 total classes reviewed on planning program web pages, this means that less than one percent (0.86 percent) of planning courses being offered fit the criteria discussed above. The eighteen course titles and school names are shown in Table 1.

Obviously, the approach used here to categorize classes is cursory and subject to error. The objective was, however, to identify complete courses that focus on analysis methods for social justice and equity impacts rather than just portions of courses devoted to the topic. The priority given to such methods would

Table 1 Equity/Social Planning Analysis Courses

Planning Program	Course
Rutgers University	34:970:611 Urban Planning and Social Policy
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	344 Social Impact Assessment
University of Rhode Island	CPL 510 Community Planning and Political and Social Change
	CPL 543 Methods of Social Policy Analysis
University of Pennsylvania	CPLN 645 Urban Social Stratification/Balkanization and the Future of Cities
Clemson University	CRP 823 Social Policy Planning and Delivery Systems
MIT	DUSP 11.232 The Uses of Social Science for Social Change
New York University	P11.2609 Measuring and Analyzing Social and Economic Change
Cleveland State University	PDD 531 Public Works and Urban Service Delivery
Pratt Institute	PL 661 Advocacy Planning/Social Action
	PL 679 Monitoring Community Change
University of Hawaii, Manoa	Plan 653 Social Impact Assessment
University of Southern California	PLUS 552 Urban Planning and Social Policy
University of Massachusetts, Amherst	RP 643 Economic and Social Planning Analysis
University of California, Irvine	U217 Poverty and Social Policy
University of California, Los Angeles	UP 256 Social Impact Analysis
University of New Orleans	URBN 4810 Environmental Justice in Urban Environments
Portland State University	USP 582 Poverty, Welfare, and Income Distribution

also be signified by the amount of class time devoted to the subject—with a full class (or more) on the topic being the highest expressed level of importance. Ideally, course syllabi (including assigned reading materials) should be reviewed to identify the type and extent of topic coverage.

One argument against the conclusion that social impact analysis courses are nearly absent in planning curricula today is that these techniques have been integrated into other related courses. Quite possibly, social impact assessment methods are found in courses on general quantitative analysis and environmental impact analysis, as well as those on community development and transportation planning. However, I believe that the distributional aspects of planning activities are complex and cannot be sufficiently addressed in less than a term-long course. Furthermore, theory-based courses cannot provide

the practical tools needed by professional planners. Social justice concerns should be manifest in what planners *do*, rather than just what planners *think*. Planning theory courses that address social justice issues may inform planners, but they are insufficient in terms of practical approaches to planning analysis. Evidence of this is the dearth of professional planning reports addressing the social inequities inherent to and perpetuated by contemporary urban development patterns.

Conclusion

The public policy and public administration literatures provide extremely valuable examples of how indicators of service delivery can be used to assess distributional equity. These methods or quantitative techniques could be applied systematically by planners in the form of a "social equity audit" similar to the housing audit procedures required in the Fair Housing Act (Fix and Struyk 1993). Where the housing audit is used to detect discrimination or bias in mortgage lending practices, a social equity audit could be used to detect inequitable access to public services. These methods are not proposed as a means of scientific proof, but as indicators of potential inequitable service delivery. Repeated testing for systemic discrimination in public service delivery would provide stronger evidence (Tisdale 1993).

These measures could also provide tangible evidence that could be challenged and contested by groups alleging discrimination. Similar to planners' use of population projections, the measures are indicators or estimates of likely future conditions that also can be used for public debate and policy-making.

If planners were equipped with the skills to carry out distributional analysis, social injustices would not necessarily become easier to redress. But environmental assessments, general plans, capital improvement plans and housing elements could be extended to include such analysis. These are traditional venues where this tool could be readily added, although its adoption will certainly face bureaucratic hurdles. There is an obvious challenge related to whether such analysis will be widely recognized and deemed politically useful.

Why the need for specific planning analysis courses that focus on social impacts when civil rights laws, environmental impact reporting requirements, fair-housing reporting requirements and employment opportunity laws are in place? Why the need for such courses when theory classes are universally offered by planning programs? If social equity is already a responsibility of planners, why re-state these ideals again? The socio-spatial conditions of urban areas throughout the US provide a partial answer to these questions. A recently released report from the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation indicates that American neighborhoods and schools are re-segregating, as predicted by the Kerner Commission's report thirty years earlier. Given the current disparities between central city and suburb in property taxes and service benefit levels, maintenance of the status quo will perpetuate the trend of continued central-city/suburban isolation (Wilson 1987, 1997). Planners have

some responsibility for affirmative action in equitable resource delivery levels, or at least we say that we do.

Did the social science research efforts of the 1970s fail to properly address the problem of urban social inequities? No, generally the issue is not whether there is a sufficient awareness of imbalances. Rather, it appears that the weakness has been in the translation of awareness to planning education and action.

Endnotes

[1] I would like to thank Dan Chatman and four anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions on previous drafts.

[2] Hawkins v. Town of Shaw, U.S. 437 F2d 1286 (1971); Beal v. Lindsay, U.S. 468 F2d 287 (1972); and Ammons v. Dade City, 783 F.2d 982 (11th Cir. 1986).

[3] For a list of accredited planning programs and their web addresses, see the ACSP web site at http://www.uwm.edu/Org/acsp/CareerInfo/Accredited_programs.html.

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THOMAS W. SANCHEZ (sanchezt@pdx.edu) is an Assistant Professor in the School of Urban Studies and Planning at Portland State University.

Introduction to Policy/History Essays

One of the fundamental issues underlying the environmental justice discussion concerns basic property concepts. How do we think about property, what does it mean to us, who should have access to property ownership and why, and what kinds of controls do we as a society impose on the use of property? Answers to these questions relate to real-life geographic results: where particular individuals and communities locate home and work, how they feel about these places, and what actions they feel compelled or empowered to take to protect and enhance their environments, or, as the preceding articles have pointed out, how they have been constrained from participating in decisions affecting their property and communities.

The following two essays by Christine Rojas and Donny Le were developed from final papers in USC Professor William Baer's undergraduate planning course entitled "Property Rights, Governance, and the Environment" in the School of Policy, Planning and Development at USC in the 2000 spring semester.

The purpose of the course is to introduce to students the major philosophical issues that have shaped concepts of property in the United States, the relationship of property rights to political and social institutions, and to current events. Students learn to think about property in terms that go beyond the usual economic approaches—the conventional, historic, social, traditional, civic and political ideas that people hold about property—and to apply these complex and interrelated property concepts to real-life current issues.

The final project for the course is a term paper whose aim is an analysis of any current topic where property rights are an issue. Paper topic choices range from the scope and location of subdivisions and the reuse of abandoned industrial properties, to some of the evolving ideas on the inter-relationship of private, communal and public space embodied in cases about public and private view rights, access to public goods (such as the ocean), and the effect of changing demographics on ideas about property. Students have applied these concepts to other countries, such as the ongoing land reforms in Zimbabwe, and even to non-land forms of property, such as the property ownership implications of the Human Genome Project.

Street Vending: A Right or A Nuisance?

Christine Rojas

Conflict over property has remained a constant factor in this country since its creation. While there is general agreement that every person has certain rights and freedoms that should not be infringed upon, exactly what the rights are and whose rights and freedoms take precedence show some of the great variance in ideas about property. One example of this is in a situation in which people are trying to improve their lives in different ways, while regulations seem to deny them the opportunity.

In Huntington Park, a community adjacent to the city of Los Angeles, I interviewed homeowners, street vendors and city code enforcement officers about the conflicts over increasing street vending.[1] The results of my interviews show that ideas about property are an important part of this controversy.

Some people do not think that street vending has an adverse affect on property rights, but some property owners feel they are being neglected by the very city in which they reside. In the Los Angeles area there is a huge influx of immigrants who flow through the city, on their way to various locations throughout the country. Upon arrival, many are greeted by some of the very scenes they have just left behind: a steady stream of street vendors selling anything imaginable.

This way of life is very common for many people living outside of the United States; they bring their cultures with them in an attempt to live a better life. Vendors walk the streets and offer their products, but also create traffic jams and, at times, serious health issues. Homeowners must contend with vendors who set up near their homes, make access difficult and leave trash thrown in yards and neighborhoods. Many of these homeowners feel that their children cannot enjoy their neighborhood as they would like. Many of the problems occur in the evening hours, after city code enforcement officers have gone home, making the problem virtually impossible to monitor.

Many of the homeowners where there is a high incidence of unlicensed street vending are immigrants or are themselves the children of immigrants. In my interviews, these owners expressed resentment towards the newer immigrants who are choosing to make their living in the owners' neighborhood. These longer-term residents feel they have worked hard for the right to enjoy their homes and look to city government for answers to the problem. Owners feel they have a right to the quiet enjoyment of their property and that vendors are infringing on that

right by the use of adjacent public spaces, while also causing increased crime, traffic and public health problems.

The vendors' ideas are in opposition to the homeowners. Venders feel they have the right to increase their incomes and to provide a better life for their families. Many immigrants come to the US with the notion that this country rewards those who work hard by allowing them to buy property and become citizens with a voice within our political system. Vendors also feel a sense of sorrow and resentment towards the homeowners, because they say their fellow Latinos have forgotten what it feels like to struggle for a better life as new immigrants. These immigrants claim that property owners are trying to deny them the opportunity to share in the same prosperity that the owners enjoy. Owners feel that because they were there first and own property, they have a better claim to rights within their community.

Cities across the US are facing similar problems, as immigration patterns have changed over the past several decades. They will look towards Los Angeles for answers. As the economy changes and many newer immigrants seek ways to supplement incomes, the street vending that is common and accepted in other cultures will increase here. Street vending gives many people, especially new immigrants, the opportunity to make an honest living in a country that promises rewards for hard working individuals. People living in the Los Angeles region have seen street vending move from freeway off-ramps into residential areas, where there are opportunities for increased conflict over the use of both private and public space.

This is a problem that will not soon disappear. Will cities try to keep vendors out of neighborhoods to protect the rights of property owners? Will they be sympathetic to the fact that street vendors are individuals trying to make decent lives for themselves and their families? Or, will cities find a way to negotiate between the two sides as both compete over the use of space? Los Angeles is one city that has had some success in negotiating a solution between the opposing interests. By allowing vendors to legally occupy certain areas of MacArthur Park in the heavily immigrant-populated areas just west of downtown, the city has shown sensitivity not only to homeowners and local businesses but to vendors as well. This is a good model for other communities to consider, as they start to solve what will be a growing problem in the future.

Endnotes
[1] I conducted a survey between January and April 2001 with forty-five homeowners and eleven street vendors through both face-to-face interviews and a questionnaire. I also talked to city code enforcement officers about their jobs and local conflicts over land use.

CHRISTINE ROJAS will receive a bachelor's degree in Public Policy, Planning and Management from the University of Southern California in December 2001. She plans to enter graduate school to continue studies in her principal interests of planning and management.

LAX Expansion and Property Rights: Whose Rights First?

Donny Le

Southern California has experienced tremendous population and economic growth over the past several decades. One result has been a continuing increase in passenger and freight air traffic at the Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) and other airports in the region. In order to meet this rising demand, the Los Angeles World Airports authority has proposed the LAX 2015 Plan, part of a comprehensive process to develop regional airport improvements. The plan provides for an evaluation of current facilities and future demand, along with suggested expansion options. The plan has ignited a firestorm of controversy within the Los Angeles community. In the end, the issue boils down to the rights of individuals versus the rights of the community. A solution must not ignore any side of the issue, and for the solution to be successful there must be some kind of balance between individual rights and community rights.

Although the proposed LAX expansion will maintain and enhance commercial activity in the Los Angeles area, many local residents are strongly opposed to any expansion efforts. To fully understand this conflict, one aspect we must first discuss is that of the underlying property rights justification assumed by the different actors.

Nearby residents are rightly concerned about noise, jet blast, pollution, congestion and infrastructure deterioration. These property owners fear that the increase in air and automobile traffic generated by the expansion will decrease the quality of life in the vicinity, as well as property values. Homeowners in the area fear that the expansion of LAX will create too many unwanted side effects, which would interfere with their ability to fully enjoy their property, and would ultimately bring down the prices of their homes. Their feelings about their property and their opposition to the LAX 2015 Plan can be traced back to ideas current at the founding of this country that had a profound influence on our body of law. One major authority was William Blackstone, the eighteenth century English jurist. In his *Commentaries*, the first history and analysis of the laws of England, he detailed common law nuisance concepts and other

protections of private property rights. The homeowners' view of property can be traced in part to common law notions of nuisance where landowners may not use property in ways that would harm others' enjoyment of their property (Baer 1999).

Supporters of the LAX 2015 Plan apply a more modern, alternative view of property to justify the airport's expansion. The airport, which already generates nine percent of regional economic activity, would greatly benefit the region with an addition of 75,000 direct jobs by 2015, while its regional economic contribution would increase by twenty-nine percent annually if the expansion took place (LAX Master Plan 2001). This utilitarian view of property takes into account the greater regional efficiency and productivity associated with the proposed land use. For LAX expansion advocates, this outweighs the need to protect individual property rights, which should be sacrificed for the greater good of the larger community (Baer 1997). Put simply, utilitarians believe in the greatest good for the greatest number: the economic advantage of expansion at LAX would benefit the whole region and everyone living there.

Moreover, supporters of LAX expansion believe that individual property rights cannot be absolute because individuals must provide for the welfare of the overall community. This can be morally justified because humans live primarily in communities; individuals have a duty to be concerned with the needs of the community. Individuals depend on one another to achieve certain goals that benefit all of society and because of this connection, individuals have a duty to provide for the welfare of others and for the whole community. Individuals have to consider the influence of their actions on the rest of the community; they cannot put themselves ahead of the greater good. As long as actions affect the greater good of the community, people cannot claim that they have absolute individual property rights.

Ultimately, LAX expansion would create new jobs for the area, and would stimulate the growth of new business—this is a public benefit that outweighs the need to protect individual property rights. In addressing the conflict between the residents and the airport, the large social benefits of the expansion must continue to be viewed in relation to the concerns of individual property owners, and any solutions worked out must take both concerns into account.

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DONNY LE received a BS Degree from the Marshall School of Business at the University of Southern California in May 2001. He will begin coursework towards a master degree in accounting from the University of Notre Dame this summer.

REVIEW ESSAY
Exploring Critical Approaches to Global Cities Studies

Ruei-Suei Sun

Contemporary globalization, specifically the recent three decades, and the related discussion and debate on the formation of global society occupy the center of sociological research and urban studies today. The city is where the impacts of economic, social, political and cultural forces have been most keenly felt, thereby becoming the polemical and political space to be further reexamined and retheorized in the global age. In contrast to studies celebrating the success of market-driven globalization, critical approaches that reexamine the dynamics and restructuring of global capitalism, theorizing the formation of global cities and reasserting the importance of local politics, provide us with a fresh look at the complicated consequences of contemporary globalization.

New critical efforts on global cities scholarship have been made, although many of them are still not widely referenced. I introduce two of them here: a collection edited by John Eade, *Living the Global City: Globalization as a Local Process* (1996), and a book edited by Ayse Öncü and Petra Weyland, *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities* (1997).

An Overview of the Literature

Early work in this area focused on *world cities* (Hall 1984; Friedmann and Wolff 1982; Friedmann 1986; King 1990; Knox and Taylor 1995). This approach inherited its theoretical legacy from world system and modernization theory, influenced in large part by the works of Immanuel Wallerstein (1976, 1980, 1989, 1999). The city was seen as a production site for grounding and linking the world economy and the international division of labor, a process starting in the 1960s. The early research focus sought to identify the characteristic symbols of world cities and to show the uneven development within or among cities, while later work in this area described systems or networks of cities and the hierarchical relationships among them.

Works in the related field of *global cities* studies include Sassen (1991, 1994, 1998), Castells (1989, 1996), and Abu-Lughod (1999). Sassen (1991) is the most influential work in this group. By examining the flow of financial capital and its impact on the formation of a hegemonic class in New York, London and Tokyo, her work explored deeper political manifestations by addressing the concepts of "centrality of space" and "geometry of power."

A third division of the literature, *global city-region* studies, is mainly led by scholars who based their researches on city-regions in southern California (Scott 2001; Soja 2000). By adding concepts such as "new regionalism," as well as borrowing from different disciplines such as geography and sociology, this approach takes a broader perspective to tackle the complexity and heterogeneity that globalization has brought to contemporary cities. City-regions are seen as active motors, instead of passive containers, in leading local redevelopment, simultaneously demonstrating the interactive dynamics of global/local processes and providing the potential for new coalition-based politics at the local level.

Research based on the world city hypothesis provided many important empirical cases that can now be used to understand the formation of the global economy. Despite the attention it pays to the unevenness of capital accumulation within and among cities, the world city hypothesis has an unquestioned focus on the developed world, and the capitalist world order that supports it. A similar bias can also be found in modernization theory, in that it tends to justify the development of capitalism and therefore views the expansion of western values as an essential process. This monolithic image of the world tends to make footloose capital and de-territorialized nation-states the only visible actors on the world stage, concealing other agents from view.

While sharing a similar bias, Sassen's theorizing on the global city makes a significant contribution to later empirical studies. Relabeled "globalizing cities," this framework has been modified by reinterpreting globalization as a continuing process instead of an established or static stage of development, and by paying closer attention to accelerating social inequality and spatial mismatch associated with the interplay of race and class (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000). There are other critiques of Sassen's work. With an overemphasis on the questions of centrality and of footloose capital, Sassen's framework tends to encourage a view of the labor force playing a passive role in globalization and of cities as containers instead of active agents. Furthermore, because it inherits the old binary framework of capital and labor, Sassen's work does not address how other political regimes or local groups might play roles in reshaping global/local dynamics.

Introducing the Social-Cultural Approach

Taking a cue from the work of Saskia Sassen yet avoiding its limitations, the works collected by John Eade in *Living the Global City* successfully articulate the local with the global. The volume engages itself in the debate by prioritizing everyday life and experiences of ordinary people as the main subjects for theorization.

In contrast to the business-focused rhetoric of world city theory, these case studies (based on the city of London) refresh our understanding of the old world center. The majority of the works consider the experiences of different social and cultural groups and how they actively participate in the process of globalization and strategically formulate new localities in response to global changes (see, for example, Alleyne-Dettmers's piece on the Notting Hill Carnival). The book maps out the new "geometry of

power" in the global city of London, which ranges from the politically diverse boroughs of Lambeth and Wansworth to the "inner-city" regions of Notting Hill/Ladbroke Grove, and out towards the newly "regenerated" districts of Docklands and Spitalfields. In doing so, the global city is presented as a heterogeneous political space where different groups and communities live with opportunity and resist the new oppression.

The case studies in this volume see globalization as consisting of different kinds of global flow. In analyzing cultural flows in relation to the perspectival dimensions of "ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, finanscape and ideoscape," in the terms of the anthropologist Appadurai (1997), they try to chart the relative stability of social relationships, networks, groups and organizations under globalized conditions. These works operate within a socio-cultural framework, contesting and reexamining traditional concepts of community and culture in the global context.

As editors of *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, Ayse Öncü and Petra Weyland share a similar theoretical concern with local and political space in the global city. However, this volume significantly shifts its focus from the old center to the margin, from the "first world cities" of advanced capitalist economy to the "third world cities" of developing countries. It includes a number of case studies in non-western cities and regions: two on South East Asian cities, Singapore and Manila, as well as the Middle Eastern cities of Istanbul, Cairo and Beirut.

The historical process and political situation in non-western areas are quite different from older Western centers. First of all, these nation-states are not weakening with the advent of the market-driven global economy. Instead, they have been playing pivotal roles in leading political and economic development. Economic projects are often accompanied by political concerns such as national identity building. Theorizing globalization in non-western cities needs to reconsider this role. In addition, where globalization is expressed as a power relation, a key question should be how state elites appropriate, interrogate and translate the idea of globalism and how they turn the equation to local advantage forging new identities.

Öncü and Weyland's volume hits the nail squarely on the head by grappling with how globalization intersects locally with "distinctive ensembles of class and culture, power constellations and patterns of state/society relations" and by exploring the changing nature of metropolitan living. Beng-Huat Chua's research on Singapore shows how state elites have successfully integrated the Singaporean population into global capitalism, and how cultural differences are being eroded by a program designed to inculcate a nationally-based identity. Suzanne Kassab's case study of Beirut continues this line of analysis. She shows that from the rubble of the civil war, state elites have imposed a new spatial order through a process of urban restructuring and have helped residents to carve out economic niches that meet the needs of urban survival. In the final section, the editors deconstruct the essential version of globalization in Middle Eastern cities by showing that the

global is viewed from the local through the prism of Islam. In particular, they examine "how global discourses and consumer goods are appropriated and negotiated in the struggle of Muslims to live in the present" (16).

Contemporary globalization brings new limitations but also opportunities to different cities with differing historical processes, implying the need for analysis that is carefully situated and politically contextualized. Through the critical perspectives in these two books, we begin to see the spaces where the oppressed might have opportunities to change their situation that new historical conditions have wrought. We also come to understand how incomplete and unsatisfying current studies of global cities still are.

Living the Global City: Globalization as a Local Process. Edited by John Eade. Routledge, London. December 1996. 208 pp. ISBN 0-41513-886-8 (cloth), ISBN 0-41513-887-6 (paper).

Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities. Edited by Ayse Öncü and Petra Weyland. Zed Books, London. August 1997. 224 pp. ISBN 1-85649-503-5 (cloth), ISBN 1-85649-504-3 (paper).

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RUEI-SUEI SUN is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Urban Planning at UCLA, majoring in critical studies of cities and regions in the age of globalization. Her dissertation is a comparative study of the formation of Taipei and Shanghai during the 1990s.

REVIEW ESSAY
New Works on the New Regionalism

Dan Chatman

The idea of regional governance has a long history in the US, dating back more than eighty years to the Regional Planning Association of America, which envisioned an expansive form of metropolitan development enabled by the new technologies of the automobile, electric power, the telephone and the radio. The "dinosaur city" would be superceded by an ecologically sustainable form of deconcentrated development at the regional level, filled with small-scale self-contained towns surrounded by greenbelts (Sussman 1976).

The failure of that effort has been well documented. But in the past few years the idea of regional-level planning and governance has begun to gain currency in US metropolitan areas, where local control at the municipality level is sacrosanct. Myron Orfield, a Minnesota state legislator, was one of the first to observe that the pattern of poverty spreading from inner cities to inner suburbs had within it the potential for metropolitan coalitions that could foster regional governance. Orfield (1997) showed that older city suburbs, core cities and other fiscally stressed political units within a metropolitan region could band together to institute tax revenue pooling, fair share housing requirements and other policies that could have large impacts on metropolitan problems.

Three recent books pay their respects, in varying ways, to this new regionalism. In *The Regional City: Planning for the End of Sprawl* (2001), Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton team up to call for enlightened planning practices, asserting that such practices are even more necessary than in the past given the increasing size and extent of metropolitan areas. Their work is a journalistic overview of the new regionalism, with a heavy physical design emphasis. In *Regions That Work: How Cities and Suburbs Can Grow Together* (2000), a team of authors led by Manuel Pastor asserts that the futures of central cities and suburbs are inextricably linked, requiring more attention to the regional level from both neighborhood-level development organizations and from regional-level elites. Their volume is an interesting, if at times problematic, empirical justification of "equity-based" regionalism. Finally, in *City Making: Building Communities Without Building Walls* (1999), Gerald R. Frug focuses on the potential for regionalist solutions to foster community building and improve the quality of urban living. Frug's book is an original and insightful account of how the sociological and cultural forces fragmenting metropolitan regions are a result of the institutional structure of municipal entitlements and the nature of governance in the metropolis.

The Regional City

Architect and development consultant Peter Calthorpe is one of the leading proponents of New Urbanism, a design strategy for neighborhoods that emphasizes pedestrian- and transit-oriented development. William Fulton is a journalist and planner, and the author of two well-received books, *The Guide to California Planning* and *The Reluctant Metropolis*. Their joint effort, *The Regional City*, is a well-written synthesis of their views on planning and an able summary of the new regionalism. Calthorpe and Fulton are not the first to point out that "the urban space regularly traversed by the typical American is not really a 'community' at all, but rather a series of connected urban and suburban districts that often stretch across a vast geographical space" (15), but they provide a readable explanation of the ways in which metropolitan areas are becoming economically and ecologically more regional in nature.

Calthorpe and Fulton's understanding of regionalism is clearly influenced by their land use planning background. They are particularly strong believers in the importance of urban design:

> In many unseen ways, urban design and regional form set the physical order of our social structure, the dimensions of our economic needs, and the extent of our environmental impacts. Although it is true that changing the physical form of our communities will not address all our social and ecological challenges, it is also true that economic vitality, social stability, and environmental sustainability cannot be achieved without a coherent and supportive physical framework. Ultimately, it is not one or the other but the way that the two—physical forms and cultural norms—interact. (5)

The authors' vision of regional design is a kind of comprehensive physical planning writ large. The importance of neighborhood-level physical design is emphasized as well. They recommend creating regional growth boundaries and integrating land use and transportation planning—ideas that are quite familiar to students in academic planning programs. With little discussion of the theoretical background to support the assertion, they state that physical planning policies provide an "underpinning to end sprawl and bring shape, form, livability, and functionality to the regional city" (73). The authors also recommend a number of other regional-level policies, such as fair-share affordable housing, tax base sharing and regionally organized school systems.

Calthorpe and Fulton are believers in the importance of creating "communities of place," social networks based on physical proximity in neighborhoods, in order to arrive at an integrated society—even while acknowledging that such communities in the past were often exclusive. In contrast, "everywhere communities," or communities of shared interests whose creation has been facilitated by cheap transportation and telecommunications, have to some extent allowed social networks to cross natural geographical boundaries. They state that "the art of place making must be reestablished piece by piece," because they believe that place-based communities are important generators of social capital.

Despite what could be seen as an over-reliance on physical design as a solution to metropolitan problems, the authors at times make a genuine attempt to be comprehensive in their overview of the im-

pacts of other policies on regions. They discuss housing policy and finance, education, tax sharing and fiscal incentives, environmental policy, urban revitalization programs and transportation investment. The policy recommendations that flow from these discussions are plausible and often familiar. But despite this attention to other kinds of policy, the authors leave the distinct impression that a strong physical plan for the region is paramount. "The region—even if it is the basic economic unit in the global economy—cannot thrive unless it is consciously designed with strong physical and economic connections between the city, suburb, and countryside" (276). The authors do not demonstrate the truth of this assertion—surely, few thriving regions were "consciously designed."

In the middle section of the book, the authors describe a number of places in the United States that have instituted some form of regionalism. These include the cities of Portland, Salt Lake City and Seattle; the larger metro regions of New York, Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area; and the states of Maryland, Minneapolis and Florida. They are optimistic about the efforts of the three cities, all of which have instituted physical design efforts of the sort they admire (in fact, of the sort that Calthorpe has been directly involved in). Unsurprisingly, when the other regional efforts have failed, they attribute this to the fact that these efforts have paid little or no attention to physical design. On the whole, this section is a thorough, if partisan, overview of the state of regionalism in practice in the US.

The Regional City has three sections of beautifully rendered color drawings and photographs illustrating Calthorpe's design principles as applied to the development of greenfields and the redevelopment of inner ring suburbs and inner city urban neighborhoods. The book serves as a basic introduction to some of the concepts that have made regionalism popular, and some will find the vision of the authors appealing and inspiring.

Regions That Work

The authors of *Regions That Work* are interested in showing that a regional perspective is important to neighborhood level community development organizations, and that a neighborhood perspective is important to regional level efforts, which are more dependent on processes of globalization than in the past. Their term for this combined focus is "community-based regionalism:"

> The new regionalists...argue that internationalization has helped regions emerge as the key level of economic activity, partly because it is at this level that actors can constitute effective social capital...and a set of industrial clusters. The new community builders likewise stress social capital, noting that the first step to neighborhood development is often rebuilding the basic community fabric and recognizing that neighborhoods should be seen as part of a regional whole in a deeply globalized economy. Community and regional development should be linked. (181)

By far the most empirically ambitious of the works discussed here, *Regions That Work* is a compendium of interviews with Los Angeles community leaders,

statistical analyses of national MSA data and case studies of Charlotte, San Jose and Portland. The book was written by a team of academics at four California universities: Manuel Pastor at the University of California at Santa Cruz, Peter Dreier at Occidental College, Eugene Grigsby at UCLA, and Marta López-Garza at California State University, Northridge.

The authors identify three variants of regionalism: efficiency-based, environmentally-based, and equity-oriented. They describe the third variant as an attempt to "deconcentrate poverty, promote a broader tax base, and provide for a more equitable distribution of resources for schools and other public services" (8). This concern drives the work carried out for this book, which focuses primarily on Los Angeles.

Pastor et al identify four constituencies that have a basis for coalition building founded on an equity-oriented regionalism:

Big-city mayors, who may see regionalism as a way to bring the urban agenda to the fore; residents of the inner-ring suburbs who are frustrated that new infrastructure spending is heading outward as their older communities disintegrate; leaders of community-based organizations who worry that they are "managers of decline" as the region passes them by; and labor unions, particularly metropolitan-based labor councils, that see the fates of their (often immobile) workers tied to the fortunes of the regional economy. (9)

In one of the most interesting sections of the book, the authors provide statistical evidence that metropolitan areas with greater disparities between levels of poverty in suburbs and inner cities have slower economic growth. Their analysis controls for the possibility of reverse causality: slower-growth areas may give rise to greater disparities in poverty levels. This problem has cast doubt on previous studies that show a correlation between income gaps and regional economic health. To deal with it, the authors employ a sophisticated simultaneous equations model.

Unfortunately, the statistical evidence from the model is somewhat weak, as several initial formulations of the model fail to show significant relationships. Furthermore, notwithstanding the fact that one of the models shows statistically significant results, their theory to explain how a higher poverty level in the central city stifles regional growth is not well articulated. One version is as follows:

Businesses often see central-city deterioration as a signal of gaps in labor force skills, infrastructural investments, and protection of property, and may decide to locate manufacturing, service, and retail activities in another region rather than in an outlying suburb. After all, the growing permeability of city and suburb suggests to investors and residents alike that the inner city may be showing the region its suboptimal future. (100)

A more general theory to explain this result, presented as a primary hypothesis but not developed in great detail, is that regions with greater disparities in wealth are more likely to have lower amounts of "social capital," a concept that came into prominence with the work of Robert Putnam. Putnam (1993) found that the economic success of regions in north-

ern Italy was due to the presence of strong civic traditions that fostered horizontal networks of relationships of civic engagement. The authors acknowledge that this complex idea is difficult to relate to the results of their statistical model, noting that "the simplicity of our approach means that the complex chains from equity to social capital to regional growth are largely unspecified" (123).

It is clear that Pastor et al have a particular story to tell, and they ably marshal their evidence to support their story—but at times one gets the impression that alternative explanations have not been closely examined. This is true not only with the statistical analysis, but also with the case studies of San Jose, Charlotte and Portland. For example, while the details in the case studies are interesting and relevant, they do not clearly support the idea that "successful" regions—those that both grow and reduce inequity—are particularly good at social capital building.

Interestingly, despite its emphasis on equity concerns, *Regions That Work* does not include strong ethical or moral arguments about the importance of reconnecting poor and rich people, transferring income or improving services in poor areas. Instead, it relies for the most part on the claim that economic regions will suffer if the gap between rich and poor areas grows larger. However, the book as a whole is an important contribution to the literature connecting the economic fates of regions and their success at maintaining equity between poor and rich. Finally, the conclusion includes some interesting policy recommendations, such as the importance of focusing

regional development strategy on industrial clusters that are less footloose than large-scale industries, refocusing regional infrastructure efforts on existing urbanized areas and regularizing the informal labor sector.

City Making

Both *The Regional City* and *Regions That Work* discuss the economic implications of regionalism in some detail, though their major policy recommendations have little in common. For both books, an important argument for regionalism is that it is necessary to stop the contagion of inner city economic decline from creeping into the inner suburbs and beyond. In *City Making*, Gerald Frug spends relatively little ink on this subject, focusing more on exclusion and the social and cultural consequences of metropolitan fragmentation, and making a strong argument that regional reforms could have benefits that go far beyond economic outcomes.

Frug, a Harvard law professor, addresses the laws and institutions that, he argues, have contributed to metropolitan segregation. Cities are treated like corporations in US law, with the consequence that there is little incentive for city governments to take other than an individualistic approach to decision making. This encourages exclusion, fear and a cycle of deepening segregation.

Much of the discussion of regionalism in the planning literature is vague about the forms that regionalism might take. For example, in *Regions That Work*, Pastor et al claim that the exact form such collabora-

tions will take is less important than the concept: local leaders must learn to think and act regionally. Frug sees things differently. He believes that specific legal reforms are absolutely necessary for regionalism to have any viability, and presents interesting ideas about how to carry out such reforms. Among other innovations, he advocates allowing voting across conventional jurisdictional lines, so that, for example, residents of inner suburbs can vote for council members who are in favor of developing multi-family housing in outer suburbs.

The book has four sections, each based on a previously published law review article. In the first section, Frug discusses the legal status and history of cities, which have resulted in the primacy of property rights as the controlling principle in how cities and suburbs are legally treated. In the second section, he makes a somewhat esoteric, but often fascinating, argument about the need for "decentering cities' subjectivity," or making cities less focused on only local concerns. He relates these arguments to possible governance reforms, such as a "postmodern" form of voting rights, in which voting is no longer based on residential status in a given jurisdiction. Instead, several votes are allocated to each resident of a region, to be used in any local election occurring within that region that strikes the individual's interest (106). A resident of Los Angeles might cast one vote for a particular candidate for Los Angeles mayor and four votes for a particular candidate for mayor of Beverly Hills. As Frug puts it, this section is intended to "suggest the possibility that local government law can be based on

something other than the model of the autonomous individual or the nation-state" (112).

The third section lays out the benefits of creating such institutional changes, while the fourth develops recommendations for changing the nature of city services. Frug argues that city services are commonly misunderstood as "objects of consumption"—an understanding that corresponds to the "voluntary concept" of the city, in which people choose where to live based on a package of amenities offered in that locale (and whether they can afford to live there). Frug's preferred conception, in which city services can foster the development of "other aspects of human nature" such as citizenship and the need for association, is correlated with the "fortuitous association concept" of cities. This concept is developed in the chapter entitled "Community Building," in which Frug spends some time defending the worth of living in cities (versus homogenous suburbs), addressing and contesting the psychological, sociological and political justification for the existence of homogenous suburbs. His idea of community building is in the tradition of Jane Jacobs (1961) and Iris Young (1990: 226-56), who see cities as heterogeneous breeding grounds for creativity, fun, and above all, tolerance. "The purpose of community building is to increase the capacity of metropolitan residents to live in a world composed of people different from themselves…. A consumer's understanding of 'what's-in-it-for-me' fails to capture the ways in which city services can promote not just the public interest but individual self-interest as well… Community building offers an alternative to the priva-

tized conception of what city services are" (117, 176-7).

Frug uses education as an example of a city service that could be reformed regionally and foster community building. Schools should prepare children for living in our diverse society, he says, but most existing school choice proposals (such as vouchers) would intensify the existing process of segregation by income, class and race. However, if schools were administered on a regional basis, the self-isolating tendency of the current neighborhood-level process would be mitigated and the exclusionary education system would be opened up:

> The vast majority of people who live in America's metropolitan areas would benefit from the elimination of the legally created suburban escape hatch. School funding would become more fairly allocated. All residents of the metropolitan area—not just the most mobile—would have a choice about the best school for their children. The concentration of poor people into a limited number of schools would be reduced... Once school systems became organized as fortuitous associations rather than as a series of voluntary organizations, education funding and innovation might even increase. (190)

Frug's conception of regionalism includes regional-level negotiation over decision making and devolution of entitlements to cities. This sort of negotiation could happen in a regional parliament with elected legislators. He points out that such a negotiation process makes policy outcomes for any given metropolitan area unclear, dependent on the outcome of the negotiation. Other conceptions of regionalism often have specific policy prescriptions in mind that are seen by regionalists as being preferable in terms of equity, efficiency or some other criterion. In contrast, Frug sees the process of regional negotiation to be the primary reform—the nature of the resulting policy decision will depend on the issue and region. When it comes to schools, for example, he writes:

> If it turned out that most people in the metropolitan area preferred neighborhood schools, the regional negotiation process would likely focus on making schools comparable enough so that most parents would choose to send their children to neighborhood schools. After all, a school choice program that offered no admission preference to neighborhood residents would undermine neighborhood schools (assuming most people preferred them) only if they substantially varied in quality. If, on the other hand, most people preferred to send their children to the best school in the region wherever it is located, the negotiations might focus instead on the dynamic that now makes residents of poor neighborhoods as reluctant to apply to out-of-district schools as residents of the more prosperous districts are to receive them. (187)

Frug's discussion of how existing delivery systems for education and police services increases isolation and fear of others is thought-provoking and insightful. His policy recommendations have a specificity and novelty that makes his book a must-read even for those who feel they have been over-exposed to the new regionalism. While Frug acknowledges that his ideas can be criticized as romantic and unrealistic, he argues that there is a great deal of potential for widespread recognition of the value of reforming the urban system, even under the banner of privatized self-interest.

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DAN CHATMAN is a doctoral student in the Department of Urban Planning at UCLA.

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Articles must not exceed 25 typed, double-spaced pages (this includes a 100-word abstract, tables, illustrations, endnotes and references). Submissions must follow the style and spelling requirements of the Chicago Manual of Style, 14th Edition. References should be cited in the text using the author's last name, year of publication, and page number where appropriate. Endnotes may be used in moderation.

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Critical Planning
UCLA Department of Urban Planning
School of Public Policy and Social Research
3250 Public Policy Building, Box 951656
Los Angeles CA 90095-1656

critplan@ucla.edu
www.sppsr.ucla.edu/critplan

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