

# A Just Transition for Jobs and the Environment



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The Public Health Institute and the Labor Institute  
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Draft 7.2



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and  
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# Jobs and the Environment National Training Program

The Public Health Institute, in cooperation with the organizations listed below, has organized a national training effort on jobs, the community and the environment. The effort consists of day-long workshops for mixed groups of union members, and environmental and community justice activists conducted by teams of worker and community peer trainers. The workshops take place primarily at union halls near petrochemical facilities. This workbook is designed for use during these workshops. If you would like further information on this project, please contact the Public Health Institute, 853 Broadway, Room 2014, New York, NY 10003 (212-674-3322).

This workbook is written and produced by the staff of the Public Health Institute and the Labor Institute (members of PACE Local 2-149), and the Just Transition Consortium.

## Consortium Members

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Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada  
The Labor Institute  
Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union

The Asian Pacific Environmental Network  
The Northeast Environmental Justice Network  
The Indigenous Environmental Network  
The Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice

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## **Overview: Jobs, Economy and the Environment Training Program for Labor, Environmental and Environmental Justice Activists**

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Nature has become a central issue for our economy, and economics has become a central issue for virtually every regulation to protect nature and public health. No longer can we speak of unlimited resources or the taming and cultivation of wilderness without questioning the impact on the earth which we depend on for life and worship. And no longer can we contemplate environmental protection without thinking about its impact on the industries, workers, and communities that survive on production that adversely affects the environment and public health.

The collision between nature, community and the economy signals a new era of environment/jobs tension and conflict, especially where the toxics worker lives and works in the same polluted community. Labor unions and mainstream environmental organizations (e.g., Sierra Club, Greenpeace, etc.) increasingly are pitted against each other, each side struggling for what it perceives as survival and each side overlooking the concerns of the environmental justice organizations, which broadly redefine "the environment" as the places where we work, live, play, worship and study, and which recognize that environmental and economic concerns are interdependent, especially in communities dominated by people of color.

Also at stake is the survival of a more socially just vision for the future. For as the tension between workers and people who struggle for environmental and public health protection increases, our ability to challenge transnational corporate power and abuse decreases. Neither a new social vision nor environment/labor peace can be achieved without tackling the fundamental dominance of corporate power.

It is, therefore, the purpose of this program to use training and education to build a core of environmental, environmental justice and labor activists from around the country who understand each other's concerns and who understand the basic economic forces producing these tensions. Our hope is to develop lay trainers from

the labor, environmental and environmental justice movements who in turn will train their peers on new ways to understand, and perhaps even solve, this difficult issue.

To achieve this purpose the program will help lay trainers to develop two kinds of skills. The first kind is analytical skills to increase understanding of the conflicts between economic, public health and environmental issues and why they often get expressed as tensions between the people whose jobs are at risk and their neighborhoods.

The second kind is democratic training and leadership skills that contribute to the empowerment of, and cooperation between rank and file members of environmental, environmental justice and labor groups.

### **Analytical Skills**

To understand the tensions between people concerned about their health and economic welfare where they live, work, go to school, worship and play, a basic understanding of how our political economy functions is required.

Labor/environmentalist/environmental justice participants in this program need to gain a familiarity with how a corporate-dominated economy works. They will be asked to analyze a variety of arguments and models of why the jobs and environment problems exist and what can be done about them to achieve a sustainability that benefits the environment and the vast majority of people.



## **Democratic Training and Participation Skills**

This program is one of mutual learning and sharing. It depends on training people who will in turn go out and train others. Such learner-trainers will need to develop skills to enable them to:

1. Engage their peers in discussion and debate using small group problem solving methods that allow for the transfer of empowering information and analysis.
2. Elicit democratic participation from the wide variety of viewpoints expressed by worker, environmental and environmental justice participants.
3. Learn to develop the collective creativity of a workshop in order to contribute to the building of a common labor/environment/environmental justice agenda.

## **The Workshop Agenda**

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This workbook and course are designed to help labor, environmental justice, and environmental activists build a common economic agenda that tackles both the jobs and environmental issues.

To find such common ground, we believe, requires sharing and establishing a common data base. Labor, environmental justice and environmental participants need to share a common picture of the current state of the problem before common solutions are possible. This curriculum is ordered in a specific way to build a common understanding of the problems involved and then to work towards common solutions, if possible.

Because this is a step by step process, we ask for your patience. We can't tackle the entire problem at once. It's just too big and complicated. Rather, we need to build carefully. The following explains what each part is and how it contributes towards the final effort of forming a common agenda.

### **Activity 1: Public Attitudes Towards Jobs and the Environment**

This is an introductory "warm-up" activity to introduce the participants to each other and to national polling data on the jobs and environment problem.

The task will consist of a short questionnaire that each table will fill out on environmental and job security issues. The factsheets will report on a variety of poll data which show that the American public is very much in favor of environmental improvement – **unless it adversely impacts jobs.**

We suspect that the poll of workshop participants will show that all the participants consider themselves to be environmentalists or community justice advocates. However, we suspect that the labor participants will also be extremely worried about their job security and would be forced to side with their companies if environmental change threatened their jobs.

### **Activity 2: The Impact of Job Loss**

This section focuses directly on the question of job security. It directs the participants to data on trends in the labor market. The data clearly portray the overall rise in joblessness, the rise of lower wage labor and the destruction of higher wage, blue collar employment and resulting health impacts. Studies which chart the wage and income impact of plant closures will also be reviewed.

### **Activity 3: Toxic Roulette**

This activity, written by a team of community, environmental justice, and union activists, focuses on the community perspective. We'll look more closely at the impact of toxic chemicals on community residents.

### **Activity 4: Pollution Prevention and Jobs**

Pollution prevention is the key to improving the environment. This activity explores its mixed impact on jobs.

### **Activity 5: Towards Solutions to the Jobs and Environment Conflict**

We'd like to find out if it's possible to have the participants develop portions of a common worker/environmentalist/environmental justice economic agenda, as well as a process for engaging with one another. To spur their thinking they will evaluate several kinds of solutions, including alternative economic development, free-market incentives, reconversion, superfund for workers, the principles of environmental justice, the Jemez Principles, etc. The point is not to convince the workshop to adopt given proposals, but rather to encourage an effort within the workshop of creating an economic agenda.

## **The Small Group Activity Method (SGAM)**

The training activities in this workbook use the Small Group Activity Method.

### **Why a Non-Lecture Approach?**

Educators have learned the hard way that adults learn best in situations that maximize active participation and involvement. The trainer-centered, lecture-style teaching methods used in most programs actually hurt the learning process, promote passivity on the part of participants, de-value our knowledge and skills, and make us feel inadequate. As we all know, too many lectures "go in one ear and out the other."

The Small Group Activity Method puts the learner in the center of the workshop. Participants are put to work in the workshop, solving real-life problems, building upon our own skills and experiences. Instead of learning by listening, as we are expected to do in a lecture-style course, **we learn by doing.**

### **Origins**

The Small Group Activity Method is based on a training procedure developed by England's Trade Union Congress (TUC). (The TUC is the organizational equivalent of the AFL-CIO.) The TUC used this participatory, non-lecture method to train over 250,000 shop stewards on health and safety issues in the 1970s and early 1980s.

The Labor Institute in New York, which had pioneered a similar method around economic issues for workers, further developed the procedure into the Small Group Activity Method.

Through the use of this non-lecture approach, the Labor Institute has succeeded in training workers to be trainers. Since 1980, the Labor Institute has shared this method with over 200 different unions and community groups in the United States and Canada.\*

\*Currently there are over 150 worker-trainers using this method in the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union and the Service Employees International Union.

## Basic Structure

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The Small Group Activity Method is based on **activities**. An activity can take from 30 minutes to an hour. Each activity has a common basic structure:

- **Small Group Tasks**
- **Report-Back**
- **Summary**

**1. Small Group Tasks:** The workshop always operates with people working in groups at tables. (Round tables are preferable.) Each activity has a **task**, or set of tasks, for the groups to work on. The idea is to work together, not to compete. Very often there is no *one* right answer. The tasks require that the groups use their experience to tackle problems, and make judgments on key issues. Part of the task often includes looking at factsheets and reading short handouts.

**2. Report-Back:** For each task, the group selects a **scribe** whose job it is to take notes on the small group discussion and report back to the workshop as a whole. (The report-back person was first called the "scribe" by a worker-trainer during a 1982 session with Merck stewards in New Jersey.) During the **report-back**, the scribe informs the entire workshop on how his or her group tackled the particular problem. The trainer records these reports on large pads of paper in front of the workshop so that all can refer to it. After the scribe's report, the workshop is opened to general discussion about the problem at hand.

**3. Summary:** Before the discussion drifts too far, the trainer needs to bring it all together during the **summary**. Here, the trainer highlights the key points, and brings up any problems and points that may have been overlooked in the report-back. Good summaries tend to be short and to the point.

## **Three Basic Learning Exchanges**

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The Small Group Activity Method is based on the idea that every workshop is a place where learning is shared. With SGAM, learning is not a one-way street which runs from trainer to worker. Nor is SGAM simply a bull-session where we all sit around and talk. Rather, SGAM is a structured procedure that allows us to share information. It is based on three learning exchanges:

- **Worker to Worker**
- **Worker to Trainer**
- **Trainer to Worker**

**Worker to Worker:** Most of us learn best from each other. We should never underestimate how much real education takes place from worker to worker. SGAM is set up to make this worker-to-worker learning exchange a key element of all of our workshops. We do this by first allowing people to learn from each other by solving problems in their small groups.

**Worker to Trainer:** Lecture-style training assumes that the trainer knows all the answers. SGAM is based on the belief that trainers also have a lot to learn. In many subjects, any group of workers will often have as much, or more, collective knowledge as any one expert or teacher. With SGAM, the trick is to learn as much as possible from the workshop participants. This is done mainly during the report-backs. Because SGAM allows us to listen to those we are training, we get to learn more and more about the realities people face. Also, because our training method shows genuine respect for worker knowledge, it helps build confidence among those we are training. Confidence is the key to adult learning.

**Trainer to Worker:** This is the traditional learning procedure of school. It also has its place in SGAM. It comes at the end. This is our chance to clear up confusion and make the points we think are key. By waiting until the summary section, we now know better what people need to know.

# Training Technique Worksheet

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Trainers: \_\_\_\_\_

Training Location: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of Participants: \_\_\_\_\_

Groups Involved: \_\_\_\_\_

## 1. Preparation

- Line up meeting with local groups' leadership to give background and information that you are going to try to cover.
- Check meeting place and make certain lunch plans are in place.
- If class is scheduled during the same week as the local meeting, make a presentation to help recruit at local meeting.
- Make certain there are extra workbooks and felt tip pens.
- If local leadership approves, contact the media about the class.
- Make sure you have planned an activity that is flexible leading into lunch. (Just in case lunch comes early or late.)

## 2. Room Set-up (works best the day before)

- Arrange proper tables for groups, good spot for you and paper.
- Make certain groups are far enough from each other.
- Paper, markers, tape, etc., ready to go.
- Name tags and sign up sheets.
- All materials in place.
- Poster and distribution of material.
- Minimize distractions.



### 3. Trainers' Preparation

- Make certain that you spend at least a few hours preparing before the day of the training.
- Go over in detail which activities you are going to do and who is going to do what in each activity.
- Review the workbook so you know which charts you may want to emphasize in your summaries.
- Work out a system to keep each other from lecturing.

### 4. Introducing the Activity

- Introduce yourself.
- Have people introduce themselves.
- Briefly** explain this training method.
- Read purpose of activity.
- Give groups simple instructions and move into small group task as soon as possible.
- Rearrange groups if necessary.
- Explain role of scribe, make sure one in each group is selected and rotate with each activity.
- Keep your introductory remarks to a minimum, get them into the activity as soon as you can.

### 5. During Small Group Discussion

- Be available to help but don't interfere.
- Help a group that might be stuck or lost.
- Cut off discussion before they are done, but not too soon.
- Make sure each group is diverse (you may want to mix the tables).

## 6. The Report-back

- Decide how you'll get the information from the group. (One item from each group, or what?)
- Figure out the roles of the two trainers. (Who will write up front? Who will run the discussion? etc.) Record responses on tear off pad.
- Don't rephrase or put words in people's mouths.
- Keep purpose in mind so you don't get lost.
- Don't argue with the participants.
- Make sure you hear from each scribe first before you throw the discussion open.
- Try not to let one person dominate the discussion.
- Encourage discussion of different points of view.
- Don't let any one activity continue indefinitely.
- Don't put anyone down. Always be supportive and encouraging. Continually build the confidence of the group.
- Don't slip into being the expert lecturer. Remember this is a participant-centered program, not a traditional teacher-centered class.
- End the discussion before it drags on too long.
- Fill out the evaluation sheets **after each activity**.

## 7. Summary

- Remember to congratulate the group on all they were able to come up with on their own.
- Highlight just a few main points that people might have missed. Your summary should focus on something new or essential. You don't need to repeat the entire summary list.
- Summarize the main point you were trying to get across in the activity.
- Try to refer to at least one graph or page from the workbook to bring the point home.
- Again, avoid the temptation to lecture. No summary should take longer than five to ten minutes.
- Try to bridge from this activity to the one that follows.
- Be sure the evaluations are filled out.

## 8. Follow-up

- If there are questions which the instructor cannot answer, he/she should refer it to the Labor Institute for follow-up.
- Return evaluations to the Labor Institute.
- Send a note of appreciation to groups participating.
- After session, trainers should critique their own class to determine what works for next class.
- Send in this check list to the the Labor Institute. Make certain that the questions below are answered fully.

**9. General Comments:**

Describe at least one thing each trainer did that worked well.

Describe which activity you feel worked the best.

# Activity 1: Public Attitudes Towards Jobs and the Environment

## Purpose

To share our perspectives on the jobs/environment issue.

To review national poll data on economic and environmental issues.



## **Task**

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In your groups, please read over the following questions or statements. Then together come up with a response. When you're done, please compare your results with the national poll data on pages 18 through 22.

**1. What, in your opinion, are the three most important and pressing issues facing people in the U.S. today?**

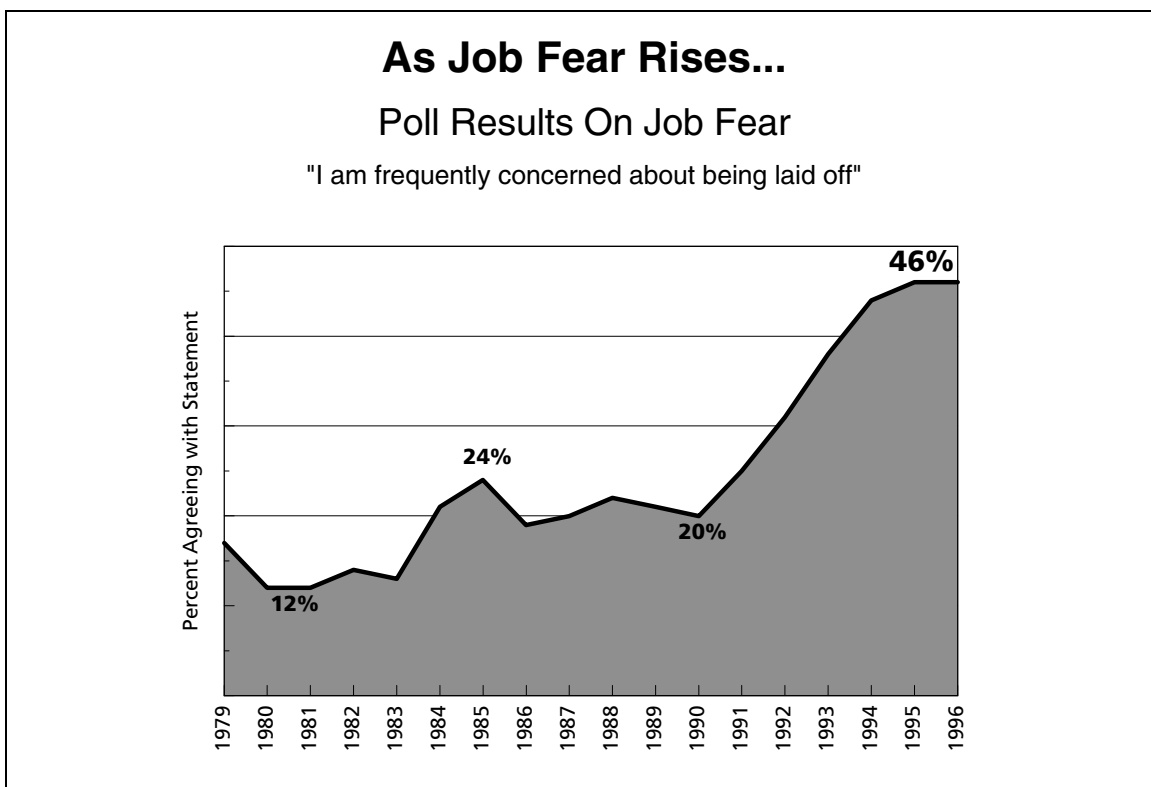
**2. Overall, do you feel the natural and human environment has gotten better, worse or stayed the same over the last 20 years?**

**3. In your opinion, do most of your co-workers and/or neighbors believe that pollution-producing plants should be closed? Why or why not?**

**4. Do you believe that it is possible to have environmental progress, community justice and job security for workers in toxic-related industries? Why or why not?**

# 1. When Job Insecurity Rises, Environmental Priority Declines

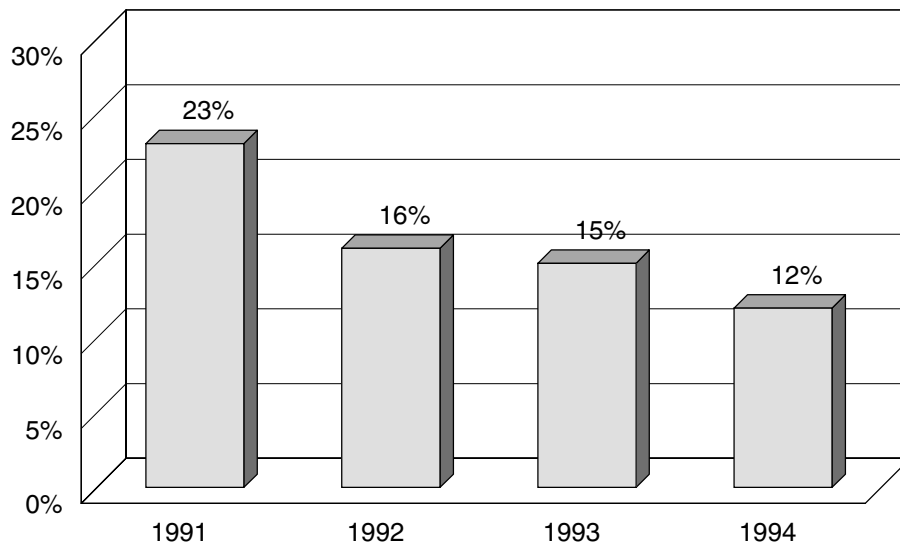
Jobs and the environment are important issues for all of us. But as job insecurity rises, pollution of our air and water become less of a concern for many. The charts below look at two polls covering the same time period. The first shows the dramatic rise in job insecurity from 1991 to 1996. The second looks at the drop in those who listed "pollution of the air and water" as one of the "two or three [issues] you personally are most concerned about today."





### **...Concern About the Environment Declines**

Percent Who Cite Pollution As One of the  
"Two or Three Issues You Are  
Most Concerned About Today."

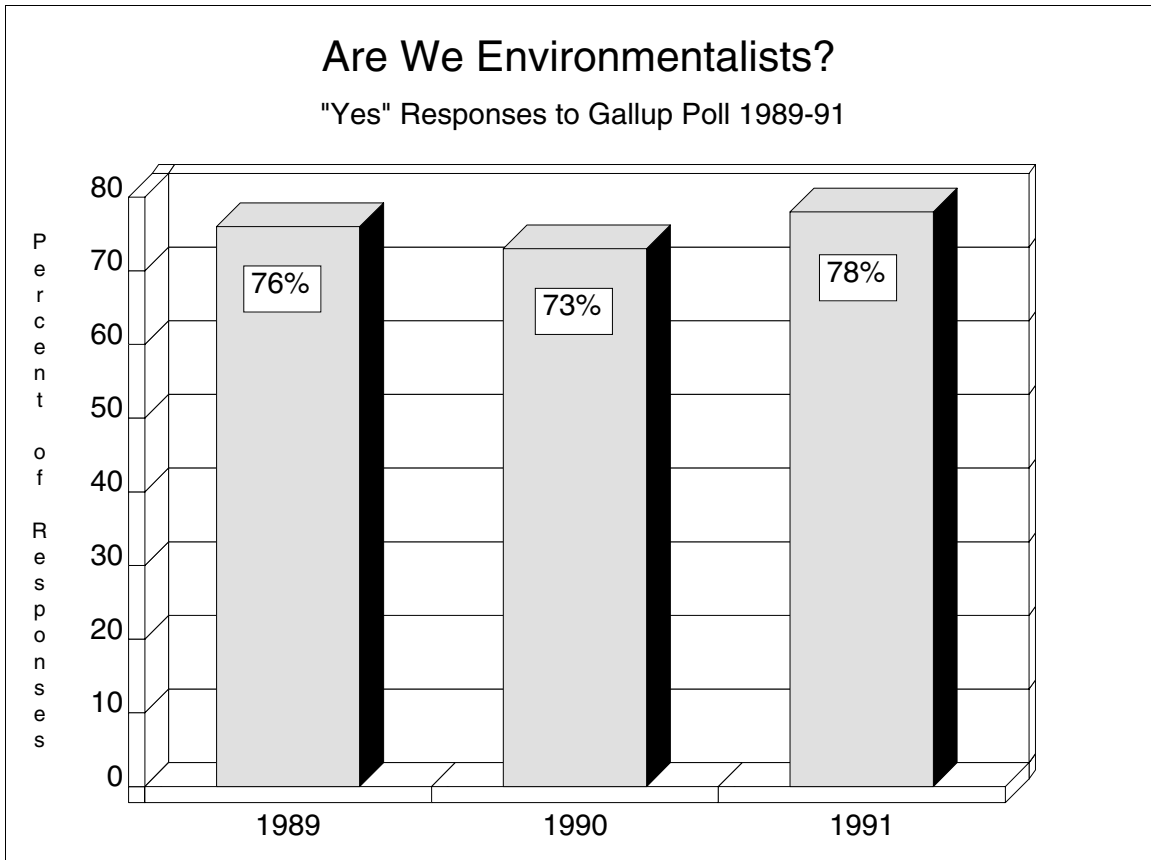


Source: Surveys by Roper Starch Worldwide, Inc.

## 2. Most of Us Call Ourselves Environmentalists

The worker/environmentalist conflict is full of contradictions. Polls show that most people in this country consider themselves to be environmentalists. And, of course, most environmentalists have to work for a living, too.

**"Do you consider yourself to be an environmentalist?"**



Source: Data from Graham Hueber, "Americans Report High Levels of Environmental Concern, Activity," *The Gallup Poll Monthly*, April 1991, p. 6.

### 3. Environment Is...

The environment is usually defined in terms of nature – our air, water, land, trees, and animals. However, people who are involved in the environmental justice movement define the environment more broadly. Neighborhoods, workplaces, schools, playgrounds, and holy places are all part of the environment, and are places that have been polluted by toxic hazards.

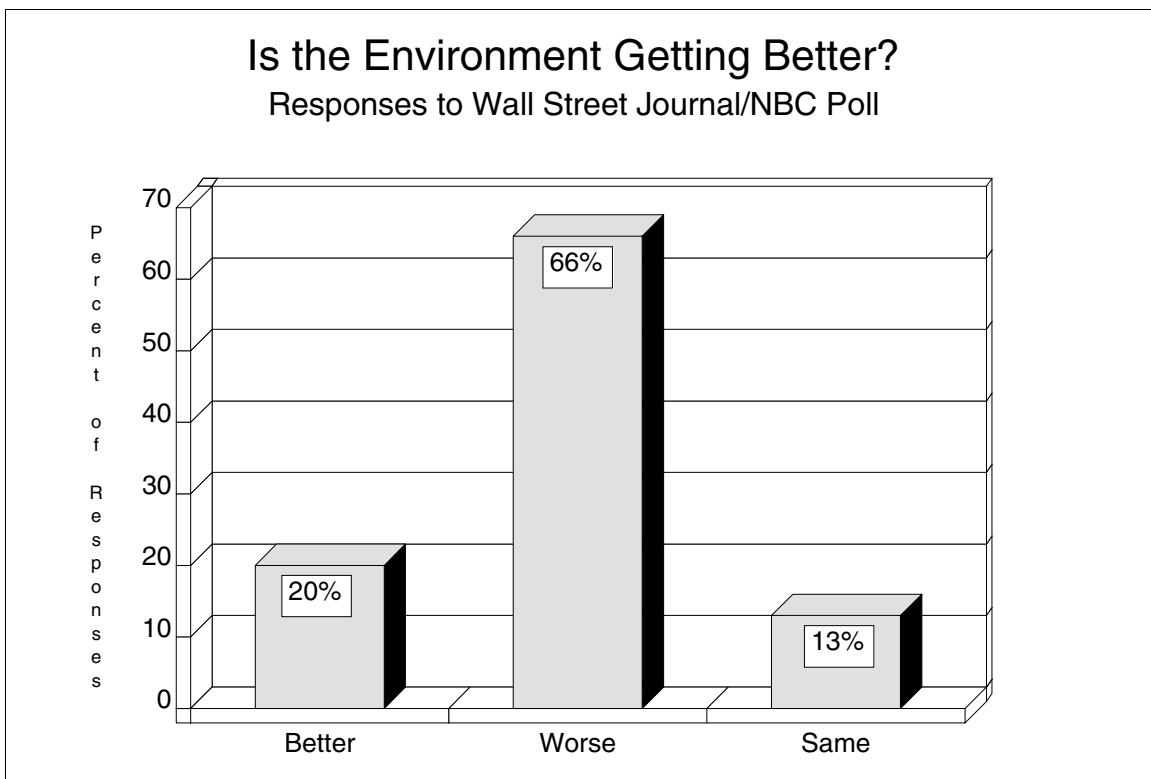
**The Environment is the place  
where people:**

**Live  
Work  
Study  
Play  
Worship**

## 4. Most of Us Feel the Environment Is Getting Worse

Since Earth Day 1970, environmental action has been on the rise. Regulations of all kinds have grown in content and in number. But, do we all feel that the environment has improved? For most of us the answer is "no." According to poll data, nearly two-thirds of us believe that the environment is getting worse.

**"Overall, do you feel the environment has gotten better, worse or stayed the same over the last 20 years?"**



Source: Data from Rose Gutfeld, "Eight of 10 Americans Are Environmentalists, At Least So They Say," *Wall Street Journal*, August 2, 1991.

## **Summary: Public Attitudes Towards Jobs and the Environment**

The factsheets on pages 18 through 22 suggest that:

1. Most people in America are concerned both about jobs and about the environment.
2. Environment is defined as the place where people live, work, study, play, and worship.
3. Most people believe that environmental quality is declining.
4. However, environmental support seems to decline as job insecurity rises.
5. We would all like to see environmental progress and job security. The goal for the rest of this workshop is understanding what it will take to succeed in both areas.



## Activity 2: The Impact of Job Loss

### Purpose

To become familiar with basic trends in the labor market.

To gain a deeper understanding of why so many working people are concerned about their job security.



## Task 1

---

Assume that you're attending a labor/environment community meeting and a speaker makes the following statement. In your groups, please read over the statement and the factsheets on pages 27 through 42. Then together, come up with a response to this statement. If possible, try to refer to at least one factsheet in presenting your response.

"As a nation, we cannot afford to let the issue of job insecurity stand in the way of environmental progress. The world of work is always changing. Progress has always required that workers leave certain professions (milkmen, elevator operators, workers at chemical plants where lead for gasoline was produced, apparel workers in the U.S. when jobs move overseas, etc.) as they become obsolete.

"It may be time for toxic workers to face this reality. Some toxic-related jobs must go. These toxic workers should be able to find decent paying work in other areas. After all, over the last decade millions of new jobs were created.

"So let's not over-exaggerate the jobs issue. Workers are resilient. They will find the new jobs to replace the old jobs that might have to go."

### 1. How would you respond to this statement?



# 1. The Problem: Between 1990 and 1997 Millions of New Jobs Are Created . . . But Few Good Ones for Working People

Between 1990 and 1997, over 11 million wage and salary jobs were added to the economy. The new jobs were created almost entirely at the very top of the income ladder or at the very bottom.\* The following chart shows some of the jobs that were destroyed and created.

<b>New jobs are added at the top . . .</b>	
Executive and Managerial	+3,601,000
Professionals	+3,427,000
<b>. . . and at the bottom . . .</b>	
Clerical	+1,412,000
Retail Sales	+648,000
Food Service	+640,000
Personal Service Occupations (Hairdressers, child care, etc.)	+463,000
Nurses Aides and Orderlies and Dental Assistants	+423,000
<b>. . . but, jobs for middle income Americans are destroyed</b>	
Secretaries, Typists, Stenographers	-963,000
Computer Equipment Operators	-423,000
Machine Operators, Assemblers and Inspectors	-109,000

\* The only major blue collar growth occupations were "motor vehicle operators" (+500,000) and "precision production, craft and repair" (+483,000).

Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, January 1991 and 1998.

## 2. Environmentally Sensitive Industries Hit Hard by Job Loss

While the economy added almost 9 million private sector jobs from 1990 to 1996, workers in environmentally sensitive industries, including chemical, petroleum, and mining, were hit hard. Workers in these three industries lost 220,000 jobs during this period. The chart below shows how these industries were impacted.

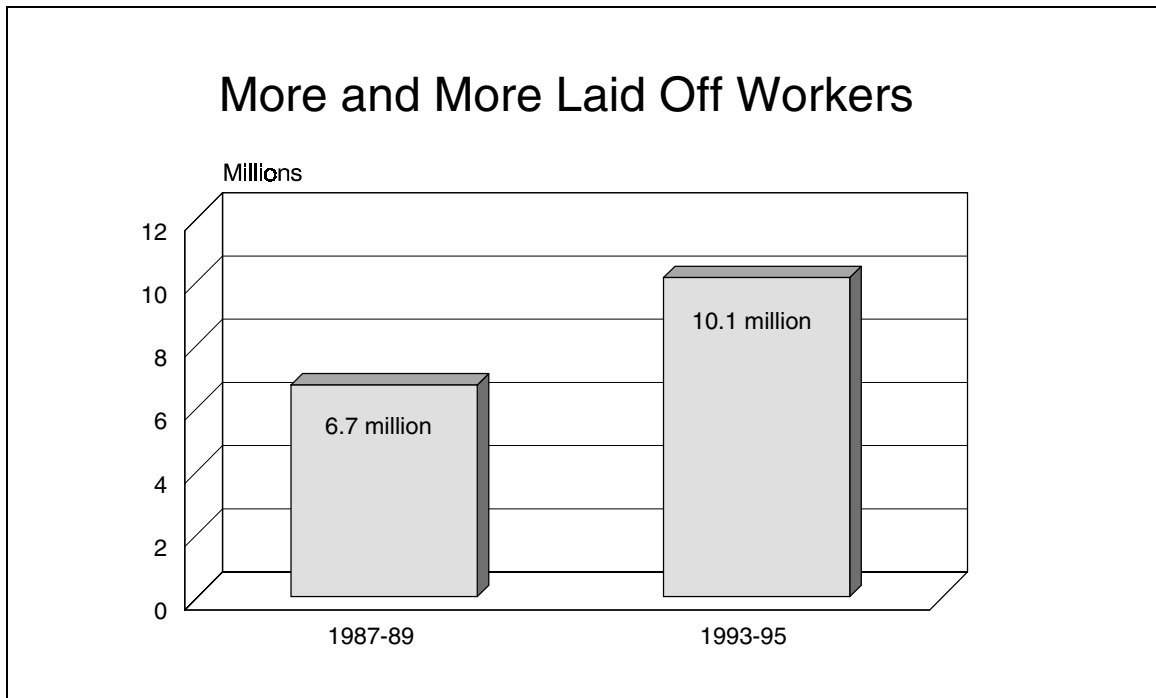
<b>Job Losses in the Petrochemical and Mining Industries, 1990-1996</b>			
	<b>1990 Jobs</b>	<b>1996 Jobs</b>	<b>Job Loss</b>
Chemical and Allied Products (excluding drugs)	855,000	773,000	-82,000
Mining and Quarrying	318,000	256,000	-62,000
Oil and Gas Extraction	394,000	318,000	-76,000
<b>Total Loss 1990 - 1996</b>			<b>-220,000</b>

\* Figure for 1996 includes marketing, sales and technicians and related support occupations. Figure for 1990 may not include these occupations.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Career Guide to Industries*, various issues, Washington, DC: U.S. GPO.

### 3. The Problem: Layoffs Are Rising and Most Workers Don't Find Decent Jobs

Despite all the new jobs, layoffs are increasing. As the first chart below shows, between 1987 and 1989, 6.7 million workers were laid off. From 1993 to 1995 the number jumped to 10.1 million workers.

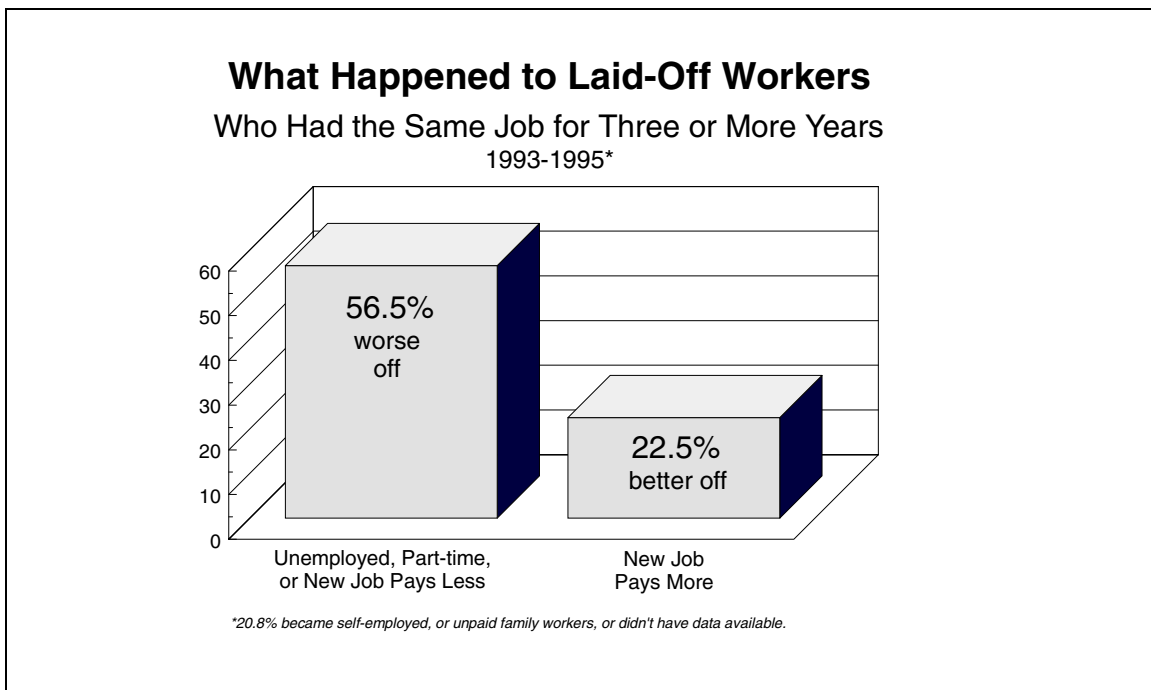


Source: *The New York Times*, December 22, 1996, p. 22.

*continued*

### 3. (continued)

What happened to those workers? The Labor Department recently completed a study that provides some of the answer. They looked at the 4.2 million workers who had held full-time jobs for three years and then were laid off between 1993 and 1995. They didn't even look at the 5.2 million workers who lost their jobs after being on the job for less than three years. (That means they studied the most experienced group that should have done the best.) But even these experienced workers have great difficulties. Only 22.5 percent found jobs paying the same or more. The majority of laid off workers either found jobs that paid less (24.7 percent), were part-time (5.4 percent) or couldn't find jobs at all (26.4 percent)!



Sources: *The New York Times*, December 22, 1996, p. 22; Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Worker Displacement During the Mid-1990s*, USDL 96-446, October 25, 1996.

## 4. The Result: There Are Not Enough Decent Jobs to Go Around

What's a decent job? Most people would agree that a decent job is one that pays at least enough to get you above the poverty line – which is about \$16,000 for a family of four. Given this definition, our corporate dominated economy is clearly unable to generate enough decent jobs for all who want and need them. In fact, about **one out of four of us are either without work, underemployed, or working full time below the poverty line**. What is the shortfall in above-poverty-line jobs? The following table adds up the damage.

<b>The Shortfall in U.S. Jobs 1997 (except where noted)</b>	
	# of Workers
Unemployed (actively seeking work)	6,739,000
Unemployed (want jobs but not actively seeking work)	4,941,000
Part time (not by choice)	4,068,000
Full time (with wages below poverty line)	16,245,360*
<b>Total shortfall (jobs needed above poverty line)</b>	<b>31,993,000 jobs</b>
Total civilian workforce**	141,238,000**
<b>Shortfall as percent of total workforce</b>	<b>22.7%</b>

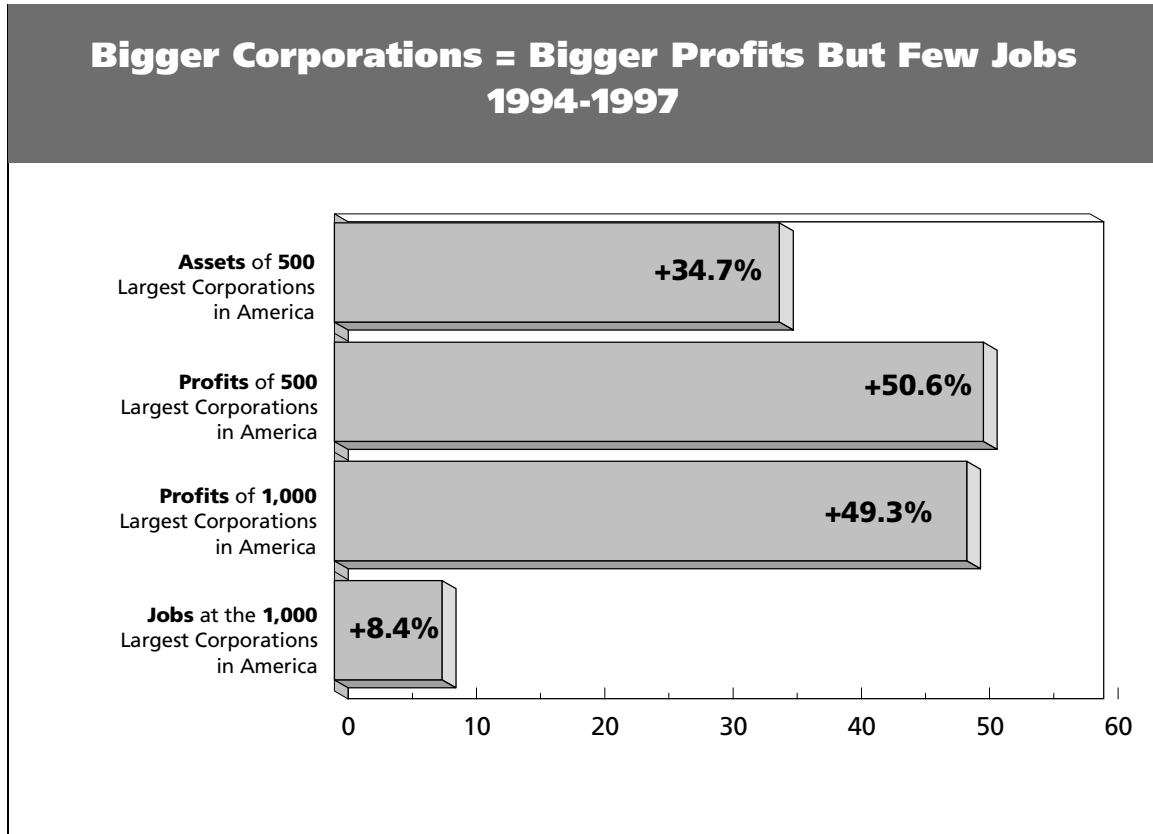
\* For 1996. Uses 1990 estimate of 18 percent of full-time, year-round workforce working below poverty line for a family of four (see Rick Wartzman, "Segment of Full-Time Workers Earning Very Low Wages Surges in Past Decade," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 12, 1992).

\*\* Includes people who want jobs but aren't actively looking.

Sources: Data from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, January 1998; and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Poverty in the United States: 1996," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, Washington, DC: USGPO, 1997.

## 5. Bigger Corporations = Bigger Profits But Few Jobs

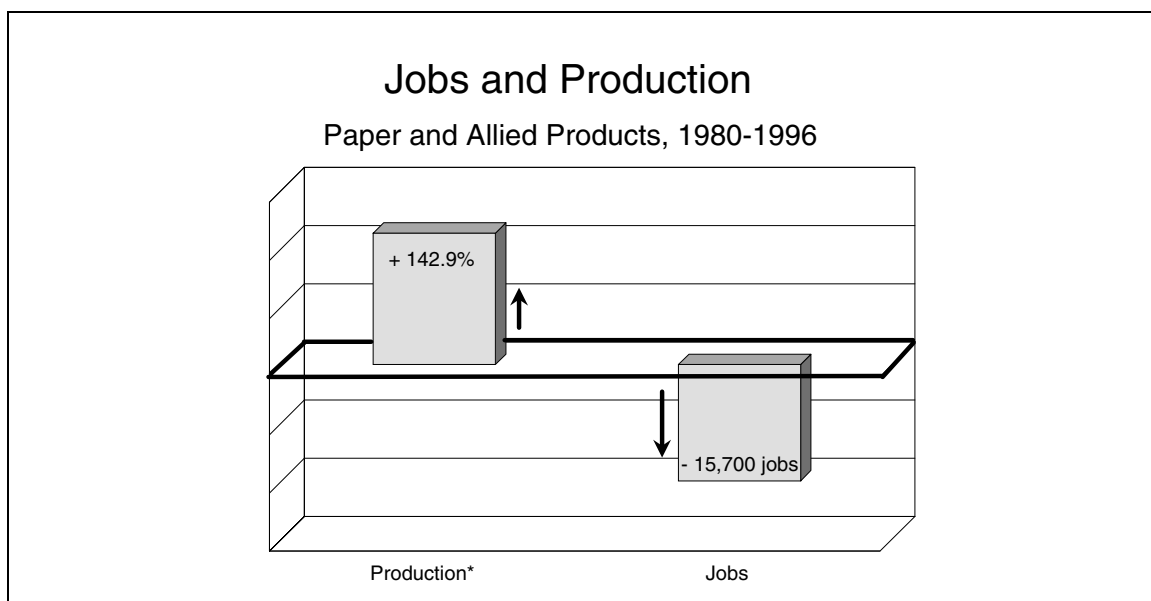
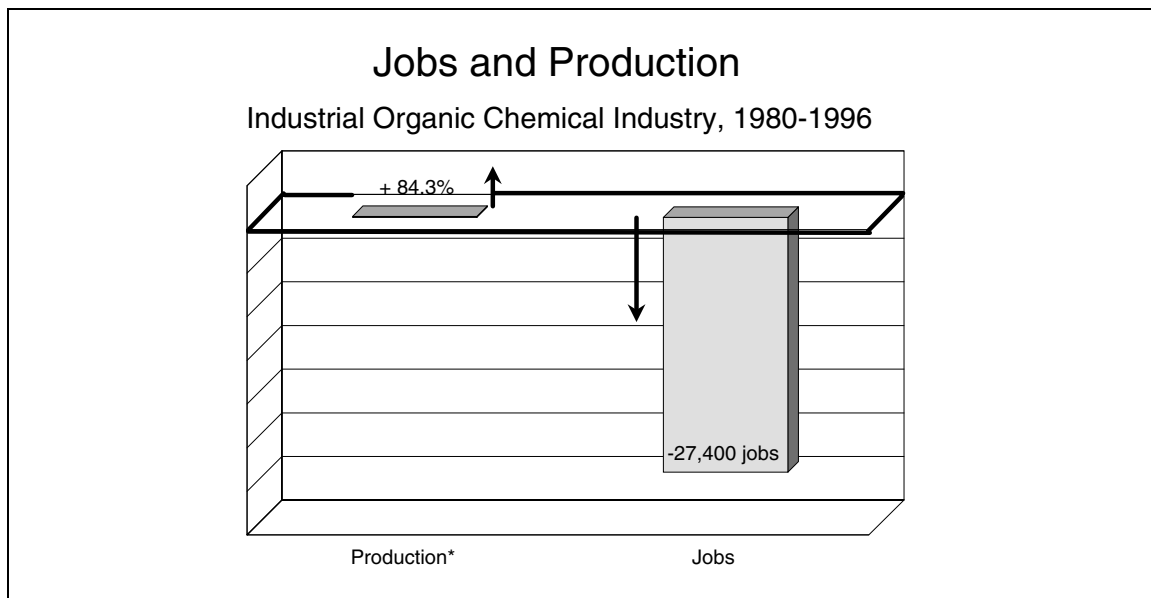
The U.S. economy was booming from 1994 to 1997. Corporations grew and greatly increased their profits. But it didn't trickle down very far. As the chart below shows, profits of the thousand largest corporations jumped 49.3 percent, but jobs grew by only 8.4 percent.



Sources: Compiled from "The Fortune 500: The Largest U.S. Industrial Corporations," *Fortune*, May 15, 1995 and April 27, 1998.

## 6. In the Chemical and Paper Industries Production Is Up, But Jobs Are Down

Corporations are producing more and more with fewer and fewer workers. For example, in the industrial organic chemical industry from 1980 to 1996 production jumped 84 percent. At the same time 29,200 jobs were destroyed. The story is similar for paper and allied products. Between 1980 and 1996, production jumped 142 percent but 15,700 jobs were cut.



\*Value added.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Annual Survey of Manufacturers*, various years, Washington, DC: U.S. GPO.

## 7. How? Big Corporations Use the Four Horsemen of the Workplace to Kill Jobs

As corporate power rises, so does the power to drastically reduce production worker jobs. Giant corporations kill jobs using what economists call the "Four Horsemen of the Workplace."

### *Horseman #1: Globalization*

Shifting jobs around the world, away from areas where there are decent wages, labor and environmental standards to low wage areas with weak or non-existent regulations.

### *Horseman #2: Automation*

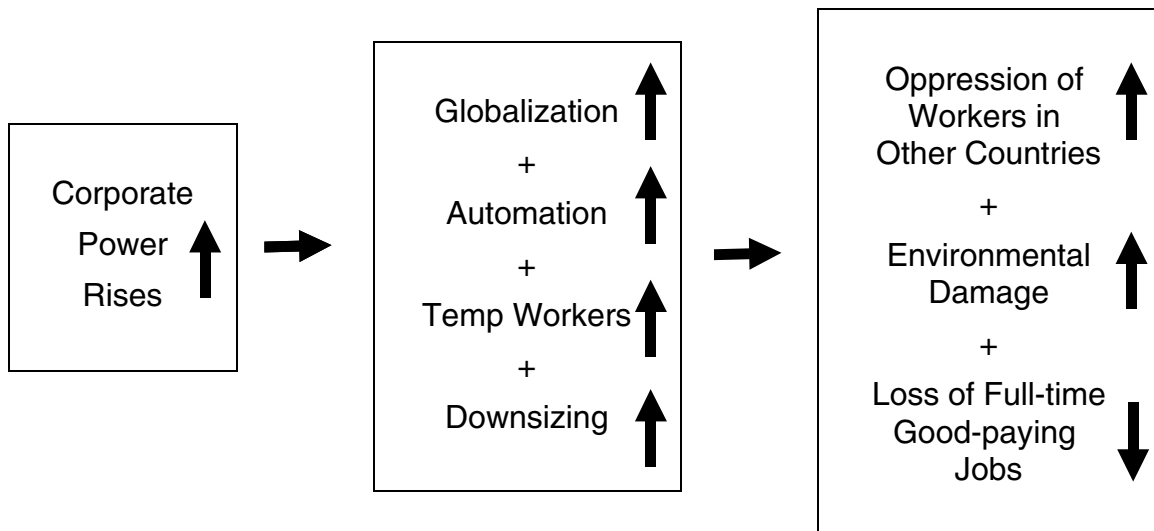
The use of more and more equipment and processes that reduce the need for production workers.

### *Horseman #3: Temp Workers*

Replacing full-time workers with sub-contractors, contingent workers and temp workers who have lower wages and few, if any, benefits.

### *Horseman #4: Downsizing*

Layoffs, firings, reorganizing work, merging, selling off facilities etc. to trim the overall full-time workforce.





## 8. The Four Horsemen Also Increase Environmental Problems

**4 Horsemen = More Environmental Damage**

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**Globalizing** = Runaway to countries with weaker enforcement of pollution standards

**Automation** = Use of untested chemicals and processes, or substandard equipment

**Temp Workers (sub-contractors)** = More untrained workers involved in operations and emergency response and

**Downsizing** = Not enough workers to run plant safely and maintain equipment



## 9. Unjust Transitions

The Four Horsemen of the Workplace hurt unemployed and low-wage workers in poor, and people of color communities as well as organized labor. Many of the transitions from one type of economy to another create unfair working/environmental conditions for people in communities.

<b>Unjust Economic Transitions</b>	
<b>What Happened</b>	<b>Community Impact</b>
PACE workers lost jobs at chemical plants formerly making lead for gasoline due to national regulations against unleaded automobile gasoline.	2,200 - 5,000 jobs lost nationwide; refineries refused to reassign workers.
Workers in San Antonio, TX lost jobs at the Levi-Strauss facility when the company moved operations to Costa Rica, Central America.	1,150 jobs lost while the Levi-Strauss CEO received a \$100 million bonus.
Workers in Watsonville, CA lost jobs at the Green Giant facility when the company moved operations to Mexico. The company continues to use pesticides in Mexico that are illegal in the U.S.	Approximately 300 U.S. jobs lost;* in Mexico, workers are exposed to the illegal pesticides; imports contain the banned pesticides.

\**The Pajaronian* (newspaper from Watsonville, CA)

## 10. The Future: Middle-Income Jobs, an Endangered Species?

According to the U.S. Labor Department, from 1996 until 2006, 18.6 million new jobs will be created in the U.S. economy. Unfortunately, very few will provide decent wages for the average worker. The chart below looks at a breakdown of the top 10 projected growth occupations. A few are at the top and require advanced degrees. Most are at the bottom and provide poverty level wages. **Of the top ten growth occupations, only one – truck driver – is middle-income.** That spells big trouble for the average American worker.

The Fastest Growing Jobs, 1996-2006		
	Number of New Jobs by 2006	1997 Weekly Wages, approx.
<b>Higher Income</b>		
Registered Nurses*	410,800	\$710
General Managers and Top Execs	467,000	\$725
Computer Systems Analysts	519,600	\$918
<b>Middle Income</b>		
Truck Driver	<b>403,900</b>	\$506
<b>Lower Income</b>		
Cashiers	530,100	\$253
Salespersons, Retail	408,300	\$299
Home Health Aides	378,200	\$308
Teacher's Aides	370,400	\$291
Nurse's Aides	333,000	\$300
Receptionists	318,500	\$345

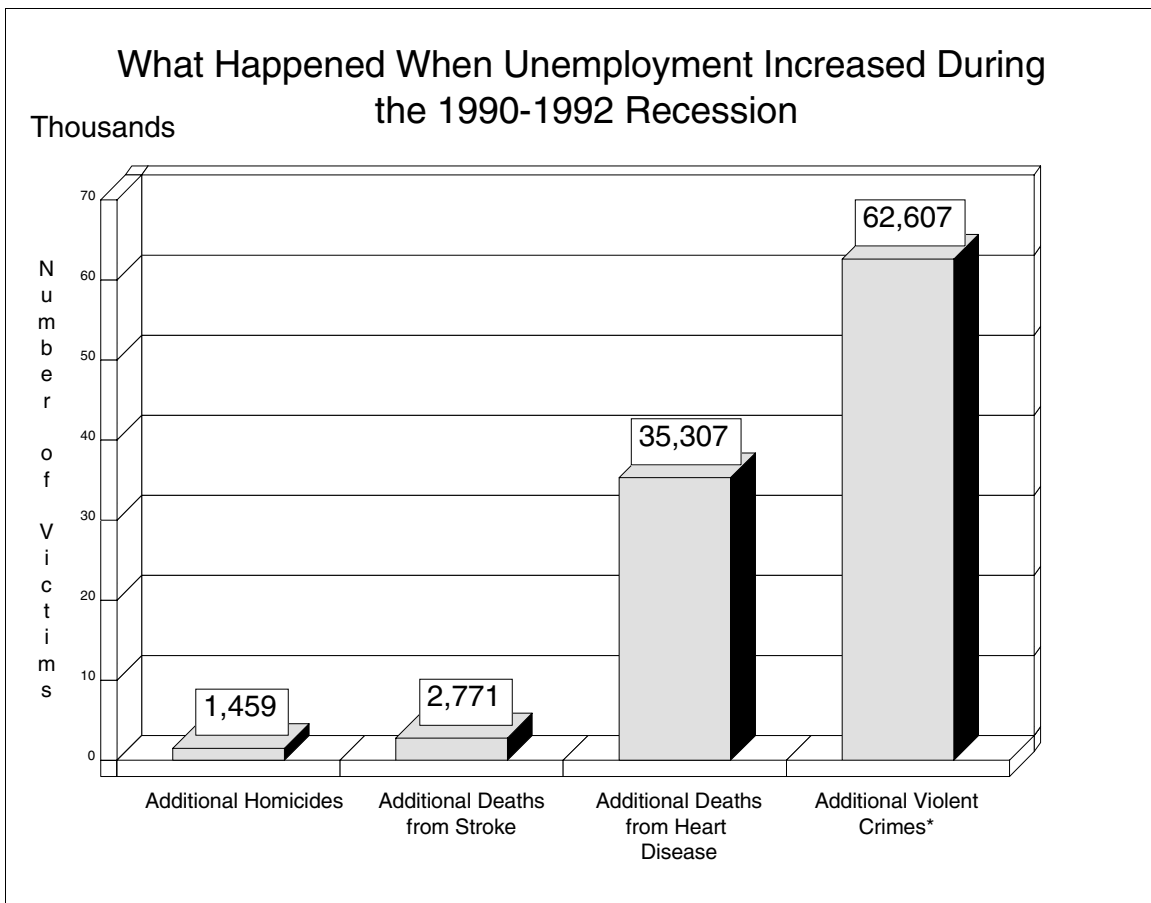
\* Recent studies suggest that health managers are trying to stop the increase in RNs by using low wage, untrained aides in hospitals.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Winter 1997-1998; and *Employment and Earnings*, January 1998.

## 11. The Costs: Losing a Job Is Harmful to Your Health

**Losing a job** is a major emotional event in the lives of workers. It **stresses the body and leads to a wide variety of illnesses** and social problems.

Unemployment during the Bush Recession rose from 5.5 percent in mid-1990 to 7.5 percent in mid-1992. A study of 30 major metropolitan areas shows that this increase may have been responsible for increased death and mental illness.



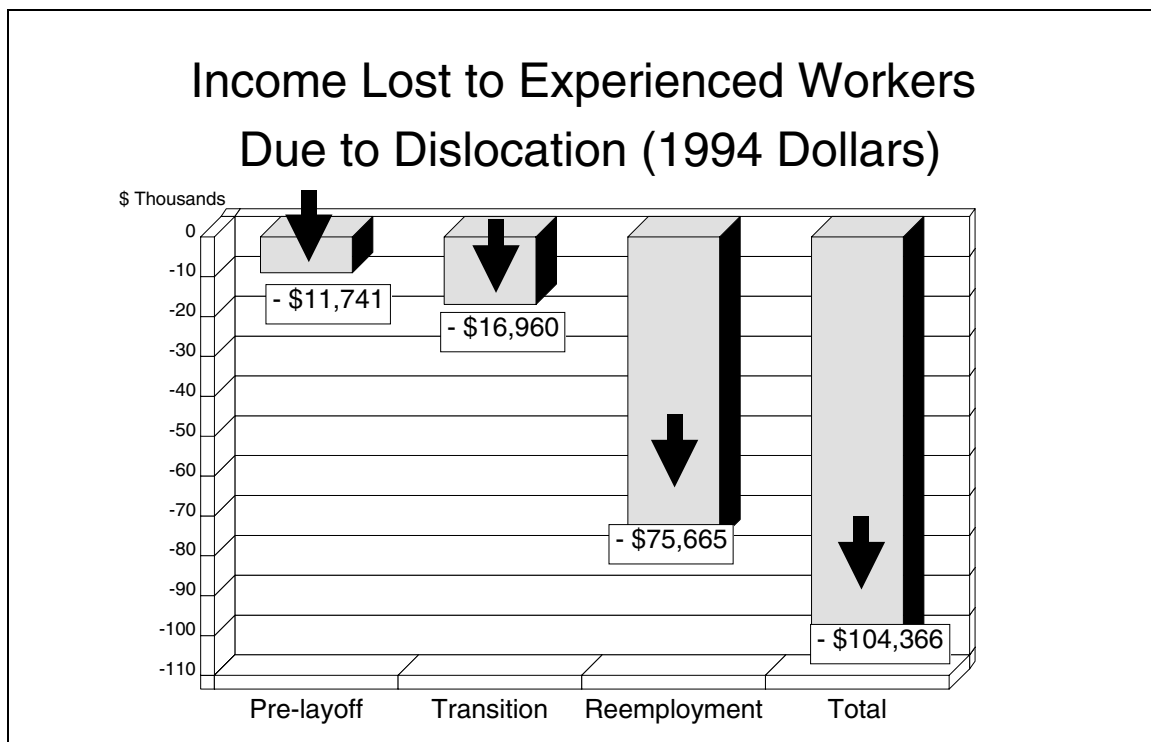
Source: Mary Merva and Richard Fowles, *Effect of Diminished Economic Opportunities of Social Stress*, Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.

\* Including burglary, aggravated assault and murder.

## 12. Experienced Workers Lose Over \$100,000 Each Due to Layoffs

Just how much financial damage is suffered by workers who are displaced from their jobs? A recent study tackled that question by looking at experienced workers (those with six or more years of tenure with their companies) whose jobs were destroyed between 1980 and 1986. According to the study, on the average, **each worker suffered a \$104,366 lifetime loss of income** in today's dollars compared to what they would have earned had their job not been destroyed.\* Approximately 350,000 such workers are displaced each year.

As the graph below illustrates, a pattern of income loss actually begins about three years before workers are displaced during mass layoffs. During this **pre-layoff** period, workers begin losing income (approximately \$11,741) as a result of temporary layoffs and reduced hours.



\* The original study used 1987 dollars for a total of \$80,000.

*continued*

## 12. (continued)

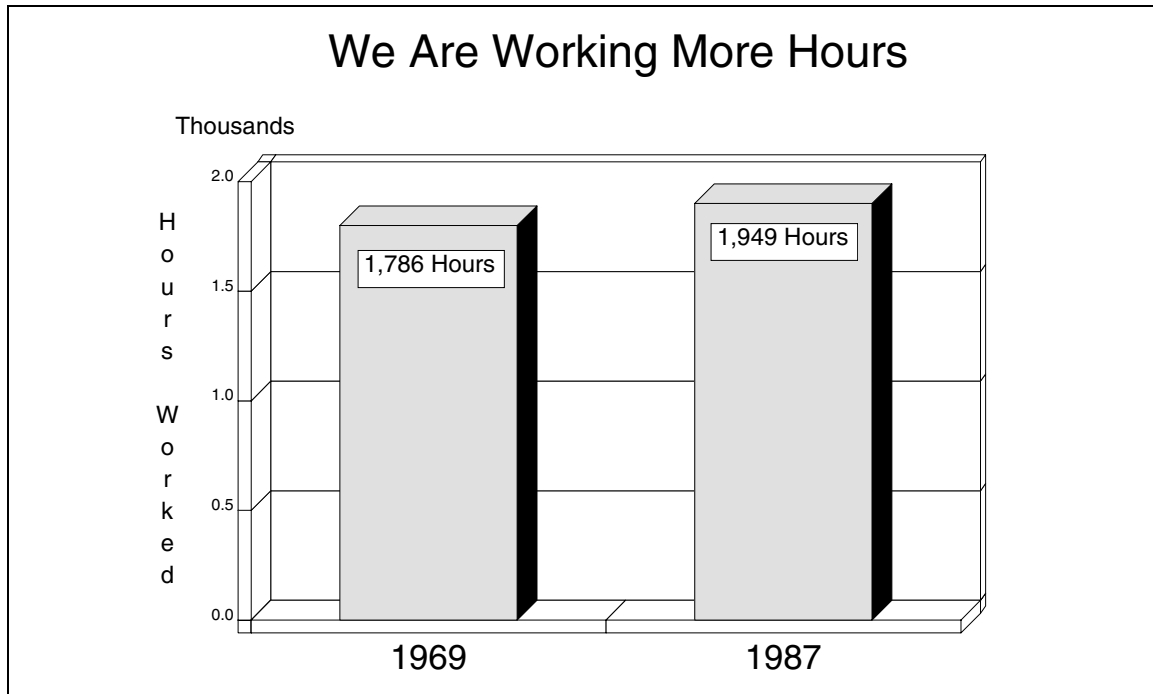
In the first year and a half after dislocation – the **transition** period – most of the dislocated workers are unemployed. Even though workers receive unemployment insurance and perhaps severance during this period, the study found that the average worker experienced an income loss of nearly \$16,960.

But, one of the most startling findings of this study is that **most of the income loss occurs after an experienced worker finds a new job**. After a year and a half, almost all of these experienced workers do, in fact, find new jobs, but at reduced wages. As a result, even during the fifth year after job separation, their yearly losses average approximately \$7,827 per year. That yearly loss continued, on the average, each year thereafter until retirement. Therefore, \$75,665 is lost during the **reemployment** period. All together, these workers lost on average \$104,366 each!

Source: Louis Jacobson, Robert LaRonde, Daniel Sullivan, *The Costs of Worker Dislocation*, Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute, 1993, pp. 137-171.

### 13. More of Us Work Longer Hours and More Families Have Two Wage Earners

It's also harder to make ends meet. As the first chart below shows, those of us lucky enough to have jobs are working more hours to make up for the decline in wages. And as the second chart shows, more and more families have two or more wage earners.



Source: Data from Juliet B. Schor, *The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure*, New York; Basic: Books, 1991.

*continued*

**13. (continued)**



Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Series P-60*, various years.



## Summary: The Impact of Job Loss

1. People have good reason to be worried about their jobs. In general, unemployment has grown to be a bigger and bigger part of our economic life.
2. It's also harder to make ends meet. As a result, more and more people have to work longer hours, and that's why more and more families need two wage earners.
3. The better paying, blue-collar jobs are being destroyed and are being replaced by lower-paying jobs.
4. Studies show that if you lose a good job, it takes a long time (if ever) to get back to where you were. Studies also show that if you lose a job, you and your family are likely to suffer increased illnesses.
5. Corporations are constantly consolidating jobs, making work less and less available.
6. Working people, as a whole, are facing the devastating impact of job loss.

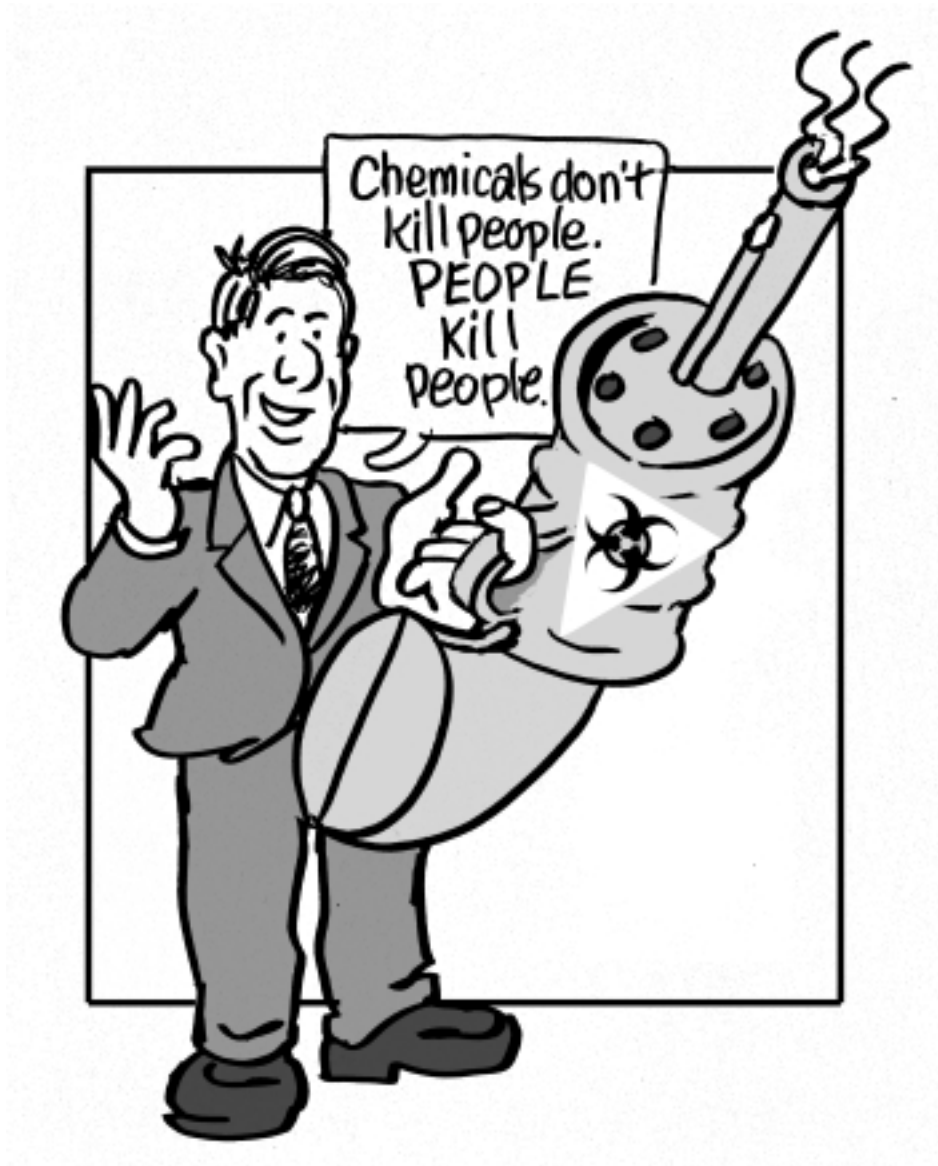


## Activity 3: Toxic Roulette

### Purpose

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To become more familiar with the community perspective on the toxics crisis.



## **Task 1**

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Please assume that you are at a community meeting where a company public relations spokesperson makes the statement below. Your group has been asked to develop a response to this statement. In doing so, please watch the video (on the General Chemical spill in Richmond, CA) and review the factsheets on pages 48 through 62.

### **Statement:**

"Community activists have blown out of proportion the dangers of industrial facilities and toxic dumps. Clearly, the media, community and environmental groups have greatly exaggerated claims of increased asthma, cancers, birth defects, etc. The truth is that there is no credible scientific evidence behind these wild claims.

"Not only are they exaggerating the dangers, they are also claiming that facilities with toxic substances are disproportionately located in low income, rural, ethnic, people of color, or working class neighborhoods. Nothing could be further from the truth. Corporations select communities who want jobs. We make our decisions based on scientific data, available services and transportation routes.

"This African American grandmother has just asked me if I would be willing to move my family to what she calls this 'Toxic Stew.' I believe this is a fine community in which to live."

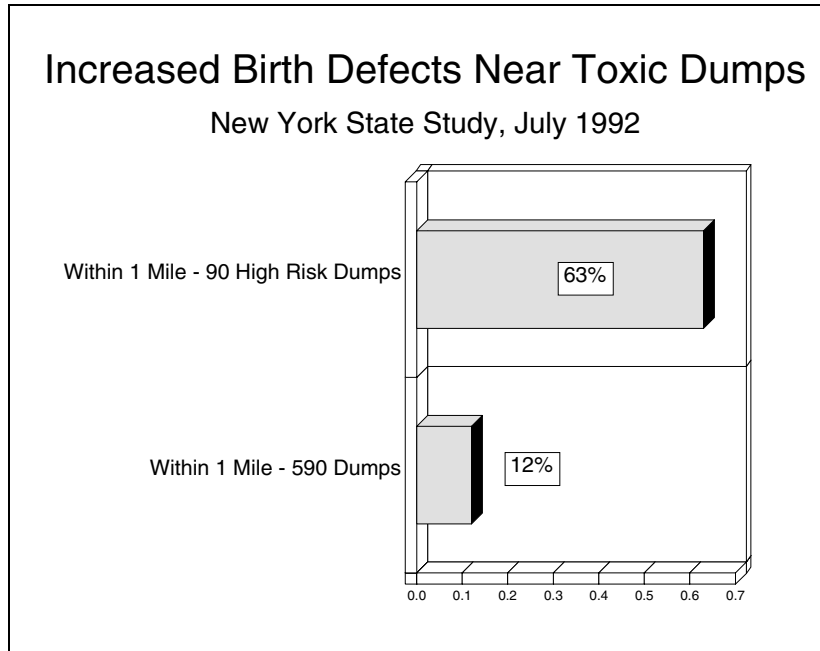
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**1. Describe what the African American grandmother meant in describing her community as a Toxic Stew. What are the ingredients of this "stew?"**

**2. How would your group respond to the company's statement?**

# 1. Dump Sites Can Be Hazardous to Your Newborn's Health

A study conducted by the New York State Department of Health and Yale University showed that women living within one mile of toxic waste sites in New York State have more children with birth defects than women living further away. The study found a 12 percent increase in birth defects within a one mile radius of 590 hazardous waste dumps. The study also discovered that the rate of birth defects rose 63 percent in children of mothers living within one mile of high risk dump sites (those with off-site migration of chemicals).



Type of Defect	General Population	High Risk Site	Percent Increase
Central Nervous System	14 children	21 children	48%
Musculoskeletal	88 children	154 children	75%
Integument (skin)	44 children	116 children	163%
Total Defects	300 children	490 children	63%

Source: *American Journal of Epidemiology*, Vol. 135, No. 11, July 1992, as cited in *Rachel's Hazardous Waste News*, No. 313, November 25, 1992.

## 2. Industrial Dumps/Pesticides Harm Us All

Each year some 3.5 billion pounds of industrial toxics and an additional 1 to 2 billion pounds of pesticides are intentionally released into the environment of the United States according to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. Study after study details the tragic results.

- Significantly reduced height for a given age among children who lived near Love Canal, in **Niagara Falls, New York**.
- Low birth weight and birth defects in **California** children born near waste disposal sites.
- Enlargement of the liver and abnormal liver function tests in residents exposed to solvents from a dump in **Hardemann County, Tennessee**.
- Elevated rates of illness, including chronic kidney disease, stroke, hypertension, heart disease, anemia, and skin cancer in people exposed to cadmium and lead from mine wastes in **Galena, Kansas**.
- Leukemia among a group of children who drink water contaminated with industrial solvents in **Woburn, Massachusetts**.



*continued*

## 2. (continued)

- In **Tucson, Arizona**, a study of 707 children born with heart defects revealed that 35 percent of them were born to parents living in a part of the city where the water supply was contaminated with industrial solvents (trichloroethylene [TCE] and dichloroethylene). The rate of birth defects of the heart was three times as high among the people drinking the contaminated water compared to people in Tucson not drinking contaminated water.
- Residents of **Bynum, North Carolina**, drinking raw river water contaminated by industrial and agricultural chemicals, have developed cancers 2.4 to 2.6 times more often than expected.
- High incident of anencephaly (incomplete or missing brain) and hydrocephaly (water on the brain) along the **U.S. - Mexico** border where exposures to pesticide run-off in the water and pollution from maquiladoras are high.\*
- Cancer rates in **American Indian communities** with uranium mining are 17 times higher than the general population.\*\*

Sources: For a more complete list of these and other studies see *Rachel's Hazardous Waste News*, No. 371, January 6, 1994.

\*Public Citizen, "NAFTA's Broken Promises: The Border Betrayed, U.S. - Mexico Border Environment and Health Decline in NAFTA's First Two Years," January 1996.

\*\**Madres del Este de Los Angeles*, California, Fall 1994.



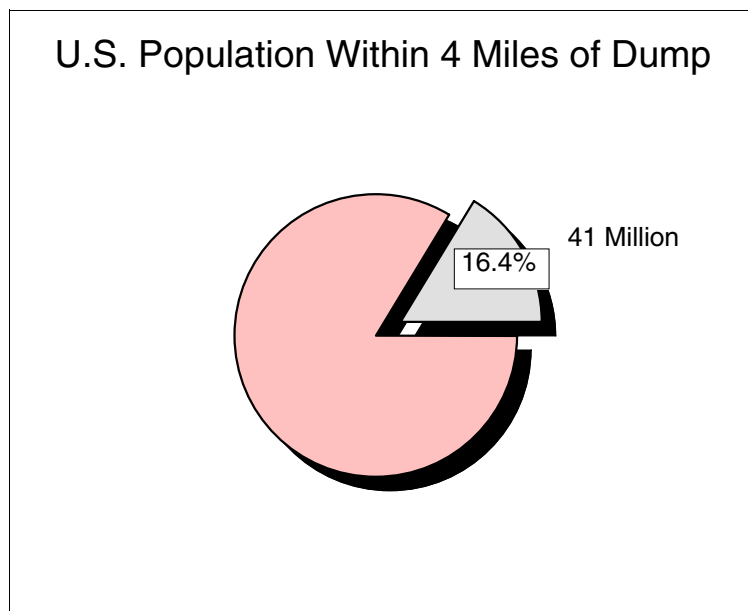
### 3. Too Close for Comfort: How Many of Us Live Near Superfund Sites

We know that living within one mile of a toxic dump is extremely hazardous to our health. But the toxic substances do not simply stop at the border. It is probable that harm spreads out much further. The question is how many of us are really at risk?

According to Assistant Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, Barry L. Johnson, 41 million people live within 4 miles of the 1,331 federal superfund sites, and 4.6 million people live within 1 mile of those superfund sites. This means an average of 3,500 people live within one mile of such a federal site. And, an average of 30,800 of us live within four miles.

Eighty-seven (87) percent of these sites contain solvents or inorganic compounds and 50 percent contain pesticides. The number of sites does not include state superfund or Resource Conservation and Recovery (RCRA) sites which would add tens of thousands more sites and many more people living near toxic waste sites.

Source: Testimony by Barry L. Johnson, PhD, Assistant Surgeon General, Assistant Administrator, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry, before the Subcommittee on Superfund Recycling, and Solid Waste Management, United States Senate, May 6, 1993, as cited in *Rachel's Hazardous Waste News*, No. 370, December 30, 1993.



Think of this as a town of 3,500 people. Now picture a toxic waste dump smack dab in the middle.

There are 1,331 such Superfund sites around the country.

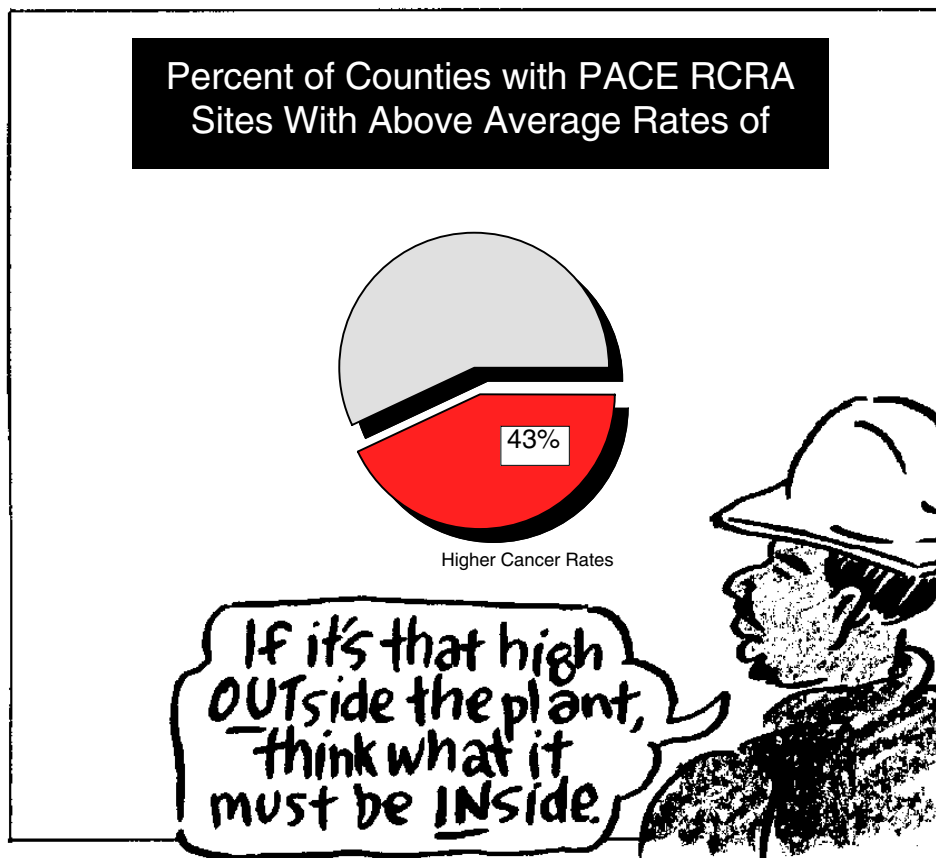
An average of 3,500 people live within one mile of each one of them.

That is a total of 4.6 million.



## 4. We've Known Since 1983 That Cancer Rates Are Often Higher in Communities Near Chemical Facilities...

Workers and community residents may suffer increased rates of cancer. A major report released by the National Cancer Institute showed "particularly high rates of cancer in counties where the chemical industry is heavily concentrated." The Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers reviewed data for the counties in which they represent workers at petrochemical facilities with RCRA sites. They found that 43 percent of the counties with PACE RCRA sites had **above** average rates of Cancer.



Source: Compiled from W.B. Riggan, et al., *U.S. Cancer Mortality Rate and Trends, 1950-1979*, Volume 1, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

*continued*

#### 4. (continued)

### ...These and Other Health Risks are Made Worse by NAFTA

Supporters of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1993 stated that without NAFTA the health and environmental health problems occurring in the border free trade zone would get worse. Instead, with NAFTA people along the U.S. - Mexico border are experiencing significant increases in the amount of hazardous waste, birth defects, undrinkable water, air pollution, and decreases in the resources devoted to enforcing environmental laws clean-up efforts.

<b>Two Years After NAFTA</b>	
<b>NAFTA Promises</b>	<b>NAFTA Realities</b>
The growth of maquiladoras (border factories) will shrink as facilities will be built in other parts of Mexico, reducing environmental pressure along the border.	Two years after NAFTA, there are now 20% more Mexican maquiladora employees, despite job losses by over 1.6 million people in the rest of the Mexican economy.
More money will be available to the Mexican economy for environmental clean-up.	The peso was devalued by 50% following NAFTA, making regulation of industries and environmental clean-up much more expensive.
Without NAFTA, hazardous waste along the border will get worse.	The increase in border industrial activity has created more hazardous waste; only 70 of the 352 hazardous-waste producing industries reported proper disposal.
There will be more money available for hazardous waste management and clean-up.	Mexico's depressed economy has created greater incentives for illegal waste dumping, and government regulators have fewer resources to monitor illegal acts.
Birth defects will decrease.	The low birth weights and the rate of anencephaly (incomplete or missing brains/skulls) has increased (36% in one border town) and seems strongly linked with employment in maquiladoras.
Waterborne diseases will decrease.	The rates of hepatitis, shigellosis, amebiasis, cholera, and typhoid have remained the same or dramatically increased since NAFTA.

<b>Two Years After NAFTA</b>	
<b>NAFTA Promises</b>	<b>NAFTA Realities</b>
NAFTA will reduce the demand for water along the border.	There are more water shortages creating industrial and residential sewage problems.
NAFTA will lead to more cooperation between the U.S. and Mexico to create cleaner water.	Several water and sewer projects that were in place before NAFTA have been halted as a result of the depressed Mexico economy.
Air pollution will decrease.	Air-borne pollution from industry, cooking and heating fuel has increased since NAFTA.
Environmental cooperation between the governments of the U.S., Mexico, and Canada will improve.	Structural, financial, and legal problems are some of the difficulties in making tri-national cooperation a reality.

Source: Public Citizen, *NAFTA's Broken Promises; The Border Betrayed, U.S. - Mexico Border Environment and Health Decline in NAFTA's First Two Years*, January 1996.

## 5. No Escape from the Seamless Workplace!

Hazardous spills and releases are on the rise, harming both workers and community residents. Clearly, both workers at these facilities and community residents are at great risk.

The following lists a few of the major incidents that killed and injured Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers as well as non-union labor in the last few years, and which also exposed the communities around those facilities.

What Happened	Community Impact	Off-Site Impact
Texas City, Texas; October 30, 1987: Contract crane operator dropped load on storage tank of hydrogen fluoride (HF); formed vapor cloud of 30,000 pounds of HF gas	3,000-4,000 residents evacuated for three days, 1,000 residents treated for breathing disorders and skin problems	Trees were burned by the acid four miles downwind
Henderson, Nevada; May 4, 1988: Fires and explosion at Pepcon plant due to component of rocket fuel	17,000 residents evacuated from homes; two workers killed; 350 workers and residents injured	12 miles - property damage
Norco, Louisiana; May 5, 1989: Shell Oil refinery explosion caused by corroded pipe	2,500 residents evacuated; seven PACE members killed, 22 injured	Virtually every house in town sustained some damage; windows were broken 25 miles away
Baton Rouge, Louisiana; December 24, 1989: Exxon pipeline ruptured, cloud of ethane and propane ignited	Seven injured	6 miles - property damage
Henderson, Nevada; May 6, 1991: Storage tank pipe leaked thousands of gallons of chlorine; formed massive chlorine gas cloud	City shut down, 55 sent to hospital – mostly breathing problems	8½ miles - people were injured from the toxic chlorine cloud

What Happened	Community Impact	Off-Site Impact
Tijuana, Mexico* (U.S. - Mexico border); July 1997: Pacific Treatment hazardous waste facility caught fire	50 firefighters suffered smoke inhalation (5 hospitalized); community residents suffered headaches, vomiting, eye and skin irritations, inability to sleep	Toxic fumes blew into the residential neighborhoods 300 yards away
Richmond, CA; 1993: sulphuric acid spill	24,000 people sent to the hospital in one day	9 miles** property damage

Source: PACE, Nashville, TN, Health and Safety Department.

\* Environmental Health Coalition, Border Environmental Justice Campaign, factsheet, San Diego, CA.

\*\* *West County Times*, July 1993

## 6. Canaries in the Coal Mine Are Singing Out a Warning

For decades, coal miners used canaries in the coal mines to alert them to dangerous gases. A dead canary signaled a clear warning that the gas was rising to levels that would soon kill people.

Today, wildlife are serving as our canaries, signaling danger to humans from chemicals released into the environment. Studies show the following impacts:

- Gross birth deformities in birds, fish and turtles
- Feminization of male fish, birds and mammals
- Masculinization of female fish and birds
- Thyroid dysfunction in birds and fish
- Decreased fertility in birds, fish and mammals
- Decreased hatching success in birds, turtles and fish

For example, researchers from the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada, found that thyroids of Lake Erie fish are rupturing – growing more than a **million times** their normal size. Also, in the last 10 years, they could not find a single Great Lake Coho Salmon, Chinook Salmon or Lake Trout without an enlarged thyroid gland. Researchers also found that White Sucker fish below paper and pulp mills discharging dioxin in Lake Superior are exhibiting bizarre hormonal changes where males are becoming feminized and females masculinized.



Are we next?

Source: "Statement of Thee Clobbers, PhD, Senior Fellow, W. Alton Jones Foundation and World Wildlife Fund before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee Hearing on "Tainted Water, Tainted Fish: Stewardship of the Great Lakes Basin," April 7, 1992.



## 7. What Is Environmental Racism?

Low-income, rural, people of color, working class, and ethnic communities are disproportionately victimized by polluting industries. In many cases, race – not income – is the determining factor for the siting and zoning of polluting industries as well as in the inequalities in EPA clean-up and penalties. Penalties in white communities are consistently 46 percent higher than in people of color communities. EPA's own record of performance documents this environmental racism.

<b>Average EPA Penalties by Income Nearly the Same...</b>	
<b>Lowest Median Income Communities</b>	<b>Highest Median Income Communities</b>
\$113,491 (3% higher than in high income communities)	\$109,606 (3% lower than in low income communities)
<b>...But, Average EPA Penalties and Clean-up by Race is Very Different</b>	
<b>People of Color Communities</b>	<b>White Communities</b>
Penalties under hazardous waste laws at sites having greatest people of color population: \$55,318	Penalties under hazardous waste laws at sites having greatest white population: \$335,566
Placement on Superfund clean-up national priority list for abandoned hazardous waste sites: 20% later than in whites areas.	Placement on Superfund clean-up national priority list for abandoned hazardous waste sites: 20% sooner than in people of color areas
Action on clean-up at Superfund sites: 12 to 42% later than in white areas	Action on clean-up at Superfund sites: 12 to 42% sooner than in people of color communities
Likelihood of choosing to "contain" or wall off hazardous dump site: 7% more frequently than in white areas	Likelihood of choosing to "contain" or wall off a hazardous dump site: 7% less frequently than in people of color communities
Likelihood of choosing to permanently treat (eliminate) toxins at a hazardous dump site: 22% less frequently than in white areas	Likelihood of choosing to permanently treat (eliminate) toxins at a hazardous dump site: 22% less frequently than in people of color areas

Source: Marianne Lavelle and Marcia Coyle, *National Law Review*, September 21, 1992.

## 8. Toxic Siting Targets the Least Powerful Communities

More and more communities are fighting new incinerator projects in their neighborhoods. What's a waste company to do? Well, how about getting a county government to do a national study to help it find out what kind of people are likely to put up the least resistance? The following is excerpted from a news article in the *Los Angeles Times* on one such taxpayer-financed study.

### **Study Finds Fewer Incinerator Foes Among Old, Poor**

By Mike Ward, *Times Staff Writer*

Those who want to build waste-to-energy plants would be well advised to pick an area populated by people who are old, poor, conservative or Catholic.

That is the conclusion of a study commissioned by the state Waste Management Board, which found that those most likely to oppose such facilities are young or middle-aged, college-educated and liberal.

Even though the state board, which paid \$33,000 for the study three years ago, says it is no longer using the study, opponents of trash burners, who recently obtained a copy, are furious.

They say the study represents a misuse of public funds, a formula for deceiving the public and a misunderstanding of the role of government....

... The study advises builders of waste incineration plants that they will face less opposition if they seek to put the plants near poor neighborhoods instead of wealthy ones.

People least likely to oppose waste-to-energy plants are old, poor, politically conservative, Catholic and live in a city with a population under 25,000, the study says. The most likely opponents are described as young or middle-aged, college-educated and liberal.

The study recommends that builders consider demographic data, not just technical requirements, in selecting sites for plants that burn trash to create electricity....

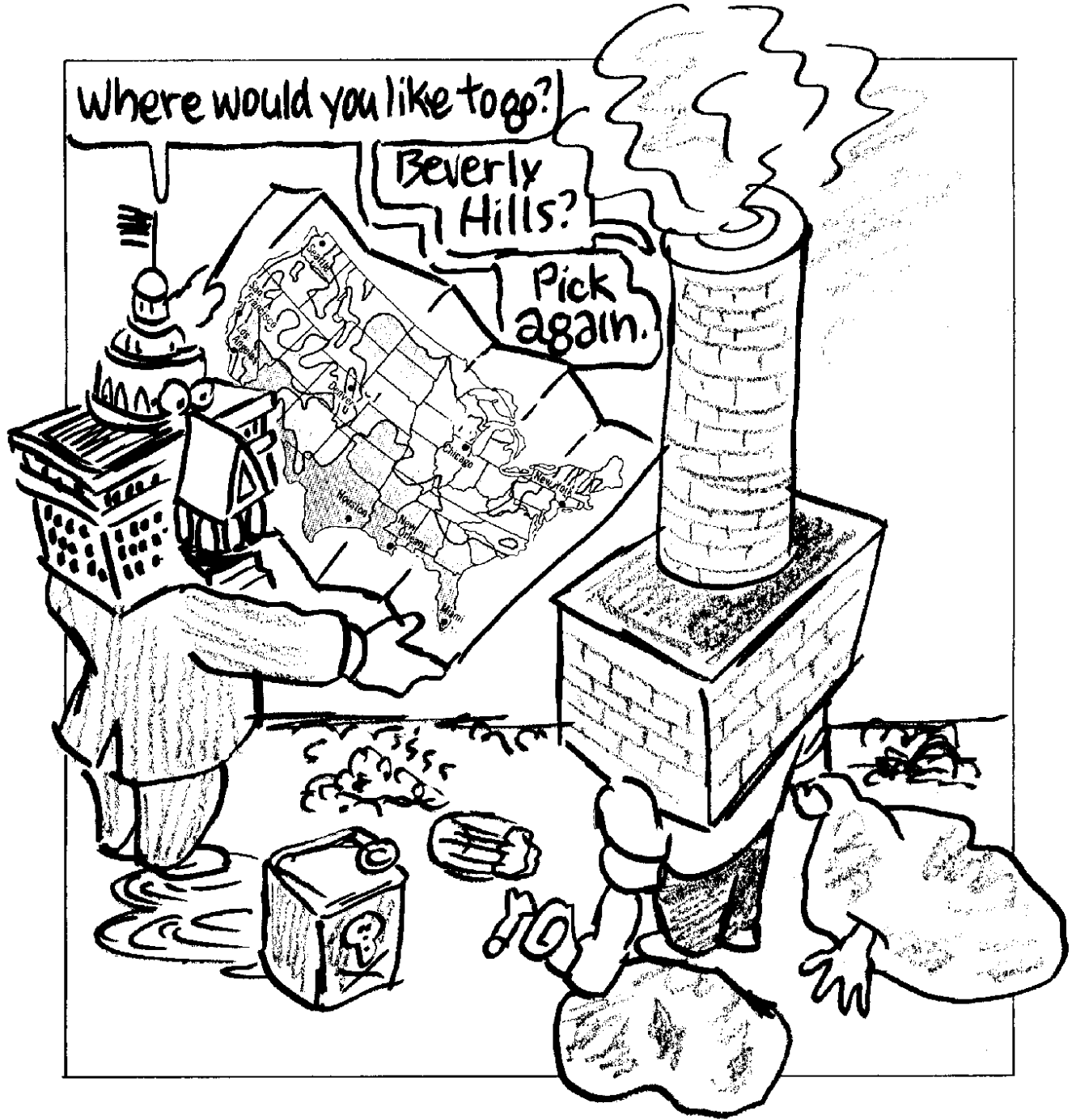
Source: *Los Angeles Times – San Gabriel Valley*, July 9, 1987.

## 9. The Largest Corporations Are the Largest Polluters

One way to see how central toxic production is to our economy is to look at the names of the major polluters. The EPA compiles the (reported) toxic releases by corporations called the Toxics Release Inventory (TRI). As the chart below demonstrates, the top 10 polluters account for 20.5 percent of all reported releases of toxic waste. These top 10 are also among the very largest corporations in the country. Obviously, toxic production and/or use is central to their production, and their production is central to our economy. They are also the largest destroyers of good-paying jobs (see factsheet on page 32).

<b>The Top Ten Polluters in 1995</b>	
<b>Corporation</b>	<b>Total Releases and Transfers of TRI Toxics (pounds)</b>
DuPont	85,781,886
Renco Group Inc.	73,492,273
Asarco Inc.	65,022,257
General Motors Corp.	38,900,210
Monsanto	36,953,561
Courtaulds United States	35,763,477
International Paper Co.	31,635,578
Cytec Industries	29,006,381
BP America Inc.	27,650,633
Arcadian Partners LP	27,524,432
<b>Top Ten Total</b>	<b>451,730,688</b>
<b>Top Ten as a Percent of Total TRI Releases</b>	<b>20.5%</b>

Source: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, *1995 Toxics Release Inventory*, Washington, DC: U.S. EPA, 1997.



## Summary: Toxic Roulette

1. The environment includes workplace and community.
2. Polluting facilities have a negative impact on wildlife and fisheries.
3. A growing number of studies has shown negative acute and chronic health effects in the community.
4. Workers and community residents are affected by the same toxic releases.
5. Low income, rural, people of color, working class and ethnic communities are disproportionately victimized by polluting industries. Many call this environmental racism.
6. The largest corporations not only destroy jobs, but they are also the largest polluters.



## Activity 4: Pollution Prevention and Jobs

### Purpose

To explore relationships between pollution prevention and job security.



## **Task**

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Pollution prevention provides part of the answer to the jobs and environment crisis. Pollution prevention plays an important role in protecting public health, the environment, and worker health and safety as well as in keeping existing plants open. In fact, pollution prevention may require additional workers to be hired to properly maintain and monitor facilities. In your group, review the factsheets on pages 67 through 80 and answer the following question.

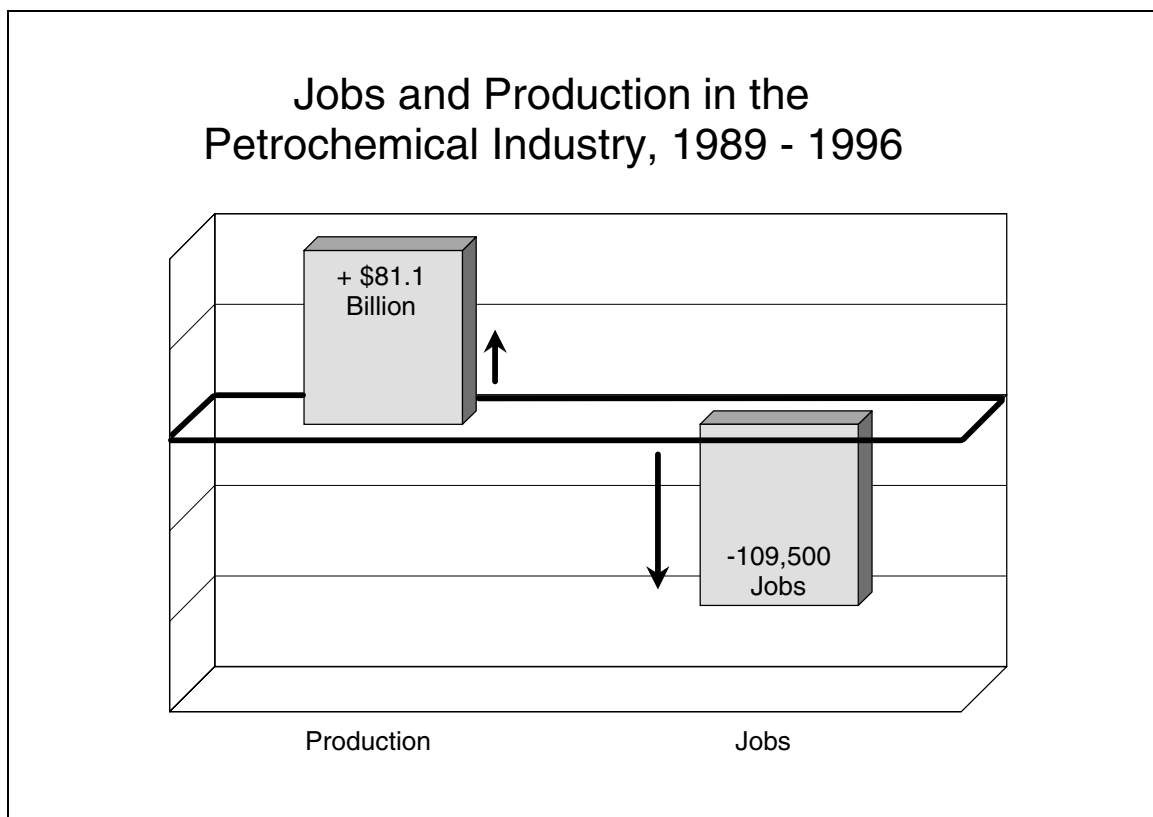
**1. In your opinion, what could be done right now to make your facility (or facilities that handle or produce hazardous materials in general) safer and less harmful to the community and the environment – without the loss of jobs?**



## 1. Downsizing = Less Maintenance = More Accidents and Releases

From 1989 to 1996, production in the petrochemical industry (including chemical, petroleum and coal, and rubber and plastics workers) jumped by \$81.1 billion while production jobs fell by 109,500 overall.

### Production Is Up While Petrochemical Industry Jobs Stagnate or Decline...



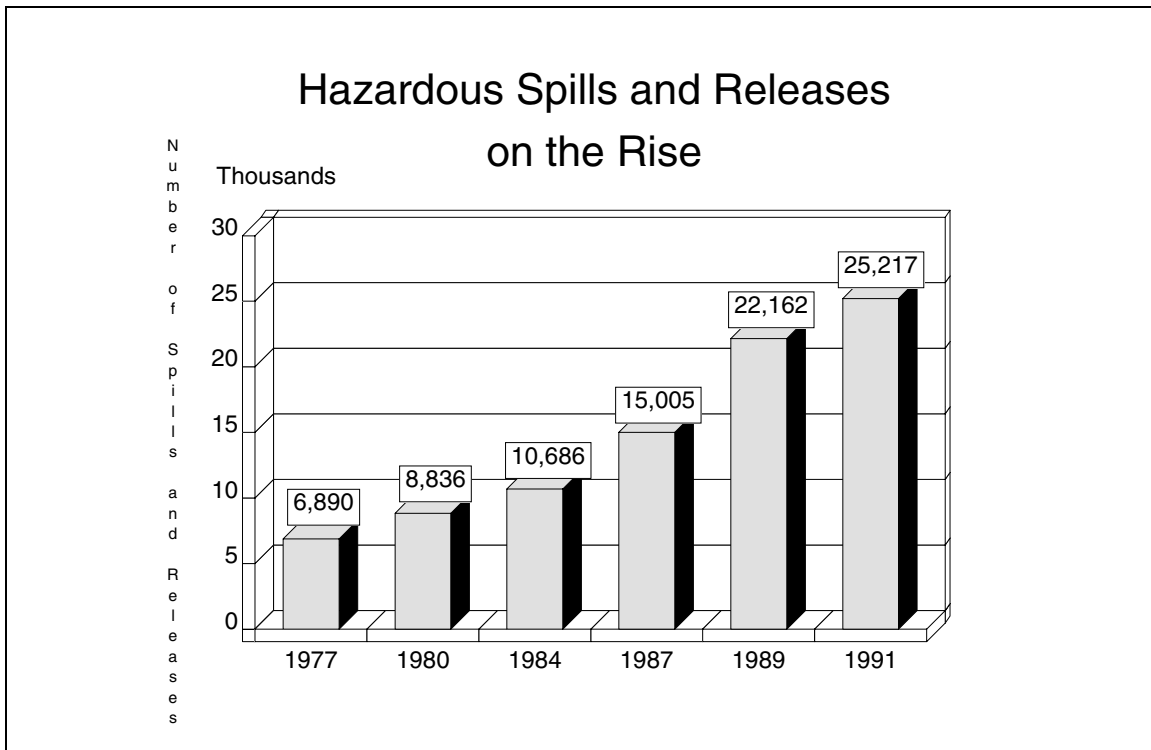
Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Annual Survey of Manufactures*, various years, Washington, DC: U.S. GPO.

*continued*

**1. (continued)**

Even though production is rising, the number of production workers and maintenance employees is declining. Inevitably this means less and less preventive maintenance and more and more accidents and releases caused by mechanical failure.

**... Toxic Incidents Go Up**



Source: The data is derived from the Emergency Response Notification System (ERNS), a national computer database, from reports filed with the National Response Center, a federal authority.

## 2. A Dangerous Technology

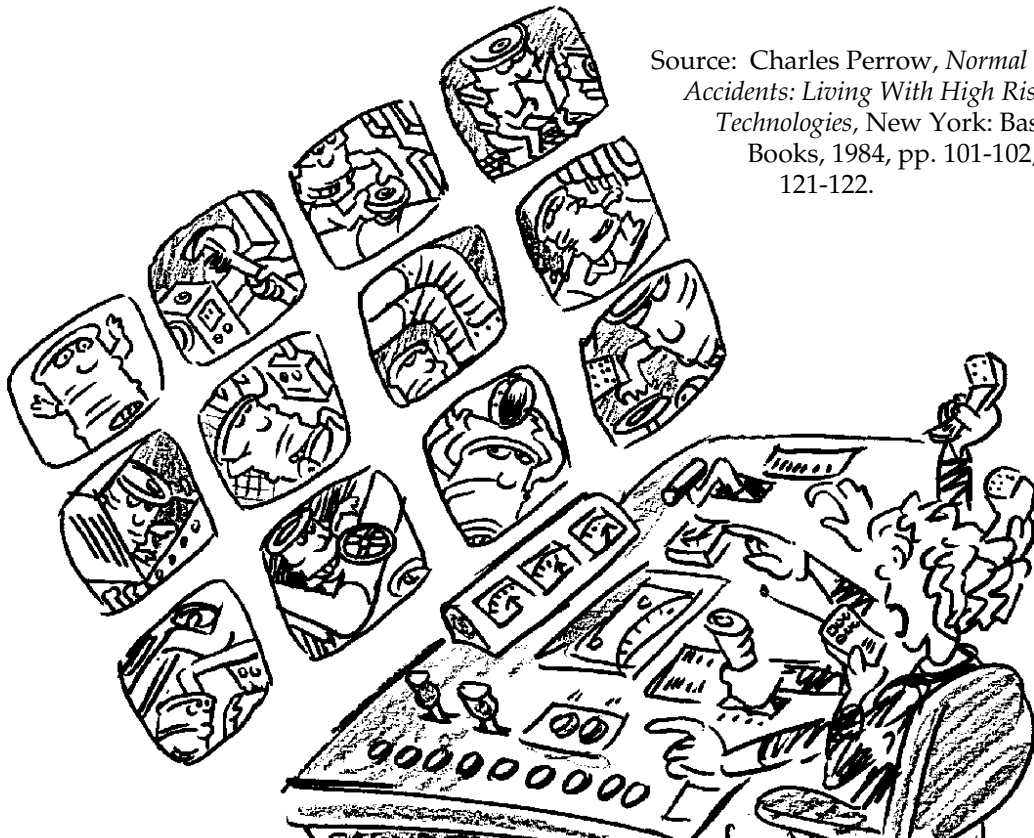
In his book, *Normal Accidents*, Charles Perrow says that petrochemical plants are increasingly likely to have catastrophic accidents because:

"petrochemical plants are [tightly coupled] and have many complex interactive components. . ."

"the plants are getting bigger and more complex, the communities closer. . ."

"new chemicals are being created and used as throughput; all but the basic feedstocks are more complex and more unpredictable. . ."

"the computerization and centralization of the control rooms have the effect of limiting the options of an operator, but does not encourage a broader understanding of the whole system, making it even harder to intervene when unexpected things happen."



Source: Charles Perrow, *Normal Accidents: Living With High Risk Technologies*, New York: Basic Books, 1984, pp. 101-102, 121-122.

### **3. What Is Pollution Prevention Anyway? Is It Achievable?**

Pollution prevention measures are often recommended by the U.S. EPA and environmental organizations because these activities can often reduce toxic exposures in the environment and protect human health. Pollution prevention does NOT include treatment, increased pollution control, out-of-process recycling or incineration.

On May 13, 1992, three union presidents (UAW Local 7, Paperworkers Local 75 and UPIU Local 82) were honored by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency for their achievements in pollution prevention at the auto and paper plants described below.

#### **Chrysler Corporation's Jefferson North Assembly Plant (Detroit)**

- Installed a leak detection system for all equipment located underground such as piping, wet sumps, and trenches. The design virtually eliminates the potential for materials to escape into the environment according to a company official.
- Reformulated the majority of its paint area and equipment clean-up solvents to water-based materials.
- Incorporated a zero-voc (Volatile Organic Compound) powder anti-chip coating and formulated its clear coat paints to exclude all of the hazardous air pollutants listed in the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990.
- Piloted (with Haden Corporation) a new paint sludge handling system that turned 5.2 million pounds of previously landfilled wastes from one plant to 616,000 pounds of materials recycled into products such as roofing materials and sealers.

### **Statler Tissue Company (Augusta, Maine)**

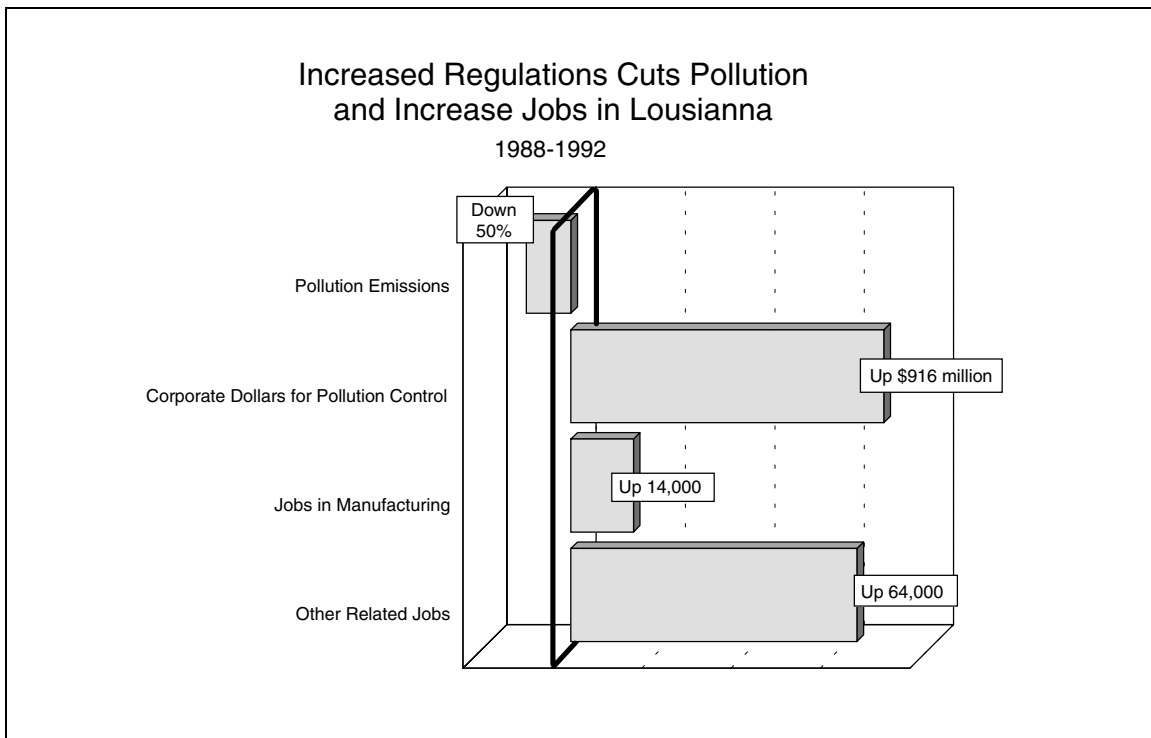
- Instituted a chemical review policy back in 1986 which resulted in the establishment of a list of hazardous chemicals targeted for substitution or elimination.
- Eliminated all chlorinated organic solvents, low flash solvents, fluorocarbon aerosol carriers and toxic washers used as parts washers, degreasers and floor cleaners. Substituted 1,1,1, trichloroethane, xylene, toluene, MEK and naphtha-based cleaners with kerosene, mineral spirits and citrus-based cleaners.
- Does not use new inks and dyes that contain hazardous ingredients.
- Replaced CFC and fluorocarbon carriers with mechanical aspirators.
- Gradually replaced all instrumentation containing mercury components.

Source: "Summary of the Major Provisions of the New Jersey Pollution Prevention Act," INFORM, NY and *AFL-CIO News*, June 1992.

## 4. Does Pollution Prevention Create Jobs in General?

### Louisiana Case Study

From 1988 to 1992, Louisiana passed new anti-pollution laws and regulations, and stepped up their enforcement efforts. According to Professor Paul Templet the results show that the pollution laws caused emissions to drop by 50 percent by forcing manufacturing companies to invest nearly a billion dollars in the state. These pollution investments created 14,000 new manufacturing jobs and another 64,000 related jobs.



Source: Paul H. Templet, "The Positive Relationship Between Jobs, Environment and the Economy: An Empirical Analysis and Review," *Spectrum*, Spring 1995.

## 5. New Pollution Prevention Controls May Be Profitable, But Do They Save Jobs?

According to an analysis by the environmental group Inform, it is very profitable for corporations to invest in pollution prevention.

Of 27 projects at eight plants that Inform was able to analyze, \$3.49 per year was earned for every dollar of investment in pollution prevention. And, on 32 projects, it took an average of 13 months for the investment to pay itself back.

### Do these pollution prevention investments protect jobs?

While the Inform study showed the investments were profitable, jobs were not always secured. According to an analysis of the Inform study by the Public Health Institute, the impact on jobs at these facilities was difficult to measure. The chart below shows that investment in pollution prevention **was no guarantee** that the overall number of jobs at these facilities would be protected or increased.

Facility	Amount Invested	Jobs Lost or Gained
DuPont; Deepwater, NJ	\$11.0 million	-700
Aristech; Haverhill, OH	\$9.5 million	+33
Monsanto; Addyston, OH	NA	+50
Exxon Chemical; Linden, NJ	\$18.7 million	-50
Merck; Rahway, NJ	\$1.0 million	-300
Dow; Pittsburg, CA	NA	+65
Ciba-Geigy; Toms River, NJ	\$0.3 million	-650

Source: Based on Dorfman, Muir and Miller, *Environmental Dividends: Cutting More Chemical Wastes*, Inform, 1992.

## 6. What Is Good for the Environment and Community May Be Bad for Certain Jobs

There are a wide variety of toxic-related problems that could lead to worker dislocation.

Global warming/air pollution	mineworkers and others who work with fossil fuels and power plants
Chlorine/dioxin paper mills	some plants may be shut down and others will change over to non-chlorine processes
Organochlorine and PVC plants	potentially thousands of workers involved in chemical and plastics industry
Extending buffer zones around chemical plants and oil refineries	could lead to shutdown of refineries and chemical plants in urban areas
Halt construction of new plants	fewer jobs in the building trades (see list below) and operating facility

There are thousands of proposed and existing toxic-generating facilities across the country being opposed by environmentalists and community activists. They are concerned about adverse impacts on public health, environment and quality of life as a result of siting these facilities in their area. In addition, environmental justice issues are being raised in communities (primarily low income and minority) where there are already a disproportionately high number of polluting facilities. These debates usually result in a rapid polarization between labor, environmentalists and community activists over job fear. Unfortunately, bitter feelings and distrust exist long after the final decision has been made regardless of who "wins."



Below is a list of some of the existing facilities and proposed projects that environmentalists and community activists have opposed in the past.

- Asphalt plants
- Cattle grazing and other improper uses of public lands
- Cement kilns
- Coastal development including marinas
- Dredge spoil dumping in ocean or on land
- Electric power plants including cogenerators
- Filling in wetlands
- Incinerators (trash, sludge, hazardous, and medical waste)
- Landfills (trash, hazardous or radioactive waste)
- Logging
- Mining
- Overdevelopment and improper land use (e.g. airports, houses, golf courses, malls, etc.)
- Paper Mills
- Radioactive waste processing and disposal facilities
- Recycling facilities that reprocess hazardous waste
- Oil refineries and terminals
- Roads and highways
- Solid waste transfer stations
- Tire burners
- Wood burners

## 7. What Kinds of Jobs Are Created by Recycling?

Clearly, recycling facilities will be increasing each year and so will the jobs associated with them. But just what kinds of jobs are produced? The Public Health Institute asked a leading expert in the field, Phyllis Atwater, to prepare a report on the jobs produced by recycling. The chart below summarizes the jobs created in a typical low-technology Intermediate Processing Facility (IPF), and a high-technology IPF.

<b>Job Classification</b>	<b>Number of Jobs (Full Time)</b>	<b>Weekly Pay Range</b>
<b>High-Technology Recycling Facility (240 tons per shift)</b>		
Plant Manager	1	\$865 to \$1,154
Assistant Manager	1	\$673 to \$769
Scale Master/Buyer	1	\$538 to \$615
Forklift Operators	3	\$346 to \$481
<b>Machine Operators</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>\$308 to \$385</b>
Material Handlers	2	\$212 to \$250
<b>Low-Technology Recycling Facility (75 tons per shift)</b>		
Plant Manager	1	\$673 to \$962
Assistant Manager	1	\$615 to \$673
Scale Master/Buyer	1 or 0	—
Forklift Operators	3	\$288 to \$385
Machine Operators	4 to 6	\$250 to \$346
<b>Material Handlers</b>	<b>12 to 13</b>	<b>\$212 to \$250</b>

Source: Phyllis Atwater, "Typical Recyclables Processing Operations and Jobs," prepared for the Public Health Institute, May 1992.

## 8. What Kinds of Jobs Are Created in Pollution Control?

Pollution control investments certainly create jobs. But, as the chart below demonstrates, very few would be available for displaced blue-collar labor.

<b>Jobs Created by 1985 Investment in Pollution Abatement and Control</b>	
<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Jobs Created</b>
Computer Systems Analysts	393
Chemical Engineers	489
Electrical and Electronics Engineers	1,022
Geologists	356
Operations Research and Systems Analysts	504
Health Technologists and Technicians	169
Surveyors	185
Purchasers, Wholesale and Retail	154
Construction Inspectors	142
Manufacturing Industries Sales Reps	966
Bookkeepers	2,904
Secretaries	6,761
Shipping and Receiving Clerks	1,219
Excavating, Grading and Road Machine Operators	787
Machinists	2,193
Heavy Equipment Mechanics	3,775
Metal Molders	303
Plumbers	1,278
Structural Metal Craftspeople	204
Assemblers	2,811
Janitors	1,705
Other	543
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28,863</b>

Source: Roger Bezdek et al., "The Economic and Employment Effects of Investments in Pollution Abatement and Control Technologies," *Ambio*, Volume XVIII, No. 5, 1989, p. 278 as adapted by Lucinda Wykle, et al., *Worker Empowerment in a Changing Economy: Jobs, Military Production and the Environment*, New York: The Apex Press, 1991.

## 9. Sometimes Corporations Cry Wolf

Sometimes corporations fight a new regulation or standard by claiming that it will drive the entire industry out of business, costing thousands of jobs. But after the regulation is passed, the jobs and the profits, somehow, are still there. The passage below describes one such incident concerning the vinyl chloride industry.

One of the more infamous examples was revealed after the vinyl chloride industry cried wolf over OSHA's proposed regulations to curb worker exposure to this chemical, known to cause a rare form of liver cancer. (Vinyl chloride is used in dozens of products such as water pipes, packaging, and tires.) The industry sponsored a study claiming that OSHA's proposed standard requiring "no detectable"

concentrations of VC in the air would put 2.2 million people out of work and cost the economy \$65 to \$90 million. After OSHA went ahead and required a 1 part per million standard, the industry actually flourished. One year after the standard went into effect, in 1975, supplies of polyvinyl chloride were plentiful, prices were

10 percent lower, and four new plants had started operations (while one had closed down). "We were frankly surprised by some of the results" of the cleanup, R.N. Wheeler, Jr., a vinyl chloride superintendent for Union Carbide, told the *New York Times*.



Source: David Bollier and Joan Claybrook, *Freedom from Harm*, 1986, pp. 194-195 and *New York Times*, December 28, 1975.

## 10. Sometimes the Wolf Is Real

### The Case of Lead in Gasoline

From 1924 to 1986, lead was added to gasoline to increase octane. But by the 1970s, studies showed that airborne lead had caused increased risks of lead poisoning, especially in the young.

This resulted in regulations which decreased airborne lead emissions by 94 percent between 1975 and 1987.

Industry cried out during the rule-making that thousands of jobs would be lost. This time they were not crying wolf.

For example, the Ethyl Corporation phased out their production of tetra-ethyl lead, causing more than 1,800 to be laid off in Baton Rouge and a shutdown in Houston costing another 400 jobs. PPG and Nalco also closed lead plants in 1983 and 1985 in Beaumont, Texas.

In addition, there were indirect impacts which caused more job loss. The banning of lead forced oil corporations to upgrade their refineries. But many refineries were phased out rather than upgraded. The Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers Union estimates that 30 of these closures cost 5,870 jobs and another 1,800 jobs at associated pipeline stations, bulk terminals and other marketing facilities.

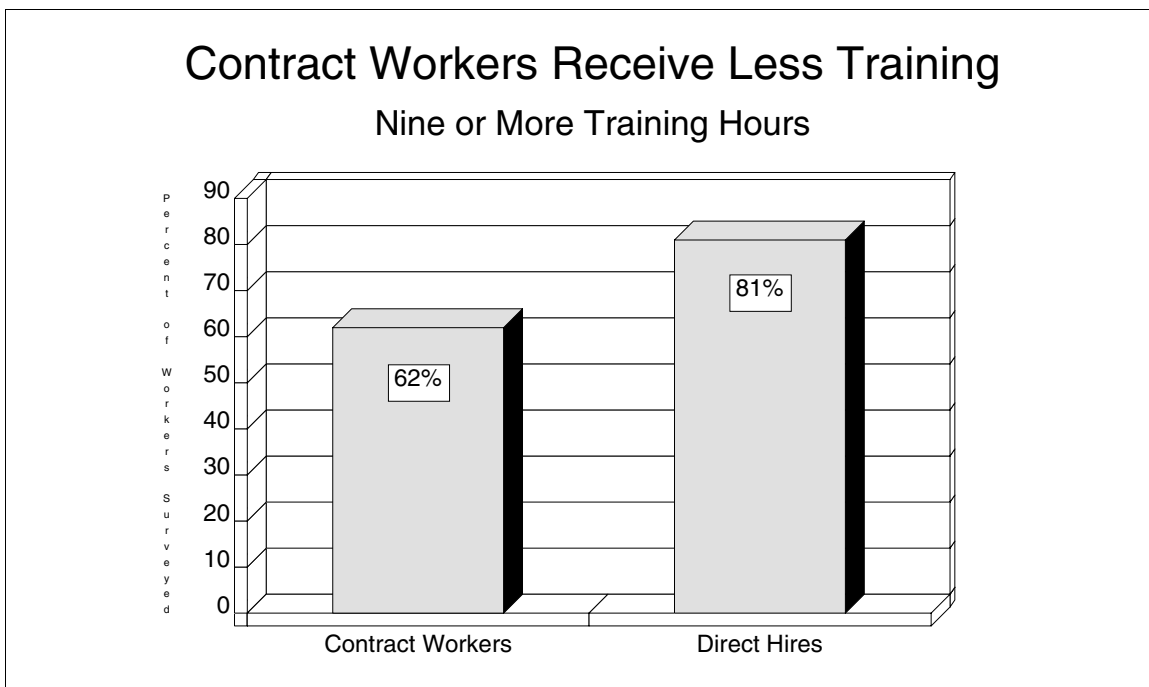
Source: PACE Health and Safety Department.

## 11. Corporate Use of the Contractor System Increases Accidents and Releases

Industry is increasingly replacing regular employees with temporary workers and contractors. Corporations provide less safety training for contractor workers and these workers have less experience with the hazards in petrochemical plants than do the regular employees. Industry's use of contractors has contributed to causing a number of plant safety and environmental disasters.

These contract workers are often assigned the dirtiest and most hazardous jobs. They are exposed to higher levels of toxic materials and suffer higher injury and illness rates. They often do not have the protection of labor unions. For all these reasons, contract workers are the worst victims of the contractor system.

It is sometimes thought that contract workers are "stealing" good union jobs. Actually, corporations who control and profit from the contractor system are the ones destroying good jobs while increasing accidents and releases.



Source: OSHA's John Gray Institute Report, 1990.

## **Summary: Pollution Prevention**

1. Pollution prevention strategies can protect both workers and communities, and create jobs at existing facilities.
2. But pollution prevention in the form of bans and phaseouts does cause long-term and massive job loss.
3. Pollution prevention strategies are dependent on having trained, full-time workers to implement them.
4. Pollution prevention-oriented jobs are not always well paying and/or numerous.
5. There are some real pollution prevention success stories and innovations being implemented around the country in a variety of industries.



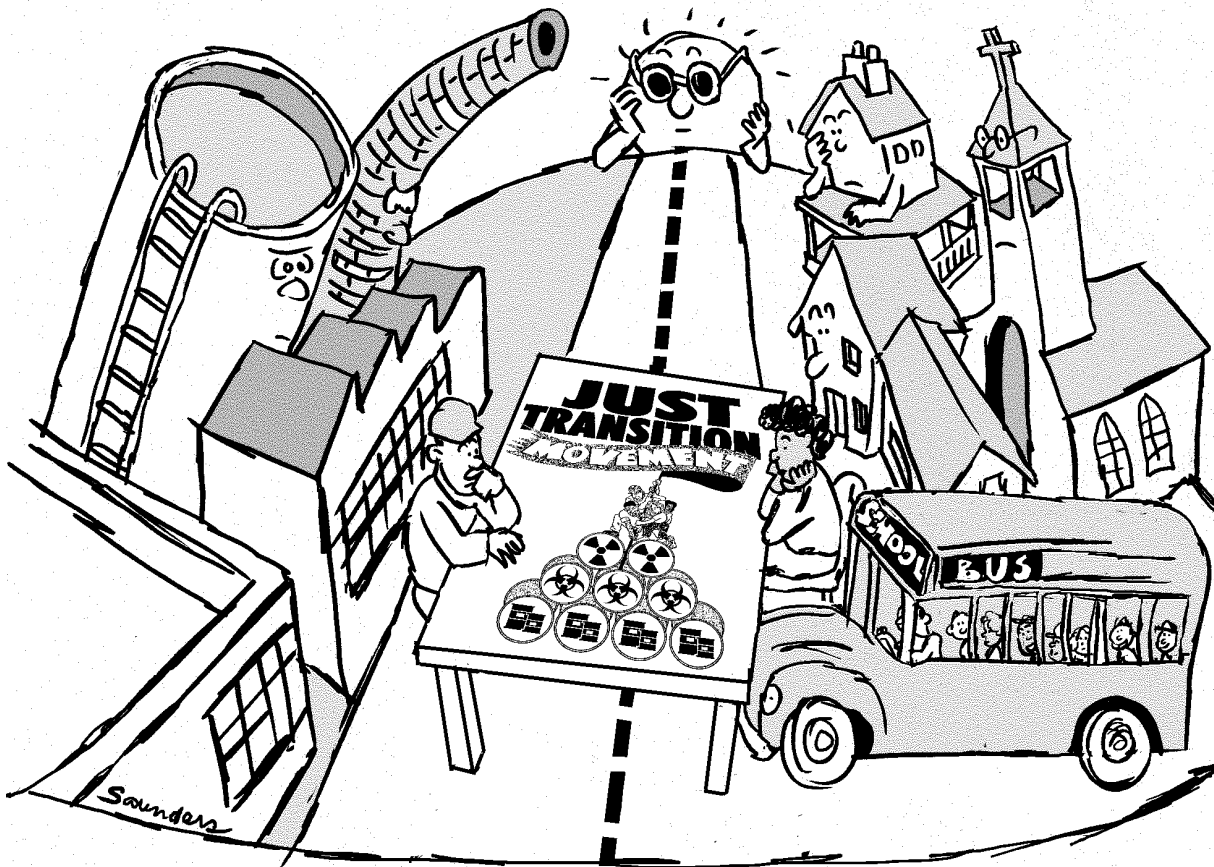


## Activity 5: Towards Solutions to the Jobs and Environment Conflict

### Purpose

To address special situations where pollution prevention requires phaseouts of certain substances.

To introduce participants to a proposal for a Just Transition policy.



## **Task 1**

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Imagine that your group is a national task force established to develop public policy proposals to deal with the following type of situation.

OilChem, a multi-billion dollar corporation, produces Heptachlor and Chlordane at its Middletown, Tennessee facility. These two chemicals are persistent organic herbicides known to be extremely harmful to humans and the ecology. The forty year old facility employs 100 unionized production workers earning from \$15 to \$18 per hour (or \$31,200 to \$37,440 per year not including overtime).

Recently, residents in an adjacent low-income development formed their own organization to protect themselves from hazardous exposures. They want Heptachlor and Chlordane banned immediately. They are joined in this demand by several national and international environmental organizations who are seeking a world-wide ban on these substances.

In 1991, Heptachlor and Chlordane were banned for use in the U.S. but production was permitted for export to world markets. When the U.S. ban went into effect, OilChem shut down its Illinois facility resulting in 800 permanent layoffs.

The company says it will immediately shut down the facility if these substances are banned. The unionized production workers are extremely anxious about losing their jobs. The local labor market has no comparable jobs. Most would be fortunate to find employment at half their current wages. As a result, they are strenuously fighting such a ban.

Other businesses and workers in the Middletown area are also extremely concerned about the economic impact of a plant closure.

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**1. In your groups, list the needs and concerns of the community and of the workers.**

## Task 2

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At the moment, several unions in the AFL-CIO as well as a number of environmental and environmental justice groups are seriously considering and promoting a “Just Transition” policy to end the jobs and environmental clash.

As a group, please read over the policy proposal on pages 88 through 90 and supplementary factsheets on pages 91 through 94. Then read and respond to the following statement by answering the questions below:

“This Just Transition idea can’t work. Here’s why. One, workers won’t support Just Transition because it’s too much like welfare — getting something you don’t deserve. Two, Just Transition is unfair; why should workers who lose their jobs due to environmental protections get all these benefits when millions of other laid off workers get nothing? Three, the battle line always is, and always will be, workers plus their employers versus environmentalists and environmental justice groups. That’s a fact of economic life. Fourth, finding sufficient allies to win such a financial and educational package in today’s economic and political climate is unrealistic. Finally, it’s too hard and too time-consuming to include everyone in the decision-making process; and anyway, workers are used to having people like shop stewards represent their interests. You know, people who “speak their language.” For all these reasons, labor would be better served by maintaining its alliances with its corporate employers. That’s the only way we will protect our jobs.”

- 
- 1. Would you recommend that the environmental justice, environmental, and AFL-CIO groups support the Just Transition policy proposal? Explain why or why not. (See pages 88 and 90.)**

## 1. OCAW Resolution on Just Transition

Whereas corporate America is boosting its bottom line by destroying our jobs, harming our health, and polluting our environment;

and whereas we are discovering that many of the products and processes we work with can be extremely harmful to workers, communities, and the environment;

and whereas governments around the globe are considering bans and phase-outs of these harmful products and processes;

and whereas the costs of such bans will be borne primarily by the workers and their communities in the form of job loss, even though society as a whole will benefit from such bans and phase-outs;

therefore be it resolved that we demand the creation of a National Just Transition Fund to provide full income protection, access to sustainable jobs, and education for workers in toxic industries, and economic support for impacted communities;

and be it further resolved that such a fund be set up by the federal government and consist of corporations contributions via a surcharge on the substances that are to be banned and phased-out through general revenue;

and be it further resolved that we agree to commit ourselves toward making such a Just Transition Fund a reality, including working with our allies in other unions and in the environmental and environmental justice communities.

Source: Passed at the 1997 OCAW convention; this is a portion of the resolution text.

## 2. Highlights of Environmental Justice Principles

Of the seventeen Principles of Environmental Justice (see Appendix B-2), the following five are most relevant to a discussion of the Just Transition policy.

- Environmental justice calls for universal protection from the extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.
- Environmental justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision making including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement, and evaluation.
- Environmental justice affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment, without being forced to choose between unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.
- Environmental justice protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.
- Environmental justice opposes the destructive operations of multinational corporations.

Source: First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, October 1991, Principles 4, 7, 8, 9, and 14.

### 3. Joint Statement on Just Transition

On February 14, 1997, North American labor and environmental justice organizations joined together to confront global corporations that attempt to pit jobs against the environment, workers inside toxic facilities against the community, and workers on one side of the border against those on the other side. Our previous struggles to protect jobs, workplace safety and health, community health, and the environment led us to each other. Below is a draft of a joint statement, written in February 1998.

#### **We Affirm:**

- The right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment.
- The right of environmental justice organizations to engage in the battle for equity and fairness for those fence-line communities surrounding the toxic facilities employing PACE workers.
- The human rights of workers to freely and safely organize on both sides of the border and to work against harmful trade agreements such as NAFTA.
- The right to resist corporate efforts to destroy our jobs, harm our health, and pollute our environment in pursuit of higher corporate profits.
- The right to a just transition when a shift to a sustainable community and cleaner environment costs workers and communities our jobs, income, and tax base.

Sources: Principles of Environmental Justice, #8, The First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, October 24-17, 1991, Washington, DC; OCAW's National Convention Resolution on Building Environmental Justice Coalitions, adopted August 19, 1997; Jemez Principles for Democratic Organizing, adopted December 8, 1996 by the people of color participants during the pre-meeting portion of the "Working Group Meeting on Trade and Globalization" in Jemez, New Mexico; and National Convention Resolution on Just Transition passed by the Communication, Energy, and Paperworkers Union of Canada, September 1997.

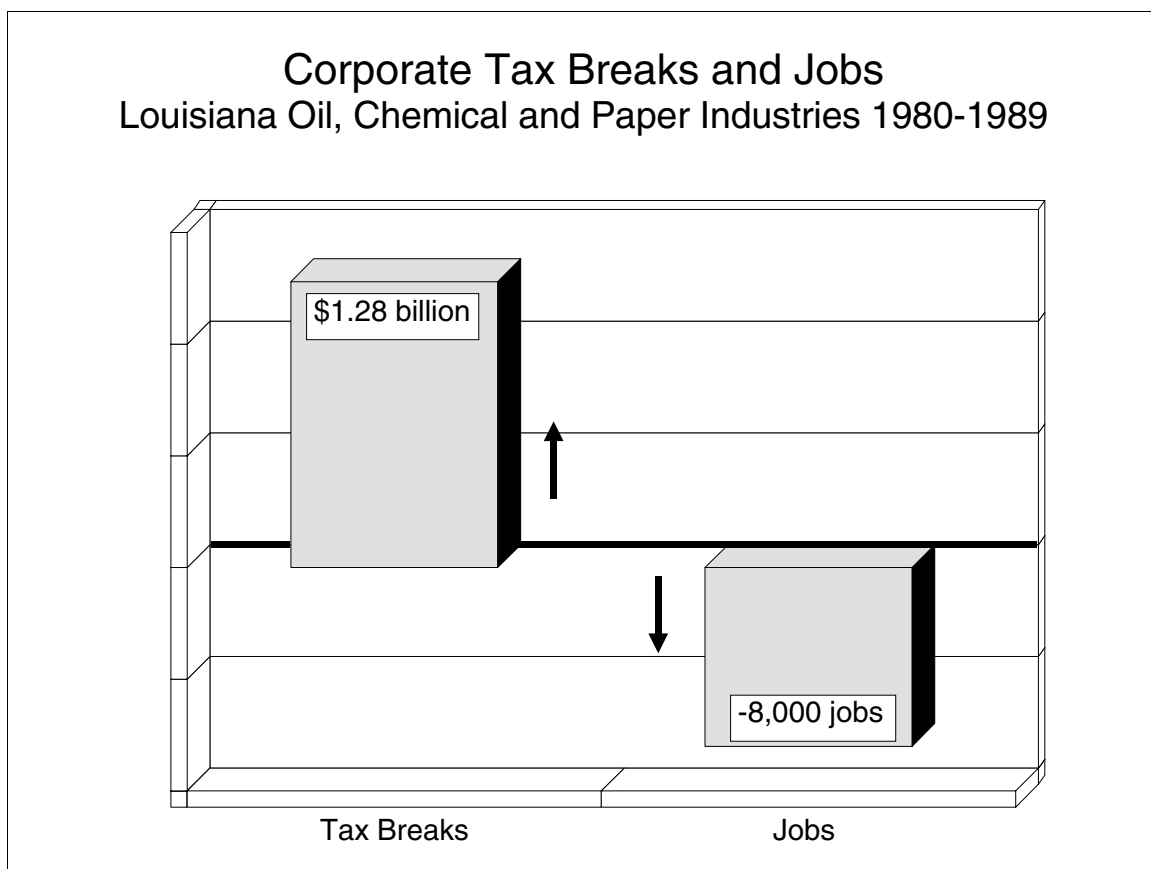


## 4. Corporations Use Economic Extortion to Get Tax Subsidies

### The Case of Louisiana

Louisiana offers "industrial inducement" through a 10-year industrial tax exemption program which eliminates property taxes for major industries. Corporations made it clear that without the tax giveaways, they would consider moving new jobs elsewhere. From 1980 to 1989 the state provided over \$1.28 billion in tax abatements for toxic-related production in the refining, chemical and paper industries.

In theory, the lost property tax revenue was to be made up by sales taxes paid by those getting the new jobs. In practice, however, there were no new jobs created in refining, chemical and paper industries. In fact, 8,000 jobs were lost over the 10-year period.



Source: Data from Louisiana Coalition for Tax Justice, 1992.

## 5. Big Corporations Get Big Tax Subsidies but Don't Create Jobs

Large corporations have the power to move their facilities to all parts of the globe with few or no restrictions. This power to move makes it easy for corporations to extract major tax concessions from state and local governments.

But these tax breaks often have little or no impact on what these giant corporations do. Studies show that corporations first make their decisions based on other factors like transportation and labor costs. These studies reveal that after they make their decisions on where to go, then they go for the tax breaks as a bonus.

Howard Goggans, former controller of the Georgia Pacific Corporation, provides us with an inside view of corporate decision making:

[Tax breaks are] an open-ended, outright subsidy that big companies can easily obtain without any strings attached. The projects with which I am familiar were all justified and funded solely on economic criteria without any regard for potential tax credits, then when realized were looked upon as after-the-fact windfalls. Some tax credit advocates would have us believe that it plays a crucial role in capital investment decision-making process, but that's just not the way it's done in executive suites of Fortune 500 companies. The tax tail never wags the economic dog. — *Arkansas Democrat*, April 14, 1990.

## 6. Government Welfare for Corporations Fattens Bottom Line

Just how dependent are corporations on government handouts? Very. The following chart shows that corporations get an estimated \$124.3 billion to \$154.4 billion each year from federal, state and local governments in the form of tax breaks and subsidies. **That amount represents 45 percent to 56 percent of all corporate after-tax profits.**

Corporate After-Tax Profits (1994)	\$332.9 billion
Government Welfare to Corporations (1994)	
Federal	\$104.3 billion
State and Local	\$20 billion to \$50 billion
Total Government Welfare to Corporations	\$124.3 billion to \$154.3 billion
<b>Government Corporate Welfare as a Percent of After-Tax Profits</b>	<b>45% to 56%</b>

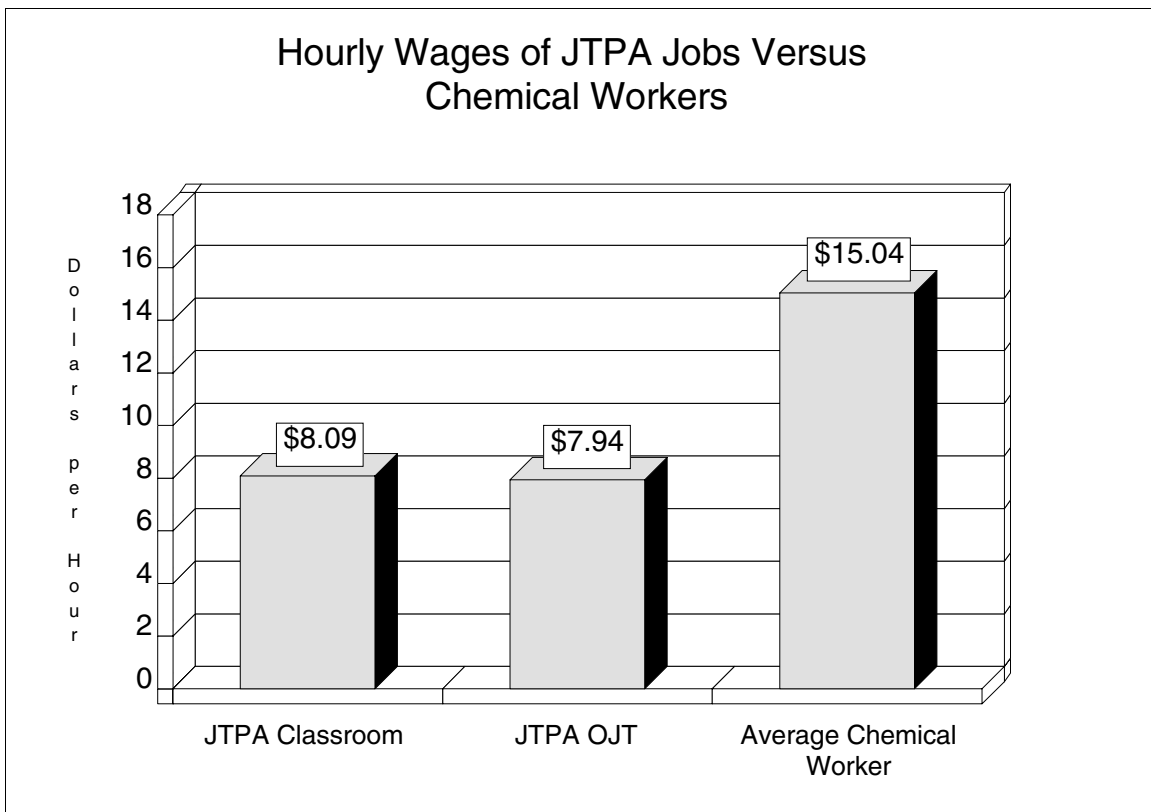
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1996*, Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1996; and The Labor Institute.

## 7. Job Training Often Means Low-Paying Jobs

Job training like the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) is proposed by many groups to solve unemployment caused by the Ancient Forest Protection Act, the Circle of Poison Prevention Act (pesticides) and other environmental laws.

The problem, from a worker point of view, is that the retraining almost always guarantees a vast decline in income, if the worker is lucky enough to find a job. A study done by the Department of Labor tracked what happened to workers that were involved in JTPA classroom training and on-the-job training (OJT).

The good news was that 76 percent of the workers actually found a job. The bad news was, as the chart below demonstrates, that the wages were not much more than half the average hourly wage of a chemical worker.



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, *Job Training Quarterly Survey*, July 1, 1990 to June 30, 1991.

## **Summary: Towards Solutions to the Jobs and Environment Conflict**

1. Many people in our organizations and communities have already begun to think about creative solutions.
2. Corporate solutions to the jobs and environment conflict usually do not improve our communities or working conditions.

**Will we be picked apart by our own fears and by the corporations that wish to keep us divided?**

**Or can we work together to build such an agenda?**



# Appendices

Union members and environmental/community activists have requested more information on how each others' organizations work. The following appendices provide some basic answers.

**Appendix A: An Introduction to the Environmental Movement for Union Members**, written by Amy Goldsmith of the New Jersey Environmental Federation, introduces union members to some basic information about how the environmental movements work.

**Appendix B: An Introduction to the Environmental Justice Movement**

**Appendix C: An Introduction to the Labor Movement for Environmental/Environmental Justice Activists**, excerpted from "Organizing for Social Change" and put out by the Midwest Academy, introduces community activists to the basic structure of unions.

## **Appendix A: An Introduction to the Environmental Movement for Union Members**

### **The Environmental Movement Is Really Two Movements**

The environmental movement as a whole does not have an over arching formal structure. Instead, it consists of a diversity of groups roughly divided into two basic kinds – environmental organizations and community-based organizations.

Environmental organizations, such as the Sierra Club, Nature Conservancy and the National Wildlife Federation, are primarily focused on protecting natural resources, wilderness and wildlife. The largest of these groups are based in Washington, D.C. and have offices in almost all of the states. They have large, capable staffs of scientists, lawyers and other experts, and are well equipped to intervene in the legislative and legal process on all levels.

Community-based organizations form when local citizens face a direct threat to their families, health, homes, drinking water, clean air, quality of life, etc. It is estimated that over 10,000 such locally-based groups have sprung up nation-wide in the past 10 years. People often form and join such groups because they are tired of the system not working, and they are forced to act on their own behalf. In most cases their groups are action-oriented and have a very active membership of local participants. They are referred to as grass-roots organizations or environmental justice groups. More often than not, these groups have little, if anything, to do with large national, state and regional environmental organizations.

These two groupings also differ on basic philosophy. The larger environmental organizations tend to be expert-driven. Their members tend not to be involved in the day to day matters of the organization. Instead, their staff scientists, lawyers and other specialists work on complex policy and legal questions concerning the environment.

Community-based organizations tend to be citizen-driven. They believe they can make their own decisions about how to best protect themselves, their families and their communities from toxic exposure. For the most part they have little access to the power structure and work from the outside to change it. They tend to rely more on demonstrations and citizen action than behind the scenes lobbying.

### **A Vast Mosaic of Diversity**

Because of the vast numbers and types of organizations, it's impossible to provide a good road-map to figure out who's who in any area. Around any given issues, we may run into a wide variety of local, state and national groups. Some are very democratic in structure — others are not. Some have ample resources — others very few. Some are part of a national organization or network — others are totally independent. As the chart on the next page shows, the most important thing to know about the environmental/community justice movement is that it is extremely diverse.



That diversity makes it tough for union people to figure out who to deal with around any given issue. It's important to reach out to a variety of groups. While it usually is easier to find the larger, more established state and national environmental groups, it is extremely important to also seek out the local community-based groups that are active in your area.

### Geography

- national\*
- regional
- state
- county
- multi-town
- town
- neighborhood
- street

### Structure

- independent
- network of groups
- affiliated groups
- coalition
- permanent
- campaign specific

### Legal Status

- unincorporated
- incorporated
- tax exempt 501(c)(3)\*\*
- not exempt 501(c)(4)\*\*
- electoral PAC\*\*\*

### Issues

- multi issue
- single issue
- project or facility specific

### Staffing

- volunteer based (most local groups)
- staff based
- combination of volunteers and staff

### Fundraising

- individual memberships
- donations
- grants
- corporate
- in kind services
- sell merchandise
- events
- raffles
- etc.

\*Not all national organizations are Washington-based, not all national groups have state offices or grassroots components. (Examples of national organizations with state and local operations include Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Waste, Clean Water Action and Sierra Club.)

\*\*According to IRS tax law, an organization with 501(c)(3) status can conduct educational, research and training activities and very little lobbying. A 501(c)(4) organization can lobby as much as they want as well as be involved in electoral work.

\*\*\*Very few environmental groups do electoral work and endorse candidates. The larger organizations that have PACs are Clean Water Action, NJ Environmental Federation, Sierra Club and League of Conservation Voters.

### **Organizing Strategies**

- lobby and advocacy
- grassroots oriented organizing
- research
- education
- training
- direct action
- legal action
- conservation, land preservation
- policy-making think tanks

### **Educational, Ethnic, Racial, Economic Backgrounds**

- varies within a group and between groups
- dependent on geography and issue focus

### **Size of Groups**

- 10 people "kitchen table size" to millions of members

### **Longevity of Groups**

- permanent
- life of campaign, issue or proposal under consideration

### **How To Find a Local Environmental/Community Group To Work With**

You won't readily find them in the phone book. This only works for larger organizations that have staff and an

office and you know what city they are located in. Grassroots based organizations are even harder to find because most of them operate out of someone's home. You need to know the name of the local leader (not the organization's name) and town the leader resides in to find the group. If you have no idea what groups exist or should approach, you might try the following methods of finding them.

- Get names of people and groups in news stories on cable, newspaper, TV, magazines, etc.
- Ask for names from reporters who cover environmental and neighborhood stories.
- Contact groups that you may already know that are active in the community including churches or larger environmental and citizen organizations for leads in the area.
- Contact the local environmental or planning commissions or other political contacts that you may already have. Be careful when contacting these types of officials. Just because they have a seat on these commissions or are allies on labor issues they may not necessarily be a friend of the environment and the local groups that work on these issues. You may or may not get accurate information from these sources or could alienate/befriend local groups by "dropping" these names.
- Attend a local meeting where you think a local environment or community leader might show up. This is a potential opportunity to see them in action as well as make a first approach if appropriate.

## Approaching Community and Environmental Groups

A little research before approaching a local or environmental group can be useful. It could help you determine which of them might best suit your needs and organizing strategy.

Questions to answer include:

- number of members?
- composition of group (occupational, ethnic, racial, economic)?
- geographic range covered by group?
- where members live? types of communities?
- volunteer or staff based organization?
- electoral involvement and at what level of government?
- who are the leaders of the group, how are they perceived?
- method of organizing (lobby, education, action, etc.)?
- group's target for change (government, corporation, institution, etc.) and at what level (national, state, local)?

The best person to make the approach would be a union member who is involved in the local group or lives in the neighborhood. Another suggestion is to ask a community leader that is respected by both the union and local group. But do not use the absence of either to prevent you from calling directly.

It is helpful to have a specific goal in mind that would help the union as well as further the environmental and community group's agenda (e.g. better emission and spill controls, right to

know, emergency response). Keep in mind that most community and environmental groups are involved in "fighting city hall" but not necessarily involved in electoral politics. Remember they may need to be educated about your union and the importance of it from the worker, community and environmental perspective.

## Assistance Environmental and Community Groups Can Offer

Environmental and community based organizations can offer a lot to a campaign effort including:

- volunteers
- turnout people for events
- access to members
- articles in newsletter (if they have one)
- ability to distribute materials in various ways
- access to government officials and agencies
- knowledge of different aspects of the "system" and how to work it
- spokespeople for the press
- access to the press, different reporters, different angle
- experience with conducting events, designing literature, etc.
- expertise varies but could include grassroots organizing and outreach, media, legal, scientific, including sample testing, lobbying, direct action, electoral campaign, graphic design

## **Government Agencies That Groups May Have Experience With**

There are many federal, state and local agencies involved in overseeing environmental laws and regulations. Environmental groups can help unions get through some of the bureaucratic maze depending on the group's area of interest. On the federal level alone, there are (just to name a few):

**U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)** – wide range of issues

**Department of Agriculture** – farm land use, pesticides

**Department of Interior** – parks, forest, mining and range land

**U.S. Department of Defense (DOD)** – military sites and cleanup

**Army Corps of Engineers** – wetlands, dredging, waterways

**U.S. Department of Energy** – all energy sources, some from military facilities

**Food and Drug Administration (FDA)** – pesticides/additives in food

**Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC)** – nuclear power and waste

By Amy Goldsmith, State Director, New Jersey Environmental Federation

### **Glossary**

**NIMBY.** "Not in my backyard," refers to individuals and groups that do not want a certain type of facility located in their neighborhood.

**NIABY.** "Not in anybody's backyard," refers to individuals and groups that do not want these facilities or operations anywhere.

**LULU.** "Locally Undesirable Land Use"

**Treehuggers.** People perceived to be only concerned about protecting wildlife and land (often called the "birds and bunny" environmentalists).

## Appendix B: An Introduction to the Environmental Justice Movement

A number of highly acclaimed national studies demonstrate the need for action by environmental justice organizations.

- Three out of the four hazardous waste sites in eight Southern states are located in communities with a majority of people of color.
- The fourth site is located in a community which is 38 percent African American.
- Three out of every five Black and Latino Americans live in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites.
- Three of the five largest hazardous waste landfills in the U.S. are located in African American communities.
- Race, rather than income, is a more reliable predictor of the location of a hazardous waste site.
- Communities of color will wait up to four years more than white communities in getting a Superfund site cleaned-up.
- Penalties under hazardous waste laws at sites having the greatest white population are about 500 percent higher than penalties at sites with the greatest minority population, averaging \$335,566 for white areas and \$55,318 for minority areas.
- At Superfund sites in white areas, the EPA will select highly preferable permanent treatment technologies rather than mere containment more frequently by 22 percent. At sites in communities of color, EPA will select containment more frequently than treatment by an average of 7 percent.

Sources: U.S. General Accounting Office, *Siting of Hazardous Waste Landfills and their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities*, 1983; Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites*, 1987; and , "Unequal Protection: The Racial Divide in Environmental Law," *National Law Journal*, September 21, 1992.

## Principles of Environmental Justice

On October 24, 1991, more than 500 people from local and regional grassroots struggles in the U.S., Latin America, Canada and the Pacific gathered in Washington, DC for the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. After the four days of work and dialogue, the collected delegates voted unanimously to adopt the following principles. For the growing, grassroots, multi-cultural environmental justice movement, this statement serves as a working definition of the principles of environmental justice and a blueprint for continued work.

We, the People of Color, gathered together at this multinational People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby re-establish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth, to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves; to insure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and, to secure our political, economical and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples, do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice:

1. Environmental justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.
2. Environmental justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.
3. Environmental justice mandates the right to ethically balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.
4. Environmental justice calls for universal protection from the extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water and food.
5. Environmental justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.
6. Environmental justice demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes and radioactive materials and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.

7. Environmental justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision making including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.

8. Environmental justice affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment, without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.

9. Environmental justice protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.

10. Environmental justice considers governmental acts of environmental injustice as violation of international law, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

11. Environmental justice must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts and covenants which impose upon the U.S. government a paramount obligation and responsibility to affirm the sovereignty and self-determination of the indigenous peoples whose lands it occupies and holds in trust.

12. Environmental justice affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean-up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and providing fair access for all to the full range of resources.

13. Environmental justice calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.

14. Environmental justice opposes the destructive operations of multinational corporations.

15. Environmental justice opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.

16. Environmental justice calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.

17. Environmental justice requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to insure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

# Jemez Principles for Democratic Organizing

## 1. Be Inclusive

If we hope to achieve just societies that include all people in decision-making and assure that all people have an equitable share of the wealth and the work of this world, then we must work to build that kind of inclusiveness into our own movement in order to develop alternative policies and institutions to the treaties and policies under neo-liberalism.

This requires more than tokenism, it cannot be achieved without diversity at the planning table, in staffing, and in coordination. It may delay achievement of other important goals; it will require discussion, hard work, patience, and advanced planning. It may involve conflict, but through this conflict, we can learn better ways of working together. It's about building alternative institutions, movement building, and not compromising in order to be accepted into the anti-globalization club.

## 2. Emphasis on Bottom-Up Organizing

To succeed, it is important to reach out into new constituencies, and to reach within all levels of the leadership and membership base of the organizations that are already involved in our networks. We must be continually building and strengthening a base which provides our creditability, our strategies, mobilization, leadership development, and the energy for the work we must do daily.

## 3. Let People Speak for Themselves

We must be sure that relevant voices of people directly affected are heard. Ways must be provided for spokespersons to represent and be responsible to their affected constituencies. It is important for organizations to clarify their roles, who they represent, and to assure accountability within our structures.

## 4. Work Together in Solidarity and Mutuality

Groups working on similar issues with compatible visions should consciously act in solidarity, mutuality and support each others work. In the long run, a more significant step is to incorporate the goals and values of other groups with your own work in order to build strong relationships.

For instance, in the long run, it is more important that labor unions and community economic development projects include the issue of environmental sustainability in their own strategies, rather than just lending support to the environmental organization. So communications, strategies and resource sharing is critical to help us see our connections and build upon these.

## 5. Build Just Relationships Among Ourselves

We need to treat each other with justice and respect, both on an individual and an organizational level, in this country and across borders. Defining and



developing “just relationships” will be a process that won’t happen overnight. It must include clarity about decision-making, sharing strategies, and resource distribution. There are clearly many skills necessary to succeed, and we need to determine the ways for those with different skills to coordinate and be accountable to one another.

## **6. Commitment to Self Transformation**

As we change societies, we must change from operating on the mode of

individualism to community-centeredness. We must “walk our talk”. We must be the values that we say we’re struggling for – we must be justice, peace, and community.

\*Adopted on December 8, 1996, by the people of color participants during the pre-meeting portion of the “Working Group Meeting on Trade and Globalization” in Jemez, New Mexico.



## Appendix C: An Introduction to the Labor Movement for Environmental/Environmental Justice Activists

Both unions and citizen organizations seek to increase people's power through unity in order to improve the quality of their lives. Unions often have resources, members, political contacts, and power that can be essential to winning citizens' issues. Community and citizen organizations not only share with unions an interest in many issues, but can also lend valued support to labor's battles, both in the legislature and in the workplace.

Labor leaders feel tremendous pride in labor's history and accomplishments. Despite incredible opposition, unions have won better wages, benefits, dignity, and justice on the job. Unions have been and still are very active in the legislative arena. They have fought for workers' compensation, unemployment insurance, child labor laws, and many other things that we now take for granted. Many unions have been in the forefront on civil rights, pay equity, child care and parental leave, as well as right-to-know legislation. Unions pioneered many tactics years ago that are now seen as new and creative. Tent cities, boycotts, sit-ins, sit-downs, civil disobedience, non-violent action and strikes are all part of union history.

Unions now face assaults from all sides. Employers and the government are working to weaken labor. As a result, membership and resources are down. Many unions are fighting just to survive. Unions are re-examining the strategies and tactics it takes to win in organizing and bargaining. A union's ability to assist a community campaign depends upon its own well-being.

### Understanding Labor's Structure

There are two main structures that run parallel to each other from the national to the local level. The first is the structure of any given union such as the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union or the Communications Workers of America. The second is the structure of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). The AFL-CIO is not a union. It is a federation of unions, which is organized as a federation down to the local level. The two structures are depicted in the box on the next page.

### Labor at the National Level

Through its convention and executive council, the AFL-CIO makes policy for labor, and carries out a wide variety of functions in the political arena.

As of November 1, 1989, there were 90 national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. (For all practical purposes, there is no distinction between a national and international union.)

In addition to belonging to the AFL-CIO as a whole, individual unions are affiliated with trade and industrial departments within the AFL-CIO structure. These departments serve the needs of particular groups of unions

<b>American Union Structure</b>	
<b>Individual Union</b>	<b>AFL-CIO</b>
<b>National Level</b>	
International union (e.g., Auto Workers, Machinists, PACE).	AFL-CIO. The federation of unions at the national level.
The members are individual workers.	The members are international unions. Each is an independent organization.
<b>State Level</b>	
The state or regional body of the international union (e.g. Region 9, United Auto Workers; District 8, PACE).	State labor federations which belong to the AFL-CIO, called "State Feds."
The members are local unions of the international union.	The members are local unions and central labor councils in the state.
<b>City, Town or County Level</b>	
Local unions, district councils and joint boards (e.g., Local 101, Brown County School Employees; District Council 37, AFSCME; Local 2804, XYZ Steel Co., U.S. Steel Workers).	Central labor councils of the AFL-CIO.
The members are individual workers.	The members are local unions in the area.

such as building trades, industrial unions, professional unions, or public employee unions. The AFL-CIO both supports and is supported by state labor federations in all fifty states. At the local level are over six hundred central labor councils which are themselves federations of local unions in a city, county, or region of a state.

**State Labor Federations ("State Feds")**

State labor federations are voluntarily supported by union locals and central labor councils. Commonly called "state feds," these bodies coordinate labor's legislative, electoral, and community service work. They also support strikes, sometimes assist in organizing, and do public relations activities.

## Union Locals

- Operate in a specific city or geographic area, and have a "jurisdiction"; that is, a type of worker they represent (telephone workers, social workers, teachers, janitors, or carpenters).
- Vary dramatically in size, resources, and community involvement. Some have a few hundred members and no full-time staff. Others have thousands of members, their own buildings, printing facilities, and many staff.
- Joint boards and district councils are organizations of smaller locals within the same international union. By pooling resources, locals that could not otherwise afford staff can share resources. These bodies have their own structure of paid officers elected by the members. The individual locals within them also have officers who are usually unpaid.
- The members of union locals are all usually in the same industry if not the same company.
- Joint board or district council members, on the other hand, can come from different companies and different industries.
- Union locals elect their own officers. They have an executive board, committees, and a steward system at the work site.
- A steward is an appointed or elected union representative at the workplace, sometimes called a delegate.
- A union local officer has a huge number of tasks to work on, from handling hundreds of workplace grievances, bargaining contracts, organizing to bring in more members,

and paying bills, to implementing the international union's agenda.

- The first responsibility of a union local officer is to ensure that the day-to-day business of the local is completed. If that isn't done, the local will decline and the officer will be voted out.

## Central Labor Councils

Local unions in cities and counties affiliate with an AFL-CIO central labor council in order to work together on political, legislative, and social issues.

The mission of the central labor council is to organize in the community to promote social justice for all working people. Local unions send delegates to their council's monthly meetings to share information about what is happening in their locals, support other unions if needed, and work together in committees to carry out the goals of the council.

Central labor councils are funded by dues from their local union affiliates. They may occasionally receive a small amount of money from a state labor federation for a special project, but they must meet their own expenses.

As is the case with state labor federations, there is no rule saying that a local must belong. An individual international union might have a rule that its locals must belong to central labor bodies, but the council itself can't make such a rule. They have no authority over the local unions in their areas.

Most officers of central labor councils are volunteers. Outside of large cities, few councils have paid organizing staff.

Some councils have a building, others operate out of their presidents' homes. A central labor council president can often give you information about unions in the community.

## Political Interests

Labor organizations are highly political in two senses of the word. First, some play a very active role in local electoral politics: they endorse candidates and work in campaigns. Citizen organizers should know the history here. Usually, elected officials who are strong supporters of labor are also good on other citizen issues, and vice versa, but this is not necessarily always the case. If your group has opposed or pressured a politician supported by local unions, it is very important to be aware of this when asking them to help you. It is also a problem when you ask unions to target elected officials whom they consider allies on labor issues. Of course, this is true of any group, including your own, only the issues are different.

The second sense in which unions can be political is that some have a very active internal political life. There are factions that vie for control of the organization through the election of officers. Stay clear of labor's internal politics. When approaching labor for cooperation on a local, district, or state level, go straight to the elected officers or top staff. Don't have dealings with people who want to involve you in intrigue. Someone wins and someone loses every union election. You should be able to keep on good terms with the union no matter who wins. Whether you are working with a local, state fed, or labor council officer, being on good terms also means respecting their agenda and realizing

that they have responsibilities that must come ahead of work with outside groups.

## Union Local Self-interest

There are certain things that will make your job easier in approaching union local officers to cooperate with a citizens' organization.

- First, if your issue is one that higher bodies of the union or AFL-CIO have already endorsed and asked the union locals to work on, then the door is partly open. Often, local officers will be trying to find a way to squeeze another hour into the day for this issue. If you come with a plan that is very specific, and requires the union to do a set and limited amount, you will be welcomed. On the other hand, if you announce that you have come to "coordinate their efforts," and then propose several interminable meetings with people who don't know what to do, your reception may be less than enthusiastic.
- Second, it helps if your issue is one that will materially benefit the union's members. It is easier all around if the officers can present it as an additional thing the union does to better the members' lives. Remember that unlike community groups that may get money from grants, canvassing, or even government agencies, every cent a union local has comes from members' dues. (Dues are often several hundred dollars a year, depending on the member's pay scale.)

The members join unions primarily to win benefits on the job. Everything else is extra. If they feel that job-related issues are not being taken care of, or if they

don't agree about your issue, they will be reluctant to see their dues money being spent to support it. Citizen organizations are often ambivalent about this point. On the one hand, they want union leaders to be accountable to the members. On the other hand, when the members disagree with the citizen group's issue, the group wants the union leaders to go ahead and support it anyway.

### **Approaching a Central Labor Council**

Central labor councils reflect the political complexion of the unions in their area. At the labor council you will meet the whole labor family, from the most progressive to those closer toward the center.

While central labor councils also have intense internal politics, usually the unions in them have figured out how to work together on a common electoral and legislative program. Unlike union locals, labor councils are voluntary coalitions, and there are many lessons about coalition building to be learned from them. In developing a relationship with the central labor council, the first question to ask is who are the officers and what local unions do they come from? Is there a paid officer on the council? Are the top council officers also the officers of their own locals? Because you want to ask the person who can actually commit the resources of the organization, find out who really has the power. Find out if the largest locals in the council are public employee, building trade, manufacturing, or service unions. The type of issues the council will be interested in will, to some degree, be influenced by this, and you will be better able to analyze its self-interest.

### **Assistance Labor Can Offer**

Labor organizations can offer citizen organizations the following types of resources and assistance:

- Phone banks
- Meeting rooms, auditorium
- Printing
- Access to members
- Article in newsletter
- Political contacts
- Volunteers
- Officers to participate in press events
- Members with experience in activities, (e.g., coordinating rallies or designing leaflets)
- Members with specific expertise, (e.g., teachers who know the school system)

Ask the union for other ways in which it can help.

As with any successful coalition, the focus on the specific issues must reflect the self-interest of the organizations. Understanding a union's self-interest and the demands that the organization is facing, its specific resources, its accomplishments, and its experience will produce a more positive relationship. Both unions and citizen organizations seek power through unity.

The Midwest Academy thanks Marilyn Sneiderman for contributing this piece. She has had many years of experience in labor education and union work.

Adapted from Jackie Kendall, Steve Max, Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change: A Manual for Activists in the 90s*, Arlington, VA: Seven Locks Press. This book is available from the Midwest Academy at 800/354-5348.

## Glossary of Labor Terms

### **AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations).**

A federation of international unions in the United States, formed by the 1955 merger of the AFL (which consisted largely of craft or occupational unions) and the CIO (which consisted of industrial unions). As of November 1, 1989, the AFL-CIO claimed 90 affiliates and 14,158,000 members.

**AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.** In local areas, local unions may form central labor councils. These are active in city and county politics as well as the state legislative and congressional district levels. They are often directly involved in supporting strikes and in community services.

**AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE).** The political action arm of the AFL-CIO, COPE is primarily involved in electoral politics and political education among AFL-CIO members. COPE makes campaign contributions and coordinates the support of member unions for endorsed candidates. Many individual unions also have their own political action committees, as do some large locals. It is not legal in the United States to use union dues for electoral campaigns. All electoral money is contributed by union members separately from their dues payments.

**Bargaining Unit (Negotiating Unit).** A group of employees recognized by the employer or designated by an authorized agency (e.g., the National Labor Relations Board) as appropriate for collective bargaining. Because all of the people in the bargaining unit can vote on which, if any, union will represent them, how the unit is drawn and who is included strongly affect the outcome of the election.

**Business Agent.** A full-time staff member of a union local often has the title "business agent" (often called a "B.A."). The term is most common in the building trades where business

agents work daily with construction contractors trying to line up work for the union members. Elsewhere, the business agent is the full-time administrator of the day-to-day affairs of the local. Often the business agent is elected, but even when not elected, if the B.A. is the only full-time staff in the local, he or she can have more power than the elected officers.

**Closed Shop.** A union security provision of a contract that requires the employer to hire and retain only union members. This provision is generally prohibited under national and state legislation and should not be confused with Union Shop, which requires non-union employees to join the union.

**Collective Bargaining.** A process, usually regulated by law, in which a group of employees and their employer negotiate issues of wages, hours, working conditions and other conditions of the employer-employee relationship, for the purpose of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement, and the execution of a written contract incorporating that agreement.

**District Council.** Several local unions of the same international in a given geographic area may form a district council as a way of sharing staff and reducing overhead costs. The council coordinates bargaining and provides services to the members. Council leadership is elected by members of the locals.

**ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan).** A plan whereby a block of company stock is transferred to employees. In some ESOPs, unions or employee organizations buy a controlling interest in a company and become the management. Other ESOPs are established by the existing management to protect themselves from corporate raiders, to secure tax benefits, or to avoid commitments to pensioners. The number of employees in ESOPs is growing very rapidly.



**Give-Backs.** Contract gains that are given back to management by the union, usually upon the threat of layoffs or plant closings.

**Grievance.** A formal complaint by an employee which charges that management has violated some aspect of the union contract.

**Grievance Procedure.** A formal plan, specified in a union contract, which provides for the adjustment of grievances through discussion at progressively higher levels of authority in management and the union, usually culminating in arbitration. Such plans may also be found in companies and public agencies where there is no organization to represent employees. Arbitration is rarely a feature of these non-union plans.

**International Representative.** A staff member of an international union, often an organizer. International Reps. report directly to someone in the union's national headquarters, unlike business agents and other staff on local payrolls.

**International Union.** A national union is called international because it represents workers in Canada and/or Puerto Rico. It is the parent body of union locals and an affiliate of the AFL-CIO (although a very few unions are independent). The jurisdiction of an international union is usually industrial or craft in character, although in the last decade the lines have blurred. Today, many unions will organize any type of employee if the opportunity arises.

**Joint Board.** A structure very much like a District Council wherein the executive boards of several union locals of the same international will amalgamate themselves into a joint board for a certain geographic area or a trade (e.g., the Cloakmakers joint board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, or the Midwestern joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union).

**Local Representative.** The staff member of a union local. People with this title perform a wide range of duties usually related to servicing contracts. Unlike a Business Agent, this is rarely an elected title. In unions where officers are often staff, there is a major distinction of power and standing between people elected to paid positions and those merely hired.

**National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).** An agency of the U.S. Government that enforces the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts, and conducts most private certification elections.

**Negotiating Committee.** A committee composed of members of a union that meets with company negotiators to negotiate a contract. Often the committee is a large body which has the responsibility of deciding the union's bargaining position. A smaller group of leaders of the committee may form the negotiating team, which participates in the actual meetings with management.

**Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA).** The federal agency responsible for setting and maintaining health standards in the workplace, particularly related to toxic chemicals, noise, and air quality, as well as machine safety. OSHA has been rendered highly ineffective by reductions in the number of its inspectors. As a result, many unions are now establishing health and safety committees.

**Ratification Election.** When a negotiating committee reaches a tentative agreement, it must then be approved by law, and usually the union's constitution, submit the agreement to the whole membership for a vote.

**Regions.** Like joint boards or district councils, regions are another form of intermediate organization between a union local and the international union. Joint boards and councils are usually composed of small locals and their service members. Regions more often

have administrative and legislative functions, and are bodies through which the services of the international are delivered to the locals. Regions have staff and their officers are usually elected.

**"Right to Work Laws."** These are union busting laws, which have nothing to do with the right to work. National labor law allows state legislatures to outlaw the union shop. This prevents unions in those states, mainly in the South and West, from negotiating contracts requiring that all employees join the union. The union is nonetheless required to provide full services to all employees, members or not. The National Right to Work Committee is an employer organization that campaigns for the passage of such laws.

**Shop Steward (Representative or Delegate).**

A first-line elected officer of a union local who works full time on the job rather than for the union. Workers with complaints or grievances go first to the steward. In many locals there is a chief steward and often a council of all the stewards. Contracts may require that stewards be given a certain amount of time off in which to conduct union business. In some union contracts, stewards get additional seniority or "super-seniority" to prevent them from being victimized by the employer. Usually, the only way to activate individual union members for political action is to go through the steward structure.

**State Labor Federation (State Fed, State Labor Council).** A body of the AFL-CIO organized on the state level. State Feds exist in all 50 states, and are composed of local unions and local labor councils. They function mainly as labor's political and legislative arm. Their officers are elected at a convention.

**Taft-Hartley Act.** A major piece of legislation regulating collective bargaining today. Passed in 1947 over the veto of President Truman, the Act was referred to by the legendary John L. Lewis of the United Mine

Workers of America as, "the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America." The act repealed many of the rights given to labor by the Wagner Act and the Norris-Laguardia Act. Among many other things, it re-instituted injunctions against strikes and allowed for court-ordered "cooling-off" periods and bans on mass picketing. It permitted employers to sue unions for "unfair labor practices," abolished the closed shop, prohibited secondary boycotts, encouraged the passage of "right to work" laws, prohibited unions from making political campaign contributions, and required all union officers on every level to swear a non-communist affidavit.

**Trusteeship (Receivership).** In extreme circumstances, usually associated with corruption, a union local can lose its right to govern its own affairs, and a trustee will be designated by the international to supervise the local. Trustees are sometimes designated by a court of law. On rare occasions, trusteeship has been used against dissident members who are trying to reform the international leadership.

**Unfair Labor Practice.** A charge filed with a court or regulatory agency stating that an action by either an employer or an employee organization violates provisions of a national or state labor law.

**Union Local.** A branch of an international or national union. Locals are the one part of the labor structure which members actually join, and which represent them vis a vis their employers. Union members are local members first, and are members of national unions and of the AFL-CIO by virtue of being local members. A local's jurisdiction or "turf" may be one plant, office or shop. It may be one company. It may be geographic, covering a city or part of a state. On rare occasions, locals are nationally chartered (e.g., Local 925 of the Service Employees Union, and in its early history, Local 1199 of the Retail Drug Union, now the Hospital Workers Union).

**Union Security.** Protection of a union's status by provisions in a contract (e.g., sole representation, union shop, agency shop, maintenance-of-membership, check-off, etc.).

**Union Shop.** A contract provision that requires all employees to join the union within a specific period of time and to maintain union membership as a condition of employment.

**Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act).** The main legislation regulating collective bargaining. In 1933, a year in which over 900,000 workers struck for union recognition, Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of which section 7 (a) guaranteed, for the first time in American

history, that workers have the right to organize unions. After 1,500,000 workers struck for recognition in 1934 and 1,150,000 struck the next year, the Supreme Court invalidated the NIRA in May of 1935. In July 1935, the Wagner Act was passed, again giving workers the right to organize and bargain collectively. The Act established the National Labor Relations Board to administer private sector bargaining and hold representation elections.

The Midwest Academy thanks Jim H. Williams for his help with this glossary.

Adapted from Jackie Kendall, Steve Max, Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change: A Manual for Activists in the 90s*, Arlington, VA: Seven Locks Press. This book is available from the Midwest Academy at 800/354-5348.



# Evaluation

## Activity 1: Public Attitudes Towards Jobs and the Environment

- 1. How important is this Activity for your organization or community?  
Please circle one number.**

Activity Is Not Important					Activity Is Very Important
1	2	3	4	5	

- 2. Please put an "X" by the one factsheet you feel is the most important.**

	1. When Job Insecurity Rises, Environmental Priority Declines		3. Environment Is...
	2. Most of Us Call Ourselves Environmentalists		4. Most of Us Feel the Environment Is Getting Worse

- 3. Which summary point do you feel is most important? Please circle one number.**

Most Important Summary Point				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.

- 4. What would you suggest be done to improve this Activity?**

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# Evaluation

## Activity 2: The Impact of Job Loss

**1. How important is this Activity for your organization or community? Please circle one number.**

Activity Is Not Important			Activity Is Very Important	
1	2	3	4	5

**2. Please put an "X" by the one factsheet you feel is the most important.**

1. The Problem: Between 1990 and 1997 Millions of New Jobs Are Created... But Few Good Ones for Working People	8. The Four Horsemen Also Increase Environmental Problems
2. Environmentally Sensitive Industries Hit Hard by Job Loss	9. Unjust Transitions
3. The Problem: Layoffs Are Rising and Most Workers Don't Find Decent Jobs	10. The Future: Middle-Income Jobs, an Endangered Species?
4. The Result: There Are Not Enough Decent Jobs to Go Around	11. The Costs: Losing a Job Is Harmful to Your Health
5. Bigger Corporations = Bigger Profits But Few Jobs	12. Experienced Workers Lose Over \$100,000 Each Due to Layoffs
6. In the Chemical and Paper Industries Production Is Up, But Jobs Are Down	13. More of Us Work Longer Hours and More Families Have Two Wage Earners
7. How? Big Corporations Use the Four Horsemen of the Workplace to Kill Jobs	

**3. Which summary point do you feel is most important? Please circle one number.**

Most Important Summary Point					
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.

**4. What would you suggest be done to improve this Activity?**

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# Evaluation

## Activity 3: Toxic Roulette

**1. How important is this Activity for your organization or community?  
Please circle one number.**

Activity Is Not Important					Activity Is Very Important
1	2	3	4	5	

**2. Please put an "X" by the one factsheet you feel is the most important.**

1. Dump Sites Can Be Hazardous to Your Newborn's Health	6. Canaries in the Coal Mine Are Singing Out a Warning
2. Industrial Dumps/Pesticides Harm Us All	7. What Is Environmental Racism?
3. Too Close for Comfort: How Many of Us Live Near Superfund Sites	8. Toxic Siting Targets the Least Powerful Communities
4. We've Known Since 1983 That Cancer Rates Are Often Higher in Communities Near Chemical Facilities... These and Other Health Risks Are Made Worse by NAFTA	9. The Largest Corporations Are the Largest Polluters
5. No Escape from the Seamless Workplace!	

**3. Which summary point do you feel is most important? Please circle one number.**

Most Important Summary Point					
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.

**4. What would you suggest be done to improve this Activity?**

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# Evaluation

## Activity 4: Pollution Prevention and Jobs

**1. How important is this Activity for your organization or community?  
Please circle one number.**

Activity Is Not Important			Activity Is Very Important	
1	2	3	4	5

**2. Please put an "X" by the one factsheet you feel is the most important.**

	1. Downsizing = Less Maintenance = More Accidents and Releases		7. What Kinds of Jobs Are Created by Recycling?
	2. A Dangerous Technology		8. What Kinds of Jobs Are Created in Pollution Control?
	3. What Is Pollution Prevention Anyway? Is It Achievable?		9. Sometimes Corporations Cry Wolf
	4. Does Pollution Prevention Create Jobs in General?		10. Sometimes the Wolf Is Real
	5. New Pollution Prevention Controls May Be Profitable, But Do They Save Jobs?		11. Corporate Use of the Contractor System Increases Accidents and Releases
	6. What Is Good for the Environment and Community May Be Bad for Certain Jobs		

**3. Which summary point do you feel is most important? Please circle one number.**

Most Important Summary Point				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.

**4. What would you suggest be done to improve this Activity?**

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# Evaluation

## Activity 5: Towards Solutions to the Jobs and Environment Conflict

**1. How important is this Activity for your organization or community?  
Please circle one number.**

Activity Is Not Important			Activity Is Very Important	
1	2	3	4	5

**2. Please put an "X" by the one factsheet you feel is the most important.**

1. PACE Resolution on Just Transition	5. Big Corporations Get Big Tax Subsidies but Don't Create Jobs
2. Highlights of Environmental Justice Principles	6. Government Welfare for Corporations Fattens Bottom Line
3. Joint Statement on Just Transition	7. Job Training Often Means Low-Paying Jobs
4. Corporations Use Economic Extortion to Get Tax Subsidies	

**3. Which summary point do you feel is most important? Please circle one number.**

Most Important Summary Point	
1.	2.

**4. What would you suggest be done to improve this Activity?**

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