



Volume 96 | Issue 4

Article 9

June 1994

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Recommended Citation

Robert D. Bullard, *Environmental Racism and Invisible Communities*, 96 W. Va. L. Rev. (1994).
Available at: <https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/wvlr/vol96/iss4/9>

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ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM AND 'INVISIBLE' COMMUNITIES

DR. ROBERT D. BULLARD*

It is a new experience speaking to lawyers about environmental justice, environmental racism, and the impact on unequal protection. Environmental racism did not fall out of the sky in 1990. It has been around from the very beginning. First, I would like to give a working definition of environmental racism. *Environmental racism refers to any policy, practice or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities based on race or color.* Racism is reinforced by government, legal, economic, political, and military institutions. Environmental racism is not just a domestic practice. It is global. Environmental racism extends to the export of hazardous waste, risky technologies, and pesticides and the application of nonsustainable and exploited development models to the Third World just as it has been targeted toward people of color, working class people, and poor people in this country.

I'm an environmental sociologist, and I have been black most of my life. Before that I was Negro, and before that I was colored. The same is true for most African-American neighborhoods that were once identified as the "black ghetto," the "Negro ward," the "colored bottom," and the "slave quarters." Distinct African-American neighborhoods have been in existence for a long time. Racism created New York's Harlem, Houston's Freedmen's Town, Atlanta's Butter Milk Bottom, Birmingham's Tuxedo Junction, and Tampa's "The Scrub" long before 1950—the year the census tract was invented. As a matter

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of fact, W.E.B. Du Bois's 1899 *The Philadelphia Negro*¹ is the first empirical neighborhood study. Five decades later, Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake wrote *The Black Metropolis*²—a study of life in Chicago's segregated black neighborhoods. Both of these classic neighborhood studies were carried out before the invention of census tracts.

If we look at the emergence of the environmental justice movement, we can see that the many isolated struggles, protests, disputes, and a few law suits challenged the unequal work and economic conditions of African-Americans. In 1968, for example, Dr. Martin Luther King went to Memphis, Tennessee, on an environmental and economic justice mission involving striking garbage workers. He was killed before he could complete his mission.

In 1979, I was involved in collecting data for a law suit in Houston, Texas—the golden buckle of the sunbelt. Houston was also dubbed the “petro-chemical capital of the world.” It is the only major United States city that does not have zoning. Thus, Houston was seen as the “capitol of unrestrained capitalism.” Houston developed a growth model that was envied around the world. If you had the money, you could build anything and do anything you wanted. What communities paid the price for this unrestrained capitalism, unrestrained growth, and this industrial dependency upon petro-chemical entry?

It is for sure that all of Houston's neighborhoods did share equally in the *benefits* and *burden* of unrestrained growth. In 1979, Northwood Manor—a community in northeast Houston—was the site of a municipal landfill dispute. The Northwood Manor neighborhood was an unlikely candidate for a landfill because it was middle-income, residential, suburban, and over 83% of the residents owned their homes. Moreover, there were no other major industries in the neighborhood. However, the neighborhood was over 80% African-American.

Eight years prior to the facility being built in Northwood Manor, another attempt was made to place a municipal landfill in the same general area. In 1971, the neighborhood was predominately white.

1. W.E.B. DU BOIS, PHILADELPHIA NEGRO (1899).

2. ST. CLAIR DRAKE & HORACE B. CAYTON, THE BLACK METROPOLIS: A STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE IN A NORTHERN CITY (1945).

Because of “white flight” between 1970-1978, the neighborhood had changed over from predominately white to predominately black. The earlier siting proposal was turned down. The reasons given included: (1) the proposed facility would be too close to a school; (2) it would lower the residents’ property values; (3) it would create health hazards from rats, rodents, and other varmints; and (4) it would increase truck traffic and endanger the lives of children who walk to school. These same reasons were offered to public officials by Northwood Manor residents in 1978. Nevertheless, the landfill was built.

The Northwood Manor community was not organized as an environmental community. It was organized basically as a struggle against being dumped on—the landfill struggle was about equal protection and equal justice. However, few environmental groups, civil rights organizations, or judges for that matter understood the issue of environmental racism and environmental discrimination back in 1979.

If you have read chapter six of my book *Invisible Houston: The Black Experience in Boom and Bust*,³ you know the story of the municipal landfill siting in Houston’s African-American neighborhoods. Yes, neighborhoods, not census tracts. Most of Houston’s African-American neighborhoods were established before the invention of census tracts, and many of the city’s waste facilities were sited before 1950. However, census tract data and block statistics were used for the appropriate post-1950 years in determining the racial composition of the neighborhoods at the time the waste facilities opened.

Environmental racism turned many of Houston’s well-established African-American neighborhoods into the dumping ground for household garbage. From the mid-1920s to the late-1970s, a form of *de facto* zoning contributed to all five, or 100%, of the city-owned municipal landfills being located in well-established African-American neighborhoods: Freedmen’s Town/Fourth Ward, Sunnyside, Trinity Gardens, and Acres Homes.

Houston operated eight garbage incinerators (five large incinerators and three mini units). All five of the large city-owned garbage

3. ROBERT D. BULLARD, *INVISIBLE HOUSTON: THE BLACK EXPERIENCE IN BOOM AND BUST* (1987).

incinerators were located in African-American and Latino neighborhoods. Four of the facilities were built in African-American neighborhoods (Freedmen's Town/Fourth Ward, West End-Cottage Grove, Kashmere Gardens, and Sunnyside). The fifth large city-owned garbage incinerator was located in Segundo Barrio, or Second Ward, the mostly Latino Navigation Road neighborhood.

The city contracted with Houston Natural Gas to conduct a pilot mini-incinerator project. Three mini-incinerators were built. One facility was located near the mostly white Larchmont neighborhoods, the other two facilities were located in the mostly African-American Kashmere Gardens and Carverdale⁴ neighborhoods.

The city closed its waste disposal facilities in the early 1970s and contracted out its waste disposal services with private firms. During Houston's booming years, from the early 1970s to the late 1970s, four privately-owned sanitary landfills were used to dispose of Houston's solid waste. Three of these facilities were located in mostly African-American neighborhoods (*i.e.*, two sites were located in the Almeda Plaza neighborhood and one site in the Northwood Manor neighborhood), although African-Americans made up just one-fourth of the city's population. The private waste disposal industry followed the discriminatory waste facility siting pattern that had been established by the all-white Houston city council.

What role did "market dynamics" play in the sorting of waste facility siting decisions in Houston? The historical record is clear, Black Houstonians did not follow the garbage dumps and incinerators—the waste facilities moved into Houston's African-American neighborhoods of Fourth Ward/Freedmen's Town, West End-Cottage Grove, Kashmere Gardens, Sunnyside, Carverdale, Trinity Gardens, Acre Homes, Almeda Plaza, and Northwood Manor. The racial character of these neighborhoods was established *before* the waste facilities were sited.

White racism created Houston's racially-segregated African-American neighborhoods. Such racism was the major determinant in

4. Carverdale is named after the famous African-American scientist George Washington Carver.

distributing the city's waste sites in Houston's African-American neighborhoods—not some race-neutral market dynamics. Because racism, Houston land-use, and residential patterns are intricately linked, the neighborhood was selected as the unit of analysis. Some of Houston's post-1950 neighborhoods are imbedded inside a single census tract, while others comprise parts of multiple tracts and/or entire multiple tracts. For example, the Alameda Plaza neighborhood consists of block groups inside census tract 332. In 1970, the census tract was majority white. However, the block groups that comprised the Alameda Plaza neighborhood (the only neighborhood adjacent to the two permitted Holmes Road landfill sites) had a majority African-American population in 1970. By 1980, the entire census tract was mostly African-American.

Similarly, Houston's Northwood Manor neighborhood, the neighborhood where the Whispering Pines landfill was built in 1978, consists of part of census tract 224. In 1980, the federal government divided the tract into four subparts. Subpart 224.03 of the census tract conforms to the Northwood Manor neighborhood, which was 82.6% African-American in 1980. African-Americans comprised 67.6% of the entire census tract in 1980.

The vast majority of the neighborhoods used in the Houston's waste study conform to city-designated Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program "target" neighborhoods—areas selected by the city officials according to poverty level, housing quality, crowding, and minority concentration. Houston has twenty-five of these CDBG target neighborhoods. The federally-funded CDBG program provided job training, home repair loans, street repair, and health services in multi-purpose centers. Of the thirteen neighborhoods where city-owned waste facilities were sited, twelve were CDBG target neighborhoods.

Environmental justice is not just about facility siting. It also involves issues and concerns around pesticide exposure, lead poisoning, transboundary toxic waste dumping, shipping risky technologies abroad, unequal protection, differential exposures, and unequal enforcement of environmental, public health, civil rights, and housing laws. A new environmental justice paradigm is needed to replace the current system which trades human health for profit, places the burden of proof on

the “victims” as opposed to the polluting industries, legitimize human exposure to harmful chemicals, pesticides, and hazardous substances, exploits economically and politically vulnerable populations, delays clean-up activities based on race, class, and geographic location, and creates an industry around risk assessment, risk management, and risk communication as opposed to risk elimination and pollution prevention.

These are all manifestations of environmental racism and environmental injustice. When we approached EPA and said “Look, it is impossible for the EPA to ensure environmental justice if its work force, assistant administrators, and top level decision makers somehow all look alike—monochromatic. We see something wrong with this television set. It does not come in color. It is only one color: white. We are strong believers in biodiversity and work force diversity. Having a work force that reflects the population is an integral part of environmental justice.”

Now, if we turn to the data, there is overwhelming statistical evidence that race and environmental threats are correlated. For example, even when you control for income, middle income African-American children are three times more likely to be lead poisoned than white children of similar income. Why is this? The answer lies in the correlation between land use, residual segregation, housing patterns, and industrial locations. In many cases where we find communities with polluting facilities, we also find that these same communities have problems with other locally unwanted land uses (LULUs), unpaved streets, inadequate garbage and sanitation services, and poor sewer facilities.

Again, in *Invisible Houston*,⁵ I documented the impact of “Jim Crow” in creating separate and unequal neighborhoods, residential packages, schools, health services, police and fire protection, housing code enforcement, and economic development opportunities. It was not unusual for an African-American neighborhood and a white neighborhood to be located in the same geographic area, say a census tract, and still have the environmental and health threats located in one area—most often the black neighborhood.

5. BULLARD, *INVISIBLE HOUSTON*, *supra* note 3.

Environmental injustice was not confined to Houston. In *Dumping in Dixie*,⁶ I extend the Houston case study to the problem of African-Americans faced with a chemical plant in Institute, West Virginia, hazardous waste facilities in Alsen, Louisiana, a hazardous waste landfill in Emelle, Alabama, and a lead smelter in a Dallas, Texas neighborhood.

The classic example of government inaction and callous disregard for the law is the case of West Dallas. Dallas has always been a predominately black community. When I say predominately black, that is like me saying "my family is predominately black." In many cases, the residual effect of Jim Crow meant that predominately black translated into "all black." West Dallas has a long history of being a dumping ground. One of the city's oldest garbage dumps was located in the neighborhood.

West Dallas was also home to a lead smelter. The neighborhood existed before the smelter was built. Lead waste from the nearby smelter was dumped in the neighborhood beginning in the 1930s, when the RSR Corporation lead smelter was built. The lead smelter operated and poisoned neighborhood residents for over fifty years with the full knowledge of the Dallas Health Department. The earliest study documenting the lead problem was commissioned by the city in 1972. Three federal studies in the early 1980s documented that the lead smelter was the cause of the lead poisoning in West Dallas children. The evidence was overwhelming and irrefutable. However, no action was taken to eliminate this preventable disease.

The lead smelter was located next door to an elementary school, across the street from a 3,500-unit public housing project, the West Dallas Boys Club, and a child care center. An assistant administrator from EPA scrapped a voluntary clean-up program proposed by the industry and suggested that "spreading dirt and planting grass would be sufficient." A lawsuit forced the lead smelter to close in 1984.

6. ROBERT D. BULLARD, *DUMPING IN DIXIE: RACE, CLASS, AND ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY* (1990).

Nevertheless, it took twenty years from the first study in 1972 until 1992 to get a comprehensive clean-up program started in West Dallas. Even after having all of the facts, West Dallas residents still deserve an answer as to why their government allowed an entire generation to be sacrificed. Just last year, West Dallas was designated a Superfund site.

It is ironic that the smelter in West Dallas never had the necessary use permits to operate in the first place. Unlike Houston, Dallas has zoning. In order for that facility to operate in that residential area, it needed to have an industrial permit. The smelter never had such a use permit to operate. Dallas passed a stringent lead ordinance in 1968. However, it did not enforce it. The small fines the city collected from the smelter operation became part of doing business.

A class action law suit was filed by West Dallas residents against the operators of the lead smelter and resulted in a \$35 million dollar settlement—one of the largest lead settlements in the nation. Even when you have laws that are on the books, some policy makers look the other way when communities of color are threatened. Laws and regulations are only as good as their enforcement.

Environmental racism and unequal enforcement of the nation's laws place communities of color at special risk. We documented this in *Invisible Houston*,⁷ *Dumping in Dixie*,⁸ and *Confronting Environmental Racism*.⁹ Still, there are some people who do not believe environmental racism is real, and instead, believe it is some wild idea cooked up by a few radical sociologists. It takes white people to talk about environmental racism before white people believe it is real. For example, two staff writers from the *National Law Journal* (NLJ) conducted a study entitled *Unequal Protection, the Racial Divide and Environmental Law* and uncovered glaring inequities in the way the federal EPA enforces its laws.¹⁰ For example, the NLJ researchers

7. BULLARD, *INVISIBLE HOUSTON*, *supra* note 3.

8. BULLARD, *DUMPING IN DIXIE*, *supra* note 6.

9. *CONFRONTING ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM: VOICES FROM THE GRASSROOTS* (Robert D. Bullard ed., 1993).

10. Marianne Lavelle & Marcia Coyle, *Unequal Protection, the Racial Divide and Environmental Law*, NAT'L L.J., Sept. 21, 1992, at S1-12.

found that "white communities see faster action, better results and stiffer penalties than communities where blacks, Hispanics and other minorities live. This unequal protection often occurs whether the community is wealthy or poor."¹¹ These findings should not be a surprise to anyone because affluent people of color experience racial discrimination just as their lower-income counterparts do. This is the case whether it involves housing, home loans, education, employment, and voting.

The *NLJ* study adds to the body of existing studies on environmental racism and unequal protection. The 1983 United States General Accounting Office report of commercial hazardous waste siting in EPA's Region IV gave us an early look at siting inequity.¹² Three of the four waste facilities were located in mostly African-American communities in 1983. The situation has worsened in a decade. In 1994, right now, one hundred percent of all the offsite commercial hazardous waste landfills in Region IV are in predominately African-American communities. African-Americans make up twenty percent of the reason. The 1987 United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice's *Toxic Wastes and Race*¹³ was a milestone study in getting the issue of siting inequity on the national agenda.¹⁴

Who is leading the charge to change policies and practices in the area of environmental justice? Not lawyers. The leadership is coming from the grassroots groups.¹⁵ Grassroots groups whose communi-

11. *Id.*

12. U.S. GEN. ACCOUNTING OFFICE, PUB. NO. B-211461, SITING OF HAZARDOUS WASTE LANDFILLS AND THEIR CORRELATION WITH RACIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF SURROUNDING COMMUNITIES (1983) [hereinafter GAO STUDY].

13. UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST COMMISSION FOR RACIAL JUSTICE, TOXIC WASTES AND RACE IN THE UNITED STATES: A NATIONAL REPORT ON THE RACIAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITIES SURROUNDING HAZARDOUS WASTE SITES (1987) [hereinafter TOXIC WASTES AND RACE].

14. The TOXIC WASTES AND RACE study was conducted in an effort to determine "whether there was a *national pattern* of disproportionate location of hazardous waste facilities in minority communities similar to that seen in the South" in the GAO STUDY. Paul Mohai & Bunyan Bryant, *Environmental Injustice: Weighing Race and Class as Factors in the Distribution of Environmental Hazards*, 63 U. COLO. L. REV. 921, 922 (1992) (emphasis added).

15. As Luke Cole has explained, the community empowerment movement requires that

ties are endangered do not look at lawyers for their salvation. Moreover, the law is one of many tools grassroots groups are using in their struggle for environmental justice.¹⁶

Historically, the law has been very oppressive in this process—particularly when it requires the “victim” to prove “intentional” discrimination.¹⁷ In too many cases, however, lawyers have disenfranchised, and in some instances sold, communities of color down the river. They have taken the money and run. They have cut deals that have basically cut communities out of the process.

The environmental justice movement is a bottom-up movement. Its leaders come from the “invisible” communities, urban ghettos, barrios, ethnic enclaves, rural “poverty pockets,” and Native American reservations. The movement has been successful in galvanizing broad-based support across geographic, political, racial, and ethnic perspectives as exhibited by the 1991 First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. This gathering was organized *by* and *for* people of color. The Summit was held in Washington, D.C., and attracted over 600 delegates and participants from every state in the nation. Delegates also came from Puerto Rico, Mexico, Chile, and the Marshall Islands.

In 1991, environmental justice leaders initiated a dialogue with then EPA administrator William Riley. Meetings were held on a quar-

“lawyers play second fiddle to community organizations.” Steven Keeva, *A Breath of Justice*, A.B.A. J., Feb. 1994, at 92; see also Luke W. Cole, *Empowerment as the Key to Environmental Protection: The Need for Environmental Poverty Law*, 19 *ECOLOGY L.Q.* 619 (1992).

16. Grassroots groups follow a somewhat different approach than the mainstream environmental groups. As one commentator has explained:

Rather than work toward broad conservationist goals, these grassroots movements focus on specific areas and issues. In addition, these groups are normally formed by local citizens to address local problems. This means local activists may use their membership in other civic or social groups as an “infrastructure” on which to build an environmental equity movement in their own community.

Pamela Duncan, *Environmental Racism, Recognition, Litigation, and Alleviation*, 6 *TUL. ENVTL. L.J.* 317, 363 (1993).

17. See, e.g., *East Bibb Twiggs Neighborhood Ass’n v. Macon-Bibb County Planning & Zoning Comm’n*, 706 F. Supp. 880 (M.D. Ga. 1989), *aff’d*, 896 F.2d 1264 (11th Cir. 1990); *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management Corp.*, 482 F. Supp. 673 (S.D. Tex. 1979).

terly basis with the administrator and his top staff. In 1992, EPA released its *Environmental Equity: Reducing Risks for All Communities* report.¹⁸ The agency also created an Office of Environmental Equity and began environmental justice initiatives within the regions. EPA took the lead in co-sponsoring with the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry and the National Institute for Environmental Sciences the “Equity in Environmental Health: Research Issues and Needs” Workshop. The workshop was held in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina. Papers from the workshop are published in a special issue of *Toxicology and Industrial Health*.¹⁹

The Clinton Administration adopted and extended many of the environmental initiatives begun under the previous administration. For example, measures were undertaken to create a formal environmental justice advisory council (to replace the ad hoc group that had been meeting with the agency) under the Federal Advisory Act (FACA), and an Executive Order on Environmental Justice was signed by President Clinton.²⁰ The Executive Order is basically to address unequal protection—an issue already imbedded in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.²¹ People are saying “Why in the hell do we need an Executive Order to enforce a law that is already in the Constitution?”

Environmental justice leaders have gotten their message into the halls of Congress. There are at least a half dozen bills in Congress that address some aspect of environmental justice and equal environmental protection.

The “Environmental Justice Act of 1993”²² would provide the federal government with the statistical documentation and ranking of the top 100 “environmental high impact areas” that warrant attention.

18. U.S. ENVTL. PROTECTION AGENCY, *ENVIRONMENTAL EQUITY: REDUCING RISK FOR ALL COMMUNITIES* (1992).

19. Ken Sexton & Yolanda Banks Anderson, *Equity in Environmental Health: Research Issues and Needs*, Special Issue 9 *TOXICOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL HEALTH* 679-975 (Sept.-Oct. 1993).

20. Exec. Order No. 12,898, 59 Fed. Reg. 7629 (1994).

21. 42 U.S.C. §§ 2000(e)-1 to -17 (1988 & Supp. 1991).

22. H.R. 2105, 103d Cong., 1st Sess. (1993).

The "Environmental Equal Rights Act of 1993"²³ seeks to amend the Solid Waste Act and would prevent waste facilities from being built in "environmentally disadvantaged communities."

The "Environmental Health Equity Information Act"²⁴ seeks to amend the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA) of 1990²⁵ to require the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR) to collect and maintain information on race, age, gender, ethnic origin, income level, and educational level of persons living in communities adjacent to toxic substance contamination.

The "Waste Export and Import Prohibition Act"²⁶ would ban wastes to non-OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation Development) countries beginning July 1, 1994; the bill would also ban exports to or imports from OECD countries beginning January 1, 1999.

The federal government is not expected to solve all of the environmental and health inequity problems. State action is also needed. A few states have begun to take action. Arkansas²⁷ and Louisiana²⁸ were the first two states to pass environmental justice laws. Virginia²⁹ and Tennessee³⁰ have passed legislative resolutions on envi-

23. H.R. 1924, 103d Cong., 1st Sess. (1993).

24. H.R. 1925, 103d Cong., 1st Sess. (1993).

25. 42 U.S.C. §§ 9601-9675 (1988 & Supp. 1990), amended by 42 U.S.C. §§ 6907-6975 (1988).

26. H.R. 3706, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. (1991).

27. ARK. CODE ANN. §§ 8-6-1501 to -1504 (Michie 1994). The act specifically states: National trends indicate a tendency to concentrate high impact solid waste disposal facilities in lower-income or minority communities. Such facilities may place an onus on the host community without any reciprocal benefits to local residents. The purpose of this subchapter is to prevent communities from becoming involuntary hosts to a proliferation of high impact solid waste management facilities.

Id. § 1501(b); see also William Claiborne, *More Nonwhites Are Living Near Toxic Waste Sites; Racial Disparities Have Grown Despite National Focus on Issue*, WASH. POST, Aug. 25, 1994, at A17 (explaining that Arkansas was the first state to enact an "Environmental Equity Act" that "prohibits the placement of a new incinerator or toxic waste facility within 12 miles of an existing facility unless the affected community decides that increased employment opportunities, revenue from fees or additional community services will provide acceptable compensation.").

28. LA. REV. STAT. ANN. § 30:2011 (West 1994).

29. H.J.R. 529 (1994). This joint resolution allows the Joint Legislation Audit and Re-

ronmental justice. Several other states have pending legislation to address environmental disparities: California,³¹ Florida,³² Georgia,³³ Minnesota,³⁴ New York,³⁵ North Carolina,³⁶ and South Carolina.³⁷

Finally, if we are to address broad public health issues, we must modify the assumption used in risk analysis. These assumptions need to take into account factors of race and ethnicity, cultural differences, and regional differences. One example is that of fish consumption and water quality standards. In making its risk assessment of dioxin, EPA calculates an "average" fish consumer as a white male, 160 pounds, 5' 10", who consumes X grams of fish. Calculations from these assumptions may underprotect certain at-risk populations that may consume larger quantities of fish than the "average." Such underprotected groups include Native Americans in the Great Lakes Region (whose culture, religion, and diet are intricately linked), African-Americans and persons who fish for subsistence in the southern United States (who may consume large quantities of catfish and other scavenger fish taken from polluted streams), and Asians, who not only eat large quantities of fish, but the entire fish.

Other modifications need to be made to our risk and exposure models. We just cannot be satisfied with the one-chemical-at-a-time or the "flavor-of-the-month" model. Looking at one chemical does not approximate the real world in many communities of color where there are multiple threats. Thus, we need to begin developing new methodologies to assess at cumulative, additives, and possible synergistic im-

view Commission to study siting, monitoring, and cleanup of solid and hazardous waste facilities, with special emphasis on the way policies and practices may have impacted minority communities.

30. H.J.R. 146, 98th Gen. Assembly, 1st Sess. (1993).

31. A.B. 2212, 1993-1994 Reg. Sess. (1993).

32. H.B. 1369, 13th Leg., 2d Sess. (1994); S.B. 1442, 13th Leg., 2d Sess. (1994).

33. H.B. 1758, 142d Gen. Assembly, 1993-1994 Reg. Sess. (1994); H.R. 1013, 142d Gen. Assembly, 1993-1994 Reg. Sess. (1994).

34. H.B. 2349, 78th Leg., 1993-1994 Reg. Sess. (1994); S.B. 2233, 78th Leg., 1993-1994 Reg. Sess. (1994).

35. A.B. 5192, 215th Gen. Assembly, 2d Sess. (1993).

36. H.B. 1423, 149th Gen. Assembly, 1993 Sess. (1993).

37. H.B. 3824, 1993 Statewide Sess. (1993).

pacts of chemicals. We also have to examine their neurotoxic, reproductive, developmental, and respiratory effects.

On the Southside of Chicago, residents do not just have dioxin occurring by itself. They have dioxin, lead, benzene, mercury, asbestos, and a host of other threats from nearby polluting industries. Similar multiple exposure can be found in chemical corridors of Richmond, California and "Cancer Alley" in Louisiana, the 85-mile stretch along the Mississippi River from Baton Rouge to New Orleans. There are many communities that fit this model. We have to do the science and change this thing. I am optimistic that we can change the way we protect the health of our communities and the environment. There is a lot of work that needs to be done. I think law schools are a good place to start.