

# **MAPPING THE TERRAIN OF ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE CAMPAIGNS**



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## **Who we are:**

The Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project provides in-depth analysis and information about the global ecological crisis and facilitates strategic planning for action among leading organizers from urban Bay Area organizations working for economic and racial justice in communities of color.

We believe that working-class communities of color have an important role to play in helping to foster a transition from a carbon, consumption, and profit-based economy to a participatory and life-affirming, need-based alternative. In other words, these organized forces will need to provide key leadership to push for a just transition.

## **About this document:**

We are working with many grassroots groups who are integrating an ecological justice analysis and frame into their work. To support this work, we have begun to map possible policy campaigns that could bring working-class communities of color one step closer to a just transition.

This document puts forth several options for coordinated action that groups working with Movement Generation could take up to advance ecological justice. Through this shared work, we will strengthen our analysis and build relationships to win larger battles. The ideas are based on interviews with dozens of experts and leaders in the environmental sector as well as racial, economic, and environmental justice sectors. We welcome questions, feedback, and updated information on the content of the document and see this as an ongoing and collaborative process.

Our deepest appreciation goes to the many people rooted in organizations who spent time talking to us, sending us documents, and encouraging us to continue our work. We did not include every campaign possibility we heard about but instead, attempted to highlight a few key possibilities in the following areas: Housing/Displacement/Land Use, Transportation, Food, Water, Energy, Climate, Labor/Green Jobs. We also included a few that didn't fit in any of these categories.

## **The Fine Print:**

This document is not intended to be a complete campaign research document but a mapping of the terrain of possible ecological justice campaigns. We included more or less information on each campaign based in part on how well that idea rose to the top based on Movement Generation's criteria.

## **Movement Generation Campaign Selection Criteria:**

The following is a list of key criteria that the Movement Generation Planning Committee identified to help select the campaign options recommended in this document.

- Advances the political objectives of MG groups while beginning to implement MG's analysis/frame.
- Splash potential—brings groups working with MG into the ecological justice arena in a visible and powerful way.
- Strong organizing opportunity.
- Best use of MG as a vehicle and/or good use of the resources the groups would bring to the arena of struggle.
- Significant material impact.
- Helps build community resiliency.
- Has good local handles AND a target-rich environment.
- Opportunity to work across ecological crises areas, at least in framing.
- Feasible given our resources.
- Opportunity to build new productive relationships.
- Provides opportunity to uphold indigenous and/or new immigrant traditions/knowledge.



*Note: The campaigns we are recommending are symbolized by a fist to symbolize the power-building opportunity..*



## HOUSING/DISPLACEMENT/LAND USE

*As the recent housing crisis and relationship to economic crisis clearly revealed, when left to market forces, families will likely be left out in the cold unless housing becomes a collective resource. We have a unique opening to push for an increase in public ownership of housing. The 2008 Housing & Economic Recovery Act and the 2009 Stimulus Package (ACRA) provides additional funding for resources that could be won for low-income communities. "Smart growth" is shifting land use policies from sprawl to density as cities and regions must now reduce energy use. This is an important step towards making our cities more sustainable but without strings, will result in massive displacement and shifting more of rising energy costs onto poor people.*

### From Real Estate to Real Communities



Background: Just Cause Oakland is embarking on a campaign to address the displacement of East & West Oakland residents from foreclosure & the economic crisis. It looks like Rebecca Kaplan will introduce a measure for the city to buy properties and turn them into affordable housing. Andrew Horner from RP is proposing to attach other measures to make it sustainable co-housing or connect other community-building amenities (like an organizing center). From Stimulus funds, HUD just granted the state of California \$145 million for the Neighborhood Stabilization Program to buy foreclosed homes and resell them with "affordable mortgages." Another \$3 billion nationally will be given away based on local and state applications submitted by May 3, 2009.

- Possible Demands (TBD but along these lines):
  - That the city buy vacant foreclosed properties and any homes in danger of foreclosure in East Oakland and put them into a land trust. Houses should be rented back to the residents (first right of refusal) at no more than 34% of income.
  - Put a tax or fee on foreclosure. E.g., 10% tax to foreclose on a house that would go to a fund to build affordable, sustainable housing or buy housing from the banks/keep people in the houses.
  - Possibly link some garden space &/or other resources to be shared by all residents in the neighborhood.
  - Funding for neighborhood disaster planning/preparedness/transition to post-carbon economy
  - Retrofit houses for health (mold, pests, etc.), water, and energy efficiency. (*see below under Energy*)
  - Split tax basis between land and structures to encourage in-fill and discourage speculation
- Frame: From blight & hazard to health & sustainability.
- Targets: City of Oakland (could also include Richmond), banks.
- Over time, could expand to demands to turn vacant green condos into affordable housing in land trusts or public ownership.

## West Oakland Army Base Redevelopment/"Gateway"

108 acres on Oakland City property & rest on Port of Oakland (total of 165 acres). Plans include mixed use development including green technologies, port trucking parking facility, and public access to open space.

- Demands: Community members are demanding that all industrial facilities currently located in West Oakland neighborhoods be relocated to the base along with parking for diesel trucks. Not clear weather labor will align with these demands. Labor is demanding a community benefits agreement (EBASE is working on this).
- Forces: EBASE, West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project, Central Labor Council, Teamsters, ILWU, Machinists, ACORN. Plus developers, City Council, Home Depot, movie theaters, other business forces.
- Targets: City of Oakland, Port Commission plus developers, local industry.
- Frame: Good jobs and healthy communities.

## Transit-Oriented Developments

APEN is working with TransForm on a Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) near the Lake Merritt BART station. This relates to their overall strategy of taking on climate change in part through local campaigns and models.

Other TODs that TransForm is working on include Auto Row w/ Greenbelt Alliance & EBHO, International Blvd (7 mile stretch). There will be community planning processes to tighten up the zoning in these neighborhoods. It's still early in the process but at some point, grassroots groups need to get involved.



## TRANSPORTATION

*Over 50% of the Bay Area's CO2 comes from transportation.*

*In recent years, environmentalists, bike advocates, TransForm, others have been successful at advocating for more funding for sustainable transportation—but social justice demands are not at the table. It will be critical to shift spending from one-time capital funding to budgeting for ongoing operating expenses. Building or expanding highways are one-time expenditures whereas operating buses requires employing many people to run the system day in and day out.*

## Transit Access Federal Funding Campaign



The main federal transportation funding bill, the Safe, Accountable, Flexible, and Efficient Transportation Quality Act (SAFETEA-LU) is up for reauthorization. The act spends 80% of its funding on highways and 20% on transit, much of which is one-time capital projects. The Labor Community Strategy Center/Bus Riders Union in LA is leading a national campaign to reverse the federal funding from 80% highways/20% mass transit to 80% mass. It's called "Transit Riders for Public Transportation: Stopping the Highway and Auto

Assault” and is framed around civil rights, stopping climate change, and improving community health by choosing the most cost-efficient solution of mass transit.

- Demand: Full funding for mass transit (including ongoing operating funds).
- Frame: Protect human health, mitigate climate change, transition to a post-carbon economy and create economic development: long-term green jobs by fully funding operations.
- Impact: While the jurisdiction is national rather than local or regional, this campaign would have a dramatic impact on local conditions. Currently, this bottleneck on federal funding results in poor service due to capital & operating budget shortfalls.
- Local targets: Likely federal representatives but possibly also highway construction fat cats. Then need to push Metropolitan Transportation Commission to allocate the funds accountably.
- Allies: LCSC/BRU, Public Allies, Urban Habitat, and other allies nationally. Transit unions are key.

### **Help Create a Bus Riders Union in the East Bay**

Urban Habitat has been trying to get an organization to create an East Bay Bus Riders Union in order to win transportation justice. This might be a component of the Federal campaign above or any of the campaigns below. Genesis & Gamalial Foundation are considering this—institutional organizing campaign linking faith-based institutions.

- Demand: Just allocation of transit funding towards buses, other cost-effective mass transit. Stop BART and highway expansion.
- Local Target: Metropolitan Transportation Commission.
- Allies: This would build on the Urban Habitat/Public Advocates’ Title VI Court Case that is underway on the relative funding of the bus to rail systems.

### **Youth Transit Justice**

UH is interested in providing T/A for youth groups to fight for a youth platform—free/discounted bus pass, bus shelters in West Oakland, etc.

- Possible leading MBOs: Youth Together + other youth groups (AYPAL, etc.)

### **Fund Bus Rapid Transit**

- Demands: Full funding of Bus Rapid Transit in East Bay (East 14<sup>th</sup>/International/Telegraph) and Geary/Van Ness. Inclusion of grassroots groups in design process.
- Allies: TransForm
- Targets: Metropolitan Transportation Commission, SF Muni, AC Transit, others

### **Transit Priorities/Effectiveness**

- TALC suggests that local groups ask members what would make their commutes easier/faster and push to have those included in ongoing processes.
- Too wonky to be a good main campaign but could provide some relatively easy & small wins.

### **Means-based Fare Pilot Program**

- Target: AC Transit, MUNI, VTA
- need more research on funding stream in long term.
- Vehicle for advocacy: UH Transportation Justice Working Group. EDF has looked at pricing structures

### **Road Pricing, Gas Tax, Raise Vehicle License Fee**

- Need to raise cost of driving to reduce it and raise revenue for transit. Could include means-based pricing. Make sure funds aren't used to expand highways.
- Targets: MTC, CalTrans, state legislature & electorate (ballot initiative) if it were a tax.
- Frame: Complicated given how many people including poor people use cars.

### **Oakland Clean & Safe Ports Campaign**

Ongoing campaign of EBASE & labor along with faith-based allies.  
Ditching Dirty Diesel Coalition

## **FOOD**



*Whether healthy food is available greatly impacts people's health. At the same time, farming processes have a big impact on the health of the land and water. The U.N. has declared food as a universal human right but many people suffer from hunger. Unless we create local food systems that are community-controlled, rising energy prices will push food costs up further reducing access to healthy food in working-class communities.*

*One model we can learn from is Belo Horizonte, Brazil where the government has partnered with the people to ensure that everyone has access to wholesome, nutritious food. At the same time, local farmers have gained direct access to urban markets, improving their ability to stay on the land. Distribution programs, nutrition programs, community restaurants, and other strategies have greatly reduced hunger and improved health. The cost has been only one penny per day per resident.*

### **School Food & Gardens**

- Demands: Universal breakfast & lunch programs. Build kitchens, allocate time to lunch, hire more staff to prepare local produce, buy local. Increase investment—need to identify a funding stream.
- Targets: SF, Oakland, Richmond School Districts

### **Community Food Infrastructure**

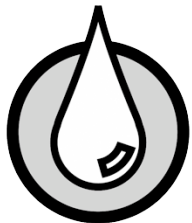
Mapping the Terrain of Ecological Justice Campaigns  
Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project, 3.31.09

- Pool resources for racial & economic justice groups to start & operate gardens – hard resources, technical assistance & political advocacy to expand permanent community access to land. (Build infrastructure for resiliency)
- Demands: That cities & county provide land for urban agriculture, grocery stores, other food enterprises. Invest in community-owned food access infrastructure: community kitchens, community cafeterias, training & support to start and manage worker cooperatives, grocery stores, delivery/transit programs, etc.
- SF DPW did an analysis of unused right-of-ways that could be used for gardens. People’s Grocery now farms on a plot of land that is leased from DPW for \$1/year. It is in Sunol--35 minutes outside of Oakland. Other Southeast Asian family farmers also cultivate neighboring plots.

### **Rooftop Gardens**

- The roofs of buildings are a mostly unused resource that could be used to capture rainwater and solar energy as well as to grow food.
- Bay Localize is prioritizing rooftop garden pilot projects.
- See [www.baylocalize.org](http://www.baylocalize.org)

## **WATER**



*Water is a critical building block for life. But access to clean water is drying up because of urbanization, industrial agriculture, industrial pollution, global warming, and other factors. We need to secure equitable water rights for all or else the working-class will suffer most. Improving our long-term access to water depends on advancing innovative strategies such as local food production, green space, permeable paving, rainwater harvesting, and water recycling.*

### **Fair Water Access: Reform the Rate Structure**



- Demands: Just rate structures that penalize suburban lawn farmers and provide a low base rate for residents.
  - Challenge large-scale industrial water users such as Chevron, suburban developers, etc.
- Targets: East Bay Municipal Utility District (EBMUD), possibly San Francisco Public Utilities Commission (SFPUC), large industrial users, developers.
- Framing: fight against gross misuse AND secure just access as part of a just transition & community resiliency.





## **Compost Your Poop/Don't Poop in Our Water**

Wastewater treatment plants are at sea level. There doesn't appear to be a plan of how to shore up the plants given rising sea level (need to check the 20-40 year plan). Already, Bayview-Hunters Point residents suffer from sewage backup in the streets due to the processing plant that processes 80% of the city's waste being located in Bayview-Hunter's Point. On average, human waste spills into the San Francisco Bay more than five times a day with toxic effects on the Bay's ecosystem. The EPA released \$283 million in economic stimulus money earmarked for sewage system upgrades in California. But that is just a drop in the bucket of what is needed to bring the system into compliance with public health and environmental regulations.

- Demand: Eliminate use of freshwater for sewage treatment. Invest in composting toilets, greywater flush systems, etc. Cut the red tape from permitting greywater systems. Plan for shoring up & greening wastewater treatment plants (reduce size?).
- Targets: EBMUD, SFPUC, cities, counties.
- Framing: fight against gross misuse AND secure just access as part of a just transition & community resiliency. Create green jobs.

## **Greywater**

Even though low-tech, low-cost greywater systems have been developed, state codes prevent their widespread use. Greywater advocates are taking a two-pronged approach to make low-cost, low-tech greywater systems legal. They are working on a state process to improve the code. Or we could get a city to take greywater out of regulated terrain by naming it as "outdoor water". This could be replicable statewide. One expert estimates that we need 100,000 new plumbers nationally right now to green our water systems.

- Demand: Make greywater affordable and legal.
- Target: City of Oakland, San Francisco, or Berkeley or State Department of Housing (moved there from Dept. of Water Resources).
- Opposition: State concerned about litigation, health departments, plumbing inspectors, plumbers unions.
- Framing: Secure just access as part of a just transition & community resiliency. Create green jobs that are low-technology, easy to learn, and have high prevailing wages.
- Allies: Greywater Alliance, Bay Localize.

## **Rainwater Catchment & Storage**

- Demand: Build cisterns at schools and other public facilities to catch & store rainwater. Invest in permeable paving surfaces to recharge groundwater & deal with flooding. Could integrate this into Oakland housing campaign.
- Funding: Prop 84 funds were designed to help with water resources for the state. Work with Alameda County & Watershed Alliance to get them to offer cisterns for free to school districts.
- Framing: Water is a human right! Secure just access as part of a just transition & community resiliency. Create green jobs that are low-technology, easy to learn, and have high prevailing wages.
- Targets: County, cities, water agencies.
- Allies/Models: Greywater Alliance, Bay Localize, TreePeople in LA

**Delta Health**—named by many experts as THE biggest threat to the ecology of the region.

**Fish Contamination in Bay & Delta (also connected to antiquated Sewage Treatment Plants)**

**Access by African-Americans to Shoreline in North Richmond (oppose development)**

**Water Shutoffs due to foreclosures**

- JCO helped get a measure through state legislature (with help from Andy Katz) to allow EBMUD to put liens on foreclosed properties to keep the water on rather than make the tenant pay the water bill. Governor vetoed it.
- Need to identify another route—Oakland city agency?
- A member of the Environmental Justice Coalition on Water is trying to start an organization around this issue.

**Pittsburg-Baypoint water quality violations**

**CA Dam Campaigns**—Winnemem Wintu and Klamath River

**For all of the above water Campaigns:**

Targets: EBMUD, SFPUC, Dept of Water Resources, Dept of Health, private water companies.

Allies: The only organized presence on water issues with EBMUD is Sierra Club.

Getting folks elected to these water boards could be a very useful endeavor. Water boards are regional boards that are relatively off the radar so could be fairly easy wins, unlike our zoning boards.



## ENERGY

*Many leading environmental justice organizations have named stopping fossil fuels as one key step in winning ecological justice. This will include shifting from large fossil fuel driven power plants run privately to small-scale, locally-controlled renewable energy sources in every community. As public resources are allocated to reducing the nation's energy consumption, it will be critical to ensure equity so that working-class people do not bear the brunt of rising energy costs during the transition.*

### **Healthy Homes: Energy, Health & Water Retrofitting**

Energy efficiency retrofit programs are growing fast and need to allocate services equitably. Through stimulus funding, California's energy efficiency program budgets are going from \$10 million to \$400 million. In L.A., SCOPE, labor, Apollo Alliance, and others won a program to retrofit all city-owned buildings. Getting our cities to conduct energy, health & water retrofit all public housing would employ large numbers of local folks in union jobs with a long-term target for expansion.

- Demands: Prioritize energy efficiency retrofit subsidies to low-income renters and homeowners. Provide incentives for landlords that are passed through to tenants. For instance, where the landlord pays for the water, gas, and/or electricity, and gets a subsidy to retrofit the building, the tenants' rent should be reduced accordingly.
- One possibility is the mechanism that Berkeley is piloting for installing solar panels for retrofits. Building owners would get loan guarantees from the city for doing energy efficiency retrofits that are attached to the building via a property tax assessment. The owner would then only pay a portion of the cost of the retrofit each year which through the added property tax. This would be offset by energy savings.
- Or could put more money into Community Action Agencies through the LIHEA program to fund energy efficiency retrofits for low-income home owners and expand to some way to reduce rent on buildings that are retrofit where the owner pays the utility bills (and passes the costs on to the tenant through the rent).
- Targets: California Energy Commission who will decide how energy efficiency funds get allocated. Others TBD.

### **Community Choice Energy**

- Would put energy production into the hands of the cities rather than PG&E. Enable small producers (people with solar panels, etc.) to sell power to the system which they currently can't do to PG&E. Oakland was about to call it off but Bay Localize & other groups got them to reconsider. Nancy Nadel called for a workshop on it in the fall. Marin is doing it.
- Low-income homeowners—solar panels & ability to sell power back to CCE. Public Housing—solar panels & pass savings on to tenants.
- Allies: Bay Localize, Local Clean Energy Alliance

### **Solar Financing in Redevelopment Zones**

- Aaron Revin on Local Clean Energy Alliance & MacArthur Redevelopment Advisory Committee got a house retrofit with solar panels using redevelopment funds.
- Grid Alternatives installed the panels using workers trained by Oakland Green Jobs Corps.
- Potential hundreds of thousands of funds available in any redevelopment zone.
- Question: could the funds be used for other kinds of retrofitting—like energy efficiency?

### **Sustainable Financing Districts**

- Berkeley's model. Looks like Jane Bruenner is going to introduce a concept paper in Oakland soon.
- Demand: Make sure it benefits renters & low-income folks—use the financing for energy efficiency first! Aggregate costs & benefits to make whole communities more sustainable—ie., owners of large buildings should have some incentive & pass on some benefits.

### **National Policy**

Fight for measures to ensure that low-income people don't have to pay disproportionately for rising energy prices. (See Center on Budget & Policy Priorities article in WeACT book) They estimate that if emissions were cut 15%, elderly households and people with disabilities in the bottom 1/5<sup>th</sup> of the income scale would face increased costs averaging about \$980 per year.

1. Earned Income Tax Credit (though it misses about half of poor people who don't get paychecks).
2. Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT): Climate change rebate.
3. Increase in Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program



## CLIMATE

*Climate change is one of the most serious interlocking ecological crises affecting the planet. Capitalism has created a resource-intensive industrial-scale production model that has driven the planet to the brink of ecological collapse and social devastation. Driven by accumulation, over-consumption, and growth, these systems must be transformed in order to ensure survival and justice. It is critical to advance this analysis of the root causes in order to win solutions for a just transition on all fronts of the ecological and economic crises.*

### Climate Action Plans



Around the world, cities have taken steps to reduce global warming at a faster rate than national and international bodies. In the U.S., many cities have begun drafting their own Climate Action Plans to reduce their carbon footprints. While these could include some positive measures to slowing global warming and reducing the impact on poor people, the processes to draft them are outside of city council and therefore usually lack public participation mechanisms. In addition, implementation mechanisms are often murky unless particular components are voted on by council and include funding and accountability mechanisms.

In San Francisco, a Climate Action Plan was adopted in 2004 with targets of implementation by 2012. There is no complete report card available on implementation effectiveness. But there is a new Peak Oil Task Force that is drafting a new plan to address the need to drastically reduce reliance on oil which looks like it's going to recommend a new "Transitions Task Force."

Oakland's Climate Action Planning process is just getting off the ground. The staff-driven process has included a couple of open workshops and they are seeking community participation which has been sorely lacking from communities of color in the flatlands. The Ella Baker Center is putting together a coalition of social justice, labor, EJ and environmental groups to broaden the conversation to include housing, immigrant rights, land use, etc. They see it as a real opportunity to create a public body to set targets and come up with a wide variety of proposals for social & ecological justice that could be a model for Climate Action Plans around the country. EBC also hopes this coalition can weigh in on important decisions being made this year—like the Oakland Army Base redevelopment with a long planning range.

One possible approach an alliance of MG groups might take is to wage campaigns to hold the cities accountable for implementing the climate action plans once passed (maybe starting with San Francisco) or at least the parts we think are key to ecological justice. They need to come up with funding mechanisms and timetables as well as plans to ensure that working-class communities have the means to survive both possible crises as well as the economic/social transition.



### **Direct Action to Raise Profile of Climate Justice**

Many groups are trying to make 2009 the year for climate justice. MG is co-sponsoring a Climate Action Camp (August 14-17) to train folks on issues, strategy, and tactics. There will be a big international day of action planned for 10/24/09 providing an opportunity for our folks to be in the streets demanding climate justice.

We could come up with local hooks in the framing and work with local student organizations through SEAC, EAC, RAN, etc. Could be a good way to engage the youth (& adult) members of MG groups in direct action protest. Could relate to an ongoing campaign that MG or a local grassroots group (like APEN, CBE, ACRJ) is engaged in.

Could ally with EJCC and push for federal policy that is sound & just. In their document “A Climate of Change” they came up with a set of policies called the “Climate Asset Plan” that would tax polluters and allocate benefits slightly more justly along race/class lines.

### **AB32**

The agenda of AB32 is to sketch out a new world order for everything (ports, rules by which city governments play by, etc.). EJ Advisory Group strongly opposed cap & trade as the mechanism for reducing carbon emissions but it passed. But there are other legislative and regulatory measures that we can fight for. And we need to push that the money raised from selling the credits is used to benefit working-class communities. Urban Habitat has been trying to emphasize smart growth policies in the implementation plan.

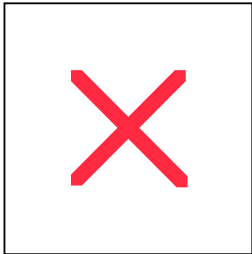
- Framing: Selling everything doesn't solve the problem. Cap & trade is creating a massive wealth transfer to the wealthiest from the rest of us.
- Local targets: State legislators. City officials to weigh in.
- Allies: EJAC, EJCC, other EJ groups.
- Impact: Difficult to illustrate to local community members.

### **SB375**

This is a bill that requires metropolitan authorities to link transit plans with housing allocations & relate those to plans to reduce GHG. This will result in an increase in population living in cities. The Regional Transportation Plan is about to be passed so we could advocate for just allocations in this process.

- Possible Demands: We need a regional governmental body to allocate money more equitably & sustainably (complicated given the lack of accountability!). Cut highway expansions (Caldecott Tunnel, 101 in Santa Rosa, widening to add High Occupancy Toll Lanes). Cut BART extension plans (BART to San Jose that would take \$ from bus & light rail) & invest in city bus service—AC Transit & SF MUNI.
- Targets: Metropolitan Transportation Commission. Association of Bay Area Governments is the other metropolitan agency but it has no power or money.

- Framing: Density with Justice is the true solution. Fights poverty and pollution. Density without justice will lead to gentrification and negation of the “solution” as poor folks are pushed out to exurbia. See “A Climate of Change” for angles that relate to land use planning.



## LABOR/GREEN ECONOMY

*Building a green-collar economy is at the center of the economic stimulus package and has much popular support. Yet the Green Economy being put forth is still based on a growth-model as if we have unlimited resources. Instead, we need a green economic program that is the first step in a just transition towards truly sustainable and democratic communities.*



### United Front to Push for Quality & Quantity in Expansion of Green Collar Economy

- Scale: San Francisco or East Bay wide through Oakland, Richmond, and East Bay Green Corridor.
- EBC sees themselves as building the popular front (labor, business, environment, student, education) and hopes MG can form a united front (grassroots and advocates for working-class communities of color) to ensure that green economic policies are just. EBC’s focus has been on **access** to jobs. They see a need to shift to **quality** and **quantity**.
  - East Bay focus has been on providing “pathways out of poverty” which means jobs for new folks. Need to make sure the new economy provides union-scale jobs—don’t just shift labor from (grey) union industries to new green non-union industries. Also need to address the need for retraining workers in formerly-polluting industries.
  - San Francisco needs an organization (like EBASE) to help guide development of green economy to build worker organization.
- Forces: EBC, Apollo Alliance, EBASE, Green for All, East Bay Green Corridor Partnership, Cities, Counties, Universities, Industries, labor... community groups entering
- Targets: cities plus the state & feds they’re trying to pull down \$ from.
- Framing: Opportunity + Justice  
(EBC: “Pathways out of Poverty”) (MG: “Towards a Just Transition”).
- Models: in LA—SCOPE, Apollo Alliance, LAANE campaign to get city to retrofit buildings, create new jobs, and coordinate job training with unions. For just transition policies, see the Blue/Green Alliance document written by A. Horner, etc.—\$120,000 per worker for transition.



### **Allocation of Stimulus Funds towards a Just Transition**

In January 2009, Congress authorized a \$787 billion stimulus bill including money for housing, energy, transportation, water, labor, and more. The state is scrambling to figure out how to allocate it and there may be an opening for pushing through proposals that would benefit working-class communities. It is likely that there will be another round of stimulus funding next year or earlier so getting organized now may enable us to be ready for the big one.

- MG could join CA Green Stimulus Coalition ASAP to get up to speed, build relationships, start to formulate proposals. Groups who want to engage via a network could do so through MG. We would set up regular conference calls and other mechanisms for informing folks and engaging grassroots groups in formulating policy proposals.
- Timeline: ASAP—through June and then accountability work. Plus likely round two.

### **Industrial Campaigns**

- MODELS: ACRJ's campaign development process in the nail salon & semiconductor manufacturing industries “looking both ways”. LA campaign to organize car wash workers.
- Demands: eliminate harmful chemical use throughout lifecycle, improve working conditions, and preserve jobs & reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Right to form a union, less toxic chemicals, greywater use.
- SEIU International has developed green contract language to include in contracts re cleaning supplies, hospital toxins, alternative transportation, daytime cleaning, recycling, and environmental labor-management committees.
- Frame: protect human health, ensure racial/economic/reproductive justice, and mitigate climate change
- Targets: various local, state, possibly national

### **More Research or Strategies Needed**



- Need to find a way to address the reality that the green economy is about small and local. Unions want scale. What new models of worker organization can we come up with to build worker power given a new economic model?
- Gender is a key framing front of the struggle. “Women’s work” and the skills that women bring to reproductive and community labor are key to a transformation of society. How do we move this work into the center of the “green jobs” conversation as a pathway to a just transition? Need to look at transition as opportunity to build social skills-- as people must live more compactly & cooperatively, we’ll need more peer counselors, facilitators, organizers, mediators, etc. Women often do this work.
- Further research needed to understand how the shift to a green economy will translate into specific labor market shifts. Where will jobs be lost? Gained? What will the net increase/decrease be? (See UC Labor Center report on sectoral impacts of AB32)



## CROSS-CUTTING PROPOSALS

*In addition to acting on any one ecological front, MG could help to build power to engage on these issues through strategies that cut across issue areas.*



### **Build Long-Term Strategic Political Power**

The importance of infrastructure is growing daily. Water, transportation, electricity/utilities, air quality, education, and others will become even more critical as ecological crises hit and as we transition to a post-carbon economy. MG could help institute a candidate pool rooted in base-building organizations to serve on boards & commissions responsible for infrastructure planning. We could create some kind of accountability structure so people don't get caught up as individual activists once they're in office.

- Urban Habitat and Carl Anthony are beginning a training/leadership development program to train people “in mid-career” to be on boards and commissions. This is a useful contribution in this moment. We should access these programs!

### **Disaster Planning/Emergency Preparedness**

- Alameda County Health Department pulled down federal money to organize residents in 2 neighborhoods. They then formed Resident Action Councils that deal with all kinds of issues.
- Identify the funding streams or push cities & counties to allocate resources to neighborhoods for disaster planning.
- Use the money to organize neighborhoods.
- Identify responsible agencies and demand that they develop a plan for disasters, particularly for vulnerable communities with few resources. Activate block/neighborhood preparedness groups around other issues of community health, wellness, etc.
- Could do this as part of Climate Action Plan campaigns, housing campaigns, etc.

## **SOURCES:**

Alameda County Department of Public Health, Interview & Report  
Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice (ACRJ), Interview & Publications  
Asian Pacific Environmental Network (APEN), Interviews & Documents  
Bay Localize, Interview, Website, & Publications  
California Food & Justice Coalition, Interview & Documents  
Chinese Progressive Association (CPA), Interview  
Communities for a Better Environment, Interview  
East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy (EBASE), Interview  
EJ Coalition on Water, Interview  
Ella Baker Center (EBC), Interviews & Documents  
Environmental Justice & Climate Change Initiative, Interview & Documents  
Greywater Guerillas, Interviews  
HOPE Collaborative: Hope for Oakland's People & Environment, Interview  
Just Cause Oakland, Interviews & Documents  
Occidental Arts & Ecology Center, Interview  
People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights (PODER), Interview  
Redefining Progress, Interview & Documents  
San Francisco Food Systems, SF Department of Public Health, Interview  
San Francisco Policy and Urban Research (SPUR), Interview & Publications  
TransForm, Interview & Publications  
Urban Habitat, Interview, Documents, State of the Region Convening

## **Additional Documents**

City of San Francisco Climate Action Plan, Website  
City of San Francisco Peak Oil Task Force Recommendations, Website  
WE ACT Conference Proceedings  
“Reproductive Justice and Climate Change Justice in the U.S.” by ACRJ.  
“A Climate of Change”, by Andrew Horner and Nia Robinson. Redefining Progress & Environmental Justice for Climate Change Initiative.  
UC Berkeley Labor Center: *California's Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006: A Background Paper for Labor Unions* by Andrea Buffa, Carol Zabin, Cheryl Brown, and Dave Graham-Squire.  
Policy Link report.  
Documents on Stimulus found on <http://ejstimulus.wordpress.com/>