

The Case for a Just Transition

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In 2009, Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project¹ co-led a delegation of U.S. grassroots groups to the UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen. Appalled by the failure of the “Big Greens” to address the root causes of the climate crisis, in 2010, these groups brought others in to form what would later become the Climate Justice Alliance. The purpose was to join forces to leverage the power these community-based organizations had been exerting to stop or reduce the harm from mining, refining, transporting, and power generation operations in their own communities and tribal lands.

To scale up their power to stop the growth of the dirty energy-fueled economy, grassroots community organizations would unite across the chain of destruction and chain of custody of those operations, while at the same time providing critical leadership for a transition to just and regenerative economies. In 2012, the Climate Justice Alliance officially launched the Our Power Campaign to unite communities on the front lines of the struggle around cultivating such a “just transition.”

Just transition is a framework for a fair shift to an economy that is ecologically sustainable and is equitable and just for all its members. After centuries of global plunder, the profit-driven, growth-dependent industrial economy is severely undermining the life support systems of the planet. An economy based on extracting resources from a *finite ecosystem faster than the capacity of*

the system to regenerate will eventually come to an end—either through collapse or intentional reorganization. *Transition is inevitable. Justice is not.*

Just transition strategies were first forged by labor unions and environmental justice groups who saw the need to phase out the industries that were harming workers, community health, and the planet while also providing just pathways for workers to transition to other jobs. In the 1990s, an organization called the Just Transition Alliance, a coalition of environmental justice and labor organizations, began bringing workers in polluting industries together with “fenceline communities” in groundbreaking conversations that forged a new understanding of economy and home. Building on that history, just transition has come to mean forging coordinated strategies to transition whole communities toward thriving economies within their control and that provide dignified, productive and sustainable livelihoods, democratic governance, and ecological resilience.

As illustrated in figure 3-1, a just transition requires shifting from dirty energy to clean community power, from building highways to expanding public transit, from incinerators and landfills to zero waste, from industrial food systems to food sovereignty, from gentrification to community land rights, and from rampant destructive development to ecosystem restoration. Core to a just transition is deep democracy in which workers and communities have control over the decisions that affect their daily lives. Constructing a visionary economy for life calls for strategies that democratize, decentralize and diversify economies (and energy) while damping down consumption, and, through reparations, redistributing resources and power.²

Our Just Transition Framework

Our just transition strategy framework asserts an integral relationship between economy, energy, and equity.

WHAT WE MEAN BY ECONOMY

Since the 1950s, we in the United States have been taught to equate the word *economy* with gross domestic product, the rise and fall of the stock markets, the unemployment rate, and other measures that relate exclu-



Figure 3-1. Local, living, and loving economies for life Image source: Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project

sively to the success or failure of capitalism to increase the accumulation of profit and the creation of jobs.

But the root of the word *economy* is *eco*. *Eco* comes from the Greek word *oikos*, which means “home.” So *economy* is most simply defined as the *management of home*. Home is nested in a web of relationships that can be defined as an *ecosystem*. And though the current dominant extractive economy has tried to disentangle the economy from the environment, the escalation of climate disruption makes it clear that the economy is not separate from the environment but is, instead, rooted firmly in it.

If economy means management of home, how that management

occurs is key to the outcomes. If economic decisions are made by people or forces far from where the impacts of those decisions are felt, the result is a likely mismanagement. As indigenous peoples across the globe have long understood, we can only manage home well if we understand the impacts we have on the place where we are rooted. That requires *ecology*, or *knowledge of home*. There is no “one size fits all” on planet Earth. To ensure sustainability for seven generations, to use the measure advised by the Iroquois Nation, human communities will identify unique ways to meet their needs given the ecosystem they depend on. One way to think of an ecosystem is the “basin of relations.” This basin of relations defines the watershed, foodshed, energysshed, and tradeshed of an economy.³

While there are an untold number of ways of managing home—different types of economies—every economy is woven from a common set of threads (figure 3-2). We take *natural resources* and combine them with *human labor* (a particularly precious natural resource) toward some *purpose*. The purpose of an economy can be the accumulation of wealth and power, or the purpose can be meeting needs toward the sustainability of future generations in a place.

Every economy is rooted in a culture or *worldview* that makes the particular form of economy make sense to the people who participate in it. The culture or worldview—the songs, stories, languages, practices, rituals—interacts with the other threads of economy, influencing and being influenced by them. Finally, there is *governance*, which literally means “to steer.” Through governance, groups create the rules, norms, activities, and accountability mechanisms needed to make the economy function as smoothly as possible toward its purpose.⁴

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ENERGY

As the editors note in the introductory chapter, “Energy is an essential enabler of all human activity.” Energy provides the ability to do work.

All living things on Earth use energy originating from the sun to transform the material world through their work. Bees pollinate as they gather nectar, creating fruit. Soil microorganisms convert dead matter into compost and, after millions of years, fossil fuels. The com-

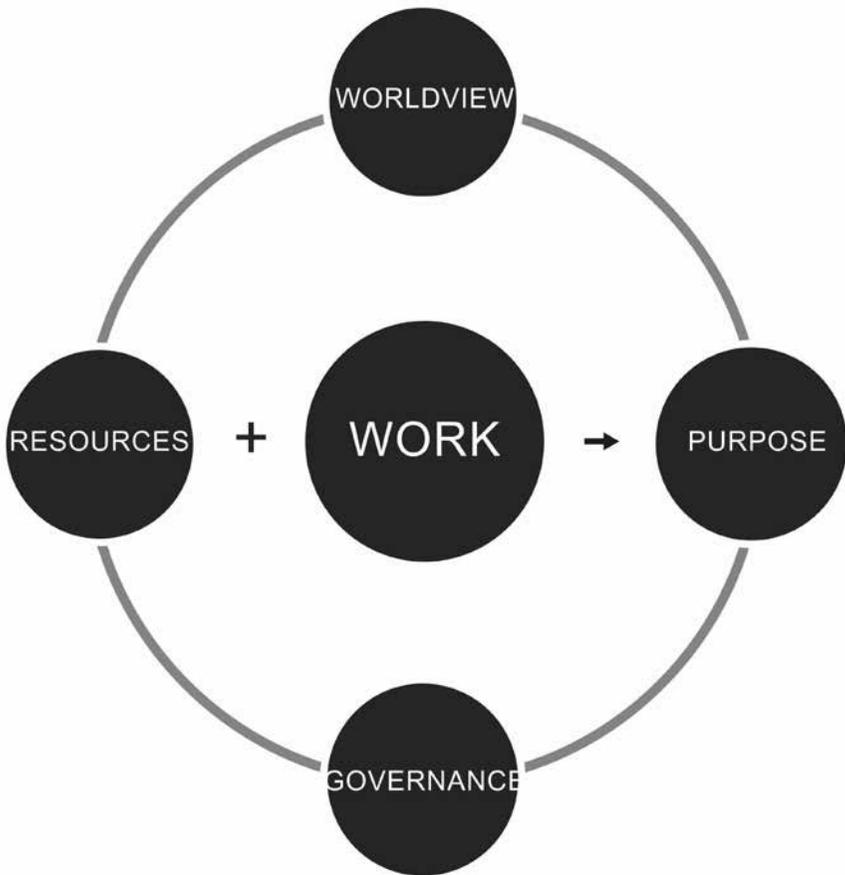


Figure 3-2. The threads of economy *Image source: Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project*

bined work of everything from fungi to redwoods, from microbes to polar bears, and from plankton to people creates the material basis upon which human communities—in fact all life on Earth—depends. Human labor can be applied to take these forms of wealth—or resources—and convert them into more wealth. Human labor can save seeds or build soil. Or, as in the case of the United States, which was powered by the labor of enslaved African people during the first 250 years of its burgeoning economy, human labor can be applied violently to extract more from an ecosystem than it returns.

Our ability as humans to harness different forms of energy—coal, oil, natural gas, geothermal, nuclear fission, or even food to power human work—depends on our access to the resources needed to do so. Fossil fuel energy, for example, requires large amounts of capital to drill for oil, or to remove mountaintops to get at coal, or to transport these fuels, or to build large electricity-generating plants.

In the United States, the capital needed was first accumulated from the plantation economy, the slave trade itself, and later, the industrial economy.⁵ Nuclear fission as an energy source, first for the atomic bomb and later for nuclear power reactors, is made viable by decades of capital accumulation and concentration. This capital was the product of an extractive economy that consistently took more resources from the ecosystem than it returned.

As an example, the globalized food system is a highly extractive economic sector. This sector relies heavily on fossil fuels for fertilizers, herbicides, pesticides, tractors, and transport, as well as on landless workers and precarious populations who need jobs to put food on the table. While the industrial food system has not solved the problem of hunger in the world, it has created an abundance of other problems that now threaten individual human health, public health, and the life support systems of the planet. The global food system uses about ten times more energy than it produces; contributes nearly one-third of greenhouse gas emissions; creates costly public health problems, including diabetes and heart disease; and is responsible for topsoil loss, water pollution, and a waste stream that is often burned or land-filled, further exacerbating climate change and public health problems. This problematic food system is the result of peoples stolen from or pushed off their lands, stripping them of the resources required to produce food in ways that align with short- and long-term ecological and social well-being.

Similarly, if we look at the electricity and transportation fuels sectors, we find an extractive economy that leaves the vast majority of U.S. people almost completely powerless to impact the ways they generate, access, or use energy. The extraction and burning of fossil fuels is taking the planet

to the brink of many climate tipping points and creating populations who are increasingly unable to manage home in a historical period that requires more ingenuity, creativity, thoughtfulness, rootedness, and leadership to pivot quickly to avoid an even more catastrophic and dystopic future.

According to the California Energy Commission, “Water-related energy use consumes 19 percent of the state’s electricity, 30 percent of its natural gas, and 88 billion gallons of diesel fuel every year.”⁶ Working to shift the management of water (and related energy use) to communities stewarding their watersheds requires neighborhood and community-level design and installation workshops to create rainwater catchment and greywater systems that “slow it, spread it, and sink it” rather than “pave it, pipe it, and pump it.”⁷ Working with plumbers and pipefitters unions, labor can be applied at the community level to create pathways for new water technicians adapting age-old technology to retrofit water systems that meet community needs while restoring watersheds, in the process cutting the use of fossil fuels and related greenhouse gas emissions (figure 3-3).

The increasing concentration and control of resources—land, water, energy (including human labor), and more—has eroded the capacity of human communities to



Figure 3-3. Nineteen percent of California electricity is used to pump water. Participants in Movement Generation and Occidental Arts and Ecology’s Permaculture for the People training program design and install a rainwater catchment system to utilize gravity-fed flow. *Image source: Brock Dolman*

manage home well. In the extractive economy, we are almost completely unable to apply our labor to the living world around us, note the impact, and make decisions about how to further apply our labor. This means that we are almost completely unable to govern our own labor in ways that build resilience.⁸ It is this most precious energy resource—human labor—that must be restored to democratic control in order to address the climate crisis and the array of related crises of the extractive economy.

Social Equity: Why Frontline Communities Must Lead the Transition

To manage home well requires us to apply ecology—the knowledge of home. This means observing and understanding how our actions impact the living world we depend on. Managing home well requires that communities have control over the decisions about how energy—in all its forms—is harnessed and applied. In fact, social inequity is a form of ecosystem imbalance. It will inevitably lead to the erosion of our ability to read and respond to our own impacts on ecosystems.

Through the industrial era, black, indigenous, Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, and working-class white communities in the United States have experienced a disproportionate share of harmful impacts of the extractive economy, with the fossil fuel, nuclear, and waste incineration sectors being a key driver of the industrial economy.⁹ Since the purpose of corporations is to maximize profit and most corporate decision makers do not live in the places they are impacting, corporate decisions rarely take into account the consequences of their actions on ecosystems, including human communities.

The result is a litany of frontline communities harmed by corporate activities that pollute the air or groundwater, generate toxic waste, or are unsafe for workers or community members. For the past several decades, communities on the front lines of the impacts have been organizing to stop these bad actors from harming the places where they live, work, play, and pray. They form the backbone of the Environmental Justice movement that has asserted the adage, “no decisions about us without us.”

Many of these place-based community groups have successfully stopped or reduced fossil fuel and other industrial harms through organizing community members to expose the damage and make business as

usual untenable. These campaigns have cut the pollution impacts in environmental justice communities while simultaneously reducing greenhouse gas emissions at the source.¹⁰

Thus, these “fenceline communities” have found themselves on the front lines of the climate crisis. They are not alone. More and more communities are now organizing themselves from the many “front lines” of the root causes, impacts of, and false solutions to climate disruption. From those impacted by gentrification and speculative land ownership to fossil fuel infrastructure projects to false promises of green energy solutions, rural and urban communities are increasingly on the front lines of taking on the extractive economy that is undermining home.

In order to foster a just transition, these organized frontline groups increasingly understand that their communities must lead with their own solutions. In fact, who leads the transition will determine how it goes and where it lands.

To take one example, despite the impactful campaigns of environmental justice groups across the country, when these communities have not also put forth their own alternative economic program, time and again, extraction has continued to drive development. Sometimes it was toward expanded fossil fuel infrastructure and sometimes toward promises of “green energy solutions” such as nuclear power, algae-based biofuels, or waste incineration. These environmental justice groups understand that such “solutions” are false promises if they either exacerbate or cause new social inequity or ecosystem disruption.¹¹ Frontline communities have a crucial leadership role to play in ensuring that the inevitable economic transition is just—they have a firsthand understanding that justice requires that no community be a sacrifice zone. This lesson can be seen in the history of Native peoples offering refuge to black people who had escaped from slavery to form maroon societies. It can be seen in the role of women to end gender oppression. It can be seen in the role of free black people risking their own freedom to form the backbone of the Underground Railroad and the abolitionist movement. It can be seen in the role that queer, transgender, and gender-oppressed people play in overturning a gender-binary system that is harmful to all, though some more than others.

THE SPECIAL ROLE OF LABOR

It is the exploitation of workers that enables the extraction of natural resources from the ecosystem in a way that degrades rather than supports regeneration. Whether it is blowing up mountains for coal or slashing down forests for timber, the labor of working people is literally used as a chain saw against the very web of life they depend on.

A just transition requires that human labor be organized through democratic and voluntary cooperation, rather than coercion and exploitation. When they have the resources to make their own labor productive, communities across the globe resist blowing up mountains or building open-pit mines. Self-determined, embodied human labor—complete with awareness, feelings, instincts, thoughtful engagement, and the ability to act on those—is a key energy resource in regenerative economies. Along with other renewable resources, it must replace the destructive energy systems of the extractive economy. It is workers themselves who are best positioned to organize around this understanding. Every day, we see more and more organized labor groups finding their front lines—from teachers and cafeteria workers to nurses and an array of service workers. This is a critical and growing base of leadership for a just transition.

Strategies for a Just Transition

Shifting to managing home in concert with the principles of living systems requires aligning three core strategies: *building the new*, *changing the rules*, and *moving the resources* from an extractive to a regenerative economy. All of this must be done in a way that *stops the bad* and *changes the story*. Working with the Our Power Campaign, Movement Generation crafted figure 3-4 to illustrate a strategy framework to shift from an extractive economy to regenerative economies. The just transition strategy framework gives a way to understand the underlying threads of the current extractive economy and the envisioned threads weaving regenerative economies together as referenced in figure 3-2.

Fostering just transition requires building a movement of movements by aligning workers, environmental justice communities,

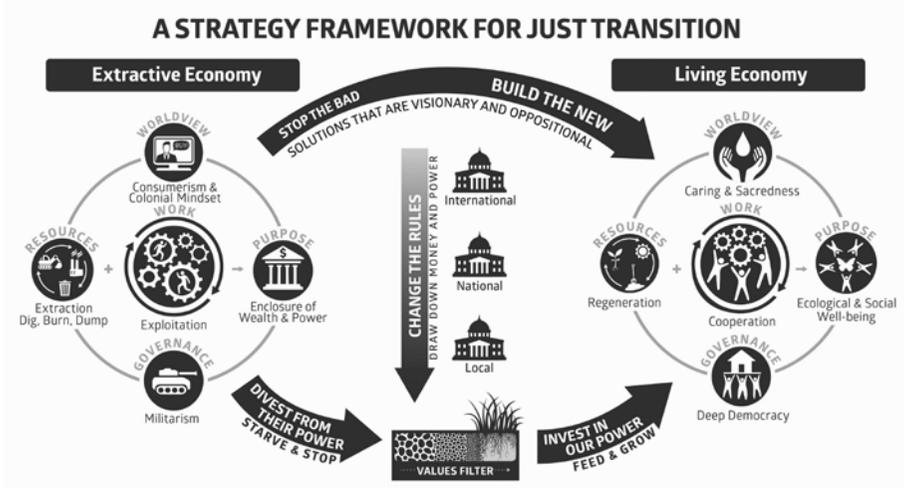


Figure 3-4. Just Transition Strategy Framework with the Our Power campaign Image source: Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project

tenant rights groups, environmentalists, faith groups, students, resilience practitioners, indigenous peoples, black communities, queer and transgender communities, and countless others who have been harmed by the extractive economy. As these groups place their struggles into a framework of transition, the harms they have suffered under an extractive economy can be transformed into their leadership and vision for a new path that puts people and the places we depend on at the center. This creates a force of people, organized through social movements, who are actively putting their hearts, labor, and creativity toward building economic infrastructure, applying their own labor to meet needs rather than relying on the extractive economy to meet those needs. This economic infrastructure builds economic power that can be translated and applied as political power to further push rule changes and resource shifts toward local, living, loving, linked economies.

Building off the work of Dr. Vandana Shiva and others, a just transition calls for reorganizing economic activity using five key principles. Solutions that move us away from extraction and domination and toward cooperation and caring must *diversify, democratize, decentralize, reduce con-*

sumption, and *provide reparations*. An energy democracy movement must hold these principles as our North Star if it is to foster energy systems that do not exacerbate or create new forms of social inequity and the consequential ecosystem erosion.

Our Power: Communities Uniting for a Just Transition

In 2012, the Climate Justice Alliance launched the Our Power campaign to unite communities organizing around a just transition (table 3-1). The Our Power campaign holds that climate disruption will not be addressed simply by reducing carbon in the atmosphere but by addressing the root causes: the imbalance in resource distribution and power that leads to the erosion of ecosystems and people's ability to read and respond to their impacts. Our Power seeks to shift out of centralized and undemocratic energy systems that rely on fossil fuels, nuclear power, megadams, and waste incineration to renewable energy, including human labor. Our Power seeks to shift decision making from its current concentration far from its impacts to deep democracy—in which place-based peoples manage home toward a long-term view of future sustainability.

Our Power seeks to scale transition not by creating larger and larger organizations with greater concentrated power, but by uniting across issues and communities on a larger shared project of linking regenerative economies. Like a bag of marbles adding up to the weight of a bowling ball, this aggregation creates scale. While solutions will be applied locally, communities' ability to wrest control of economy from the current governing forces requires these local communities to band together in ways that build movement muscle. Instead of national campaigns, Our Power calls for *translocal* movement building: autonomous place-based organizing that is connected across communities through a unifying vision, shared strategies, and common frames.

Our Power has been steadily uniting a growing set of communities to leverage their collective power toward transition. In the first three years of the campaign, seven communities served as pilot sites for fostering a just transition. Anchored by grassroots organizations that had been resisting the impacts of the extractive energy system on their communities, they sought

Table 3-1—From old power to our power

	Old Power	Our Power
Energy resources and technologies	Human labor applied in ways that allow greater extraction	Liberated human labor (hands, heart, instinct, body, mind)
	Oil, coal, natural gas, nuclear fission, waste incineration, mega hydro, internal combustion, fossil fuel-based fertilizers, waste incineration (petroleum-based plastics usually required as fuel)	Other animal sources (labor and small-scale biogas digestion of waste) Passive solar, photovoltaic solar, wind, geothermal, mini hydro; reduced use, and other appropriate-scale approaches
Decision makers	Corporate executives, Wall Street financial brokers, bankers, large-scale land owners and developers, the 1%	People rooted in place making decisions about how they acquire and use resources, including how they apply their labor
Geography	Concentration of power: corporate headquarters, investment banks, nation states	Governance both local and bioregional, depending on type of “shed”: foodshed, energys shed, tradeshed
	Globalized transport of resources, people, and goods	Most production and trade at the bioregional scale. People for the most part rooted in place

to deepen their focus on the real solutions their members envisioned. These grassroots groups have built coalitions with an array of other partners to align their work around a vision, strategy, and narrative framework that can engage everyday people in building new economic infrastructure, changing the rules, and moving resources toward a just transition.

CASE STUDY: RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA¹²

In Richmond, California, the behemoth Chevron Corporation’s oil refinery stands as the number one greenhouse gas emitter in the state. For decades, it ran the city as a kind of company town with all or most city council members making decisions in accordance with the oil company’s

wishes. Community members from organizations such as Asian Pacific Environmental Network and Communities for a Better Environment organized to make the refinery safer, to cut the pollution coming from the plant, to stop the expansion of the refinery to refine dirtier grades of crude oil, and more.

A decade ago, community members began to organize through the Richmond Progressive Alliance to run candidates for local office who would prioritize values of community health and well-being. They succeeded in electing progressive candidates to local office who were not beholden to the oil company. Groups like Urban Tilth began to acquire public land to grow food for the community, training, employing, and developing the leadership of local residents on those lands. Local residents founded Rich City Rides, the city's only bike shop, and began organizing community bike rides and bike repair activities to shift from car culture to bike culture.

Richmond groups have come together to lead Our Power Richmond. The goal is to work toward shifting transit, food, and energy systems toward renewables and people power rather than fossil fuels and corporate control. Together with other partners, Our Power Richmond organizes community members around a vision of a just transition.

In 2016, several of these organizations launched Cooperation Richmond, a revolving loan fund and cooperative incubator. Cooperation Richmond now organizes community members to put capital to productive use by applying their labor to build cooperative businesses that help foster a regenerative economy. This provides critical infrastructure to "build the new." Through translocal organizing across the country, Cooperation Richmond is part of a larger initiative called Reinvest in Our Power. This initiative has two primary arenas. The first is to form a "financial cooperative," or network of local loan funds that support communities that have been excluded from access to capital to build and run cooperative businesses. The second arena is to connect divestment campaigns to reinvestment pathways. In this way, communities can shift capital away from fossil fuels, prisons, and war industries and invest it in community-run vehicles for economic transition.¹³



Figure 3-5. At Rich City Rides bike shop, residents learn to repair bicycles and engage in bicycle access advocacy. *Image source: Najari Smith*

At the same time, groups with a constituency in Richmond, Asian Pacific Environmental Network, Communities for a Better Environment, and the statewide California Environmental Justice Alliance are advancing policy at the state level to draw down public resources to communities on the front lines of the climate crisis, such as Richmond (see chapter 4).

While “building the new” and “moving the resources” are key strategies for a just transition, a just transition also requires changing the current rules that favor the extractive economy. Without a new set of rules based on values of a regenerative economy, cities like Richmond are beholden to industry, big-box retailers, or market-rate housing developers to grow their tax base. With out-of-the-box thinking and progressive organizing, over the last decade, Richmond groups have asserted new rules that put

local residents and community health first, going up against the goliath corporations that try to stop them at every turn.

For example, in 2008, residents passed Ballot Measure T taxing the value of raw materials used in the manufacturing process of Richmond industries.¹⁴ Though it was struck down by the courts, the process of garnering community support for such a radical shift in policy led the Chevron refinery to strike a deal with the city council to pay the equivalent of a standard utility user tax. This has brought an additional \$15 million annually to the city.

While the company claimed that the high tax rates in Richmond made it appealing to move its operations to one of its other refineries, city council member Jeff Ritterman was quoted in the local news as saying, "I say to those other cities, 'Up your tax rates.' All cities are fighting for their survival right now and, as a society, we need to take some of that profit. It shouldn't all be going into private business and the wealthy."¹⁵ A growing just transition movement can help create pathways for this \$15 million revenue stream to be put to use developing renewable energy, cooperative businesses, community-scale transportation, and more.

In another illustration of changing the rules, the Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment worked with the City of Richmond to create Richmond CARES in 2012. This program was meant to advance the power of local residents over mortgage bankers. The program allowed the city to declare eminent domain of underwater mortgages in order to restore equity and prevent blight from foreclosures.¹⁶ Mortgage bankers quickly responded, flexing their muscle to downgrade the city's bond rating and the city backed off. At the time, other California cities were considering passing similar policies. Organizing translocally around such a policy could help to increase the power of the collective localities to take on powerful banks and investment houses that put profit over community well-being.

Richmond sits at the crossroads of an array of strategies for transition. While frontline forces in Our Power Richmond are forging a *just* transition as described above, heavily capitalized industries continue to seek to extract wealth from the city. The oil giant, Chevron, has continued to

pursue its plans to expand its oil refinery operations there. Biotech companies collaborating with the U.S. Department of Energy and the University of California at Berkeley have pursued plans to build a laboratory designed for research in synthetic biology. While the laboratory has been put on hold, the refinery expansion continues, along with an expansion of fossil fuel infrastructure in surrounding communities. The thrust of this expansion is to refine dirtier grades of crude oil coming from tar sands extraction or hydraulic fracturing in the Bakken Shale Formation in North Dakota. Through translocal organizing, Richmond communities have found common cause with communities on the front lines of tar sands in Alberta, Canada, and in fracking-impacted communities.

SNAPSHOTS: OTHER OUR POWER COMMUNITIES

Among the diverse set of Our Power communities are black, Latino, Asian immigrant, and multiracial urban communities as well as predominantly white rural and Native communities. They span the West Coast to the Midwest and the Southwest to Appalachia and the black-belt South. In addition to Richmond, California, the seven current Our Power Communities include San Antonio, Texas; Jackson, Mississippi; San Francisco, California; Eastern Kentucky; Detroit, Michigan; and Black Mesa, Navajo Nation. While each community holds a set of shared values and principles of a just transition, each is applying a diverse set of just transition strategies based on the unique needs and conditions of home.

On the Black Mesa plateau in Arizona and New Mexico, Navajo and Hopi people have been working to foster a just transition from an economy dependent on the extraction of coal and water to an economy powered by solar energy and, ultimately, to a restorative economy rooted in traditional land-based life ways. As a cofounder of the Our Power Campaign, the Black Mesa Water Coalition (BMWC) was instrumental in ending the use of ancient aquifer water for coal transportation by Peabody Western Coal in 2005. BMWC is currently working to utilize solar power owned by the Navajo tribe and communities to fund a long-term plan for transition to traditional land-based livelihoods. Says BMWC cofounder and board member, Enei Begaye-Peter, “A green economy is nothing new to indigenous

peoples. We have been practicing this way of life in harmony with Mother Earth before there was a Wall Street. But today, what we strive to do is unite the modern nonpolluting technologies, such as wind and solar, with the traditional technologies, such as weaving and farming; and with that unity we can open up new doors of opportunity for ALL our people— young and old, college-educated and land-educated alike.”¹⁷

In eastern Kentucky, Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC) and partners such as the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development have been working to transition away from mountaintop removal and the dominance of “King Coal” to a just transition to “a fair economy, a healthy environment, new safe energy, and an honest democracy.”¹⁸ KFTC has been working with electric cooperatives to innovate on-bill financing of clean energy and energy efficiency projects such as How\$martKY. And as part of their work to expand democratic engagement so that community members are making the decisions that affect them, KFTC members are working to make electric cooperatives more open, fair, and transparent. At the same time, KFTC organizes statewide to change rules and draw down resources toward people-powered initiatives such as these.

In Detroit, an array of organizers, cultural workers, and other leaders are advancing a shift from dependence on the Big Three automobile manufacturers and the industrial energy system they required to a thriving local economy rooted in commons around water and food systems; health and healing; media and culture; zero waste; whole-child education; and other systems of meeting community needs. The East Michigan Environmental Action Council anchors *Our Power in Detroit*, and its building, the Cass Corridor Commons, serves as a nexus of community-led and just transition activity, from youth media production to clothing swaps to political education.

Just Transition Means Remaking Economy

*What you do to the land, you do to the people. And what you do to the people, you do to the land.*¹⁹ The concentration and control of land and resources in the hands of a few, including the energy needed to grow food, harvest water, generate heat, build shelter, and more has resulted in ecological destruc-

tion: undermining human communities' ability to meet their needs in ways that sustain the places they depend on.

The consequences are dire: climate destabilization, rising seas, resource wars, and the collapse of the biological and cultural diversity upon which our collective well-being depends. This situation demands a just transition through which we realign the purpose of the economy with the healing powers of Mother Earth.

A just transition calls for fundamentally remaking economy in ways that advance *ecological restoration*, *community resilience*, and *social equity*. Through *ecological restoration*, place-based communities engage the full dimensions of their own human labor to protect and advance biocultural diversity—taking action in ways that are fully embodied with awareness of the world around us; creativity to solve complex challenges; instincts; and love of people and place. By creating the conditions to maintain that biocultural diversity in the face of ecosystem disruption, we foster *community resilience*.²⁰ Finally, through redistributing resources and power, we advance *social equity* and, consequently, restore the reflective, responsive relationship to place required for ecological restoration.

1. Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project is a movement support organization that provides training and strategy facilitation and tools to advance a just transition. The line of inquiry and language of this chapter were developed by the organization's staff collective in dialogue with hundreds of organizations.
2. See Vandana Shiva, *Earth Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005).
3. Brock Dolman, *Basins of Relations: A Citizen's Guide to Protecting and Restoring Our Watersheds* (Occidental, CA: Water Institute, 2008).
4. Movement Generation, *From Banks and Tanks to Caring and Cooperation* (Oakland, CA: Movement Generation, 2017), accessed January 28, 2017, <http://movementgeneration.org/justtransition/>.
5. Howard Dodson, "How Slavery Helped Build a World Economy" (February 3, 2003), accessed January 19, 2017, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2003/01/0131_030203_jubilee2.html.
6. California Energy Commission, "California's Water-Energy Relationship." (Sacramento, CA: CEC, 2005).
7. Brock Dolman, PowerPoint presentation, May 2014, Occidental Arts and Ecology Center.
8. For a more complete description of what we mean by resilience, see Movement Generation, *Redefining Resilience: Principles, Practices and Pathways*, accessed January 28, 2017, <http://pathways-2-resilience.org/ebook/part-ii-redefining-resilience>.

9. For references related to environmental justice, see the Energy Justice Network website at <http://www.ejnet.org/ej/>, accessed January 1, 2017.
10. "Letter from the Grassroots to One Sky," accessed January 4, 2017, <http://grist.org/article/2010-10-23-open-letter-to-1-sky-from-the-grassroots/>.
11. For a discussion of false solutions, see Rising Tide North America and Carbon Trade Watch, "Hoodwinked in the Hothouse: False Solutions to Climate Change," accessed 1/17/2017, https://ecology.iww.org/PDF/RTNA/HoodwinkedV2ENG_screen.pdf.
12. Movement Generation is based in the San Francisco Bay Area, less than ten miles from Richmond, California. The just transition strategy framework is strongly informed by the movements that have been forging a new path in Richmond. For that reason, the Richmond case study is lengthier than the others.
13. See <http://www.ourpowercampaign.org/reinvest> and <http://www.theworkingworld.org>.
14. [https://ballotpedia.org/Richmond_Business_License_Tax_Measure_T_\(November_2008\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Richmond_Business_License_Tax_Measure_T_(November_2008)), accessed January 17, 2017.
15. Alexa Vaughn, "End Chevron's Perk Campaign to Start Next Week," *Richmond Confidential*, January 7, 2010, accessed January 17, 2017, <http://richmondconfidential.org/2010/01/07/end-chevrons-perk-campaign-to-start-next-week>.
16. Shaila Dewan, "Eminent Domain: A Long Shot Against Blight," *NY Times*, January 11, 2014, accessed January 17, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/12/business/in-richmond-california-a-long-shot-against-blight.html?_r=0.
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19. Gopal Dayaneni, quoted from presentation in Whitakers, North Carolina, August 18, 2016.
20. Movement Generation, *Redefining Resilience: Principles, Practices and Pathways*, accessed January 28, 2017, <http://pathways-2-resilience.org/ebook/part-ii-redefining-resilience>.