A Preliminary Assessment of RE-AMP and Equity Implications for Midwest Climate and Energy Policy

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This assessment was conducted by the Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy (CEED) and the Little Village Environmental Justice Organization (LVEJO). Both organizations have formal and informal relationships with regional and national environmental justice organizations. Both CEED and LVEJO are members of the National Environmental Justice Leadership Forum on Climate Change and have been the key organizers of three recent convenings of Midwest regional environmental justice leaders working on issues of water, climate and energy. Each organization also brings significant expertise on issues of energy and climate policy, and research and advocacy on energy, climate, and environmental justice. LVEJO is active in environmental justice base building and policy advocacy, climate justice, and decommissioning of coal plants locally and nationally.

**Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy (CEED)**
**Minneapolis, Minnesota**

The Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy’s mission is to work for environmental solutions that are democratic, sustainable and socially just. Working in collaboration with grassroots communities, policy makers and researchers, CEED conducts research and provides community education on important energy, environment, and development issues so that all members of society may effectively participate in public decision-making. Recent reports include Climate Inequity; Water Commons and Energy Justice and Climate Change, Adaptation and Public Health. This report is part of CEED’s Organizational Assessment Program, which provides consulting and technical assistance for organizations interested in connecting their work to broader goals of environmental sustainability and social justice. CEED also facilitates connections between local and national organizations and community leaders; advises and consults on equity/justice issues within the energy and environmental field; and conducts research and policy analysis for organizations and foundations interested in promoting an equitable and just future.

**Little Village Environmental Justice Organization (LVEJO)**
**Chicago, Illinois**

LVEJO is an environmental organization. Its mission is to work with families, coworkers, and neighbors to improve the environment in the Little Village neighborhood and throughout Chicago. LVEJO works on building democracy through action to create democratic spaces in community development, with an emphasis on environmental, economic and social justice. LVEJO’s guiding principle is that the environment is the place where families and communities live, work, study, play and pray. Our goal is to value and respect Mother Earth and nature - to ensure the air is healthy to breathe, the water safe to drink, and the earth is free from poisons. Real democracy requires that every voice be heard with full participation in decision-making regarding the future of neighborhoods and cities. LVEJO works to unite the community’s talents, assets, and power to build a society that treats everyone equally regardless of race, culture, ethnicity, age, or gender. In unity there is strength to forge economic, environmental and social justice to overcome the barriers of poverty and build self-determination.
Key Project Staff

Shalini Gupta
Executive Director, Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy

Shalini Gupta has worked at numerous local, regional and national organizations on state/regional regulatory and legislative policy analysis and advocacy related to renewable energy and climate change. Her past work ranges from developing community-scale energy projects at the local level to international work in Kiel, Germany, and at Argonne National Laboratories where she analyzed sources of atmospheric organic pollutants from urban and industrial sites in China. Ms. Gupta was a 2006 National Environmental Leadership Fellow and a 2008 Archibald Bush Leadership Fellow. She also served on the technical working group of the Minnesota Climate Change Advisory Group, was a Governor appointee to Minnesota’s Next Generation Energy Board, and is a current appointee to the Minneapolis Environmental Advisory Commission. She conducts environmental and energy justice workshops with numerous grassroots groups, and served on the Board of Directors of the Headwaters Foundation for Justice. Ms. Gupta holds a B.S. in the geophysical sciences from the University of Chicago and a Masters degree in environmental management from Yale University.

Dr. Cecilia Martinez
Director of Research Programs, Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy

Dr. Cecilia Martinez’ previous positions include Associate Research Professor in the College of Earth, Ocean and Environment and the Center for Energy and Environmental Policy at the University of Delaware; Associate Professor at Metropolitan State University; and Research Director at the American Indian Policy Center. Dr. Martinez has led a variety of projects to address sustainable development at the local and international levels. Her research is focused on the development of energy and environmental strategies that promote equitable and sustainable policies. She recently served on the Climate Action Planning Steering Committee for the City of Minneapolis. Dr. Martinez has also worked with a range of organizations from local grassroots groups to international organizations engaging in the promotion of sound environmental policy and environmental justice. Most recently she completed an analysis of coal-based energy and environmental justice communities, and a review of climate adaptation and public health for the National Environmental Justice Leadership Forum on Climate Change. She has been appointed to several national advisory boards, including the National Advisory Committee to the EPA for the Council on Environmental Cooperation, the Research Working Group for the National Environmental Justice Advisory Council, and the expert review panel for the EPA’s Guidance on Incorporating Environmental Justice into Rulemaking. She is also on the leadership team for the National EJ and Science Initiative. She received her B.A. from Stanford University and her Ph.D. from the University of Delaware’s College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy.

Kimberly Wasserman
Executive Director, Little Village Environmental Justice Organization

Kimberly Wasserman is the Executive Director of the Little Village Environmental Justice Organization (LVEJO), where she has worked since 1998. As Executive Director she oversees the organization’s community projects and provides leadership development. Ms. Wasserman first joined LVEJO as an organizer and helped to organize community leaders to successfully build a new playground, create community gardens, remodel a local school park and forced a local polluter to upgrade their facilities to meet current laws. In 2007, LVEJO joined the Environmental Justice Forum on Climate Change, which is comprised of environmental justice grassroots groups and activists. Ms. Wasserman is working with organizers to reinstate a job access bus line; complete a new 23-acre park in Little Village; and continue the fight for remediation and redevelopment of the site where two local coal plants stand. As a member of the National Environmental Justice Advisory Council, Ms. Wasserman is hoping to broaden the scope of LVEJO to a national level. She is also the North American recipient of the 2013 Goldman Environmental Prize.
Introduction

The purpose of this report is to provide informed recommendations on the challenges and opportunities for addressing justice and equity in the RE-AMP network. Indigenous peoples and communities of color have a long history of living in places where energy sources are mined, refined, processed, and consumed for generation of electricity. Many of the health and environmental issues associated with the nation’s fossil fuel and nuclear energy system are still unresolved for many of these communities, and the problem of climate change serves to exacerbate these environmental threats. Indigenous peoples and communities of color are among the first to experience the impacts of climate change, and often are more profoundly affected. Witness Hurricanes Katrina and Sandy, and the relocation of Alaskan villages.

There have been substantial changes in political attitudes toward climate change in the last decade. On the national level, there was a shift from President G.W. Bush’s climate skepticism to President Barack Obama’s official acknowledgement that climate change is in fact a real phenomenon. On the legislative front, several bills were introduced, all relying on “market-based” strategies, specifically cap and trade, as the mechanism for greenhouse gas (GHG) reductions. Proposed legislation varied with respect to the sectors/facilities subject to regulation; type and scale of permits or allowance allocation (auction or give away); cost of containment (caps on costs of permits); range and permissibility of offsets; and inclusion of renewable technology mandates. Nonetheless, despite these presidential and legislative actions, no climate legislation has passed and continued lawsuits from industry and utilities plague U.S. EPA efforts to regulate GHGs.

Climate change is undeniably a priority environmental issue. However, it is also clear that the political capacity to address the problem either through legislation or regulation at the national level has been challenging. Therefore, in the absence of federal climate policy, cities and states have undertaken a range of legislative and program strategies. In fact, state and local policies have surpassed U.S. national and international GHG reduction commitments. This trend is likely to continue and can be explained as an outgrowth of the governance opportunities that so called ‘bottom-up’ strategies offer. Local and state politics and economics can often catalyze innovative smaller-scale change. Therefore, at this historic environmental crossroads, state and local policies will be vital to transformative change needed to address the future.1

State and local policy development, however, does not occur in a vacuum. Human and capital investments in policy formulation and advocacy are a fundamental part of establishing effective public agendas. In the Midwest,2 a climate and energy network was established and funded by a coalition of philanthropic foundations.3 RE-AMP originated in 2003, when 13 non-governmental organizations and seven foundations convened to examine and develop long-term goals for GHG reductions in the region. The groups present at the initial convening identified four major drivers for change:3

- Benefits in retiring existing coal generation
- Demand for new pulverized coal generation facilities
- Market demand for clean energy
- Achievable levels of energy efficiency

With an initial $2.5 million commitment from the Garfield Foundation, the RE-AMP network was launched. In 2005, 30 “carefully selected non-governmental organizations were organized into four planning teams and were provided funding to examine each of these drivers in detail.”5 Ten years have elapsed since the first convening by RE-AMP founder organizations. The network now includes over 160 non-profit organizations across eight Midwestern states and continues to be funded by a coalition of foundations. RE-AMP’s goal is to advocate for state climate and energy legislation and policy to reduce GHG emissions by 80% by 2050 through a Midwest global warming campaign.

2. States included in the Midwest Region are Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
To achieve this goal, RE-AMP is currently focused on the following sectors:

- Energy efficiency
- Renewable energy
- Coal generation
- Transportation

**Environmental Justice Assessment**

Climate change exacerbates existing environmental inequities. Some of these factors include displacement, the impacts of rising energy prices, health-related effects, and disparate access to energy efficient, affordable and safe housing. Environmental, social and economic solutions to address climate change also have the potential to disproportionately burden communities already experiencing environmental inequalities. At both the state and federal level, climate change policies will have a significant impact on the existing distribution of public investment benefits and costs in public health, urban infrastructure, housing, transportation, energy, and employment. Unless a concerted effort is made to address equity issues in the formulation of these policies, inequality across communities will not only continue, but increase in size and scope.

In 2011, CEED and LVEJO met with members of RE-AMP’s Global Warming Solutions Working Group to discuss the issue and status of environmental justice in RE-AMP’s policy agenda. Subsequent to that meeting, CEED and LVEJO applied for, and ultimately received a grant to conduct a preliminary environmental justice assessment of RE-AMP. This report provides a review of RE-AMP strategies and objectives in relation to regional and national environmental justice climate and energy policy agendas. The purpose of the review is to provide informed recommendations on the challenges and opportunities for addressing equity in the RE-AMP network. The assessment was guided by three key questions:

1. How does RE-AMP’s policy agenda align with those advocated by environmental justice organizations in the region and nationally?

2. What key strategies can be implemented by RE-AMP to develop inclusive and effective collaborations with regional environmental justice organizations working on energy and climate policy?

3. How can the Principles of Environmental Justice inform RE-AMP’s policy development practices and outreach strategies?

This report provides the findings of the assessment. There are three caveats to this report:

- An in depth assessment or evaluation of RE-AMP and its effectiveness in incorporating equity considerations would require more resources.
- The project team only included RE-AMP public documents that were accessible.
- Interviews with key RE-AMP leadership were planned, but due to difficulty in receiving responses, not all the intended interviewees were interviewed.

The information provided in this document is by no means comprehensive: It is an effort to provide baseline qualitative information to inform strategies for greater inclusion of environmental justice and equity in the RE-AMP network and in the Midwest. It offers a “first glance” of the status of environmental justice, climate and energy in the region and serves as a starting point for further analysis. The scope of the study allowed only for a preliminary assessment of RE-AMP’s clean energy and climate policies from a justice/equity lens, with a more comprehensive detailed analysis requiring greater resources and investment.

To provide context, a summary background of environmental justice as applied to climate and energy is presented. This includes a brief historical overview of the environmental justice movement, operating relevant definitions of environmental justice, and a summary of climate and energy policy agendas from an environmental justice perspective. The report concludes with key recommendations to advance justice and equity in RE-AMP policy and funding priorities.
Social and Political Context for Environmental Justice

An important problem in current environmental advocacy, including climate and energy, is the misperception that low-income and communities of color are less concerned about environmental issues than their white middle-class counterparts. Historically, planners and other decision-makers reinforced this perception and environmental issues were largely regarded as recreation, conservation, and preservation “amenities” in response to middle and upper class interests.

Contrary to such an understanding, the so-called jobs over the environment preference attributed to communities of color is in fact questionable. Research has shown that communities of color are longstanding environmental advocates (albeit independent of the mainstream environmental movement) in their own right. For example, Chicano/Latino and Asian American environmental organizing can be traced back to the early 1900s. While environmental justice was not yet a part of the public lexicon, these communities engaged in collective actions that focused on challenging the inequitable environmental impacts of U.S. mining, agriculture, and reclamation policy.

In the 1960s, a farmworkers movement gained considerable influence and its agenda specifically focused on the toxic environments in which this population lived and worked. Contrary to popular perceptions that low-income communities are more concerned about job opportunities than environmental health issues, these communities have been in the forefront of environmental policy agendas. Ironically, many of their environmental efforts were contrary to established unions, governmental institutions and at times even mainstream environmental organizations. Still, these direct actions demanded clean water regulations to ensure safe drinking water, adequate sanitation facilities (waste management) in the workplace, and pesticide regulations.

Paul Mohai provides quantitative evidence to debunk the jobs over environment myth. In his early analysis on African-American perceptions regarding the environment, he found:

- African Americans are more likely than whites to make lifestyle choices that help protect the environment;
- African Americans are as likely as whites to belong to environmental groups; however rather than joining traditional environmental organizations they form their own mobilization groups;
- African Americans express significantly greater concern about environmental issues in their local communities;
- African American legislators are the strongest and most consistent supporters of environmental legislation.

Similarly, American Indians and indigenous peoples also have a demonstrated longstanding tradition and history of environmentalism. For centuries, indigenous peoples have challenged mining and fossil fuel extraction, deforestation, land appropriation, and the commodification of nature. Current justice-based coalitions define this energy system as one of Extreme Energy. Had their opposition been heeded, the climate change problem of today would be much different. Moreover, preservation of a Native worldview of Earth and nature, the sovereignty of Indian tribal governments (and indigenous peoples around the world), and the revitalization of indigenous knowledge and language continue to be three mainstay issues in indigenous policy. Thus, environmentalism is, in fact, a relatively new term that encompasses a long history of established indigenous thought and action.

7. ‘Extreme Energy’ includes energy sources that pose extreme risk to human and ecosystem health, community resilience, economic certainty, and climate stability. Such energy sources include coal, petroleum, nuclear and any other sources that demonstrate harm to communities and the environment. Extreme Energy is now terminology used by national justice based coalitions. See for example: Climate Justice Alliance.
Environmental Justice Benchmarking

Developing the appropriate definition of environmental justice is essential for RE-AMP for a number of reasons. As a regional network in the Midwest, with the stated mission of shifting the policy landscape, a clear definition of environmental justice is critical for providing a benchmark for guiding evaluation or assessment of the distributive impacts of RE-AMP activities, strategies and outcomes. In addition, clearly articulated and agreed upon definitions or principles for policy advocacy is fundamental for the following reasons: transparency about the network’s purpose and primary objectives; development of qualitative and quantitative measures of the network’s success; and identification of key members and stakeholders. It is also important to note that environmental justice research and advocacy focuses on racial disparities along with economic disparities. Studies show that race is a primary variable in environmental inequality, even when controlled for income. Therefore, any environmental justice definition that only focused on income would be inadequate.

Justice-based definitions, such as those provided in Table 1, must provide a conceptual basis from which to develop outcomes and benchmarks to address problems of inequality. Examples of inequalities include: (1) unequal application and enforcement of environmental, civil rights, and public health laws; (2) differential exposure of some populations to pollution, harmful chemicals, pesticides, and other toxins in the home, school, neighborhood, and workplace; (3) faulty assumptions and methodologies in calculating, assessing, and managing risks and impacts; (4) discriminatory zoning and land use practices; and (5) exclusionary practices that prevent some individuals and groups from participation in decision making or limit the extent of their participation.

Applied to climate and energy, examples of environmental inequality may include, but not limited to, the following:

- Excluding or restricting the participation of indigenous peoples and people of color from decision-making bodies with responsibilities in the areas of environmental, climate and energy policy, programs and permits;
- Creating energy, climate and land-use policies and conditions that uproot indigenous peoples and communities of color from neighborhoods, or create differential access to clean energy investments;
- Maintaining existing polluting patterns on indigenous lands and communities of color for the continued siting of polluting facilities, such as waste to energy facilities, fossil fuel extraction, processing and refinery sites, power generation plants, among others;
- Unequal access to resources, “green” technology, and infrastructure such as renewable energy, energy efficiency, public transportation, etc.

Development of climate and energy policy that incorporates equity or justice analysis and concerns has been identified as a major exception to current policy agendas forwarded by mainstream environmentalists. Therefore, several regional and national environmental justice coalitions have been formed to address this problem. The consequent problems of this omission manifests at multiple scales:

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Table 1: Justice-based Definitions
Based on interviews and research, examples of relevant justice-based definitions are noted below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Justice</th>
<th>Energy Justice</th>
<th>Climate Justice</th>
<th>Environmental Human Rights</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.S. EPA Definition</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adapted from the EPA and EJ Advocacy definitions of Environmental Justice</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adapted from Environmental Justice and Climate Justice Advocacy Definitions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adapted from Principles of Environmental Justice (1991) and Climate Justice Advocacy definitions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies. Fair treatment means that no group of people, including racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic group should bear a disproportionate share of the negative environmental consequences resulting from industrial, municipal, and commercial operations or the execution of federal, state, local, and tribal programs and policies.</td>
<td>The just, fair, and equitable treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, in the development, implementation, and enforcement of local, state and national energy policies and laws with the goal to promote affordable energy; the right to clean, affordable and sustainable energy systems; the right to meaningfully participate in public decisions regarding the development and implementation of energy systems and infrastructure.</td>
<td>Energy and Climate Justice is the right to a decent, safe quality of life for people of all races, incomes and cultures in the environments where we live, work, play, learn and pray. Climate and Energy Justice emphasize accountability, democratic practices, equitable treatment and self-determination. Environmental justice principles prioritize public good over profit, cooperation over competition, community and collective action over individualism, and precautionary approaches over unacceptable risks. Environmental Justice provides a framework for communities of color to articulate the political, economic and social assumptions underlying why climate degradation happens and how it continues to be institutionally reinforced.</td>
<td>Environmental justice occurs when people have equally clean and healthy environments regardless of their race or economic standing. The term also refers to treating the Earth in a just manner. Environmental justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction; demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias; mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things; calls for universal protection from extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water and food; affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.</td>
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</table>
Environmental Justice Resources and Capacity. There is an inequity in funding/capital investment, specifically with regard to environmental justice organizations and climate policy. As a result, small and mid-size energy and environmental non-profit organizations have substantially increased their capacity to engage state and local policy, and large national environmental organizations have increased their ability to incorporate climate and energy into their programs. Meanwhile, environmental justice organizations have not been the recipients of climate and energy funding, and therefore remain under-resourced. The recent expansion in foundation funding in climate and energy advocacy has served to exacerbate this inequality among civil society organizations.

Research and analysis on distributional impacts. The scope, quality, and quantity of analytical research on the issues of justice/equity in climate and energy are minimal and underfunded. As a result the distributive impact of policies and legislation may potentially inequitably distribute future costs and benefits across communities leading to greater social, economic and environmental inequality.

Representation. Participation by environmental justice organizations and representatives in climate and energy policy networks is vastly under-represented, which in greater likelihood will lead to bias in policy formation or, at minimum, lack of inclusion of environmental justice community interests.

Environmental Justice Resources and Capacity

In a study conducted by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, it was found that between 2007-2009 approximately 15 percent of environmental grant dollars were classified as benefiting marginalized communities, and 11 percent were classified as advancing justice strategies. In the same time period, funders who committed more than 25 percent of their total dollars to the environment were three times less likely to be classified as benefitting marginalized groups. In short, environmental funders are expending tremendous resources, yet spending far too little on high impact, cost-effective grassroots organizing.\(^\text{10}\)

Philanthropic funding has both direct and indirect influence in environmental agenda setting. Directly, capital investment in organizations builds the capacity of specific organizations, coalitions, structures, and environmental public discourses. Unfortunately, low-income, indigenous and communities of color have not been included in mainstream national and regional climate and energy policy agendas. Table 2 presents the distribution of total philanthropic giving. In 2001, .002 percent of total giving was received by environmental justice causes. Environmental groups received $1.23 billion, and environmental justice groups received a total of $49 million.\(^\text{11}\)

This inequality of resources is demonstrated again when one looks at the total assets of some of the more prominent environmental organizations in the U.S. According to GuideStar\(^\text{12}\) data, in 2011 total assets of the Nature Conservancy was $6,013,579,638; National Wildlife Federation was $64,808,553; World Wildlife Fund (founded in 1961) was $400,489,841; Greenpeace Fund (founded in 1971) was $15,730,691; National Audubon Society (founded in 1905), was $432,930,715; Natural Resources Defense Council (founded in 1970), was $248,951,243; National Parks and Conservation Association (founded in 1919) was $55,739,366; Environmental Defense Fund, Inc. reported assets of $153,964,992 and with its related Environmental Defense Action Fund reporting assets of $5,361,641. In 2010, Sierra Club (founded in 1892) reported assets of $107,326,908. Combined, these ten organizations represent $7.5 billion in total assets. In this context, it is not surprising that the climate and energy agenda of low-income, indigenous peoples and communities of color (those that bear the high costs of pollution), occupies a marginal place in the overall environmental policy platform.

There has not, to date, been an equivalent analysis of the distribution of environmental funding at a

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regional level. Hence, a Midwest assessment of the distribution of environmental/environmental justice organization funding would be of significant value to assess the equity implications of environmental policy investments in recent years.

Across the board, environmental justice advocates identified that in both the public and philanthropic sector, environmental issues of indigenous peoples, low income and communities of color are relatively invisible. Yet, according to research conducted, people of color are significantly more likely to organize their own groups, rather than join existing environmental organizations. This has significant implications for philanthropic programs targeting environmental justice funding: Is it more effective to fund environmental organizations to conduct and implement outreach programs to indigenous peoples, communities of color and low-income communities, OR, is it more effective and equitable to fund organizations of indigenous peoples, people of color to undertake environmental, climate and energy issues?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research and Analysis on Distribu-tional Impacts</th>
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<tr>
<td>Concern for justice and equity has led to national coalitions on climate and energy policy that address these concerns. In part, it is an effort to highlight historical inequalities created by the fossil fuel industry (refineries, coal plants, etc.) and development policies. The consequence is a high greenhouse gas emissions infrastructure (highway system, substandard housing) that was largely developed during a pre-Civil Rights and pre-environmental law era. The result is that indigenous, low income and communities of color have long been on the frontline of the destructive impacts of GHGs and other pollution. Directly impacted by the fossil fuel and energy industry, these communities have a longstanding experiential knowledge of the systemic issues that are the basis for contemporary climate policy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the compounded burden of pollution, an added justice/equity component to climate and energy policy is the distributive impact of potential policy solutions. One example includes the income impacts of price-based strategies. Low and moderate-income households already pay a higher percentage of their income for energy. According to the U.S. Department of Energy, in 2008, the general population spent 5 percent on energy while low-income households spent 16 percent of their budget on energy services. Moreover, the Midwest region experiences, on average, a greater number of colder degree-days, pushing these statistics higher. High heat index days in the region are also increasing, which triggers an increase in energy needs for cooling. For example, in 2011, using a baseline of households that were 185 percent of the poverty level, the energy affordability gap was substantial. According to Fisher, Sheehan and Colton, in Illinois the affordability gap totaled $1.479 billion; in Iowa it was $376 million; in Michigan it was $1.547 billion; in Minnesota it was $622 million; in North Dakota it was $146 million; in Ohio it was $1.644 billion; in

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Between 2007 and 2009 approximately 15 percent of environmental grant dollars were classified as benefiting marginalized communities, and 11 percent were classified as advancing justice strategies.

-Sarah Hanson
National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Distribution of Philanthropic Giving (2001)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total U.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Justice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13. This calculates to an annual income for a family of four of $43,567.50; for a family of three $36,130.50; for a family of two of $28,693.50.
South Dakota it was $132 million; and in Wisconsin it was $771 million.\textsuperscript{14} Significantly, these costs are exacerbated by older, highly inefficient housing stock that is prevalent in low-income neighborhoods. Moreover, lower-income households generally lack knowledge about energy services and assistance programs. Clearly, programs that reduce energy services can have a much-needed positive impact on income vulnerable families and communities. Likewise, climate policies that increase the costs of carbon-based energy will have a disproportionate impact on low and moderate-income families. It is for this reason that environmental justice organizations that represent these constituencies participate in agenda setting.

Research also indicates that the impact of energy costs on environmental justice communities significantly impacts quality of life. As climate and energy policies result in increased energy costs, a proportionate amount of household income available for food, health care and other basic needs decreases. This home energy burden is highest among low-income families, the elderly, and those on fixed incomes.\textsuperscript{15} The 2001 U.S. Census Bureau Survey of Income and Program Participation respondents reported that 77 percent of low-income families suffered hardship as a result of high-energy costs. The most common sacrifices made by these families include delayed rent payments; skipping needed medical or dental care; and experiencing hunger. Therefore, efficiency and weatherization result in many co-benefits. For each dollar invested, there is an estimated $2.10 returns in financial benefits.

Families with weatherized homes typically spend $350 less each year on energy. In addition, according to the 2005 Residential Energy Consumption Survey (RECS) results, in the Midwest almost half (49.5 percent) of families at 150 percent or below of the federal poverty level indicate they reduce spending for basic necessities to accommodate energy needs. It should be noted these RECS results are from the period preceding the economic recession and therefore it is highly likely these figures are higher in the post-recession period.\textsuperscript{16}

**Representation**

A national review of environmental justice organizations indicates that the number of indigenous peoples and people of color environmental groups has dramatically grown. Taylor and Mohai found that groups and/or organizations of indigenous peoples and people of color are involved in a wide range of environmental and social issues (Table 3).\textsuperscript{17}

This points to an important contextual reality of representation. Environmental justice scholars and advocates tend to agree that organizations that explicitly include service to indigenous peoples and people of color in their missions are more effective in addressing the needs of environmental justice constituencies than mainstream environmental organizations.

\textsuperscript{15} The Effect of Energy Efficiency Improvements in Low-Income Homes. Energy Policy 28, no. 6-7: 411-424.
\textsuperscript{17} Paul Mohai. 2000. Environment. Vol. 45, Number 5. Compiled from R. D. Bullard, People of Color Environmental Groups (Flint, MI: Charles Steward Mort Foundation, 1992b and 1994) and telephone interviews with environmental justice groups for the RE-AMP assessment. Table is reprinted from D.C. Taylor, Mobilizing Environmental Justice in Communities of Color: An Emerging Profile of People of Color in Environmental Groups.
Table 3. People of Color Environmental Groups Working on Selected Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Number of Groups</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water Pollution</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toxics</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste Disposal</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Organizing</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Justice</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Air Pollution</td>
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<td>Recycling</td>
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<td>Worker Health and Safety</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pesticides</td>
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<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parks and Recreation</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildlife</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Poisoning</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facility Siting</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbestos</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Justice-based Policy Agenda Setting

Table 4 presents a comparison of policy frameworks that illustrate key differences between conventional and justice-focused agenda setting.

The conventional environmental framework tends to focus on development and adoption of specific green technologies; short-term “winnable” legislative time frames; coalition-building with other like-minded groups; and organizing strategies emphasizing outreach to environmental interest groups. In contrast, the environmental justice framework places emphasis on place-based policies; alliance-building with cross-issue community groups; leadership development; community resilience and community assets creation. Strategies that include social and economic co-benefits and reduce infrastructure inequalities are intrinsic to policy goals.

The RE-AMP Climate Justice Challenge

RE-AMP is comprised of five Working Groups and numerous caucuses that represent different constituencies (i.e. youth, rural communities, etc.). While this report was being researched, RE-AMP members were in the process of organizing an Eco-Justice Caucus. According to Eco-Justice Caucus documents, it is charged with addressing “ecological injustices, broadly understood,” and “includes the lenses of both (1) environmental values (including sustainability of human and other forms of life; the integrity of water, air, and land; and the quality of life in rural and urban areas) and (2) social justice (taking into account race, class, equity, and socio-economic realities).”

The Eco-Justice Caucus articulated its work as inclusive of, but not limited to, “environmental justice” (defined as the protection of vulnerable, low-income, and minority human communities from inequitable distribution of environmental burdens and benefits), and the use of litigation to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Environmental Framework</th>
<th>Environmental Justice Framework</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy Focus</td>
<td>Technology-focused (i.e. wind, solar, EV, LRT)</td>
<td>Community-focused (i.e., health, safety, housing, economic justice, racial equality)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timeline</td>
<td>Short-term; legislative targets</td>
<td>Long-term; outcome targets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition Building</td>
<td>Environmental groups</td>
<td>Inter-sector groups (labor, affordable housing, community development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing Strategy</td>
<td>Issue oriented; formal networks and advocacy</td>
<td>Capacity building; community self-determination; formal and informal networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>Legislation</td>
<td>Community resilience and asset building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome</td>
<td>Equality defined as implementation of policy regardless of race or income</td>
<td>Equality defined as implementation of policy based on differentiated responsibility and inequalities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

defend human rights to a safe and healthy environment (sometimes also called “eco-justice”). 19

Results from a survey of RE-AMP member groups by the Eco-Justice Caucus found that: “As anticipated, while participants overwhelmingly share interest and demonstrated support for EJ [environmental justice] work, only three participants said yes, they were currently working on EJ issues…Many participants seemed challenged to find and fit snippets of their work into an EJ paradigm. This revealed that there is a great opportunity to increase EJ work throughout the network, however, resources and organizational capacity are sited as the largest barriers to [this] happening, followed by including EJ organizations into their local networks.” 20

A summary assessment of RE-AMP structure and operational processes suggests that environmental justice or equity concerns are currently marginal in funding, planning, and/or policy formulation. Explicit development of justice and equity goals or outcomes within the RE-AMP network has not yet occurred in a consistent manner, with variation across Working Groups and Caucuses, and is dependent on the willingness of membership groups to engage these issues. RE-AMP’s operational structure has not, to date, integrated environmental justice, social equity, or analyses of distributive impacts structurally into its policy formation beyond anecdotal considerations. Nor, is there evidence of an articulated vision regarding the purpose and values to the network in addressing equity or justice.

Therefore, the following operational challenges exist for RE-AMP as it considers adopting a more proactive approach to engaging environmental justice organizations and issues:

- Integration of environmental justice/equity into the primary RE-AMP targeted sectors of energy efficiency, renewable energy, coal generation, and transportation is currently minimal and not consistent, both inter and intra-sector;
- RE-AMP, to date, has not developed justice or equity criteria or goals related to membership, stakeholder participation, or community outreach;
- Integration of justice/equity policy criterion is under-developed within the network and therefore the potential distributive impacts of proposed policies has not been addressed;
- The definition of environmental justice within RE-AMP as proposed by the Eco-Justice Caucus is broad, with little input from local, regional or national environmental justice groups or organizations.

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19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
Key Recommendations

As Midwest policies are being developed to deal with climate change, principles of fairness and equity are essential. From an environmental justice climate policy perspective, fairness refers to the principle that those most responsible for the creation of human-induced climate change should be those who proportionately bear the social and economic costs of the transition. Equity refers to the principle that all communities have the right to safe, affordable, and sustainable livelihoods and it is the primary responsibility of public policies to actively promote this goal.

Based on the assessment, there are two sets of recommendations presented. The first set responds to the guiding question: What key strategies can be implemented by RE-AMP to develop inclusive and effective collaborations with regional environmental justice organizations working on energy and climate policy? The second set of recommendations responds to the guiding question: How does the RE-AMP policy agenda align with the agenda advocated by environmental justice organizations regionally and nationally to address justice and equity?

Inclusion and Effective Collaboration Recommendations

Funding and Investment

1. Provide policy analysis/research dollars for place-based and equity-based policy development by organizations with expertise and experience in the field.

2. Provide funds and resources for organizations that can promote movement building and community resiliency in environmental justice communities and that have expertise in addressing extreme energy issues.

3. Increase transparency regarding the funding process. This includes promoting direct contact of environmental justice organizations with foundations and donors in the Network. Continuation of utilizing conventional energy and environmental organizations as intermediaries reduces access of environmental justice groups and organizations to resources.

4. Provide long-term, multi-year grant making opportunities. This should include targeting increased funding to organizations that include environmental justice, energy justice, and climate justice in their core mission in order to decrease the gaps created by unequal historical funding streams.

5. Provide investment for equity and justice organizations to coordinate and mobilize a base for participation in climate and energy policy agenda setting and direct involvement in policy advocacy.

Network Structure and Planning

1. Develop a guiding RE-AMP definition for environmental justice that is supported by regional environmental justice organizations.

2. Identify Network wide goals related to environmental justice membership, stakeholder participation, policy development and community outreach. This should be shored up by metrics to measure and show progress.
3. Establish effective and meaningful environmental justice representation on the RE-AMP Steering Committee. This should be expanded to include effective environmental justice representation across Working Groups and Caucuses.

4. Require training on environmental, climate and energy justice for RE-AMP members.

5. Utilize the Memorandum of Understanding template used in the Clean Power Coalition work between environmental justice and RE-AMP network organizations. Development of this and other MOUs work to develop collaborations that have integrity for both environmental justice and environmental constituencies. Such agreements create the avenue for intentional, participatory and consensus-building actions.

Policy Development and Integration

1. Identify and invest in climate policy solutions that are place-based (health, safety, housing), moving beyond policies that are solely technology and market-based (wind, solar, electric vehicles). Place-based policies require that spatial or geographic dimensions should be taken into account when developing policy goals and strategies. Thus, community differences in infrastructure, capital, etc. can be incorporated into policy formation.

2. Structurally integrate social equity and co-benefits criteria into climate and energy policy analysis and decision-making both within and across Working Groups. Policy proposals should include analysis of the distributive impact on vulnerable communities and on how policies will be implemented in fair and equitable ways. On the international level, equity is a priority consideration in addressing responsibility and impacts of various GHG reduction strategies. Domestic national, regional and state policy should similarly establish equity goals.

3. Campaign and coalition strategies that have been effective in including environmental justice participation and recommendations (such as the Minneapolis Climate Action Plan, the Chicago Clean Power Coalition, the California Environmental Justice Alliance, and the New York Environmental Justice Network) should be replicated. Inasmuch as the RE-AMP network currently utilizes environmental policy models and strategies from other regions of the country, it should also incorporate environmental justice policy models and strategies developed by these successful regional and national coalitions.

4. Importantly, most of RE-AMP’s effort has focused on climate mitigation. Inclusion of climate adaptation should also be addressed. This is important for two reasons: a) climate adaptation underscores the consequences of not addressing climate mitigation and can be an important base building strategy; and b) climate impacts are already being experienced, and lack of attention to adaptation marginalizes the condition of environmental justice communities.

5. Midwest regional models should incorporate a conceptual framework for comprehensive quantification of energy requirements for low and moderate-income households. This would include the energy required to build an energy infrastructure that would support well-being: determining the quality and quantity of consumption for a set of basic goods including adequate heating and cooling needs, nutrition, housing, and transportation.
Environmental Policy Alignment
Recommendations

Based on the different frames outlined in this report for approaching policy development, below are options for how RE-AMP priority areas could begin to integrate and align with environmental justice policy agendas around climate and energy. This is an initial list, with more in-depth analysis needed to develop policy specifics.¹

Energy-Efficiency

- Policies for utility programs and those promoting Energy Service Companies (ESCO) should ensure that investments flow equitably across neighborhoods, income classes and racial groups.
- Support for Community Action Programs (CAP) are essential to addressing low-income household energy needs; however, they should not be the sole policy target as they are inadequately funded and need far exceeds capacity.
- Energy efficiency programs should integrate job creation and employment targets. Public contracts for implementation of energy-efficiency programs should clearly meet minority contracting and hiring goals and utilize existing job training programs.
- Geographic assessments should include prioritization of neighborhoods most in need for efficiency and retrofitting (older, inefficient housing stock in under-invested communities). Accountability should be institutionalized in ESCO and utility contracts with public entities.
- Outreach strategies of efficiency programs should partner with community and housing organizations that serve low-income and communities of color to develop pathways for access.
- Expansion and innovation of policies/programs for rental housing should be undertaken.

- Commercial energy efficiency programs should include minority and small business options.

Renewable and Alternative Energy

- In addition to utility-scale renewables, policies should include promotion of on-site, distributed generation.
- Cost-sharing and other financing programs to incentivize development of distributed generation for middle and low-income households should be added to the policy tool-box.
- Policies should address the full-cost impacts of alternatives and renewables. This must include life-cycle analysis that incorporate other pollution factors (i.e. health and environmental assessments of nuclear energy, carbon capture and storage, natural gas, solar technology production).
- Promote the adoption of innovative financial mechanisms and community ownership models that incorporate the needs of all community members including renters, and low-income homeowners.

Transportation

- Policy options should include strong safeguards to deal with the displacement that occurs as a result of gentrification when expanding “green” transit corridors.
- An equivalent policy strategy for investment in mass transit, bus ridership opportunities (with a focus on user affordability), should be developed in consonance with low carbon fuel standards and other vehicle-based strategies. A strict policy focus on vehicle miles traveled (VMT) inherently leaves out many low-income residents.
- Bicycle and pedestrian plans should incorporate factors such as safety, air quality, and employment access.

¹ For example language on policy alignment in the region see: Minneapolis Climate Action Plan’s Environmental Justice Working Group’s Recommendations, February 2013 [Appendix A] and the Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change, May 2012 [Appendices B and C].
• Policy strategies should integrate co-pollutant emission reductions. Importantly, this includes particulate matter, ozone, NOx, SOx and other co-pollutants that are disproportionately sited in environmental justice communities.

• Analyses and implementation of strategies for meeting the needs of transit ridership in communities of color is essential. Transport options such as light-rail should not reduce access to transit deficient neighborhoods, and should adequately address displacement. Advocacy of light-rail should be linked to advocacy of increased bus lines.

Coal
• Closure agreements must accompany Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs) that incorporate the needs of surrounding communities. CBAs should include adequate compensation measures for health burdens experienced by neighborhoods. Legal resources may need to be provided to community groups developing CBAs.

• Policies focused on natural gas conversion, should address existing concerns of rural, indigenous peoples and communities of color being impacted by the full life-cycle production process.

Global Warming Solutions
• Policy strategies should include co-pollutants, specifically fine particulate matter, as a key added metric in successful GHG reduction policies.

• A full compliment of options should be maintained including regulatory-based efforts for reducing GHGs. While emphasis on market-based strategies has occupied the policy agenda, regulatory authority is an existing option that should be supported.

• Policy strategies should include land use changes (agriculture, urban agriculture, perennial planting, tree canopy) that promote soil carbon sequestration as a mitigation strategy.
APPENDIX A: Minneapolis Climate Action Plan Environmental Justice Working Group Recommendations

Voted for Approval: February 6, 2013

Introduction

This document is the result of 11 months of engagement with the City of Minneapolis on addressing environmental, economic and racial equity concerns within the City of Minneapolis’ Climate Action Plan. An Environmental Justice Working Group was established in August 2012 thanks to the work of many environmental justice organizations and community members representing communities of color, American Indians, and low-income communities, and leadership from City Council members and City staff. The intention was to ensure that the voices of the most impacted by both climate change and the policies that will be developed as solutions (namely communities of color, American Indians, and low-income communities) were represented and supported within a decision-making capacity in the planning process. This effort was undertaken in acknowledgement that climate change is a serious problem that affects our communities, and in full support of the City’s effort in developing a climate action plan.

This effort was critically needed as the Minneapolis Climate Action Plan’s agenda was to address the transportation, buildings and waste sectors – three sectors that seriously impact environmental justice constituencies within the City. Currently in Minneapolis, people of color constitute approximately 42.3% of its residents; over half of residential housing (buildings) is occupied by renters, which tend to be highly concentrated in community of color and low income neighborhoods; energy bills for households between 75% and 100% of the Federal Poverty Level constitute 19% of their income, and even households with incomes between 150% and 185% of the poverty rate have energy bills above what is considered to be affordable. In Hennepin County it is estimated that there is a $106,116,061 shortfall in meeting the energy costs for those households at 185% or below the poverty level. Research studies have found that on a national level 60% of households that do not own automobiles are below the median income, and in the Twin Cities less than half of jobs are accessible via public transportation within a 90-minute commute.

The accumulated, historical, structural disadvantage of higher energy, food and insurance costs with lower quality housing, lack of access to economic and educational equity, and the large percentage of households at significant risk from adverse and unequal environmental risk, must be taken into consideration in any climate action plan. By not taking into consideration these issues, there is a real risk the city’s Climate Action Plan will exacerbate existing persistent structural disadvantages.

Given the contracted timeframe and late inclusion of the EJ Working Group into the Climate Action Planning process, as well as the work of many on a volunteer basis to this effort, the edits represented here are an initial effort to start the conversation on environmental, racial and economic equity in environmental decision making in the city.

The EJ Working Group reviewed all of the goals and strategy recommendations that had been developed throughout the year by the City’s sector-based working groups that had minimal EJ perspectives. The review of the body of recommendations by the Environmental Justice Working Group found a large number of critical environmental justice concerns missing.

In addition to the content recommendations we outline in the Climate Action Plan below, the EJ Working Group also would like to highlight some key process recommendations resulting from the experiences of these past 11 months.
**Process Recommendations for the Steering Committee:**

1. The Steering Committee should put forward as a recommendation that environmental justice community representation in any future City climate/adaptation and sustainability planning be part of the effort from the onset.

2. The Steering Committee should recommend that the Sustainability Office:
   - Develop a comprehensive, cross cultural and multi-lingual outreach plan for the MCAP that includes partnerships with community groups and nonprofits already working on the ground.
   - Investigate the provision of providing resources (such as grants and stipends) for community members and environmental justice organizations for participation and outreach.
   - Provide staff training about environmental justice and how it can integrate into City sustainability efforts.

3. The Steering Committee should be transparent in how it prioritizes strategies for action, both in process and the metrics used.

4. The Steering Committee should acknowledge and respect the time, expertise and effort put in by the Environmental Justice Working Group members to develop this document, on a volunteer basis. The EJ Working Group reviewed not one set of strategies, but all Climate Action Plan strategies in a very contracted period of time.

5. The Steering Committee should recommend that the City Council adopt stronger global warming emissions reduction targets, at minimum adhering to the international protocols of limiting climate change to 2 degrees Celsius, and encouraging goals to limit climate change to a 1 degree Celsius increase.

6. The Steering Committee should recommend to the Mayor’s Office and City Council that the City develop a formal commitment to environmental justice in its sustainability planning.

The content recommendations we highlight in the Minneapolis Climate Action Plan below are based on a body of robust climate justice principles and policy efforts that incorporate issues of racial, cultural, environmental and economic equity in climate and sustainability planning. Out of respect for the work the other Working Groups had put in, EJ Working Group comments to their contributions are largely additions, with minimal editing of their initial language.

The following documents outlining the intersection of climate change and environmental justice (i.e. a climate justice framework) are included in an appendix for those wanting further reading:

- Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change, May 2012
- Cochabamba Peoples Agreement on Climate Change, April 2010
- Mystic Lake Declaration, 2009
- National Environmental Justice Forum on Climate Change Principles
- Principles of Environmental Justice
- Mni (“Water”) by Jim Rock

In full transparency to our community, we have also included as attachments the following Process Documents outlining the history of the creation of the Environmental Justice Working Group in the Minneapolis Climate Action Plan:
• Letter to City of Minneapolis from Environmental Justice Community, April 17, 2012
• City Response to Members of the Environmental Justice Community, May 9, 2012
• Environmental Justice Working Group Proposal to City, August 1, 2012
• City Response to Environmental Justice Working Group Proposal, August 7, 2012
• EJ Working Group Core Planning Group Response Letter, August 17, 2012
• Agendas of Environmental Justice Working Group Meetings
• EJ Working Group Members

Sincerely,

Minneapolis Climate Action Plan Environmental Justice Working Group Members

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APPENDIX B: Background: Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change

In 2010, over 30,000 grassroots activists, policy makers and researchers from around the world came together in Cochabamba, Bolivia to develop a socially just response to climate change. At the center of these discussions were frontline communities impacted by the root causes, impacts and false solutions to the ecological crisis currently facing us. Inspired by, and in solidarity with, the World People’s Conference on Climate Change held in Cochabamba, Bolivia, communities in the Twin Cities (the Minneapolis and St. Paul region) convened a series of dialogues in 2011 to discuss climate change and propose a framework for solutions. These dialogues resulted in the formulation of the Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change.

The Dialogues were held in North Minneapolis, South Minneapolis and West Side St. Paul. Participants were a diverse set of area residents across income levels, and stemming from African American, Indigenous, South Asian, Hmong, Latin American, South American, and European American roots. Co-sponsors of the Dialogs included the Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy, the Zenteotl Project, Environmental Justice Advocates of Minnesota, and the West Side Community Organization. Topics for the dialogs included:

- Connecting the Dots and Claiming the Future: Climate Change, the North Minneapolis Tornado and Economic Injustice
- Out in the Cold – The Housing Crisis and Climate Justice
- Growing Pains - Connecting Local Food and Climate Justice
- The Peoples’ Cochabamba Agreement at the intersection of Migration, Displacement, and Climate Justice

Comments and responses from all the Dialogs were gathered and compiled by the Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy, with the first release of the draft Peoples Agreement presented through art, panel discussion, and spoken word on December 3rd, 2011 at the International Solidarity Day on Climate Justice gathering at Green Central Park School in Minneapolis. Through the work of committed community parents, youth and activists, the Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change was finalized in May 2012.

Sign on to the Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change: www.ceed.org/twin-cities-peoples-agreement-on-climate-change
APPENDIX C: Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change

Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change

May 2012

If global warming increases by more than 2 degrees Celsius, there is a 50% probability that the damages caused to our Mother Earth will be completely irreversible. Between 20% and 30% of species would be in danger of disappearing. Large extensions of forest would be affected, droughts and floods would affect different regions of the planet, deserts would expand, and the melting of the polar ice caps and the glaciers in the Andes and Himalayas would worsen. Many island states would disappear, and Africa would suffer an increase in temperature of more than 3 degrees Celsius. Likewise, the production of food would diminish in the world, causing catastrophic impact on the survival of inhabitants from vast regions in the planet, and the number of people in the world suffering from hunger would increase dramatically, a figure that already exceeds 1.02 billion people.

(Peoples Agreement, Cochabamba Bolivia, April 22, 2010)

Inspired by, and in solidarity with, the World People’s Conference on Climate Change held in Cochabamba, Bolivia, communities in the Twin Cities (the Minneapolis and St. Paul region) convened a series of dialogues in 2011 to discuss climate change and propose a framework for solutions. The dialogues resulted in the formulation of this Twin Cities Peoples Agreement on Climate Change.

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE TWIN CITIES ACKNOWLEDGE AND AFFIRM

that as recipients of the benefits of living in a “developed” nation, we have a responsibility to other peoples throughout the world who are impacted by climate change. If developed countries like the United States do not significantly reduce their emissions of global warming pollution by 2020, we are committing ourselves to a 2-degree (Celsius) temperature change. This will have devastating impacts on families and communities, and on our brothers and sisters all over the world, particularly those in Africa, Asia, Latin America and island nations. Unless we act, climate change will also have disproportionate and catastrophic impacts to indigenous, communities of color, low-income residents, women and children, persons with disabilities and other marginalized communities in the U.S.

We fully support the Mystic Lake Declaration developed by community members, youth and elders, spiritual and traditional leaders, Native organizations and supporters which declares that Native Nations shall be active participants with full representation in United States and international legally binding treaty agreements regarding climate, energy, biodiversity, food sovereignty, water and sustainable development policies affecting Indigenous peoples and respective Homelands on Turtle Island (North America) and Pacific Islands.

We acknowledge that we cannot address solutions to climate change in a just manner without acknowledging the historic factors that have created the current problem. Historic and present attacks on indigenous peoples land and culture, on communities of color and on women and children, are breaking our connection to Mother Earth. The highway oriented transportation infrastructure built in the mid 20th century was not only energy and greenhouse gas intensive, but perpetuated geographic racial segregation in the Twin Cities. Due to redlining and other historically racist land use and planning policies legally practiced in the Twin Cities until the 1960s, many indigenous and communities of color live in older, less efficient housing.

The recent recession has had an unprecedented impact on these communities, with the rental market now saturated (2% vacancy), homelessness up by 21%, over-crowding, and high rates of foreclosure. In Minnesota almost 11


3. Redlining refers to the practice, whereby financial institutions marked a red line on a map defining the neighborhoods or geographical areas to be excluded from capital investment; these areas were synonymous with boundaries where people of color resided.
percent of the state’s residents are in poverty, including 14.1 percent of its children; and an additional one million are “near poor.” As a result of these conditions, Indigenous peoples, communities of color, low-income residents, women, children, and persons with disabilities are most vulnerable to climate change impacts.

Climate change is a consequence of a development model that harms our natural environment and produces economic inequality. Climate change, therefore, is a moral problem. The models of development we support will exemplify our values and our commitment to justice and equality. Solutions focused on profits may not be healing to the earth and climate, and those that perpetuate past inequalities are unacceptable. The ecological health of our Earth shall not be subordinated to the needs markets. How we respond to climate change is as important as if we respond—social equity must be the basis for solutions.

We acknowledge that the effects of climate change are already being experienced here in the Twin Cities region.

- Record floods that occurred in the Midwest in the summer of 2011, displaced communities, and affected families, migrant laborers and children;
- The tornado in North Minneapolis in 2011 caused great harms, which had psychological effects on children and families. The governmental response to the North Minneapolis tornado was highly police dominated (with guns drawn) which the community deems unacceptable. Additionally, the media inaccurately portrayed ‘looting’ in the community rather than the coming together and support that occurred;
- Urban and rural farmers are witnessing heat stress to crops due to sustained high temperatures; non-corporate farmers who are economically vulnerable, have the least access to the infrastructure to accommodate these weather extremes;
- Water and freshwater ecosystems will be negatively impacted, affecting community rights and access to water; this will negatively impact food production;
- Air quality and increased number of high-heat days is exacerbating the onset of asthma and other respiratory illnesses among children and the elderly;
- Indigenous, communities of color, low-income residents, women and children, persons with disabilities and other marginalized communities face greater hardships for recovery due to extreme weather events;
- Climate change has disproportionate economic impacts due to increased energy heating and cooling costs

As all these issues are interlinked, we highlight that the current approach to solutions to climate change are exacerbating local inequities in the Twin Cities. Many of the energy efficiency and renewable energy funds (i.e. ARRA recovery dollars from the federal government) have disproportionately benefitted upper middle class homeowners and wealthier communities, bypassing low income communities and communities of color. The “greening” of our cities in the name of climate stabilization is resulting in gentrification and the displacement of our communities, and in many cases is not in line with the best research on job creation potential. Climate responses must prioritize people and community development; and re-invest in place-based green job development and small business entrepreneurship.

5. Gentrification refers to the transformation in a community when certain community revitalization projects occur and wealthier people buy or rent property in neighborhoods that were previously low income and working class. Rising rents and property values/taxes force lower income residents to leave.
WE, THE PEOPLES OF THE TWIN CITIES, DECLARE that the people of the Twin Cities and the governmental organizations, institutions and agencies that serve them, have a moral responsibility to seriously address the causes and impacts of climate change. We call on the following, that:

The precautionary principle shall be instituted as our guide to policy decisions with the objective of stopping global warming at 1 degree Celsius, and with the goal of reducing our region’s emissions by 80% below 1990 levels by 2050. Actions to achieve these reductions shall guarantee human rights, and social and economic justice.

Facilities that are polluting the air, water and land and using fossil fuels must transition to healthier practices and green job creation, prioritizing the most vulnerable as first recipients.

Those most effected by climate change - indigenous, communities of color, low-income residents, women and children, persons with disabilities and other marginalized communities - must be full participants at all levels of climate change mitigation and adaptation planning processes; and must have adequate resources to effectively and meaningfully participate.

All levels of governmental policies and programs, including the Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul shall operate in compliance with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; and respect and honor the tribal sovereignty of the 11 tribal nations located within the boundaries of the State of Minnesota.

The response to climate-related disasters in the Twin Cities shall be humanitarian in concept and implementation and must not be militarized; emergency responses shall include resources to address physical and psychological traumas associated with climate change events. Community residents shall be supported and prepared to be “our own first responders,” acknowledging the limits of governmental assistance. Communities must be able to respond simultaneously and creatively.

The Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul and the State of Minnesota shall have plans for supporting and assisting regional climate refugees resulting from floods, tornadoes, and other severe weather events. National and local immigration policies and practices shall support climate refugees. FEMA and other governmental emergency response officials must equally assist all people regardless of immigration status.

Public health planning and programs must be responsive to the needs of Indigenous peoples, communities of color, low-income residents, women, children, and persons with disabilities.

All infrastructure projects shall be non-discriminatory both in intent and in outcome, and be in full compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. This includes “green” infrastructure development, transportation systems, and brownfield redevelopment.

Government programs in energy efficiency and renewable energy (state, county, city, nonprofit) shall be transparent and accessible in multiple languages, and include core programs targeted toward renters and low and moderate-income homeowners. Energy efficiency and renewable funds shall be equitably distributed across.

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6. Brownfield redevelopment refers to the reuse of land that was in the past used for industrial or commercial purposes and may be contaminated by hazardous waste or pollution.
neighborhoods and communities. Energy costs shall be included in housing affordability calculations and renters should have the same opportunities for energy self-sufficiency as homeowners.

Policies governing the ‘commons’ and ‘cooperative’ shall be researched and implemented to govern the disposition of resources that are needed collectively for survival (housing, food, energy, water, land, etc.). Community-based solutions to energy services are the foundation of solutions to the climate crisis and must be supported in all their variety.

Food security and sovereignty shall be goals of climate policy and planning, upholding the rights of peoples to preserve and protect culturally significant foods and plants such as wild rice and sage.

Land shall be made equitably accessible to all residents including low and moderate-income renters (the ‘landless’ people in the Twin Cities) and homeowners for local food production, with resources to utilize non-genetically modified plants and crops that are climate stabilizing.\(^7\) Land values shall include social, ecological, and community benefits.

As the Peoples of the Twin Cities, we write this Agreement in solidarity with communities fighting for ecological and environmental justice around the country and the world. As we enter into these uncertain times, with the baseline constantly shifting now with climate change, it is even more important for us to stay connected and learn lessons from each other. In all of our diversity as the people of the Twin Cities, we commit ourselves to relearning our own heritage and ancestors’ relationship to the earth and passing this on to our children. Overall, we stand in solidarity against agressions to land and people in the Twin Cities as a microcosm of the global aggression to Mother Earth.

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\(^7\) Climate stabilizing crops include crops that have deeper root systems (such as perennial crops) that store carbon, are indigenous to this region, and can adapt to extreme weather patterns. It also can refer to developing an agricultural system that minimizes resource intensive inputs and reduces greenhouse gas emissions.