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REAL CHANGE

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See page 10

A VIRUS HAVEN FOR SENIORS

Vanishing mobile home parks have been a refuge for those at high-risk of contracting COVID-19, p.3



FILLED TO THE BRIM

BOOK REVIEW:
We're drowning in plastic, p.8

GATHERING MOMENTUM

The protests against police brutality gain strength



HOW THIS COMPARES TO OUR PAST STRUGGLES, p.4

A STEP BEYOND RAGE TO LISTING OF DEMANDS, p.5

TEENS WANT POLICE EXPELLED FROM SCHOOLS, p.6

Real Change exists to provide opportunity and a voice for low-income and homeless people while taking action for economic, social and racial justice.

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ON THE COVER

Marchers take to the streets from a rally at Othello Park on June 7 to protest police brutality as part of the "We Want to Live March for Black Lives to End Violence." Story on page 6. Photo by Mark White.

The case for building tiny house villages during the pandemic

By **SHARON LEE**
Guest Writer

Seattle's adoption of tiny house villages as a crisis response to homelessness several years ago is now paying unexpected dividends as an ideal form of shelter during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The mandate from public health officials is clear: Stay home, stay separate, stay clean. But you can't stay home without a home and you can't shelter in place without shelter. A basic condition of being homeless is the necessity of frequenting and inhabiting public places: You must look for food, bathrooms, warmth and ad hoc shelter. This often requires interacting with others.

In the public interest of flattening the curve and basic human decency, all available resources should go toward ensuring that every person has a safe, clean, warm and separate place to live or, at very least, shelter. Homeless people are frequently elderly or in poor health, two factors that increase the risk of COVID-19. Traditional shelters with barrack-style open sleeping arrangements are problematic for preventing the spread of infectious diseases; having people sleep inches away from one another is dangerous.

On April 20, Seattle & King County Public Health officials announced that 112 homeless people and staff working in homeless shelters were infected with covid-19, and that two homeless people had died. In mid-April at the Multi-Service Center South shelter in San Francisco, 96 people and 10 staff tested positive — this was the largest outbreak in a single shelter nationally. On April 23, officials shut down the Division Circle Navigation Center in San Francisco's Mission District after two people tested positive and the rest of its residents were moved to hotels.

Government officials throughout the country are working to "de-intensify" existing shelters by spacing people 6 feet or more apart, arranging beds so people can sleep head to toe, setting up temporary emergency shelters in public buildings and master-leasing hotels as de-intensification shelters.

In many communities, a priority is placed on social distancing current shelter residents rather than setting up new beds or facilities to bring vulnerable homeless people in from the street. Because of COVID-19, tens of thousands of existing shelter beds are simply being moved around at taxpayers' considerable expense.

Local governments and service providers are applying for FEMA, state, county and other emergency funds to shelter homeless people in repurposed public facilities during the crisis, but how long can emergency funding last, and how long can homeless people stay 24/7 in city hall lobbies, sport stadiums, large tents and community centers? After the pandemic ends, it is unlikely that public health officials will ask people to simply return to their shelters and resume the practice of sleeping inches apart.

Placing homeless people in hotels may appear to be a solution, but it is only a short-term and expensive quick fix. In some cities, such as Los Angeles, millions of dollars are being spent to lease hotel rooms and provide three meals a day, plus there are the added costs of staffing, PPE,

supportive services and security. Local governments still have to figure out what to do afterward. As new shelter standards for physical distancing are being developed to address COVID-19 and other infectious diseases, what will happen to the thousands of unhoused men, women and children who are now sheltering in hotels? If they can no longer return to the shelters they came from, will they be sent back to the streets?

Will we see even more homeless people on the streets after the pandemic because shelter capacity is being reduced across the board?

In early April, King County rented the Red Lion Hotel, located in the city of Renton (just south of Seattle), to de-intensify Seattle's largest homeless shelter. The lease was for 90 days. The initial response from the mayor of Renton was a demand that the county remove the 200 homeless people immediately at the end of the lease. Renton officials stated that the hotel is not zoned as a shelter and that the county should ensure that homeless individuals not remain in Renton, but return to their original shelters in Seattle or find other options. For cities and counties, not only is paying for hotel stays expensive and hard to sustain, but NIMBY and anti-homeless sentiments can easily flare up and divide those communities.

Another Approach: Tiny Houses

Since early March, when public officials were scrambling to de-intensify shelters to protect people from the coronavirus, families and individuals living in the Low Income Housing Institute's (LIHI) tiny house villages have been able to shelter in place and implement public health procedures to stay safe.

The 12 tiny house villages that LIHI operates in Seattle, Tacoma and Olympia are a better shelter option than traditional shelters because they provide separate living and sleeping spaces. Residents have privacy, dignity and a safe place to store their belongings. LIHI's tiny houses are 8 feet by 12 feet and the houses are spaced 5 feet apart. A person living in a tiny house is automatically sleeping more than 6 feet from another person. Plus, they are separated by two walls and two doors. In a tiny house, people are not breathing the same air as their neighbors. When they open their doors, they breathe in fresh air — making it far easier to adhere to social distancing guidelines.

Over the past few years, with the support of thousands of volunteers, 400 insulated and heated tiny houses have been built across the Puget Sound region, helping more than 1,000 people annually. The villages have shared hygiene facilities, including bathrooms, showers, washers and dryers and cleaning supplies, that allow residents to follow recommended COVID-19 hygiene protocols. A community kitchen with refrigerators, freezers, pantry, microwave, cooktops, hot water and meal deliveries is also available to residents. Additionally, the villages provide on-site case managers who help move residents into permanent housing at a rate that has outperformed traditional shelters.

Tiny house villages can make a significant positive contribution to flattening

the curve of disease transmission. Federal, state and local governments should allocate funds so that we can shelter every single person separately and safely in accordance with CDC guidelines. As of May 12, hundreds of people living in LIHI's tiny house villages were tested for COVID-19 and no one was found positive, according to the public health nurses who reported the test results to staff.

With the pressure to help people living on the streets avoid the coronavirus, our experienced team has streamlined our new villages' setup time from three months down to four weeks. We are happy to share our experience with others on how to create and operate tiny house villages.

Tiny house villages cost far less than extended hotel stays and can remain in place for years. The city of Seattle is funding nine of the 12 villages. The average cost for a person living in a tiny house is \$38 per day, compared with \$56 for an enhanced shelter bed and \$130 or more for a night's stay in a hotel. In March, Mayor Jenny Durkan provided immediate funding for LIHI to build 50 more tiny houses to help 60 unsheltered individuals. LIHI opened a new village focused on the needs of homeless African Americans, Native Americans and Alaska Natives and also doubled the size of an existing village, which operates on a housing-first model. Mayor Durkan praises tiny house villages as "probably the most successful shelter we have to get people into long-term housing, and it has become some of the most sought-after shelter for some people experiencing homelessness."

We know that low-income housing, including permanent supportive housing, is the real solution for all people experiencing homelessness. Hopefully this will gain traction as one of the lessons learned from the COVID-19 crisis. Right now, however, tiny house villages can be built quickly and affordably. Unlike the sunk cost of millions of dollars for hotel rooms, investment in tiny house villages can continue to pay off after the pandemic has passed.

The construction of a tiny house village is simple enough that social distancing can be maintained even while they are being built. Many volunteers are building the tiny houses off-site, in some cases in people's front or back yards. The cost of materials for a tiny house is \$2,500 and labor is free — we have many volunteers. If we are pressed for time and have to meet a deadline to open a village, we work with small contractors who build them for \$5,500 each, including labor and material. The houses are built to our specifications on skids, and they are transported to the village on a flatbed truck and placed on concrete pier blocks.

LIHI staff coordinates volunteers to complete the community facilities including the kitchen and dining areas, bathrooms, showers, case manager's office and security pavilion.

Electrical and plumbing work are carried out by licensed contractors. We have set up villages ranging in size from 14 to 50 tiny houses for \$150,000 to \$700,000, depending on infrastructure costs and site conditions.

Tiny house villages can be located on

"Passover is not over yet because the angel of death is still riding."

— Eloise Mickelsen



Photo by Matthew S. Browning

Eloise Mickelsen in her home at Halcyon Mobile Home Community for seniors in north Seattle.

Communal yet standalone houses may unlock good health, shows Seattle mobile home park

By **ASHLEY ARCHIBALD**
Staff Reporter

Eloise Mickelsen watched with horror over Memorial Day weekend as news channels carried images of people flocking to beaches, the majority dispensing with masks or any attempt at social distancing. Fear of the coronavirus, which continued to rage in communities throughout the country, was not enough to conquer their desires to enjoy beautiful weather and some semblance of normalcy.

"Passover is not over yet because the angel of death is still riding," Mickelsen said, a few days later.

But Mickelsen and her neighbors at the Halcyon Mobile Home Park, a community of seniors tucked away off of Aurora in north Seattle, have so far avoided a visit from that portent of doom.

Coronavirus has not come to Halcyon, a boon given that most, if not all, of the people who live there fall into a vulnerable category because of their age. Mickelsen chalks that up to the simple fact that every resident has their own space to shelter from the disease.

There are no shared hallways or elevators in the park, which is open air outside of a community room, reducing the amount of exposure residents have to one another even further — one study out of Japan found that the virus can spread as much as 19 times faster indoors than outside.

The additional protection is welcome because not everyone fully accepts the virus and its potential danger, Mickelsen said.

"Sixty percent of the people here

are obeying the rules and carrying on properly," Mickelsen said. "That other 40 percent are wildcards."

Halcyon residents almost lost the security that the park provides a year and a half ago when the park was nearly sold. They advocated to the Seattle City Council to save their community and the equity that they had built up in their homes. Tenants in mobile home parks often own the physical building in which they live, but not the ground underneath, and, despite the name, most of those buildings are immobile.

Attempting to move them can destroy some units. Others are more accurately described as "manufactured homes" and have semi-permanent foundations, making them near-impossible to relocate.

In January 2019, the City Council passed a one-year moratorium on redevelopment of Seattle's mobile home parks, of which there are only two remaining. The idea was the city would use that time to come back with proposals on a new zoning type specific to mobile home parks so that the use of the park would be difficult to change.

Much of the value of the land underneath the Halcyon Mobile Home Park exists because it is zoned in such a way that a buyer could replace the senior community with a big-box store or an expensive apartment complex. A zoning change would preserve it as a mobile home park and prohibit most other uses of the land.

However, the city has not yet unveiled a new zoning designation for the site, nor has it undergone the environmental review necessary to make that happen. On June 1, the City Council extended mora-

torium another six months with the hope that it would give the Seattle Department of Construction and Inspections (SDCI) time to move the process forward.

"This should be fairly routine work, but for whatever reason — that the Mayor's Office should be answerable to — they have not carried that out," said Councilmember Kshama Sawant, who sponsored the extension legislation.

It passed unanimously. Stabilizing the park pays dividends in "normal" times as well as pandemics. Halcyon and parks like it are what Ishbel Dickens, an advocate for manufactured and mobile home communities, calls a "NORC": a naturally occurring retirement community.

Dickens worked with Halcyon residents to lobby the City Council for protections. Communities like this are one of the few places where people on fixed incomes can afford to live, maintain access to formal social services and create informal networks to care for one another.

"People tend to take care of each other more than you would see anywhere else," Dickens said. "That's something that's always been in place in manufactured housing communities. I don't think the pandemic has created that sense of community — I think it was already there and was highlighted or used more regularly."

Residents help one another with grocery shopping, give each other rides to the doctor's office and check in on their neighbors. They have space to go outside and take in the sunlight when the weather is good, and shelter against the elements

HOMES Continued on Page 11

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Get tested

The city of Seattle and University of Washington (UW) teamed up to create two coronavirus testing sites in an effort to provide free testing to determine who has the virus.

The facilities — former Seattle emissions testing sites at 12040 Aurora Ave. N and 3820 Sixth Ave. S — are open Monday through Saturday from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m.

People can register for a testing slot in advance by going to seattle.gov/mayor/covid-19-testing.

The partnership will increase the number of tests by 1,600 per day. "The implementation of stringent mitigation measures have saved lives and slowed the spread of the virus, but the virus can quickly resurge if we don't do testing, contact tracing and isolation," said Ana Marie Cauce, UW president, in a press release.

Expanding testing capacity is critical for getting the virus under control because people who test positive can isolate themselves and avoid spreading the disease.

Research out of the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine suggests that as few as 10 percent of the cases may be responsible for 80 percent of the thread.

Scientists call these people "super spreaders" because they tend to infect large groups of people all at once. One such super spreader in South Korea — dubbed "Patient 31" by the country's health authority — infected 40 people in her church.

Closer to home, a super spreader in Mt. Vernon, Washington, infected 52 fellow choir members.

The uptick in testing is coming amid thousands of Seattleites gathering daily for more than a week to protest the killing of George Floyd, a Black man in Minnesota, at the hands of a white police officer.

Public health officials have acknowledged that these protests could cause large-scale "community spread" of the deadly virus, but have not called on the protests to stop.

More testing also means that tests will be available to people who didn't meet early guidelines from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), which only recommended tests for people with symptoms of COVID-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus.

That often meant people with very mild symptoms, people who were asymptomatic or those who were potentially exposed and pre-symptomatic couldn't find out if they had the virus, facilitating its spread deeper into communities.

Early efforts to increase testing capacity were stymied by a nationwide dearth of testing supplies. Gov. Jay Inslee said in a press conference Thursday that Washington had received two-thirds of the supplies requested from the federal government. ■

— Ashley Archibald

2020 uprisings, unprecedented in scope, join a long river of struggle in America

By **MATTHEW COUNTRYMAN**
The Conversation

The river was the metaphor that best captured “the long, continuous movement” of the Black freedom struggle for theologian, historian and civil rights activist Vincent Harding. Harding, who had served as a speechwriter for the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., wrote in his groundbreaking 1981 study of African American history, “There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America,” that the freedom struggle was “sometimes powerful, tumultuous, roiling with life; at other times meandering and turgid.”

When I think of the sudden explosion of anti-racist protest that has overwhelmed the nation’s cities over the past two weeks, it is Harding’s metaphor of the river that comes to mind.

It is as if the dam has broken, and the many currents of the American protest tradition — not just the anti-racist tradition, but the anti-corporate and anti-war protest traditions; women’s, LG-BTQ and student movements; movements for workers’ rights and economic justice — have all come together in a massive river of outrage and sorrow, exhilaration and hope.

This past weekend, tens of thousands of protesters joined the river in massive demonstrations in hundreds of cities across the country, from New York City to Jackson, Michigan; from Washington, D.C., to Louisville; from Philadelphia to Seattle.

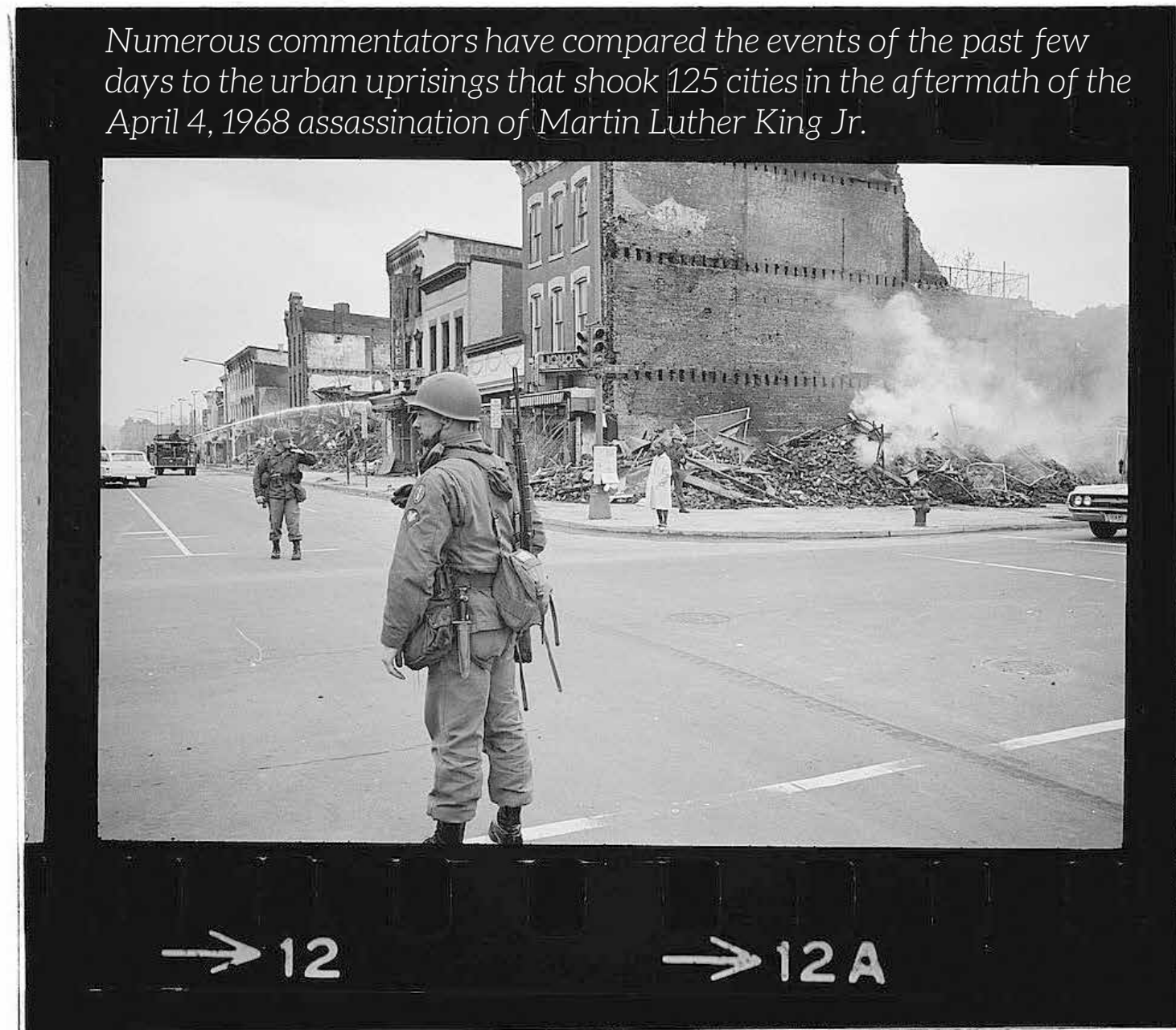
Current in a river of protest

Numerous commentators have compared the events of the past few days to the urban uprisings that shook 125 cities in the aftermath of the April 4, 1968, assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

But as an historian of Black social movements, my view is that as widespread and destructive as the 1968 rebellions were, neither their size nor the challenge they posed to the American political system approached what the U.S. has seen over the past two weeks. According to USA Today, as of June 4, there have been protests in 700 cities and towns since the death of George Floyd in police custody.

This remains true even if we consider the protests and police violence that shook the Chicago Democratic Convention in August 1968. Similarly, the scope and scale of the 2020 protests dwarf the student strikes that shut down hundreds of college campuses in the aftermath of the shootings of student protesters at Kent State and Jackson State in May 1970; the six days of protest and looting that shook Los Angeles in the aftermath of the 1992 Rodney King trial; the 1999 “Battle of Seattle,” during which protesters used a mix of nonviolent and more militant tactics to disrupt a World Trade Organization conference, and the 650 cities that hosted Women’s Marches in January 2017.

More than the number and size of the protests, though, what makes the 2020 uprisings unprecedented are the ways that they have pulled together multiple



Part of a contact sheet showing a soldier standing guard in a Washington, D.C., street with the ruins of buildings destroyed during the uprising that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

U.S. News and World Report file, Wikipedia

currents within the U.S. protest tradition into a mighty river of demand for fundamental change in American society.

Wanton disregard for Black life

The spark, of course, was the horrifying video of yet another police killing of an unarmed African American, George Floyd.

The nation was confronted with incontrovertible evidence, played out over 8 minutes and 46 seconds of video, not only of wanton disregard for Black life but also of the ongoing failure of political institutions to solve the problem of racist police violence.

On top of the disproportionate death rates and economic devastation that COVID-19 has wrought on communities of color, a harsh light has been shone on the structural racism rampant in American society.

But while the murder of George Floyd was the spark, the fuel for the uprisings comes from many sources: the worst public health and economic crisis in generations, three and a half years of a divisive and chaotic presidential administration, a burgeoning white nationalist movement and decades upon decades of growing economic inequality amid an increasingly threadbare social safety net.

The focus of the protests has been on police violence and the nation’s unfinished racial justice agenda. But the diversity of protesters and the use of protest tactics — from nonviolent marches and rallies to civil disobedience, rock throwing and looting — drawn from the traditions of youth, labor and anti-corporate protest make it clear that even more is at play in the uprising.

The point is not, as others have argued, that it is the level of involvement of whites in the protests that distinguishes them from previous high points of anti-racist protest. There is in fact a long history of white support for, and participation in, Black protest movements.

What is unprecedented is the way protesters of all races and ethnicities have focused their ire on upscale business districts and national retail chains (as opposed to neighborhood businesses), while others have called for the redirecting of public spending from the police, prisons and other elements of the criminal justice system to health and social welfare programs.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the protests’ decentralized and leaderless nature, they have managed to put on the table the broadest and most comprehensive set of social and economic reforms

since the Poor People’s Campaign followed on the heels of Martin Luther King’s assassination in 1968.

From calls to shift funding from police budgets to programs for the poor to proposals for renewed public investment in minority businesses and urban neighborhoods, the uprisings are likely to reshape public policy debates for months and even years to come.

It is impossible to know whether the protests can or will be transformed into sustained campaigns to reform the criminal justice system or reinvigorate government programs for the poor and economically downtrodden. To achieve that level of structural change will require the rapid development of new forms of leadership and new organizational structures for the protest movement.

But as unlikely as that may seem, remember no one could have predicted the U.S. was on the verge of this level of mass mobilization of anti-racist protest two short weeks ago. ■

Matthew Countryman is the chair of the Department of Afroamerican and African Studies and an associate professor of Afroamerican and African Studies, History and American Culture at the University of Michigan.



Photo by Lisa Hagen Glynn

Doctors for Justice gather outside Seattle City Hall, looking west across Fourth Street.



Photo by Lisa Hagen Glynn

Salma kneels with the crowd outside Harborview Medical Center during the June 5 Doctors for Justice March in Seattle.

City Council answers protest calls against police violence are met with more of the same

By **ASHLEY ARCHIBALD**
Staff Reporter

The counter at the bottom of the Seattle Channel livestream began ticking upward as the clock passed 9:30 a.m. June 8, when the Seattle City Council would meet for its weekly Council Briefing. A few dozen viewers became a few hundred, eventually topping out at just past 800 people watching what would normally be a simple prequel to the 2 p.m. full council meeting.

But, after the events of the weekend, Seattleites knew that their City Council would have something to say.

Protests over police brutality in the wake of the killing of George Floyd by the Minneapolis Police Department that began in earnest on May 29 entered a new phase as participants moved past expressions of sadness and rage to concrete lists of

demands: defund the police department, put resources into social services, declare racism a public health crisis and more.

Mayor Jenny Durkan and Police Chief Carmen Best agreed to one: banning the use of tear gas, a chemical that irritates the lungs in the midst of a pandemic that also targets that organ. That promise lasted for one day before police unleashed so much gas on protesters that June 7 evening images from 11th Avenue and East Pine Street are obscured by a chemical fog. Protesters had amassed on the blocks surrounding the 12th Avenue police precinct for days.

It was a tipping point. “I think the mayor should assess in this moment, ask herself if she is the right leader in this moment — and resign,” Councilmember Teresa Mosqueda said at the briefing the next morning.

Over the course of the three-hour briefing, three council members said Durkan should at least consider resigning, a nod to the growing pressure on the mayor and discontent with how protesters have been treated over 10 days of protests. Multiple online petitions totaling more than 12,000 signatures made the same demand.

A statement from Durkan’s office said that the mayor would “not be distracted” from the work of addressing systemic racism in the city and healing the community.

“At this pivotal moment, we cannot fan division when we need to come together to make actual steps on policing, invest in community, safely reopen our city to get



Seattle Channel

Seattle City Councilmember Teresa Mosqueda speaks about police continuing to use tear gas and pepper spray after the mayor and police chief said they were banned.

workers back to work, and address the inequities in every system, including in education, housing, access to wealth building jobs and the criminal justice system,” the statement reads.

But temporary, and porous, bans on chemical agents and the decision to rescind a request to weaken the oversight of the Seattle Police Department (SPD) did not appear to tamp down the uprising within the community.

Demands for Durkan’s resignation were building for almost a week before the Council Briefing, part of a growing body of changes that progressive leaders throughout the community began calling for to envision a new system of public safety, one rooted in ending the oppression of marginalized communities and removing the conditions that lead to crime.

Community members including activist and attorney Nikkita Oliver took the conversation to Durkan in a livestreamed meeting at City Hall in which the activists presented their platform: Defund the police; Invest in community solutions;

DEMANDS Continued on Page 12



A young child sits on adult shoulders and surveys the attendance at the "We Want to Live" rally, which filled Othello Park on Sunday, June 7.

STUDENTS HAVE HAD ENOUGH

Rethinking police presence in schools

By **KAMNA SHASTRI** | Staff Reporter

Rainier Beach High School student Angelina Riley walked out of virtual school at noon on Wednesday, June 3, waving a sign outside the street of her home to protest police presence in schools. At least 100 other youth did the same. Riley said that youth wanted a way to get involved in the activism and momentum around challenging police brutality. "Somewhere people have forgotten about is schools," she said.

So, she and other high school students from the Seattle area organized a protest — albeit virtual. Riley said that the solidarity from students of all backgrounds is inspiring to her as a Black person. Students walked out of their classes to stand outside, took pictures of their signs and posted the photographs to social media under #studentshavehadenough. Hundreds of posts congregated on Instagram.

Law enforcement in Seattle Public Schools

The physical presence of police — or "school emphasis officers" — in Seattle Public Schools is limited to four schools: Denny International Middle School, Washington Middle School, Aki Kurose Middle School and South Shore K-8 School. The officers present there are employed by the Seattle Police Department and, according to the SPD website, "focus on gang resistance and violence prevention education and training, truancy and suspension reduction."

Students want Seattle Public Schools (SPS) to end their partnership with the Seattle Police Department. The students have five preliminary demands they posted on Instagram:

- Hold police accountable for abusive behavior toward black students
- Eliminate the presence of police in all schools
- Implement restorative justice and de-escalation tactics in all schools
- Urge school districts to fire all staff

Angelina Riley stands outside of her home around noon on June 3 with a sign to protest police presence in schools.



Photos by Marck White

Young people along with community members, lead a march that began at Othello Park in South Seattle to protest police. The "We Want to Live March for Black Lives to End Violence" was hosted by Community Passageways, a nonprofit working to end youth incarceration.



Thousands of protesters moved by the Minneapolis police killing of George Floyd walk from Othello Park to a Safeway store in the "We Want to Live" march June 7.

members with racist/ anti-black reports

- End racist police violence. Defund police.

These demands, including the phrase

"defund police," which has been rippling across the U.S., call into question how the city's monetary resources are distributed. The city of Seattle has allocated

\$409,538,851 for police expenditures in 2020. In comparison, the annual budget allots \$105,261,978 for education and early learning; SPS is not supported by city funds.

By day's end on June 3, the SPS Office of the Superintendent released a statement saying they would be reevaluating their relationship with officers in schools. "SPS does not currently have any contracts with the Seattle Police Department outside of providing security at athletic events, but does have School Emphasis Officers in four of our schools through a partnership with the city," the statement read.

Back at home, Riley was exhausted and flooded with feelings after three days of rallying with other student organizers to get the #studentshavehadenough campaign off the ground, all while managing school.

"I've been feeling drained. I haven't really thought about anything else. But I'm also just feeling really empowered," she said. "A lot of my peers have felt the same way — we'll talk about how tired we are, but how proud we are of all the work we are doing. How proud we are of how allies have been showing up."

Riley says students will continue to organize in other ways with petitions,

engaging with the school board and letter writing. A few days later, on Sunday, throngs of young people gathered along with community members at Othello Park in South Seattle to protest police. The "We Want to Live March for Black Lives to End Violence" was hosted by Community Passageways, a nonprofit that works to end youth incarceration and create sustainable solutions for communities, and amassed around 8,000 people.

The impacts of police on school premises affects students' comfort in schools and in their communities, as well as aiding in the school-prison pipeline — all issues that will not disappear overnight and are intricately tied to the broader movement to hold law enforcement accountable.

How policing works in schools

The first program to bring police officers into schools was called "Officer Friendly" in Flint, Michigan, 1958. Similar models spread throughout the country following its success. Initially, the police officer's role in schools was meant to be one of a mentor, counselor and teacher. Over subsequent decades, the role shifted from one of an adult who could provide

guidance and support to an acute attention to crime. The increase and prevalence of school shootings also supported rhetoric for police to be present and act with force in educational settings.

Dominique Davis, the executive director of Community Passageways, remembers the security officers in his high school because they were part of the community. "They were there to support you so when you got in a fight, you didn't get an assault charge — you ended up getting suspended and then you come back to school when things calm down," Davis said.

In the schools where officers are placed, the majority of students are non-white and low-income, according to a 2017 report from the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington (ACLU-WA) that chronicled police in schools' effectiveness and accountability and showed alternative solutions.

Whether or not schools have an in-house officer, administrators often call on police to respond to "routine student misconduct." When officers respond to school calls, they can use excessive force in classrooms and hallways.

"It infuriates me when I see young women and young men being absolutely

"A lot of my peers have felt the same way, we'll talk about how tired we are, but how proud we are of all the work we are doing. How proud we are of how allies have been showing up."

— Angelina Riley

brutalized by these Rambo cops that are 99.9 percent white cops, roughhousing our little boys, little girls," Davis said.

There are many accounts of this; Riley recounted seeing her classmate, a young Black boy, thrown to the ground by an officer in middle school. While students, parents and teachers have a collection of incidents they can flip through, Washington state law requires schools to report any incident where an officer has forcefully handled a student, but doesn't require other officer-student interactions to be reported. ACLU-WA also found a number of schools didn't report any data about restraints, making it impossible to determine the number of student arrests in the state.

Students are most often arrested for "disturbing school," a criminal offense in Washington. "Thus, there is no legal line between school discipline and criminal activity," according to ACLU-WA's investigation, which further suggested students are being punished by the law for what is really a behavioral issue — or, put another way, for being a teenager. In one instance, a high school student was arrested and charged for fourth-degree assault for pouring chocolate milk on another student during lunch time; another high school student was arrested and charged for throwing one punch at a peer.

When police officers respond to an incident, they create discomfort ranging to fear for students. Riley says Black students feel especially unsafe in policed situations because they and their communities are overpoliced. Inviting officers full-time into schools or in response to a behavioral complaint can fast-track a situation that disproportionately sends students of color away from school and into the juvenile justice system. The students who end up in trouble with law enforcement are typically unarmed.

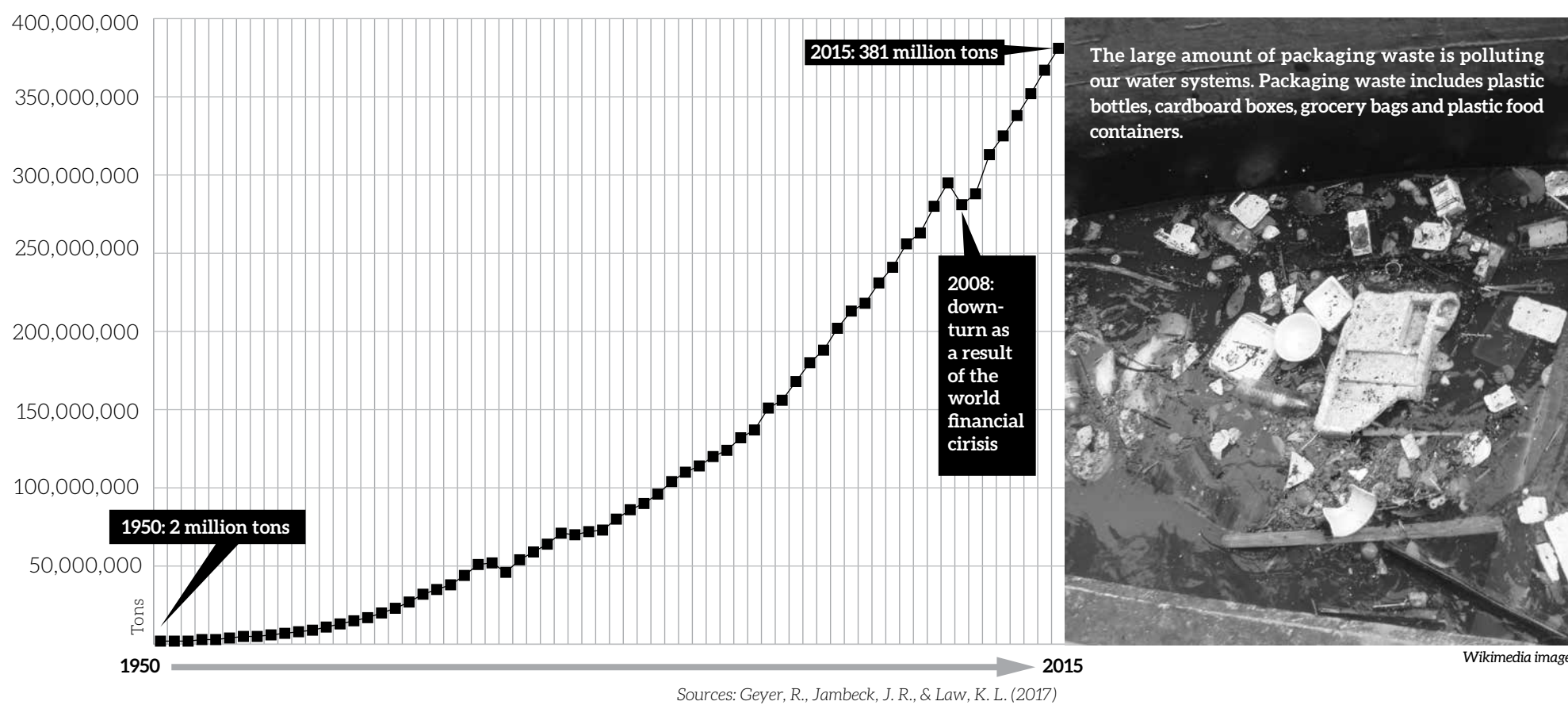
Society's rampant racial prejudice creates this surveillance and student dynamic in blatant disregard of the historical trauma and legacies that have led to Black and

See **SCHOOLS** Continued on Page 11

BOOK REVIEW: 'Waste' | By Kate O'Neill | Polity Press | 2019 | Hardcover | 240 pages

MAKING PLASTIC

In 1950, the world produced only 2 million tons of plastic per year. Since then, annual production has increased nearly 200-fold, reaching 381 million tons in 2015.



A MANUFACTURED CRISIS

A UC Berkeley professor dives in our ocean of plastic waste

Review by **DAVE GAMRATH** | Contributing Writer

We humans use a lot of resources and, in the process, create a lot of waste — far more than you might imagine. In her book “Waste,” University of California Berkeley Environmental Science Professor Kate O’Neill provides a deep look at all the stuff that gets tossed. Some of what she reports is surprising, some scary and much of it pretty damn sad.

Technically speaking, waste is what we do not want, or fail to use. But it’s also more than that. Waste is a global resource, a livelihood and a source of risk — to our health, the environment and to waste workers.

Since the Industrial Revolution, humans have created 30 trillion tons of waste. We are running out of space to put waste, and we will not reach “peak waste” until the next century. As long as it’s cheap and easy to impose our waste on others living thousands of miles away, technology will not solve our waste problems.

There are many different streams of waste, including municipal, industrial, agriculture, forestry, construction, mining, hazardous and nuclear waste. Industrial waste is 18 times greater than municipal waste. Globally, the largest waste category is green waste, including food waste, at 44 percent.

O’Neill describes the dynamic global waste economy. Globally, there are more than 20 million informal waste workers. At many huge global dumpsites, thousands of “waste pickers” live among the trash. These workers face extreme health

hazards, including toxicants, smoke and chemicals.

Discarded electronics are a cornerstone of the global waste economy. Workers dismantle old electronics for valuable metals while facing exposure to mercury, lead and other toxicants. A surprisingly large amount of e-waste gets refurbished and resold, allowing many in the developing world to afford technology. However, built-in obsolescence in non-repairable gadgets shortens product life and makes refurbishing extremely hard, adding to our waste problem. O’Neill argues that new policies to make manufacturers responsible for the entire life cycle of their products, including take-back, recycling and final disposal, are very much needed.

Food waste is a growing problem. Waste occurs all through the food chain. Roughly one-third of food produced for humans is wasted, valued at close to \$1 trillion a year. Fruits and vegetables have the highest waste percentages, at over 50 percent in the U.S. Also, 20 percent of meat and dairy and 35 percent of fish are wasted. Over one-quarter of the world’s agricultural land produces food waste.

A tremendous amount of fresh water is wasted, and the carbon footprint of wasted food is huge. Only 3 percent of food waste gets composted.

This really surprised me: Date labels are the most common reason people toss food. These labels are voluntary and meant as an indicator of flavor as much as spoilage. Labels are not standardized and can be very confusing to consumers. O’Neill stresses that changing date labels would greatly help avoiding food waste.

The plastics industry touts its role in preventing food waste. Yet, much of the plastic most difficult to recycle comes in the form of food packaging, especially soft films and plastic bags.

Plastics have flooded the oceans and worked their way into our bloodstreams. Plastic products take anywhere from five to 1,000 years to break down, and even then, the resulting microplastics basically last forever. In the Pacific Ocean, in an area about twice the size of Texas, lies a pool of at least 79,000 tons of floating plastic.

In 2017, the U.N. declared plastics in the oceans a planetary crisis. Some actions are being taken, but not nearly enough. O’Neill discusses different solutions, such as worldwide bans and restrictions for single-use plastics, or the quest for alternatives and substitutes. But replacing plastics is going to be extremely hard. Clearly, people like to use plastics, and old habits are hard to break. Plus, big businesses produce plastics, including chemical companies such as Dow and DuPont, and oil companies such as Exxon. These highly polluting industries have the deep pockets to fight off change that would lower their profits.

Deviously, it was the plastics industry that lobbied hard for the labeling system we see on the bottom of plastics, numbering from 1 to 7. Only those labeled 1 and 2 are easily recycled. The others likely won’t ever get recycled, yet consumers feel good when we toss them into our recycle bin, not realizing they are effectively contaminating the recycle and heading for a landfill.

We love plastics. Over 300 million tons of plastic waste are generated annually.

In 2018, China changed its policy and prohibited imports of plastic waste, citing a new policy of “no more foreign garbage.” This has caused a problem for American recyclers. Currently, in the U.S., less than 10 percent of plastic is recycled. About 15 percent is incinerated, and the remaining 75 percent goes to landfills. Simply put, recycling of plastics isn’t working. The real solution is developing substitutes and alternatives to fossil-fuel-based plastics of all kinds.

O’Neill concludes her book with some optimism, including describing many governance innovations and experiments currently in work, albeit with only marginal success. As consumers, O’Neill provides us several options. We can modify our consumption habits to reduce waste. We can keep a close eye on what’s happening within our government, and not let big business prohibit governmental action to reduce waste and restrict single-use plastics. We can lobby to allow for electronic devices to be repaired. “Zero waste” communities have succeeded in a few places, proving we can do it. But like most everything, changing habits will take time and effort from us all.

Although a bit academic, “Waste” is definitely not a waste of time. ■

THE MIDDLE GROUND | By Sam Day



At this stage in my life, I’ll say it from here: BLACK LIVES MATTER

It was about this time four years ago when I told my supervisor at Real Change that Trump would likely win the 2016 election, and he was so sure that was impossible he bet me a dinner at my favorite restaurant that it wouldn’t happen. I didn’t have to put up any counter offer, not that it would have mattered. That was a good dinner.

It’s hard to see how Trump could win this time around. The president’s threat to send the military to states to put down protests brought condemnation from Pat Robertson! “You just don’t do that, Mr. President.”

Trump’s abuse of riot-control police, the First Amendment, St John’s Church and a Bible for a photo-op was obscene, even to a lot of his base.

James “Mad Dog” Mattis broke his silence, calling Trump a threat to our Constitution and condemning calling our cities a “battlespace” that our military should dominate. Trump has no business as president treating our cities as a war zone. You just don’t do that.

There’s nearly 20 percent unemployment in the U.S. now, according to government officials who still have jobs.

With so much unemployment, it’s easy to see why there is a strong movement across the country to cut funding for police departments. People are thinking, hey, we got laid off, so the police should get laid off, too. Besides which, the police can’t stop themselves from murdering people. So there’s that.

Being old, I naturally think back to past riots I’ve known. Don’t we all have our favorite riots?

My all-time favorite was a police riot I got involved in during the ‘70s. It was in

Adventures in Irony

Dr. Wes Browning

Ithaca, New York. A couple of hundred students were protesting the war off campus. The Ithaca police boxed them in and told them to disperse. Which they couldn’t, as they were boxed in. So after a minute, the police charged at the protesters while swinging batons, for not dispersing as ordered.

I watched that from a block away, until about half the marchers managed to break through the police lines and rush down the street at me, chased by the police, and hoo boy, then I was a target, too. Fortunately, I could run faster than any Ithaca cops.

Even though I was 50 years old and unlikely to outrun a cop, I still ventured out into the Seattle World Trade Organization protests in 1999. There was a lot to see in that mess. I took notes. I especially enjoyed watching the behavior of some of the storm troopers. On one occasion, I saw a team of cops ride a Humvee into battle to occupy an empty intersection by first softening it up with tear gas. They then drove into the intersection, got off the Humvee and strutted around, looking all proud of their conquest, before climbing aboard to go find new targets.

It looked like a performance of the Seafair Pirates with tear gas instead of candy and Glocks instead of fake swords.

My next riot was the notorious of

Seattle Mardi Gras 2001. That afternoon on the way home, knowing that the police expected violence at the Pioneer Square celebrations, I was sure I would be tear-gassed before the end of the night.

That was the last time I can remember when I decided to stroll over to the big event that could turn into a riot and check it out. I made my way through the masses of people until I came to a space where some people were yelling at each other, and a fight broke out and one man tried to stop it. I was at the exact place and moment of an outbreak of mob violence, standing in the midst of the mob, with police looking on from two blocks away.

I backed out of there, made it home and turned on the TV. The man who tried to stop that fight was killed. Eventually the police moved in and ordered the crowd to disperse. And chased them down the streets as they did. Because you know, if people comply with an order to disperse, you can’t just let that go unpunished. The next thing I knew there were people running through the intersection outside my apartment, and the police were right behind them to lob tear gas into the intersection. And Anita and I were tear-gassed inside our apartment.

That was the last time I felt young enough to risk getting involved in a potential riot. Now I stick to writing.

Black lives matter! ■

Black lives matter! ■

Black lives matter! ■

Black lives matter! ■

Black lives matter! ■

Table-Turning Theology



John Helmiere

Righteous flames and wild dreams

Flames, vapor, dreams and visions masses crying out in many tongues. These are the central symbols of the major holiday that churches around the world celebrated the past two weekends (the Eastern and Western churches use slightly different calendars). It is a story called Pentecost and the beginning of church, as it has come to be known for Christians. I have understood Christmas and Easter through a revolutionary lens for many years, but the brilliant and bold Black-led national uprising for Black lives has illuminated the holiday of Pentecost in a whole new light for many of us.

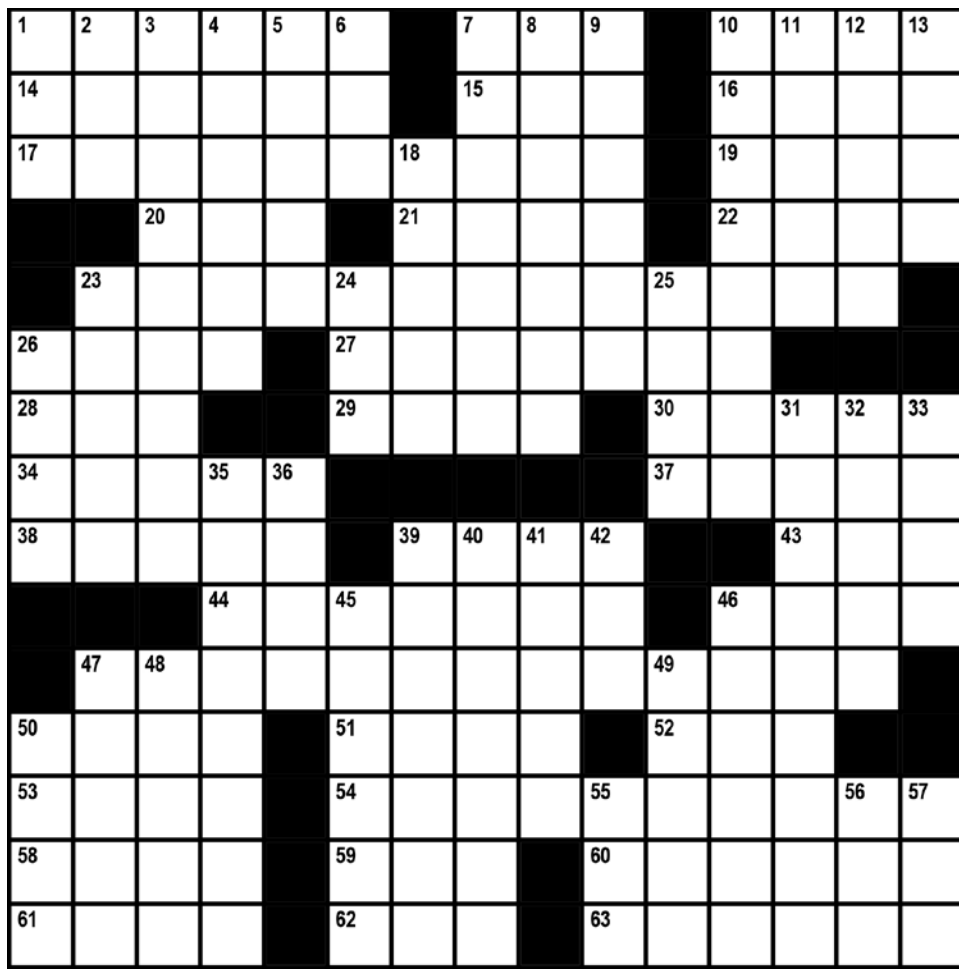
Here is a politically aware telling of the Pentecost. A large crowd has gathered. They have recently seen the brutal, humiliating, public execution of one of their kin, a revolutionary rabbi named Jesus. They had suffered dehumanizing repression under violent rulers for centuries. As they gathered, fire arose in their midst and they called out in ways some could not understand. Some onlookers said their expression was illegitimate, that they must be drunk. But those who had endured so much scorn for so long ignored the derision and took care of each, sharing what they had. They encouraged their youth and elders to dream and share their visions.

The outsiders who scoff are the same in the Pentecost story, as they are not only on Fox News but also among white moderates and mayors and nonprofits and corporations making their waffling statements of concern. They acknowledge a problem, but in the next voice they condemn with equal vigor the fiery anger and boldness of the protests, especially the property damage. The scoffers in Pentecost and among us today say: “They make no sense—they must be drunk—they are barbaric—they are irrational—they are just inciting chaos and nonsense.”

A pastor friend in Minneapolis says, “instead of saying ‘riot,’ try out ‘uprising.’” So much is contained in the words we use and the narratives we repeat. (Religious communities know this, which is why we repeat our rituals over and over again, usually saying the same exact words and doing the same exact motions.) The story told by empires, by the ruling class, is always one that celebrates obedience, law and order. They have little to gain, in terms of money and power, by striving to hear what uprisings are saying. Since the coronavirus swept into this country just a few months ago, while most people have faced huge economic anxiety, billionaires in America have increased their wealth by almost half a trillion dollars. So why not speak in a language that is not catered for the rulers? Following the people of the Pentecost, I pray that we might continue to speak and act in ways not directed toward the scoffers and powers that be, but in ways that are wild, wondrous and meant for each other.

The reluctant leader of the uprising in the Pentecost story is Peter. As the fires sweep among them, he helps interpret what is happening by quoting from a text held sacred by his fellow Jews: Your youth shall see visions, and your elders shall dream dreams. May we embrace a radical re-imagining of the systems that tie society together to create something new upon the ashes of the old. ■

Sound off to Dr. Wes:
drwes@realchangenews.org



Unrelated Linkage

Puzzle by Patrick "Mac" McIntyre

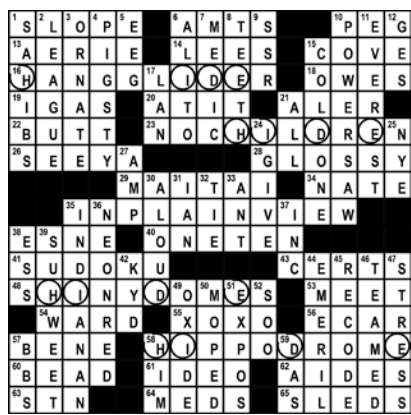
ACROSS

- 1 Letter between kappa and mu
- 7 Malay Peninsula's Isthmus of ___
- 10 S-curve molding
- 14 Sounded like an ass
- 15 Brain scan, for short (Abbr.)
- 16 Persia, today
- 17 Irish novelist who produced "Ulysses" and "Finnegan's Wake" (5,5)
- 19 Lady's counterpart
- 20 Many a C.E.O. has one (Abbr.)
- 21 Open up ___ of worms (2 wds.) (1,3)
- 22 Abridges
- 23 She played Trixie Norton in the classic 1950s skit and sitcom "The Honeyymooners" (5,8)
- 26 One of the four herbs mentioned in Simon and Garfunkel's "Scarborough Fair"
- 27 Secret state police of Nazi Germany (POSTAGE anagram)
- 28 Norse war god
- 29 Poems of praise
- 30 ___ Sketch (classic toy)
- 34 With 37-Across, what 17-, 23-, 47- and 54-Across constitute when read or spoken aloud in order (3 wds.) (1,4,5)
- 37 See 34-Across
- 38 Neighbor of Oman and Saudi Arabia
- 39 Pixy ___ (old candy-powder-filled straws in 4 flavors & colors)
- 43 No-goodnik
- 44 What TV/radio advertisers purchase
- 46 D-Day vessels, for short (Abbr.)
- 47 Of this silver screen legend's more than 100 films over 5 decades, more than 60 were westerns (8,5)
- 50 Prefix with meter that means high
- 51 Spark/Volt or Tesla, nowadays
- 52 One in a suit
- 53 Word that can go before bag, counter or dip
- 54 John Grisham competitor who penned "One L," "Presumed Innocent" and "Burden of Proof" (5,5)
- 58 Maritime safety grp. (Abbr.)
- 59 Dead heat
- 60 Forward, as a piece of mail
- 61 Sounds of disapproval
- 62 In a funk
- 63 Stella ___ (popular Belgian pilsner)

DOWN

- 1 Great Society presidential inits.
- 2 Parseghian of Notre Dame
- 3 Early detection breast x-ray
- 4 "So long" (2 wds.) (3,3)
- 5 Cul-___ (2-3) (closed street turnaround) (Fr.)
- 6 Modifying wd. (Abbr.)
- 7 One contains the items necessary to unlock many things (EYE SACK anagram)
- 8 Takes back
- 9 List of discussion/decision items
- 10 Waterproof fabric once commonly used for kitchen table coverings
- 11 Assemblage
- 12 What we all take a spin on
- 13 Odds' partner
- 18 Labored as a galley slave, say
- 23 Old-time actress Mansfield or Meadows
- 24 Subject addressed by (and ironically hidden within) Prov. 16:18's caveat that "Pride goeth before destruction..."
- 25 Group that's well-financed? (Abbr./Acron.)
- 26 ___ the course (persevere)
- 31 Entertainment system on which the vast majority of 8-track tapes were played (2 wds.) (3,6)
- 32 Singer-songwriter John selected Songwriter/Artist of the Year at the 2000 Nashville Music Awards
- 33 Hill dwellers
- 35 What omens are believed to have (GIN NAMES anagram)
- 36 Camelot lady
- 39 Caribbean island nation south of Martinique (2,5) (incls. abbr.)
- 40 Snuck in or out quietly, with one's heels raised
- 41 "Whew! Dial up the AC, wouldya?" (2 wds.) (2,3)
- 42 Treasure map markers
- 45 Friars Club tributes
- 46 Insect associated with the eighth biblical plague of Egypt
- 47 Like non-oyster months
- 48 Sharp as ___ (2 wds.) (1,4)
- 49 Handle the food for a party
- 50 Go up against
- 55 "La-la" lead-in
- 56 Clandestine maritime org. (Abbr.)
- 57 Part of wpm (Abbr.)

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SOLUTION

Olly Olly Oxen Free

June 3 Issue

Solutions to this week's puzzle will appear in the next issue.

Streaming to stay sane

Almost all King County events are canceled, so we're listing streaming events for optimal physical distancing

June 15-21
Juneteenth Week, tinyurl.com/yd2ub2v7
Black Lives Matter Seattle-King County, FW Black Collective and Urban League of Metropolitan Seattle have put together a week-long celebration of Juneteenth. The week will feature food, music, storytelling, performances and so much more. For those not in the Black community, you can celebrate Juneteenth week by donating and financially supporting an array of Black-owned businesses as well as organizations that support the Black community.

June 17
This is WAK - A Virtual Post-Colonial Karaoke Jam, 5 p.m., [register at link, donations encouraged](http://register.at/link_donations_encouraged), tinyurl.com/ya9m7e2w
Have you ever had a pop medley stuck in your head for days? Even if it's a song you can't stand? WAK (Weird Allan Kaprow) harnesses the power of the pop jingle to show how ideas of culture, country and conquest are so deeply embedded in our collective society, even if we don't like those ideas. This karaoke will feature a summer playlist of Black songwriters and performers. Registered participants will have the opportunity to sing pop songs rewritten to reflect post-colonial narratives that critique intergenerational wealth, museums, elections, gentrification and manifest destiny. The evening is hosted by Wa Na Wari, a center for Black art and culture in Seattle's historically redlined Central District, and they are actively accepting donations to create a stronger community.

Doodle Therapy, 6-7:30 p.m., tickets at link, \$25, tinyurl.com/y7mjxxgw
Doodle therapy, also known as art journaling, is fun and proven to re-

flect your thoughts and experiences. Whether you're exploring new feelings, expressing gratitude or calming anxiety, an art journal is a wonderful outlet to work through emotions. This class, put on by Seattle's emerging Spacecraft, will present journaling concepts and exercises to help you get started. All you need is a sketchbook or paper, a pen and ideally something to color with (paint, markers, crayons, colored pens, anything!). This isn't about making high art — it's about making what you want.

June 20
Fremont Solstice Parade Gone Virtual 1 p.m., Facebook Live, donations encouraged, tinyurl.com/yd564k2e

While this year is quite a bit different, one thing remains, the Fremont Solstice Parade will celebrate the longest day of the year in Seattle. The location will shift from Gas Works to streaming, yet the spirit of the day will persevere! The virtual parade will feature a compilation program of historical archives, ensemble performances, personal testimonies and new art submitted by the community. We can't wait to see what this year's parade holds. Keep the custom going!

Seattle Black Gay Pride 9 p.m., register at link, donations encouraged, tinyurl.com/ycqet8at

Streaming is compiled by **Michelle Galluzzo**. Got something we should know about? Email it to calendar@realchangenews.org. The deadline for calendar submissions is nine days prior to the date of publication.

OP-ED Continued from Page 2

public, faith-based or privately-owned land. Vacant lots can turn into tidy villages overnight. There are churches and other religious organizations that own vacant land and are eager to find new ways to serve their communities. Public-spirited private landowners may also have fallow land that they would be willing to lease temporarily. Tax incentives and property tax exemptions are often available for private owners. Cities especially have a vested interest in protecting their residents by making surplus land available. They can often invoke emergency measures to expedite the permitting process.

Since the pandemic began, the cities of Seattle, Tacoma and San Jose, California, have responded quickly by expanding tiny house villages. Other cities nationwide should mobilize to build tiny house villages as rapidly as they can. Unlike traditional shelters and hotel rooms, tiny houses are an effective model both during and after the pandemic.

On May 15, U.S. District Judge David

O. Carter issued a preliminary injunction requiring the city and county of Los Angeles to find shelter for 6,000 to 7,000 homeless people who are living under and over freeway overpasses, stating their health is at risk. Carter wrote: "Without adequate access to shelter, hygiene products and sanitation facilities, individuals experiencing homelessness face a greater risk of contracting the novel coronavirus, and an outbreak in the homeless community would threaten the general public as well."

Tiny house villages can meet a critical need for safe shelter while we wait out the pandemic. New villages can be built now for people who must eventually leave the hotels. Tiny houses are an effective bridge to permanent housing, which is the ultimate solution, and one that must be scaled up to help our unhoused neighbors.

Too bad it takes a pandemic to bring the issue of housing as a human right front and center. ■

Sharon Lee is the executive director of the Low Income Housing Institute.



File photo by Matthew S. Browning

Halcyon Mobile Home Park for seniors in north Seattle hasn't had a case of COVID-19.

HOMES Continued from Page 3

when it isn't. They can age in place with a community to help support their basic needs. The coronavirus created widespread death in assisted living facilities, where it moved among residents and staff. There's no evidence to suggest the same has happened in these NORCS.

It's more than physical well-being. Living in a place where you have friends and relationships supports older people in other ways.

Anne Sadler is a resident of Bayview Mobile Home Park in Mt. Vernon and president of the Association of Manufactured Home Owners. She's lived in the park for 20 years and, at 75, is still fighting to preserve manufactured home communities in Washington and elsewhere.

One of her neighbors is a man in his 90s who got a ride from a community member to get cataract surgery. Another is a woman who lives on \$13,000 a year. "Tell me how you do that any place else," Sadler said.

A friend, Helen, who did move out of the park and into an apartment complex in Seattle, is miserable and calls to check in and chat frequently. The community had kept Helen connected to her church and to people with whom she had built a support network over the years. The people in the apartment complex keep largely to themselves, especially with amenities and activities shuttered due to the virus.

Uprooting someone from their community can have ramifications on people's

health, Sadler said.

"We don't change easily," she said of older folks. "We're not as flexible, literally."

Despite the gains, manufactured housing communities are endangered. The value of the land underneath rises and, without an investment in maintenance and improvement, the park infrastructure can degrade, motivating park owners to sell even as developers — particularly in urban settings — see a tantalizing purchase.

Seven Washington mobile home parks are set to close in 2020, displacing people in 107 homes.

Strategies to save the parks focus on zoning, which takes away the incentive to sell and redevelop the properties, and resident-owned communities (ROC), essentially cooperatively owned housing. ROC have their own management challenges, but community members get the freedom to set their own dues and determine when and how to invest in their parks.

Seattle, which once had nine manufactured home communities, is down to two. Halcyon residents are determined to hang onto their park as long as possible, coronavirus or no. But the threat of the disease demonstrates how providing security for elders, low-income households and other marginalized groups before disasters can be essential when they strike.

"For the most part, we're doing fine; we stabilized the park," Mickelsen said. "The virus ain't done yet. If people do not respect the virus, it'll take them out." ■

SCHOOLS Continued from Page 7

Brown communities being underfunded, under resourced and robbed of municipal investments. In highly policed communities of color, where police brutality is a feared reality, Black youth are already threatened by police in their neighborhoods and from the images they see in the media and on TV.

Kidist Habte, a student activist from Rainier Beach High School and founder of Black and Brown Minds Matter, a group advocating for equity in education, asks this question: "How do we make students this question: "How do we make students feel comfortable — especially Black and Brown students — when there are cops on television killing people who look like them right outside the gates of their school?"

Habte explained that police presence can be both an officer's physical presence and the hypothetical threat of calling law enforcement. "I've seen many times in school where a student will run into trouble and the teachers will threaten to call the police on them," she said. "They are both in the same severity because they reaffirm this hierarchy and this social power where white people are using a history of violence against another group."

Davis said even the most dedicated police officer with a heart for children is operating within the confines of a police system whose policies and bias benefit white people and oppress Black communities. "When you are operating underneath the umbrella of a racist legal institution and you are operating under the strict rules, regulations and guidelines — that same officer who has a heart for the kids, he cannot overlook the fact because he will lose his job." Davis added that when the police system operates in schools, its racist underpinnings are contagious and become normalized in the education system; one symptom of this is officers are more likely to use force with Black students.

A Seattle Public Schools 2019 procedural report stated that when school principals are approached by law enforcement officers, they cannot intervene with disciplinary action. If an officer wants to interview a child over 12, parents do not

have to be present. Principals also cannot "prevent" interviews. If a student is taken into custody by an officer, a warrant is not required; principals can notify the parents/guardians — unless "directed not to by the law enforcement officer."

A multi-pronged solution

Davis said there are ways to engage parents, teachers and broader community stakeholders to protect children during the school day. "We need to start training and putting people from the community who we can employ in all of our schools to do the work." When youth act up, Davis said there are productive, empathetic solutions for them to work through conflict. Peacemaking and healing circles, for example, invite students to engage constructively without law enforcement.

"When you call 911 for a police officer to show up, it should be if someone has a gun or is blowing up a school," he said.

Davis and Community Passageways are embedded in practicing restorative justice to ensure community accountability in schools that can benefit students and parents and help bolster a broader safety net of social services.

Community activists, students, parents and advocates say behavioral and disciplinary incidents in schools can be better handled by counselors and vital wrap-around social services instead of law enforcement — solutions that consider youth's psychological well-being, development and healing and community equity.

A petition being circulated by student groups, including Black and Brown Minds Matter and supporting organizations, states just that: "We've had enough with cops instead of counselors in our schools."

"Situations don't deescalate after just one day," said Habte, who is supportive of restorative justice models. "It's understood that we are very complex human beings; there are so many different components that need to be addressed. Finding peace takes time." ■

Real Change will continue to feature reporting on police accountability, restorative justice efforts and community alternatives to policing in the coming weeks.

READER REACTIONS

"This place helps by posting our stories and by helping out with having vendors who are homeless as well to help them make a couple dollars for themselves."

— Gina Harris



We mobilize our community to challenge systemic causes of homelessness and advocate for housing justice.

We're HIRING! The Seattle/King County Coalition on Homelessness is hiring an **Operations Director** and an **Advocacy Coordinator**.

For more information: www.homelessinfo.org

DEMANDS Continued from Page 5

Stop prosecuting protesters. When Dukan went outside to talk with protesters, she was booed off the steps — she had not immediately agreed to any of the demands, but did later announce with Police Chief Carmen Best a restriction on black mourning bands that covered police officers' badge numbers.

A teach-in organized by Africatown at 23rd Avenue and East Union Street, in the heart of Seattle's historically Black central area, added more concrete demands to the list to bolster the Black community: Hand over various properties, such as the decommissioned Fire Station 6, a vacant Sound Transit lot and the former Paramount Nursing Home for community purposes; Strip \$180 million from the Seattle Police Department budget; redistribute \$50 million to Black-led organizations; End police presence in schools.

The next day, an estimated 7,000 people organized by health care professionals gathered outside Harborview Medical Center's emergency department and marched to City Hall, quickly overwhelming attempts at social distancing.

They went even further, calling on the city to end violence against protesters, reverse the militarization of the police department, stop violent policing of marginalized communities and eliminate provisions in police union contracts that protect officers who commit acts of violence against community members.

While the asks targeted policing, the underlying conditions that people are fighting goes deeper, said Dr. Shaquita Bell, who was on call at the time.

"Racism is a disease," Bell said. "For all of you who went to school to save lives,



Photo by Lisa Hagen Glynn

Caroline, a physician, wears a Black Lives Matter cape while socially distancing from the crowd at the Doctors for Justice March.

it is our job to treat that disease."

Roughly 30 hours later, the community would gather again, this time in the south end, for another march from Othello Park to the Safeway parking lot — areas that have become the new home for Seattle's people of color. City council members who attended called it "joyous," far from the violence and chaos that would erupt in Capitol Hill outside the SPD precinct that evening, leaving one man shot and hundreds — including Councilmember Kshama Sawant — suffering from the effects of chemical agents.

Each day was a new, peaceful action, and each night ended in a standoff outside the East Precinct. Chief Best announced

Monday that SPD would cede the building after removing all valuable or personal items.

But little could be done to placate council members Monday.

"The tactics used in Capitol Hill are tactics that are prohibited in other countries," Council President Lorena Gonzalez said. "This is the time to rise to the occasion and say, 'Basta, no more.'"

Mosqueda, who chairs the budget committee, announced more than her desire for Durkan to consider a stage-left exit. Mosqueda also said she would look for a 50 percent cut in SPD's budget after a forensic accounting of the department's allocation and spending. SPD budgets have been a "black box," she said.

"How much did this escalation cost us? How much are we spending on tear gas?" Mosqueda asked. The city is already facing a \$300 million budget shortfall as a result of the coronavirus, and the 10 days of policing may be exacerbating the problem.

Several council members also discussed legislation to cement concessions

that Best and Durkan had already announced, specifically around the placement of mourning bands and the use of chemical agents and other "less lethal" uses of force on the part of SPD. The prohibition had unforeseen holes, Councilmember Lisa Herbold said.

"We now know the exception to that 30-day ban [on tear gas] is at the order of the chief," Herbold said, concluding that the use of chemical agents on Sunday night must have been approved by Best.

The council will soon begin reviewing adjustments to the budget, and Mosqueda set a six-week timeline to analyze SPD's budget and come up with changes to the department's activities by July 17. The council is circulating a letter calling for Seattle to drop its litigation against King County's new inquest process into deaths at the hands of law enforcement.

It's a far cry from the infamous "Seattle Process" of endless talk and little action.

"This feels different," activist Thelben Mullett said while speaking to a crowd at City Hall June 6.

Maybe, this time, it will be. ■

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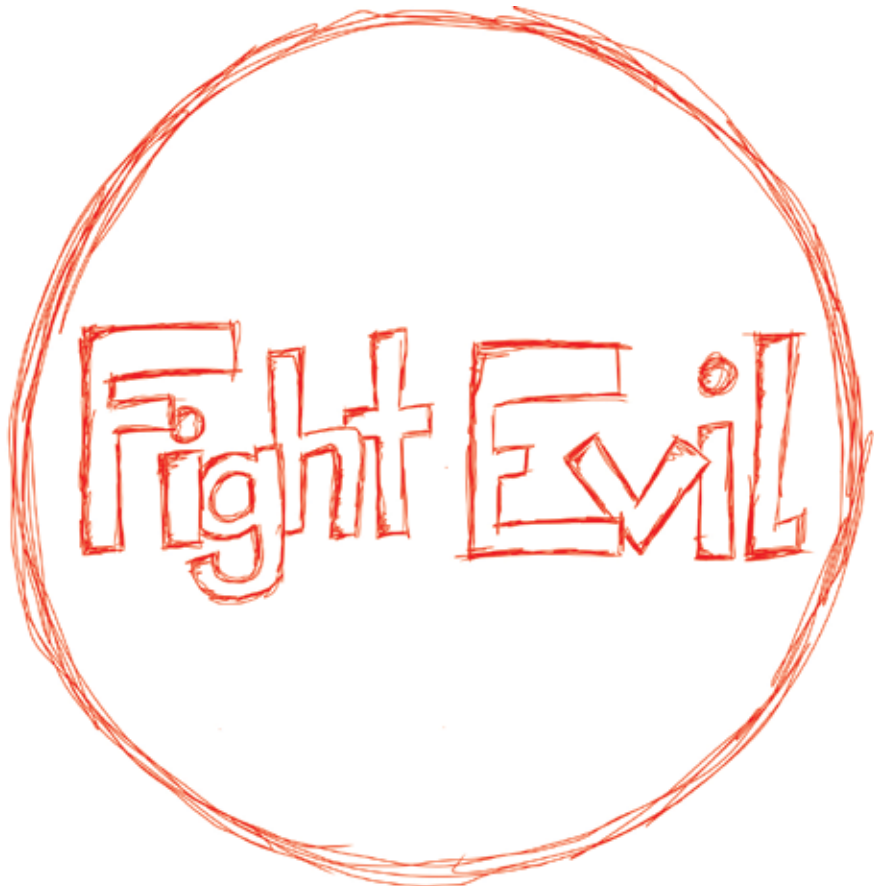
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