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# REPORT

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THE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS PROVIDES A SETTING FOR ELECTED OFFICIALS FROM ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO ACCESS UNIVERSITY RESOURCES OF RESEARCH AND EXPERTISE AND EXAMINE ISSUES IN A COLLEGIATE ENVIRONMENT.

SEMINAR OVERVIEW

## Field of Dreams: The Economic Recovery of Used Industrial Sites

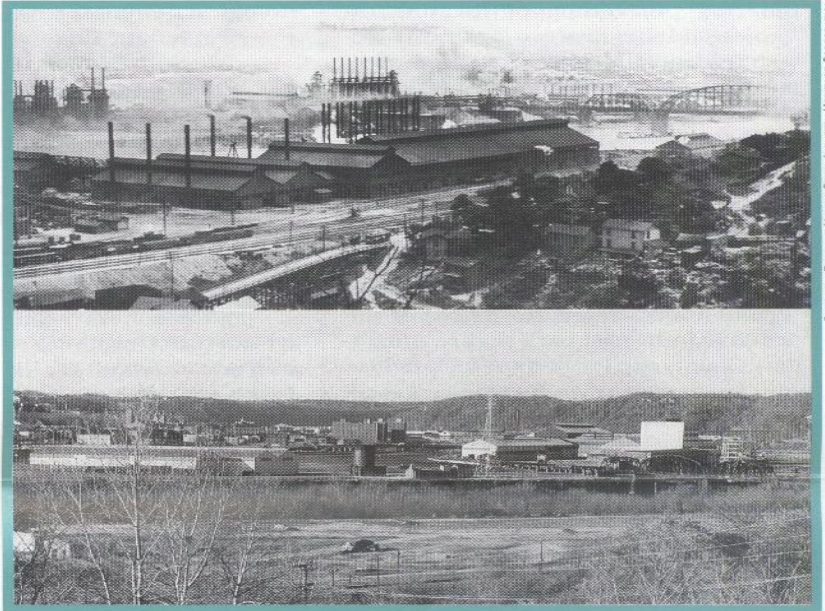
BY ELIZABETH BECK

It is very possible that the largest amount of tension between development and environmental safety is found in the recycling of old industrial sites; it is also very possible that nowhere is the need for accommodation larger.

Representative Pat Carone addressed this problem in her introduction to the Institute of Politics seminar: *Environmental Regulations and Brownfields: What does the future hold for their reuse?* The seminar took place on June 10, 1994 and was moderated by Professor Vijai Singh, Vice Provost, Faculty Affairs.

One of the most critical land use issues in Pennsylvania today,

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COURTESY RANDOLF HARRIS STEEL INDUSTRY HERITAGE CORPORATION

## Balancing Risk and Investment

AN INTERVIEW WITH  
FRANK TUGWELL AND  
ANDREW McELWAIN

BY SUZANNE McDEVITT

“The environment is a public trust,” states a recent public service message by Governor Casey. But the way in which environmental issues are handled is the subject of controversy and changing norms in the Commonwealth.

As a followup to the recent Institute of Politics seminar *Environmental Regulations and Brownfields: What does the future hold for their reuse?*, Frank Tugwell,

Executive Director and Andrew McElwaine, Program Officer of the Heinz Endowment, sat down with REPORT staff to discuss a variety of environmental and related issues.

Tugwell has had a long career in environmental issues, most recently (prior to Heinz) as President of the Environmental Enterprise Assistance Fund. He sees a strong link between the cleanup of industrial sites and urban revitalization issues. Since World War II, the federal government has subsidized urban flight through a number of policies—transportation, housing, and others—which resulted in a turning away from inner city neighbor-

hoods, said Tugwell. When these policies are added to Superfund’s disincentives to redevelop “brownfield” sites (sites that previously held industrial plants), the abandonment of industrial sites became inevitable. New plants, and the jobs that went with them, have gone to the suburbs. The neighborhoods left behind become poorer and poorer.

Many smaller communities experience decline because of a lack of industry, yet at the same time old steel mills and manufacturing sites lay vacant, and owners are reluctant to sell or redevelop due to cost, and other problems associated with environmental remediation. “Many of

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# Field of Dreams

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Carone said, is the need to alter public policy and environmental law that favors business development on virgin soil found in outlying areas, "greenfields," and provides disincentives to development of old industrial and business sites, "brownfields."

An Allegheny Conference on Community Development June 1994 publication explained that, "Businesses considering purchasing or locating on brownfield sites face two significant disincentives. First, new property owners must assume the liability for past pollution even though they were not responsible for causing it. Second, the state Department of Environmental Resources (DER) may require cleanup standards so stringent that redevelopment of the site is unaffordable."

Some estimates suggest that there are as many as 15,000 brownfield sites in Pennsylvania. Nearly two thirds of the leasable industrial park sites in Allegheny County are located on such fields.

In a seminar overview, Frank Tugwell, Executive Director of the Heinz Endowment, described a causal relationship between the acceleration of greenfield development, brownfield fallow, and many of the problems associated with inner cities and cities in general. "Greenfield development robs cities of their population" and leaves behind large concentrations of disadvantaged people, as well as a shrinking tax base.

Despite this negative impact, and the fact that pristine farm and recreational land is being claimed, public policy has favored unabated greenfield development. According to Tugwell, this is in part due to a deliberate decision made after World War II to direct infrastructure, transportation systems, and people to the then considered more desirable outlying areas. As a result it has become "impossible to control growth," explained Tugwell.

Superfund activity was also cited by Tugwell as problematic. The 1988 Superfund law requires that Superfund sites be restored to their pre-industrial state. However, state and federal allocations for this extremely costly endeavor do not come close to meeting the need. According to Tugwell, the Superfund law is "impervious to the costs and risks" associated with what many consider an inordinately stringent definition of cleanup.

Tugwell suggested that it is important to examine the disincentives and incentives associated with development and to apply a new policy within the

Superfund context. "We cannot afford to waste some or all of these properties," warned Tugwell.

Providing a national overview, Andrew McElwaine, Program Officer of the Heinz Endowment, said that there are 120,000-400,000 brownfield sites throughout the nation and many prospective developers are struggling with the same issues. These include:

- Liability—current owners, not past polluters, are liable for cleanup. Liability extends to waste materials removed.
- There is no clear indication of how clean is clean. The cleanup process, and its requirements, are vaguely defined, and subject to change with technological developments.
- No federal financing is provided.

In terms of relief, McElwaine indicated that there is a bill in Congress that would create a national single standard for cleanup, and that the standard would involve tiers that would be determined by the proposed use of the developed site. Additionally, a number of states have passed their own laws to address these issues.

McElwaine also suggested that Pennsylvania does not have to wait for elected officials to negotiate the tensions between environmentalists and developers, but can proceed to address this issue. New public, private, and non-profit partnerships can be forged that "emphasize cooperation over litigation and community interest over individual interest."

Two pieces of legislation were discussed as part of the seminar. One piece of legislation is sponsored by Pennsylvania Senator David Brightbill. The other is a House bill supported by the Casey Administration and Arthur Davis, Secretary of the Department of Environmental Regulation. Both men were seminar panelists.

In April 1994 the Pennsylvania Senate—under the committee chairmanship of Senator Brightbill—passed a bipartisan package of three bills designed to "encourage the recycling of industrial sites, clean up pollution, and prevent loss of farmland and open space." The bills are also designed to end negotiations between developers and the DER over the extent of cleanup that is required, which Brightbill decried as "not a good way to do business."

The most unique feature of the package is that it gives developers three options for cleanup standards—one of which is based on risk assessment and

proposed use—as well as making provisions for community hearings. (The bill is described on page 4.) The bill is significant because once the developer has met the criteria established at the onset, the developer is relieved of his/her cleanup responsibility, unless there are changes in the buildings' use.

Secretary Davis began by saying, "We heard your calls for clarity." In response, the DER addressed the problems associated with abandoned/orphaned sites, developed and published clear guidelines without establishing additional standards, and maintained the right of the General Assembly to make policy decisions in order to set standards. (An explanation of HB 2700 is found on page 4.)

HB 2700 is different from the Senate package in that no new mandates, regulations, or processes are implemented, but cleanup of old industrial sites is made more likely because a developer can be relieved of some responsibility for cleanup due to historic contamination. The preference found in this bill is for "cleanup not containment. The bill is driven by economic development and public safety," stated Davis.

According to Davis, "The Senate package is not acceptable public policy because it sets a cleanup

standard and rate of excess cancer which is too weak. It is not equitable in that it allows persons to choose site-specific cleanup, which is not fair to neighbors, and allows containment in lieu of cleanup."

Ray Christman, former Secretary of Commerce for Pennsylvania and current director of Technology Development and Education Corporation (TDEC), in-

dicated that "we need to pass legislation between the House and Senate bills . . . and we also need to look at the larger context involved in recycling old industrial sites. There are transportation issues and governance issues (the existence of municipal governments) which also act as impediments to growth and redevelopment. Moreover, we need to be able to organize and employ public capital."

A lively discussion ensued involving comments by public health experts, environmentalists, businesses, and developers. Almost everyone agreed that something must be done. ■

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”

—FRANK TUGWELL

# Existing Standards Are Unrealistic

SENATOR BRIGHTBILL DEVELOPS ENVIRONMENTAL BILLS

BY ELIZABETH BECK

When the Department of Environmental Resources (DER) and businesses sit down to talk about cleanup requirements for a specific brownfield site (old industrial sites), both entities agree that existing standards are unrealistic—so negotiations begin, indicated Senator David “Chip” Brightbill. Brightbill believes this is “no way to do business.” As Chairman of the Senate Environmental Resource and Energy Commission, he led a bipartisan effort to develop a package of three bills designed to change the situation.

In 1990 Brightbill had firsthand experience with Brownfield development when an unused Bethlehem Steel site in his district could not be given away to developers for \$1 even after the Lebanon Redevelopment Authority invested more than a million dollars in lighting, roads, and other infrastructure on the site. Following this experience, the Senate held two years of bipartisan hearings and found similar experiences.

“The realization that cleanup standards are unreachable and liability never ends for developers” prompted the development of Senate Bills 972, 528, and 650. (See page 4 for explanation.)

## Cleanup: The Name of the Game

AN INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY ARTHUR DAVIS

BY ELIZABETH BECK

“This bill (2700) requires cleanup. That is the name of the game,” said Secretary of the Department of Environmental Resources (DER) Arthur Davis, reflecting the differences between HB 2700, the legislation that he supports for cleanup standards, and the alternate bill, Senate Bill 972. (See page 4 for explanation.)

Both bills encourage the recycling of brownfields, old industrial sites, but according to Davis, SB 972 does so at the risk of public health. There are two major ways in which Davis sees this compromise occurring.

First, SB 972 calls for changes in standards of all sites (greenfields or brownfields). In contrast HB 2700 acknowledges that the historic and perva-

The DER and the Casey administration are not supporting the Senate package, but are supporting House Bill 2700. Brightbill characterizes HB 2700 as a “prosecutor’s bill that sets strict standards and then gives the DER authority to grant waivers.” Senate Bill 972, on the other hand, gives developers an option to use one of three standards: background standard (where the area is cleaned up to the level that it was prior to use), statewide health standard, or site-specific standard (based on the ultimate use of the property and risk assessment). Senate Bill 972 also establishes a 13-member Cleanup Standards Scientific Advisory Board that will help the DER set cleanup standards.

Brightbill is leery of the DER’s “credibility.” “Three years ago they said everything was fine and new legislation was not needed. Now they support new legislation. What they are trying to do is slow down the process. This is unlike the DERs in other states that have actively worked with the legislature on implementing legislation much like the package that we are proposing,” indicated Brightbill.

“It seems the DER doesn’t have as much faith in themselves as we have in them,” suggested Brightbill. “The DER is trying to have the legislature set standards. If the General Assembly voted on standards, no one would vote against a one in a million excess cancer rate, but the truth is the DER is setting standards that are lower than one in a million through site-by-site negotiation.”

Brightbill suggests that the range of excess cancer rate should be set be-

sive contamination found in industrial sites constitute special cases involving issues of feasibility and equity. Therefore, the same rigor that applies to the purity of all sites may not be appropriate for industrial sites.

Second, 972 allows developers at their own behest to choose which standard they want to meet from one of three options. “We don’t think that we can hope to achieve any cleanup if everyone can determine what they want to do,” cautioned Davis.

Davis also indicated that the logic found in 972, as it relates to leveling the playing field between brownfield and greenfield development, is faulty. Davis explained, “We are trying to make brownfield sites available for reuse in ways that are attractive to industry. To make the same sort of relaxation available anywhere defeats the whole purpose.”

Davis also defended the DER’s practice of using a single statewide health protectiveness standard of one in 1 million (one in 1 million refers to the risk assessment of excess cancer) at all sites in Pennsylvania. “The one in 1 million is the standard that Pennsylvania has ad-

twain one in 10,000 and one in 1 million; and that the advisory committee, which would review the latest scientific information available, should set the standard.

“The Senate package may in some instances allow containment as opposed to cleanup, but only where it makes environmental and economic sense,” said Brightbill. Containment can refer to black topping an area to prevent public exposure, but this is only allowed on sites to be reused for industry, not for housing.

Senate Bill 972 requires public and community input in setting standards, but does not give the community the power to withhold sanction. Brightbill does not believe that the lack of community input is an issue. “Whether they admit it or not, the DER is a political animal. If there is widespread public displeasure, things do not happen.”

The other two bills are simpler. Senate Bill 528 authorizes the Department of Commerce to set up a grant program for environmental assessments of abandoned industrial sites in distressed communities. “It puts government money up front to keep the process moving,” said Brightbill.

Senate Bill 650 exempts banks, economic development agencies, and municipalities from cleanup based on loan defaults. According to Brightbill, SB 650 “is merely an acknowledgment that if certain legal entities, such as lending institutions, are not given protection, certain entities will not be involved. Banks are not going to play if they face real problems going onto the field.”

hered to for years. This is the standard that the General Assembly has supported and the one that most constituents feel comfortable with. Any change in this rate would have to come from the General Assembly.” Davis also explained that there are a number of factors that are used when determining a risk of one in 1 million excess cancer. For example, “If kids play in a lot and eat dirt, they are subject to a particular risk that is substantially different if the area is put to other use.”

Additionally, SB 972 does not take into account the importance of ecological receptors and other fish and wildlife. Davis pointed out that “what is often acceptable for drinking water may not be suitable for important forms of wildlife.”

HB 2700 indicates that if technology develops that makes cleanup feasible where it had been previously infeasible, or if tests show more contamination than originally thought, the current owner is liable and the case will be reopened. Detractors of 2700 often cite this issue as a major flaw in the legislation. Davis acknowledged that there is a “good deal of complaint about the

*Continued on page 11*

# HOUSE BILL 2700 AND SENATE BILL 972

## HOUSE BILL 2700

### The Response Action Requirement Act

#### GOALS AND PROVISIONS

The act seeks to protect public health, safety and welfare, and the environment, while encouraging the reuse of old industrial sites (brownfields). In order to facilitate this, the act establishes clear and uniform standards for cleanup, and defines the legal obligation and liabilities associated with failure to meet cleanup standards. In this regard the act is a response to complaints that the cleanup process is mysterious, and people (developers, landowners, and lenders) do not clearly know what they are walking into when they opt to participate in the recycling of an old industrial site.

As described in an executive summary in the Institute of Politics Issue Brief, *How Brown Is My Valley*, the act encourages the remediation of cleanup sites by building upon existing requirements and processes (no new mandates), and provides flexibility at any site. In addition incentives are provided for remediation of contaminated industrial (brownfield) sites.

The act also differs from Senate Bill 972 by acknowledging that future technology can make previously infeasible cleanups feasible, and that a participant (landowner, developer, etc.) will be liable for implementing the technology when the technology becomes feasible to use.

#### GENERIC STANDARDS

The Act sets generic standards in the areas of soil, groundwater, and sediment contamination, and in the protection of ecological receptors (species). In each area the standard is indicative of the Pennsylvania constitution which states that Pennsylvania citizens have the right to pure water and a healthy environment. Thus the standards are set toward the upper bounds. However, with respect to soil and groundwater, if a person is able to show that it is not feasible to meet a requirement or that meeting the requirement will cause more environmental damage, then he or she can implement the most effective technology available to remediate as much of the problem as possible.

#### STANDARDS AS THEY RELATE TO INDUSTRIAL SITES

In industrial areas where the groundwater is pervasively or historically contaminated, the bill adopts a "protect your neighbor standard," generally requiring that groundwater migrating off-site not contain a higher level of contaminants than the downgradient groundwater. That standard, which is essentially a containment requirement, applies to pervasive sites regardless of the culpability of an owner, since it recognizes that treatment is infeasible. The standard is employed at historically contaminated sites as an equity, not a feasibility, issue. Owners who have also contributed to the contamination of historically contaminated sites face a slightly higher standard. They must ensure that there are no "hot spots" (higher levels) of contamination anywhere on the property. The standards are applied as long as the new owner does not further pollute groundwater.

#### CLEARANCE

The bill sets certain areas where future cleanup of soil, groundwater, and sediment may be required. These include, but are not limited to, subsurface samples taken from the site that show the presence of pollutants at greater levels than originally thought (so that the site no longer meets the statute requirements), and advances in technology that allow for certain areas to be returned to background level (or to meet statute requirements).

After cleanup is completed, the owner of the site is relieved of any future cleanup obligations so long as the standards of the act have been met and maintained.

## SENATE BILL 972

### The Land Recycling and Environmental Remediation Standards Act

#### GOALS AND PROVISIONS

Senate Bill 972 seeks to encourage the reuse of industrial sites by creating and defining statewide cleanup standards that are more flexible than those in current use, and developing a system that would relieve the developer of any future cleanup liability for past pollution once standards are met. The current standards are set by DER and are toward the upper bounds of acceptable standards.

The act declares that the elimination of public health and environmental hazards on commercial and industrial land is vital to their use as sources of employment, housing, recreation, and open space areas. It will also prevent the needless development of prime farmland, open space, and natural areas. In order to do this, clear remediation standards need to be developed that are not conflicting or confusing. The future use of the site should be a factor in the setting of remediation standards.

The bill allows for three choices or a combination of choices for remediation: background standard (background refers to substances at the site prior to human activity); a statewide health standard which will be established and adopted by the Environmental Quality Board; and site-specific standards in which remediation levels are based on a risk assessment and the future use of the site.

The Environmental Quality Board will consist of 13 members appointed by public officials. Each member is required to have technical knowledge in this field.

#### STATEWIDE HEALTH STANDARD

The statewide health standards would be set for containments in groundwater, soil, and other substances with the help of a special Cleanup Standards Scientific Advisory Board. For groundwater, the standards are the maximum containment levels established for drinking water. For substances that can cause cancer, the standard must be set with an excess cancer risk of between one in 10,000 and one in 1 million.

#### SITE SPECIFIC STANDARD

Site specific standards would be developed after a detailed environmental and risk assessment which considers potential water and community exposures. The community has the option to become involved in setting the standards right from the beginning.

#### REVIEW/APPROVAL

The bill requires a report to be submitted to DER documenting that the cleanup standard has been met. If DER does not act on the report in 45 days, it is automatically approved.

Owners who meet the cleanup standards established by the bill will be relieved of future liability for pollution that they did not create, except (1) if the cleanup did not work, (2) if new contamination is found, or (3) if a contaminant is found to be more of a health risk than originally thought.

Companion legislation (Senate Bill 650) eliminates cleanup liability for financial institutions, economic development agencies, and municipalities that did not cause pollution on a site.

Senate Bill 528 creates a special program to finance environmental assessments on properties in economically distressed communities.

# Changing the Face of PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS

## SEMINAR OVERVIEW

### Women in Politics: Ways That Women Can Access Political Power

BY ELIZABETH BECK

“Women have their own experiences and concerns that deserve to be fully represented,” said Representative Sara Steelman during the April 8 Institute of Politics seminar, *Changing the Face of Pennsylvania Politics*.

The session was moderated by Elsie Hillman, Republican National Committeewoman. The panel included Professor Susan Hansen, Political Science Department, University of Pittsburgh; Harriett Woods, President of the National Women’s Political Caucus; Allen Kukovich, Member, Pennsylvania House of Representatives; and Cynthia Baldwin, Judge, Court of Common Pleas.

Hansen indicated that the percentage of women holding elected positions in Pennsylvania is “not good, and there is a significant absence of female representation at all levels.” Hansen offered several reasons:

- Importance of incumbency. There are relatively few open seats for women or minorities to vie for.
- The Pennsylvania General Assembly is a professional legislature that meets year round and is well paid.
- With few exceptions, the parties do not put forth the names of women candidates. Many women have had to run against party nominees.
- The rural and conservative nature of Pennsylvania. Many rural candidates rise through volunteer fire houses and other organizations that are male dominated.

Hansen also indicated several policy options that could be employed to benefit women candidates. These include:

- Public financing of elections
- The use of term limits
- Gender-balancing legislation (legislation that requires appointed positions to reflect the demography of the population at large).

Gender balancing is particularly important, explained Woods, not only because appointed officials make decisions, but also because these positions are often stepping stones to elected positions.

Woods suggested other ways that women can access political power: “Women who win are often women who have good game plans, are strategic thinkers and plan for open seats.” It is useful to look ahead to possible open seats by examining redistricting and making determinations about potential retirees. Then women groups can organize and launch candidates. Related to this is a question of training. Woods said that women running in Pennsylvania should have access to quality training and should avail themselves of this training.

A large void that needs to be filled is the recruitment of women campaign managers and political consultants. Woods said it is a myth that women candidates can’t raise as much money as male contenders. “What we are talking about is power and who holds it. We cannot make good decisions if everyone is not represented, and even after the Year of the Woman, 90 percent of congress is still male.”

Representative Allen Kukovitch started his response by suggesting that if there were more women in the General Assembly, then the Assembly might spend less time talking about cars, roads, and recreation and more time talking about health and human services. He believes that the field could be opened up by implementing campaign finance reform, and he is currently sponsoring House Bill 2873 that would provide public financing for candidates seeking statewide office and also places limits on

private contributions.

Kukovitch also suggested that it is important to support women candidates at all levels of government. “When large amounts of money and resources are given to women running high-visibility campaigns, that can detract from support of lower offices where many women get their start.”

Gender barriers can take many forms, indicated Judge Baldwin. They can obscure women’s ability to take themselves seriously as well as the ability of others to take women seriously. There are, however, practical ways that women can overcome these barriers. Women have to see themselves as candidates for all offices and project that. Women have to commit themselves for the long haul; sometimes you have to lose an election before you can win one, and women must run to win. Women in general need to support and donate money to female candidates.

“We must not allow male counterparts or well-meaning supporters to call some issues women issues,” concluded Baldwin. “Issues that affect women affect everyone.”

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—HARRIETT WOODS

## An Interview with Elsie Hillman

BY ELIZABETH BECK

Conflict between Republican moderates and conservatives is, perhaps, as old as the party itself. But the widespread imposition of intolerance, bigotry, and God into the party is a new and worrisome phenomenon for many Republicans, stated Republican National Committeewoman Elsie Hillman.

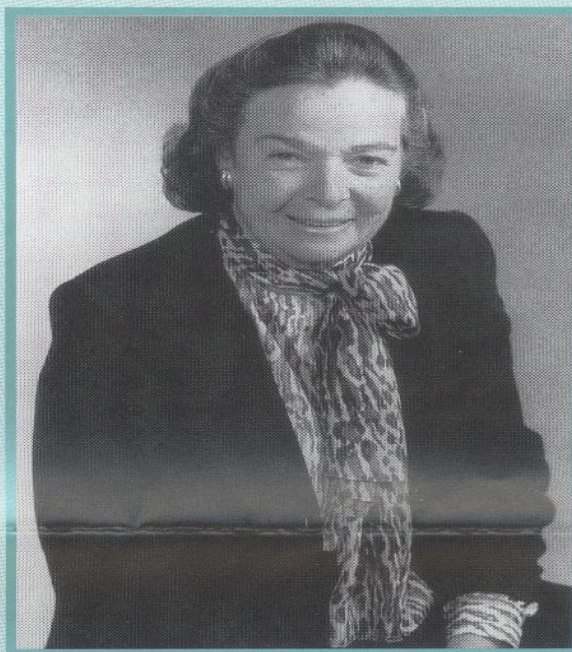
Hillman first became aware of the power of the evangelical right, prior to the 1980 election, when she saw a map that indicated religious broadcasting networks, leaders, and chapters across the country. It became clear to Hillman that "not only were these people well organized and financed, but they were also very well connected to each other."

According to the *New York Times*, in the 1980 election the religious right abandoned the long-held notion that political activism was incompatible with their faith and entered the federal, state, and local political arena. The Moral Majority headed by Jerry Falwell, the Conservative Caucus, and Phyllis Schlafly's Stop-the-ERA set up political action committees, registered hundreds of thousands of voters, and allied themselves with Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan who, on many points, was ideologically consistent with the Religious Right.

Pat Robertson's 700 club was just one of the televised programs that provided financial support to political activism.

When some of the key figures in the 1980 organizing campaign became discredited, there were some who believed that the religious right had lost its spark and its power. "However," said Hillman "that wasn't true. Instead they were regrouping, and when they reappeared the Republican Party was the natural place for them." They appeared with religious zeal and a reluctance to compromise on issues like gay rights, abortion, mandatory prayer in schools, and ERA.

According to Hillman, the religious right is characterized by its "use of a single issue as a litmus test, any single issue. In some parts of Pennsylvania, the litmus test might be gun control, but historically and basically, it has been abortion." Moreover, added Hillman,



the radical right mixes politics and religion by imposing one's acknowledgment of faith in God as a requirement for political support.

Hillman contends that the unrelenting focus on a single issue by the religious right makes their tactics divisive and places them outside the traditional party role of compromise. "The difference between a pure conservative and the religious right," according to Hillman, "is the difference between wanting to impose something on someone else and accepting differences."

Watching the 1992 Republican Convention made Hillman very uncomfort-

able. "The convention was dominated by the religious radical right to the point where intolerance and bigotry were articulated in the speeches and in parts of the platform. There was a segment of delegates who couldn't accept this, but who were caught by surprise and did not have time to organize and affect the platform. Moderates, unfortunately, do not express the passion that extremists do and do not get fired up enough. I am hoping that they will.

"This is not the first battle within the Republican Party," Hillman went on to explain, "but there is a meanness and intolerance about this one that makes it more dangerous because it makes religion and one's personal values the issue." She cited a number of examples of committee-

women who have been attacked by the religious right because of their unwillingness to mix politics and religion. Included was Dolly Madison Mckenna, who recently came in last for her bid for Texas Committeewoman.

During the Texas convention Mckenna was quoted as saying, "There are those people in this audience that want the Republican Party to be a church. You are very welcome in the Republican Party. But the Republican Party is not a church." At the same convention Steve Ogden, chairman of the party's platform committee, won a standing ovation when he described the party platform as reiterating belief in traditional Judeo-Christian values.

Hillman believes that the breakdown of the family and the economics of being poor or working class help to fuel the radical movement. "People are hurt and angry, and hurt and angry people are vulnerable [to the organizing tactics of the religious right];

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## I Don't Smoke Cigars: Achieving Fair Representation in Elected Office

AN INTERVIEW WITH SARA STEELMAN

BY ELIZABETH BECK



Sara Steelman

they are looking for something to believe in and something to pull them together." Also aiding in the fire and brimstone tactics, she said, is the advent of talk radio with such personalities as Rush Limbaugh.

In a July 2, 1994 *US News and World Report* article Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, said that the growth of the religious right is based on the anxiety of parents. "These people are all wrestling with the same thing: How do we raise good children in a polluted culture?" Hillman responds, "Yes, we are all wrestling with the same question, but does the answer lie in intolerance or bigotry? I don't believe it does."

Hillman believes that the seeming intractability of family issues and a severely bifurcated economy does not necessarily mean that the religious right will always have a large role in political activism. "The hopeful part," for Hillman, "is that when non-political people are confronted with a choice to take a more moderate or extreme stand, people tend to go with the moderate."

"Someplace along the way we are all going to have to learn to live with each other, but that requires compromising," Hillman concluded. "It will depend on what prejudices people are willing to give up." She made it clear that she will not be judged on her faith, and she will not sit idly by and watch bigotry and intolerance spread into the political process.

Three bills introduced in the House that take on the issues of campaign finance reform, achieving gender parity in appointed positions, and creating compact and contiguous electoral districts provide a trilogy of ways to correct the under-representation of women in elected positions in Pennsylvania, suggested Representative Sara Steelman.

Training and preparedness for elected officials is provided through gender-balancing legislation, and opportunity is addressed through campaign finance reform, Steelman indicated. House Bill 286 supports good government and should eliminate the sacrificing of junior members and women during reapportionment battles.

In a recent interview with *REPORT*, Steelman talked about the importance of House Bill 286, which is a constitutional amendment that would take reapportionment decisions away from the General Assembly and give them to a Reapportionment Commission composed of civil service employees.

Steelman became involved in the issue of boundaries when the Indiana County district that she represents, the 62nd House district, was divided in such a way that it no longer made sense to Steelman. "It (the reapportionment) was not in the interest of my constituents nor in the interest of good government and fair representation."

The county's largest legislative school district was split between two legislative districts and townships connected to what Steelman considered a "sociological center" of the southern half of the county. In other words, the community that contains churches, shopping, and schools for a broader area were reapportioned into a district that is centered on another county. Steelman and her constituents felt that Indiana County lost some of its representation in the legislature because, for the first time in this century, there is no legislative district completely contained within the borders of the county. The 89,000 residents are represented by three house members, but those three members also represent parts of Cambria, Armstrong, Jefferson, and Clearfield Counties. "Since a House district needs to have about 59,000 mem-

bers," said Steelman, "we should have at least one district—and one representative—who can focus entirely on Indiana County and its residents' interests. We lost that in the most recent reapportionment."

The 62nd District was certainly not alone, Steelman said; there were also a myriad of problems created in other districts during reapportionment.

Steelman saw it as constitutionally incorrect for the General Assembly to make apportionment decisions. She explained that party leaders bargain over districts during the process, with both sides trying to create safe seats, protect incumbents, and undercut districts held by members from the other party. Junior members (which many women are) can lose electoral strongholds and get bogged down serving a sprawled area. With such weakened positions, junior members are made more vulnerable while senior members become more entrenched.

Not only does House Bill 286 limit the negotiating for boundaries, it also makes it illegal to consider voter registration, voter turnout, or incumbent legislators' home addresses in creating districts.

"This is not a bill that any leadership any time would want to support. Part of their power comes from safe seats and they use reapportionment to try to guarantee this," explained Steelman. However, Steelman indicated, the bill is supported by "good government types and those people who are angry about reapportionment."

Another effect of the bill, explained Steelman, is that it will help women. It will make it easier for women to challenge entrenched incumbents and it will provide support to junior members of the assembly.

"As with any organization, there are informal and formal channels within the larger organization," explained Steelman. "I don't play basketball or smoke cigars and those are two important ways to connect, but I make other informal connections and am involved in a number of formal organizations and interest caucuses such as the State System of Higher Education symposium." ❏

## Political Parties Need Women

BY MATT HAWKINS

The political parties are beginning to realize that it is in their self-interest to nominate more women for elective public office. This was the message presented by National Women's Political Caucus President Harriett Woods to an audience of approximately 70 people at the Holiday Inn on Friday, April 8.

Woods has held two elective offices herself and has served on several state commissions in Missouri. She said that it takes more than good intentions to get more women elected. "You have to plan early by targeting seats that will soon be open." She noted that the power of incumbency makes it difficult for women to break into the political system. "Nobody voluntarily surrenders power. You must pick vulnerable opponents and target districts with incumbents who are likely to retire in the next five to ten years."

Woods explained that successful candidacies do not occur as a result of a whim to enter politics. "Either you should enter the game for the long haul, or you should not enter it at all," she said. Young women who are interested in becoming elected officials should get early experience in lower-level political jobs and campaign work. This will give them an insider's view of the political process and enable them to forge contacts that will be useful as their career develops.

Woods said that greater knowledge about fund-raising and campaign financing is also important. Political contributions during the campaign are effective in holding elected officials accountable to their constituents. She said that the role of financing in making politicians accountable is one of having *access* to them after they have been elected. "Financing doesn't mean that a candidate is bought; it only entitles you to *access*. It only means elected officials will *listen* to you."

The work of keeping politicians accountable begins during the campaign. It is difficult to make elected officials accountable *after* they have been elected, Woods pointed out. "This work must be done beforehand." Women who are interested in the political process should study the issues and examine the record of the candidates so that they will be prepared to get commitments from the politicians before they have been elected.

Woods argued that it is in the interest of the political parties themselves to

nominate more women for elective offices. In recent elections women have demonstrated that they can raise as much money as men can for comparable seats, and they are also highly effective in attracting voters. Although national party leaders are beginning to recognize this, state chairpersons are "Neanderthals" in this regard, Woods said. To increase the number of women nominated by state and local political parties, women must appeal to the desire of the party to win. ♣

## Campaign Finance Reform: Making Sure Regular People Have Clout

AN INTERVIEW WITH ALLEN KUKOVICH  
BY ELIZABETH BECK

One of the most important things that we can do in government is to deal with the disrespect that people have toward elected officials, and we can do this by making sure that regular folks have more clout," stated Representative Allen Kukovich, explaining why he has been working toward campaign finance reform for the past 17 years. Campaign finance reform will not only do this, believes Kukovich, but it will also affect "the undue influence of money on politics," and promote women in elected office.

Kukovich believes that the increase in influence peddling during the the Nixon era was in large part based on some individuals' ability to contribute large sums of dollars, some in the millions, to the Nixon campaign. As a result of public outrage and loss of faith in the system, federal reforms were implemented. However, those federal reforms did not affect state campaigns.

In 1979 Kukovich introduced the first campaign finance reform bill for Pennsylvania and now he is the prime sponsor of House Bill 690, *Statewide Campaign Financing Reform Legislation*. HB 690 creates a Pennsylvania Fair Campaign Fund that provides campaign funds to individuals who can prove that they are credible candidates. Credibility is established by a candidate's ability to raise a predetermined amount of funds in small contributions. If a candidate chooses to participate in this voluntary system, restrictions are placed on the

contributions that the candidate is able to receive as well as on the amount of money that he or she is able to spend. The fund is financed through taxpayer check-off on state income tax returns. The check-off amount is \$2.50.

If 20 percent of taxpayers chose to participate in the system, there would be enough money for all statewide candidates to qualify, said Kukovich.

Public financing is the only method of reform that is constitutionally able to place caps on PAC money as well as individual contributions, explained Kukovich. House Bill 690 limits contributions, per election, to statewide candidates who accept public financing as follows: no more than \$1,000 from individuals and no more than \$5,000 from PACs. And it also places spending limits on those candidates who participate. For example, under 690 someone running for governor will be able to spend up to \$4 million, which is significantly less than the \$15 million spent by major candidates in the 1988 bid for governor. Kukovich believes that the reforms "democratize the election process."

"One of the reasons why women have not done so well politically in this state has to do with the fact that there is a 'good old boy' network that has everything to do with campaign and fund-raising, and local government training grounds for political people have historically been on topics that are of more interest to men, while women's interests have to do with things like education," said Kukovich.

Kukovich believes that if HB 690 came up for a vote, it would pass with maybe one or two votes to spare. But the problem, according to Kukovich, is that it doesn't come up for a vote. Meanwhile, "Pennsylvania remains one of the worst states when it comes to reform." ♣

“  
EITHER YOU SHOULD  
ENTER THE GAME  
FOR THE LONG HAUL,  
OR  
YOU SHOULD NOT  
ENTER IT AT ALL.  
”

—HARRIETT WOODS



AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

## There Is Clout in Numbers

AN INTERVIEW WITH BYRD BROWN  
AND ANNE JONES

BY MATT HAWKINS

**T**he co-chairpersons of the Committee on African American Political Participation agree that political power is essential if African Americans are to get their share of economic resources and opportunity in the 1990s. Co-chairs Byrd Brown and Anne Jones discussed their vision for the committee and why they believe that politics is still the most important battleground to promote the interests of the African American community.

Brown is an attorney who has been involved in community organizing since the late 1950s; he also ran for congress in the 14th congressional district in 1968 and for mayor of the city of Pittsburgh in 1989. Jones is a professor emeritus at the University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work.

Brown first became interested in the political process as a result of his father's work in the state legislature of Pennsylvania. The Honorable Homer S. Brown was the first African American elected to the legislature in the state. "I remember going to Harrisburg with my father to attend the legislative hearings for the Fair Employment Practices Commission," Brown said. "I became aware that we were being shunted out of employment opportunities because we lacked political power."

Jones was also influenced by her father's interest in politics. "My father was from North Carolina, where black people were not allowed to vote." Jones said that her father taught her not to take the franchise for granted, that it was "very important for black people to be registered to vote."

Both Brown and Jones refute those who say that electoral politics is irrelevant to African Americans today. Jones argues that low-income blacks have a stake in the outcome of all elections. "If everyone who was on welfare was registered to vote do you think (welfare recipients) would be the whipping boys they are today in this welfare reform debate?" Jones argues that "There is clout in numbers."

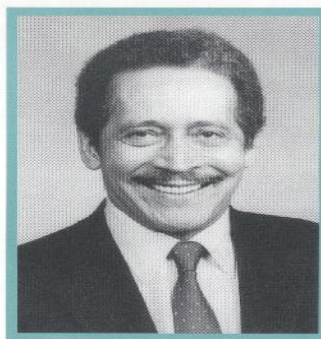
Brown said that blacks should be concerned about being in positions of political power because elected officials control the distribution of resources. "The mayor controls millions of dollars in contracts and appoints people to authorities that regulate large institutions and services in the city." Brown argues that policies to increase minority hiring and the share of contracts that minorities are to receive from city government

and local institutions are already in place, but are not being enthusiastically enforced. "If we had a black mayor in this city, the institutions would react immediately. Their sensitivity to these policies would be heightened."

Brown said that he does not dismiss other vehicles for blacks to attain status and power in the United States, but he argues that political participation is the most immediate route to those objectives. While education and business development are important, Brown argues that "blacks can obtain power through politics by virtue of numbers. It takes less effort to vote than it does to get training for a job or to get a college degree. Voting opens up the doors to other areas, like economics, where we need to establish parity. Education and economic power are important, but they cannot be obtained by most African Americans in the short run."

But even through politics blacks should not expect immediate and comprehensive solutions to many of the problems facing their community. Brown explained that the reason so many blacks have abandoned political participation in the 1990s is that they have become disappointed with the lack of tangible results from earlier political efforts. "Their expectations and hopes have been dashed," he said. "They wanted to see progress in their lifetime, but it hasn't happened, so they decided to try something else."

Jones said that the evidence of the importance of political participation



Byrd Brown

may be found in the changes over the years in laws concerning housing, public accommodations, and importantly in the ability to secure voting rights. Brown agreed that African Americans have effectively challenged the racism that was embedded in the nation's legal system, but added that it is necessary to go beyond that to make "racial justice a way of life" through more rigorous enforcement of the law.

The African American political participation committee will include many members who are from the grassroots of the African American community. It will tap people from community groups and organizations, fraternities, sororities, professional organizations, block clubs, and tenant organizations. While Brown does not see a partisan role for the committee and does not entertain ideas of making another run for the mayor's seat, he said that the committee should step in to fill the vacuum that he encountered the last time he ran for mayor. He found that it was difficult to mobilize blacks around his candidacy because they were unfamiliar with the electoral process involved in campaigning for a seat that brings the kind of power and influence to the community that the mayor's office would bring. "This group should be able to move forward and secure gains in political power," he said.

Jones said that the committee should focus on getting everyone out to vote and that it should call attention to the needs in the black community concerning issues such as housing, unemployment, health care, and education. She said that "we have to stop stigmatizing people who have to accept welfare.... They pay taxes every time they buy gas or soap, and they should have a voice in the government."

The struggle to increase African American political participation will continue to be a challenge. That struggle will be aided by an increased awareness within the black community of the connection between having political power and the distribution of resources and opportunities. ■

## RIVERFRONT DEVELOPMENT : WHAT KIND OF DEVELOPMENT ?

*In the coming months Pittsburgh and the region will make many decisions on what kind of development to encourage on riverfront property freed up by the decline in heavy industry. Will new uses include recreation, gambling, museums, restaurants, or other facilities? What is the best mix of uses?*

*The Institute of Politics will hold a seminar on riverfront development on September 30, 1994. As a lead-in to that seminar we asked the City of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Planning Department to reflect on their visions and goals for riverfront development. Their thoughts follow.*

## A Vested Interest In Our Rivers

By **RAYMOND REAVES**  
DIRECTOR, ALLEGHENY COUNTY  
PLANNING DEPARTMENT

**A**llegheny County has a vested interest in our rivers. Out of 130 municipalities in the county, 73 or 56 percent have river frontage. Furthermore, the total number of miles along these shorelines add up to 170 miles, about the distance from Pittsburgh to Columbus, Ohio.

In 1993, the Allegheny County Planning Department completed a Riverfront Policies Plan which is a guide for the comprehensive management of the riverfronts within the county. Rather than setting down rigid regulations, the plan provides a framework within which municipalities and developers can administer and implement their individual plans in a constructive and forward-looking manner. The specific goals of the plan are: (1) to recognize and protect the rivers as extremely valuable natural resources; (2) to promote improved development through a single permitting and approval process; and (3) to provide greater access to the rivers by our citizens.

The plan contains 13 separate maps that show individual sections of the rivers, each a 12 to 15-mile stretch. Each map outlines the river zone, identifies all parcels of land that are being used commercially, which ones are defined as industrial or residential, and those that should be considered for conservation. Land that is not developed or is underdeveloped is classified as "areas of opportunity." These areas of opportunity include former mill sites, abandoned railroad yards, and vacant land. They add up to approximately 2,700 acres, ranging from 5 acres to well over 200 acres.

A strong component of the plan is to recapture access to the rivers wherever possible. The steel mills and heavy industrial sites with their miles and miles of plant buildings and adjacent rail lines blocked residents of the mill towns from ever getting to the river, let alone enjoy-

ing it. Under the Riverfront Policies Plan, river access takes the form of a continuous Riverfront Trail, like a green necklace, along all of the rivers. Not only joining the riverfront communities together, the Riverfront Trail will connect with the 45-mile Montour Trail and the equally long Youghiogheny Trail. This latter trail winds its way along the Youghiogheny River to Connellsville and eventually will go all the way to Washington, DC.

Additionally the county has prepared a model riverfront zoning ordinance which spells out development guidelines for the riverfront. This model ordinance can be used by each municipality to prepare their own customized riverfront zoning ordinance. So far, two municipalities, Millvale and Cheswick, have changed their basic zoning to accommodate riverfront development. Other communities—such as Coraopolis, East Deer, and Sewickley—are working with the Planning Department to improve their river frontage and make it a more desirable part of their community.

Now that the county has a plan as well as the desire to improve our riverfronts, where do we go from here? Five interested municipalities is a start. But that leaves 68 still to go. The first step needs to be better communications and education. The municipalities need to know more about the county's goals and objectives. To accomplish this we will have one member of the Allegheny County Planning staff spend full time over the next year or so to meet with riverfront communities, to generate interest, and to see what can be accomplished.

We are hoping that by the end of 1995 at least 15 communities will be committed to recapturing their riverfronts and actively doing something about it. ☐



## Pittsburgh Riverfronts: A Vision for the 21st Century

By **ELOISE HIRSH**  
DIRECTOR, CITY OF PITTSBURGH  
PLANNING DEPARTMENT

**T**he City of Pittsburgh came into being at the confluence of the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio Rivers. This unique regional formation of rivers, hillsides, and plateaus continues to define our city in the way our buildings relate to the land, the way our streets thread through our neighborhoods, the way we live and work. These distinct physical features weave also through Pittsburgh's continuing evolution and provide the framework for what is to come.

Eighteenth-century French and English explorers looked down at the Point and its adjacent riverfronts and saw the opportunity for a military outpost that could control the inland waterways of a new continent. Nineteenth-century entrepreneurs looked at the riverfronts and saw locations for shops, factories, warehouses, and wharves to supply goods which would be loaded onto boats navigating the Ohio River to support westward development across the continent. Industry dominated the riverfronts in the twentieth century with sprawling plants producing and shaping metals, machinery, and the energy sources to fuel our industrial society. The factories shared the riverfronts with the railroads and barge docks that facilitated the transport of raw materials and finished goods.

As we begin the twenty-first century, a new opportunity for a reconnection between Pittsburgh's people and Pittsburgh's riverfront lies before us.

The vision that guides our planning and strategies for riverfronts has been, and will always be, pivotal to the life of the city. The approach will continually reinforce the connection between the rivers and all the activities of the city: housing, recreation, commerce, industry and transportation. Riverfront development will now treat the riverside as a front door, rather than the back door; as a connector, rather than as a barrier. Remains of our past will be preserved to keep us linked with our history. The riverfronts of the twenty-first century will include parks, residential communities, and trails, as well as commercial developments and industrial job sites.

The Murphy administration is working within the framework of a four-point credo that has been developed as part of *The Plan for the Pittsburgh Riverfronts*. That credo:

- encourages a balanced mix of waterfront land uses
- promotes a strategic use of limited public resources
- increases appropriate public access to our rivers
- maintains consistent environmental quality along rivers' shores

Our vision of the riverfront includes a gradual restoration of the green band that once framed the landscape. Many of our riverbanks, including those in industrialized areas, are wooded and easily converted to park uses. Former rail yards and corridors provide additional opportunities.

Riverfront parks do or will exist in the South Side, along the north shore of the Allegheny River, on Herr's Island (Washington's Landing), in Lawrenceville, in Esplen and on the Monongahela Riverfront shared by Hazelwood, Squirrel Hill, Swisshelm Park, Regent Square, and Duck Hollow. Opportunities exist to link Frick, Schenley, and Highland Parks to the rivers where people can fish, boat, picnic, or simply relax while



observing the flow of activities on these waters. The Golden Triangle will be bounded by riverfront parks on two sides with Point Park at the apex. Ducks, seagulls, and other waterfowl will swim past or fly overhead with the city's green hillsides as a backdrop.

People will also reside along the South Side, North Side, Strip District, and Herr's Island riverfronts. They will walk to their boats or one of the public water taxis which already serve the riverfronts. Commercial facilities will be within walking distance, as will many job sites. Entertainment and learning experiences along our riverfronts will be available to address many tastes, including the Warhol Museum, the Science Center, restaurants and nightclub facilities, the offerings of the cultural district (symphony, opera, musicals, plays, ballet and art exhibits), the Regional History Museum, the Voyager Project, and community-wide events.

Industry will still exist, with heavy industry occurring in enclaves and cleaner light industry intermixed with other waterfront uses. Office and research facilities will enjoy the aesthetics offered by waterfront locations such as

the Pittsburgh Technology Center, Washington's Landing, and North Shore. By taking advantage of the city's riverfront housing and job sites, workers will realize shorter commutes and more leisure time.

This vision will require both public and private effort, cooperation, and investment. Property must be acquired and assembled. Contaminated sites must be cleaned. Infrastructure must be replaced or provided. Quality design sensitive to the environment will be necessary. The public sector, lending institutions, private developers, and the philanthropic community will need to work together to make real the vision on our horizon as we approach a new century of riverfront use. ¶

## Cleanup

...Continued from page 3

liability reopener, and I don't deny that there is a decrease in business' ability to plan, but this is no more mysterious than future taxes or other expenses. The burden of proof for future liability is on the DER, and if the developer has met all standards then the case will not be reopened. The bottom line does not change, and it is the General Assembly that sets standards. They are the law makers; we are not."

Davis does believe that there is room for compromise between the two bills, particularly if the incentives for developing brownfields are set at the right level. But he does not believe that the state should accept statewide relaxation of standards. However, Davis added, "If they think our standards are too tight, then we can talk about that." ¶

### PUT YOURSELF IN MY SHOES:

#### ELECTED OFFICIALS AND MEDIA REVERSE ROLES

Members of the media made effective presentations as embattled politicians and elected officials got to compose a model front page at an Institute of Politics seminar, *Put Yourself in My Shoes*, held July 29, 1994. The event was co-sponsored by the Department of Communications and moderated by Ted Windt, professor of communications and acting head of the department.

Madelyn Ross, Managing Editor of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, outlined the program, which divided the media and elected officials into four groups. The elected officials chose stories to feature on the front page of a metropolitan daily newspaper from a list of scenarios. In the second segment members of the media presented statements and took questions from elected officials during a simulated press conference.

The event closed with an open and free-ranging discussion, led by Windt and Ross, of the choices and constraints faced by the media and elected officials as they attempt to cover and contain the news.

...Continued from page 1  
*Balancing Risk*

these communities are collapsing," said Tugwell.

Being able to develop inner-city and industrial sites would help bring jobs back to established communities. To get these sites back to a useful role, Tugwell said that efforts must be made to render the developer "indifferent" in terms of cost to development of a brownfield versus a greenfield. Only when the cost of cleanup can be offset in some way can brownfields compete with new sites or greenfields. Superfund legislation holds corporations liable for pollution on land they own, even if the pollution dates from operations years before the current owner. Such legislation can keep owners from releasing sites for development since they can be held liable for cleanup of pollutants which turn up during development of the site. This is in contrast to policies of other developed countries. Great Britain, for example, which has industrial sites going back to the 1790s, has far more limited liability laws covering such sites. They very quickly reuse their industrial sites.

The impact of liability for future development is substantial. For example, although Allegheny County took an active role in the reclamation of the USX Duquense and McKeesport sites, expending approximately \$20 million—only part of which was covered before construction—they also, by assuming title to the land, could be subject to future liability if more pollution is found.

While there is an urgent need to reuse abandoned sites, there is also a compelling need to protect human health and the environment. Although it may seem surprising, "our levels of understanding," said Tugwell, "are really very superficial. We just don't realize what we're doing to ourselves. We release over 1,000 new compounds

a year, and we aren't even studying the effects of those chemicals alone, not to speak of the synergy between them and what we've already put out. The really scary thing about pollution contamination may be yet to come."

Current standards are also misleading because they focus only on excess cancer rates, when there are other disabling health conditions that can also result from pollutants. These include birth defects and other chronic but not immediately fatal conditions.

And the standards themselves are confusing. For example, one technical issue in dispute in alternative bills which have been proposed to the state legislature is the risk assessment of excess cancer rates. The current standard is one in 1 million. An alternative standard proposed in some legislation is one in 10,000. What does one in 10,000 mean? McElwaine explained: for those living on the site for a set period of time, one in 10,000 would get cancer. "A large dose of common sense is needed," commented Tugwell.

As more information about pollution has been discovered over the past 40 or 50 years, would a relaxation of standards benefit current polluters who are more aware of the consequences of their actions? "I can see relaxing the standard at an abandoned site or a site where the pollution is not of recent vintage," said McElwaine. "I have a much harder time saying that someone who imposed a problem today or yesterday should take advantage of a less protective standard than complete cleanup."

Should differential standards exist for brownfields? What should they be? What kind of incentives could be offered to offset the cost of remediation that developers face? One option, said Tugwell, among others, is to grant a tax credit.

This could aid in the redevelopment of sites which have perhaps one small area of serious pollution and some more widespread low-level pollution. What about a site that has an area of serious pollution which might be cleaned up to a certain level, but further cleanup would be prohibitive. What can be done there? Is containment sufficient?

At some sites contaminated soil has been contained by an underground liner, a plastic bag, and a park put over it. That may work for inert materials, said McElwaine, such as certain metals that are immobile and very low in toxicity. A case can be made that those should not be removed. A more difficult question is posed by other materials that may not migrate for a thousand or ten thousand years. "Should we sacrifice that site for a risk that we really are not all that certain will ever occur?" asked McElwaine.

With the introduction of several bills in the Pennsylvania state legislature as well as with efforts in other states, a trend is developing for standards less prohibitive to reclamation of brownfields. Yet, cautioned McElwaine, while clearly there is a trend toward a more cooperative attitude toward industrial site plans than in the recent past, there is also great suspicion among communities and environmental non-profit organizations of large corporate owners getting a break, and that's something to be sensitive to.

And while there appears to be movement, the current uncertainty is resulting in at least a temporary "paralysis." It's very hard to complete a deal when one of the largest costs is completely unknown, said McElwaine.

Long-term safety, liability, and economic development all have a part in the ongoing debate.

In the meantime, property sits vacant. □

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