#### **Recycling in Minority Communities in New York City**

## Presented at National Recycling Coalition Congress Baltimore, MD September 16, 2003

Marjorie J. Clarke, Ph.D.

Adjunct Assistant Professor, City University of New York Vice Chair, NYC Waste Prevention Coalition <a href="mailto:mclarke@hunter.cuny.edu">mclarke@hunter.cuny.edu</a> <a href="mailto:www.whywastenyc.org">www.whywastenyc.org</a>

#### Introduction

New York City's recycling program began in 1988 with pilot programs deployed in different parts of the city collecting different recyclables. In 1993 the City unified its program, collecting metals, glass, plastic jugs and bottles, newspaper, magazines and corrugated cardboard. In 1996 mixed paper, bulk metal, grey cardboard, and wax paper cartons were added. In 1998 the City Council passed a local law to force DOS to collect recyclables on a weekly basis citywide. By June, 2002, the City's diversion rate was about 21% and its capture rate averaged 46%.

But in July, 2002 the City's recycling program began to go backwards. Using what is now considered to be faulty economic data, the City decided it would be cheaper to stop collecting metal, glass and plastic. In an attempt to save the program, the City Council worked out an arrangement with the Mayor to keep metal recycling in place, reinstating plastics in July, 2003, and glass in July, 2004. Immediately after plastic and glass stopped being collected, data showed that paper collections went down by over 10%. A few weeks after plastics were restored to the program in July, 2003, in the name of improving the economics of the recycling program, the City changed the program from collecting weekly to once every two weeks, angering residents and building superintendents who were now forced to store recyclables for an additional week. Meanwhile, in many parts of the City, garbage collections continued at three times per week, with twice a week in the rest of the City.

#### **Special Programs Directed to Non-English speakers**

New York City's population includes speakers from hundreds of nationalities, with 25 major languages spoken. Incomes vary with 20% of residents living below the poverty level, with a majority (60%) with incomes between \$15,000 and \$75,000. Only about 9% of homes are single-family detached and over 30% are apartment buildings with 50 or more units.

The DOS has, since the beginning of its recycling programs in the late 1980s, issued recycling information in both English and Spanish. The agency has, over the years, expanded this to include several other languages DOS placed ads in Spanish papers, as it is required by local law (19 of 1989) to reach every person in the city with recycling education.

At its heyday in the late 1990s, prior to recent cuts in service, recycling information was distributed in many languages, including Hebrew, Yiddish, Chinese, Korean, Russian, Polish as well as Spanish in an attempt to get to the populations in which these languages are exclusively spoken. Materials were sent to every part of the city including apartments.

#### **Educate and Verify Understanding**

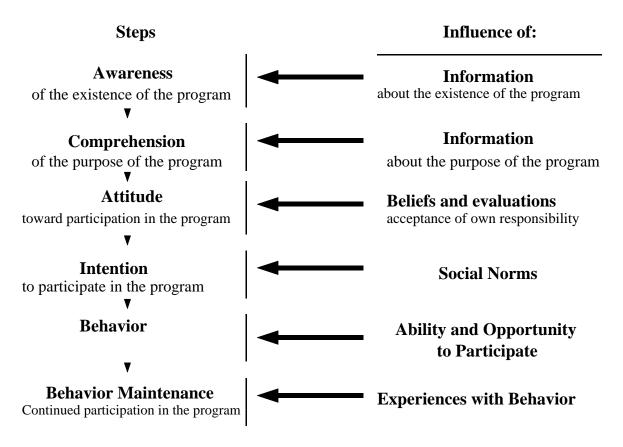
Some might think that these are the first and last steps needed to design and implement successful recycling programs that divert large percentages of recyclables from the waste stream. The truth is, this is only the first step, since as we all know, just understanding what the right thing to do does not always translate to changed behavior. (Look at cigarette smoking.)

Surveys that DOS conducted since 1998 show that "Majorities correctly identify the major recyclables, most at very high rates (over 90%). High knowledgeability is seen regardless of where residents live, what type of housing they reside in, or whether English or Spanish is their primary language". However, DOS notes that "these self-assessed compliance rates do not match the measured diversion rate of 20% and capture of 50% for NYC." This is the first clue that there is a disconnect between DOS' education efforts and actual diversion rates. After a person has full understanding of a new behavior, several additional steps are required before the behavior is actually put into practice:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "New York City Recycling – In Context – A Comprehensive Analysis of Recycling in Major U.S. Cities", NYC DOS, August, 2001, P. 41 http://www.nyc.gov/html/dos/html/recywprpts.html#1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "New York City Recycling – In Context – A Comprehensive Analysis of Recycling in Major U.S. Cities", NYC DOS, August, 2001, P. 41

Figure 1. Model of attitude change and behavior change through communication <sup>3</sup>



In its market research report <sup>4</sup> DOS recognizes there is a disparity and points to its Mixed Waste Processing pilot <sup>5</sup> that suggested there is a difference in waste composition between the low-diversion and high-diversion neighborhoods (paper was calculated to be about 8% less in low-diversion neighborhoods, but this was tenuous in that disparate data from 1990 and 1997 waste composition studies had to be normalized, taking into account differing paper recycling categories; the passage of time could also have been a confounding variable).

#### **Diversion Rates**

If the people in all NYC's neighborhoods did understand what to recycle, one might logically expect for all neighborhoods to have similar recycling (diversion) rates. But of the total 59 community board / sanitation districts, the 12 districts with the lowest diversion rates are in the South and Central Bronx (7 districts), Harlem (2 districts), and neighborhoods like the minority communities of Bedford-Styvesant, Crown Heights, Bushwick, and Brownsville in Brooklyn. On

<sup>3</sup> Kok, Gerjo and Sjef Siero, "Tin Recycling: Awareness, Comprehension, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior", <u>Journal of Economic Psychology</u>, 6 (1985) 157-173. Elsevier Science Publishers B.V. (North Holland).

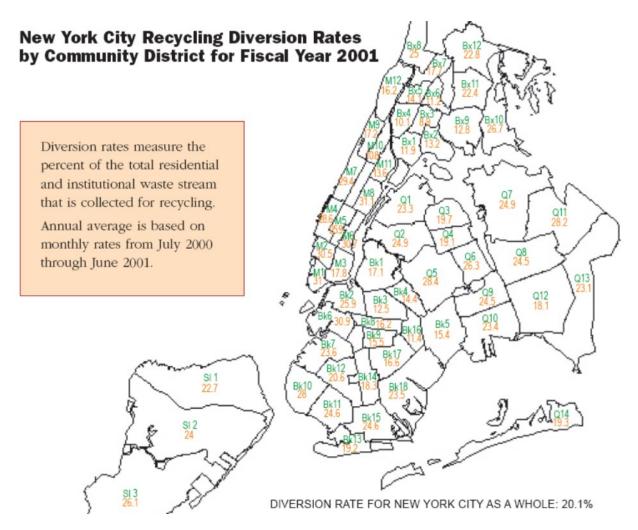
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "Recycling: What Do New Yorkers Think", NYCDOS, Fall, 1999. http://www.nyc.gov/html/dos/pdf/pubnrpts/recyrpts/nyc\_recycles.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mixed Waste Processing in New York City – A Pilot Test Evaluation, NYC DOS, October, 1999. http://www.nyc.gov/html/dos/pdf/pubnrpts/recyrpts/mixed\_waste.pdf

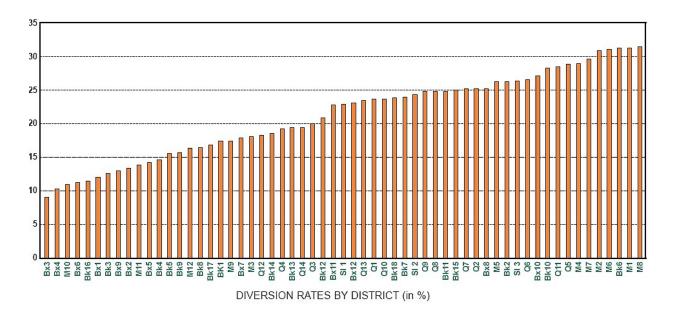
the other end of the spectrum, the 12 districts with the highest diversion rates are places like Manhattan's downtown, Greenwich Village, Chelsea, Gramercy Park, Murray Hill, the upper east side, and upper west side, Brooklyn's Park Slope, upscale – much like the upper west side of Manhattan, posh residential areas of outer Queens (Bayside, Douglaston, Little Neck, Forest Hills), eastern Bronx (Pelham Bay) and Italian neighborhoods of Bay Ridge and Middle Village. Clearly there is a relationship between diversion rate and certain demographic factors such as income and/or ethnicity that DOS' self-reported survey results do not reveal.

#### **How to Handle the Disconnect**

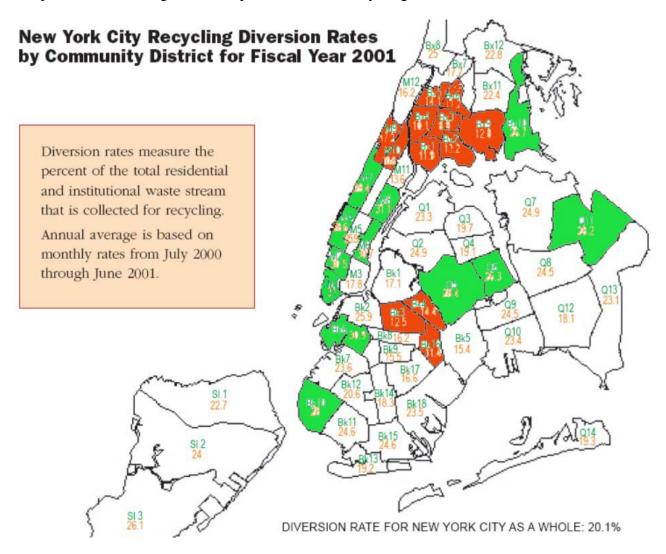
This disconnect between education and diversion rate begs for a multivariate Geographical Information Systems (GIS) analysis to offer possible factors or explanations. Census maps showing distribution of income, or ethnicity, or race, or other variables could be helpful at least in showing association or lack of same with diversion rate.



This map and the chart below are from DOS' New York City Recycling – In Context – A Comprehensive Analysis of Recycling in Major U.S. Cities. August, 2001, prior to the July, 2002 citywide reduction in recycling service after which time only papers and metals were collected until July, 2003.

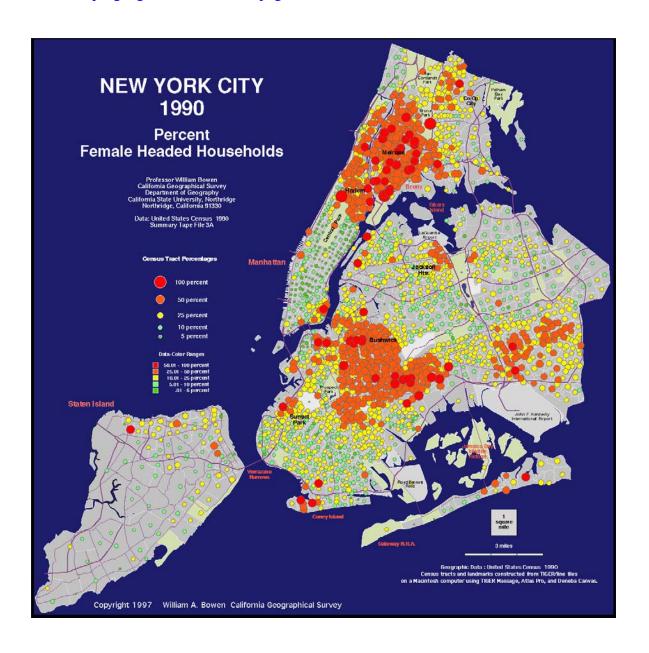


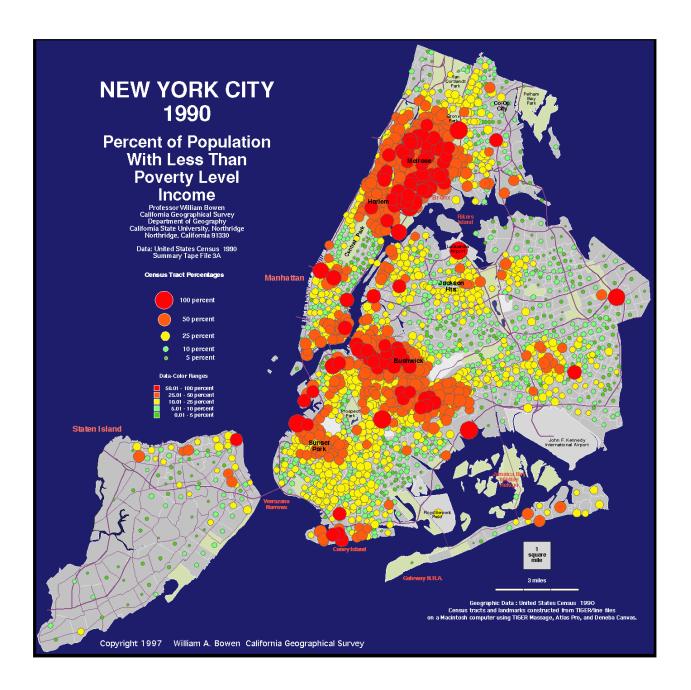
The map below shows, in green, the top 12 districts for recycling diversion, and in red, the worst 12.

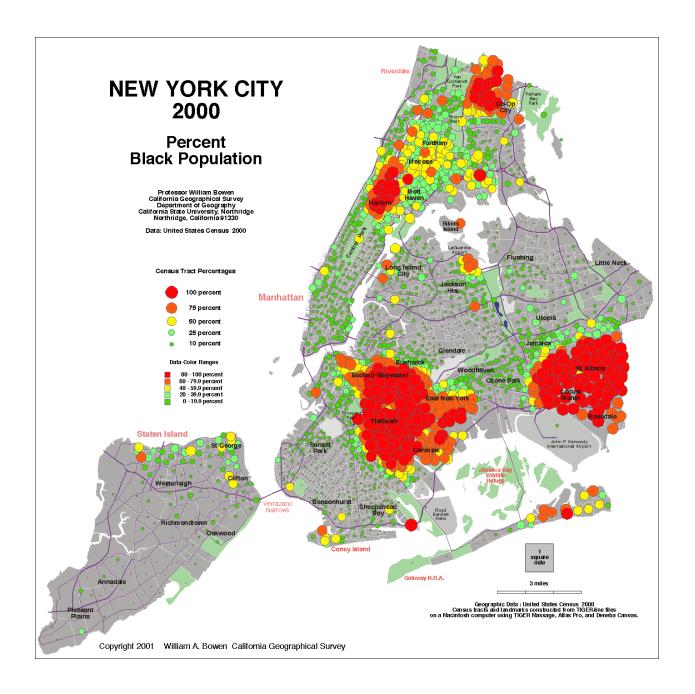


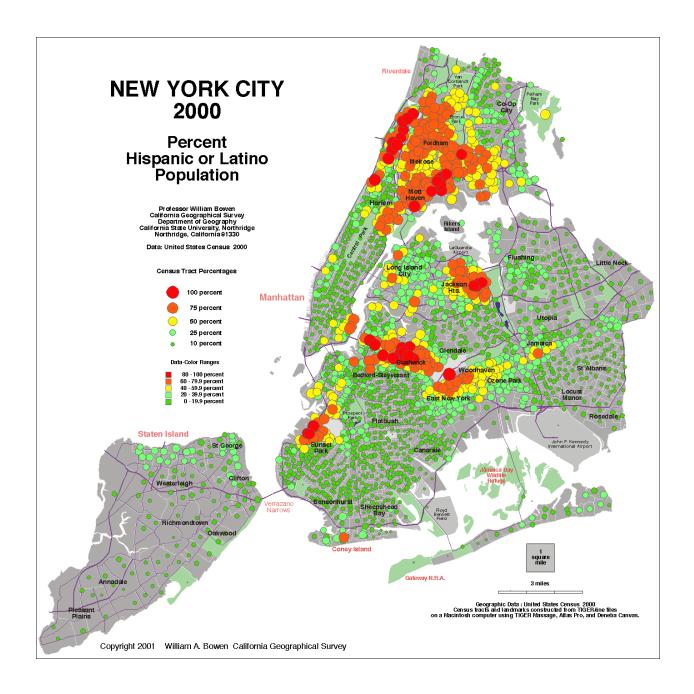
#### **Associations (Explanations?)**

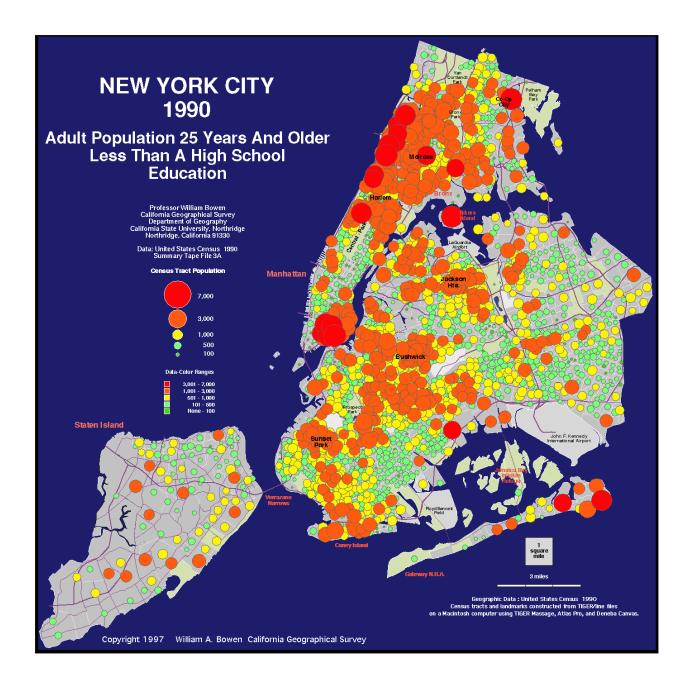
Though what is presented here is not a thorough GIS analysis, it is instructive to look at maps of NYC that show demographic factors to see if there are some noticeable relationships. First let's examine maps that appear to show a relationship with those sanitation districts with poor diversion rates. The maps were downloaded from William Brown, California Geographical Survey: 1997, 2001. http://geogdata.csun.edu/NYpage1.html





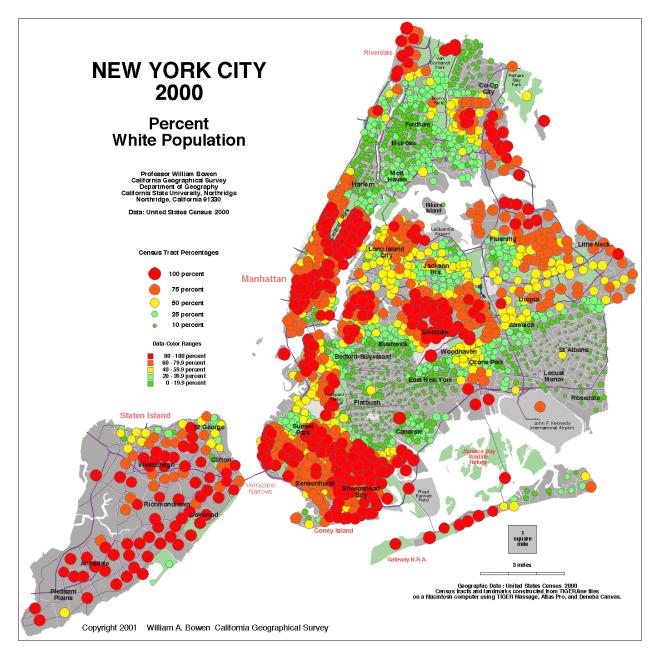




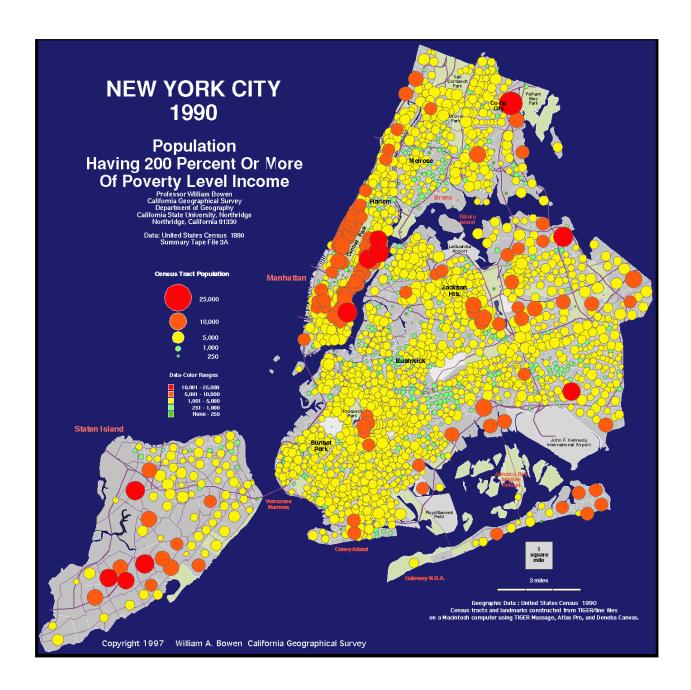


Though none of the maps of race, ethnicity, income level, educational level, and household characteristic provide a perfect match on an individual basis for the map of the worst 12 recycling districts, there are enough similarities between these maps and the poor recycling districts that a multivariate analysis using these variables would probably yield useful results.

The following are some maps of race, income level and educational level that appear to show similarities to the best recycling districts in the NYC recycling diversion rate map.







#### DOS' Study of Low Diversion Districts in Bronx and Brooklyn

In 1997 DOS conducted a study of low-diversion districts<sup>6</sup> for the purpose of analyzing the efficacy of abandoning source separation in those areas and replacing it with automated, centralized mixed waste processing facilities (dirty MRFs). Some of the same Bronx and Brooklyn districts were chosen as in the 2001 twelve worst recycling districts, and similar information on education, income, ethnicity, as well as language and housing variables are given.

Table 2,J Socioeconomic Profile of Low Diversion Districts Sampled<sup>1</sup>

COLLECTION DISTRICT			Ethnicity		Language	Housing				Facilities					
	High-School Graduates	Median Income	Receiving Support	Black	Hispanic	Other	Predominant	Multi- Family		1 and 2 Family	NYCHA Sites	NYCHA Units			Private Schools
BX1	37.4%	\$9,725	60.5%	31%	67%	2%	Spanish	16.3%	10%	21.7%	11	11,189	20	28	8
BX2	36.3%	\$10,165	61.1%	19%	79%	2%	Spanish	22.8%	6.2%	26.2%	0	0	6	12	1
BX3	44.5%	\$10,487	60.2%	55%	43%	2%	Spanish	19.8%	6.9%	25.6%	7	4,894	18	28	4
BX4	49.3%	\$15,565	54%	41%	54%	5%	Spanish	36.2%	8.4%	20.9%	2	1,543	15	18	7
BX5	48.1%	\$14,605	55.8%	38%	57%	5%	Spanish	31.2%	7.2%	35%	3	1,346	18	23	5
BX6	42.0%	\$12,610	53.8%	25%	59%	16%	Spanish	23.3%	6.7%	26.4%	1	531	11	26	6
BX9	59.0%	\$27,550	33.7%	31%	54%	15%	Spanish	25%	3%	58%	6	7,034	18	24	13
Average Bronx	45.23%	\$14,387	54.16%	34.29%	59%	6.71%		24.94%	6.91%	30.54%	4	3791	15	23	6
BK1	40.0%	\$20,685	38.9%	7%	44%	49%	Spanish/Eng.	36%	14%	17%	8	6,539	30	25	36
BK3	55.1%	\$17,210	44.3%	82%	16%	2%	English	32.7%	9%	37.1%	9	7,831	35	31	11
BK4	42.7%	\$16,265	48.2%	25%	65%	10%	Spanish	36%	9%	30.2%	2	1,315	19	21	6
BK5	53.3%	\$20,682	42%	50%	38%	12%	English	18.5%	5.9%	52.2%	7	7,168	19	34	11
BK8	60.5%	\$21,265	34.5%	83%	10%	7%	English	36%	13%	32.6%	2	2,395	17	12	16
BK9	66.5%	\$25,855	25.1%	78%	9%	13%	English	18.5%	10.7%	62.2%	1	230	19	15	9
BK16	49.1%	\$15,042	46.5%	81%	17%	2%	English	25.3%	8%	38.9%	13	7,939	14	24	5
BK17	69.1%	\$30,367	22.2%	88%	7%	5%	French Creole	20.2%	5.8%	66.2%	0	0	21	18	19
Average Brooklyn	54.54%	\$20,921	37.71%	61.75%	25.75%	12.5%		27.9%	9.43%	42.05%	5	4,177	22	23	14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Socioeconomic Profile of Community Districts derived from Department of City Planning Publication – 1990 U.S. Census Data. NYCHA – New York City Housing Authority.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Mixed Waste Processing in New York City – A Pilot Test Evaluation, NYC DOS, October, 1999. http://www.nyc.gov/html/dos/pdf/pubnrpts/recyrpts/mixed\_waste.pdf

The following table shows capture rate for these low-diversion districts in 1997.

Waste Composition Sampling and Analysis Study Low Diversion Rate Districts

Recyclable Materials	Capture Rate				
	(%)				
Total Paper	31.5%				
Newspaper	30.8%				
Magazines and Glossy	33.7%				
Telephone and Paperback Books	22.7%				
Corrugated, Kraft & Linerboard	38.5%				
Other Mixed Paper	13.9%				
Paper Beverage Containers	16.3%				
Total Plastic	29.8%				
HDPE Plastic	33.3%				
PET Plastic	24.4%				
Total Metal	40.8%				
Aluminum	21.8%				
Ferrous	35.1%				
Bulk Household Metal	48.7%				
Total Glass	27.7%				
TOTAL RECYCLABLE	32.2%				
N-4	37				

Note:

Capture Rate = lb/hh/day of Recyclable material in the Recyclable samples

lb/hh/day of Recyclable material in waste + Recyclables samples

By comparison, capture rates in the most recent DOS Residential Recycling Diversion Report for June 2003 <sup>7</sup> shows the following (note capture rate dropped precipitously from June 2002 to June 2003 probably due to the decision to stop collecting plastic, glass, and wax paper containers in July 2002). This change was shown to have caused a drop of 10-12% in paper diversion even though paper recycling was unaffected by the change in policy.

Worst 12 Diversion districts in June 2003	Total Diversion June 2003	Total Diversion June 2002	Capture Rate June 2003	Capture Rate June 2002
Bx6	5.0%	11.8%	15.3%	27.2%
Bx3	5.0%	9.2%	15.4%	21.3%
Bx2	5.4%	12.5%	16.3%	29.0%
Bx4	5.4%	10.0%	16.6%	23.2%
Bk16	5.5%	10.5%	17.3%	26.1%
Bx1	5.5%	11.1%	16.9%	25.9%
Bk4	5.8%	13.7%	18.0%	34.1%
Bk3	6.2%	12.3%	19.3%	30.5%
Bx9	6.3%	11.8%	17.0%	25.1%
Bx5	6.4%	14.7%	19.6%	34.1%
M10	6.6%	10.5%	20.3%	24.4%
Bk5	6.7%	14.2%	20.8%	34.6%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Residential Recycling Diversion Report for June 2003", from Larry Cipollina, September 8, 2003.

The best 12 diversion districts also suffered a drop in diversion and capture rates after plastic and glass recycling was dropped, but not to the degree suffered in the low-diversion districts:

Best 12 Diversion districts in June 2003	Total Diversion June 2003	Total Diversion June 2002	Capture Rate June 2003	Capture Rate June 2002
M1	24.0%	32.9%	59.3%	66.8%
M8	20.7%	30.8%	50.4%	61.9%
M6	20.5%	30.1%	49.7%	50.5%
M7	20.3%	28.9%	49.0%	57.8%
Bk6	19.7%	30.4%	55.1%	67.6%
M2	19.6%	30.2%	48.7%	61.6%
M4	19.3%	30.0%	45.7%	59.0%
Q11	17.5%	25.6%	55.0%	66.5%
Bk10	17.0%	26.3%	49.0%	62.9%
Q6	16.8%	25.2%	46.7%	59.2%
Q5	16.4%	26.6%	49.9%	66.3%
M5	16.2%	24.6%	39.3%	49.4%

#### **Analysis**

The questions are, why is there so much difference in capture and diversion between the best and worst districts in New York City, and how can the low-diversion districts be brought up to the same level of capture and diversion rates as the best performing districts? This would involve doubling the capture rate and tripling the diversion rate. If DOS' survey of residents' understanding of the recycling program requirements is accurate, and everyone in the city has the same understanding of what items are recyclable, regardless of demographic factors, then what causes some people not to perform the recycling behavior? Barriers to recycling could be one answer. Such barriers can include differences in building design that makes it more difficult to recycle (e.g., tenants must bring recyclables downstairs, outside, or further away in a housing complex vs. leaving recyclables in a recycling / chute room on their floor), or uncooperative building management / superintendent that provides insufficient space / cleanliness of recycling area that is poorly labeled. But cultural norms and educational levels could be other important factors influencing how a community responds to changes in government programs, as indicated by the associations shown on the demographic maps.

#### **Conclusions**

Providing recycling educational literature in many languages is only the first step in achieving high capture and diversion rates in all areas of a culturally diverse city. It makes sense for DOS to explore the steps between understanding and implementation of behaviors to see where there is a problem. DOS should do its best to identify and reduce any barriers to recycling (e.g., require building managers to provide sufficient bins and servicing for them) and to tailor educational signage to different types of building layout (e.g., "Bring your recyclables to the Basement – or Vestibule – or Sidewalk – or Courtyard, etc"). Clearly the City needs to reduce the number of changes in its recycling program, as those confuse and anger many residents and building supers. DOS would be well advised to explore whether differences in cultural values could be addressed by tailoring their educational devices.

### 有你的協助, **容樣東西都能落在適當的位置**



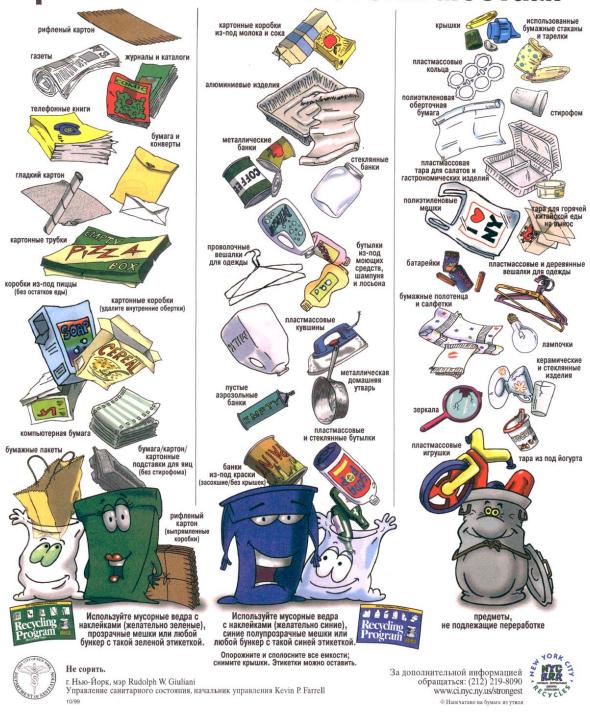


紐約市市長 Rudolph W. Giuliani 清潔局局長 Kevin P. Farrell

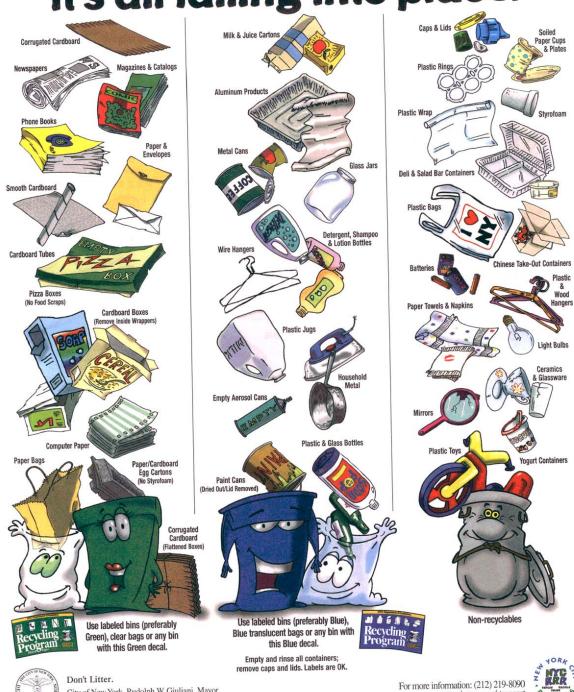




### С вашей помощью все расставляется по своим местам.



# With your help, it's all falling into place.





City of New York, Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mayor Department of Sanitation, Kevin P. Farrell, Commissioner

www.ci.nyc.ny.us/strongest

