

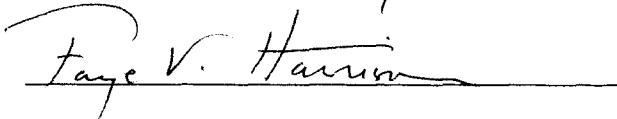
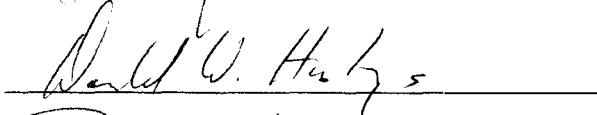
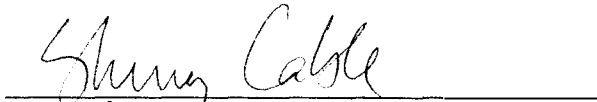
To The Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Glenn Steve Johnson entitled "Toxins! Tocsin: The North Hollywood Dump in Memphis, Tennessee: A Community's Struggle Against Environmental Racism." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

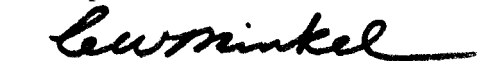


John Gaventa, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance



Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

TOXINS! TOCSIN: THE NORTH HOLLYWOOD DUMP IN MEMPHIS,
TENNESSEE: A COMMUNITY'S STRUGGLE AGAINST
ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED FOR THE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEGREE
THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE

GLENN STEVE JOHNSON

AUGUST 1996

Copyright © Glenn Steve Johnson, 1996

All rights reserved

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to:
Professor Donald Clelland,

Better Known as the "Marxist Jock"
Motivator, intellectual activist, radical cultural thinker,
and "precious friend" whose insightful wisdom and warm heart
will always be missed

and to Professor Sherry Cable,

Sympathizer, educational giant and
global visionary
whose wit, encouragement and sisterhood
will be cherished forever

and to Professor John Gaventa,
academic facilitator, grassroots participatory researcher
and dedicated grassroots scholar
whose glares of scholarly youth will remain
a part of my academic endeavor

and to Professor Faye Harrison,

capable, courageous motivator
whose words of wisdom
represent an Afrocentric cultural
solidarity in my search for uplifting
grassroots nation builders

and to my impeccable mentors,

Dr. Robert Bullard
Dr. William E. Bull
Dr. Ronald McFadden
Dr. Ronald Hopson
Dr. Luther Kindall
Dr. Wilma Dunnaway
Dr. Asafa Jalata
Dr. Ruth Queen Smith
Dr. Donald Hastings
Silas and Jovon Reed

SPECIAL TRIPLE DEDICATION

My mom,
You are the "spirit" in my human existence

The Memphis Hollywood Community
and My Key Informants

Thank you for giving me the research data,
common folks knowledge and strength to
pursue this long awaited project.

Without you this project would have died at the
starting line,
Without you this project would have no meaning,
Without you I would still be lost in the "toxic" wilderness,
Without you I have nobody's shoulders to stand on,
Without you there is no gain or pain in my
intellectual suffering,
Without you I question my mission in life,
Without you, Black Sociologists have no grassroots.

Doc, the "Guru"
A life time humanitarian and religious warrior for
academic decency.
I dedicate my future scholarship to our spacious
postmodern dream within the worldsystem
project for human justice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank his family Doris Johnson, Julia Johnson, Rita Steele and LaSalle Johnson. Their friendship and family devotion cannot be expressed thoroughly in the English language. Without their patience, faith and encouragement, this educational endeavor would not have been possible.

Special Thanks go to Drs. Donald Hastings, Donald Clelland, John Gaventa, Faye Harrison and Sherry Cable, who read and corrected this manuscript. Additional thanks go to JoAnn M. Hickson, Ann L. Lacava and Donna Doyle.

For my wonderful friends Donald and Carol Merriwether, Janice Harris, Janelle Chapman, Hosea Foster, Dexter Balfour, Eddie and Pam Chevis, Patricia Martin, Alan Martin, entire chemistry storeroom (Darrell and Bobby Lay, Roy Hodge, Susan Hartzog, Claxton Hallman), Emmanuel and Linda Bailey, Madeline Ocola, Dr. Jeffrey Stotik, Chris Baker, Darrell and Kenyatta Wesley, Vilma Moreira, Lee and Mary Kay Williams (Hannah and Elija Williams), Debbie Perkins, Karyn McKinney, Karen Mason, Lisa Smith and others who I may have failed to mention. Their support was highly valued.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the financial support of The Tennessee Higher Education Commission Black Fellowship Organization (Dr. Linda Painter, Associate Dean of Graduate School) and The University of Tennessee Chemistry and Sociology Department. Above all, I Thank God.

ABSTRACT

This research describes the "voices" of Hollywood residents who are impacted by a toxic landfill in their backyard. These residents were not included in the decision-making process to get the Hollywood Dump cleaned up. The residents were not allowed to be equal political participants in the Hollywood Dump issue. The residents lacked a strong collective resistance to influence local, state and federal officials to respond to this community problem. The "voices" of the Hollywood residents provided a natural history of a social problem which represents the political, cultural, and religious concerns of grassroots individuals who agreed that the local dump was posing an environmental, and public health threat to their community. This research concluded that the Hollywood Dump issue is a classic example of environmental racism which is a form of environmental injustice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
-------------------	---

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
ONE.....	3
THEORY AND METHODS.....	3
Statement of the Problem.....	3
Target Area for this Study.....	7
Review of Relevant Theoretical Literature.....	10
Environmental Inequality.....	10
The Three Dimensions of Power.....	12
How Does Organized Resistance Occur?.....	19
Toward a Theoretical Shift.....	22
Weaknesses of Existing Approaches.....	22
Viewing Power from the Bottom Up.....	25
Research Questions.....	28
Power from the Top Down.....	28
Power from the Bottom Up.....	29
Environmental Racism.....	30
Research Methods and Sources.....	30
The Natural History of a Social Problem.....	30
General Approach.....	31
Key Informants.....	32
Face-to-face Interviews.....	34
Published Data Sources.....	38
TWO.....	39
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS OF THE NORTH HOLLYWOOD DUMP...	39
Background.....	39
The Geography of North Memphis.....	39
Wolf River and North Memphis.....	42
Outmigration of Blacks and Home Ownership.....	43
History of the Hollywood Dump.....	44
Community Awareness.....	46
Policy Determination.....	63
Discussion About Cleanup of Dump.....	64
Reform.....	65
Cleanup Methods Chosen for Hollywood Dump.....	66
Design for Cleanup of Hollywood Dump.....	66
Date of Cleanup of Hollywood Dump.....	67
Safety Plan of the Cleanup Process of Hollywood Dump.....	67
Public Participation and the Hollywood Dump...	68
THREE.....	72
VIEWING THE PROBLEM FROM THE TOP DOWN.....	72
The Natural History of the Hollywood Dump.....	72
Background.....	73
Community Awareness Stage.....	76

Policy Determination Stage.....	78
Reform Stage.....	91
The Political Disempowerment of Hollywood	
Residents.....	92
Agenda Setting.....	93
Exclusion of Hollywood Residents.....	94
Construction of Dominant Ideology.....	96
NIMBY Ideology Developed and Disseminated.....	99
Environmental Racism.....	102
Institutional Racism.....	105
Path of Least Resistance.....	106
Place in Blacks Back Yard (PIBBY).....	107
FOUR.....	110
VIEWING THE PROBLEM FROM THE BOTTOM UP.....	110
The Natural History of the Hollywood Dump.....	110
Background.....	110
Community Awareness Stage.....	112
Policy Determination Stage.....	113
Reform Stage.....	116
The Political Empowerment of Hollywood	
Residents.....	117
Formation of Critical Consciousness.....	118
Definition of Common Risk.....	119
Construction of Alternate Ideology.....	136
Construction of Oppositional Agenda.....	140
Mobilization of Resources.....	142
Mobilizing Internal Resources.....	143
Mobilizing External Resources.....	143
Forms of Resistance.....	144
Day-to-day Resistance.....	145
Organized Resistance.....	146
FIVE.....	150
CONCLUSION.....	150
Why Collective Resistance Failed?.....	150
Instability of Community.....	151
Lack of Charismatic Leadership.....	152
Environmental Racism.....	153
Lack of Support from Black Organizations.....	154
Why People Did not Get Involved?.....	155
Lessons for Other Communities.....	157
Realize that you are not Powerless	158
Overcoming Disempowerment Strategies.....	160
Publicizing an Alternate Ideology.....	162
Constructing an Oppositional Agenda.....	163
Mobilizing Internal Resources and	
Activists.....	165
Mobilizing External Support and	
Resources.....	167
Voice of Residents in the Hollywood	
Community.....	169

Evaluation of the Efficacy of Voices.....	171
Voiceless Subalterns.....	172
Dominated Group.....	172
Summing Up.....	173
Bibliography.....	176
Appendices.....	208
Appendix A, Figures.....	209
Appendix B, Charts.....	219
Appendix C, Interview Schedule.....	251
Vita.....	254

INTRODUCTION

Toxic Sin! Tocsin! ¹

"These chemical companies and drivers of all kinds of trucks that dump chemicals in our backyards are committing a toxic sin, and God will not like that. Also, there is a penalty that these companies will pay later. Trust me."

(A Hollywood resident of Memphis, Interviewee Number Three²)

This research attempts to represent the "voice" of indigenous people who are impacted by a contaminated landfill in their backyard. Outsiders who speak about this landfill are naive about the history, community struggle, and resistance in which these local residents participated to have the landfill cleaned up. This African-American community, similar to other communities that face a toxic landfill in their backyard, is beginning to tell their story about the environmental impacts of a landfill.

¹ A "tocsin" is an alarm, warning, or omen that originated from the analysis of ten in-depth interviews.

² A local resident who is 50 years old and lives a half mile from the Hollywood Dump. She is a widow and was born in Memphis. She is the head of her household, and she keeps her two grandchildren two days a week. Her mother lived with her the last five years of her life before she died in July of 1990. She is a member of NAACP, but she is not active within the organization. She also helped a few other families in her community organize a neighborhood watch program in the mid 80s.

Chapter one provides the theoretical framework and methodology for this study. Chapter two lays out the chronological events of the North Hollywood Dump controversy. Chapter three presents the natural history of the dump from the top down perspective. It also explains how the Hollywood residents were politically disempowered by community elites. Chapter four presents the natural history of the Hollywood Dump controversy from the bottom up perspective. Additionally, it explains how the Hollywood residents became politically empowered to make sure the dump was fenced in and cleaned up. Chapter five provides reasons why collective resistance failed in the Hollywood community and lessons for other communities to obtain to ensure success in cleaning up a toxic landfill.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORY AND METHODS

Statement of the Problem

Environmental degradation is a world-wide problem; however, countries inhabited by nonwhite peoples have been especially hard-hit by the natural disasters, famines, epidemics, and community uprooting that follow the destruction of ecological balance (Chase-Dunn 1989). The rapid disappearance of rain forests, like the Brazilian Amazon, and of the indigenous societies that depend on them, have received particularly intense scrutiny in recent years (Bunker 1985). At the 1991 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, grassroots activists from all over the world drew attention to the high risks to which communities of color are systematically exposed, in the name of world progress (Lee 1992).

Even though minority areas of the United States have received less scholarly attention, environmental degradation has taken its toll on American communities of color as well. Lead poisoning occurs frequently among inner-city minority children due to their residence in older housing in which lead paints and lead water pipes were used (Bullard 1993; Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry 1988).

California farm workers experience leukemia, cancer, birth defects, and nervous system disorders (Kay 1994). The poor health conditions of farm workers are attributed to their exposure to pesticides. In recent decades, the lead levels, pesticides, industrial chemicals, uranium, and PCBs have risen steadily in communities with large concentrations of people of color (Bryant and Mohai 1992).

Disproportionately, nonwhite minority communities have been the targets for the siting of solid waste disposal facilities in the United States (Bullard, 1990). Many Native American reservations have become "controlled toxic waste sites" that are dumping grounds for nuclear waste and hazardous chemicals (Bullard 1993). The Navajos argue that high incidences of cancers in children may be attributed to adjacent toxic waste disposal. In addition, several Latino communities are locations for toxic waste facilities (Bullard 1993). For fifty years, a tiny atoll in the middle of the Hawaiian Islands has been the location for nuclear testing and nuclear dumping. Now it is targeted as the site for an army depot and incinerator for the disposal of 300,000 shells of nerve and mustard gas, and resident people of color were not permitted an input in the federal decision-making process (Davies 1995).

A few recent studies document the contamination of African-American communities by environmental disposal. In 1984, the Carver Terrace neighborhood of Texarkana, Texas--

a small community of black home owners-- is listed as a Superfund cleanup site (Capek 1993: 5). Sumter County, Alabama (Bailey et al. 1993) houses the largest hazardous waste dump in the country-- a project that promised to provide new jobs to this rural, poor area. Instead, the landfill created "economic vicissitudes which led to continued high unemployment and poverty rates" (Bailey et al. 1993: 109).

A rural black neighborhood near New Orleans is the location for a large hazardous waste landfill and incinerator. Despite the health threats from these facilities, this community is economically-dependent on the waste-disposal income to finance essential governmental services, including its schools. ³ At predominantly-black Institute, West Virginia, a toxic leak from the Union Carbide plant hospitalized over 100 people, shortly after the same company experienced a massive environmental disaster in Bhopal, India (Cable and Cable 1995).

Forty-two known toxic waste sites exist in the Piney Woods/Allen Park neighborhood of Chattanooga, Tennessee. At a location nicknamed "Residue Hill," pesticides were dumped for two decades, although more than twenty families live nearby. In this area 100 times larger than the Love Canal site, local creeks and banks are severely contaminated by

³ 19 December 1994 interview with a grassroots activist in New Orleans.

chemicals, industrial waste, heavy metals, and construction debris. As a result, residents have reported high rates of cancer, miscarriages, and newborn respiratory problems (Highlander Research and Education Center 1992).

Chicago's Southside, one of the country's most contaminated areas, embraces the housing project of Atgeld Gardens, a "toxic doughnut." Underneath its foundations percolates an abandoned dump. At its north corner, tons of sewage sludge are treated at a water treatment plant; to the east and the south there are landfills; to the west lie the Acme Steele coke ovens, wafting benzene into the environs. Despite this massive dosage of toxins, this community does not qualify for Superfund money, because it does not derive its water supply from underground wells (Cohen 1992).

Black residents of Triana, Alabama depended on their local creek for their public water supply, for their economic livelihoods, and for recreation. Beginning in 1953, the Oil Chemical Corporation manufactured DDT and polluted the local waterways. The community was forced to abandon use of local streams, and residents experienced coronary problems at rates well above the national averages for African Americans (Bullard 1994). At Richmond, California, Latinos and African-Americans have been exposed to hazardous chemicals released into their community by 350 companies (Merchant 1992).

Because of increased public awareness of the health hazards associated with exposure to environmental pollutants, people of color have recognized that their communities "bear disproportionately high environmental risk" (Bullard 1993: 107). Moreover, many of these affected minority communities, including all those described above, have begun to resist the public policies that cause these crises.⁴ Communities of color now realize that "issues of environmental degradation, economics, power, politics, and racism are intricately interwoven and cannot be separated" (Bryant and Mohai 1992: 6). This study will explore, describe and explain the struggle of one African-American community against environmental pollution. In the process, I will offer a new theoretical context for understanding why this social problem impacts peoples of color so unfairly and for comprehending their organized resistance (or the absence of such rebellion).

Target Area for This Study

The target area selected for this study is the African-American community of Hollywood located in north Memphis

⁴ For discussion of the organized resistance efforts of the communities of color described above, see Capek 1993; Bullard 1993, 1994; Bailey et.al. 1993; Cable and Cable 1995; Lee 1992; Cohen 1992; Merchant 1992.

(see Appendix A, Figure 1). ⁵ Memphis is geographically, socially, economically, and politically divided along racial lines. Since 1960, the white population has consistently shifted from the central city to the north, south, and east. By contrast, the vast majority of the city's African-Americans still reside in predominantly black neighborhoods in the northern and southern sections. Black Memphians continue to be located largely in the central city; new housing, educational, and economic opportunities developed in the city's suburbs.

Until 1950, North Memphis was a stable, racially-mixed area. Since it is the location of the city's oldest African-American community and of the second-oldest local school for blacks, the area has a rich cultural history. After 1960, population declines brought about dramatic changes. White flight in the 1970s and black outward migration drained its internal economic strengths. Now, North Memphis is a 7,500-acre area comprised of mixed industrial and low-to moderate-income residential land uses.

However, industrial plant closings, business divestments, and outmigration of the better-educated and upwardly mobile residents in the seventies and eighties have left much of North Memphis in a state of severe economic decline. Few public or private efforts have been made to reverse these conditions. Unemployment, underemployment, and poverty rob the community of its vital resources, its people. Those individuals who can afford to escape do, while leaving behind

⁵ This description of North Memphis is derived from Vaughn (1989).

others who are "trapped" in poverty with little hope or chance of escape (Vaughn 1989: 103-104).

To exacerbate these problems, North Memphis lies against the polluted Wolf River.

Bordering that contaminated river is an African-American community called Hollywood. From the mid-1930s until the mid-1960s, this neighborhood was the location for an abandoned landfill where the city once disposed of its residential and industrial waste. Also sited in this section is a second modern solid waste facility, the Hollywood dump. Local residents are enclosed in a "toxic box"⁶ that is bounded by these two separate disposal zones (see Figure 1). Because of high levels of chemical contaminants, the area has been slated for a Superfund cleanup, a problem solution which itself poses new environmental dangers for Hollywood residents (USEPA 1993).

⁶"Our community deeply represents a toxic box where at each corner of our neighborhood there is a 'toxic' risk. We feel trapped inside of this hazardous environ. Most of us can only function within this box, because the outer parameters are the pathway that allow hazardous waste into our community. The toxic box symbolizes an 'empty' distance community within a community. Every aspect of our life is at risk, and our children are subjected to poisonous chemicals attributed to the contaminated dump, foul odors floating in the air after rainfalls, filthy dangerous contents in the Wolf River and the discharge of toxic chemicals from the local corporations into our backyard. This air-tight hazardous container threatens our lifestyles, life span, and daily existence. There are times when we feel we are 'suffocating' from the environmental threats of the dump" (A Hollywood Resident of Memphis, Interviewee Number Six).

Review of Relevant Theoretical Literature

Three bodies of scholarly literature form the theoretical backdrop against which this analysis will be posed. First, I will explore research on whether environmental hazards occur disproportionately in communities of color. Second, I will summarize those approaches that seek to clarify the political process by which local decisions, such as the siting of waste disposal facilities, are made. Third, I will examine pertinent notions about how, why, and when communities or groups organize themselves to react against perceived threats.

Environmental Inequality

Two opposing views are articulated on the extent to which race accounts for the inequitable distribution of environmental risks. A few minority scholars argue that there are "no consistent statistically significant patterns of racial or ethnic discrimination in the distribution of commercial hazardous waste treatment, storage and disposal facilities" (Anderson, Anderton and Oakes 1994:100). Many scholars pinpoint race as the crucial variable to explain the higher incidence of hazards among communities that are

populated by people of color.⁷ The predominant consensus is:

African-American communities and other communities of color bear a heavier burden than society at large in the disposal of the nation's hazardous waste. Race [i]s the most potent variable in predicting the location of uncontrolled abandoned and commercial toxic waste sites in the United States" (Bullard and Wright 1992: 41).

Still, other writers point to the structural role of federal agencies in implementing policies that are unjust to disproportionately disadvantaged communities of color.

According to one study, the EPA is more likely to penalize corporations when they cause environmental risks for white communities. The toxic fines applied to polluters of white communities have been five times greater than fines applied to degraders of nonwhite neighborhoods (Goldman 1992).

Evidence shows that the EPA is slower at cleaning up hazardous waste in people-of-color communities (Cable and Cable 1995).

⁷ Bullard 1983, 1984, 1987, 1990; Bullard and Feagin 1991, 1992; Bullard and Wright 1986, 1987; Bailey, Faupel and Holland 1992; Bailey, Faupel, Holland and Warren 1989; Blumberg and Gottlieb 1989; Brown 1980, 1987; Bryant and Mohai 1992; Carson 1962; Center for Investigative Reporting and Bill Moyers 1990; Center for Third World Organizing 1986; Citizens Clearing House for Hazardous Waste 1991; Cutter 1981; Dunlap 1987; Edelstein 1987; Epstein 1983; Faupel and Bailey 1989; Freudenberg 1984; Freeman 1971; Gibbs 1982; Gottlieb 1988; Grossman 1991 1992; Kazis and Grossman 1983; Levine 1982; Mohai 1985 and 1990; Morrison and Dunlap 1986; O'Hare, Bacon and Sanderson 1983; Portney 1985; Russel 1989; Schnaiberg 1980, 1983; Taylor 1989; Traux 1990; United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice 1987; U.S.General Accounting Office 1983; Van Liere and Dunlap 1980; and Wentz 1988.

The Three Dimensions of Power

A community is considered the spatial environs where groups of people live, communicate, and socialize with each other. In times of happiness and sadness, these groups of people try to provide emotional, economic, and moral support for each other. This kind of communal support creates cohesiveness, solidarity and neighboring bonds which constitute a form of social and political power. When crises must be met, problems solved, or projects planned, there are mechanisms in place for the political processes.

In every community there are persons who "run" things, who make decisions and take action in citizen's behalf. Who are they? How do they operate? Who spots the problems and decides which will be faced and which ignored? Who diagnoses and prescribes a solution? Elected officials? The bosses of business? or labor? Individuals or groups? Organizations or private cliques? And by what open or hidden processes reached? (Thometz 1963: 1).

Thus, political decision-making occurs both overtly within public arenas and covertly through behind-the-scenes mechanisms. Lukes (1974) envisions this array of processes as "three dimensions of power."

The first dimension of power. The struggle for limited community resources is played out within the realm of official decision-making bodies that are institutionalized as part of local governments. Within those overt settings, power may be viewed as the "ability of an individual or group to implement wishes or policies, with or without the

cooperation of others" (Doob 1993: 63).⁸ Officially, the local government announces that it makes crucial decisions in public forums to which all its citizens have equitable access (Polsby 1963). Because of the operation of democratic principles and laws, it is assumed that the openness of this system "has insured that few social elements have been neglected for long by one part or the other" (Dahl 1961: 114). At this level, apparently an equitable distribution of power exists; everyone is invited to participate, all interests are represented in the agendas, and official decision-making only occurs in the public settings where opposing sides are gathered (Polsby 1963).

Second dimension of power. Community politics do not unfold in this clean and fair fashion. Some interest groups and some issues "are organized into politics while others are organized out" (Schattschneider 1960: 71). Indeed, real community politics are played out so that a sort of "structural bias" operates against the inclusion of certain viewpoints. In reality, a set of predominant beliefs and institutional procedures (i.e., "rules of the game"):

operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons/groups at the expense of others. Those who benefit are placed in a position to defend and promote their vested interests (Bachrach and Baratz 1970: 43).

⁸ See also Theodorson and Theodorson 1969: 307-308.

Consequently, these privileged groups are able to exercise power so that decisions are made that will be contrary to the interests of excluded groups (Lukes 1974: 34)

The second dimension of power, should be viewed as that stage of the democratic process in which decision-makers seek to accomplish their "covert agenda:" the disempowerment of citizens or groups who might generate opposition. In the interest of furthering and protecting their own economic and political agendas, power elites must make sure that issues which threaten their agendas are not admitted to the political arena (Davies 1995). To accomplish that, those elites use public decision-making bodies to close off participation, i.e., to throw up "blockages that prevent grievances from emerging into conflict or resistance" (Bachrach and Baratz 1962).

Three major types of "bureaucratic blockages" are structured to disenfranchise dissident interests that might threaten the agendas of favored groups. First, the public decision-making bodies are composed of representatives who are "friendly" to the dominant interests. In the real world, local power brokers -- economic elites and governmental officials-- use policy-making bureaucracies to control or subvert local conflict over controversial issues. Policy-making bureaucracies that mandate taxation, zoning, pollution control, and infrastructure projects are typically composed of local economic elites, including media

representatives, retailers, utilities, landowners, developers, and banks (Friedland and Palmer 1984; Stone 1976 and Mills 1956).

Because they manipulate the decision-making bodies, power elites and their allies determine whether certain issues reach the competition stage (Parenti 1970). Dissident groups are often disenfranchised in the "agenda-setting" process. Various ploys may be used to ensure that "unsafe" views or unfriendly voices are kept off the agenda or seriously delayed. "'Nondecisionsmaking' is a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privilege in the community can be suffocated before they are voiced" (Bachrach and Baratz 1970: 44). One common bureaucratic strategy for silencing dissension is to set public meetings at times and places that are inaccessible to the opposing groups. In short, we may think of the second dimension of power as those "hidden agendas" and disguised tactics by which favored groups seek to "disempower" their opposition. To accomplish this, those in control of decision-making bodies ("members of the polity") must put in place structural mechanisms that will prevent opposing interests ("challengers") from effectively using the political arena to oppose them (Tilly 1978).

Third dimension of power. Power also has a third dimension. The powerful seem to have "the capacity to influence others to act in a prescribed way" (Willie 1983:

240), even when the result is not in the best interest of the powerless groups (Lukes 1974). Dominated people sometimes appear quiescent in the face of decisions made by local elites (Gaventa 1980). While these results can be achieved through force, or other forms of physical threat and domination, subtle mechanisms are usually more effective.

Indeed, this dimension may be the most potent of all the strategies by which power can be imposed "from the top down" (Parenti 1970). At this level, the "official position" is articulated around the interests of the dominant group and instilled as beliefs in the powerless groups (Mueller 1973). To achieve this, the powerful groups manipulate social ideologies to "engineer consent" from the dominated interests (Milliband 1969: 180-2). At this level, the powerful can exert control by "influencing, shaping or determining [the] very wants" of the excluded group (Lukes 1974: 23). In short, "political actions chiefly arouse or satisfy people not by granting or withholding their stable, substantive demands but rather by changing their demands and expectations" (Edelman 1971: 8).

This dimension of power, then, operates as the "unrecognizable shaping of alternatives" by dominant interests (Gramsci 1971: 257-64). As a result, excluded groups:

cannot articulate their interests or perceive social conflict. Since they have been socialized

into compliance, so to speak, they accept the definitions of political reality as offered by dominant groups, classes or government institutions (Mueller 1973: 9).

Deprived of opportunities to participate in the decision-making arena, excluded groups fail to develop an "internal consciousness" (Freire 1972: 52) their interests contradict the dominant ideology.

Denied the democratic experience out of which the 'critical consciousness' grows, they develop a 'culture of silence.' The dependent society is by definition a silent society. The culture of silence may preclude the development of consciousness among the powerless thus lending to the dominant order an air of legitimacy. . . . it may also encourage a susceptibility among the dependent society to internalization of the values of the dominant themselves (Gaventa 1980: 18).

When the subordinate does react, "its voice is not an authentic voice, but merely an echo" (Freire 1972: 58-9) of "the official position."

Two key ideological strategies are implemented by the powerful. First, those in control seek to construct social and cultural legitimation of "the official position." A central feature of ideological hegemony is its role in hiding inequality from view-- under the guise of "the good of the people" (Poulantzas 1968: 214-15). When public controversy over development issues emerges, the dominant view about "progress" becomes the justification for all coerced structural changes. Subsequently, resistance to proposed projects is short-circuited because the dominated groups have peacefully absorbed the "cultural myth" that the

structural changes will bring progress for all (Wallerstein 1983).⁹

The second ideological strategy implemented by the powerful is the social inculcation of the belief by the excluded that they "cannot fight City Hall." On one hand, disempowered groups may be misled to believe they do not have the right or the means to question the official plan of action. On the other hand, those in control foster among weaker groups the fear that they will suffer losses if they challenge the official position. When confronted by an interest group that has greater power resources, the affected groups do not resist because they fear that the dominant group will invoke political or economic sanctions against them (Bachrach and Baratz 1970: 46).

In short, the third dimension of power may be seen as those ideological mechanisms used by the dominant interests to prevent resistance from affected groups. A widespread belief in the rightness of "progress" is constructed around two key ideological elements: (1) the misinformation that affected groups have no right or no need to resist and (2) the propaganda that it is not to the benefit of the affected groups to challenge the proposed changes.

⁹ Friedland and Palmer (1984: 401) have termed this political phenomenon the "growth machine," that set of community affirmations that are constructed in local media and decision-making bodies to justify public infrastructure projects.

How Does Organized Resistance Occur?

Dominated groups do resist, and social movements are the collective forms of action by which they challenge the polity that has excluded or oppressed them (Tilly 1978).¹⁰ Indeed, we may view a social movement as the construction of an "alternative polity" which "opposes a population to the apparatus by which it is dominated" or excluded (Touraine 1981: 11). Such organizations emerge and challenge when they sense a discrepancy between what their members are getting and what they are due (Stinchcombe 1965).

Jenkins (1983: 528) offers these key points of summary of how social movements organize and act:

- (a) Movement actions are rational, adaptive responses to the costs and rewards of different lines of action.
- (b) The basic goals of movements are defined by conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations.
- (c) The grievances generated by such conflicts are sufficiently ubiquitous that the formation and mobilization of movements depend on changes in resources, group organization, and opportunities for collective action.

¹⁰ For an overview of social movement theories, see McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988: 695-738) or Wood and Jackson (1982: Ch. 3).

(d) Centralized, formally structured movement organizations are more typical of modern social movements and more effective at mobilizing resources and mounting sustained challenges than decentralized, informal movement structures.

(e) The success of movements is largely determined by strategic factors and the political processes in which they become enmeshed.

The current predominant sociological view is that effective collective action depends greatly on the degree to which the group involved previously acquired collective control of resources (Tilly 1978: 141). This perspective "examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements" (McCarthy and Zald 1977: 1213). Two main outcomes occur from these challenges by social movements: (a) acceptance or nonacceptance of the group by its antagonist as a legitimate negotiator for the interests it claims to represent and/or (b) acquisition or nonacquisition of new advantages for its members (Gamson 1975). The resource mobilization approach stresses the central role of "third parties" and external resources in effective social protest. In this view, relatively powerless

groups "cannot use protest with a high probability of success" because they "lack organizational resources" (Lipsky 1968: 1157). Consequently:

The "problem of the powerless" in protest activity is to activate "third parties" to enter the implicit or explicit bargaining arena in ways favorable to the protesters. . . . The essence of political protest consists of activating third parties to participate in controversy in ways favorable to protest goals (Lipsky 1968: 1145, 1153).

Touraine (1981: 10) argues that post-industrial society will increasingly be characterized by "the rejection of growth and the search for new forms of balance." In the United States, this change in cultural philosophy has brought about the coalescence of a loosely-knit "environmental movement" around threats to the ecology and around health risks caused by ecological degradation (Wood and Jackson 1982: Ch. 13). Increasingly since 1978, grassroots environmental organizations have emerged because participants of these organizations feel that the government and corporations have abused the public trust and have created more environmental risks and inequities than environmental justices (Lummus 1991; Rader 1992; Cable and Cable 1995). These grassroots environmental organizations are mobilizing for "justice for everyone to be free from environmental hazards" (Arrandale 1993: 41).

Toward a Theoretical Shift

Weaknesses of Existing Approaches

Scholarly explanations of community power struggles take a "top-down" perspective. The theoretical focus is on why and how those in power are able to exclude opposing groups from the decision-making arena. The conventional approaches seem to deny that the powerless can resist and claim power. Moreover, there is a certain class and race bias to this angle on the problem; it shows inadequate concern for the special circumstances of low-income and nonwhite peoples.¹¹ Such an approach fails to incorporate the "structural disempowerment" of certain groups from the official process. In reality, it was never intended, even in a democracy, that certain groups would be equitably integrated into the official political process. Current explanations for power fail to examine institutionalized racism as a component of the community power scenario. Historically, American peoples of color have been structurally disenfranchised, both legally and informally, from the political system.

Similarly, popular approaches to the analysis of social movements have a number of conceptual weaknesses. First, the focus of scholars has been predominantly on resistance that

¹¹ For elaboration of this critique, see Bullard 1983, 1990, 1993, 1994; Bullard and Wright 1986; Bunyan and Mohai 1992; and Capek 1993.

unfolds in organized movements; there has been little recognition of other forms of dissidence. On the contrary, resistance frequently occurs outside formalized structures; it is often disguised so that the rebel can avoid heavy-handed retaliation from the powerful. Moreover, the development of a subculture is a threatening statement of rejection of the dominant ideology (Scott 1985).

Second, there are several flaws in the resource mobilization approach. Much happens between the period of quiescence (Gaventa 1980) and "resource mobilization" that is not now incorporated into the theoretical explanations. Critics have pointed out the failure of the approach to highlight the role of charismatic leaders (McAdam 1982; Morris 1984) or the importance of ideology as an organizational resource (Turner and Killian 1987). Moreover, they have failed to recognize that preoccupation with aggregating resources can actually deter collective action (Tilly 1978: 199-25).

Perhaps the most serious weakness of the resource mobilization approach lies in the nature of its central conceptual advance. In fact, "the most distinctive contribution of resource mobilization theory has been to emphasize the significance of outside contributions and the cooptation of institutional resources by contemporary social movements" (Jenkins 1983: 533). Unfortunately, this type of analysis attributes too much causal weight to the presence

of resources and to the role of external forces. Contrary to this "top-down" perspective, the overwhelming majority of social movements are indigenously organized and financed (Morris 1984).

Indigenous resources are far more likely to be crucial in the early phases of movements, because outside resources tend to be sporadic and highly conditional, in most cases coming in response to pressure from indigenous movements already under way. The significance of outside resources. . . lies in the help they can give in sustaining movements. However, . . . they are not causal determinants, because they are triggered by the strength and force of indigenous movements (Morris 1984: 283).

Resources are not the causative factor in the emergence of movements; rather the formation of political tactics is more critical.

Movements are deliberately organized and developed by activists who seize and create opportunities for protest. Social activists, in this view, play creative roles in organizing and developing movements; they must redirect and transform indigenous resources in such a manner that they can be used to develop and sustain social protest. . . . The availability of resources and strategically placed activists will not crystallize into a protest movement if a dominated group has not developed tactics and strategies that can be effectively used in confrontations with a system of domination. . . . When a dominated group has assembled the required resources, strategically placed activists, and effective tactics and strategies for protest purposes, it has developed a local movement center (Morris 1984: 283)

Viewing Power from the Bottom Up

To overcome these inadequacies, it is essential that we tilt the theoretic lens to allow us to focus upon "power from the bottom up" (Parenti 1970). Following the model of Morris, I will pursue an "indigenous approach" in my analysis of community power.

The indigenous perspective is concerned with movements by dominated groups. A dominated group is defined as one that is excluded from one or more of the decision-making processes that determine the quantity and quality of social, economic, and political rewards that groups receive from society. Because of this exclusion, dominated groups at different times attempt to change their situation of powerlessness by engaging in nontraditional and usually nonlegitimized struggles with power holders. The task of the indigenous perspective is to examine how dominated groups take advantage of and create the social conditions that allow them to engage in overt power struggles with dominant groups (Morris 1984: 282).

However, I will extend Morris' perspective one step further. In the research conducted by most sociologists, dominated groups are portrayed as silent in political decision-making. However, these groups are also the "voiceless subalterns" (Guha 1982-85) in the studies that are done to represent their communities. Consequently, the resultant explanations give voice to the academics who publish them; but they do not reflect what I refer to as "the silent screaming" of the affected people. I will seek to offer explanations that more directly voice the "local knowledge" (Geertz 1975) of the affected people.

I will turn the traditional notions of power upside down and try to view it from the standpoint of the affected community. First, I question whether those who are excluded from the official decision-making process are truly powerless. Second, I will look for instances of dissidence other than the usual forms of organized resistance; and I will try to shed light on the ways in which the community aggregated its own internal resources and leaders. Since power is imposed from the top through the operation of a dominant ideology, I will look for the formation of an "alternative ideology" within the affected community. Since the Hollywood residents may have been excluded from the official decision-making process, I will investigate the extent to which they constructed an "alternate agenda" to oppose the official plan from which they were disenfranchised.

When we examine indigenous resistance from this expanded perspective, we must be careful to address a central question: To what extent does institutionalized racism account for the disempowerment of those communities of color that are disproportionately exposed to environmental risks? Bullard (1993) argues that "environmental racism" accounts for the formulation of public policies that are purposefully detrimental to minority neighborhoods. On the one hand, these communities lack the political and economic resources to resist the

spreading of toxic wastes and the misuse of public land. On the other hand, it is their failure to mobilize that permits the local power structures to select their backyards as the "dumping grounds" for environmental wastes and the siting of hazardous waste facilities. Politically, these areas are the "paths of least resistance," in comparison to more economically powerful neighborhoods who are organized to promote their "not in my backyard" agenda. Consequently, environmental risks will be distributed in:

low income, disempowered neighborhoods with a high concentration of nonvoters. The ideal site. . . has nothing to do with environmental soundness but everything to do with lack of social power. Communities of color. . . are far more likely to fit this profile than their white counterparts (Bullard 1993: 18).

In effect, then, when more powerful white communities scream, "not in my backyard!," the decision will be made to "'place it in the blacks' backyards" (Bullard 1993). Those still skeptical of the existence of environmental racism should, Bullard contends:

consider the fact that zoning boards and planning commissions are typically stacked with white developers. Generally, the decisions of those bodies reflect the special interests of the individuals who sit on these boards. People of color have been systematically excluded from these decision making boards, commissions, and governmental agencies (or allowed only token representation (Bullard 1993: 18-19).

Research Questions

Power from the Top Down

To explore the extent to which power was exercised "from the top down" in decision-making that placed a segment of the community at environmental risk, I will investigate these questions:

1. Did local elites and government officials work to include or covertly exclude community residents from the decision-making process?
 - a. Were the concerns and complaints of impacted residents included in the public agenda?
 - b. Were bureaucratic procedures used to encourage or to prevent participation by community residents?
2. Did local power elites construct and disseminate a "social good" viewpoint that became the dominant ideology in this case?
 - a. Were environmental risks to the affected community rationalized as essential to economic security of the city?
 - b. What role did the "not in my backyard" philosophy play among white neighborhoods in the decision-making process?
 - c. Were environmental risks denied and down-played to prevent public dissent?

Power from the Bottom Up

To explore the extent to which power was exercised "from the bottom up" to resist the official agenda that placed the affected community at environmental risk, I will investigate these questions:

1. Did the residents of the affected community construct an alternate ideology to oppose the official rhetoric?
 - a. Did residents identify environmental risks as having priority over economic issues?
 - b. Did the affected residents develop a consensus that their community was being damaged or exploited?
2. Did the affected residents engage in informal, resistance against environmental decisions imposed by the local power structure?
3. Did the affected residents construct and coalesce around an alternative agenda to oppose those public policies that would put their community at environmental risk?
4. Did the affected community mobilize internal resources and leaders for resistance?
5. Did the affected community mobilize external resources and support for its alternate agenda?
5. Did the community initiate organized resistance?

Environmental Racism

Following Bullard's (1993) argument that environmental racism is institutionalized in local decision-making bodies and governments, I will also investigate these questions:

1. To what extent were African-American residents from the impacted community participants in economic circles that influenced public policy?
2. To what extent did public procedures disenfranchise residents from the affected community in the decision-making process?
3. To what extent were African-American residents of the impacted community included on the decision-making boards and bodies?
4. To what extent were bureaucratic procedures constructed to benefit white citizens to the disadvantage of African-American residents of the impacted community?

Research Methods and Sources

The Natural History of a Social Problem

Following the logic of Fuller and Myers (1941), I will investigate the "natural history" of a contaminated landfill as an emergent social problem. From point of origin, every social problem "peaks" at that point when it creates intergroup conflicts; then it levels off and dissipates. I

will examine the stages through which this environmental problem matured, looking closely at three historical sequences: awareness, policy determination, and reform. Awareness of the social problem emerges when the individuals in a community become conscious that a problem exists. Policy determination is the stage where various groups in a community determine "what ought to be done" (Fuller and Myers 1941) Last, is reform which is the stage where individuals decide to put their policy into action. The policy that is put into action is usually supported by community groups, the government and corporations. However, I shall also explore one final stage in the natural history of a social problem that is missing from this earlier scholarly view: organized resistance to public policy.

General Approach

This will be a descriptive case study that undertakes an in-depth sociological examination, using qualitative research methods (Feagin 1991). This empirical inquiry "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context" by utilizing multiple sources of evidence (Yin 1989: 23).

In order to incorporate disparate viewpoints of this social problem, the researcher will collect and analyze several types of objective and subjective data that will provide "snapshots" of the problem. To affect that

triangulation, I utilize several research strategies including (a) field data collected through key informants and interviews and (b) analysis of published data derived from primary and secondary sources.

Key Informants

Key informants offer several advantages for this kind of project. First, key informants can help a researcher bridge the gap existing between outsiders and members of the community being studied (Casgrande 1960). In fact, a key informant protects the researcher from those individuals in the community who are against outsiders (Liebow 1967). Second, this technique offers many of the attributes of other kinds of primary, friendly relationships (Casgrande 1960). Key informants help the researcher to overcome the sense of isolation and strangeness accompanying entry into a new social setting, and they speed the researcher's socio-psychological adjustments to new contacts and new environs (Whyte 1955). Finally, key informants will assist me to keep clearly focused on the goal and parameters of my research project (Patrick 1973).

The selection of key informants should be based on their "role in the community, knowledge, willingness, communicability and partiality" (Burgess 1982: 100). I "strategically" chose key informants based on their networks in the community, their knowledge about my research topic,

and their patience in accepting me into their community as an outsider. I selected two key informants who have established "community service" records in the Hollywood community.

The two key informants have been instrumental in mobilizing the residents of the Hollywood community around issues related to the dump. Both have also been active in the public hearings concerning the dump and the cleanup. Both are independently employed, so they are not economically dependent upon income from government or corporate sources. One informant has been a minister in the Hollywood community for three decades, and the other is a full-time activist employed by a nonprofit organization. Both informants have established working relationships with elected officials and other black activists throughout Memphis. One informant was a pioneer in founding the environmental task force for cleanup of the dump. While one informant acts as a liaison between the Hollywood community and the city bureaucracy, the other has been involved in resolving confrontations between white and black Memphians.

The key informants have "specialised information" (Burgess 1982: 99) which I would not be able to get from interviewees or from library data and government files on the Hollywood dump. There are at least three kinds of knowledge that a researcher can acquire from such an informant and they are: "definitional, objective and

judgmental" (Burgess 1982: 99). Key informants can frame the natural history of the problem being explored, and they can provide the researcher an in-depth understanding of the culture, political dynamics, and community leadership of the community. Third, key informants lay the groundwork from which research questions and subsequent interview questions will be derived. Finally, key informants can act as a sort of "sounding board" for ideas and explanations, as the research progresses-- in this way helping the investigator to insure that the "voice" of the affected people speaks through the final analysis.

Face-to-face Interviews

Over a nine-month period, I conducted fifty open-ended interviews of Memphis residents. Because it offers several advantages for this type of research, I will utilize "snowball sampling" to select informants to be interviewed. "Snowball sampling is defined as having individuals in a limited group or organization identify their friends and associates, and having their friends identify their friends and associates, until the researcher observes a constellation of friendships converge into some kind of complete social pattern" (Black and Champion 1976: 307).

This sampling technique is used because this study seeks much information that is concealed from the outsider. The researcher will be studying many informal relationships

which are associated with environmental problems and economic inequities, and snowball sampling permits a checks-and-balance system for verifying information. "The basic idea of snowball sampling is to obtain sufficient information from a known instance of the phenomenon to be able to identify and locate subsequent instances for observation" (Jorgensen 1989: 50). When generated from diverse starting points, snowball sampling promotes the construction of a detailed case history from diverse accounts.

To select interviewees, I used four strategies. First, I interviewed individuals whose names appear three or more times in local newspaper articles discussing the Hollywood Dump. Second, I interviewed persons who are referenced three or more times when key informants engaged in their in-depth responses. Third, I interviewed individuals who were identified by other interviewees as knowledgeable or active. Fourth, I interviewed individuals identified as knowledgeable sources by Mid-South Peace and Justice Center and the Tri-State Defender Newspaper, a local black periodical.

I sought to construct an interviewee sample that represented the diversity of the local community. Approximately one-third were African-American residents of the Hollywood community who are directly impacted by the dump. Another one-third were politicians active in the

Memphis city government and agents of local, state and federal governments. The last one-third were white and black professionals who reside in other areas of Memphis. Eighty-percent (80%) of the interviewees will be African-Americans, and one-fifth will be white.

The identity of participants in the study will be protected. I will reveal the names only of persons whose names have already been published in local newspapers, government documents, and other written materials on the Hollywood Dump.

To construct the natural history of the Hollywood Dump, and of the community's reactions to official policies, I will seek responses to several open-ended questions (see Interview Schedule in Appendix). Open-ended interviewing offers several advantages for this type of research. These kinds of interviews have "been defined as a conversation with a purpose" (Kahn et al 1968). Thus, the open-ended approach permits interviewees to offer information in their own words and from their own perspective. Since questions are open-ended, each individual's view of the problem can be expressed; and these responses become the framework for the "local knowledge" (Geertz 1975) of events and causative factors.

Second, open-ended questions solicit responses which are both factual and opinionated. Because preconceived limitations are not placed on the categories of information

they may broach, open-ended interviewing can uncover information about which the researcher might not have been knowledgeable enough to inquire. In this way, the researcher will be able to cross-check information from secondary sources. Third, when linked with snowball sampling, open-ended questions help the researcher to avoid interactional problems with the interviewees (Bogardus 1925). Because they have been identified by acquaintances, the respondents will be more "willing to talk about the social phenomena" (Kahn et al. 1968: 153).

Finally, open-ended questions offer the advantage of requiring a longer time frame for contact between the researcher and the interviewee. During this encounter, a two-way interaction transpires that can be mutually beneficial. On one hand, the researcher has more discussion upon which to base an evaluation of the interviewee's motives and forthrightness. On the other hand, this kind of interview can be a therapeutic experience for individuals who have the sense that no one is willing to listen (Kahn et al 1968: 149). Finally, this longer interview context invites a greater variety of objective and subjective information from which the researcher can construct a "culturally-specific" history of events and their underlying causes (Matsumoto 1994; Harris 1974; and Pike 1990).

Published Data Sources

The researcher has used a variety of published materials. Primary sources include census data, minutes of public meetings, and documents from corporations and civic organizations. Secondary sources include newspaper accounts, government reports, and parallel studies of other communities encountering a similar problem.

The use of these printed sources permits triangulation of techniques and the integration of information from several sources. Moreover, it permits the researcher to check statements of recollection and opinion against empirical facts or to weigh the views of opposing respondents against one another (Stewart and Kamins 1993: 2). Newspaper articles and other printed material allow the researcher to expand on, compare and evaluate responses by interviewees. Secondary sources were used to document the political disagreements about this issue (Babbie 1992).

Footnotes: The footnotes in this dissertation are not used in the traditional way, (i.e. providing additional information about a topic, event, person or concept) but they are used to emphasize material in the text, provide counter arguments for material in the text and to use the voices of Hollywood residents to provide a strong grassroots flavor to this research project.

CHAPTER TWO

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS OF THE NORTH HOLLYWOOD DUMP

This chapter begins with a table that provides an overview of the historical events of the Hollywood Dump controversy (See Appendix B, Table 1). Next, there is brief discussion of background material on the dump. Finally, community awareness and policy determination of the natural history of the dump are discussed.

Background

The target area for the study is located in North Memphis. This section describes the geography of North Memphis and the history of the Hollywood Dump.

The Geography of North Memphis

Many of the residents refer to North Memphis as a "community of industries" (Interviewees Number Three, Five, Twenty-one, Thirteen and Nineteen). Other residents describe the neighborhood as an area surrounded by "unregulated pollution" (Interviewees Number Eleven, Two, Seven and Thirty-four). There were a few other residents who had lived in North Memphis for many years who referred to the community as a "haven for unwanted garbage" (Interviewee Number Four), "urban transient zone"

(Interviewee Number Ten), and "cheap human disposables" (Interviewee Number Seventeen).

The residents of North Memphis argue that many of the cities' industries are located in this area. The area has changed over the years since the 50s. The changes that have occurred are basically residential, racial and economically. North Memphis is primarily an industrial and low-to moderate-income residential area. The area is made up of 7,500 acres. North Memphis, until 1950, was a stable community with a racially mixed population. There were 57,000 persons living in North Memphis in 1950, 63,296 in 1960, and about 61,000 in 1970. The area experienced a 3-percent population decline in the 1960-70 period. The greatest population change took place in the seventies and can be attributed largely to white flight¹² from the area.

The African-Americans who are left in North Memphis after the white flight are "politically defined as absent from the voting booth" (Interviewee Number Twenty-eight).

North Memphis has a substantial proportion of African-Americans and is an area plagued with historical, political, economic, and social patterns of racial exclusion from mainstream society. Several Hollywood residents agree by

¹² Native Memphians would argue that Memphis is racially divided. This racial division can be seen in politics, religious affiliation, and social events. "Memphis is both an economically and racially polarized city. Since 1960, the white population has consistently shifted from the central city to the north, south, and east. By contrast, the black population has stayed largely in the northern and southern sections of Memphis, with moderate shifts to the southwestern fringe. The city remains segregated along racial lines. More than 92 percent of the city's blacks lived in black majority neighborhoods in 1970. The 1980 segregation level declined, with 85 percent of the city's blacks living in mostly black residential areas" (Taeuber 1983 and Vaughn 1989:104).

saying: "the changing economy from manufacturing to service-oriented jobs took our stable economic status away"(Interviewee Number Eleven); "Black folks have difficulty obtaining good paying jobs in the service sector of this society, because they have low-levels of education" (Interviewee Number Thirteen); "the government has reneged on its promises to provide retraining and continuing education for displaced workers" (Interviewee Number One); "corporations have shifted from manufacturing products in America to producing cheaper goods overseas"(Interviewee Number Ten); and "affirmative action programs are under attack by politically conservative politicians and their supports which jeopardize the pseudo-economic security of the black middle-class while over looking the black working class and the poor"(Interviewee Number Twenty-seven).

The political decline of North Memphis is not only the "closing and relocating of industries, but large scale structural and corporate policies that extract the resources from poor black communities while leaving the native residents 'hopeless' instead of government/corporate reform"(Interviewee Three). The 1980 census provides comparable information that supports the responses of Hollywood residents.

The 1980 census figures show North Memphis to be overwhelmingly black. The area is also well known as the location of the city's oldest black community, the Klondike community. It is also the home of Manansas High School, the second-oldest public school built for blacks in the city.

Within the neighborhood, the land area that is adjacent to the Mississippi River is primarily industrial and commercial. The major industries in the North Memphis area include Kraftco, International Harvester, and Firestone Tire and Rubber. However, industrial plant closings, business divestments, and outmigration of the better-educated and upwardly mobile residents in the seventies and eighties have left much of North Memphis in a state of severe economic decline. Few public or private efforts have been made to reverse these conditions. Unemployment, underemployment, and poverty rob the community of its vital resources, its people. Those individuals who can afford to escape do, while leaving behind others who are "trapped" in poverty with little hope or chance of escape (Vaughn 1989: 103-104).

Not only is North Memphis plagued with industries, it is also plagued with a polluted Wolf River.

Wolf River and North Memphis

The Hollywood community and North Memphis are sited along the edges of the Wolf River.

"For the most part, Memphis's black population continues to live in a crescent-shaped area extending westward from its northern arm along the Wolf River, southward to the Mississippi River, eastward encompassing all of old Memphis, and the Orange Mound area in the south central part of the city. Black in-migration has been primarily to the older central-core neighborhoods or to the areas next to predominately black neighborhoods. The seventies witnessed a small number of the more affluent blacks moving into predominantly white areas of the city. However, Memphis and Shelby County's black population continued to be geographically and socially isolated in the seventies and mid-eighties" (Vaughn 1989: 104).

Residents in the Hollywood community argue that they are socially isolated because there is "no economic development along the Wolf River that benefits them" (Interviewees Number One, Eight, Twenty-two, Twenty-six and Thirty). The Hollywood community is more racially polarized now than it was in the 1970s and 1980s.

Outmigration of Blacks and Home Ownership

North Memphis over the years experienced large numbers of blacks fleeing Memphis to larger Mid-western cities.

"The early 1900s saw thousands of blacks leaving Memphis for opportunities in the North. Midwestern cities such as Chicago and Detroit were the final destination for many black Memphians during this migration wave. Blacks continue to be located largely in the central city, where opportunities were greatest in the suburbs where new housing construction was concentrated during the seventies. The Memphis SMSA experienced a 29.8 percent change in housing units between 1970 and 1980. More than 60.3 percent of the housing in the metropolitan area were owner-occupied units. The 1980 census of housing enumerated 129,662 houses owned in Memphis" (Vaughn 1989: 105).

Many blacks left Memphis for midwestern cities to obtain high-paying manufacturing jobs and to escape "racial segregation in the south which created economic inequalities for black folks on the job, buying their first homes and getting a decent education"(Interviewees Number Four, Five Fourteen, Sixteen, and Thirty-four). Many blacks viewed the

mid-west as a better social environment than the south for relationships between blacks and whites.

"Home ownership among blacks increased by a dramatic 64 percent between 1970 and 1980. However, black home ownership still lagged behind that of whites. More than 47.3 percent of Memphis's blacks owned their homes in 1980. Four factors appear to account for the rise in black homeowners: the Fair Housing Act of 1968; rising income; more opportunities for blacks in the job market; and their ability to expand beyond the traditional boundaries of the black central-city neighborhoods"(Vaughn 1989: 105).

Many blacks believed that high paying union jobs would not only provide economic security for their families but also would allow them to become home owners.

A few Hollywood residents argued that the Fair Housing Act and being a member of a union did not "guarantee economic stability for many black folks" (Interviewee Number Eleven, Twelve, Sixteen, Nineteen, Twenty-four), because the "white paternalistic system in Memphis had ways of stripping uppity negroes and middle class blacks from their class stability"(Interviewees Number Twenty-nine, Nine, Twenty, Twenty-nine, Nine).

History of the Hollywood Dump

The Hollywood dump is located in an urban area. This landfill has been an ongoing social problem for many years.

The Site is a former municipal landfill operated by the City of Memphis. During operation from the mid 1930s to the mid 1960s, the Site primarily received municipal refuse; however, industrial

waste was also disposed in the dump. Studies of the site identified contamination in soil, sediments, fish, and groundwater. Contaminants of concern at the site include Chlordane, Aldrin, Heptachlor, total BHC, Heptachlor Epoxide, 4,4, DDT, Dieldrin, Endrin, Chromium, Arsenic, Nickel, Lead, Copper, and Zinc (USEPA 1993: 1).

Local residents reacted to the toxins in the Hollywood Dump because they polluted underground wells, fish, soil, and sediments. Local residents are affected by these contaminants because their community geographical location encloses them in a "toxic box."

The Hollywood Site is divided by Hollywood Street into two separate areas of refuse disposal: the East and West Sectors. Combined, the two Sectors encompass an area of approximately 70 acres and have an average refuse layer of 26.5 feet. A two foot vegetated soil cover was placed over the Site in the early 1980s to prevent surface contaminant migration (USEPA 1993: 1).

The toxic contaminants affected every aspect of the landfill. Many Hollywood residents felt like they were "crushed between unfit waterways and poisonous dirt" (Interviewee Numbers Six, Twenty, and Thirty-five). The background information of North Memphis provides a launching pad for describing how Hollywood residents became aware of toxic chemicals at the Hollywood Dump. Background information illustrates both how policies were discussed to clean up the dump as well as how community action (reform) helped ensure the dump got cleaned up.

Community Awareness

A few other local residents claimed "dumping of poisonous trash started as early as 1965"(Interviewees Number Ten, Seventeen, and Twenty-two). The Hollywood dump was closed in 1967/68, and several local residents said they had "heard rumors that the Wolf River, Loosahatchie River (See Appendix A Figures 1&3), Todd Creek and Cypress Creek were polluted with toxic substances"(Interviewees Number Fourteen, Twelve, One, and Seventeen). A few residents replied that the "dumping of hazardous garbage in the local dump started as early as 1970"(Interviewees Number Three, Two, Seven, Thirteen, and One). The Hollywood residents became knowledgeable about the dumping of toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump as early as 1977.

The chronology of events in the natural history of the Hollywood Dump can be summarized in three categories: public policy decisions, environmental problems and community resistance.

Public Policy Decisions. The City of Memphis listed the Hollywood Dump as officially closed in 1967. In February 1972, the Tennessee Public Health Department ordered Velsicol to stop dumping in the Hollywood Dump. In January of 1980, the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) disapproved of raising hogs at the dump which may contain

toxic chemicals (See Appendix A, Figures 4&5). There were speculations by a grassroots activist and others over the dumping of toxic waste in the dump which was not regulated by consent decree¹³. In the meantime, local politicians clashed over who (state, local, federal government or local industries) should be held accountable for dumping chemicals in the Hollywood Dump. Local politicians accused the EPA of not reporting the findings of hazardous chemicals at the dump. The Memphis Shelby County Health Department was instructed by the City of Memphis to assign nurses to interview Hollywood residents about possible illnesses.

Aerial photographs were taken of the Hollywood Dump to examine the extent of toxic damage on the dump. These photographs would show the kinds of garbage at the landfill (e.g. 55-gallon drums). Toxic 55-gallon barrels were found in Todd Creek. There was a class action suit filed against corporations accused of dumping toxic chemicals in the dump. A local activist thought the aerial photographs were proof that toxic 55-gallon drums were illegally disposed at the dump.

There were criticisms over the health surveys done in the Hollywood community. These criticisms centered around

¹³A consent decree is a "legally binding agreement between EPA and Potentially Responsible Parties (PRPs) specifying the cost-sharing arrangement involved with cleaning up the [Hollywood Dump]" John A. Hird. 1994. Superfund: the Political Economy of Environmental Risk, p.17.

the politics of which agency (Memphis Shelby County Health Department, EPA, or Centers for Disease Control) had jurisdiction over administering the health survey and evaluating its results. A few scientists argued that the EPA health survey is too "narrow in scope" (Press Scimitar 7-24-80). A health survey by the Centers for Disease Control and Memphis Shelby County Health Department indicate that illnesses of local residents are not attributed to chemicals at the Hollywood Dump. A grassroots activist and several concerned Hollywood residents wanted a more thorough health assessment done on those residents who lived close to the dump. State officials discussed the significance of a comprehensive study of the dump.

A grassroots activist and several Hollywood residents wanted the city of Memphis to take a more active role in developing a remediation cleanup of the Hollywood Dump. Johns Hopkins University was hired by the city of Memphis to develop a "plan" providing the most feasible way to clean-up the dump (Press Scimitar 3-26-81). The Technical Action Group¹⁴ (TAG) stated that the focus of the study on the

¹⁴Technical Action Group came about because Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act (SARA) wanted toxic communities to have their own "hired guns." SARA "required EPA to provide Technical Assistance Grants so communities could hire scientists and others to present a different view of the site's hazards" John A. Hird. 1994. Superfund: The Political Economy of Environmental Risk, p. 200. TAG suppose to be a way to level the political and technical playing field between "community experts" and government/corporate hired guns in the decision-making process of cleaning up a contaminated landfill like the

Hollywood Dump was to assess water quality and the boundaries of hazardous waste pollution in the community. The EPA studies found low levels of pesticides at the dump.

A grassroots activist and some Hollywood residents complained about not having a community representative in every aspect of the decision-making process of cleaning up the Hollywood Dump. They argued that they knew what "was best for their community" (Interviewee Number Twenty-two). In the mean time, Shelby County Mayor Bill Morris withdrew his decision to allow a Hollywood resident to be on a special team to assess the impact of the dump on local residents. This exercise of the second dimension of power by a community elite "organized out" community representatives in the decision-making process of the clean up of the Hollywood Dump.

The politics surrounding environmental laws, amendments, superfund sites, enforcement, and clean-up involved public participation. The new Federal Resource Conservation Recovery Act¹⁵ (RCRA) imposed strict regulations on corporations generating hazardous waste. Johns Hopkins University presented methods that should be

Hollywood Dump.

¹⁵Resource Conservation Recovery Act (RCRA) sets rigid federal standards of "disposing hazardous waste into the air, water, and land (prior to RCRA, only air and water were protected under the clean air and water statutes) and imposes a "manifest" tracking system for all hazardous wastes" John A. Hird. 1994. Superfund: The Political Economy of Environmental Risk, p.6.

used to study the potential health problems of residents living near the dump. Research conducted by a chemist concluded that a fence should be built around Cypress Creek in North Memphis due to hazardous chemicals found in the area.

After the publicity surrounding the Hollywood Dump increased, several local and state politicians began to show their political interests by making sure the dump was cleaned up. The Hollywood Dump qualified for the Superfund list. United States Representative Al Gore Jr. visited the Hollywood Dump to observe the environmental conditions of the dump. This time the local residents did not greet Gore with the same enthusiasm as before. The first time he visited the Hollywood Dump, local residents rushed out to meet him but this time only a handful of Hollywood residents acknowledged his presence. Gore observed some progress in the clean-up of the dump, but he said more should be done. Also, he thought the clean-up process should be sped up. City, county, state, and federal officials concluded after a year-long study of pollution at the Hollywood Dump that there was no environmentally damaging evidence threatening local residents' health. The comprehensive study of the dump conducted by the United States Environmental Protection Agency indicated that the contaminants in the dump did not pose environmental threats to the ground water or drinking water. Eventhough the comprehensive study reported no

health hazards related to the Hollywood Dump, Velsicol agreed to clean up the dump because they admitted to dumping hazardous chemicals in the contaminated landfill.

Velsicol Chemical Company presented a proposed clean-up plan for the Hollywood Dump. The dump would not be cleaned up until the City of Memphis and guilty polluting industries agreed on a clean-up plan. Federal officials mailed fourteen notices to those companies responsible for cleaning up the dump. Companies responsible for dumping hazardous chemicals in the dump were required to prove their innocence outside of court. A grassroots activist and local residents wanted the cleanup plan to include the potentially responsible parties guilty in dumping toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump. A third party was used to design a clean-up study for the dump. A study conducted by E.C. Jordan Company suggested the Task Force remove contaminated sediment and cover the dump with clean soil.

It would be very expensive to clean up the dump. The state would contribute \$250,000 for the cleanup of the dump if companies and local governments responsible for hazardous waste at the dump contributed, too. The city of Memphis volunteered to donate \$300,000 for the cleanup of the dump. The cleanup process of the dump was delayed until Velsicol Chemical Corporation and the city of Memphis proposed cleanup plan were approved. EPA officials in Washington, D.C. oversaw the clean-up plans at the dump. They

recommended more rigid regulations and guidelines for the cleanup of the dump.

Stringent guidelines imposed by EPA officials in Washington, D.C. delayed the clean-up process of the dump. The EPA, the federal government, and the Center for Disease Control conducted a scientific study on the effects of the contaminated dump on Hollywood residents. Hollywood Dump was one of Tennessee's first toxic waste sites put on the national priority list¹⁶ for clean-up under the federal superfund program.

The first dimension of power was exercised via public policy by allowing the Hollywood Dump controversy to be discussed openly in public meetings. The Hollywood residents were powerless. They "received little if any efficient government support after the meeting was over"(Interviewee Number Twelve). "They had a voice in the public meetings, but it was interpreted by government and corporate officials as an un-interpretive Morse code"(Interviewee Number Ten).

The second dimension of power was exercised in public policy decisions by not allowing Hollywood residents to

¹⁶The Hollywood Dump qualified for the National Priority List (NPL), because the number of chemicals found in it scored high on the Hazard Ranking System. The clean-up process of the dump has started and federal funding was awarded for cleaning up this site. Based on NPL criteria, "the potentially responsible party (PRPs) pays for the cleanup, in which case EPA and the state government oversee the process" John A. Hird. 1994. Superfund: The Political Economy of Environmental Risk, p.16.

fully participate in the decision-making process of cleaning up the Hollywood Dump.

How can anybody solve a community problem in one, two or three public meetings (Interviewee Number Thirteen)?

In these meetings we are given a time limit on our testimonies of the dump (Interviewee Number Eight).

We need direct consistent communication with political leaders to keep us informed about changes in policies to clean up the dump (Interviewee Number Seventeen).

We want more emphasis on safety measures for our children who play near the dump (Interviewee Number Two).

There is no fence around the dump to block off children from leaving a school close by and venturing off to the dump to play (Interviewee Number Five).

The public meetings were held when we had other pressing priorities to fulfill (Interviewee Number Sixteen).

At the public meeting, many ideas, possible solutions, and proposals to correct the environmental and public health problems of the dump were voiced. Local politicians answered the questions raised by grassroots activists, Hollywood residents, a representative of the Environmental Defense Fund, and others. Hollywood residents, and other supporters in favor of getting the dump cleaned up, were organized out of the decision-making process of cleaning up the dump. The meetings were not arranged where the citizens were active participants in the decision-making process because they were perceived by community elites as lacking technical information about toxic chemicals in the dump. Hollywood residents came across as "irritated, displeased and ill-informed residents about the chemicals buried in the

dump"(Interviewee Number Twenty-two). "The city of Memphis, and polluting industries representatives, used the meetings as a 'bitch session' or a platform for powerless residents to release their frustration" (Interviewee Number Sixteen). It seems like the Hollywood residents were accomplishing something at this public meeting, but they really were "disempowered" by the community elites who ran a "hidden agenda" to solve the Hollywood Dump controversy as they chose.

The third dimension of power was exercised in public policy decisions by "local politicians, corporate representatives, and government officials acting out a false sense of political support for community empowerment for Hollywood residents"(Interviewee Number One). Public meetings are a rally for Hollywood residents but an organized ideological front for community leaders (Interviewee Number Five). In these meetings the local power structure is enforced by a chairman who not only directs the flow of the meeting but controls possible outside agitators from the Hollywood residents'audience (Interviewee Number Four). The Hollywood residents either play the political game of their opposition or mobilize and strategize in the meeting to earn political legitimacy from the local leaders (Interviewee Number Twenty-six). The leaders of the Hollywood residents must challenge the community elites political ideology on the community problem

in order to strengthen their organized resistance...This will justify any alternative strategy that may be used to solve the community problem (Interviewee Number Twenty-eight).

Environmental Problems. Senator Gore visited the dump to satisfy the complaints passed to him from his constituents. To pass a plan to have the dump cleaned-up, Gore wanted to determine whether toxic chemicals were buried at the dump. He was confronted with "scientific evidence" from the research team assigned by Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia stating there was "no conclusive evidence" (Commercial Appeal 2-15-80) of toxic chemicals at the dump. This research team took soil and water samples from various areas around the dump and had them analyzed locally or sent the samples to special labs to have them analyzed for possible high levels of toxicity. The soil and water samples results indicated some high and low levels of several chemicals: pyrene, fluoranthene, chlordanes, benzo(a)fluoranthene, 1,1,1-trichloroethane, acetone, (Commercial Appeal 5-9-80) and many others (See Appendix B, Table 2).

Political disputes occurred over which agency had jurisdiction in administering the health surveys to the Hollywood community. This dispute extended as far as the United States Environmental Protection Agency in Atlanta. They received word from Washington, D.C. and were appointed the lead agency in not only administering health surveys,

but they were also solely responsible for analyzing soil and water samples from the Hollywood community.

A series of environmental complaints were given to the city of Memphis and other government agencies on toxic chemicals in the area of the Hollywood community in North Memphis. These community elites did not address these complaints in a manner that would benefit those mostly impacted by the complaints. These complaints read like a grocery list: cyanide spill in the Loosahatchie River in 1977, hogs raised at the contaminated dump, house to house health surveys done on the Hollywood residents, and the results indicated the health problems were a result of their lifestyles. The Hollywood community was built on top of an old dump which was in use in the 1930s and 40s. Two elderly residents reported that 55-gallon drums filled with toxic chemicals were dumped in the Hollywood Dump. Many residents complained about allergies and other health problems (e.g. headaches, sore throats, burning eyes, irritated skin, etc.) and they claimed that these all were connected to the toxic chemicals buried at the dump. The fish in the Oxbow lake contained high levels of "pesticides" (Press Scimitar 1980). The fish from the Wolf River contained high levels of "chlordane" (Commercial Appeal 10-21-80) in the tissue of the fish. A well in the community had above levels of toxics based on "state and federal drinking water standards"(Press Scimitar 10-3-80). A chemist found "high

levels of pesticides in the Cypress sump¹⁷" (Press Scimitar 12-5-80). This same chemist made a connection between the hexachlorobenzene (HCB) found in the dump and the contaminated fish from the Wolf River.

In 1981, two environmentalists found "as many as sixty" (Press Scimitar 5-11-81) 55-gallon drums on the banks of the Loosahatchie River. In the same year, an engineer from the Tennessee Department of Public Health stated that the clean-up of the Hollywood Dump reduced toxic "runoff by ninety percent" (Press Scimitar 3-19-81). Also, the Hollywood Dump was listed as one of the worst toxic chemical dump sites in the United States (Press Scimitar 12-20-82). In 1982, test wells were installed at the dump in order to test ground water beneath the dump for toxic chemicals.

The dump was considered one of the worst toxic dump sites in Tennessee. In 1983, the Hollywood Dump was tested for dioxin. In the same year, the city of Memphis was accused of dumping industrial sewage in the Loosahatchie River which resulted in the death of approximately "600,000 fishes"(Commercial Appeal 5-20-83). Additionally, Velsicol Chemical Company admitted to dumping contaminated chemicals in the dump. The United States Air Force joined the club by being held responsible for dumping "explosive munitions" (Commercial Appeal 9-16-84) in the dump.

¹⁷A sump is a pit where water drains or is trapped. It is also referred to as a well.

Community Resistance. Community resistance over toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump surfaced as early as 1977. There were a few residents from the community who challenged local politicians' decisions to use the landfill as a city-wide dump for everybody's toxic waste. This included toxic waste for the entire city of Memphis. They resisted by not politically supporting any community leader who was in favor of keeping the landfill open instead of closing it due to the toxic wastes buried in it. In 1980 a local family publicly complained about toxic chemicals in the dump. Other families in the neighborhood supported this complaint. Steele Street residents voiced their complaints about the toxic chemicals at the dump. Some of the residents reported physical symptoms (headaches, nose bleeds, burning eyes, rashes on their arms) attributed to the dump. Some residents argued that some of the chemicals at the dump were similar to those chemicals found at Love Canal¹⁸ and Times Beach¹⁹. There were several non-residents, or outsiders, of

¹⁸The chemicals found in Love Canal were "Benzene, Toluene, Benzoic acid, Lindane, Trichlorethylene, Dibromoethane, Benzaldehydes, Methylene chloride, Carbon tetrachloride, chloroform" Adeline Gordon Levine. 1982. Love Canal: Science, Politics and People, p.41. See Also Lois Gibbs. 1982. Love Canal: My Story.

¹⁹Dioxin was the chemical that forced a community to be relocated in a Times Beach, Missouri controversy. The dioxin was found in the oil which was used to treat roads (Reko 1984); and to control the dust (New York Times 1991) in horse stables and arenas in Missouri. This dioxin coated oil resulted in the death of horses and many people became seriously sick from being exposed to it. See Also Schmidt 1990 and New York Times 1991.

the Hollywood community who neglected, "over-looked" (Interviewee Number Two) and "disregarded" (Interviewee Number Three) the Hollywood Dump controversy as a "fluke"(Interviewee Number Five).

In 1980, resistance organized by a few residents demanded that the Metropolitan Environmental Task Force investigate the proposed health problems of local residents. In this same year, a grassroots activist pressured the city of Memphis to build a fence around the Hollywood Dump to keep children from playing on the toxic soil. Local residents also protested against the proposed building of a chemical company on Warford Street. Warford is a street connecting the east sector of the Hollywood Dump (See Appendix A, Figure 1). The local residents knew that if this company was allowed to "set up there...it would contribute to releasing toxic chemicals in the rivers and the Hollywood Dump"(Interviewee Number Thirteen).

In 1980, a chemist legitimated the hazards of chlordate and heptachlor chemicals found in the dump. He also recommended that these toxic chemicals be dug up and shipped to toxic landfills in other states²⁰. In support of the evidence linked to the potential dangers of the toxic

²⁰Since Tennessee does not have a legal hazardous waste landfill, the hazardous waste must be shipped out of the state. Hazardous waste generated in Memphis should be transported to legitimate hazardous waste landfills in "Emelle, Alabama; Livingston, Louisiana; Sulphur, Louisiana and Sumter, Carolina"(n.d.).

chemicals in the dump, several residents and a grassroots activist chained themselves to the fence at the entrance of the dump. They were protesting to persuade the city of Memphis to clean up the toxic chemicals at the dump and to provide safety measures for residents who live close to the dump.

In mid 1981, several forms of resistance took place that impacted the clean-up of the dump. These forms of resistance also showed the city of Memphis that local residents were serious about having the dump cleaned up. First, several representatives of the Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force²¹ resigned, because they were not treated as full participants in the decision-making process of cleaning up the Hollywood Dump. Second, several local residents raised questions about the "EPA investigations" (Press Scimitar 5-20-81) at the dump. There were some residents who argued that the EPA treated the Hollywood Dump investigation as a "cover-up where only city officials had access to what was actually going on at the dump"(Interviewee Number One). Third, several local residents testified at public hearings about the health

²¹ Memphis Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force, normally referred to by interviewees as the Metropolitan Area Environment Task Force or Task Force (MMAETF or MAETF) - "The Task Force was an outgrowth of a congressional hearing of April 1990 investigating how federal, state and county agencies handled claims of chemical contamination from residents of Frayser and Hollywood communities" (Novarro 1981).

risks associated with the Hollywood Dump. An interviewee recalled when "a friend of a friend gave a testimony at a public hearing and questioned the 'sudden death' of a Hollywood resident" (Interviewee Number Three). Fourth, some residents discussed possible water poisoning and the cost of doing a public health study of residents who lived near the dump.

Fifth, local residents and grassroots activists demanded a clean-up for children's safety at a playground near the dump and for those children who used the dump as a playground. The National Clean Air Coalition, a local environmental group, reported that Velsicol and Procter and Gamble polluted the air with "cancer-causing chemicals" (Press Scimitar 3-10-82). A local activist's attorney filed a federal court lawsuit to dismiss complete control of the dump by the EPA. Many Hollywood residents, and a local activist, did not trust city officials due to their track record of broken promises to clean up the dump at a designated time. Several local residents voiced their concerns over drilling wells at the dump. They believed drilling might cause explosion. They were also concerned about the cost of cleaning up the dump.

Overall, the community awareness can be summarized by how Hollywood residents and non-Hollywood residents described the local dump in their own way: [It]" stigmatized our neighborhood as the city's garbage pit"

(Interviewee Number Fifteen), as a "stinky litter box" (Interviewee Number Twenty-two), as disgraceful to the existence of black racial power in this city" (Interviewee Number Thirteen), "public health danger" (Interviewee Number Thirty), "uncleanliness" (Interviewee Number Eight), "highway of garbage contamination" (Interviewee Number Four), a "symbolic BFI garbage truck"(Interviewee Forty), and "an odorous skunk castle"(Interviewee Number Twelve). The historical ideology of the Hollywood Dump can best be explained by the residents' "internalized consciousness"- of being aware that the dump represented a "dominated group" (themselves) which has been socialized to act out a "cultural myth." They are also aware that the local industries and government officials might reverse the dump's stereotypes and turn them into a "social good" for the community.

The non-residents labeled the Hollywood Dump as: an "overgrazed garbage desert" (Interviewee Number Forty-one), "unfertile, inexpensive statue of destruction" (Interviewee Number Forty-two), "a permanent garbage-junk pile"(Interviewee Number Forty-three), "a low-life cage of useless middle-class values" (Interviewee Number Forty-four), "a distasteful pool of vomit" (Interviewee Number Forty-five), "the meeting grounds of defeatist and conqueror" (Interviewee Number Forty-Six), "storage capacity for cow/horse manure" (Interviewee Number Forty-seven), "an

invisible, yet visible, environmental risky package from the city and local industries" (Interviewee Number Forty-eight), and "the home of the forgotten, unretrievable, and unrecyclable consumption products" (Interviewee Number Fifty).

Non-Hollywood residents are aware that "structural disempowerment" is a key component in describing the symbolic "culture of silence" of a disenfranchised community. The Hollywood and non-Hollywood residents' descriptions of the Hollywood Dump are an indication they were aware of the environmental degradation the dump caused the Hollywood community.

Policy Determination

The Hollywood residents wanted a policy in the decision-making process of cleaning up the dump which could include: a) the city of Memphis and polluting industries' publicly admitting they were guilty in contaminating the Hollywood Dump, and b) allowing a local resident to serve as a representative in every capacity of the planning, execution and evaluation of the clean-up of the dump. On the other hand, the city of Memphis, and polluting industries, used a "delayed bureaucratic cover-up policy" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three) while acting "senile" (Interviewee Number Eleven) when it came to answering questions about the dump. Once it became public,

legitimate, and politically sound that toxic chemicals were dumped at the Hollywood Dump, all policy activities were focused around the clean-up of the dump.

Discussion About Cleanup of Dump

The discussion of the dump clean-up resulted in an evaluation of the severity of toxic chemicals and the selection of cleanup methods for the dump.

In 1990, the EPA completed an extensive evaluation of viable alternatives for cleaning up the contaminated soil, sediment, fish and groundwater at the site. This process included a report known as a Feasibility Study (FS) which was prepared by two of the Potentially Responsible Parties (PRRs), Velsicol Chemical Corporation (Velsicol) and Buckman Laboratories, under a Commissioner's Order from the State of Tennessee. The FS used information generated during the 1986-1990 Supplemental Remedial Investigation (RI) to develop feasible cleanup alternatives. Following a public comment period on the alternatives, the EPA signed a Record of Decision (ROD) in September of 1990 which presented the selected remedy for the Site which concurred with by the State of Tennessee to clean the dump up (USEPA 1993: 2).

The PRRs decided on a clean-up method after responses from local residents.

This demonstrates the exercise of the first dimension of power. The community elites decided to have a public meeting to discuss the clean-up of the dump. In this meeting, they proposed their protocol for cleaning up the dump and asked the audience for feedback. Many of the residents responded to the clean-up as follows: It is about

time (Interviewee Number Thirty), we have been short changed said a resident who was quoted at a public hearing, (Press Scimitar 12-8-81), the City of Memphis officials have an open meeting to tell us how they are going to correct their screw-up (Interviewee Number Eighteen), our complaints, cries, and grievances have been neglected for years (Interviewee Number Nine), this public meeting appears as if the local residents have a 'just voice' in the decisions to clean-up the dump, but we don't... and we are here to see who are representing the city government, (Interviewee Number Twenty), and, this public meeting like all the rest of them is a scientific playground where hired experts belittle the testimony of local residents...Also the hired experts never talk in language that the residents can understand. It is similar to a doctor using medical terminology to explain an illness to his patients, and they don't understand what he is saying (Interviewee Number Ten).

Hollywood residents struggled for a role in the decision-making process of having the dump cleaned up, but they were never given a fair chance to solve social problems from the top down approach.

Reform

The Hollywood Dump policy which was implemented included clean-up methods, design methods, clean-up starting date, safety plans, and public participation. Hollywood

residents wanted a community representative to have an active role in every stage of the policy while community elites presented and carried out a clean-up policy representing their political interests.

Clean-up Methods Chosen for Hollywood Dump

Some local residents wanted an "emergency cleanup" (Interviewee Number Three) of the dump. However, the following methods were chosen for the dump:

installation of a 24 inch low permeability soil cover over the landfill area, monitoring of the shallow groundwater to determine if contamination levels stay below remediation standards, installation of a 36 inch hydraulic cover over contaminated sediments, and removal of contaminated fish from Oxbow Lake and the abandoned dredge pond. The remedy is estimated to cost approximately 8 million dollars to implement (USEPA 1993: 2).

Design for Clean-up of Hollywood Dump

The city of Memphis and Velsicol Chemical Corporation took the lead in creating a cleanup design for the Hollywood Dump. "Velsicol and the city of Memphis signed a Consent Decree (CD) in March of 1991 to perform the work at the site. The CD was lodged with a U.S. District Court in November of 1991, at which time the Remedial Design (RD) was initiated" (USEPA 1993: 2).

The city of Memphis and Velsicol Chemical Corporation concluded that the RD provided detailed information about the clean-up of the dump.

The RD identified and develops all of the Site Design Objectives: the clean-up criteria, descriptions of the remediation work, facility layouts, cleanup verification, monitoring systems, permits, easement, rights of way, health and safety requirements, estimated work schedules, and approximate costs. The RD also included additional sampling of the sediments in the surface water ponds determining the exact areas in the ponds that required remediation (USEPA 1993: 2).

Date of Clean-up of Hollywood Dump

The cleanup process of the dump looked perfect on paper, and it seemed like all areas of the clean-up process were covered.

The cleanup activities at the site will begin in the fall of 1993 and are expected to take approximately three years to complete. North Hollywood is located next to the Wolf River and is frequently flooded during periods of high flow. Because of weather dependent conditions, the clean-up work at the site has been divided into three separate actions: the consolidation of contamination areas along the Wolf River and the surface water ponds into the center of the landfill to prevent their erosion during flooding, the covering of the East and West Sectors of the landfill, and the covering of the contaminated sediments in the surface water ponds. Due to Site and weather-related conditions, there will be periods during the cleanup when minimal activities will occur at the Site (USEPA 1993: 2).

Safety Plan of the Clean-up Process of Hollywood Dump

According to a Hollywood resident, safety²² is a priority in cleaning up a toxic dump to protect the health and welfare of those potentially exposed to toxic chemicals. During cleanup activities, excavation and trucking equipment and personnel will be entering and leaving the Site. As required for all Superfund remedial work, a Health and Safety Plan has been prepared which includes measures for protecting the personnel involved and the surrounding community. The plan includes monitoring for early identification of potentially dangerous situations that might be encountered, and how such situations should be addressed. During the clean-up activities, and after their completion, the site will be periodically monitored and evaluated to ensure the protection of human health and of the environment (USEPA 1993: 2-3).

Public Participation and the Hollywood Dump

The city of Memphis and Velsicol Chemical Company argued that the public had adequate means to "voice"²³ their comments and suggestions about cleaning up the Hollywood Dump.

An important part of the Superfund process is community involvement. EPA welcomes comments and questions from the public regarding the North

²²The absence of environmental risks and dangers should have been a "priority" before the potentially responsible parties started dumping toxic chemicals in the dump (Interviewee Number Twenty-one). This respondent argued that anytime a community is in close proximity to a landfill, the local residents' "environmental rights" should be honored and the city government must provide "environmental protection," but it did not.

²³A "counter argument" to public participation is that the city of Memphis and polluting industries "failed to listen to the voices" (Interviewee Number Fourteen) of distressed residents in 1977. The local power structure assumed these voices would be transformed into a "silent society" without a political base.

Hollywood Dump Site. EPA will continue to inform and involve the community throughout the Remedial process using fact sheets and notices (USEPA 1993: 3).

Some of the Hollywood residents argued they had not been informed completely of the remediation activities of the Hollywood Dump.

In the Hollywood Dump reform stage, the local elites presented their plan of action on how the dump would be cleaned up. They excluded any input from local residents. The local residents wanted an emergency clean up of the dump, but in 1993 the city decided to "clean-up" the dump in a much less expensive way. The local residents further wanted a "comprehensive longterm health analysis of residents who lived close to the dump, but the city only did a short term health study of a few residents"(Interviewee Number 2). Questioning the validity of sampling procedures, several residents argued that the "city did health surveys on a few residents if any at all" (Interviewee Number Fourteen). The city of Memphis was more interested in the safety plan of the clean-up process than it was of the "health and safety of the residents who have been breathing the toxic fumes from the contaminated dump" (Interviewee Number Thirteen). All the public participation meetings on the Hollywood Dump are used as a "political bluff"(Interviewee Number Four) or a "false decision-making arena"(Interviewee Number One), and in the final analysis

the "city of Memphis will reinforce its bureaucratic red tape"(Interviewee Number Eight) to "control the outcome of the cleanup design of the dump"(Interviewee Number Twenty-two).

The natural history of the Hollywood Dump is a combination of hidden agendas and disempowering strategies used by community elites and local politicians to keep Hollywood residents locked up in their "silent screaming." This method of disempowerment is effected mainly by controlling the ideology of politicians who represent Hollywood residents. A few residents responded that "the black or white politicians that say they represent our political interests are co-opted by the local 'political growth machine' to only say so much or do as little as possible"(Interviewee Number Seventeen). When the Hollywood residents started "complaining in the 1970s about sickness associated with the dump, their political representative remained silent in hope of collecting more solid facts to justify accusing local companies for dumping toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump"(Interviewee Number Twenty-three). This political representative would argue that some "foul play" had taken place with the chemical sampling evidence from taken from the Hollywood Dump. He remained silent because he wanted overwhelming evidence to use to prove that all parties accused of dumping chemicals in the dump were guilty. A local preacher remarked: "your first response to

a community problem is to examine the seriousness of the residents' complaints and then plan a strategy to solve this problem." A local activist concluded: sometimes "I work inside the political system to solve community problems, and other times I use my informal resources and social support to dissolve community problems." The chronology of events of the Hollywood Dump controversy sets the foundation for describing and interpreting this social problem from the "top down" and "bottom up political perspectives".

CHAPTER THREE

VIEWING THE PROBLEM FROM THE TOP DOWN

This chapter describes the top down view of the Hollywood Dump. The first part of the chapter presents a natural history of the Hollywood Dump which includes background material and political activities influencing community awareness, policy determination, and reform stages of the natural history of the Hollywood Dump.

The Natural History of the Hollywood Dump

The emergence of the Hollywood Dump as a social problem was legitimized by the city, county, state and federal agencies, and Velsicol Chemical Company in January of 1980. The origin²⁴ of the dump as a "community problem" surfaced in the Fall of 1977 when a group of residents complained about a "peculiar odor" coming from the dump (Interviewee Number Five²⁵).

²⁴The origin of the dump follows the logic of Fuller and Myers (1941) where the community problem peaks, faces intergroup conflicts, levels off and dissipates.

²⁵The Hollywood Dump issue peaked in 1984, and leveled off in the fall of 1984. There were several intergroup conflicts among city, county and federal agencies, and Velsicol Chemical Company from 1980 to 1990. This issue dissipated from December of 1984 to about the summer of 1990. It resurfaced gradually in the latter half of 1990 specifically addressing questions concerning the dump's clean-up process competition.

Background

Local elites and government officials covertly excluded the Hollywood residents from the decision-making process of cleaning up the dump. The local residents were not included in the major decisions in the clean up of the dump. The local elites did not treat or respect the Hollywood residents as equal partners in the decision-making process of the dump. The local residents were not active participants in the planning stages of cleaning up the dump.

It took three to four years before the local elites and government officials "listened seriously" (Interviewee Number Thirty-seven²⁶) to Hollywood residents' grievances about toxic chemicals in the dump.

A local politician thought local residents needed to be "active participants an decision-makers" in reference to "present and future hazardous waste issues" that might disrupt a homogenous community. He thought a few residents should be used as "toxic/hazardous board members to accept or reject chemical companies moving in and out of the Industrial Park on Warford Street"... He said the "coporate community" should respect the "backyards" of Hollywood residents instead of using it as a "toxic membrane" to filter its economic leftovers.

²⁶ There was a black politician who thought the Hollywood Dump issue was a "political fiasco." He was in favor of Hollywood residents asking the federal government to relocate them until the dump was cleaned up (this wish was not granted by the United States Environmental Protection Agency).

Some residents thought there was too much
"bureaucratic"(Interviewee Number Twenty²⁷ and Mansur 1984)
"crap "(Interviewee Number Thirty-five) in trying to
rationalize the "lack of government accountability
"(Interviewee Number Nine²⁸) in cleaning up the Hollywood
Dump.

A former teacher who taught a civic class at a
Memphis City School, recalled one of her students
giving a stunning oral presentation on the
Hollywood Dump. The issue grabbed her attention
because the student stated that the "Hollywood
Dump is where everybody's nasty and toxic garbage
is stored, so how did garbage from the house
become poisonous?" The teacher had to explain to
the student and to the rest of the class that

²⁷She was born in St. Louis Missouri and moved to
Memphis in 1974. She lived in South Memphis for one year
and moved to North Memphis in 1975. She lives ten miles
from the Hollywood dump. She is married, has one child, and
is a retired school teacher. Her recollection of the
Hollywood Dump incident is best remembered from two of her
students informed her about the nature of the problems that
impacted the Hollywood community.

²⁸ She is a student at Memphis State University
majoring in Political Science. Her family lives three and a
half miles from the Hollywood Dump. She is thirty-six years
old and is a former secretary of a business office in a
department store. Her family consists of a mother who is
seventy years old and her son who is eighteen years old.
She said that the "Hollywood community within North Memphis
is a group of powerless poor people who lack political
involvement in city politics and who did not understand the
decision-making process of getting a landfill cleaned up."
She also replied that "Hollywood residents did not use their
"voting muscles" to hold black and white elected officials
accountable for dragging their feet and lying about
environmental and health issues" surrounding the dump. She
concluded that "urban areas such as the Hollywood community
are a "tax exemption" for city planners..." "The city
builds our communities on top of dumps, they charge us rent,
we pay high mortgages for cheap framed houses, and they get
paid again for cleaning up toxic chemicals they dumped on
our front porches."

garbage being disposed in the dump contained "toxic compounds." After the student's oral presentation on the dump, she followed the "newspaper version" of the story.

Several residents argued that the four years it took the local government and industries to clean up the dump simply indicates that "community leaders perceive Hollywood residents as lower-class people who lack the ability to assess environmental degradation" (Interviewees Number Thirty²⁹, Twenty-nine and Twenty-seven). This illustrates how the local power structure rationalizes that African-Americans living, working, and playing in environmentally destructive physical conditions are not conscious enough to distinguish between a clean/healthy environment and a toxic contaminated environment.

²⁹She was born in Helena, Arkansas and moved to Memphis in 1966. She moved to the Hollywood community in 1972. She recalls the "hell raising" over the cleanup of the dump from 1977 to 1980. She thought the "city power structure" should have taken a more "active role" a passive role. She was very involved in the Civil Rights Movement in the 60s in Memphis and is now very mellow in her old age. She argued that "more black churches should have played an important part in confronting the EPA and other federal employees to get an emergency cleanup of the dump." She also said that "the city government and companies guilty for dumping in the Hollywood dump should have relocated only those residents that lived at least a mile from the landfill." She thinks it will take years before we will know how much damage the toxic chemicals did to the environment.

Community Awareness

The Hollywood residents' course of action was the result of local residents complaining about health problems³⁰ they attributed to the local dump, for example: plants dying; dogs' hair falling off their bodies; severe migraine headaches, skin peeling off their hands; dogs' puppies dying; irregular nose bleeds; bumps appearing and disappearing on the face, hands and back; litter from kittens' were dying; high blood pressure; rashes appearing on the body; breathing problems; vegetables not growing in gardens, hearing loss, unusual blisters on the arms, unusual taste in the mouth, blurred vision, swelling of cheeks, eyes and hands. This list reads like a symptom checklist for exposure to toxic chemicals or a healthcheck list for toxic exposure at your local doctor's office. Many of these health problems the Hollywood residents complained about were related to lifestyle and diet by health officials. A

³⁰A local resident wants some answers about her daughter's illnesses which she attributes to the toxic chemicals at the dump. She is furious because the EPA only provides excuses such as they have to wait until the samples from the dump are analyzed until we can provide conclusive evidence that the chemicals are the causes of the illnesses in the Hollywood community (Commercial Appeal 5-2-80). An interviewee at this public meeting recalls that the EPA officials provided too many contradictory statements in regard to the toxic chemicals found at the dump (Interviewee Number One). "Residents at the [public meeting] challenged many statements by the federal officials, questioning the loss of materials taken for sampling and indicating doubt about EPA's concern for persons living in the area" (Commercial Appeal 5-2-80).

few of these things may be accidental, but all of them are no "coincidence," replied a grassroots activist. Also, these symptoms are typically associated with residents living near a toxic waste facility.

The State examined the Hollywood Dump for the possible presence of toxic chemicals in 1981 and promised the "residents of Hollywood that a more than a full comprehensive study was inappropriate" for this site (Press Scimitar 3-7-81). Some Shelby County Health personnel and safety officials did not want a health study done on the local residents. These government officials³¹ wanted the health study to be based on the Johns Hopkins University research team report. This report would claim that the health study would be appropriate for Hollywood community residents.

The government officials used external experts to legitimate their ideologies of the Hollywood Dump issue. This discrete manipulation of power by government officials toward the Hollywood residents is an example of the third dimension of power. The government officials are making decisions for the "dominated group." These officials presented their "dominating ideologies" of the dump. These government officials were aware the reflective testimonies

³¹"These people are aware of what is being designed. I don't know what they're requesting. I don't understand the nature of it. The way it has been proposed is the way it should be done"(Press Scimitar 3-7-81).

of environmental and health problems of two Hollywood residents, "Princess Ray³² and Emma Smith,³³." These testimonies were challenged by the external experts reports on the dump which concluded that the dump no severe environmental threat to local residents living close to the dump.

Policy Determination Stage

It seems difficult for politicians, representatives of polluting industries, and government officials to admit they have the "power³⁴" to clean the dump up or to point a to specific agency that should do it. All three groups, when interviewed, acted as though they are insensitive to

³²"In a small brick house on West Belmont, Princess Ray sat on a velvet gold couch, braiding her daughter's hair and remembering the days of Hollywood. She thought of April 2, 1980, the day she told a Washington congressional subcommittee about the 70-acre Hollywood Dump, where industrial North Memphis once deposited hazardous wastes, near her home. She told them of health problems of her children, mother and neighbors, and of puppies mysteriously dying. Either the Neighborhood was unusually unhealthy or 'Memphis is a sicker town than any one of us want to believe'(Commercial Appeal 8-25-84).

³³"Emma Smith, 81, whose yard nearly abuts the dump, moved to the neighborhood in the 1930s. She quickly discovered that residents often searched the dump for food or anything else worth saving. 'I wondered what all those folks were doing out there when I found out, I was out there with them. It looked like a picnic'. Today, she boils her water"(Commercial Appeal 8-25-84).

³⁴ In this stage, power refers to those individuals who are accountable for providing environmental protection for the Hollywood residents.

the life chances of Hollywood residents or as though they are not sure who has primary power to solve this community problem.

Political conflicts exist within each group, but these conflicts are too long and tedious to discuss in this research project. The focus of these conflicts is who and what department will be delegated primary authority to clean up the dump. Also, there is an economic³⁵ component which provides an underlying explanation as to why these groups are fighting between and among themselves. Now that the Hollywood Dump controversy has been publicized, all of these groups want to take credit for playing a vital role in having the dump cleaned up.

The different groups involved in the policy determination of the dump include: politicians (local politicians who represent the Hollywood constituents, city of Memphis, County Government); government officials (Memphis and Shelby County Health Department, EPA and CDC); and representatives of polluting industries (Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force, Technical Action Group and Third Parties). The Third Parties include Johns Hopkins University, E.C. Jordan, University of Tennessee Center for

³⁵ "The Johns Hopkins proposal [for Health Study], prepared under a \$150,000 grant and released in December, estimated a cost of \$3 million for medical testing of 1,600 people near the dump and 3,200 others living in areas without elevated levels of toxic chemicals" (Commercial Appeal 12-2-82). The total costs of the cleanup is estimated at 3 million dollars.

Health Sciences, and a Maine Contractor³⁶. The fourth and final group consists of Hollywood residents who are the "innocent victims exposed to toxic chemicals" (Interviewee Number Eight) of the Hollywood dump.

Politicians respond to policy determination in the following manner:

An EPA official, who asked not to be identified, said Baker's staff "jumped the gun" in making the announcement before EPA officials had firmly decided whether to fund the study. The official said Baker's staff might have been trying to use the announcement of funding for the study to show his concern about chemical exposure problems and possibly offset recent publicity that Baker, although present, declined to vote on the "Superfund" bill which would provide funds for cleaning up hazardous chemical dumps (Press Scimitar 9-3-80).

Here is a political conflict which arose between an EPA official and Senator Baker. Both parties tried to downplay their political affiliation with the Hollywood Dump issue while expressing their political support to fund the clean-up of the Hollywood Dump.

Mayor Wyeth Chandler blasted U.S. Rep. Harold Ford for allegedly trying to gain politically from the possible environmental problems at the Old North Hollywood dump site. Chandler told city council members that we are more concerned about the public safety than people who have made this a political activist' tool (Press Scimitar 5-6-80).

³⁶ This contractor was "hired by TAG" to check their data collection and to assist TAG in making sound decisions on cleaning up the dump (Commercial Appeal 12-9-83).

Here again, this time between a county mayor and U.S. Rep. (Congressman), is a political conflict over the Hollywood Dump. Both politicians tried to appear as if they represent the interests of Hollywood residents, but they did not. An interviewee remarked that this political conflict between the politicians "is a political forage" (Interviewee Number Ten).

U.S. Rep. Al Gore visited the Hollywood landfill twice to check on the clean-up process. A local resident said that Gore visited the landfill to "gain brownie points in the residents' corner" (Interviewee Number Thirty). The Hollywood residents argued that Gore did as much as other politicians to "speed up the clean-up process" of the local dump (Interviewee Number Five).

Rep. Ford aligned himself with the Environmental Defense Fund due to its reputation of supporting communities plague by a superfund site. It is the indirect power exerted by the Environmental Defense Fund which forces this politician to gravitate toward the Environmental Defense Fund's environmental agenda for the Hollywood community. In the past, the city of Memphis environmental agenda did not take the Hollywood residents' responses into consideration when they were making crucial decisions on the dump.

The city of Memphis echoed their response-----

Rep. Harold Ford, D-Memphis, called for the congressional investigation after the request was

made by the 50,000 member Washington-based Environmental Defense Fund. The Memphis congressman joined Ruffin Harris, coordinator of the EDF, in asking the subcommittee to immediately investigate Memphis and Shelby County Health Department as well as the EPA in handling the environmental problem(Press Scimitar 2-5-80).

The "guilty duo" (Interviewee Number Fourteen), the city of Memphis and Velsicol Chemical Corporation, collaborated in 1984 to "design an acceptable"(Interviewee Number Forty-seven) clean-up plan for the Hollywood Dump.

In the summer of 1984, the City of Memphis and Velsicol designed a clean-up plan for the dump... "the dump's 70-acre surface will be disposed of at the site, although drums stored there will be excavated and inspected, and possibly disposed of elsewhere. An abandoned dredge pond, which accounts for a majority of the costs and concerns related to the clean-up, will be drained this summer, along with a nearby oxbow lake (Commercial Appeal 6-13-84).

Some city of Memphis officials got upset because the USEPA in Atlanta demanded that the city of Memphis's plan to clean up the dump be re-evaluated. This decision created a political conflict between Memphis officials and the USEPA.

The Hollywood dump clean-up likely will be delayed for years because the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has decided to restudy the clean-up plan,... "The change will further delay corrective action for an indefinite period of time, probably years, while an 'approved approach' is formulated by EPA, hopefully by the spring of 1985" said Maynard Stiles³⁷, city of public works

³⁷ A local Hollywood spokesperson argued that part of the problem of getting the dump cleaned up is "sorting out the political problems"(Interviewee Number Twenty-two) between the various agencies involved in the decision-making process of the Hollywood Dump controversy. The interviewee said this was not their problem. "Stiles said the state officials were "very upset" that the EPA had made a

director. EPA regional officials in Atlanta had verbally approved a clean-up plan, but when EPA headquarters in Washington was asked to approve it, officials decided it should be evaluated under a more stringent set of regulations, according to officials (Commercial Appeal 1984)

The delay in cleaning up the dump has shown the "true colors" (Interviewee Number Sixteen³⁸) of all potentially responsible parties. The political conflicts among the city of Memphis, the EPA, and the State of Tennessee have persisted for three to four years (1981-1984).

The study has been pending approval in the federal agencies, CDC, and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency since 1981. Over the years, several signals that the project had been given the go-ahead were given. "I think all the conflicts between the state and the EPA have been resolved", Mike Apple, assistant director for solid waste management, said. "The state is going to take the lead on the project" (Press Scimitar 1980).

"unilateral change" in its approach to the long-delayed cleanup of the 70-acre site. "We conducted 3 1/2 years of study and formulated a plan and implemented it, and EPA (approval) all along the way...And then to be told after implementation of the plan is approved that it's not accepted would have the effect of upsetting you" (Commercial Appeal 7-18-84).

³⁸ All the people involved in this "Hollywood Dump hazardous mess" are anxious to show their true political position after several delays in starting the cleanup process." It seems like every day in the newspaper there is an article about political disagreements over the cleanup of the dump. The longer the City of Memphis waits to clean up the dump, the more inefficient the clean-up process will be. If government officials want to agitate each other, they can do it by laziness in delivering fresh-clean soil to the landfill, by delaying water and soil samples from the laboratory, or by failure to remove all the toxic drums buried all over the dump. In the long-run the Hollywood residents get screwed.

The county government argued that a health survey for the Hollywood residents was not "needed until more soil and water samples were collected and analyzed at the dump" (Interviewee Number Thirteen).

The county government replied that the,

[h]ealth Department's investigation was "going down a blind alley for four years" until the department received information from the unidentified source, re-emphasizing that the information negated the need for a house-to-house survey of the area by VISTA volunteers (Press Scimitar 2-5-80).

There was a short "political fuse" (Interviewee Number Four) between a county commissioner and an EPA official. The city of Memphis, Velsicol Corp. and the EPA were accused by several Hollywood residents of "watering down the results from the analyses taken of soil and water samples" (Interviewees Number Sixteen, Eight and Twenty-five).

In 1980, the local newspapers interviewed several residents in North Memphis about "potential health problems" (Interviewed Number Twenty-nine) linked to the illegal toxic chemicals dumped in the Hollywood Dump.

County Commissioner Vasco Smith accused the Environmental Protection Agency of being "more interested in white-washing" reports of health

problems in Frayser [and Hollywood³⁹] than finding answers to the dilemma (Commercial Appeal 1980).

County officials will hold a briefing today to help pinpoint the state of toxic chemical dumping in [North Memphis] ... The County Board of Commissioners voted to join the county administration in supporting the investigation of the cause of mysterious illnesses affecting the neighborhood⁴⁰ (Commercial Appeal 2-5-80).

The local, state and federal government officials have had their say in policy determination as well.

According to Memphis Shelby County Health Department:

The "health department spokesman" (Interviewee Number Forty-seven⁴¹) replied that they were working on a

³⁹ A Hollywood resident agreed with the commissioner (Interviewee Number Seven) and also included the Hollywood community in the "whitewashing of reports." You cannot talk about Frayser without including Hollywood, because they are connected by the dump.... "Not one physician under governmental auspices has examined anyone in Frayser [and Hollywood] said Smith, a full-time dentist and part-time commissioner. 'How in the hell do you find a cause for an ailment when you haven't done the documentation'" (Press Scimitar 6-9-80).

⁴⁰ A local resident provided a counter argument to the county government's response by saying that there are witnesses who saw 55-gallon drums, and other kinds of garbage, being dumped in the local landfill. This is another way the local government tried to dismiss important "evidence" (Interviewee Number Twelve) from a valid source.

⁴¹ A white government official at the Department of Public Health concluded that the chemicals found at the dump were a "public health threat." He mentioned that earlier studies were done on the dump which showed "pollutants" in the soil, but they were not a "threat" to residents in the area. He lives in Memphis and is a member of an environmental organization. He said that the dump needs to be "monitored semi-annually for possibly additional clean-up work at the dump site." I argued that no "environmental

comprehensive plan to address the health problems of the local residents. The local residents thought this idea about developing a comprehensive plan to address the health problems was "bureaucratic"⁴² crap"(Interviewee Number Twenty-Six) to pacify the residents.

"The Shelby County Health Department found low levels of pesticides in soil samples taken on school grounds in preliminary testing. Complete results are expected in two weeks" (Press Scimitar 12-10-80).

A local resident said that the Health Department overlooked the "seriousness of the pesticides". Health Department officials said there were low concentrations of pesticides in the soil, but "children in the neighborhood had played around the soil for years" which means we need fast analyses of the soil samples (Interviewee Number Ten).

A state government official (Interviewee Number Forty-eight⁴³) argued that the EPA and CDC did a professional job

testing is 100% foul proof, and people do make mistakes." In other words, he "supports the follow-up environmental tests" to cover his own tracks.

⁴² A government spokesman agreed while providing his version of the policy determination of the Hollywood Dump. "[T]here is no quick simplistic approach to solving the problem. I know it sounds like bureaucratic jargon, but there's no easy way to come up with an effective plan of getting rid of hazardous waste sites and, at the same time, having to prevent anyone from doing anything of even greater danger...we're looking for the best comprehensive plan that will have a long range effect at getting rid of the problem" (Press Scimitar 1-14-80).

⁴³ A white state governmental official referred to the dump as "potentially harmful and dangerous," but the EPA has access to the appropriate technology to remedy any potential dangers at the Hollywood Dump. He lives in Nashville,

in keeping the Hollywood Dump controversy from "escalating to similar heights" as Love Canal. He argued that "many stories" exist about an environmental problem like the dump and usually the EPA and CDC are "experienced" in providing information on whether toxic chemicals are an environmental public health threat to Hollywood residents and to this "community's drinking water" (Interviewee Number Forty-eight).

According to an EPA official:

I think the best thing that could happen is that Hollywood would get main-streamed back into the Superfund process...Other sites in Superfund (discovered after Hollywood) have been cleaned up (Commercial Appeal 12-9-83).

According to a CDC official:

The Environmental Protection Agency and the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta, known for its work in infectious diseases, are the primary investigative agencies trying to find out the effects of chemical waste dumps. While they are beginning to delve into the problem, officials fear that many persons have unknowingly been exposed to various carcinogens--cancer-causing agents or substances--through contaminated drinking water (Press Scimitar 3-3-8).

Tennessee. He replied that the EPA and CDC in Atlanta will do the "right things" to reduce a repeat of Love Canal. He said that "EPA" and other health agencies" learned their lessons from the "Love Canal" environmental disaster. He also thought that some "complaints" from the Hollywood area were "blown out of proportion."

Third Party responses included:

A representative from Johns Hopkins University, who said that,

The study's design will call for four main lines of investigation in conditions of exposure to chemicals: adverse effects of chemicals on health, the linkage between particular chemicals and particular ailments or conditions, and the overall risk of exposure to certain chemicals (Commercial Appeal 3-26-81).

The whole area of environmental toxicology, particularly with the toxic waste dumps, is a new area (of investigation) for everybody. The methods have not been developed as to how we are to go about attacking a problem like this. "The answers are not in a book that we can look up", replied a representative from the University of Tennessee Center for the Health Sciences (Press Scimitar 3-3-80).

Many "conflicting stories" (Commercial Appeal 8-21-83) exist about the "dangers of the chemicals at the dump to local residents (Interviewee Number Twenty-two), the "spread of hazardous chemicals to fishes in the Wolf River" (Interviewee Number Twenty-six), and the potential contamination of hogs and vegetables that were raised and grown on the dump" (Interviewee Number Twenty-three). The task force member argued that more Hollywood residents were needed on the task force, because these individuals are more familiar with the environmental problems attributed to the Hollywood Dump. A federal government worker agreed, but countered that the federal government did a "good

feasibility study on the dump while designing a top of the line clean-up protocol" (Interviewee Number Forty-six⁴⁴).

A Metropolitan Area Task Force representative said:

In 1980, a community activist wanted more Hollywood residents represented on the task force. The task force is composed of thirty-two members and only "about four residents from the affected areas are on the task force"(Press Scimitar 8-5-80). In 1981, the task force had seven people resign because they were not "allowed to participate in federal and state environmental investigations in the Memphis area"(Press Scimitar 3-30-81). Local residents and a community activist did not want the task force to be comprised of "90 percent East Memphis and the Rotary Club running the task force" (Press Scimitar 8-5-80).

According to The Technical Action Group (TAG), three things

might affect the dump now or ten years down the line:

- 1-Hollywood could become just another Superfund site with the EPA making all the decisions.
- 2-The task force could be kept in place and continue to do the bulk of the work.
- 3-It could wind up in federal court. We just might end up in front of a judge. Legally, it's a very complicated situation (Commercial Appeal 12-9-83).

The potentially responsible parties also affect policy determination. Many of the potentially responsible parties

⁴⁴ A white federal government worker who is knowledgeable of the Hollywood Dump incident replied that the dump is located in an "industrial area and it is zoned as an industrial area". He lives in Nashville and had job responsibilities to visit the dump and assess the amount of "environmental damage" from the "toxic chemicals" that were dumped in the dump. He argued that the "federal government responded to this problem based on a thorough investigation of evidence provided to them by a 'EPA field worker.'" He concluded that the "federal government agreed to do a comprehensive health study of Hollywood residents to assess the impact of contaminated chemicals on them."

accused of dumping chemicals in the Hollywood Dump were exempted from the list as guilty parties in the Hollywood Dump controversy.

Several company officials have complained they were named wrongly sometimes simply because someone said they might be a likely party or because their company was close to the site (Commercial Appeal 12-4-84).

The Hollywood residents and community activists argue that what should be done at the Hollywood Dump is the following: a comprehensive clean-up plan, a comprehensive health study done on residents who live close to the dump, and an actual date the clean-up will start.

A chemist who tested samples from the dump replied,

.... tests of samples from the old Hollywood Dump should be a cause for serious concern and prompt action by state and local authorities....I'm saying that here, in [the] Hollywood [Dump], we have between 500 and 700 pounds of stuff already on the EPA's list. And, it is sitting there fat, dumb, and happy. People in the community want to know what that means.

The synthesis of all these groups' input into the policy determination stage of the decision-making process of the Hollywood Dump controversy was like "trying to control a herd of cattle"(Interviewee Number Twenty-three) where each one has its their own "political divisive agenda"(Interviewee Number One).

"Reverend Hubon Sandridge Jr. said he always has been skeptical that a clean-up would take place, and he believes delays are 'racially motivated,' because if this had been a

white neighborhood no dumping would have taken place in the first place" (Commercial Appeal 7-20-84).

The views among Hollywood residents were that those who were active in getting the dump cleaned-up argued that Hollywood participants are "passive" (Interviewee Number Three), "apolitical" (Interviewee Number Five), and "too busy struggling in their everyday existence which overshadows health issues of the dump" (Interviewee Number Fourteen). Moreover, they feel that the city of Memphis will respond to this problem like it has in the past to problems of housing shortage, crime, economic development, redlining, police protection and rodent control" (Interviewee Number Twenty-six).

Reform Stage

A community conflict is usually solved by community elites creating a policy to address conflict. This policy is supported by the local government and corporations which network among themselves to legitimate policies that impact the cleanup of the Hollywood Dump. The community elites used their networks to disempower Hollywood residents. The community elites were protecting their political and economic interests in the Hollywood dump controversy.

The Political Disempowerment of Hollywood Residents

Networking involves making physical and verbal contact with as many people as possible who occupy decision-making positions in the community. Collaboration with a community network involves a collective group of people and organizations that form a political family. This political family symbolizes community power which encompasses a wealth of resources. These networks are formed when representatives of community elites meet at "social clubs, political campaigns, and civic functions"(Interviewee Number Three). It is through these social functions that community elites are able to enlarge their networks or become members of "specific planning boards, boards of directors, or overseers of task forces. Community elites view their networks as a family, community, or part of the old boy network" (Interviewee Number Five).

Through interlocking and networking, community elites are able to stay current on pre-decisions and post-decisions on social/environmental problems. This interlocking and networking among community elites is a form of "empowerment," because they are able to protect their political interests of specific social/environmental problems. Community elites also have expanded networks in other states as well as abroad.

The political disempowerment of Hollywood residents is exercised through elite agenda setting. In every aspect of

the decision-making process of the Hollywood Dump issue, community elites made the final decisions on the following: when a public meeting would be held, the legality of forcing the potentially responsible parties to pay their share of the clean-up costs, conducting a health study on residents who live in close proximity to the dump, including who the Hollywood residents representatives will be on the Metropolitan Environmental Task Force, and making themselves accessible to the Hollywood residents for questions about the local dump.

Agenda Setting

Policy implementation is based on community leaders having a handle on the social welfare of people in their community. These leaders are also very familiar with the resources African-Americans have to solve social problems in their community. Policy-making and policy-implementation are based on blacks' understanding the political game of past blacks who were able to make and implement policies impacting the social lives of blacks (Patterson 1974). The Hollywood Dump issue indicates that blacks' absence in the decision-making process of cleaning up the dump resulted in a delay in the remediation process of the dump.

Policy implementation, according to African-Americans, is out of their hands, because they are "excluded" before they are allowed to be "included" in the decision-making

process of garbage disposal. It is the implementation of policy by community elites that turned the south into a haven of toxic waste. Since it is a Superfund site, the community elites control the outcome of the Hollywood Dump. A local resident asserted that "since the dump is placed on the Superfund priority list for clean-up, the major decisions are in the hands of EPA officials". Another resident argued that EPA officials represent "the interests of community elites instead of Hollywood residents."

Exclusion⁴⁵ of Hollywood Residents

The mobilization of local elites around the dump resulted in "Hollywood community representatives being omitted from any plans to clean-up the dump." The Hollywood residents were excluded from the planning stages "upfront"(Interviewee Number One), which laid out all parties involved as well as the research agenda of cleaning up the Hollywood Dump.

Local elites excluded Hollywood residents from the planning and research stages of the Hollywood Dump by "having public meetings on the dump but controlling the flow of the meetings while dismissing the importance of personal

⁴⁵ "The final report by Center for Disease Control is a politically controlled document that excludes Hollywood residents from the data gathering, interpretation, and evaluation which still puts them at a disadvantaged political position similar to where they started (Interviewee Number Thirty-three).

testimonies from local residents" (Interviewee Number Two) (first dimension of power); by "including Hollywood residents on the environmental task force but not allowing them access to the original documents that explain the nuts and bolts of health and environmental studies that would be done on the dump"(Interviewee Eleven) (second dimension of power); and by "creating a political image among the groups involved that they were acting in the best interest of Hollywood residents when they were not" (Interviewee Number One) (third dimension of power).

Evidence of the exclusion of Hollywood residents is as follows: The mobilizing force of community elites delayed the comprehensive health study of Hollywood residents; EPA workers were slow in taking water and soil samples from the dump; tissue samples from the contaminated fish were put on hold; public meetings about the dump were not publicized; and the environmental task force had several members resign.

Several residents complained that "local decision-makers overlooked or by-passed their permission in releasing the reports (geological, health, and environmental) on the nature of toxics in the local dump. A local activist replied that "overall, community elites are 'playing dirty political games' by publicly announcing that Hollywood residents have a 'voice' in decisions to clean up the dump." Another grassroots activist concluded that "the purpose of the Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force was for

Hollywood residents to become active participants and have a legitimate voice in decisions made on cleaning up the Hollywood Dump."

The construction of a dominant ideology by community elites is based on the Hollywood residents' lack of "political participation" in community issues and their present exclusion from the decision-making process of cleaning up the Hollywood Dump.

Construction of Dominant Ideology

When was the dominant ideology constructed? A local resident replied that, "local elites mobilized after a concentrated group of Hollywood residents mobilized as spokespersons for the Hollywood communities". According to a local Hollywood resident, local elites joined their forces together after they found out that a few Hollywood residents would not accept "no" as an answer for having the Dump cleaned up. The local political elites strategized their political position on the cleanup of the dump at city council meetings and at public hearings on the cleanup of the dump. They talked vaguely at the meetings to confuse the Hollywood residents. If they were confronted in person or by telephone they would refer the caller to the study of the dump on file at the public library. Several Hollywood residents expressed views that the Hollywood Dump affected not only their community lifestyles but their environment

too. In return, local elites ignored the cries of the "subalterns" by not honoring or investigating any complaints and grievances they had about the toxic chemicals in the dump.

Community elites perpetuated the myth that Hollywood residents were not concerned about pollution. The community elites' myth or supposed documentation of apathy of the Hollywood residents was a driving force behind the construction of their dominant ideology of the Hollywood dump controversy. This is in line with the national studies on environmental concern (Glenn 1974-75, Rosenbaum 1977, Simon 1971). The elites argued that Hollywood residents viewed the toxic garbage in the dump as having an impact on the area's "looks" (Hershey 1977-78), and on the community, while not having the ability to link environmental "pollution" and health (Hershey 1977-78). This is not only a paternalistic perspective but the construction of a dominant ideology by community decision-makers.

A local resident said that the "political elites were cocky because of their political influence to control the dangers of the chemicals found in the dump. This can be supported by the lag time between when the chemicals were illegally dumped in the local landfill and when they reached local, state, and national attention (Interviewee Number Three).

This is not only controlling how this community conflict is solved but also how much disempowered the local residents

were in defining their own political ideology about the contaminated landfill.

The differences in how the community elites and the powerless Hollywood residents perceived the Hollywood Dump controversy may be attributed to "information control" (Gaventa 1980), "subcultural distinctiveness" (Hershey 1977-78) in consciousness, or "perceived seriousness of environmental issues" (Dunlap et al. 1992) in comparison to other social problems (crime, housing shortage, safety and police brutality). The community elites have legitimated their shaping of Hollywood residents' consciousness through media control and the "assimilation of information" (Interviewee Number Fifty⁴⁶ in the community. The local newspapers present the Hollywood Dump controversy from the top down perspective. Several local Hollywood residents offered an oppositional view of the dump rather than one blamingg the community elites. "The local newspaper reporters would come out and interview us about the dump and they would re-word our comments to support the political

⁴⁶ He is a white employee at the Department of Health. He said that the toxic chemicals at the Hollywood Dump posed no danger to residents who live around the dump. He replied that based on soil and water samples, the results of these samples were positive. "There were only three toxic chemicals in the dump that raised our eyebrows. These chemicals were heavy metals, and further studies will be done to see how much soil and water damage they did". He said that new soil will be brought to the dump to replace the contaminated soil. He also said that the wells in the area would be checked thoroughly for possible toxic contamination.

politics (Interivewee Number Five) of the local growth machine. This clearly reflects how one-sided this environmental issue has been controlled by the powers to be.

NIMBY⁴⁷ Ideology⁴⁸ Developed and Disseminated⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The demand for more rigid environmental regulations has led to structural changes that provide extra cushioning for middle class white communities while increasing the probability of unaccountability of the EPA in adequately cleaning up contaminated landfills in African-American communities. "NIMBY(not in my backyard) actions have also intensified the pressure on poor communities and communities of color from the dumping groups for polluting industries and other locally unwanted land uses (LULUs)." (Bullard 1993: 10). In other words, the developing and disseminating of the NIMBY ideology has not resulted in the decrease in siting and cleaning up of contaminated landfills in African-American communities.

⁴⁸ In the 1980s, grassroots groups became highly critical of mainstream groups, because mainstream groups were more interested in applying pressure to their elected officials in Washington, D.C. to get "certain legislation passed" which basically supported strict state environmental regulations while federal environmental regulations were watered down. Several active grassroots groups "became sharply critical of how the professionalization process (e.g., the use of professional lobbyists) undermined the organizing and mobilizing efforts so central to the community-based groups" Robert Gottlieb. 1993. Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement, pp. 202-203. See Also Bullard 1993, 1994. This is a good example of a top down ideology taking precedent over a grassroots ideology of federal laws.

⁴⁹ The NIMBY ideology is disseminated best by mainstream environmentalists being incorporated, or co-opted, by the political systems by acting as "the policy system's managers and caretakers (Gottlieb 1993: 204) while disseminating the system's ideology of environmentalism instead of advancing the goals and objectives of grassroots environmentalism.

The NIMBY movement is a movement of political and economically stable working class and middle-class white communities who lobby and pressure state, local, and federal politicians to keep toxic facilities out of their backyards. Participants in the NIMBY movement are able to get their environmental issues/concerns on the agendas⁵⁰ of community elites. Many of them are part of some of the same political networks as the ones they are supposed to be fighting against. The political clashes the NIMBY environmentalists and community elites have are minor in comparison to those faced by the participants of the anti-PIBBY (Place in Blacks Backyard) movement. The PIBBY movement is a movement within the NIMBY movement where people of color environmental grassroots activists argued that the NIMBY movement only benefitted white communities with toxic facilities in their backyards.

The NIMBY ideology is developed by the interlocking of NIMBY environmentalists and community elites. The NIMBY ideology is disseminated by NIMBY environmentalists having access to the media, printing press, influential non-profit organizations, and various other channels of information dissemination. PIBBY environmentalists/activists are limited in the same kinds of informational channels of

⁵⁰ Many of the NIMBY participants' environmental projects and community wide events are "financed" by the same polluting industries responsible for imposing environmental risks in poor and communities of color (Gottlieb 1993; Bullard 1993 ,1994, 1995).

communication which forces them to use several forms of organized resistance and informational transfer tactics.

The NIMBY ideology is also disseminated by using the "Not in anybody's backyard" philosophy. This philosophy comes across as if there is "equal distribution of environmental risks" but there is not. Many "disempowered" black communities are recipients of environmental risks due to their low voting/non-voting track record and "lack of social power" (Bullard 1993).

Pitted against one another are environmental groups, consultants, manufacturers, government agencies, politicians, and homeowners. The waste to energy companies fear the move to recycling will shut them out of the market. Scrap dealers worry that the recyclers will walk away with their business. The battery, container, and plastics producers suspect that regulation will limit their growth. And extreme environmentalists don't like the idea that somebody else might have a partial claim on the truth (Cook 1988: 172).

The political pressure that NIMBYism has put on the political structure has resulted in "unwanted toxic garbage" (Interviewee Number Fifteen⁵¹) being dumped in somebody's backyard. Many NIMBY participants are active in NIMBYism to

⁵¹ A white local politician was in favor of transporting "buried toxic chemicals at the Hollywood Dump to a legitimate registered hazardous waste landfill." He said that the clean-up process would be a "slow process," and the Hollywood residents could be "assured" that the city, county, and state governments would do everything within their power to restore the Hollywood residents' "perceptions of a safe environment." He lives in East Memphis and has a wife and two children. He was born in Memphis. His wife is very active politically in Shelby County and frequently attends meetings at a local environmental group in east Memphis.

keep toxic garbage and polluting industries out of their backyard (Bullard 1993) instead of incorporating a holistic ideology which supports no siting of hazardous facilities in anybody's backyard. In a majority of the cases, the legal and illegal dumping of hazardous garbage end up in poor powerless black communities.

The connection between NIMBYism and environmental racism is that NIMBYism does not incorporate the environmental problems of communities of color into their agenda. The political thrust behind the NIMBY ideology movement is to keep toxic facilities out of their backyards. However, these facilities end up in the "frontyards" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three) of communities of color.

Environmental Racism

White community elites in Memphis have always controlled the formal politics of black community elites and their networks. Memphis was not totally controlled by literacy tests, poll taxes and other barriers that blocked the African-American vote. African-Americans in Memphis were able to take advantage of their privileges to assimilate into the political power structure. This form of cooptive control of African-Americans by whites can be seen in the early 1900s when Blacks first voted in the Democratic primaries.

The past political ideology and "growth machine" of Memphis is still in effect today, and it is best seen in the politics of the Hollywood Dump. The decision-making process of the Hollywood Dump is controlled by "bureaucratic red tape," "political divisiveness," controlling who becomes participants on committees that address issues of the dump," and "deciding on the Third Parties who will provide their 'paid expertise' on health studies, water samples, soil samples", and "clogging up the legal process on decisions of cleaning up the dump."

Another activist argued that "the lack of political activism of Hollywood residents resulted in their community being the dumping ground for the city's toxic waste." A third activist claimed that "community elites and city planners take into consideration the racial composition of the community before they site toxic facilities, clean up toxic facilities or provide any public services for that community." Finally, a fourth activist echoed that "the Hollywood community is heavily surrounded by industries that promised to provide jobs for local residents. In most cases this idea that the local industries would provide jobs for Hollywood residents is a myth, because many of these companies hire personnel from the outside to reduce community conflict. Outsiders are perceived as politically non-threatening, since they lack political and economic stakes in the community where they are employed.

An elderly couple who live in close proximity to the dump concluded that: "city officials, local politicians and corporations think that they can dump 'filth' in our backyard, and it can go unnoticed." A local resident, who is a former resident of the Hollywood community, concluded that:

Our community is like a garbage barge. It is referred to by outsiders as 'trash', rat-infested, crime-prone, and hopeless. The suburbs refuse to be dumped on while highways are re-routed in our neighborhood to allow eighteen wheelers, pick-up trucks, flat bed trucks, and old cars to dump every waste known to man to be dumped overboard into the bottomless pit of toxic sin. That is why the attitudes of our children are negative sometimes, because they know that external forces are responsible for many of the social conditions in our neighborhoods which are not even wanted or caused by us. The entire city leaders look upon us as the 'dumping grounds' to store toxic drums, chemical plants, and old warehouses stacked with environmental explosives. This undesirable toxic facility should provide a catalyst for social/political change (Interviewee Number Fourteen).

Environmental racism is a variant of institutional racism. Environmental sociologists, academic scholars, grassroots environmental activists, Hollywood residents, and people of color in contaminated communities like Hollywood, define environmental racism as "hot spots (See Appendix A Figure 2), sacrifice zones, explosive communities, impacted communities, toxic doughnuts and toxic corridor" (Bullard 1990, 1993, 1994; Alston 1990; Goldman 1992; Arrandale 1993; Bailey et al. 1992; Bryant and Mohai 1992; Capek 1991;

Cerrell Associates 1984 and U.S. General Accounting Office 1983).

Institutional Racism⁵²

Institutional racism is not only exercised through environmental racism but also through the three dimensions of power shown in the decision-making process of the Hollywood Dump. The "uncontrolled toxic waste sites in Memphis" are known to the Memphis public, but city, state, and federal officials fail to enforce environmental protection for Hollywood residents.

Specifically, cities with large Africa-American populations--like Memphis--have the largest number of toxic sites(See Appendix B Table 7. According to the UCC's study, Memphis has the highest number of these sites of any major city in the United States with 173 uncontrolled toxic waste sites, Memphis has 312,074 African-Americans--roughly one third of the city's population--living in close proximity to this ever present danger. These sites pose an imminent health hazard for the citizens of the community on a daily basis and are a classic example of environmental racism on the grandest scale (Stern 1993: 12⁵³).

⁵² Institutional racism is "an established system of practices or precepts which promotes 'natural selection' for a specific group of individuals. The natural selection is based on race and not fitness or skill"(Interviewee Twenty-five).

⁵³ See also Bullard 1990, 1993; Bullard and Wright 1986; Capek 1983; Bryant and Mohai 1992; United Church of Christ 1987).

The perpetuation of "uncontrolled waste sites" is connected to Memphis's "growth machine" which goes back to 1930 or earlier. Informal and formal "politics of elites" define how environmental laws are enforced in communities of color.

Memphis's blacks voted in Democratic primaries early as 1900. As a matter of fact, Edward H. "Boss" Crump encouraged blacks to vote. The Black vote was an important element in his winning elections. In Memphis, the successful candidates traditionally had black support. Crump made his bid for the black vote through black political brokers who organized and controlled the black electorate of the city (Sandra Vaughn in Bullard 1989: 116; Price 1957: 31 and Tucker 1980:17).

In this classic case, the black vote was in favor of the community elite and not in the primary interest of the black community. The "Boss" Crump political machine co-opted black leaders and "bought" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three) the black vote.

The lack of "political participation, city-wide networking, and [autonomous] voting" (Interviewee Number Twenty-eight) of Hollywood residents provided a path of least resistance for polluting industries to dump illegal toxic waste in the "Hollywood Dump."

Path of Least Resistance

The south is referred to as the dumping grounds for toxic/hazardous waste (Bullard 1990, 1993; Bryant and Mohai 1992). There is evidence that the chemical and hazardous waste industries often "consider the racial and social

economic make-up of a community in deciding whether to locate a facility there" (Gilbert 1991: 9). It is not just a "coincidence" that the Hollywood community is surrounded by a landfill, chemical companies, and contaminated waterways.

That's why so many of them [chemical and hazardous waste industries] have ended up in the south. During the growth boom of the 1970s, businesses were lured to the south by the abundance of cheap labor, cheap land, and lenient environmental regulations (a lenience which explains why the southern states score worst on almost every index of environmental quality. Tennessee, for example, generates more hazardous waste per capita than any other state in the Union) (Gilbert 1991: 9).

The perception and practice of black communities as a path of least resistance to dump toxic chemicals in a garbage landfill supports the PIBBY's ideology.

Place in Blacks Back Yard (PIBBY)

The Hollywood community, like many black communities in the United States is affected by a "double whammy"⁵⁴. Not only are they living in a poor community, but they also live with the environmental risks of a contaminated landfill.

⁵⁴ "Persons of color living in contaminated areas are often victims of a double whammy in that they are exposed to elevated risks, while at the same time they often have problems getting access to health and medical facilities" Robert D. Bullard 1993. Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots, p.10. See also Bullard and Wright 1986, 1987 and 1992. Landfills in black communities are being cleaned up but at slow rates, and very little economic compensation is provided to restructure the physical and social fabrics of these communities.

Also, a disproportionate number of polluting industries are commercially zoned⁵⁵ in the Hollywood community.

Hollywood residents, like other residents in toxic communities "struggling against environmental racism," are questioning the bureaucratic blockages of the local, state, and federal government in excluding African-Americans from participating in the decision-making process of cleaning up toxic facilities in their backyards.

[Hollywood residents] looked directly at the relationships among class, race, political power, and the exposure to environmental hazards. They thus rejected conventional NIMBYism (Not In My Backyard campaigns). They refused to say "not in my backyard" without questioning or caring about whose backyard the problem ended up in. In addition to asking "why in my backyard?" they insisted that such hazards should not be located in anyone's backyard (Bullard 1993: 54).

A couple of Hollywood residents argued that the dumping of illegal toxic garbage in their backyard was a "political ploy"(Interviewee Number Three) of the local "political machine"(Interviewee Number Five) to distribute the "social

⁵⁵ Middle-class white communities escape the double whammy syndrome, and many whites fail to fully comprehend the holistic racial biases of institutional policies that keep black communities environmentally disastrous, economically bankrupt, and politically disenfranchised. White communities escape being victims of having contaminated landfills in their backyard "by virtue of where they are located and who lives there. Few dirty industries are proposed for wealthy areas such as [Germantown and Cordova]. Zoning is the chief device for regulating land use. However, exclusionary zoning practices have provided benefits for whites at the expense of people of color" Robert D. Bullard. 1993. Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots, p.10. See also Bullard 1990, 1994 and 1995.

good" that a "silent society" will not and, "cannot, fight City Hall."

The top down perspective of the Hollywood Dump controversy provides a "structural picture" of this social problem which reflects the "political policy-making gatekeeping" (Interviewee Number Twenty-seven) of politicians, government officials, polluting industries and Third Parties. The next chapter provides a bottom-up perspective of the Hollywood Dump controversy. Hollywood residents are perceived by community elites and mainstream policy-makers as un-structuctural, apolitical, and lacking the collective resistance to solve a community problem. The following chapter contests this oversimplified, unidimensional view.

CHAPTER FOUR

VIEWING THE PROBLEM FROM THE BOTTOM UP

The Natural History of the Hollywood Dump

The emergence of the Hollywood Dump as a community problem can be observed also from the vantage point of the residents' background information of the problem, how they became aware of this community problem as a social problem, the role of residents in affecting policies to address this problem, and those actions that Hollywood residents used to enforce the policies made to clean-up the dump.

Background

In 1977 several Hollywood residents and community activists began to raise questions about the illegal dumping of toxic chemicals in the dump that polluted the community. These chemicals produced "foul odors-like a rotten egg smell" (Interviewee Number Three) at "dusk, after 1 a.m., and after a heavy rainstorm" (Interviewee Number Five). Next, there were "outbreaks of illnesses among several Hollywood residents, for example: "persistent headaches, nosebleeds, skin rashes, and even a couple of mysterious deaths" (Interviewee Number One). Then, there were a few residents who became "ill from eating fish from the Wolf River" (Interviewee Number Eleven). Some residents who

lived close to the Hollywood Dump observed "plants dying in their yards, crops [fruits and vegetables] not growing in their personal gardens, and neighborhood dogs loosing bodily hair and acting sickly or strange." Finally, through the "activism" of grassroots activists, they were able to link these health and environmental problems to the toxic chemicals at the dump.

Local Hollywood residents argued that politicians, government officials, and corporate representatives had amnesia when it comes to discussing how the toxic chemicals ended up in the Hollywood Dump. They used "Ronald Reagan's trickle down theory of passing the buck or blame to someone else. Better yet, they never disclosed all the pieces to the toxic Hollywood Dump puzzle" (Interviewee Number Three). Many of the residents did not have any written official information on the dump, but they had "notes written down in their bibles, diaries, almanacs, or scratch pads" (Interviewee Number Five). This kind of information are examples of indigenous field notes.

A respondent said that the "background information we have on the dump is remembered best when we recall ... several neighbors getting ill all at once, which we believed was caused by the toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump"(Interviewee Number One). Another respondent said that the background of the dump is best described as follows:

Urban planners, ecologists and developers are blind when it comes to addressing the needs and interests of black folks. I think these people believe that black folks love over-crowding housing conditions, poor sanitation, toxic facilities, and chemical companies in their backyard. These negative perceptions of black folks are embedded in their memory bank, urban research scheme, planning decisions, conversations, environmental policies, and zoning practices. These dark, gloomy perceptions determine the physical spacing and zoning of residential neighborhoods and corporate corridors. In our community we live side by side. For example, we can walk out our front door and within 100 to 200 feet we are at the doorsteps of a company that releases toxic fumes or is responsible for dumping hazardous chemicals at the Hollywood Dump. On the other hand, we can walk out our back door and within 100 feet be somewhere close to the local dump. How can these community leaders make these false assumptions or accusations about us which means to us that these stereotypical meanings are ingrained in their value system? (Interviewee Number Four).

These respondents are conclude that they have learned through experience that city planners and other government/corporate officials make decisions about the Hollywood community based on assumptions, false pretense and no "real contact"(Interviewee Number Two) or "cultural understanding"(Interviewee Number 13) of the Hollywood residents.

Community Awareness Stage

Once the residents became aware that the Hollywood Dump was contaminated, many of them reflected back to their earlier years of playing on the dump site, eating fruit from the dump site, eating fish from the Wolf River that was contaminated by the dump, and the closeness of the school to

the dump. All of this reflection served as a catalyst that triggered some community response. The awareness of the Hollywood Dump as a community problem links the Hollywood residents community to broader problems that legitimize the Hollywood Dump issue as a "struggle against environmental racism." The connection among race, class, politics and environmental degradation provides the platform that describes and explains the bottom-up view of this social problem:

Our housing conditions not only reflect the impact of environmental degradation but the lack of financial stability of local residents. Many of us are working class individuals or senior citizens on a fixed income. ... Both groups share strict economic budgets and little, if any, accessibility to health care. There is a clinic or two in the neighborhood, but the services they provide are limited. Many of us suffer in silence, because we feel that we will get well by 'God's Grace' over man-made medicine. Our extra money is used to buy 'extras' for our children and grandchildren. These extras include a pair of fancy shoes, tickets to a concert, or a night out at the movies.... We feel like we are encaged in an "urban desert" with only "toxic water" to drink..... Some of our children attend colleges/universities in other cities in hope of pulling themselves and their families out of this neighborhood (Interviewee Number Eighteen).

Policy Determination Stage

The Hollywood residents have not been allowed to be "full partners" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three) in the decision-making process of the Hollywood Dump. The Hollywood residents were not "full partners" due to fear of

"discovering why the illegal toxic chemicals" (Interviewee Number Twelve) were dumped in the local dump. "Government officials" (Interviewee Number Forty-nine³³) and "polluting industries' representatives hid behind excuses and scientifically flawed data to keep the residents at a distance and to keep them from asking probing questions" (Interviewee Number Seven).

The exclusion of Hollywood residents from the policy determination stage provide "grounds for a political cover-up" (Interviewee Number Thirty-four). The Hollywood residents and grassroots activists from the Hollywood community had a right to assist in deciding on the financial costs of cleaning up the dump. The grassroots activists from the Hollywood community developed an active decision-making role with the Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force and the Technical Action Group. The role the Hollywood grassroots activists developed with these two groups allowed them to decline the selection of Third Parties in providing "expert opinions" about health/environmental issues of the Hollywood Dump. The local grassroots activists from the Hollywood community tried to keep the community elites from

³³ A white official at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta, Georgia said that the reason CDC took control of the Hollywood Dump clean-up project was to make sure it was done properly to satisfy the grievances filed by a few Hollywood residents. He said that at first it seemed like the agency was dragging their feet, but this was due to priorities given to other "toxic clean-up" sites in the United States at the time. He was born in Atlanta, Georgia.

dominating the entire decision-making process of cleaning up the dump which included: allowing only privileged community elites to design, assess and evaluate the comprehensive health study done on Hollywood residents; allowing only privileged individuals to have a say on choosing the control³⁴ and experimental groups for the comprehensive health study; allowing only privileged individuals to act as a liaison between their community and all other parties involved in making sure the dump get cleaned up; allowing only privileged individuals to build a community outreach relationship with the polluting industries; and allowing only privileged individuals to establish a professional working relationship with EPA officials in Atlanta, Georgia and Washington, D.C. to address, discuss and educate Hollywood residents on the environmental laws of cleaning up a superfund site. The local activists had these roles with the community elites but the Hollywood residents did not have a relationship with community elites.

³⁴ Some Hollywood residents argued that the control group chosen for the comprehensive health study for the Hollywood community was "exposed to environmental risks in their neighborhood" (Interviewee Number Four) which discredited this neighborhood as a feasible "control group"(Commercial Appeal 8-25-84). A control group must be free of those potential risks that are key environmental risks in the experimental group.

Reform Stage

Several local residents and grassroots activists wanted federal government officials, local politicians, and responsible corporations to take a course of action such as the following:

To put a fence around the Hollywood Dump in order to keep children from playing on this contaminated area, to gain access and representation on the health task force, to put a private citizen from the Hollywood community on the Technical Action Group (TAG) committee, to close the playgrounds at the Chicago Park Elementary School, to take samples from the playground, Wolf River, underground wells, oxbow lake, abandoned dredge pond, and analyze them thoroughly, to possibly relocate local residents while EPA officials studied the local dump, for the EPA to share the findings from the studies with the community, to have regular public meetings on the progress of the studies being done at the dump, to test the tissue of the fish from the contaminated river, to do a comprehensive health study of people in the Hollywood community, to set up a longitudinal plan to track potential health dangers that may be attributed to the landfill, to insist that corporations responsible for dumping toxic chemicals in the dump pay attention to environmental, psychological and health dangers, to put the dump on the superfund list to be cleaned up (Interviewees Numbers Three, Five, Two, Twenty-one, Seven, Fourteen, Twelve, Thirteen, Four, One, Ten, Eight, Sixteen, Seventeen, Nineteen, Twenty-two, Twenty-three, Twenty-four, Twenty-five and Twenty-six).

Several Hollywood residents and grassroots activists comprised the "core group" that challenged community elites, politicians, and polluting industries to cleanup the dump. Even though these residents became players in the decision-

making process of cleaning up the dump, they had to fight politically to empower themselves.

The Political Empowerment of Hollywood Residents

The local residents demanded that the Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force be legitimate and a "liaison between the community and EPA" (Press Scimitar 8-5-80) as a collective representative of the health/environmental concerns of local residents concerning the toxic chemicals in the dump. A community activist demanded that a "private citizen representative" be put on TAG (Press Scimitar 10-3-81). Hollywood residents needed to be informed and knowledgeable about how technicians test and evaluate toxic chemicals in contaminated landfills. A county administrator³⁵ supported one Hollywood representative being on TAG but no more.

"Victims have a right to know what's going on... who for years have complained of unusual health problems they believe are caused by toxic chemicals near them (Press Scimitar 10-3-81). A grassroots activist tries to get a local school (Chicago Park Elementary School) playground closed due to being "contaminated with high levels of toxic

³⁵This administrator argued that this one representative "fills a public participation function" and the EPA has the responsibility "to keep the public adequately advised" about the health/environmental problems at the dump (Press Scimitar 10-3-81).

chemicals" (Commercial Appeal 1-11-82). In 1982, a grassroots activist demanded that a fence be built around the Cypress Sump due to "elevated levels of hazardous chemicals found there" (Commercial Appeal 3-11-82). In 1981, Hollywood residents and community activists criticized the cost of the comprehensive study on the impact of hazardous chemicals at the dump.

Formation of Critical Consciousness

The formation of a critical consciousness by indigenous Hollywood residents is within their "silent screaming"³⁶ and only those experiencing their worldly sensitivities are able to bond with them in "holy sisterhood/brotherhood" (Interviewee Number Five). The formation of a critical consciousness among Hollywood residents took place during their political empowerment strategies as described in the previous section. After much "talk" about the "seriousness" of the toxic/hazardous chemicals in the local dump, grassroots activists were able to generate a critical

³⁶"Silent screaming refers to the process of powerless people talking to community leaders, but these leaders refuse to hear their complaints, concerns, grievances, and cries. It is when local black folk confront businesses, government, and corporate officials, and they put up barriers to soften the risks of the community problems presented. Silent screaming occurs when local residents report their community problems to government enforcement agencies (e.g. EPA and Health Departments), and they turn their backs, so the echo of the screams bounce off their backs which is a form of not connecting complaints with the responsible party" (Interviewee Number 22).

consciousness in a few Hollywood residents concerning the tremendous impact the toxic chemicals would have not only on the health of the Hollywood residents, but also of the environmental effects on the neighborhood. A few residents began "thinking seriously about the long-term dangers of the chemicals" (Interviewee Number Seventeen) on the local residents and their environs.

For chemicals with long histories of causing health problems, such as lead or cadmium, we know what the parameters are. We know when an exposure level is going to cause problems. With some of the chemicals we're dealing with here, we don't have the markers... We don't know what a tolerance level is, for example, or a danger level (Commercial Appeal 3-26-81).

Definition of Common Risk³⁷

Earlier Hollywood residents did not fear the dump, because it had "permanent roots in the community." A longtime resident of the community who lives close to the dump, concluded that the Hollywood Dump has been in this community just as long as residents have been living there.

The definition of a "common risk" by Hollywood residents is associated with the common grievances they had about the Hollywood Dump.

³⁷Common risk is connected with those "issues of disproportionate risk" (Gottlieb 1993:266) that defines "environmental racism in communities of color" (Bullard 1990, 1993, 1994; Bryant and Mohai 1992; Bullard and Wright 1987).

What's really involved...is that for 40 years or so water has been seeping through the site presumably toward the Memphis Sands (the city's drinking water source). Unless you remove (wastes) from the site there's no way to prevent continued seepage...toward our drinking water supply (Commercial Appeal 6-20-84).

Grievances were the sparks that motivated grassroots activists to address a social/environmental problem. Many grassroots activists were approached with grievances by local residents in their community who encouraged them to act or to mobilize people to address the mentioned grievances. The grievances might be about redlining, gentrification, residential segregation, or illegal dumping of toxic chemicals in a local landfill. The following is a description of grievances concerning the Hollywood Dump.

Two elderly men who live across the street from the local landfill witnessed two men dumping 55 gallon barrels from a truck. The dumping of these drums had occurred for a few years. About five years later, these two elderly men heard a rumor that toxic chemicals were being dumped in the landfill. They also read in the paper that many local residents were complaining about the foul odor coming from the landfill. These elderly men also witnessed many of their neighbors complaining about burning eyes, itchy throats, headaches, dizziness and nausea.

The elderly men were still skeptical of the rumor surrounding the landfill until two families in the neighborhood consistently reported to the media that their

two children became ill as a result of the Hollywood Dump. Community interest increased as residents talked to their neighbors about the potential public health dangers of the Hollywood Dump. It took an outcry concerning the health and welfare of children and families before the community responded. More local residents became interested and involved in this community issue, because the local government and health officials failed to legitimize the grievances concerning the potential dangers of the local landfill. The two elderly men, and several other local residents, supported the local protest group that emerged around this social/environmental problem.

A second factor that led to the grievances gaining communal support was that the local government, EPA, corporate representatives and health officials denied that any environmental or health risks were associated with the Hollywood Dump. In other communities in the United States facing similar environmental threats as this one, the residents organized and mobilized to achieve environmental justice.

Community leaders, government representatives, and corporate spokespersons lied to these communities concerning the seriousness of toxics at a toxic facility (e.g. canal, landfill, contaminated river etc.). The community elites and others refused to discuss this social issue and dragged their feet when asked to come out to the community, get soil

and water samples, and analyze them. They also would not release any information on the daily activities at the landfill or on what kinds of waste were being deposited in the Hollywood Dump. Hollywood residents reported that not only were the community elites rude to them about inquiring about the local dump but also treated them as if they were ignorant of the Freedom of Information Act.

A third, and critical factor, that enhanced the grievances of the landfill was race. Many of the Hollywood residents thought they were victims of environmental racism/injustice. "Environmental racism/injustice considers ways in which environmental problems impact racial and ethnic minorities and poor differentially, the causes of this discrimination, and solutions" (Laska 1993: 8). These residents concluded that their community was "targeted as a dumping ground for toxic/hazardous waste, because they were perceived as racially and politically powerless." These residents concluded that "disposing garbage "at the dump was enough, but when toxic chemicals were being dumped at the Hollywood Dump it posed a "serious public health and environmental danger."

The common risks associated with the Hollywood Dump should have been grounds for an earlier cleanup date than was proposed by EPA and the city of Memphis. After U.S. EPA and the State of Tennessee agreed that the first phase

of the clean-up of the dump would start the summer of 1984, the Hollywood residents were not overly excited.

The feelings about Hollywood in the community are deep-seated, like the tons of hazardous waste buried beneath the dump and much like the controversies that have hung over it (Commercial Appeal 6-20-84).

The Hollywood residents had worried for about three and a half to four years which, indicates that the "flame of community mobilization" was only a slow beginning to community activism.

Many Hollywood residents provided the following responses about the environmental risks associated with the local dump: "The toxic chemicals from the dump, and those fumes released in the air by local industries, create a hazy veil in the early morning hours"(Interviewee Number Nineteen³⁸). An interviewee commented about the dump as follow:

I have a grandmother who lives a mile from the dump and she told him stories about the activities that went on at the landfill. For example, hog breeding, the planting of vegetables and fruits at the landfill, and children who used it as a playground. The dump is perceived by me and others as a 'vacant business establishment'. At one time, it served a positive purpose for the community, but now it is a 'disaster area'".

³⁸ He is a 35 year old man who works at a trucking company in town. He has lived in three different communities in Memphis but is presently living in the Hollywood community. He has been divorced for two years and he lives three miles from the local dump.

The "contaminated river in the neighborhood is the breeding ground for rodents...This is a public health problem" (Interviewee Number Twenty-three³⁹). An interviewee describes his business relationship at the dump.

[I] used to sell [my] crops at the dump for decent wages to put food on [my] table. He replied that he never knew of any dangers associated with the landfill. He recalled that part of the dump was used to bargain fresh crops among many groups of farmers. If these crops were bad, there were many Memphians buying them and small store owners too.

The "lack of enforcement of environmental laws by EPA leads to potentially responsible parties who dumped toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump" (Interviewee Number Twenty-five⁴⁰). An interviewee argued that the City of Memphis did

³⁹ He is a retired farmer and has lived in the Hollywood community for 15 years. He is 62 years old and has been married twice. He and his wife are in bad health, and they are at home a majority of the time sitting on the front porch, "taking it easy." His wife has been married twice also. They attend church occasionally, and they have ten grandchildren between the two marriages.

⁴⁰ He is a middle age single man. He swears he reads all the newspaper stories about the dump. He argued that the local newspapers only printed a study that supported the "local political establishment" and "down-plays the seriousness" of the toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump. He argued that the people have lived around the dump for years, and they are tired of talking to strangers about the dump. He said that the city of Memphis claims they sent people out to do house-to-house health surveys, but he said they did not show up. Even if they did, they still took their time in doing a comprehensive assessment of the toxic chemicals buried in the dump. He lives two and a half miles from the dump.

not send people out to do house-to-house health surveys in the Hollywood community.

He argued that the people have lived around the dump for years, and they are tired of talking to strangers about the dump. He said that the city of Memphis claims they sent people out to do house-to-house health surveys, but he said they did not show up. Even if they did, they still took their time in doing a comprehensive assessment of the toxic chemicals buried in the dump.

The "failure of ignoring basic sanitation standards resulted in poor health problems of local residents in years to come" (Interviewee Number Twenty-Six⁴¹). This interviewee described how she was naive about the dangers of the landfill.

[I] was ignorant about the 'real dangers' of a landfill. She said that there were people in the community complaining about 'nose bleeds, itchy throats, consistent coughs, headaches, watery eyes etc. ... She recalls the neighborhood as having a peculiar or strange odor after heavy thunder storms. She replied that Memphis is known for having rainfalls that can last up to a week. She is single and lives a mile from the dump. She was born on Hollywood Street.

This improperly designed, accident-prone garbage tank released toxic substances that changed the ph-level in the Wolf River, stripped the paint off our houses and killed fruits and vegetables in our personal gardens" (Interviewee

⁴¹ She recalls the commotion over the dump in the mid 70s, and said that the city paid no attention to the complaints of the residents. She said that the health officials would not act unless they had real information.

Number Twenty-seven⁴²). An interviewee recalled how city officials treated them like they were not knowledgeable about the dangers of the chemicals found buried at the dump.

The city officials came across like they were the 'experts', and the local residents were the 'non-experts'. He replied, we were the ones affected by the toxic chemicals at the dump, not city officials. Many of us thought that getting the dump cleaned up was an uphill battle.

"We know by personal observations, and not by pseudo-government reports, that the pollution connected with the contaminated dump generated health problems....bronchitis, migraine headaches, nosebleeds, emphysema, lung problems and a drastic change in one's personality" (Interviewee Number Twenty-nine⁴³). This interviewee remarked that the dump has left a permanent scare on their neighborhood.

The dump has 'scarred' our neighborhood for years to come. She believes that 'her children will have to actively erase the negative impact the dump put on their neighborhood. She refers to her

⁴² He is 29 years old and recalled the public meetings on the dump as useless. He attended a couple of meetings and concluded that city officials treated the Hollywood residents like they were dumb. He lives two and a half miles from the dump and he is single. He has a co-worker that lives a half mile from the dump.

⁴³ She is 50 years old and lives six miles from the local dump. She said that "eventhough I live six miles from the dump, I still feel the same way about the dump as those who live right next door to it. She has never been married and she works at a restaurant in downtown Memphis.

neighborhood as an extension of downtown Memphis. This includes: 'industries built on cheap land, cheap houses, crime and the control of the neighborhood by politicians, businessmen and crooks'. She raises the question--who do you think owns and operates the Hollywood Dump?

"Not only does the dump in our backyard create environmentally bodily risks, but the sewers are clogged continuously, and raw sewage is released into the Wolf River where the local residents fish and swim for recreational purposes. The underground wells are full of poisonous contaminants" (Interviewee Seventeen⁴⁴). This interviewee argued that there is positive relationship between the toxic chemicals found at the dump and health problems reported by Hollywood residents.

She recalls of hogs being raised on the dump by a local black farmer. He sold these hogs to several local businesses throughout Memphis. She concluded that there is a relationship between public health problems of local residents and the Hollywood Dump. She argues that the tests that were done on a few residents did not produce positive results because the residents had encountered additional health problems due to aging and lifestyles. She had many newspaper articles on the Hollywood Dump.

The "contaminated chemicals in the dump seep herbicides and insecticides into the underground wells" (Interviewee Number

⁴⁴ She is a retired city employee. She was born in Little Rock, Arkansas. She moved to Memphis in 1971 with a few extended kin (Grandmother, great aunt/uncle and a great grandfather). They moved to North Memphis and her great grandfather died a year later in 1972 of natural death. In 1973, they bought a house about a mile and a quarter away from the Hollywood Dump.

Sixteen⁴⁵). An interviewee referred to the dump as an economic incentive for city planners and as a financial burden for Hollywood residents.

The Hollywood Dump is a 'symbol of economic stagnation'. Urban depression, poverty, and unemployment can be linked to communities that are plagued with a garbage dump. Economics is important in the decisions to site a garbage dump, but racial powerlessness is an underlying variable too. He believes that the dump provided tax subsidies for the local leaders who planned an undeveloped North Memphis.

Another interviewee responded in a similar manner:

I have kept up with Hollywood Dump controversy, and there are tons of toxic substances associated with the dump (DDT, heavy metals, mercury and lead). These chemicals screw up the brain

⁴⁵ He was born in Birmingham, Alabama and his family moved to Memphis in 1951. He thought Birmingham was a "battle field" of segregated human beings. Memphis has its own problems but not as bad as Birmingham. He recalled when the "racial barriers" fell in Memphis in the mid to late 1960s, and many department stores, theaters, restaurants, and bar counters opened their doors to black customers. "It seems like we have 'jumped that hurdle', and now garbage dumps are sited disproportionately in black communities." He lives ten blocks from the local dump, and he is a retired janitor of a private company.

kidneys (Interviewee Thirty-Three⁴⁶). See Appendix B Tables 4 and 5).

The "local residents who live the closest to the dump breathe in enough environmentally damaging toxics that is equivalent to smoking five to six packages of cigarettes a day or five cigars day....Not only are the lungs deteriorating yearly but other bodily organs as well" (Interviewee Number Twenty-Eight⁴⁷). Several Hollywood residents are quiet about the dump because they felt that the city of Memphis will not do anything about the dump while some politicians are vocal about the dump when it is beneficial for them.

⁴⁶ A black politician said that the Hollywood Dump was a very "complicated issue to comprehend." He said that there are "too many people involved in this issue which makes it difficult to find a core cooperative group. He said that the Hollywood residents were cooperative, but governmental officials were "exercising closed lips" on this issue. He replied that normally people are told to go and talk to "such and such" and that person sends you to somebody else which is a "run around." He argues that the Hollywood Dump has a "history that reaches back to 1977 and possibly earlier." He concluded that many local politicians "deal with the Hollywood Dump issue while they were in public office, otherwise it was a mute issue." He lives in the county.

⁴⁷ She is 45 years old and has been pessimistic about issues surrounding the Hollywood Dump. She replied, "I felt that local residents were at a 'political disadvantage' from the inception of this problem". She lives five miles from the dump, but she has a grandmother that lives a mile and a half from the dump. She has lived in the area for about ten years. Her connection to the dump is through her grandmother.

She argued that black politicians kept quiet about the Hollywood Dump, and white politicians only talked about the dump when they were interviewed by newspaper reporters. She said it was like a 'hidden mystery', and only a few people knew those industries that were dumping toxic garbage in the dump.

The "trucks that transport the toxic chemicals to the local dump release carbon monoxide" (Interviewee Number Eighteen⁴⁸). Carbon monoxide is a health risk, because it causes dizziness, headaches and a reduction in mental alertness. Too much exposure to carbon monoxide damages thinking ability and mental perception (See Appendix B, Table 6).

The "pollution associated with the Hollywood Dump are sulfur oxides that will create continuous coughing. (Interviewee Twenty-four⁴⁹). According to one interviewee,

⁴⁸ She was born in Tupelo, Mississippi. "I moved to Memphis when I was a little kid. I cannot remember the exact year. I refer to Memphis as home, because I felt more welcome here than in Mississippi. I still have flashbacks about my family's rough times in 'backwards' racist Mississippi. My family is oriented toward the church, and we ask God to fight our battles for us... She lives two and a half miles from the dump, and she was active in getting the garbage picked up on Peres Street. Her husband died five years ago and she is single but her grandchildren comes to stay with her two weekends out of a month.

⁴⁹ He is a working class man who is married and has three children. He attended some of the public and private meetings on the Hollywood Dump, but his mother was more active with this problem than he was. He said that he worked weird hours and swing shifts which kept him from doing anything much with his family. His wife organized and operated the household, and he provided the bread to put on the table. His income was enough to provide a fairly decent living for his family. He believed that the "lack of

pollution "produces an evil spirit in a person. This interviewee also concluded that:

The Hollywood Dump is the work of the devil and all its followers. Many local black folks have given up on the city of Memphis doing anything productive about the dump. There are some people who view the dmp as a 'community landmark' while others refuse to acknowlege its presence. She remembered media coverage of the dump, and she said that the city had to receive outside political presssure before they accepted the dump as an environmental threat to the residents who lived close to this 'hazardous hell hole'.

"Risks associated with the neighborhood dump are nitrogen oxides which cause lung problems and pneumonia (Interviewee Number Thirty-five⁵⁰) (See Appendix B, Table 6).

The "environmental problems of the dump are

involvement in the Hollywood Dump issue was due to many black folks having other serious problems to cope with...Black folks in this neighborhood did not see the Hollywood Dump issue as an immediate danger... They exert their energies toward putting food on the table."

⁵⁰ He was born in Tunica, Mississippi and moved to Memphis in 1961. His father was a farmer in Mississippi and in Memphis, and he himself was a farmer for about seven years. He quit being a farmer and was drafted into the army for five years before returning home. Instead of doing farm work, he took a job in a metal factory where he worked until now. He works part-time at this metal factory. He lives about four miles from the dump. He has church members and former co-workers who live very close to the dump. He argued that "there was a communication problem between Hollywood residents and government/corporate personnel." He remembered when "reporters and other so-called important people came out to talk to people in North Memphis about the dump, and these people felt uneasy about our language, slang..." On the other hand, "we felt like we could talk to them with no problems." Finally, he said that "we trusted them, but that was a mistake because they capitalized on this 'hypered' problem and we ended up loosing..."

hydrocarbons which create a cloudy sky (Interviewee Number Thirty-Six⁵¹). The environmental/health risks associated with the dump created some communication problems and a lack of involvement among the Hollywood residents. An interviewee responded as follow:

there was a communication problem between Hollywood residents and government/corporate personnel. He remembered when reporters and other so-called important people came out to talk to people in North Memphis about the dump, and these people felt uneasy about our language, slang... On the other hand, we felt we could talk to them with no problems. Finally, he said that we trusted them, but that was a mistake because they capitalized on this 'hypered' problem and we ended up loosing...

Another respondent concluded that:

[I] believed that the 'lack of involvement in the Hollywood Dump issue was due to many black folks having serious problems to cope with...Black folks in this neighborhood did not see the Hollywood Dump issue as an immediate danger...They exert their energies toward putting food on the table.

⁵¹ A black politician who lives in South Memphis said that the toxic chemicals dumped in the Hollywood Dump "were not an act of God but planned strategically." He mentioned that the layout of the Hollywood community raised "political questions" since half of the community is "zoned for industrial use, and the other half is zoned for residential living." He perceived the Hollywood community as an "economically and politically speechless community." He concluded that the Hollywood Dump contributed to the other 450 toxic sites in Memphis and the Mid-South."...However, the Hollywood Dump stands out as a "manhole of hazardous hot spots."... What is needed is "follow-up environmental and health studies for the next twenty years."

The "groundwater wells in the area are contaminated with pesticides (endrin) and chlordane⁵² which cause vomiting and heart problems. Their environmental effects are damaging to the reproductive system of fish and mammals (Interviewee Number Twenty-two⁵³).

The local activists explained why the Hollywood Dump posed a problem to the Hollywood community. One activist concluded that "the local dump had been in the community for so long that it was perceived as an environmental threat."

Twenty local residents referred to their black community as a "toxic burial ground."

The risks associated with the dump are also important in understanding the physical layout of the dump and the history of midnight dumping at the dump. One respondent said:

⁵² "Although they [PCBs and Chlordane] were banned in the 1970s, these chemicals remain in the environment for long periods of time and often arrive in waterways attached to sediment particles" (Riverchat 1995: 2).

⁵³ She is a forty-nine year old woman who has lived in the Hollywood community for thirty-five years. She is separated from her husband but they visit each other frequently. Her grandchildren come to visit her weekly and the mother of the grandchildren lives in South Memphis. According to her, the Hollywood Dump story is about a group of ordinary residents who supported a "neighborhood leader to restore a clean Wolf-River, fresh breathing air and the unlawful dumping of garbage on back streets in our community. We wanted the mid-night and day-time dumping to stop, and we solicited some organizations to help us do this." She mentioned that there was a large segment of the community who did not care what happened at the dump at all.

The layout of the Hollywood community raised 'political questions' since half of the community is zoned for industrial use, and the other half is zoned for residential living. He perceived the Hollywood community as an economically and politically speechless community. He concluded that the Hollywood Dump contributed to the other 450 toxic sites in Memphis and the Mid-South....However, the Hollywood Dump stands out as a 'manhole of hazardous hot spots'....What is needed is follow-up environmental and health studies for the next twenty years.

Another respondent said:

The Hollywood Dump story is about a group of ordinary residents who supported a neighborhood leader to restore a clean Wolf River, fresh breathing air and the unlawful dumping of garbage of garbage on back streets in our community. We wanted the mid-night and day-time dumping to stop, and we solicited some organizations to help us do this. She mentioned that there was a large segment of the community who did not care what happened at the dump at all.

The common risks associated with the Hollywood Dump were discredited by community elites as a "cultural myth." The city of Memphis, and state and federal officials reduced the health impact of these risks to "life styles"⁵⁴ of Hollywood residents. The community elites constructed an

⁵⁴ In other words, they attributed the health problems of Hollywood residents to the way they lived, residential conditions, the food they eat, and the lack of exercise. They failed to see that the life chances of Hollywood residents were determined by the planning of the neighborhood, zoning of polluting industries in the neighborhood, and the exclusion of Hollywood residents on decision-making boards to impact decisions made about the air they breathe.

"ideological myth"⁵⁵ (Interviewee Number Thirty-three) concerning the Hollywood residents that portrayed the residents as "victims" of their own communal circumstances instead of a community "innocently"⁵⁶ impacted by illegal toxic dumping of chemicals by the city of Memphis and polluting industries. The community elites were the ones who defined the enviromental/health problems associated with the dump. They did not want the Hollywood residents to define these problems themselves or have influence over their definition of this situation. The Hollywood grassroots activists challenged the hegemonic influence of community elites on the Hollywood Dump controversy by construting an alterate ideology.

⁵⁵ The city of Memphis, state, and federal officials defined the toxicity of the chemicals as not causing environmental and health problems for Hollywood residents (Commercial Appeal 9-24-82; Commercial Appeal 11-18-81). For example, why does water contamination have to reach a certain standard-- for instance 40 parts per billion (ppb)-- in one contaminated community to be considered an environmental/health risk as compared to another contaminated community which has a lower standard (e.g. 30 ppb)? The U.S.EPA findings on the toxicity of toxic chemicals at the Hollywood Dump indicated that these chemicals posed no serious health dangers for the Hollywood residents.

⁵⁶ The Hollywood residents were innocent by-standers in the illegal pollution oozing from the Hollywood Dump. Also, the community elites failed to discuss the lack of accessibility to health care services and doctors who refused to treat Hollywood residents on fixed incomes and receiving Medicare or Medicaid. "The community elites do not want to be held accountable for planning and zoning the Hollywood community in the middle of a 'toxic/hazardous meltdown'" (Interviewee Number Thirty).

Construction of Alternate Ideology

The ideology of the Hollywood residents advocating them seeking community protection from the environmental degradation caused by the toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump. A grassroots activist argued that the contaminated dump impacted the following things in their community:

"well water, fish in the Wolf River, drinking water, fishing hole, playground, homegrown fruits and vegetables, fresh air, and our property values."

Another grassroots activist remarked that he "spoke at several organizations" in Memphis to "publicize and inform outsiders" that the Hollywood Dump posed an environmental and public health threat to Hollywood residents. He said that very few people at these organizations took him "seriously."

An interviewee provided a personal story concerning the dump which indicated his lack of knowledge of the potential harm of the Hollywood landfill:

...when [my] father started the family grocery store back in 1939, nobody thought much about the dump two blocks away (TVA Annual Report 1980: 55).

This interviewee was an activist for the cleanup of the Hollywood Dump and assisted in organizing the Hollywood residents to "fight" to get the dump cleaned up. However, as a child he was not aware of the dump's possible harm.

Several residents and grassroots activists began to construct an ideology of the dump which differed from that of community elites. They were able to incorporate this ideology into an environmental justice framework. Many residents, and this activist in the Hollywood community, concluded that they used to "eat rotten apples off the top of [the dump] and played around it and on it as a kid" (TVA Annual Report 1980: 55). He was able to see the dump go through a transformation from being a part of the community to an environmental and health risk for residents in the Hollywood community.

A grassroots activist provided the following grievance:

The struggle against environmental racism is an uphill battle, because all the politics of the Hollywood Dump are controlled by community elites who use overt and covert political strategies and tactics to keep African-Americans away from the decision-making process of cleaning up the contaminated Hollywood Dump (Interviewee Number Six).

One respondent said:

I am a lifetime resident of this community, and I observed the physical and latitudinal effects of the dump. The local soil has slowly been contaminated by industrial waste. Compounding the danger of ground water pollution and vaporization is the reluctance of the North Hollywood residents to combat the problem that poses such immediate threat to their health" (TVA Annual Report 1980:55).

Undesirable/Unwanted Situation: A majority of the residents in the Hollywood community complained about the local dump being an "undesirable" facility while others called it a "negative landmark!" Some referred to it as an "environmental-set up" which means that the contaminated landfill was planned by community elites. Grassroots activists argued that a landfill creates "health problems, reduces property values, and destroys the image of residential community." A local preacher concluded that the landfill changes the community from one of "pride and homelike" to one that is "disrespected and unlivable." A student in the area replied that "siting an unwanted dump in your backyard tells a whole lot about concerns, strengths and tolerance of the neighborhood."

A couple of community leaders used the "newspaper and television to broadcast the environmental seriousness of the Hollywood Dump." They wanted to construct an alternate ideology of the dump that reflected the "residents' image" of their toxic-tainted neighborhood.

African-Americans had to construct an alternate ideology which showed that the contaminated garbage dumped in the landfill was threatening to their health, children's health, and environmental conditions. Their children had played on this dump, and this experience raised public health concerns for many local residents.

Since people lived in this polluted community and were impacted daily from the contaminated landfill and local polluting industries, the formation of a critical consciousness would require more human effort. A link had to be made between the risk of the contaminated landfill and their perceived political efficacy.

If [Hollywood Residents] feel helpless to stop the pollution and unable to escape from it, then they may have reason to rationalize it, to deny that it exists, to deny their concern about it (Hershey 1977-78: 443).

Also, a connection had to be made between being trapped in a "toxic box" and powerlessness. Simultaneously, part of this connection was made in the news coverage of the dump. The credit for this connection must be given to several Hollywood residents and grassroots activists.

Local activists worked to alter this ideology of Hollywood residents by not having meetings to convince the residents that the dump was eroding the environmental and health fabric of the community.

A local resident emphasized that the dumping of hazardous chemicals in the dump was not an accident or the disobeying of company rules by truck drivers. It was planned, and local businessmen and city officials looked the other way. Trucks were coming in and out of the neighborhood in broad daylight-dumping off piles of filthy garbage (Interviewee Number Six⁵⁷).

⁵⁷ She was born in Memphis and has lived in the Hollywood community for over forty years. She is a regular

The construction of an alternate ideology could not be legitimized unless it had a political agenda attached to it. This political agenda had to be effective enough to get the dump cleaned up.

Construction of Oppositional Agenda

The roots of mobilization were the "silence" of Hollywood residents who felt "betrayed by the city of Memphis, and who were 'skeptical' of promises made by corporations and distrustful of long range plans to thoroughly clean up the local dump" (Commercial Appeal 6-20-84).

The plan of those local residents who fought to have the dump cleaned up was to become "a citizen group who were full participants" in the decision-making process of the dump. They wanted to act as a "liaison" between the EPA, city of Memphis, local politicians, corporate representatives, and the Hollywood residents.

church member at a neighborhood church and she is known in her church as the "nosy old lady." She believes that the "sins" committed by individuals are the work of the devil. This is the connection between dumping of toxic chemicals in the dump and those responsible for doing this deviant and hateful act. She is a widow, and her joy in life comes from engaging fruitfully in church activities, reporting unacceptable and unusual activities that she sees occurring by the appropriate authorities, and spending precious time with her three grandchildren who visit her occasionally.

A local activist in the Hollywood community replied that something must be done about the contaminated dump. He "fought" for a "policy" that included (a) representative(s) from the Hollywood community to be on all the boards, task force, and planning committees making decisions concerning the local dump. He insisted that the policy reflect and represent the "values, goals and safety" of the Hollywood community.

We wanted to get our community concerns, complaints and grievances on the agenda through as many channels of communication as possible. Our networks were strong in the community but not outside of our community. We wanted to inform Memphis-Mid South about the concerns that Hollywood residents had about the environmental/health impact that the dump had on the community (Interviewee Number Five).

It is very difficult to compete with the conservative newspapers because they are more interested in publicizing their political position on the Hollywood Dump. The news reporters who covered the Hollywood Dump story provided a "tunnel view" (Interviewee #1) of the community problem. "Our complaints" (Interviewee #5) were often mistaken as "irrelevant data to contribute to the information gathered about the dump" (Interviewee #3).

1-We tried to submit counter stories in the local newspapers (Commercial Appeal, Press Scimitar and Tri-State Defender) that reflected the views and ideology of the Hollywood residents.

2-We wanted to provide people with information by talking about the dump as well as educating people about the dangers the dump had on the community.

3-African-Americans do not think that "pollution just appears overnight"(Interviewee Number Twenty) or "out of the clear blue sky"(Interviewee Number 27).

"We tried to make sure several residents in the community spoke out about the dump at public meetings instead of the same spokespersons" (Interviewee Number Ten).

Mobilization of Resources

There were several Hollywood residents who felt that they "had no chance in hell to challenge the local politicians" (Interviewee #9) while a few felt that it was "worth the political dog fight" (Interviewee #7). The "longevity of this environmental community problem divided and decreased the mobilization of internal resources for Hollywood residents"(Interviewee #3). There were several Hollywood residents who disagreed on how to divided their energy between the mobilization of internal and external resources.

Mobilizing Internal Resources

The Hollywood residents did not have a lot of resources, but they used what they had to get the city of

Memphis to clean up the dump. One local resident used the church to "legitimize the effects"(Interviewee Number Six) of the dump on the Hollywood residents. It was through word of mouth that Hollywood residents were able to spread the word about the contaminated dump. The grassroots activists used the church, civic organizations, and some political contacts with other organizations in Memphis who might support them in their struggle to get the dump cleaned up. A local leader even "filed a civil action suit" against the city of Memphis to get the dump cleaned up.

Mobilizing External Resources

Local residents were discontent, because they thought the city of Memphis and the EPA could have "enforced environmental laws" at the dump and "withheld permits" to those companies who dumped at the Hollywood Dump. One of the leaders in the community sought outside help from a chemist to legitimize the "seriousness of the high concentrations of hexachlorobenzene (HCB)." Another community leader sought help from the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) in Washington, D.C. to legitimize the local dump as being a potential environmental danger to local residents. A local resident, (Interviewee Number Three), wrote a letter of concern about the potential environmental and health dangers of the dump to USEPA personnel in Atlanta, Georgia. This local resident was legitimized the

"seriousness" of the toxic/hazardous chemicals in the Hollywood Dump. S/he included in the letter a petition with approximately 150 signatures Hollywood community residents.

Grassroots leaders and some local residents "wrote letters" to local politicians, EPA officials, etc. seeking help to close the Hollywood Dump. They also made "phone calls" to individuals and local politicians who they felt would assist them in getting the dump cleaned up.

Forms of Resistance

Resistance occurs when indigenous people are trampled on, not heard by community elites, and political barriers are put up by local leaders to keep the "voiceless subalterns" (Guha 1982-85) in their place. A public administrator resisted the Hollywood residents' request to fence the toxic dump in.

The Hollywood residents are demanding that a fence and signs, that read: No Trespassing, be put up, but this does not guarantee that children will not enter the landfill and play as usual (Interviewee Number Thirty-eight⁵⁸). This administrator is

⁵⁸ A white politician who thought that a few black politicians used the Hollywood Dump incident as a political platform. He argued that the city of Memphis and federal agencies did a "fantastic" job in stopping the Hollywood Dump incident from becoming another "Love Canal." He felt that the city "acted and reacted promptly" to studying the dump for possibly long term environmental problems that might produce harm to Hollywood residents. He concluded that the city of Memphis put a fence around the dump to keep children from wandering in it to play. Also, "No Trespassing" signs were put around the fence to "deter" outsiders who might want to "wonder leisurely" inside the

articulating his resistance against supporting any means of environmental protection.

Day-to-Day Resistance

It was difficult to find day-to-day forms of resistance⁵⁹ to add to my data gathering and data interpretation. I asked interviewees to assist me, but they did not come up with anything worth noting, so I did not record anything. After contemplating the lack of responses I got from my interviewees on day-to-day forms of resistance, I pieced together and made inferences from the subtle information they gave me on this topic.

I would call day-to-day resistance, day-to-day survival of the environmental/health impact of Hollywood Dump on the Hollywood residents. In their daily survival, many of the residents passed on information about the health risks associated with the dump. They discussed the flaws in the information on the toxic chemicals that were given by the community elites within the power structure. The city of Memphis, state and federal officials were not willing to share and exchange all their facts and information about the Hollywood Dump with grassroots activists and the Hollywood residents. This selfish attitude should have created an avenue for day-to-day resistance by Hollywood residents.

Hollywood Dump.

⁵⁹ Day-to-day resistance for the Hollywood residents was a routine level of survival of viewing the dump as a health/environmental problem but continuing to go on with their lives. These activities were putting food on the table, attending church, and engaging in social functions.

Roots of mobilization: Grassroots activists argued that the "roots of social change" and mobilization are in the "daily struggles of African-Americans." Many Hollywood community residents are working-class people, and "activism" is how they "survive" in a community plagued with many environmental stressors. The way they define activism differs from academics' definitions of activism. Mobilization to them (Hollywood residents) may be "passive and subtle" instead of "exploding with brute force." Many of them have experienced more "threatening dangers" than a contaminated landfill. This is not to reduce the potential harm of a landfill but to incorporate the exposure of potential dangers of a landfill into the holistic framework of the social/environmental problems Hollywood residents face.

Organized Resistance

The catalyst for organized resistance was centered around the safety of the clean-up operation at the Hollywood Dump.

The protesters contended that safety precautions included in the clean-up plan were not sufficient, and that officials should evacuate persons living near the dump while chemicals are shoveled in the 55 gallon drums to be taken to a licensed disposal site outside of the state (Commercial Appeal 2-4-81).

There were several residents who felt they were not receiving political dialogue to solve the social problems surrounding the dump which was the accountability of city/county, state and federal officials.

The Hollywood residents put their policy into action in the following manner:

A local grassroots group was formed. A couple filed a class action suit against the city of Memphis and corporations accused of dumping toxic chemicals in the local dump. Local protesters were arrested for chaining themselves to the front entrance of the fence surrounding the dump. One family sought to convince city officials that the dump was contaminated by seeking outside help to get the perceived toxic storm drain examined. Grassroots activists sought outside assistance and advice to legitimize the Hollywood dump as an environmental problem. Grassroots leaders, and some residents, lobbied with local politicians and government officials to have soil sampling tests done on the dump. Through these plans of action the Hollywood residents were able to get the landfill cleaned up. Many residents argued that there is much more that needs to be done at the Hollywood dump site (Interviewees Numbers Three, One, Five Two and Eleven).

There were others who "protested at the dump site" and were arrested for these "unorderly activities" (Civil disobedience tactics from earlier Civil Rights Movement).

There were some local residents who attended city council meetings and "verbally confronted those representatives" who, they felt, were responsible for the toxic dumping at the local dump. There were those who "took signs to the city council meeting and disrupted the meeting, because they wanted the Hollywood Dump issue discussed

immediately. There were others who "occupied a local politician's office and refused to leave until someone provided a plan or agenda on how and when the Hollywood Dump would be cleaned up." There were also others who "blocked the road leading to the dump to keep trucks from entering the dump to drop off toxic garbage."

Mobilization is the emergence of "group action" (Smelser 1963) or occurs when a group of people establishes a common base that has leadership strategies and a political agenda. Under pressure, community elites finally responded to the demands by Hollywood residents to clean-up the dump. The Hollywood residents knew that local elites would respond to their demands if they organized as a cohesive group. After several local residents were able to mobilize, organize, and legitimize the Hollywood dump as an environmental danger to local residents, the community elites used their contacts and influence to re-direct the decision-making process of the clean-up of the dump.

Another resident argued "that local elites feared the spokes people of this community because they demanded 'community participation' in the cleanup of the dump." There was not much strong "organized resistance" which complicates and impedes resolution of of this community problem.

There were some residents who concluded that the mobilization around the Hollywood Dump controversy was not a

"lightening bolt," but with the little force it had, the dump was cleaned up.

The dump has been cleaned up, new soil has been put on top of the old soil and the landfill has be covered with a protective cover.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I will explain why broad-based collective resistance failed to arise and provide lessons for other communities to use as food for thought. All the incidents described in the past several pages were all on "collective resistance". Demographically, the Hollywood residents had to use the resources that were at their fingertips. Based on their physical location in Memphis, they were disengaged from the mainstream political decision-making bodies. Their collective resistance was not broad-based but community oriented which resulted in them being politically peripheralized in the decision-making process of getting the dump cleaned up. The collective resistance of the Hollywood residents was not formally organized like broad-based social movements. Sustained community resistance failed because of the impact of institutional ideology imposed on the Hollywood residents.

Why Collective Resistance Failed⁶⁰ ?

A few Hollywood residents have wondered why resistance failed to materialize over the Hollywood Dump controversy.

⁶⁰ Collective resistance failed, because Hollywood residents were not "strong political participants in the decision-making process" of the Hollywood Dump issue (Interviewee Number Forty-eight).

They were left wondering how to get a "voice" in the decision-making process of getting a dump cleaned up. Also, the active local residents in the community were interested in ways of getting others to participate in communal solidarity which would survive long after the clean-up crisis of the Hollywood Dump. Last, the Hollywood residents failed to realize the environmental/health and psychological impact of a Superfund⁶¹ site "on their community and life chances"(Interviewee Number Fourteen).

Instability of Community

The instability of the Hollywood community can be attributed to the residents' failure to form a critical consciousness. The community elites perceived the Hollywood community as instable, because they were not able to penetrate the institutional barriers used to delay the clean-up of the Hollywood dump. The community elites would define stability as having the political capacity to leverage oneself as a major player in the decision-making process of the Hollywood Dump controversy.

⁶¹"Superfund (Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act) is the major federal law governing the clean-up of closed hazardous waste sites and emergency clean-up of toxic wastes. Over \$10 billion was allocated in the 1986 reauthorization of the law. Millions of Americans, particularly low-income and people of color, are living every day with the threat of cancer and poisoning by toxics from these sites" (Spann 1984: 1).

Lack of activism. The instability of the Hollywood community is attributed to the lack of activism among the Hollywood residents. A grassroots activist from the Hollywood Community argued that lack of activism surrounding the dump was due to the Hollywood Dump being "an integral part of the landscape around here--people know it's there but--they don't think much about it. That's part of what's of scary" (TVA Annual Report, 1980: 55). The respondent referred to Hollywood residents "lack of awareness" in not knowing the potential danger of the local dump.

Lack of Charismatic Leadership

There were two active grassroots activists who spear-headed much of the leadership strategies for this community issue. However, both of them had a difficult time mobilizing large numbers of Hollywood residents to remain active throughout the Hollywood Dump controversy. There were "dim lights" of collective mobilization from time to time at public meetings, but otherwise the people looked for a "stronger" community leader to emerge.

There were others who argued that an "outspoken leader" would not get "Ghandi's civil disobedient results" (Interviewee Number Two) from the city of Memphis' power structure. The Hollywood community lacked a "politically interlocked and citywide network" that could demand honest

answers and appropriate results from the Memphis power structure.

Environmental Racism

Sustained community resistance failed due to the institutional ideology imposed on the Hollywood residents. This ideology⁶² implied that black residents could not organize effectively to control the decision-making process of the clean-up of the Hollywood Dump. They were not taken seriously when they first complained about the toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump. They had to seek outside help to legitimize the toxicity of the chemicals in the dump. In other words, black communities need outside "assistance, experts or hired technicians"(Interviewee Number Five) to legitimize their community problems as serious.

The Hollywood residents did not use the "legal system to their advantage in implying that discrimination was a factor in the extended delay (3 1/2-4 years) in cleaning up the Hollywood Dump" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three). They

⁶²This dominant ideology had the underlying assumption that "black folks do not have successful organizing skills and resources to solve problems in their community"(Interviewee Number Three). Working class and poor people's ideology can be mistaken....However, "Organizing is not about strategies, about analyses, about tactics. Organizing is about people....about the "welfare cheats," the "deadbeats" on unemployment, the "white trash," the "niggers"- and everyone else this society locks out and shuts in"(Kahn 1970:124).

failed to make the connection between "penalties for polluting (Bullard 1993, 1994) and "the ability of the polluter to pay and the polluter's history and level of cooperation" (Schuster 1994; Bullard 1993, 1994). Black communities are "targeted for homelands of toxic garbage" (Interviewee Number Three), because polluting industries perceive black communities as "cost efficient (Interviewee Number One) or "low enough that they can be discounted as a cost of doing business" (Schuster 1994; Bullard 1993, 1994).

Lack of Support from Black Organizations

Black organizations in Memphis have not provided any sufficient "technical expertise"(Interviewee Number 30) and "political alliance"(Interviewee Number Nine) for the Hollywood community. They seem to be waiting on a "body count" (Interviewee Thirty-seven) before they act on this issue. The lack of support from black organizations refers back to many of their political connections and accountability to the "growth machine" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three). The decision-makers in the Hollywood Dump controversy are part of the Memphis power structure which justifies the third dimension of power.

There were five respondents who believed that representatives in these established Black organizations "were uneducated about the potential health problems associated with the toxic chemicals found in the dump"

(Interviewee Number Twenty-one). There were respondents who argued that "physicians act absent-minded or are not familiar with health problems" (Interviewee Number Two) associated with long-term exposure to the toxic chemicals found at the dump.

Why More People Did not Get Involved?

There were several Hollywood residents who did not participate in organized resistance of the dump due to their focus on "day-to-day psychological struggle to make ends meet or, best said, 'putting food on the table'"

(Interviewee Number Thirteen)⁶³. This absence of collective mobilization of Hollywood residents was summed up by a local Reverend as follows:

[I] had gone to several residents and asked them to attend the meeting. But many, he said, "are tired of four years of meetings and skeptical that promises will again fall by the wayside." Many residents believe they'll get the same old story (Commercial Appeal 6-20-84).

⁶³This informant was born in South Memphis in 1920. She is an active Democrat who has had several jobs for example: school teacher, campaign chairman for a local politician, cosmetics saleswoman and a retired librarian. She is known for her radical political concerns about the lack of trust and cohesiveness between black and white politicians in Memphis. She lives with her granddaughter in the Hollywood community. In the past she was very active in the NAACP, urban league, Teachers Association, American Associations of Retired Persons and the democratic party. She replied that the Hollywood Dump was a "cover-up" for the transportation of "toxic garbage" from surrounding states.

A local activist and resident of the Hollywood community suggested the following reform in order for people to get involved:

Our task for the future is clear cut...We've got to increase public awareness about hazardous waste disposal. Very few people are aware that the disposal of toxic industrial waste is far more prevalent than nuclear waste disposal. The sad truth is the problems such as ours may have to reach the 'Love Canal's stage before people wake up and realize what's happening (TVA Annual Report 1980: 55).

This respondent's answer remarks that the community lacked a will for collective mobilization. There were five interviewees who argued that the Hollywood residents did not get involved because they were not familiar with the "decision-making process" of cleaning up toxic waste (Interviewees Number Five, Three, One, Four and One). The decision-making process of cleaning up the dump included "political conflicts" among all the parties involved in this process. Unfortunately, the Hollywood residents failed to mobilize as a community because of their past experiences with dealing with community elites on community problems. Community elites would promise them that they would assist them in solving social and environmental problems but never follow through with answers. These "political conflicts and values" (Mills and Davis 1962: 16) were seen in the way the community elites used the first, second, and third dimensions of power to exclude Hollywood residents from the decision-making process. The absence of collective

mobilization constitutes the use of politics exercised by community elites to keep the " voiceless subalterns" politically inactive in the decision-making process⁶⁴ of cleaning up the Hollywood Dump.

The catalyst for reforming the environmental and social conditions of the Hollywood community was the need to reduce/eliminate undesirable health conditions generated by a landfill. This catalytic reaction was a consciousness raising experience for Hollywood residents. Several attempts were made to legitimize the environmental problems surrounding the dump. The grassroots leaders thought that legitimizing the environmental problems would result in an increase in collective resistance.

Lessons for Other Communities

"Unlike oil and water, politics and hazardous waste do mix-with sometimes murky results" (Commercial Appeal 3-8-83). African-American communities who are victims of a contaminated landfill in their backyard should empower themselves through "community empowerment, educate each other concerning the health dangers of toxic chemicals, and form powerful community organizations that are linked to a city-wide political network that can provide political,

⁶⁴Decision-making process "may be defined as a process by which the activities of governmental officials and other interested parties result in the selection of one from a number of available policies or other courses of action (Mills and Davis 1962; Furniss and Synder 1954: 97).

economic and technical assistance⁶⁵ on crucial environmental issues" (Interviewee Number Three) such as the Hollywood Dump controversy.

Realize that you are not Powerless⁶⁶

One Hollywood resident defined the community's group power as:

They could have mobilized the outside political support to receive economic retributions from the city, state, or federal government to pay the Hollywood residents for damages done to their community (Interviewee Number Thirty-four).

Another Hollywood resident defined power as cutting a deal:

They could have cut a deal with the Centers for Disease Control to ensure them that after the clean-up of the dump, they would be guaranteed an environmental health and safety program for any possible health problems that may appear later in their life which could be retroactive from the toxic chemicals at the dump (Interviewee Number Eighteen)

⁶⁵Robert Bullard (1993) argues that communities of color must use their organized grassroots political networks, locally, nationally, and internationally to create organizations that communities of color can use to empower themselves. He also articulates that African-Americans must become self-reliant, build their own grassroots organizations while building political alliances community-wide to gain technical assistance when they are "victims" of an environmental problem. They need external networks that are willing to share information, expertise, and personnel to eliminate serious environmental problems before they explode to unsolvable environmental mishaps. See Also, Bullard 1990, 1991, 1994, 1995).

⁶⁶There were about ten Hollywood residents who did not see themselves as powerless individuals during this community problem. They argued that they learned later in this process that they could have organized politically around "relocating those residents who live closer to the dump" (Interviewee Number Twenty-nine)...

Several of the Hollywood residents realized that they were not powerless. When they first became "active" (Interviewee Number Thirty-four⁶⁷) concerning the dump, they felt as if they were "fighting city hall"⁶⁸ by themselves. Some of them referred to their own community involvement as a "religious wake-up call" (Interviewee Number Three), an "environmental justice calling" (Interviewee Number One), or a "social justice deed" (Interviewee Number Five).

"We learned that we had to be persistent about solving this problem because it was cancerous" (Interviewee Number Five). "We learned we had to love the Hollywood neighborhood as a 'community' (Interviewee Number Three) instead of as a 'commodity' (Interviewee Number Eleven) which is the way the city of Memphis and polluting industries see it". These personal, or individual, ideologies provide a basis on how a minority of Hollywood

⁶⁷ He was born in Chicago, Illinois, the son of a black sharecropper of Macon, Georgia. His parents rented land out to several blacks who moved to Macon from Augusta. They were given several acres of land from a wealthy caucasian landowner who was active in supporting many activities of the Civil Rights Movement. "My childhood in Chicago was impacted by the brutal death of Medgar Evers, while my experiences in Memphis have been trying to understand why the toxic chemicals at the dump went unnoticed by local politicians and some local residents who worked as employees at some of those industries responsible for dumping toxic compounds at the Hollywood Dump." He is self-employed and volunteer some of his time for two local politicians' campaigns.

⁶⁸ "I felt like the "Lone Rangers" trying to catch the neighborhood crooks... These thieves were city officials, local industries and pathetic EPA officials."

residents were able to overcome the disempowerment strategies of the community elites while developing an alternate ideology, an oppositional agenda, mobilizing internal resources and activists, and mobilizing external support and resources.

Overcoming Disempowerment Strategies⁶⁹

A centralized community is a community where all the residents are politically unified and they work as a cohesive group to solve social/environmental problems. They do what is necessary to mobilize internal and external resources to use as a tool to strengthen their strategies in solving environmental problems. Through trial and error, some Hollywood residents discovered that if they "worked together as a group" (Interviewee Number Seven)⁷⁰ they could destroy those barriers that were used to disempower them.

⁶⁹ The Hollywood residents overcame the informational disempowerment strategy imposed by community elites. Usually the withholding of information from the "victimized people" leads to "quiescence" (Gaventa 1980). The local residents were able to generate enough information on the toxic dump to get it cleaned up.

⁷⁰ He is an elderly white-haired articulate and stubborn born community leader. He was born in Selma, Alabama, he and his family moved to Memphis in 1964. He has been active in several of Memphis's urban riots. He perceived the Hollywood Dump incident as a civil rights issue for all residents in North Memphis. He argued that Memphis, Mid-South has similar "toxic hot spots" like the Hollywood Dump. There are three generations living in this household which includes this elderly active tiger, his two grown daughters and two teenager grand children. They live a quarter of a mile from the dump.

They found out that the biggest barrier they faced was a "lack of a centralized community"⁷¹ (Interviewee Number Twenty-One⁷²) within North Memphis.

The Hollywood residents discovered later that:

Residents must learn to articulate their political needs to the government and guilty polluting industries after an environmental disaster occurs (Interviewee Number Seven).

The residents and grassroots activists must learn early in the political game what the government and polluting industries will and will not do to solve the community problem (Interviewee Number Twelve).

The residents must come to grips with the idea that they lack accessibility to technical information, expert witnesses, and political resources to force the government and polluting industries to listen to them or legitimize their problems as ones that must be solved (Interviewee Number Twenty-two).

These disempowering obstacles must be overcome, or the contaminated community will remain in a disadvantaged

⁷¹"We were very surprised when we found out accidentally that we could destroy brick walls built by our opposition to make us a powerless group of people." Those who worked to get the dump cleaned up felt that the community within North Memphis worked too slow and with a lack of organized goals.

⁷² He is old now with silver hair but recalled the highs and lows of community resistance to the Hollywood Dump. He has retired from the railroad and he is gracefully enjoying his golden years. He can see the fenced-polluted dump from his living room window. He was born in south Memphis, and at the age of 40, before he moved to his present home, his mother lived with him. He recalled the dump being a playground area for kids in the neighborhood. He argued that the Hollywood Dump controversy was as irritating as his arthritic right knee. He also remembered attending public hearings on trying to get the dump cleaned up.

political position throughout the decision-making process of the community controversy.

Publicizing an Alternate Ideology⁷³

One of the community leaders had read a story in a book about how a group in a small community regained their communal stability after an environmental disaster destroyed communal relationships among neighbors. This grassroots leader concluded that he learned from this story that "victims" of a environmental disaster had to come up with a "different perspective"⁷⁴ (Interviewee Number Five⁷⁵) about the Hollywood Dump.

⁷³ This alternate ideology should encompass a "vision"(Interviewee Number Five) that provides "practical energy to link personal struggles with environmental struggles" (Interviewee Number Two).

⁷⁴ This perspective had to "provide social change and appear interesting to the news media. In other words, it had to either undermine their oppositional ideology or stand out as real and important in the minds of non-residents of the Hollywood community."

⁷⁵ He was born in Washington, D.C. in 1941 and moved to Memphis in 1962. He talked about how North Memphis has gone through an economic and social transformation since the early 60s. He lives about a fourth of a mile from the toxic landfill. He reminisce about the old days when all blacks in North Memphis were socially-bonded as brothers and sisters, and how now they are distanced by recession, inflation, and community-wide problems. He was injured at a factory job which led to early disability. He spends most of his time in church and visiting his elderly aunt at an old-folks home in east Memphis. He is single, but concluded he has seen unacceptable activities at the Hollywood Dump in the wee hours of the morning and late at night.

There were some Hollywood residents who argued that publicizing their alternate ideology would jeopardize their "property values," (Interviewee Number Thirty-six) and the "image" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three) of their community, while other residents argued that the publicity of their alternate ideology would "force the City of Memphis and guilty industries to remedy the environmental and health risks associated with the dump" (Interviewees Numbers Three, Five, One, Two, Four).

Constructing an Oppositional Agenda⁷⁶

Constructing an oppositional agenda would support their alternate ideology of linking the impact of the dump with the environmental problems surrounding the dump. "A few of us met at our regular meeting place", and we learned that constructing an oppositional agenda, consisted of understanding the "nature of social change"⁷⁷ (Interviewee Number Fourteen⁷⁸). "This forced us to realize our power as a

⁷⁶ This oppositional agenda should focus on "how Hollywood residents 'place' the environmental risks of the dump within a community-wide perspective" (Interviewee Number Seven). In other words, how does this community perspective "impact Memphis city limits as an urban community" (Interviewee Number Thirty-four).

⁷⁷ "We had to draw from our civil rights experiences and expand and promote the idea that our civil rights were being violated in this incident."

⁷⁸ He was born in Detroit, Michigan and his family moved to Memphis in 1970. He finished high school in Memphis and graduated from LeMoyne Owen College with a Bachelor of Science in Chemistry. He took a job at Humko

group while overcoming being perceived as a powerless subgroup in North Memphis. We began to construct our version of the problems of the dump and created an opposing agenda of the dump to gain a 'voice' in the decisions made to clean up the dump". At all the meetings that pertained to the decision-making process of the dump, a few of us started questioning and demanding that the organization, race, and social class compositions be amended to represent the Hollywood community. Many of the community elites refused but we kept pressing the issue until we obtained some of our demands" (Interviewee Number Three).

A grassroots activist and two other Hollywood residents (Interviewees Number Two and Twenty-one) recalled an industrial hygienist saying that chemicals found in toxic wastes sites similar to the Hollywood Dump would produce valuable evidence of their "long term effects [in] 15 to 20 years"⁷⁹ after residents have been exposed to them (Press Scimitar 3-3-80). This industrial hygienist is constructing

which is one of the potentially responsible companies that dumped toxic chemicals in the Hollywood Dump. He lives three miles from the dump. He became disappointed when he found out that Humko may be guilty of dumping hazardous waste in the local dump.

⁷⁹ "The few studies that have been done in the area of toxic- waste dumps present a lot of similar-type symptoms in persons who are affected, especially damaged, to the respiratory and productive systems. We are learning that the reproductive systems, particularly the male reproductive system, is possibly going to be the earliest indicator of toxic damage. Damage to the reproductive system might not be evident until the next generation (Press Scimitar 3-3-80).

an oppositional agenda for the elites of the local power structure. However, for years, officials have assured the public that exposure to low levels of certain chemicals was not hazardous to health, but there is no widespread agreement on what those 'threshold levels should be' ... there is no safe level of exposure to agents that cause cancer (Press Scimitar 3-3-80)

"Part of our oppositional agenda was to inform local, state, and federal officials that we knew that environmental/health problems of the dump would resurface in ten to fifteen years" (Interviewee Number Five). Information presented by the industrial hygienist did not discuss the mere fact that many of the residents who lived close to the dump were elderly and getting older and were more susceptible to getting sick from being exposed to toxic chemicals. The elderly usually suffer from multiple illnesses which are part of the aging process, but some of their illnesses may be tested on a longitudinal basis to see if they were attributed to the toxic chemicals in the dump.

Mobilizing Internal Resources and Activists

"At first there were signs of many of us being passive, too cautious, and failed to get in touch with our inner consciousness"⁸⁰ (Interviewee Number Two⁸¹). "After a few

⁸⁰ "Many of us began to become aware of our local environment which was heavily impacted by the local dump. We became active by campaigning to get internal resources to

of us failed to influence city officials to legitimize our environmental complaints about the Hollywood Dump, we began to tap into our own city-wide internal resources. The more we thought about the toxic chemicals in the dump, the more 'sensitive' (Interviewee Number 13) and 'guilty' (Interviewee 37) we became over not convincing the city of Memphis to clean-up the dump sooner than they agreed to do it".

Some Hollywood residents tried to attend as many public meetings concerning the dump as possible. "Some of us tried to recruit additional residents to come to public meetings to convince the city of Memphis that we wanted something done about the 'toxic chemicals' in our backyard and that we 'cared' (Interviewee Number Twenty-one) about our community as much as the City of Memphis officials cared about their 'suburban homes'" (Interviewee Number Fourteen). "A few of us called people to convince them to demand to be a member

make our environment a better place to live."

⁸¹ She has been active in the Civil Rights Movement and has participated in many community disputes over redlining, housing shortages, and vandalized vacant houses. She assisted other residents in the Hollywood community in starting up two neighborhood watch programs. She has used her church as a meeting place for various groups to meet and plan strategies to address community problems. She is the mother of five children all who are grown and live in other states. She lives across the street from the dump. In the past, she was active with the NAACP and Memphis Urban League. Now she does volunteer work with illiterate individuals by teaching them to read. She is knowledgeable of the political problems that the Hollywood Dump presented for the Hollywood community.

of the environmental task force. We knew that if we had a 'representative on these decision-making committees', it would provide a voice for our community. We started late in the process of 'linking" our community resources with outside resources'" (Interviewee Number Eleven).

Mobilizing External Support and Resources

At the beginning of the chapter, my argument was on the absence of collective mobilization. At the end of the chapter, I have presented some evidence of grassroots mobilization. Due to grassroots mobilization not being legitimized or formalized, it is not seen as acceptable by city-wide community elites. This one page on mobilizing external support and resources shows that the absence of collective community resistance has not been embraced by the broad-base collective movement. "Our external support and resources consisted of a Vanderbilt chemist, a representative from the Environmental Defense Fund, and a few other 'odds and ends'" (Interviewee Number Thirteen). "These resources not only legitimized our community problem as a serious environmental problem, but it raised questions about why did it take the city of Memphis three to four years before they responded to this problem?" (Interviewee Number Four). The external support would be able to "identify additional risks associated with the dump" (Interviewee Number Thirty-five) while offering

"professional advice" (Interviewee Number Nine) to correct these risks. The external support was able to give a "second and third opinion" (Interviewee Number Six) about the potential risks at the dump.

There were a few respondents who felt that the city of Memphis had a "moral obligation" (Interviewee Number Eleven⁸²) to clean-up the dump. Mobilizing external support is not only a way to reduce "burnout" among grassroots support but a good strategy to show that problems of the dump are not only Hollywood residents but of all of Memphis residents. External resources are the standards for linking a "perceived"⁸³ local problem" into the broader framework of social/environmental problems throughout Memphis.

⁸² He was born in Jackson, Mississippi in 1943 and began his career as an auto mechanic in 1964. He has worked many odd jobs on the side in Jackson and Tupelo, Mississippi. He is now a foreman at a construction company in Memphis. He is very knowledgeable about the environmental and political issues that surround the local dump. He has been a resident in the Hollywood community for fifteen years. He lives about a mile from the dump and stressed that every morning before he went to work at 4 a.m. he smelled an odor in the air that he felt was potentially threatening to all residents who lived close to the Hollywood Dump. He is married and has three adult children who have attended colleges/universities in Washington, D.C. (Howard University); Atlanta, Georgia (Spellman College); and Nashville, Tennessee (Tennessee State University). Occasionally he attended meetings at the Memphis Urban League, NAACP and other civic groups but most of his time is spent at his neighborhood church.

⁸³ "Usually external support and resources can be obtained when the perceived victims can convince the wider Memphis public that they have been victimized by community elites (in this case the city of Memphis and local industries). The external collective support would speed up the decision-making process of cleaning up the dump."

Voice of Residents in the Hollywood Community

The voices of residents in the Hollywood community went through the stages of the Natural History of a social problem. There were some residents who were conscious that there were environmental problems surrounding the dump. There were several residents who took an active role in deciding on what should be done to clean up the dump. There were other Hollywood residents who demanded that the policy created by the Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force (MAETF) incorporate input from residents who lived near the contaminated dump. Their voice adds a fourth stage to the natural history of a social problem which is referred to as organized resistance to public policy. This view is missing from the scholarly work. This is a voice from the grassroots which is misunderstood by many sociologists who study social problems in communities of color. This voice is watered down and not fully interpreted by many sociologists.

The extension of a fourth stage of the natural history of a social problem leads us to the three dimensions of power that (Lukes 1974) is used to analyze the power dynamics of groups in community politics. The first dimension of power states that all groups are allowed to participate in the democratic procedures of the decision-making process of addressing social problems. Even though

all groups are allowed to participate, their voice is not legitimized by the established community elites of the local power structure. The second dimension of power states that some groups are organized in the political process while other groups are organized out in the decision-making process of solving community problems. In the second dimension of power, the voice of Hollywood residents are not embraced by privileged city-wide community elites as a voice with vested interests in community politics and the initiative to solve environmental problems. The third dimension of power states that community elites manipulate and shape the ideologies surrounding community problems. In the third dimension of power, the voice of the Hollywood residents can be associated with the "culture of silence" (Gaventa 1980) consciousness of a powerless group. In this case, the powerless group develops internal consciousness that defines their ideologies of the social problems that impact their worldview.

The analysis of the voice of the Hollywood residents provides an avenue for a theoretical shift. This theoretical shift extends Morris's (1984) perspective of the dominated group. The voice of Hollywood residents is excluded from the decision-making process of addressing and solving social/communal problems. The activists in the Hollywood community used non-traditional strategies and non-legitimized tactics to solve social/environmental problems

in their community. In the past, the three dimensions of power approach focused on established organized groups instead of the dominated group. This theoretical shift is an attempt to explain the missing legitimation of voices of a dominated group.

Evaluation of the Efficacy of Voices

The voices of the Hollywood residents can be evaluated by examining what "silent screaming" means in this contaminated community. "Silent screaming" basically describes the residents political, communal, economic, and environmental relationship to the Hollywood Dump. The voices of "silent screaming" are breathless because they have been expressing their "grievances" to community elites until they have turned blue in the face. The voices are speechless because the Hollywood residents have an absence of words for influencing the results for getting the dump cleaned up. The voices of the residents are insignificant because they come from a powerless group of people. The voices from the residents are unheard of from people outside of the Hollywood community because many of the outsiders view them as helpless victims with lifestyles that contribute to their contaminated surroundings. "Silent screaming" is attributed to Hollywood residents being emotional toward the environmental problems associated with the dump, yet the residents are considered powerless,

hopeless, helpless and breathless in the decision-making process of remedial work at the Hollywood dump.

Voiceless Subalterns

The Hollywood residents can be labelled as voiceless subalterns due to their absence of political leverage in the Hollywood dump controversy. They had difficulty obtaining a seat at the decision-making table for remedial work at the dump. Without a political voice at the table, Hollywood residents were excluded from the major decisions of removing the toxic chemicals from the dump. The residents' lack of sustained activism around the dump prompted community elites to think that the residents lost political interest in this environmental problem. The voiceless subalterns' internal consciousness was challenged to show that their voices made a difference in the planning, implementation and evaluation process of cleaning up the dump.

Dominated Group

There is much that occurs with a dominated group as they shift from their quiescent position to them using their resources to solve a social/environmental problem. It was difficult for the Hollywood residents to get their grievances and complaints about the dump on the agenda at public meetings because they were excluded from the democratic process. They were not connected to the local

"growth machine" which explains their exclusion from all the important decisions made on the dump.

Summing Up

In summary, I expect the natural history of this social problem will not fall in the previously mentioned time sequence. An emergent social/environmental problem like the Hollywood Dump controversy will not proceed sequentially with an awareness stage, policy determination stage and a reform stage. An emergent problem of this statute will develop its own unique stages of examining how an environmental problem matured. The residents in the Hollywood community became conscious of the toxic chemicals dumped in the local dump. However, sound environmental policies and reform measures were not developed cooperatively by government officials, corporate representatives, and grassroots leaders to protect the local residents from environmental risks. The clean-up of the local dump appeared as if government officials went through the proper channels to reduce environmental risks for Hollywood residents, but they did not. They handled this problem the way they saw fit.

The natural history of a social problem (e.g. the contamination of the Hollywood Dump) unfolded due to the political, cultural, and religious concerns of grassroots individuals who agreed that the local dump was posing an

environmental public health threat to their community. These individuals organized, mobilized, and obtained resources in an attempt to persuade others in their community, and city-wide, that the hazardous chemicals in the dump were an environmental injustice. The legitimatizing⁸⁴ of this social problem, and obtaining some measure of community support, led to conflict, confrontation, and the conscious-raising of city-wide community leaders to support the local folk's legitimization. The battle of legitimizing this social problem with city-wide community leaders was an exercise in gaining community power for the Hollywood community. The end represents the beginning of a new community:

We are in a transition of removing the risky environmentally infectious barriers that are a nuisance to our community. Our role, and transformation into the environmental justice movement, is to build strong communal relationships with other residents in the neighborhood. We want environmental problems on the agendas of all organizations who are willing to be mutual partners in rebooting our surrounding infrastructure. The Hollywood Dump has not provided any revenues in fixing potholes, unclogged sewer systems or regenerating an inefficient public transit system to transport local residents to their place of employment. No community-based program or joint venture (with Hollywood residents and the city) is available to renew dilapidated houses and empty buildings throughout our community. When I think of

⁸⁴ Legitimacy is "moving from defining the social and environmental problem from a private community problem to a general public concern to an environmental controversy" (Interviewee Number Thirty-three). This is how a local community conflict is linked to the broader political framework of the "growth machine."

"environmental racism", my mind and soul become filled with all the community and environmental problems that are in "sync" with the contaminated landfill. The toxic landfill represents the "weakness" of our community. It represents the "strength of city government." The landfill "symbolizes" the lack of government and corporate support of working class and poor black people entrapped in an "accident prone" neighborhood of "poisonous persistence of poverty" (Interviewee Number Ten⁸⁵).

⁸⁵ "I am a native Memphian, and I love this city. I think Memphis is a wonderful place to live, worship God, and enjoy the legacy of this city. It has its ups and downs but it plays a significant role in the Civil Rights Movement. It is Dr. Kings's last stop before he went to heaven. He came here because the garbage workers were on strike, and he died trying to free them from their misery. The Hollywood Dump controversy fits into the mission of the Civil Rights Movement. Many of the Hollywood residents felt their community was discriminated against by being chosen as a 'toxic burial ground.' Not only is our 'community storing the city's waste products,' but we are the recipients of 'toxic discharges' from the industries sitting in our 'frontyards.'" He is married and is a retired truck driver. He lives about a half mile from the dump. He has a membership with the NAACP and is a member of the Masons. His only child moved out at the age of 21 and now lives in East Memphis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "500,000 Made Available for Shelby Health Survey." (1980).
Press Scimitar (August, 20): A1.
- Adams, John H. (1992). "The Mainstream Environmental Movement: Predominately White Memberships Are Not Defensible." EPA Journal 18,1, (March/April): 25-27.
- Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry. (1988).
The Nature and Extent of Lead Poisoning in Children in the United States. Atlanta: United States Department of Health and Human Services.
- Allen, Robert. (1975). Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States. New York: Anchor.
- Alston, Dana (ed.). (1990). We Speak for Ourselves: Social Justice, Race and Environment. Washington, D.C.: The Panos Institute.
- Amour, A. (ed.). (1984). The Not-In-My-Backyard Syndrome. Ontario: York University.
- Anderton, Douglas L. Andy B. Anderson, John Michael Oakes, and Michael R. Frayser. (1994). "Environmental Equity: The Demographics of Dumping." Demography 31 (May): 229-248.
- Anderson, Andy B., Douglas L. Anderton, and John Michael Oakes. (1994). "Environmental Evaluating TSDF Siting Over the Past Two Decades." Waste Age (July): 83-98.
- Anderson, Bob. (1994). "EPA criticized for inaction." The Advocate (December):
- Aronson, Hal. (1993). "Becoming An Environmental Activist: The Process of Transformation From Everyday Life Into Making History in the Hazardous Waste Movement." Journal of Political and Military Sociology 21 (Summer): 63-80.
- Arrandale, Tom. (1993). "When the Poor Cry NIMBY." Governing (September): 36-41.
- At Issue. (1995). Environmental Justice. California: Greenhouse Press.
- Babbie, Earl. (1992). The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

Bachrach, Peter and Morton Baratz. (1962). "Two Faces of Power." American Political Science Review 56: 947-52.

_____. (1970). Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice. New York: Oxford University Press.

_____. (1968). "Two Faces of Power." In Willis D. Hawley and Fredrick M. Wirt. (eds). 1968. The Search for Community Power. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Bailey, Conner and Charles E. Faupel. (1993). "Movers and Shakers and PCB Takers: Hazardous Waste and Community Power." Sociological Spectrum 13: 89-115.

Bailey, C.; C.E. Faupel and S.F. Holland. (1992). "Hazardous Wastes and Differing Perceptions of Risk in Sumter County, Alabama." Society and National Resources 5:21-36.

Bailey, C.; C.E. Faupel; S.F. Holland and A. Warren. (1989). Public Opinions and Attitudes Regarding Hazardous Waste in Alabama: Results from Three 1988 Surveys. (Rural Sociology Series No.14). Auburn University, AL: Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station.

Bailey, Conner Charles E. Faupel and James H. Gundlach. 1993. "Environmental Politics in Alabama's Blackbelt." Pp.107-122. In Robert D. Bullard. 1993. Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots. Massachusetts: South End Press.

Balentine, Jim and Shelia Peace. (1981). "Frayser Residents Rip Dump Study." Press Scimiter December 8: B1.

Benford, Robert D. Helen A. Moore and J. Allen Williams, Jr. (1993). "In Whose Backyard?: Concern About Siting a Nuclear Waste Facility." Sociological Inquiry 63 (February): 30-48.

"Biologists Tracing Fish Kill Source." (1980). Commercial Appeal (June): A1.

Black, James A. and Dean J. Champion. (1976). Methods and Issues in Social Research. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

- Blumberg, Michael and Robert Gottlieb. (1989). Warron Waste: Can America Win Its Battle with Garbage? Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Bogardus, Emory Stephen. (1926). The New Social Research. Los Angeles: J.R. Millers.
- Brady, Kathy. (1981). "State Health Official Says Dump Cleanup Is Working." Press Scimitar March: A8.
- Braile, Robert. (1994). "Is Racism a Factor in Siting Undesirable Facilities?" Garbage Magazine (Summer): 13-18.
- Braverman, Harry. (1974). Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Bright, Chris. (1990). "Shipping Unto Others." E: The Environmental Magazine 1: 30-35.
- Brion, Denis J. (1991). Essential Industry and the NIMBY Phenomenon. New York: Quorum.
- Brodine, Virginia. (1971). "A Special Burden." Environment 13 (March): 22-24ff.
- _____. (1972). "Point of Damage." Environment 14 (May): 2-15.
- Bronstein, Scott. (1993). "EPA 'Muzzling' Doctor for Fighting Environmental Racism." The Atlanta Journal/The Atlanta Constitution, (November 11,): A4.
- Brown, Fred and Leonard A. Novarro. (1980). "2 Former Employees of Chemical Firm Tell About Dumping Contaminated Dirt." Press Scimitar (February): B8.
- Brown, Fred. (1980). "EPA 'Coverup' Charged in Frayser Findings." Press Scimitar June 9: B1.
- Brown, Fred. (1980). "Dump Cleanup may Get Legal Push." Press Scimitar February 29: A1.
- Brown, Michael H. (1980). Laying Waste: The Poisoning of America by Toxic Clouds. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Brown, M.H. (1987). The Toxic Cloud: The Poisoning of America's Air. New York: Harper and Row.

Brown, Phil and Edwin J. Mikkelsen. (1990). No Safe Place: Toxic Waste, Leukemia, and Community Action. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Brown, Phil. (1991). "The Popular Epidemiology Approach to Toxic Waste Contamination." Pp.133-35. In Communities at Risk: Collective Responses to Technological Hazards, eds. Stephen R. Couch and J. Stephen Kroll-Smith. New York: Peter Lang.

Brumfield, Carroll. (1981). "Area Drinking Water's Safety Questions In Hearings." Commercial Appeal November 24:B1.

Brumfield, Carroll and William Dawson. (1980). "EPA keeping A Tight Lid on Hollywood Dump Talks." Commercial Appeal December 6:B1.

Bryant, Bunyan and Paul Mohai. (1992). Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards: A Time for Discourse. Boulder: Westview Press.

Bullard, Robert D. (1993). Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots. Boston: South End Press.

_____. (1990). Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class and Environmental Quality. Boulder: Westview Press.

_____. (ed.). (1994). Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

_____. (1991). "Environmental Racism." Environmental Protection 21 (June): 25-26.

_____. (ed.). (1989). In Search of the New South: The Black Urban Experience in the 1970s and 1980s. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

_____. (1991). "Environmental Justice for All." Enviro Action, Environmental News Digest for the National Wildlife Federation (November): .

_____. (1983). "Solid Wastes Sites and the Black Houston Community." Sociological Inquiry 53(Spring): 273-288.

- _____. (1984). "Endangered Environs: The Price of Unplanned Growth in Boomtown Houston." The California Sociologist 7(Summer): 84-102.
- _____. (1992). "Urban Infrastructure: Social Environmental and Health Risks to African Americans." In the State of Black America 1992, edited by Billy J. Tidwell, pp.183-196. New York: National Urban League.
- _____. (1987). Invisible Houston: The Black Experience in Boom and Bust. College Station: Texas A & M University Press.
- _____. (1994). People of Color Environmental Groups 1994-1995 Directory. Atlanta, Georgia: Environmental Justice Resource Center, Clark Atlanta University.
- _____. (1995). "Government Should Work to Ensure Environmental Justice." In At Issue. 1995. Environmental Justice. California: Greenhouse Press.
- _____. (1994). "Overcoming Racism in Environmental Decision- Making." Environment (May):
- _____. (1990). "Environmental Blackmail in Minority Communities." A paper presented at the Conference on Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards, University of Michigan School of Natural Resources, January 25-28: .
- Bullard, Robert D. and Beverly Wright. (1987). "Blacks and the Environment." Humboldt Journal of Social Relations 14: 165-184.
- _____. (1986). "Environmentalism and the Politics of Equity: Emergent Trends in the Black Community." Mid-American Review of Sociology 12: 21-37.
- _____. (1992). "The Quest for Environmental Equity: Mobilizing the African-American Community for Social Change." Pp. 39-49 In R.E. Dunlap and A.C. Mertig (eds). American environmentalism: The U.S.environmental movement, 1970-1990. New York: Taylor and Francis.
- _____. (1986). "The Politics of Pollution: Implications for the black community." Phylon 47:71-78.

- Bunker, Stephen. (1985). Underdeveloping the Amazon: Extraction, Unequal Exchange and the Failure of the Modern State. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Burawoy, Michael. (1991). Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Burgess, Robert G. (ed.). (1982). Field Research: a Sourcebook and Field Manual. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Bush, Barbara. (1986). "The Family Tree is Not Cut: Women and Cultural Resistance in Slave Family Life in the British Carribbean." Pp. 117-132. In Resistance Studies in African Carribbean and Afro-American History, edited by Gary Y. Okhiro. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.
- Button, Gregory. (1991) "Class, Ethnicity, Race and Toxic Wase Proposal." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting, Anthropological Association, November 22. Chicago, Illinois.
- Cable, Sherry. (1993). "From Fussin' to Organizing: Individual and Collective Resistance at Yellow Creek" in Stephen L. Fisher (Editor), Fighting Back in Appalachia: Traditions of Resistance and Change. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Cable, Sherry and Charles Cable. (1995). Environmental Problems, Grassroots Solutions: The Politics of Grassroots Environmental Conflict. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Cable, Sherry and Beth Degutis. (1991). "The Transformation of Community Consciousness: The Effects of Citizens Organizations on Host Communities." The International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters. 9: 383-399.
- Capek, Stella M. (1993). "The 'Environmental Justice' Frame: A Conceptual Discussion and Application." Social Problems, 40,1, (February): 5-24.
- Capek, Stella M. (1991). "Community, Class, and Contamination: Toxic Waste Protests in Arkansas." Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Cincinnati: August.

- Carson, Rachel. (1962). Silent Spring. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Casgrande, J. (ed.). (1960). In the Company of Man. New York: Harper and Row.
- Caulfield, Mina Davis. (1974). "Imperialism, the Family and Cultures of Resistance." Socialist Review 4(2): 67-85.
- Center for Investigative Reporting and Bill Moyers. (1990). Global Dumping Grounds: The International Trade in Hazardous Waste. Washington, D.C.: Seven Locks Press.
- Center for Third World Organizing. (1986). Toxics and Minority Communities. Oakland: Center for Third World Organizing.
- Cerrell Associates, Inc. (1984). Political Difficulties Facing Waste-to-Energy Conversion Plant Siting. California Waste Management Board, Technical Information Series. Prepared by Cerrell Associates, Inc. for the California Waste Management Board. California: Cerrell Associates, Inc.
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher. (1989). Global Formations: Structures of the World-Economy. London: Basil Blackwell.
- Chiro, Giovanna Di. (1994). "Defining Environmental Justice." Socialist Review 22,(92/1-92/4): 93-130.
- Citizen's Clearing House for Hazardous Waste. (1991). Everyone's Backyard 9(May): 2.
- "City Council Directs Commercial to Draft Toxic Chemical Law." (1980). Commercial Appeal September 10: A8.
- Clifford, James. (1988). The Predicament of Culture. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Cohen, Linc. (1992). "Waste Dumps Toxic Traps for Minorities." The Chicago Reporter 21(April): 6.
- Collier, Aldore. (1980). "Frayser Couple Files Chemical Dumping Suit." Press Scimiter July 17: .
- Conestoga-Rovers and Associates. (1993). Final Remedial Design Report: North Hollywood Dump Memphis, Tennessee.

- Crenson, Mathew A. (1983). Neighborhood Politics.
Massachusetts: Harvey University Press.
- _____. (1971). The Un-politics of Air
Pollution; A Study of Non-decision Making in the
Cities. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Cutter, Susan C. (1981). "Community Concern: Social and
Environmental Influences." Environment and Behavior 13:
105-124.
- Dahl, Robert A. (1961). Who Governs? Democracy and Power in
an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- "Dangerous Chemicals Found At Dump Site." (1980). Commercial
Appeal November 18: B1.
- Davies, Carol Griffith. (1995). "The Dialectics of Power and
Dissent: A Study of the U.S. Army's Chemical Stockpile
Disposal Program." Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy
Dissertation. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.
- Davis, Aliya. (1995). "The Environment: Why Blacks Should
Be Green." Emerge (July/August): 64.
- Dawson, William. (1981). "Cleanup of Hollywood Dump Is
Focus of Study." Commercial Appeal June 8: B1.
- _____. (1982). "Dump Findings No Cause for Alarm."
Commercial Appeal September 24: A1.
- _____. (1981). "Dump Clean up Begins with
Protesters' Arrests." Commercial Appeal February 4:
B1.
- _____. (1982). "Fencing Advised In Cypress Sump."
Commercial Appeal March 11: A1.
- _____. (1981). "Officials Support Moving
Chemicals Away From Dump. Commercial Appeal January
24: B1.
- _____. (1983). "Delays Mount In Health Study of
Dump." Commercial Appeal August 7: A5.
- _____. (1982). "Health Survey Plan of Hollywood
Dump Nearing Completion." Commercial Appeal December
2: B1.
- _____. (1983). "Health Rating Cited In Dump's
Omission." Commcial Appeal February 21: A1.

- DeGroot, Ido. 1967. "Trends in Public Attitudes Toward Air Pollution." Journal of the Air Pollution Control Association. 17:679-681.
- Deibel, Mary. (n.d.). "No Dump 'Pathways' Identified, EPA Claims." Commercial Appeal.
- Dietz, Thomas Paul C. Stern and Robert W. Rycroft. (1989). "Definitions of Conflict and the Legitimation of Resources: The Case of Environmental Risk." Sociological Forum Vol. 4, No.1: 47-70.
- "Doctor Optimistic on Health Study." (1981). Press Scimitar (March 26): A1.
- Doob, Christopher. (1987). The Open Covenant: Social Change in Contemporary Society. New York: Praeger.
- Doob, Christopher Bates. (1993). Racism: An American Cauldron. New York: Harper Collins.
- Doyle, Dan. (1980). "Frayser Residents Demand Meeting with Morris." Press Scimitar February 8: B1.
- Drabe, Thomas and E.L.Quarantelli. (1967). "Scapegoats, Villains, and Disasters." Transaction 4(March): 12-17.
- DuBois, William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B.). (1991). The Souls of Black Folk. New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization.
- _____. (1967). The Philadelphia Negro; A Social Study. New York: Schocken.
- Dunlap, Riley E. (1987). "Public Opinion on the Environment in the Reagan Era: Polls, Pollution, and Politics." Environment 29: 6-11,31-37.
- Dunlap, Riley E. George H. Gallup,Jr. and Alec M. Gallup. (1992). The Health of the Planet Survey: A preliminary report on attitudes of citizens in 22 nations to date. A George H. Gallup Memorial Survey. New Jersey: The George H. Gallup International Institute.
- Dunlap, Riley E., Michael E. Kraft, and Eugene A. Rosa. (1993). Public Reactions to Nuclear Waste: Citizens Views of Repository Siting. London: Duke University.

- Durant, Robert F. (1993). "Hazardous Waste, Regulatory Reform, and the Reagan Revolution: The Ironies of an Activist Approach to Deactivating Bureaucracy." Public Administration Review (November/December) 53, 6: 550-560.
- Edelman, Murray. (1971). Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence. Chicago: Markham Publishing.
- Edelstein, Michael. (1988). Contaminated Communities: The Social and Psychological Impacts of Residential Toxic Exposure. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Edgar Furnis and Richard Snyder. (1954). American Foreign Policy: Formation, Principles and Programs. New York: Rinehart and Company.
- "Environment and Health." (1982). Congressional Quarterly 21.
- "Environmental Groups Told They Are Racists in Hiring." (1990). New York Times, 2 (February): A20.
- "'Environmental Racism': It Could Be A Messy Fight." (1991). Business Week (May 20): 116.
- "Environmental Racism: Reviewing the Evidence." (1992) (Chapter 13 in Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards: A Time for Discourse. Edited by Bunyan Bryant and Paul Mohai. Oxford: Westview Press.
- "Environmental Racism, Why Is It Always Dumped in our Backyard?: Minority Groups Take a Stand". (1992). Audubon Magazine of the National Audubon Society (January/February): 30-32.
- "Environmentalism and Elitism: A Conceptual and Empirical Analysis." (1986). Environmental Management 10:581-589.
- "EPA Allocates \$466,000 to Probe Waste Problems." (1980). Commercial Appeal (September 4): B1.
- "EPA Official Queried on Scope and Priority of Frayser Study." (1980). Commercial Appeal (October 3): A8.

- "EPA to Erect Fence at Dump." (1980) Press Scimitar (October 17): A1.
- Epstein, Samuel; Lester O. Brown and Carl Pope. (1983). Hazardous Waste in America. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.
- Fals Borda, Orlando. (1985). The Challenge of Social change. London: Sage.
- _____. (1988). Knowledge and people's power: lessons with peasants in Nicaragua, Mexico and Columbia. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Faupel, C.E. and C. Bailey. (1989). "Contingencies Affecting Emerging Planning for Hazardous Wastes." International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters 6(February): 131-154.
- Feagin, Joe R. (1991). A Case for the Case Study. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- "Fish Near Dump Site 'Unfit' to Eat, EPA Says." (1980). Press Scimitar (October 20): A1.
- Fowlkes, Martha and Patricia Miller. (1982). "Love Canal: The Social Construction of Disaster." Report to the Federal Emergency Management Agency.
- Fox, Genovese, Elizabeth. (1986). "Strategies and Forms of Resistance: Focus on Slave Women in the United States." 143-65. In Resistance, Studies in African, Caribbean and Afro-American History, edited by Gary Y. Okhiro, Amherst: University of Massachusetts.
- Freeman, Myrick A. (1971). "The Distribution of Environmental Quality." In Environmental Quality Analysis, edited by Allen V. Kneese and Blair T. Bower. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press for Resources for the Future.
- Freire, Paulo. (1972). Cultural Action for Freedom. New York: Penguin Books.
- Freudenberg, Nicholas. (1984). "Citizen Action for Environmental Health: Report of a Survey of Community Organizations." American Journal of Public Health 7: 944-948.

- Freudenburg, William R. and Susan K. Pastor. (1992). "NIMBYs and LULUs: Stalking the Syndromes." Journal of Social Issues 48: 39-61.
-
- _____. (1989). "Public Responses to Technological Risks.: Toward a Sociological Perspective." The Sociological Quarterly 33: 389-412.
- Frey, James H. (1993). "Risk Perceptions Associated with a High-Level Nuclear Waste Repository." Sociological Spectrum 13: 139-151.
- Friedland, Roger and Donald Palmer (1984). "Park Place and Mainstreet: Business and the Urban Power Structure." Annual Review of Sociology 10:393-416.
- Fritz, Jan M. (1987). "W.E.B. Du Bois, Scholar-Practitioner". The Practicing Sociologist Winter: 1-4
- Gamson, William A. (1975). The Strategy of Social Protest. Homewood: Dorsey Press.
- Gaventa, John. (1980). Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1983). Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology. New York: Basic Books.
-
- _____. (1973). The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (1975). "On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding." American Scientist 63: 47-53.
- General Accounting Office. (1983). Siting Hazardous Waste Landfills and Their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities. Washington, D.C.: GAO/RCED.
- Ghai, Dharam and Jessica M. Vivan (eds). (1992). Grassroots Environmental Action, People's Participation in Sustainable Development. New York: Routledge.
- Gibbs, Lois M. (1982). Love Canal, My Story. Albany: State University of New York Press.

- Gilbert, Debbie. (1991). "Environmental Racism: Why Hazardous Waste has Become a Civil Rights Issue." Memphis Flyer October 31-November 6: 5.
- Gitlin, Todd. (1980). The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Glenn, Norval D. (1974-75). "Recent Trends in White-nonwhite Attitudinal Differences." Public Opinion Quarterly 38:596-604.
- Goldman, B. (1992). The Truth About Where You Live: At Atlas for Action on Toxins and Mortality. New York: Random House.
- Goldman, B. (1992). "Polluting the Poor." Nation (October 5): 234-349.
- Gottlieb, Robert. (1988). A Life of Its Own: The Politics and Power of Water. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Gottlieb, Robert and Helen Ingram. (1988). "The New Environmentalists." The Progressive 52,8: 14-15.
- Gould, Jay M. (1986). Quality of Life in American Neighborhoods: Levels of Affluence, Toxic Waste and Cancer Mortality in Residential Zip Code Areas. Boulder: Council of Economic Priorities and Westview Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio. (1971). Selections from the Prison Notebooks. Edited and translated by Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith. New York: International Publishers.
- Green, Alex. (1993). "There Goes the Neighborhood: A Case Study of Environmental Racism in South Memphis." Green Scene/Memphis Environmental News (Spring/Summer): 8-10.
- Greenpeace. (1990). "Playing with Fire." Washington, D.C: Greenpeace.
- Greer, Edward. (1979). Big Steel: Black Politics and Corporate Power in Gary Indiana. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Grossman, Dan and Seth Shulman. (1990). "Down in the Dumps." Discover (April): 36-41.
- Grossman, Karl. (1991). "Environmental Racism." Crisis (April): 14-17,31-32.

- Grossman, Karl. (1992). "From Toxic Racism to Environmental Justice." Environmental Magazine 3(June): 28-35.
- "Group Asks for Role in Health Task Force." (1980). Press Scimiter August 5: A1.
- Guha, Ranajit, ed. (1982-85). Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Haggerty, Michael. (1994). "Crisis at Indian Creek." In Robert D. Bullard. Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color. California: Sierra Club Book.
- Haggerty, Mark and Colleen Johnson. (1995). "The Hidden Barriers of Occupational Segregation." Journal of Economic Issues 29 (March): 211-222.
- Harper, Dean. "What Problems Do You Confront?: An Approach To Doing Qualitative Research". Qualitative Sociology 17 (1994): 89-95.
- Harris, Marvin. (1976). "History and Significance of the Emic/Etic Distinction." Annual Review of Anthropology 5:329-50.
- Harris, Rita. (1993). Toxics: How Much is Too Much? Green Scene/Memphis Environmental News (Spring/Summer): 12.
- Harrison, Faye V. and Donald Nonini. (1992). "Introduction: W.E.B. DuBois and Anthropology." Critique of Anthropology 12: 229-237.
- Harrison, Faye V. (1992). "The DuBoisian Legacy in Anthropology." Critique of Anthropology 12: 239-260.
- Hastings, Donald W. ; Donald A. Clelland and Robin L. Danielson. (1982). "Gordon's Assimilation Paradigm Revisited: The Issues of Ethnic Communalism, Insularity, and Return Migration." Research in Race and Ethnic Relations, Volume 3, Pp 189-206. JAI Press.
- Hershey, Majorie Randon and David B. Hill. (1977-78). "Is Pollution 'A White Thing'? Racial Differences in Preadults Attitudes." Public Opinion Quarterly 41: 439-458.

- Higgins, Robert R. (1993). "Race and Environmental Equity: An Overview of the Environmental Justice Issue in the Polity Process." Polity 26,2 (Winter): 281-300.
- Highlander Research and Education Center. (1992). "Environment and Development in the USA: A Grassroots Report for UNCED." New Market, Tenn.: Highlander and Education Center.
- Hine, Darlene Clark. (1989). "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance." Signs 14(4): 912-20.
- Hine, Darlene and Kate Wittenstein. (1981). "Female Slave Resistance: The Economics of Sex." Pp 289-300. In *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*, edited by Filomina Chioma Steady. Massachusettes: Schenkman.
- Hird, John A. (1994). Superfund: The Political Econmoy of Environmental Risk. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University.
- Hirschhorn, Joel S. (1985). "Toxic Waste and The Environmental Deficit: Whose Future Are We Discounting?" Futures Research Quarterly (Winter): 7-14.
- "Hollywood Dump Test for Dioxin." (1983). Press Scimitar February 9: A8.
- Hyman, Vicki. (1994). "EPA Program Doesn't Satisfy Local Activists: Residents Wary Skeptical." The Times Picayune. Friday, (December 9): B-4.
- Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis. (1982). A Case Study: Grassroots Politics in the 1980s. California: Synthesis Publications.
- Intermin Report of the Missouri Dioxin Task Force. (1983). (June 1).
- Jenkins, J. Craig. (1983). "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements." Annual Review of Sociology 9: 527-53.
- Johnson, Allen. (1994). "The 'Cancer Alley' Question." Gambit (November 29) : 17.

- Johnson, Glenn Steve. (1991). "What Are Cities Doing With Their Garbage: A Case Study on the Decision-making Process of Solid Waste Disposal in Knoxville, Tennessee." Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.
- Joppke, Christian. (1992). "Explaining Cross-Natural Variations of Two Anti-Nuclear Movements: A Political Process Perspective." Sociology 26 (May): 311-331
- Jorgensen, Danny L. (1989). Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies. London: Sage Publications.
- Kahn, Si. (1970). How People Get Power: Organizing Oppressed Communities for Action. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- "Kahn, Robert L., Charles F. Cannell, J.R. Wittenborn and Hans H. Strupp. (1968). Interviewing. International Encyclopedia of Social Science. New York: Free Press.
- Katz, Jeffrey. (1980). "Chemical Related Ills Cause Relocation Talk." Commercial Appeal (February 9): A1.
- Kazis, Richard and Richard Grossman. (1983). Fear At Work: Job Blackmail, Labor, and the Environment. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.
- Kay, Jane. (1994). "California's Endangered Communities of color." Pp. 155-188. In Robert D. Bullard. 1994. Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color. San Francisco: Sierra Club.
- Killian, Lewis M. and Charles U. Smith. (1960). "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community." Social Forces 38(March): 253-257.
- Kraft, Michael E. and Bruce B. Clary. (1991). "Citizen Participation and the NIMBY Syndrome: Public Response to Radioactive Waste Disposal." The Western Political Quarterly 44: 299-327.
- Krauss, Celene. (1993). "Women and Toxic Waste Protests: Race, Class and Gender as Resources of Resistance." Qualitative Sociology 16: 247-262.

- Ladd, Anthony and Shirley Laska. (1991). "Opposition to Solid Waste Incineration: Pre-Implementation Anxieties Surrounding a New Environmental Controversy." Sociological Inquiry Vol. 61 No.3 (August): 299-313.
- Laska, Shirley Bradway. (1993). "Environmental Sociology and the State of the Discipline." Social Forces 72(1) (September): 1-17.
- Lavelle, Marianna. (1993). "Residents Want 'Justice,' The EPA offers 'Equity,'" Natural Law Journal 15(21) (September): s12.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F. (1968). The People's Choice; How the Voter Makes up his Mind in a Presidential Campaign. New York: Columbia University.
- "Law Is Sought to Regulate Hazardous Materials Firms." (1980). Commercial Appeal (September 17): B1.
- Leavy, Walter. (1980). "Decision to Move Proving Hard for Steele Street Residents." Press Scimitar (February 14): A1.
- Leavy, Walter. (1980). "Cleaning Up Chemical Dumps Is Called Problem of the '80s." Press Scimitar (March 3) B5.
- Leavy, Walter. (1980). "Former Health Worker Aids in Search for Frayser Dump." Press Scimitar (February 5): A1.
- Lee, Charles. (1987). Toxic Waste and Race in the United States. New York: United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice.
- Lee, Charles (ed). (1992). Proceedings: The First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. New York: Commission for Racial Justice.
- Levelle, Marianne and Marcia Coyle. (1993). "Unequal Protection: The Racial Divide in Environmental Law." Natural Law Journal 15 (September 21): s2-s4.
- Levine, Adeline. (1982). Love Canal: Science, Politics, and People. Lexington, MA.: D.C. Heath and Co.
- Liebow, E. (1967). Tally's Corner: a Study of Negro Street Corner Men. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Liewbow, Edward Kristi Branch and Carlyn Orians. (1993). "Perceptions of Hazardous Waste Incineration Risks:

- Focus Group Finding." Sociological Spectrum 13: 153-173.
- Lipsky, Michael. (1968). "Protest as Political Resource." American Political Science Review 62: 1114-58.
- Locker, Richard. (1983). "Study Says Dump Hasn't Ruined Drinking Water." Commercial Appeal (December 29): B1.
- Logan, John R. and Harvey L. Molotch. (1987). Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place. Berkeley: University of California.
- Lollar, Michael. (1980). "High Concentration of Chlordane Found In Hollywood Dump." Commercial Appeal (November 18): A5.
- _____. (1980). "Traces of Toxic Chemicals Found In Test Well At Hollywood Dump." Commercial Appeal (September 19): B1.
- _____. (1980). "Wolf River Channel Fish Test High In Chlordane." Commercial Appeal (October 21): A1.
- _____. (1980). "Toxic Dump Believed Under Frayser House." Commercial Appeal (February 2): A1.
- _____. (1980). "Interviews Seek Count of Illnesses." Commercial Appeal (May 14): B8.
- _____. (1980). "Evacuation Planning For Frayser Sought." Commercial Appeal (February 18): A5.
- _____. (1980). "Steele Street Residents' Report Similar Chemical Symptoms." Commercial Appeal (January 27): B1.
- _____. (1980). "Rate of Cancer High In Frayser, Statistics Reveal." Commercial Appeal (April 25): B5.
- _____. (1981). "No Threat Seen from Chemicals in Frayser Area." Commercial Appeal (February 15): A1.
- "Long-Range Health Effects Likely to be Study's Goal." (1981). Commercial Appeal (March 26): B1.
- Lukes, Steven. (1974). Power: A Radical View. London: Macmillan.

- Lummus, Allan Craig. (1991). "Quilt or Quilts: Do the National Environmental Organizations Speak for the Grassroots Environmental Organizations." Unpublished Masters of Arts Thesis. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.
- Lynch, Barbara Deutsch. (1993). "The Garden and the Sea: United States Latino Environmental Discourses and Mainstream Environmentalism." In Social Problems 40(1) (February): 108-24.
- MacDonald, H. Ian. (1984). "Welcome Address In A. Armour (Ed.). Not-in-my-backyard Syndrome. Downsview, Ontario: York University Press.
- Manley, Brent. (1981). "Task Force Findings Warn of Disaster In Waste Incidents." Press Scimitar (November 23): A1.
- _____. (1980). "Mayor Says Ford Played Politics with Dump Site." Commercial Appeal (May 6): A1.
- Mansur, Michael. (1984). "Dump's effect on Residents to be studied." Commercial Appeal (August 25): B1.
- _____. (1984). "EPA mails 14 notices about dump." Commercial Appeal (March 24): B1.
- _____. (1984). "City offers \$300,000 to aid dump cleanup." Commercial Appeal (June 23): A1.
- _____. (1984). "Greene sounds off about dump issue." Commercial Appeal (June 20): B3.
- _____. (1983). "Proper dump cleanup imperative, Gore says." Press Scimitar (February 17): B1.
- _____. (1984). "Suit would take dump from EPA." Commercial Appeal (January 23): A1.
- _____. (1984). "EPA blames 12 Companies at Hollywood." Commercial Appeal (March, 29): B1.
- _____. (1984). "Nine firms exempted in dump cleanup." Commercial Appeal (November 6): A1.
- _____. (1984). "Dump List Removes 3 Names." Commercial Appeal (December 4): B5.
- _____. (1982). "EPA Workers Clean Chemical Site." Press Scimitar (October 25): A1.

- _____. (1984). "EPA Will Not Delay Hollywood Cleanup-but May Add to It." Commercial Appeal (July 31): A7.
- _____. (1984). "State Decrees Dump Cleanup Must Resume." Commercial Appeal (July 28): B3.
- _____. (1984). "Gulf Claims Fuel in Groundwater from Other Sites." Commercial Appeal (June 19): B1.
- _____. (1984). "Tests to Rate Toxic Dangers of MAPCO." Commercial Appeal (May 23): A3.
- _____. (1984). "Report Lists Alternatives at Dump." Commercial Appeal (February 27): B1.
- _____. (1984). "Drilling at Hollywood Dump May Be Explosive." Commercial Appeal (September 16): A1.
- _____. (1984). "Sediment Removal, Soil Cover Favored at Dump." Commercial Appeal (March 16): B1.
- _____. (1984). "Accused Told to Prove Case Outside Court." Commercial Appeal (April 1): A1.
- _____. (1984). "City, Velsicol Map Cleanup of Dumpsite." Commercial Appeal (June 13): B3.
- _____. (1984). "Officials 'Upset' Over EPA Delay on Dump Cover." Commercial Appeal (July 18): A1.
- _____. (1984). "Velsicol Critical on Dump Delay." Commercial Appeal (July 20): B1.
- _____. (1984). "Ok on Dump Health Survey Expected." Commercial Appeal (August 8): A1.
- Mansur, Mike and Gertha M. Coffee. (1983). "Future Remains Cloudy for Hollywood Dump." Commercial Appeal (December 9): B3.
- Matheny, Albert R. and Bruce A. Williams. (1985). "Knowledge Vs. NIMBY: Assessing Florida's Strategy for Siting Hazardous Waste Disposal Facilities." Policy Studies Journal 14: 70-80.
- Martin, Bradley A. (1981). "HCB Deposit Tied to Fish Sampling." Commercial Appeal (January 19): A3.
- Masterson-Allen, Susan and Phil Brown. (1990). "Public Reaction to Toxic Waste Contamination: Analyses of a

Social Movement." International Journal of Health Services 20, 3: 485-500.

Matsumoto, David. (1994). Cultural Influences on Research Methods and Statistics. California: Brooks/Cole.

Mazmanion, Daniel and David Morrell. (1989). "The NIMBY Syndrome: Facility Siting and the Failure of Democratic Discourse" Pp 134, 139-40 In Norman J. Vig and Michael E. Kraft, Environmental Policy.

Mauss, Armand L. (1975). Social Problems as Social Movements. Pennsylvania: Lippincott.

McAdam, Doug. (1982). Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, Doug John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. (1988). Ch.21, Social Movements Pp. 695-737 In the Handbook of Sociology. Edited by Neil J. Smelser. London: Sage.

McCarthy, John D and Mayer N. Zald. (1977). "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. American Journal of Sociology 82:1212-1241.

McCollough, Peggy. (1982). "Calinness Hides Worrying Over Tarnished Street." Commercial Appeal (December 14): B1.

"Meeting Set to Study Frayser Resident's Relocation." (1980). Press Scimitar (February 9): A3.

Memphis and Shelby County Health Department (with Center for Environmental Health and Injury Control, Centers for Disease Control, United States Public Health Service, Department of Health and Human Services). (1988). Health Effects Study of Residents Near the Hollywood Dumpsite, Memphis, Tennessee. Memphis: Memphis and Shelby County Health Department.

Memphis Eyed As Nuclear Hub." (1981). Commercial Appeal (November 7) B5.

"Memphis on Clean-up List." (1982). Press Scimitar (December 20): A1.

Merchant, Carolyn. (1992). Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World. London: Routledge.

- Meyer, Eugene L. (1992). "Environmental Racism." Audubon (Jan.-Feb.): 30-32.
- Milliband, Ralph. (1969). The State in Capitalist Society: An Analysis of the Western Systems of Power. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Mills, C.W. (1956). The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University.
- Mills, Warner E. and Harry R. Davis. (1962). Small City Government: Seven Cases in Decision-making. New York: Random House.
- Mohai, Paul. (1985). "Public Concern and Elite Involvement in Environmental Conservation." Social Science Quarterly 66(December):820-838.
- Mohai, Paul and Bunyan Bryant. (1995). "Demographic Studies Reveal a Pattern of Environmental Injustice." In At Issue. Environmental Justice. California: Greenhouse Press.
- Morris, Aldon D. (1984). The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change. New York: Free Press.
- Mowrey, Marc and Tim Redmon. (1993). Not in Our Backyard: the People and Events that Shaped America's Modern Environmental Movement. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- "Mrs. Pounds, EPA Trade 'Lying' Charges Over Tests." (1980). Commercial Appeal (September 17): A1.
- Mueller, Claus. (1973). The Politics of Communication: A Study in the Political Sociology of Language, Socialization and Legitimation. New York: Oxford University Press.
- New York Department of Health. (1978). "Love Canal: Public Health" Time Bomb, (September): 12.
- "No Harmful Wastes Found By EPA Studies In Frayser." (1981). Commercial Appeal (August 28): B3.
- "No 'Imminent' Threat Seen In Waste Checks of Firms." (1981). Commercial Appeal (November 18): A8.

"Normal Birth." (1980). Press Scimitar (September 26): B1 .

Norris, Lachelle. (1988). "A Social Movement Analysis of Environmental Protest: The Dead Pigeon River Council." Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.

Novarro, Leonard A. (1981). "Mayor Withdraws Plan To Put Citizen in Study." Press Scimitar (October 3):B1.

_____. (1981). "EPA Investigations Raising Critical Questions." Press Scimitar (May 20): A3.

_____. (1981). "Chemist: Hollywood Dump a Serious Conern." Press Scimitar (January 22): B1.

_____. (1981). "State to Get Look Soon At Study of Dump Area." Press Scimitar (March 7): A1.

_____. (1980). "Family's Health Suffering Through Bureaucratic Briar Patch." Press Scimitar (January 22): B5.

_____. (1981). "Dump Action Left Hanging On Authority." Press Scimitar (June 24): B1.

_____. (1980). "Family Tormented by Illness Suspicious of Past in Frayser." Press Scimitar (April 8): B1.

_____. (1980). "Family Tormented by Illness Suspicious of Past in Frayser." Press Scimitar (April 8): A1.

_____. (1982). "Report on Chemical Plants called Political Maneuver." Press Scimitar (March 10): B1.

_____. (1980). "Family's Health Suffering Through Bureaucratic Briar Patch." Press Scimitar (January 22): A1.

_____. (1981). "Environmental Panel Losing Members." Press Scimitar (March 30): A1.

_____. (1981). "Hollywood Dump Makes EPA Priority List." Press Scimitar (October 23): B3.

_____. (1980). "Frayser Couple Celebrates." Press Scimitar (September 26): B1.

- _____. (1981). "Dump Detectives Take Up Search Where EPA Leaves Off." Press Scimitar (May 11): A3.
- _____. (1980). "Expert Disputes Result of Child Autopsy." Press Scimitar (November 15): B1.
- _____. (1980). "Vanderbilt Chemist Finds Toxic Endrin Close to Residences." Press Scimitar (December 5): B1.
- _____. (1981). "University Team Ready to Discuss Toxic Wastes." Press Scimitar (December 3): A1.
- _____. (1981). "Genetic Damage Blamed on Chemicals." Press Scimitar (March 12): B1.
- _____. (1981). "Genetic Damage Blamed on Chemicals." Press Scimitar (March 12): A1.
- Oberschall, Anthony. (1973). Social Conflict and Social Movements. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- "Officials See Frayser Health and Chemical." (1980). Press Scimitar (December 10): A1.
- O'Hare, Michael. (1977). "Not on My Block You Don't-- Facilities Siting and the Importance of Compensation." Public Policy 25: 407-458.
- O'Hare, Michael; Lawrence Bacow and Debra Sanderson. (1983). Facility Siting and Public Opposition. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Sarah J. Ritchie. (1991). "Mobilized ,Masses and Strategic Opponents: A Resource Mobilization Analysis of The Clean Air Act and Nuclear Freeze Movements." The Western Political Quarterly 44, 2: 329-351.
- Parenti, Michael. (1970). "Power and Pluralism: A View from the Bottom." Journal of Politics 32: 501-30.
- Patrick, J. (1973). A Glasgow Gang Observed. London: EyreMethuen.
- Patterson, Ernest. (1974). Black City Politics. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

- Pike, Kenneth. (1990). Emics and Etics: the Insider and Outsider Debate. Newbury: Sage Publications.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. (1979). Poor People's Movement: Why They Succeed? How They Fail. New York: Vintage.
- Polsby, Nelson W. (1963). Community Power and Political Theory. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Portney, Kent E. (1985). "The Potential of the Theory of Compensation for Mitigating Public Opposition to Hazardous Waste Siting: Some Evidence from Five Massachusetts Communities." Policy Studies Journal 14: 81-89.
- Poulantzas, Nicos. (1968). Political Power and Social Classes. Translated by T. O'Hagan. London: Verso.
- Powelson, Richard. (1980). "Baker, EPA Accuse Each Other of 'Jumping the Gun' on Study." Press Scimitar (September 3): B1.
- Price, Margaret. (1957). The Negro Voter in the South. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council.
- "Progress Slow in Study of Frayser." (1981). Press Scimitar (March 13): A1.
- Rader, Rebecca Lynn. (1992). "Redemocratizing America: A Comparative Case Study Analysis of Two East Tennessee Community Organizations." Unpublished Master of Art Thesis. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.
- Rathje, William L. (1990). "The History of Garbage." Garbage Magazine. (September/October): 15-18.
- Reason, Peter. (1994). Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry, Handbook of Qualitative Research. (pp. 324-339) London: Sage.
- Reich, Michael R. (1991). Toxic Politics. New York: Cornell University.
- Reko, H. Karl. (1984). "Not an act of God: The Story of Times Beach." Privately published report.

- Reynolds, Barbara. (1980). "Triana Alabama: the Unhealthiest Town in America?" National Wildlife 18 (August): 33.
- Robinson, Lori S. (1995). "Green and Mean: Blacks See Red Over Environmental Racism." Emerge (July/August): 42-47.
- Rosenbaum, Walter A. (1985). "Environmental Politics and Policy." Congressional Quarterly: 187.
- Rosenbaum, Walter A. (1977). The Politics of Environmental Concern. New York: Praeger.
- Ruch, Emily Boone (with Virginia Dunaway, Ray Ann Kremer and Bridget Ciaramitaro). (1980). Chronicle of Events in Frayser and at the Hollywood Dump in Memphis, Tennessee, January 1, 1980-December 31, 1980. Memphis: Metropolitan Inter-faith Association.
- Russell, Dick. (1989). "Environmental Racism: Minority Communities and Their Battle Against Toxics." The Amicus Journal (Spring): 22-32.
- Schattschneider, E.E. (1960). The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schmidt, William E. (1990). "In Missouri: a Battle over Burying a Toxic Town." New York Times, (May 30): .
- Schnaiberg, Allan. (1983). "Redistributive Goals Versus Distributive Politics: Social Equity Limits in Environmentalism and Appropriate Technology Movements." Sociological Inquiry 53(Spring): 200-219.
- Schnaiberg, Allan. (1990). The Environment: From Surplus to Scarcity. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. (1994). Environment and Society: The Enduring Conflict. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Schneider, Keith. (1984). "Pollution Alley: Louisiana's Petrochemical Legacy." The Amicus Journal (Fall): 26-35.
- "School Grounds Closure Sought By Health Group." (1982). Commercial Appeal (January 11): A1.
- Schuster, Tania. 1994. (1994). "National Law Journal Finds Discriminatory Enforcement of Pollution Laws." National Wildlife Federation 1, 1 (Winter): 1-8.

- Scott, James C. (1985). Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shover, Neal and Donald A. Clelland, and John Lynxwiler. (1986). Chapters 1 and 9 from Enforcement or Negotiation. Albany: State University Of New York Press.
- Silton, Triana. (1993). "Out of the Frying Pan... Chemical Weapons Incineration in the United States." The Ecologist Vol. 23, No.1 (January/February): 18-24.
- Simon, Rita James. (1971). "Public Attitudes Toward Population and Pollution." Public Opinion Quarterly 35: 93-99.
- Singer, Brent A. (1988). "An Extension of Rawl's Theory of Justice to Environmental Ethics." Environmental Ethics 10: 217-31.
- Smelser, Neil. (1963). Theory of Collective Behavior. New York: The Free Press.
- Spann, Monica. "Superfund Justice." (1994). National Wildlife Federation 1,1 (Winter): 1-8.
- Stavins, Robert W. (1989). "Harnessing Market Forces to Protect the Environment." Environment 31: 5-7, 28-35.
- Steinhart, Peter. (1991). "What Can We Do About Environmental Racism?" Audubon (May): 18-21.
- Stern, Donna. (1993). "Toxics and Environmental Racism in Tennessee." Green Scene/Memphis Environmental News (Spring/Summer): 12.
- _____. (1993). "Toxics and Environmental Racism in Tennessee." Green Scene/Memphis Enviornmental News (Spring/Summer): 12.
- Stewart, David W. and Michael A. Kamins. (1993). Secondary Research: Information Sources and Methods. London: Sage.
- Stinchcombe, Arthur. (1965). "Social Structure and Organizations." In James March, ed., Handbook of Organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally.

- Stone, Clarence Nelson. (1976). Economic Growth and Neighborhood Discont System Bias in the Urban Renewal Program of Atlanta. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- Strock, James M. (1994). "Wizard of Ooze: Lawyers Shouldn't Be the Only Ones Cleaning up Under Superfund." Policy Review (Winter): 42-45.
- "Study as Starting Point." (1980). Press Scimitar (December 10): A1.
- "Study of Effects of Toxic Wastes." (1981). Commercial Appeal (December 8): B1.
- "'Superfund' to Aid Cleanup." (1982). Commercial Appeal (October 15): A3.
- Suro, Robert. (1993). "Pollution-Weary Minorities Try Civil Rights Tack." New York Times 11 (January): B7.
- Taeuber, Karl. (1983). "Racial Residential Segregation, 28 Cities, 1970-1980," Center for Demography and Ecology Working Paper No.83-112. University of Wisconsin-Madison, (March).
- Taylor, Dorceta. (1992). "Can the Environmental Movement Attract and Maintain the Support of Minorities?" in Bryant and Mohai (ed), Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards, pp. 28-54.
- Taylor, R. (1984). "Do Environmentalists Care About Poor People." 96 U.S. News and World Report (April 2): 51-52.
- Taylor, Verta. (1989). "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." American Sociological Review 54: 761-775.
- Technical Action Group. (1983). North Hollywood Dump Environmental Assessment and Action Plan: Task Element IV Environmental Monitoring Second Quarter Data Report. Memphis: Technical Action Group.
- Tennessee Valley Authority Annual Report. (1980). Knoxville: Tennessee Valley Authority.

Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn. (1986). "Black Women in Resistance: A Cross-Cultural Perspective." Pp 188-209. In Resistance: Studies in African, Caribbean and Afro-American History, edited by Gary Okhiro. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.

"Test Wells to be Installed as Dump Study Continues." (1982). Press Scimitar (January 27): A1.

"Tests Show No Increase of Illness In Frayser." (1980). Commercial Appeal (December 7): B1.

"The Environmentally Disenfranchised." (1992). Christian Science Monitor. (May): 11.

"The Pounds Family Plight." (1980). Press Scimitar (January 24): A3..

"The War Against Nuclear Waste Disposal." (1992). Sojourner 17: 15.

Theodorson, T. and A. Theodorson (eds.). (1969). A Modern Dictionary of Sociology. New York: T.Y. Crowell.

Thometz, Carol. (1963). The Decision-makers. Dallas: Southern Methodist University.

Tilly, Charles. (1978). From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing.

Touraine, Alain. (1981). The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Traux, Hawley. (1990). "Beyond White Environmentalism: Minorities and the Environment." Environmental Action 21: 19-30.

Tucker, David M. (1980). Memphis Since Crump. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee.

Turner, Ralph and Lewis Killian (1987). Collective Behavior. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice. (1987). Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States, A National Report on the Racial Hazardous Waste Sites. New York: United States Church of Christ.

- United States Commission on Civil Rights. (1993). The Battle for Environmental Justice in Louisiana: Government, Industry, and the People. Missouri.
- "Upper Chattahoochee Riverkeeper". (1995). Riverchat Newsletter. Winter: 1-8.
- U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. (1992). Environmental Equity: Reducing Risk for All Americans.
- U.S. General Accounting Office. (1983). Siting of Hazardous Waste Landfills and Their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities. Washington, D.C.
- "U.S. Health Aide Says He Erred on Times Beach." (1991). New York Times, (May 26): 20.
- Van Liere Kent D. and Riley Dunlap. (1980). "The Social Bases of Environmental Concern: A Review of Hypothesis, Explanations, and Empirical Evidence." Public Opinion Quarterly 44(February): 181-197.
- Vaughn, Sandra. (1989). "Memphis: Heart of the Mid-South(pp.98-120)." In Robert Bullard. 1989. In Search of the New South:The Black Urban Experience in the 1970s and 1980s. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Wadsworth, Yoland. (1993). Do It Yourself Social Research. Australia: Victorian Council of Social Service Melbourne Family Care Organisation in association with Allen and Unwin.
- _____. (1991). Everyday Evaluation on the Run. Melbourne: Action Research Issues Association.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1983). Historical Capitalism, London: Verso.
- Walsh, E. (1988). "New Dimensions in Social Movements: The High-Level Waste Citing Controversy." Forum 3: 586-605.
- Warner, Coleman. (1994). "Neighbors Push for EPA to Move: Anger Grows at Landfill Site." The Times-Picayune, (October 9): A1&A4.
- Washington, Harriet A. (1995). "Widening Gap in Race-based Pollution." Emerge (July/August): 19.

"Well Samples at Dumpsites Give Water Passing Marks."(1980).
Press Scimitar (October 3): B3.

Wentz, Peter S. (1988). Environmental Justice. Albany:
State University of New York Press.

Whyte, W.F. (1955). Street Corner Society. Chicago:
University of Chicago.

Wiley, Ed. (1991). "Why People of Color Should Think Green."
Black Issues in Higher Education Vol.7, No.1: 12-15.

Williams, Lee Lyle. (1993). "The Semiproletarianization of
the Household: Making Ends Meet in Rosey Hollow."
Unpublished Master Thesis. Knoxville: University of
Tennessee.

Willie, Charles Vert. (1983). Race, Ethnicity, and
Socioeconomic Status: A Theoretical analysis of their
interrelationship. New York: General Hall, Inc.

Wood, James L. and Maurice Jackson. (1982). Social
Movements: Development, Participation and Dynamics.
Belmont: Wadsworth.

Worst Things First? (1990). Debate Over Risk-Based National
Environmental Priorities. Washington, D.C.: Resources
for the Future.

Wright, Cecelia Payne. (1980). "Official Says Quick Fix to
Waste Isn't Possible." Press Scimitar (January 14):
A1.

Yin, Robert K. (1989). Case Study Research: Design and
Methods. London: Sage.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

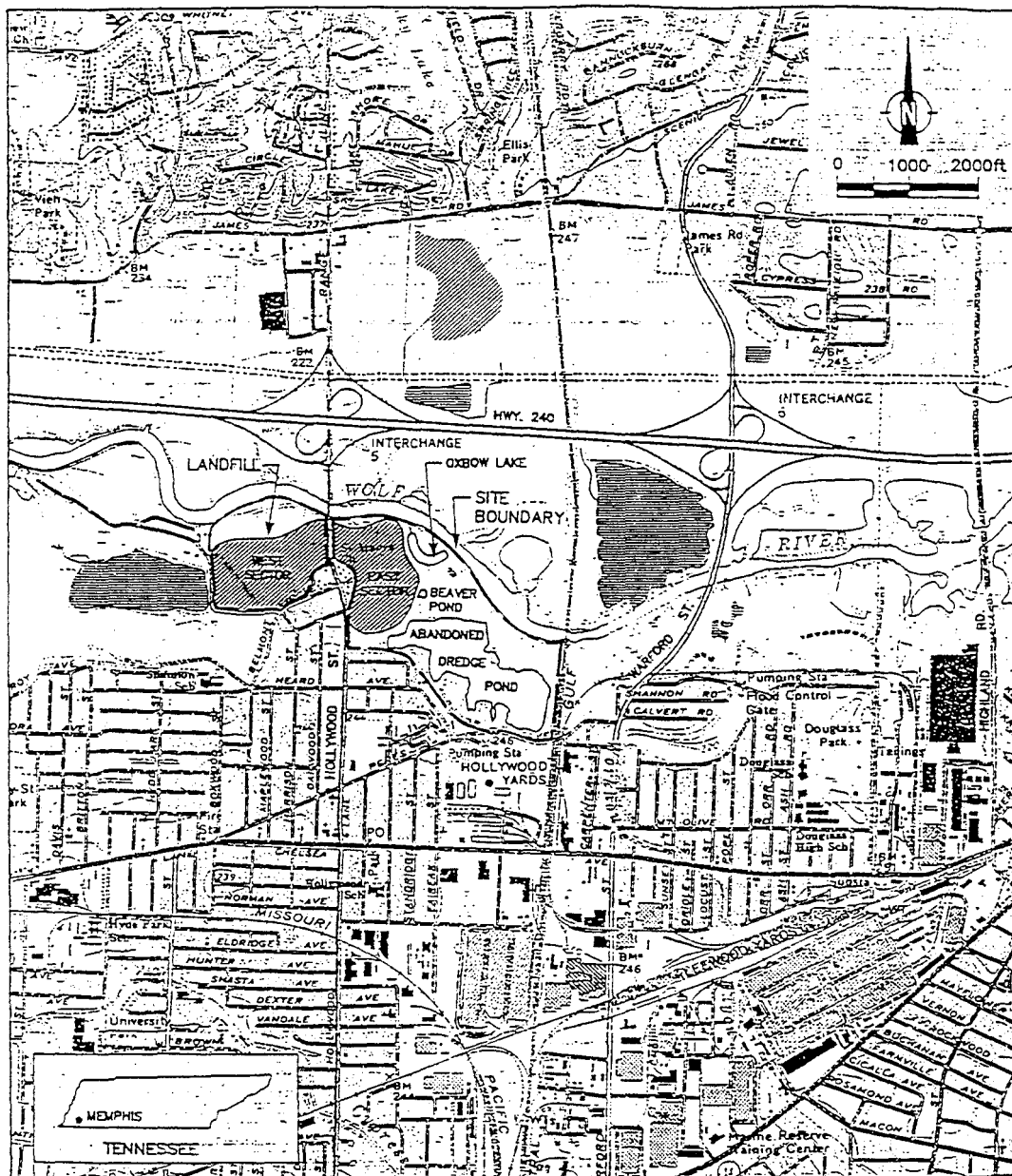


Figure 1. Site Location, North Hollywood. Memphis Tennessee.

Source: USGS Quadrangle Map: Northeast Memphis, Tennessee.

Environmental Racism

North of Peres Street

- old dredge pond
- man fishing - despite warning signs from Health Dept.

West of Peres Street

- dozens of children playing in front of their low-income apartments
- [assumption] some of them also play among these toxic barrels - factors in their illness

East End of Peres Street

- hundreds of discarded, rusting 55-gallon drums
- some marked **CORROSIVE**
- some open and filled to the rim with a multicolored slime that look as if it might glow in the dark
- there are no fences or warning signs

West of Dump - Peres Street

- unofficial depository for commercial waste
- Old tires, appliances, piles of roofing shingles
- street is impassable

South of Dump

- Vesicol Chemical Plant
- Humko (Kraft) Chemical Plant
- Plough
- vile odor - [smells like] burning rubber

Figure 2. Environmental Racism.

Source: Copyright 1995, Glenn S. Johnson.

Tainted Community

Hollywood Area

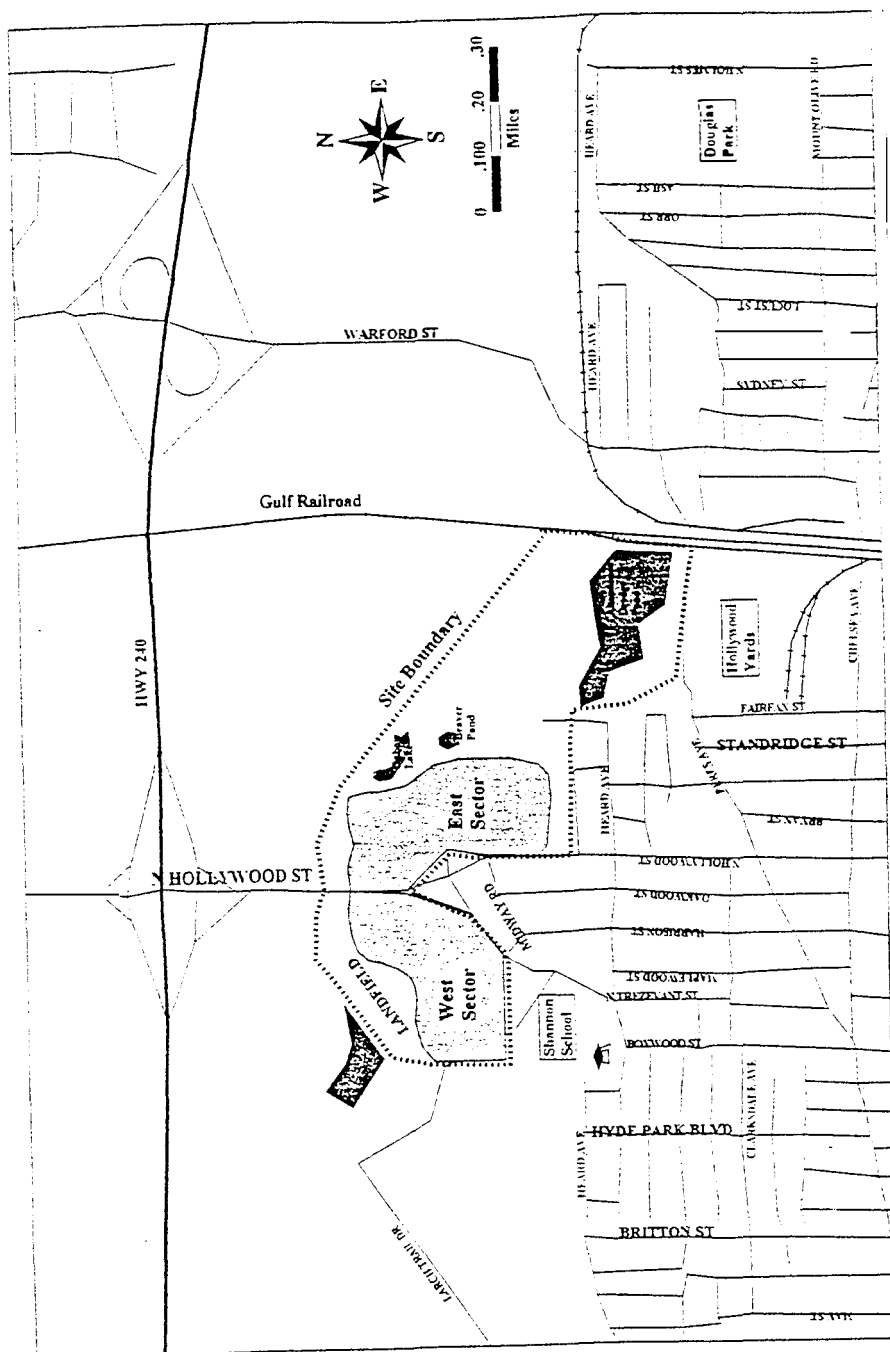


Figure 3. Tainted Community, Hollywood Area.

Source: Copyright 1996, Glenn S. Johnson.

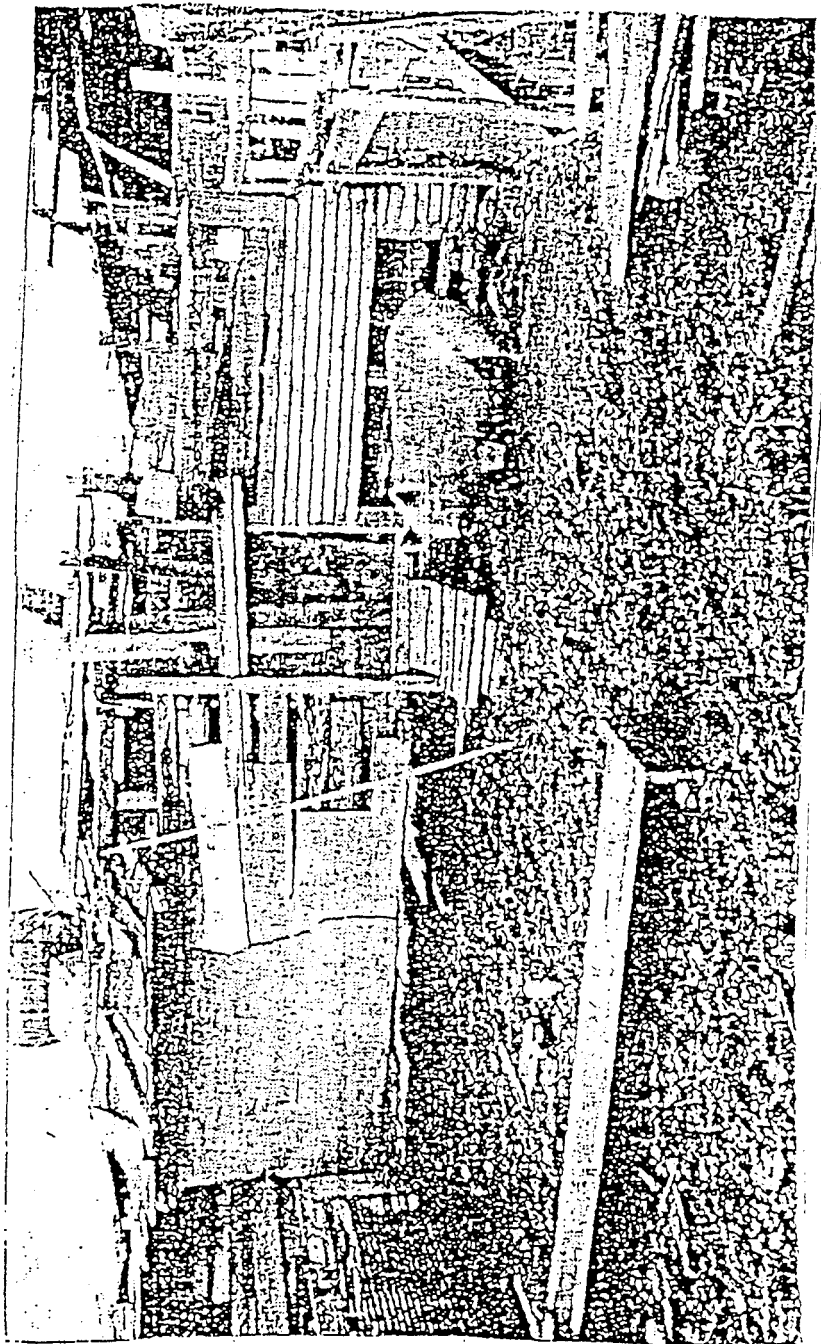
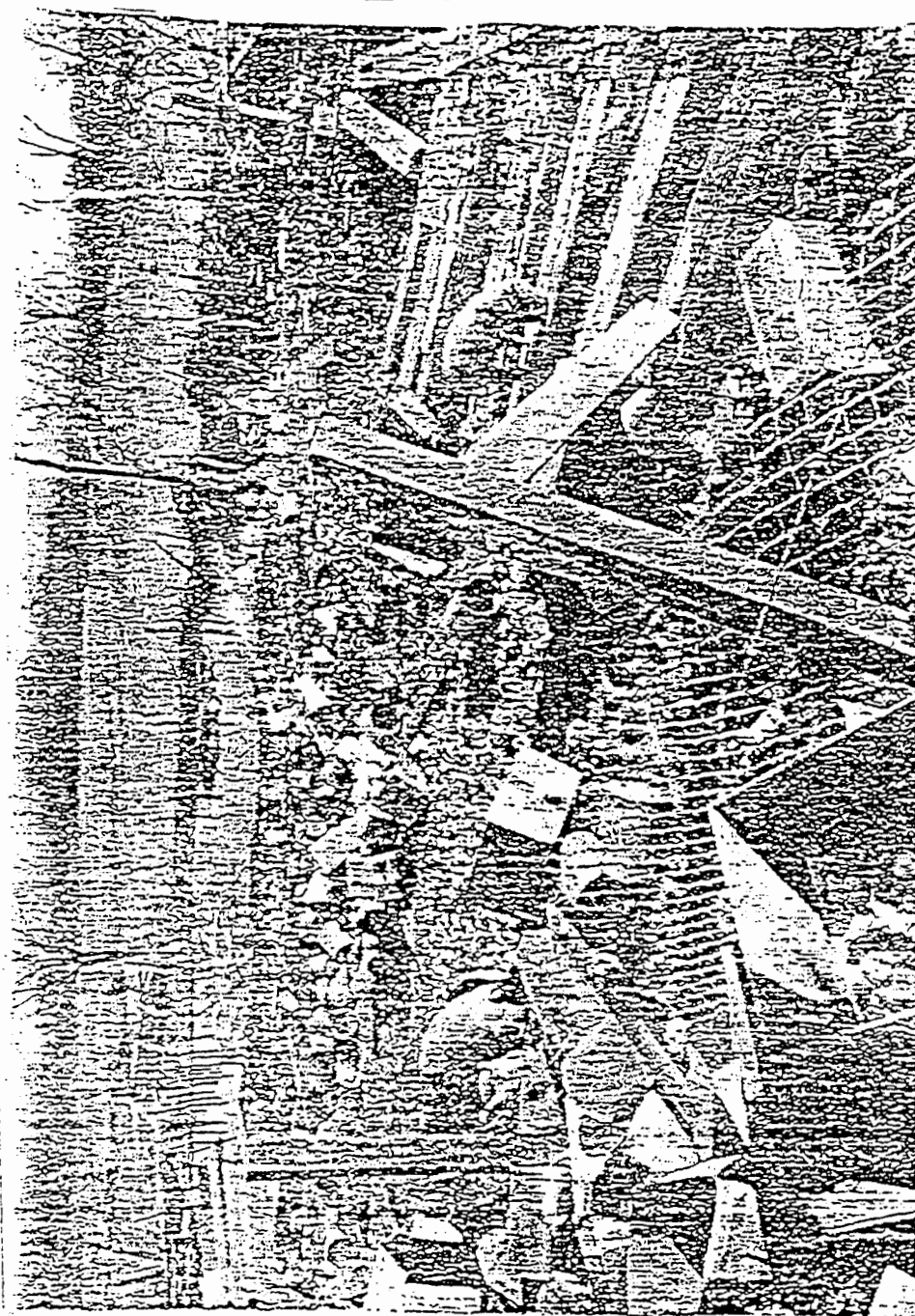


Figure 4. Pigs and Hollywood Dump.

Source: Commercial Appeal, January 12, 1980.



By Barney Sellers

Pigs Roam On Site Of Abandoned Dump On Hollywood South Of Wolf River

Figure 5. Pigs Search for Food at Dump.

Source: Commercial Appeal, January 12, 1980.



Figure 6. Toxic Barrels found at Hollywood Dump.

Source: Commercial Appeal, January 12, 1980.



Abandoned Chemical Barrels, Discovered in Woods Along Loosahatchie River — Staff Photo

Figure 7. The Discovery of Toxic Barrels at Dump.

Source: Press Scimitar, June 1, 1980.

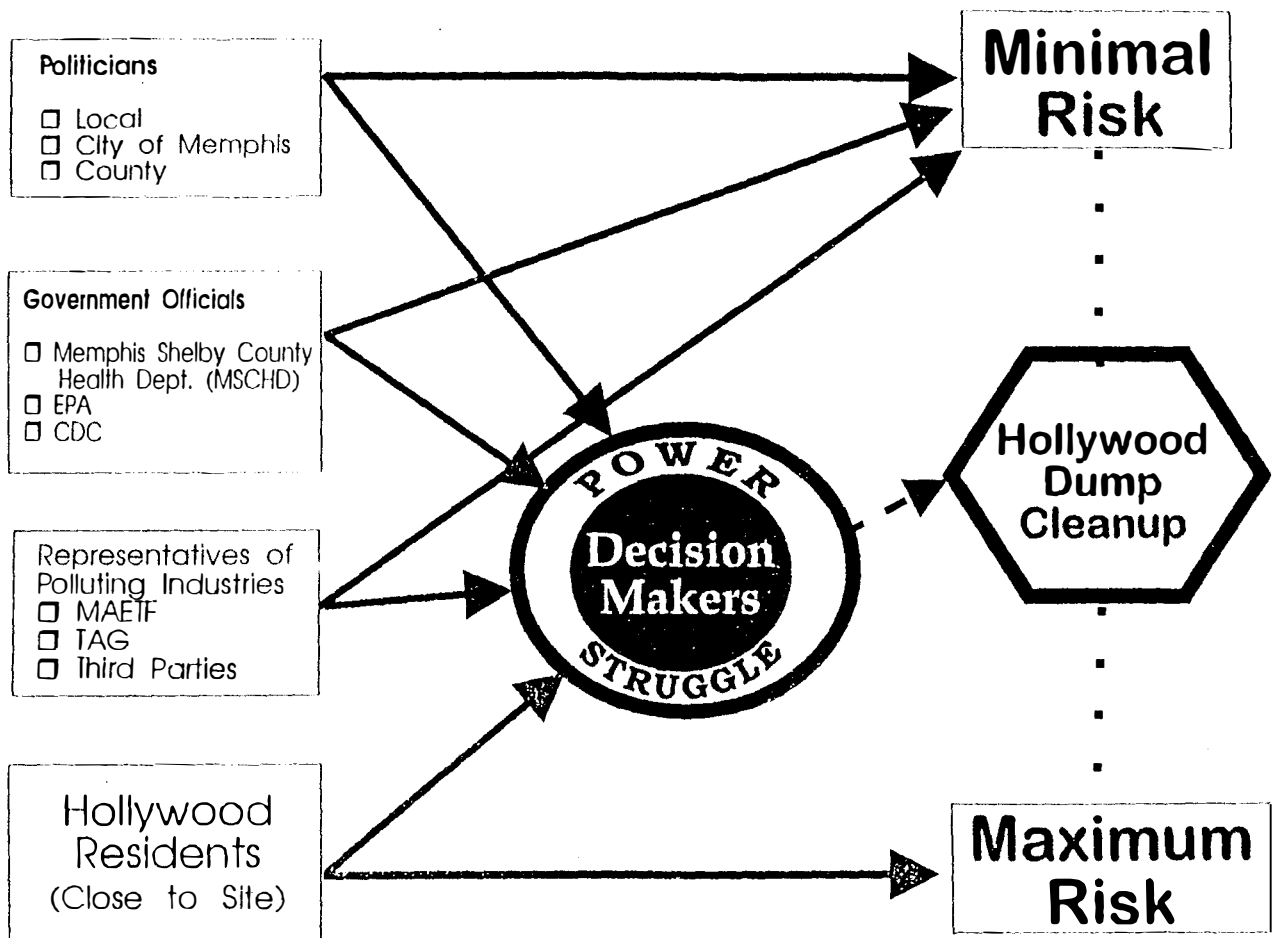


Figure 8. Power Struggle Among Decision-makers.

Source: Copyright 1995, Glenn S. Johnson

"ROUND TABLE of DECISION-MAKING"

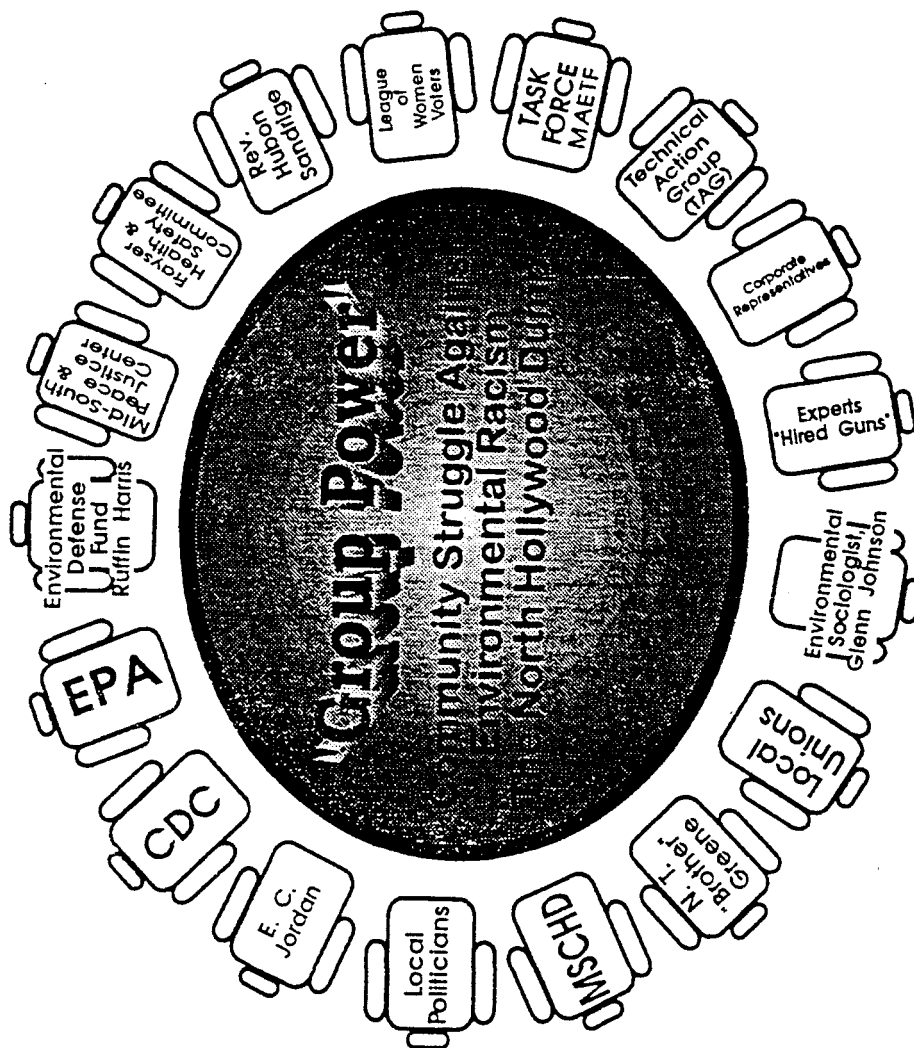


Figure 9. Group Power. Community Struggle Against Environmental Racism: The North Hollywood Dump.

Source: Copyright 1995, Glenn S. Johnson

APPENDIX B

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
3-5-80	Hollywood Dump Closed in 1967		
1-10-80	Tennessee Public Health Department ordered velsicol to stop dumping in Hollywood Dump in February 1972		
1-11-80		Cyanide Spill reported in the Loosatchie River in 1977	
1-12-80	Representative from Environmental Defense Fund disapprove of raising hogs at Dump which may contain toxic chemicals	Hogs were raised at the Hollywood Dump in its earlier days	
1-22-80			A local family complains about toxic chemical at the dump
1-27-80			Local Steele Streets residents report symptoms that are attributed to toxic chemicals like those found at Love Canal

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
1-28-80		House to house survey done on residents to collect evidence to support environmental threat of dump	
2-2-80		Evidence emerges indicate the Hollywood community is sitting on top of an old dump	
2-5-80		Two elderly residents conclude that 55-gallon drums were dumped in their neighborhood	
2-12-80		Chemicals in the area perceived as carcinogenic	
2-15-80		No "conclusive" evidence on toxic chemicals at the dump	
3-25-80		Senator Gore decides to investigate chemical dumping at the Hollywood Dump	

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
4-2-80	Speculation over dumping waste at the dump was not regulated by consent decree		
4-9-80		Residents complain about allergies and health problems. Soil and water samples collected and analyzed for possible toxicity.	
5-6-80	Local politicians out-clash over who should be held accountable for chemical dumping at Hollywood Dump		Public over who over neglect of dump as an environmental hazard
5-9-80		Soil samples analyzed indicate that these chemicals were present pyrene, fluoranthene, chlordanes, benzofluranthene, 1,1,1-trichloroethane and acetone	
5-14-80	Health Department assigns nurses to interview residents about possible illnesses		

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
6-9-80	Local politicians accuse EPA for not reporting the findings off hazardous chemicals at the dump		
6-9-80	Aerial photographs are taken of the dump		
7-11-80	Toxic 55-gallon barrels found in Todd Creek		
7-17-80	Class action law suit file against potential corporations accused of dumping toxic chemicals local dump		
7-24-80	A few scientists argue that EPA Health survey is too narrow to scope		
8-5-80			Community organization demand that Environmental Task Force investigates the proposed health problems of local residents

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
8-20-80		Fish from Oxbow Lake had high levels of pesticides in them	
9-4-80		USEPA in Atlanta replaces local EPA as the lead agency in doing a health survey	Local residents protest against a proposed building of a chemical company on Warford Street
10-3-80		A well in the Hollywood community had above levels of toxics based on state and federal drinking water standards	
10-17-80			Grassroots in local citizens demand City of Memphis to fence the Hollywood Dump

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
10-21-80		Fish samples from Wolf River have high levels of chlordane	
11-18-80			A chemist legitimates the hazards of chlordane and heptachlor found in Dump
		A chemist finds high concentrations of pesticides in the Cypress sump	
12-7-80	Health survey by Center for Disease Control and Memphis Shelby County Health Department indicate illnesses of local residents are not attributed to chemicals at the Hollywood Dump		

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
1-19-81		Chemist makes connection between hexachlorobenzene (HCB) found in Dump with a 1978 study of Wolf River that concluded that the fish were contaminated with HCB	
1-23-81			Chemist argues that toxicchemicals at Dump should be dug up and shipped to toxic landfills in other states
2-4-81			Grassroots activists and local residents chain themselves to fence at the entrance of Dump in order to demand safety measures of toxic chemicals cleanup at the dump

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
3-7-81	State officials discuss the significance of a comprehensive study of the dump		
3-19-81		An engineer from the Tennessee Department of Public Health states that the cleanup at the dump reduced toxic runoff by 90 percent	
3-26-81	Johns Hopkins University develop a plan on the most feasible way to cleanup the dump		

Table 1
 CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
5-3-81			Representative of Environmental Defense Fund and six other members of the Metropolitan Area Environmental Task Force (MAETF) resign from the task force because they were not full participants in state and federal investigations of the Hollywood Dump
5-11-81		Two environmentalists find about sixty 55-gallon drums on the shores of the of the Loosahatchie River	
5-20-81			Local residents raise questions about the EPA investigations at the dump

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
6-8-81	The Technical Action Group (TAG) states that the focus of study on the Hollywood Dump is to assess water quality and the boundaries of hazardous waste pollution in the community		
6-24-81			Local residents testified at public hearings about the health risks of the Hollywood Dump
8-28-81	EPA studies found low levels of pesticides at the dump		

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
10-3-81	Shelby County Mayor Bill Morris withdraws his decision to allow a Hollywood resident to be on a special team to assess the impact of the dump on local residents		
10-23-81		Hollywood dump is listed as one of the 114 worst toxic chemical dump sites in the United States	
11-18-81	The new Federal Resource Conservation Recovery Act imposes strict regulations on corporations that generate hazardous waste		
11-24-81			In a public hearing there were discussions possible water poisoning at the dump

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
12-3-81	Johns Hopkins University presents the methods that will be used to study the potential health problems of residents living near the dump		
12-8-81			Local residents complain about the cost of the public health study for residents who live near the dump
1-11-82			Grassroots activist informs city officials that a playground in the area is contaminated with toxic chemicals. Technicals Action Group installs test well at the local dump to test the ground water for toxic chemicals

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
3-10-82			The National Clean Air Coalition, an environmental group reports that two local companies (Velsicol & Procter and Gamble) pollute the air with cancer causing chemicals
1-11-82			Local residents and grassroots activists make a second demand on city officials to put a fence around the dump
3-11-82	Research conducted by a chemist conclude that a fence be built around Cypress Creek in North Memphis due to hazardous chemicals found in the area		

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
3-14-82		Six wells are drilled in the dump to test for possible pollutants in the shallow ground water in the area. There is an aquifer close by where the city gets its drinking water	
12-20-82		The Hollywood dump is considered one of the worst toxic dumps in Tennessee	
1-9-83			The Hollywood Dump is tested for dioxin
2-17-83	U.S. Rep. Al Gore Jr. visits the Hollywood Dump to observe the environmental conditions of the dump		

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
4-20-83		The city of Memphis is accused of dumping large large amounts of industrial sewage in the Loosahatchie River which resulted in the death of approximately 600,000 fish	
6-11-83	City, county, state and federal officials conclude after a year-long study of pollution at the Hollywood Dump that there is no environmentally damaging evidence that threatens the health of local residents		
11-29-83	The study done on the dump indicates that contaminants in the dump do not pose environmental threats to the ground water or drinking water		

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
1-13-84	Velsicol Chemical Company presents a proposed clean-up plan for the Hollywood Dump		
1-23-84			A local activist's attorney filed a federal court lawsuit to dismiss control of the dump by EPA
3-16-84	A study by E. C. Jordan Company suggested to the Task Force the removal of contaminated sediment and to cover the dump with clean soil		
3-24-84	Federal officials mailed 14 notices to those companies responsible for cleaning up the dump	Velsicol Chemical Company has been the only company that admitted to dumping contaminated chemicals in the dump	

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
4-1-84	Companies responsible for dumping hazardous chemicals in the dump must prove their innocence outside of court		
5-26-84	The state may contribute \$250,000 for the cleanup of the dump if companies and local governments responsible for hazardous waste at the dump contribute to		
6-16-84	The city of Memphis volunteers to donate \$300,000 for the cleanup of the dump		
6-20-84			Local blacks are skeptical of city officials. They do not trust city officials because of their track record of broken promises to clean-up the dump

Table 1
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLLYWOOD DUMP

Date	Public Policy Decisions	Environmental Problems	Community Resistance
9-16-84		The U.S. Air Force at one time dumped explosive munitions in the dump	A few residents opposed to EPA drilling at the dump because of possible explosives exploding on contact
6-19-90	Hollywood Dump is one of Tennessee's first toxic waste sites put on the national priority list for cleanup under the federal superfund program		
7-19-90			Local residents question and speak out about the EPA's \$8 million to finish cleaning up the dump. A few residents complained that the money spent on the dump did adequately clean-up the dump

Sources: See narrative. Commercial Appeal and Press Scimitar March 5, 1980 through July 19, 1990.

Table 2.

LIST OF TOXIC CHEMICALS FOUND IN NORTH HOLLYWOOD DUMP,
GROUND WATER WELLS, WOLF RIVER AND FISH FROM THE WOLF RIVER

Arsenic	111-trichloroethane
Pyrene	Petroleum distillates
Fluoranthene	Hexachlorobenzene
Benzofluoranthene	Chlordane
Acetone	Hexachlorocyclopentadiene
Dieldrin	Dioxin
Barium	Zinc
Nickel	Cyanide
Plasticizers	Chromium
Endrin	Barium
Dicyclopentadiene	Calcium
Copper	Manganese
Aldrin	Lead
total BHC	4,4 DDT
Heptachlor	Heptachlor Epoxide
PCBs	Mercury
Copper	Chlorinated Cyclodienes

Source: Commercial Appeal September 19, 1980, Commercial Appeal October 3, 1980, Commercial Appeal December 29, 1983. and Press Scimitar February 26, 1981 and U.S.EPA Report 1993: 11.

Table 3.
COMMON HAZARDOUS WASTES

Chemical	Use	Manufacturing Hazard
C-56	Insert Killer	Acutely toxic, suspected carcinogen
Trichloro- ethylene (TCE)	Degreaser	Suspected carcinogen
Benzidene carcinogen	Dye industry	Known human
Curene 442	Plastics in- dustry	Suspected carcinogen
Polychlori nated biphenyls (PCBs)	Insulators, paints, and paints, and electrical circuitry	Acutely toxic, - suspected carcinogen
Benzene	Solvent	Suspected carcinogen
Tris	Fire retardant	Suspected carcinogen
DDT	Insect Killer	Acutely toxic
Vinyl chloride carcinogen	Plastics indus- try	Known human
Mercury	Multiple uses	Acutely toxic
Lead suspected	Multiple uses	Acutely toxic, carcinogen
Carbon tetra- chloride	Solvent	Acutely toxic, suspected carcinogen
Polybrominated biphenyls (PBBs)	Fire retardant	Effects Unknown

Source: Walter A. Rosenbaum. Environmental Politics and
Policy. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly
1985: 187.)

Table 4.
MAJOR AIR POLLUTANTS AND THEIR HEALTH EFFECTS

Pollutant	Major Sources	Characteristic/Effects
Carbon monoxide (CO)	Vehicle exhausts	Colorless, odorless, poisonous gas. Replaces oxygen in blood cells, causing dizziness, unconsciousness, or death.
Hydrocarbons (HC)	Incomplete combustion of gasoline; evaporation of petroleum fuels solvents, and paints.	Although some are poisonous, most are not. Reacts with NO ₂ to form ozone, or smog
Lead (Pb)	Antiknock agents in gasoline	Accumulates in the bone & soft tissues. Affects blood forming organs, kidneys, and nervous system. Suspected of causing learning disabilities in young children.
Nitrogen dioxide (NO ₂)	Industrial process exhausts	Causes structural and chemical changes in the lungs. Lowers resistance to respiratory infections. Reacts in sunlight with hydrocarbons to produce smog. Contributes to acid rain.

Table 4.
(continued) MAJOR AIR POLLUTANTS AND THEIR HEALTH EFFECTS

Pollutants	Major Sources	Characteristics/Effects
Ozone (O ₃)	Formed when HC and NO ₂ react	Principal constituent of smog. Irritates mucous membranes causing coughing, choking, impaired lung function. Aggravates chronic asthma and bronchitis.
Total suspended particulates (TSP)	Industrial plants, heating boilers, auto engines, dust	Larger visible types (soot, smoke, or dust) can clog the lung sacs. Smaller invisible particles can pass into the bloodstream. Often carry carcinogens and toxic metals; impair visibility.
Sulfur dioxide (SO ₂)	Burning coal and oil, industrial processes.	Corrosive, poisonous gas. Associated with coughs, colds, asthma & bronchitis. Contributes to acid rain.

Source: Environment and Health (Washington, D.C.:
Congressional Quarterly, 1982: 21.)

Table 5
What toxic chemicals do to you:
HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF SELECTED CHEMICALS

Chemical	HUMAN HEALTH EFFECT			
	Potential carcinogen	Potential teratogen	Other effects	Environmental effects
Aldrin/ dieldrin	*		*	Tremors convul- sions, kidney Toxic to aquatic organisms, reproductive in birds and fish, bio- accumulates in aquatic organisms,
Arsenic	*		*	Vomiting poisoning liver and kidney damage Toxic to legume crops
Benzene	*		*	Anemia, bone marrow damage Toxic to some fish & aquatic invertebrates
Cadmium	*		*	Suspected casual factor in many pathologies; tumors, renal dysfunction, hypertension, arteriosclerosis, Itai-itai disease (weakened bones) Toxic to fish, bioaccumulates in aquatic organisms
Carbon tetrachloride	*			Kidney & liver damage, heart failure
Chromium	*			Kidney and gastrointes- tinal damage Toxic in some aquatic inverte-

Table 5
(continued) What toxic chemicals do to you:
HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF SELECTED CHEMICALS

Chemical	HUMAN HEALTH EFFECT			
	Potential carcinogen	Potential teratogen	Other effects	Environmental effects
			respiratory complications	brates
Copper			Gastrointes- tinal irri- tant, liver	Toxic in juvenile fish
Cyanide			Acutely toxic	Kills fish reduces growth & develop- ment of fish
DDT	*	*	Tremors, convul- sions kidney and brain damage	Repro- ductive failure, of birds and fish, bioac- magnifies in food chain
Dioxin	*	*	Acute skin rashes	Bioaccum- ulates
Lead	*	*	Convul- sions anemia kidney and brain damage	Toxic to domestic plants & animals biomag- nifies in food chain
Mercury		*	Irrit- ability depres- sion, kidney and liver damage	Reproduc- tive failure in fish species, inhibits growth and kills

Table 5
(continued) What toxic chemicals do to you:
HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF SELECTED CHEMICALS

Chemical	Potential Environmental carcinogen	HUMAN HEALTH EFFECT		
		Potential teratogen	Other effects	effects
			fish Minamata disease	fish, methyl- mercury biomag- nifies
Nickel	*	*	Gastro- intest- inal and central nervous system effects	Impairs reproduc- tion of aquatic species
PCBs	*	*	Vomiting, abdominal pain, heart failure	Liver damage in mammals, kidney damage & egg shell thinning in birds, suspected reproduc- tive failure in fish
Tetra- chloro- ethylene	*		Central nervous system effects	

Notes: In many cases human health effects are based on the results of animal tests. For instance, the identification of a substance as a potential carcinogen indicates that there is at least one animal test that demonstrates carcinogenic effects. However, whether a substance actually

produces the effects indicated depends on the duration and intensity of exposure, the form of the exposure (whether it is inhaled, ingested, and so on), the susceptibility of the person exposed, and other factors. If a substance is identified as a carcinogen, there is evidence that it has the potential for causing cancer in humans. If it is identified as a teratogen, it has the potential for causing birth defects in humans. **Source:** Data compiled by the Council on Environmental Quality as it appears in State of the Environment: An Assessment at Mid-Decade. Washington, D.C., The Conservation Foundation 1984:35.)

Table 6
HEALTH EFFECTS OF POLLUTANTS FROM AUTOMOBILES

Pollutant	Health Effect
Carbon monoxide	Interferes with blood's ability to absorb oxygen impairs perception and thinking; slows reflexes; causes drowsiness; and also can cause unconsciousness and death; if inhaled by pregnant women, may threaten growth and mental development of fetus.
Lead	Affects circulatory, reproductive, nervous, and kidney systems; suspected of causing hyperactivity and lowered learning ability in children; hazardous even after exposure ends.
Nitrogen oxides	Can increase susceptibility to viral infections such as influenza. Can also irritate the lungs and cause bronchitis and pneumonia.
Ozone	Irritates mucous membranes of respiratory system; causes coughing, choking, and impaired lung infection; reduces resistance to colds and pneumonia; can aggravate chronic heart disease, asthma, bronchitis, and emphysema.

Table 6 (Continue)
HEALTH EFFECTS OF POLLUTANT FROM AUTOMOBILES

Toxic emissions	Suspected of causing cancer, reproductive problems, and birth defects. Benzene is a known carcinogen.
-----------------	---

Automobiles are a primary source, but not the only source, of these pollutants.

Sources: National Clean Air Coalition and the U.S.
Environmental Protection Agency.

Table 7
TOXIC WASTES SITES IN SHELBY COUNTY

"Here is a listing of identified Shelby County sites that have been given a preliminary assessment by the [state department of Health and Environment]. A ranking of **1** means no hazard; **2** means not known; **3** means low hazard; **4** means moderate hazard; and **5** means high hazard."

Site	Rank
Browning-Ferris Industries 4805 Shelby Drive	2
Bellevue Avenue Landfill	5
Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. 900 Firestone Avenue	4
Buckman Labs Inc. 1256 North McLean	1
International Harvester 1356 South Riverside Boulevard	2
E.I. Dupont DeNemours and Co. Inc. Fite Road	3
Velsicol Chemical Co. 1199 Warford (three sites)	4
Carrier Air Condition Co. Collierville	2
Estech Chemical Corp. 152 North Collins Avenue	1
Wilok Chemical Co. 5030 Millington Road	2
Memphis Drum Service Inc. 3229 Tubane Road	1
Sinclair and Valentine Co. 3762 Air Park	2
Magnetic Electric Co. 1992 Airways	1
Memphis Public Works- Bellevue Dump	1
1400 North Watkins Street Old Frayser Dump	1
Off Benjestown Road Memphis Trumbull Asphalt	3
710 Corinne Avenue Thomas Street Dump	2
North Hollywood Dump Ford Motor Co.	5
Memphis Assembly Plant 1429 Riverside Boulevard	2
Memphis Public Works- Brooks Road Dump	1

Table 7
(continued) Toxic Waste Sites

Old Estech General Chemical Inc.	2
2221 Deadrick Avenue	
Memphis Public Works-	5
Jackson Pit Dump	
Malone Road Landfill	3
(near Holmes Road)	
Shelby County Penal Farm	3
Landfill	
Barr William and Co.Inc.	3
BFI of Memphis, Inc.	3
4256 Sykes Road	
Naval Air Station	1 to 4
Millington, 19 Sites	

Source: Commercial Appeal July 9, 1983.

Table 8
TOXIC CHEMICALS FOUND IN DRINKING WATER WELLS

CHEMICAL	EVIDENCE FOR CARCINOGENICITY
Benzene	H
alpha-BHC	CA
gamma-BHC (Lindane)	CA
Carbon tetrachloride	CA
Chloroform	CA
Dibromochloropropane (DBCP)	CA
1,2-Dichloroethane	CA
Dioxane	CA
Ethylene dibromide (EDB)	CA
Tetrachloroethane	CA
1,1,2-Trichloroethane	CA
Trichloroethylene (TCE)	CA
Vinyl chloride	H, CA

H=Confirmed human carcinogen

CA=Confirmed animal carcinogen

Source: David Burmaster. "The New Pollution: Groundwater Contamination." Environment March 1982: 33.

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule

I am conducting a study to assess responses to environmental problems in the Hollywood community in relation to the North Hollywood Dump. As I indicated to you in my letter, my interest is to obtain information from political leaders, government officials, business leaders, community leaders and citizen groups about the North Hollywood Dump in Memphis, Tennessee. This research project will develop a sociological understanding of individuals' reactions to a contaminated landfill. The research project will focus on political, economic, social and environmental issues that relate to the historical development of the public health concerns of residents to this landfill. The goals of this research project are to help us better understand how community politics and community resistance generated collective mobilization among Hollywood residents to redress problems resulting from the siting of a noxious landfill in North Memphis.

Your responses will be held in confidence and you will not be identified in research reports.

1. In your opinion, what is the "natural history" of the North Hollywood Dump as a social problem.
2. In your opinion, how, when, why and by whom did the dumping occur?
3. In your opinion, how, when, why and by whom was it defined as a social problem?
4. In your opinion, who was the opposition, why and how?
5. In your opinion, what were the consequences (for whom and why)?
6. In your opinion, which groups are most influential in city politics?
7. In your opinion, is there an active coalition supporting the site location of the Hollywood Dump?
8. In your opinion what is the relationship between local leaders and corporations in the Hollywood community?
9. In your opinion, what can be learned from the study about the site location of a landfill?
10. What individuals and groups have been most active in the support of cleaning up the Hollywood Dump? What groups oppose to cleaning of the Hollywood Dump?

11. Who else would you recommend that I ask about the North Hollywood Dump.
12. Sex of respondent, male____ female ____.
13. Do you live in close proximity to the Hollywood Dump.
14. What is your race? Caucasian____
African-American____Hispanic____ Native
American____
Asian____ Other, please
specify____.
15. What is your job title?
16. When were you born?
17. Where were you born?
18. Are you single, married or divorced?
19. What is your length of stay in Memphis?
20. What is your level of education?
21. What is your estimated annual salary?

VITA

Glenn Steve Johnson completed his B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. He is active in several professional sociological associations. He has a joint position as a research associate at the Environmental Justice Resource Center and assistant professor in the department of sociology at Clark Atlanta University. His research interests are race and the environment, race and ethnicity, community-base partnerships and poverty and equality.