PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE
TRANSFORMING CITIES IN A CHANGING CLIMATE

ABOUT THE PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE (P2R) PARTNERS

The Kresge Foundation is a $3 billion private, national foundation that works to expand opportunities in America's cities through grantmaking and investing in arts and culture, education, environment, health, human services and community development efforts in Detroit. In 2013, the Board of Trustees approved 316 awards totaling $122 million; $128 million was paid out to grantees over the course of the year. In addition, our Social Investment Practice made commitments totaling $17.7 million in 2013. For more information, visit kresge.org.

Movement Strategy Center works with grassroots organizations, alliances, and networks, as well as funders, to build powerful and transformative social justice movements. For more information, visit movementstrategy.org.

The Praxis Project is a nonprofit movement support intermediary and an institution of color that supports organizing and change work at local, regional and national levels. Focused on movement building for fundamental change, our mission is to build healthy communities by changing the power relationships between people of color and the institutional structures that affect their lives. For more information visit praxisproject.org.

Emerald Cities Collaborative (ECC) is a national nonprofit network of organizations working together to advance a sustainable environment while creating economic opportunities for all. We're headquartered in Washington D.C. and are working in ten "Emerald Cities" nationwide. Our local and national partners bring resources and expertise from the community, labor, business, and government sectors. For more information visit emeraldcities.org.

For information about ordering any of our publications please visit **www.movementstrategy.org** or contact:

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FOREWORD

As a foundation committed to creating opportunity for low-income people and communities, we at The Kresge Foundation are keenly aware of the nature and severity of climate change as well as its disproportionate impact on vulnerable people and communities.

Society must do all that it can to reduce the pollutants that cause climate change so that its effects do not become unmanageable. At the same time, we must prepare for those impacts – such as coastal flooding, severe drought, and extended heat events – that it is too late to prevent.

While climate change is a global problem, its effects are – and increasingly will be – felt locally in communities across the U.S. and the globe. Just as national and state-level action on climate change is required, local governments also have a critical role to play.

Kresge's Environment Program aims to help communities build their resilience in the face of climate change. To build resilience, communities must simultaneously:

- Lessen overall demand for energy and increase the proportion derived from renewable sources;

- Anticipate and prepare for pressures and shocks that climate change will introduce or worsen; and

- Foster social cohesion by strengthening connections among individuals and networks and advancing social inclusion.

In our view, climate-change planning and policies to date have included insufficient analysis of the differential needs and interests of low-income people and communities. Past experience suggests that variables such as income, age, health, and disability status often influence an individual's capacity to prepare for, respond to, and recover from hazardous events. Given this fact, universal climate-resilience goals will not be met without targeted strategies to address the unique circumstances of low-income communities and vulnerable populations.

We see a need to expand the cohort of individuals and organizations that approach climate-resilience work with a strong grounding in the experiences and interests of low-income communities.

With that thought in mind, in 2013, Kresge partnered with the Movement Strategy Center (MSC), the Emerald Cities Collaborative, and the Praxis Project to launch the Pathways to Resilience Initiative. With leadership from MSC, the partners brought together leading thinkers from across the U.S. to consider the question *"What would a climate-resilience agenda need to include for it to be socially just?"*

We were delighted and encouraged by the commitment and enthusiasm of the initiative partners as well as the many other experts and colleagues who dedicated extensive hours to engage in robust and often-challenging conversations about how to elevate the priorities, interests, and needs of low-income people in climate-resilience activities.

This publication captures insights gained through interviews, commissioned papers, a multiday strategy lab, and post-strategy lab reflections on the part of the initiative partners. The views expressed throughout the publication are those of the respective authors of each section.

We at Kresge are more committed than ever to improving the resilience of low-income, urban communities in the face of climate change. Our hope is that this publication serves as a valuable contribution to the field and that it will influence climate-resilience planning, policy development, and implementation to better reflect the priorities and needs of low-income people in U.S. cities.

Lois R. DeBacker
Managing Director, Environment Program
The Kresge Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The climate clock — that is, the window of opportunity for reducing greenhouse gas emissions so as to avert the most catastrophic effects of climate change — is ticking. As climate change gathers momentum — and climate-related impacts grow in severity and frequency — communities must be resilient to survive and thrive. But much depends on how *resilience* is defined, and on the paths taken to achieve it. To effectively build resilience, frontline communities — including low-income communities and communities of color that are most vulnerable to climate impacts — must be at the center of policy and practice. Only then will we achieve resilience for all.

The current, mainstream definition of *climate resilience* focuses narrowly on preparedness in the face of crisis and disaster, and on the ability of communities to "bounce back" from climate and other shocks. Too often, that narrow definition fails to fully recognize the distinctive needs of low-income and people-of-color populations.

Here, we offer an alternative to that mainstream view. This anthology grew from the Pathways to Resilience (P2R) Initiative, launched in late 2013 by the Movement Strategy Center (MSC), in partnership with The Kresge Foundation, the Emerald Cities Collaborative and the Praxis Project. Through interviews, research, and convening — which we call the P2R Dialogues — this effort produced a vision of climate resilience, grounded in the realities of low-income communities and communities of color, and pragmatic pathways to achieve it.

Redefining resilience

Our vision of climate resilience is not about "bouncing back." Instead, it is about bouncing forward to eradicate the inequities and unsustainable resource use at the heart of climate crisis. The P2R Initiative agenda addresses the root causes of climate change while advancing the social and economic transformation of communities. And it calls for *deep democracy* — a transformative approach that puts frontline communities at the center.

The P2R Dialogues included a range of definitions of climate resilience that share these core elements:

Climate Change Mitigation + Adaptation + Deep Democracy = Resilience

Climate resilience requires a holistic view of the challenges we face, and it calls for solutions at the intersection of people, the environment, and the economy. A people-centered approach to resilience encompasses the following elements:
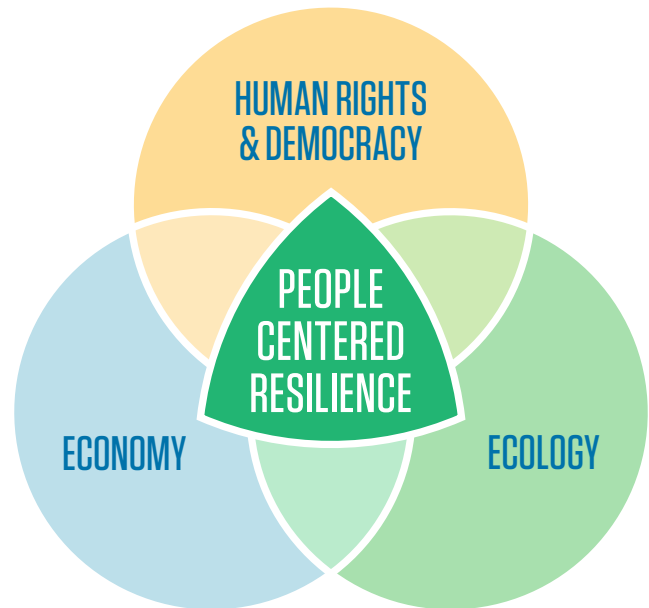
1. **HUMAN RIGHTS & DEMOCRACY**

   - Advance equity and social justice
   - Reflect human rights principles
   - Address historical injustices

2. **ECONOMY**

   - Move beyond fossil fuels
   - Build local economic infrastructure
   - Redefine "the good life"

3. **ECOLOGY**

   - Reimagine our collective identity and our relationship with the natural world
   - Recognize the rights of nature in balance with human rights

Getting there: Approaches and pathways

The P2R Dialogues identified two general approaches and six strategic pathways that communities can use to advance climate resilience. The two general approaches, which operate in parallel and sometimes oppositional ways, are:

- Transform existing systems; and
- Build new climate resilience civic and economic infrastructure.

The six strategic pathways are areas where concentrated effort can advance climate resilience:

1 Build Power, Expand Democracy, Increase Community Voice and Transform Place. Increase communities' capacity for self-governance, and promote democratic decision making. In many cities, community-led interventions are already transforming public planning processes. By connecting and aligning these efforts, it is possible to leverage change at a larger scale.

2 Craft a Narrative Strategy that Moves the Message and Builds the Climate Resilience Constituency. Develop a narrative strategy that goes beyond crafting "communications messages," to address the frames underlying widely held concepts of nature, climate, and the economy. It is also important to assess which frames are catalytic in unifying the social-change community, and which will move decision makers and the public to action.

3 Create a New Economy for the New Climate Reality. Meaningful action on climate change requires a transition from an extractive economy to a regenerative one that focuses on renewable resources and sustainable practices. That transition includes localizing economies, building economic alternatives, and connecting climate resilience to economic justice.

4 Advance the Climate Resilience Legal and Policy Agenda. Governments can incentivize economic activity that creates climate resilience while discouraging activity that contributes to environmental breakdown. It is essential to analyze the impacts of policy on climate mitigation and adaptation, as well as the level of democratic participation involved in the creation of such policy. Communities must also develop — and share — new models of decision making that draw upon the hard-won wisdom and creativity of frontline groups.

5 Strengthen Regionalism and Bioregional Identity. By reorganizing culture, identity, power, and governance to reflect bioregional or natural-system boundaries (e.g., watersheds) and regional or cross-jurisdictional boundaries, communities can enhance resilience and build systems that balance community, ecology, and economy.

6 Align and Expand Movement Infrastructure Building. To implement the strategies outlined above, we must align and expand movement infrastructure by: investing in the base; nurturing and accelerating trans-local work; bridging movement divides and engaging key allies; and aligning more of philanthropy with the effective strategy emerging from the field.

Building the field to move the agenda

The vulnerabilities caused by climate change call for a remaking of core systems — such as energy, food, and water — that shape the lives and economies of communities. To spur that transformation, it is important to:

- **Support leadership in low-income communities and communities of color** most directly impacted by the climate crisis, and place their solutions and voices at the forefront of comprehensive climate-resilience policies and strategies.

- **Develop networks** to build the connective tissue through which solutions, innovations, and momentum can travel.

These include *cross-cutting networks* that advance local communities in dialogue and exchange around common problems and solutions (local to local), as well as *networks of expertise* that connect those in *systems management* (e.g., planning) with those in *systems change processes* (e.g., community organizing).

- **Build core strengths and capacities within the social change community** in key areas, including resilience policy, legal strategy, research, and climate science. Key to this will be the *intermediary technical and backbone functions* that can use data and analysis to identify high-priority policy levers and decision-making venues.

Conclusion

Today, we must confront the new climate reality without desperation but with maximum speed and efficiency. We must use our sense of urgency to seek bold changes and to address the root causes of the climate crisis — and we must do so at a meaningful scale, without sacrificing broad democratic engagement.

This anthology captures a diverse range of voices and perspectives on how to do so:

- **Part I: Pathways to Resilience**, by the Movement Strategy Center, offers a comprehensive synthesis of the P2R Dialogues.

- **Part II: Redefining Resilience: Principles, Practices and Pathways**, by Movement Generation, redefines resilience from an ecological-justice perspective — rooted in the governing principles of ecology while recognizing the integral role of human communities in healthy ecosystems.

- **Part III: Weathering Together: Resilience as a Vehicle to Reshape Policy and Political Will**, by the Praxis Project, examines the competing frames and agendas that shape current discourse and policy making on resilience, and suggests alternative frames and constituencies with which to shape more comprehensive policy.

- **Part IV: California's New Majority Confronts Climate Crisis**, by B. Jesse Clarke of Reimagine!: RP&E, explores case studies from California, where frontline communities are using their growing political power to defeat harmful legislation and implement alternatives that are both socially just and climate resilient.

It is our hope that the ideas and perspectives presented here will spark a broader conversation about how to create a just, resilient future. ◾

Part I. Pathways To Resilience

by Movement Strategy Center

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I. INTRODUCTION AND PROJECT PURPOSE

A New Climate Reality

In the United States and around the world, we have entered a new climate reality. Our unsustainable, fossil fuel-driven economy has destabilized the climate, and weather-related disasters — drought, wildfires, and "superstorms" — are accelerating in severity and frequency. And the climate clock — that is, the window of opportunity for reducing greenhouse gas emissions so as to avert the most catastrophic effects of climate change — is ticking. As climate impacts multiply, it is time to make dramatically different choices about how we organize our communities and meet human needs.

Cities play a pivotal role in this new reality. They are now home to a majority of the world's people, and they are central to economies around the globe. Of course, no city is an island — each is connected, through trade and ecosystems, to larger regions and

the world. But, given their cultural and economic importance, cities can take the lead on responding to climate change. They can reduce greenhouse gas emissions by making a swift, large-scale transition from carbon-intensive economic activity to low-carbon and carbon-free models. Cities can also adapt to the impacts of a changing climate even as they try to mitigate these impacts — by strengthening social ties and deepening the practice of democracy necessary for such a large-scale shift.

We believe that those most vulnerable to the effects of climate change — particularly low-income communities and communities of color — must be at the heart of society's efforts to build a resilient future in which ecosystems, human labor, and cultures are integrated into a thriving regenerative web of life.

The Pathways to Resilience Initiative

To meet the challenge of this moment, social-change practice must make huge leaps in reach, effectiveness, and tangible economic and political impact. To that end, the Movement Strategy Center (MSC) launched the Pathways to Resilience (P2R) initiative in the fall of 2013, in partnership with The Kresge Foundation, the Emerald Cities Collaborative and the Praxis Project.

The goals of the P2R initiative are to support the field to:

1. **Define a new vision of climate resilience and pragmatic pathways** to achieve it. The P2R initiative seeks to advance a holistic resilience frame that incorporates the human, economic, and social impacts of the transition from vulnerability to resilience with the best of technical mitigation and adaptation responses.

2. **Transform the field** and the national conversation on climate mitigation and adaptation, promoting new thought leadership and the capacity to engage low-income communities and communities of color in the venues where climate policies are being formulated and enacted.

3. **Identify opportunities for joint action** and support the ongoing refinement and advancement of the agenda over time.

4. **Elevate the best of what is being done** to advance resilience in communities around the country and bring those efforts to appropriate scale.

The P2R Dialogues

Our first task was to interview more than thirty environmental and social justice thought leaders and practitioners across the United States, soliciting their input regarding how to advance climate resilience in a socially just manner. Then, in February 2014, MSC and the P2R partners convened some forty participants in a four-day "Strategy Lab" where we worked collectively to synthesize a shared framework and vision and define the multiple and diverse pathways through which the vision can be pursued. Lab participants were also invited to submit working papers, articles, and other resources to spark conversations at the convening. Taken together, we call this process the "P2R Dialogues."

This anthology, *Pathways to Resilience,* is an initial outcome of the P2R Dialogues. Here, we offer a synthesis of the Dialogues as well as three working papers prepared for the Strategy Lab. The anthology captures a diverse range of voices and perspectives, and it is intended to spark an even broader conversation about how to create a just, resilient future — and provide entry points for further reflection, conversation, and engagement.

II. DEFINING CLIMATE RESILIENCE

Mainstream definitions of *climate resilience* focus narrowly on preparedness in the face of crisis and disaster, and on the ability of communities to "bounce back" from climate and other shocks. The current approach advanced by the public sector and some within the philanthropic community is dominated by "fix it" technical solutions. Moreover, decision making in this area is often driven by elites, resulting in policy that fails to address the needs of all populations, particularly those of low-income communities.

By contrast, the leaders who participated in the P2R Dialogues are working from a "bounce forward" definition of resilience, one that addresses root causes of climate change while advancing the social and economic transformation of communities.

The P2R Dialogues offered a range of definitions of resilience, but they share these core elements:

Climate Change Mitigation + Adaptation + Deep Democracy = Resilience

Mitigation is about reducing the greenhouse gas emissions that contribute to climate change. *Adaptation* is about planning and shifting our built environment and practices to account for current and anticipated effects. *Deep democracy* is about fostering social cohesion, inclusion, power, and participation — especially in the communities that are already confronting new climate realities. To be effective, climate resilience must incorporate all of these elements; it is a broad, multidimensional response to the causes of climate change and the potential solutions.

Because there are many different paths that communities can take to build resilience, there is no single road map to get there. But, as we will explore below, the P2R participants identified several priority approaches and strategies.

As discussed in greater depth in the paper *Redefining Resilience: Principles, Practices and Pathways*, which appears later in this anthology, climate change is the ultimate expression of a deep social and ecological imbalance. Thus, building climate resilience requires a holistic view of the challenges we face, and it calls for solutions at the intersection of people, the environment, and the economy.[1] Systems and ecological thinking can help restore and cultivate balance within and between human communities, and between human communities and the rest of the natural world. As we seek to restore balance, we can draw upon rooted and historical wisdom of place and the adaptive capacity that communities have built over generations of hardship and crisis.

The P2R Dialogues highlighted the following elements as essential to a climate resilience agenda:

Human Rights

- **Advance equity and social justice**. The systems that are driving climate instability are rooted in the same processes that generate social inequality. To be successful, a path to climate stability must include the advancement of social equity.

- **Reflect human rights principles**. Responses to climate change must not reinforce the notion that some communities — or some people — are expendable, or that property rights and business interests take precedence over human rights.[2]

- **Address historical injustices.** Building resilience requires systematic action to address historical roots of vulnerability and the application of interventions that apply "targeted universalism" to create the equity that is the foundation for deep resilience.[3]

1   Movement Strategy Center, "The Wheel and the Web: Shifting and Sequencing Investment and impact to Balance Human and Ecological System" *What We're Learning* paper series, no. 4 (October, 2013).

2   Bullard, R.D. and B.CENTERED. Wright. 2012. *The Wrong Complexion for Protection: How the Government Response to Disaster Endangers African American Communities*. New York: New York University Press.

3   Powell, A. S. Menendian, and J. Reece. "The Importance of Targeted Universalism." *Poverty & Race* (March/April 2009). http://centered.prrac.org/full_text.php?text_id=1223&item_id=11577&newsletter_id=104&header=Miscellaneous&kc=1

Economy

- **Move beyond fossil fuels.** Because the climate crisis is rooted in the fossil fuel economy, resilience requires a speedy transition to renewable sources of energy.

- **Build local economic infrastructure**. Grow the capacity of community institutions to generate and manage economic activities that advance adaptation, mitigation, and localization of core systems like food and energy.

- **Redefine "the good life**." Shift toward simplicity, social solidarity, interdependence, and a redefinition of "the good life," or *"buen vivir."*

Ecology

- **Reimagine our collective identity and our relationship with natural world**. Develop a sense of responsibility and relationship to other living things, the foundation of caring for the ecosystems upon which we depend.

- **Recognize the rights of nature in balance with human rights.** Cultivate respect and a culture of reverence for the intrinsic value of the natural world.

III. GETTING THERE: APPROACHES AND PATHWAYS TO BUILD CLIMATE RESILIENCE

Some of the climate challenges our communities must confront — heat waves, hurricanes, flooding — are easy to imagine; others are more difficult to predict. How can we take action when faced with a future that is so uncertain? Our best efforts will draw upon the creative actions being taken by communities currently affected by the causes and consequences of climate change.

The P2R Dialogues discussed two general approaches and six strategic pathways that communities can use to act in the face of uncertainty:

Two approaches

Climate resilience requires us to pursue two distinct approaches that operate in parallel and sometimes oppositional ways:

1. **Transform existing systems**. Shift policy and regulatory environments in ways that incentivize efforts to promote resilience and discourage non-regenerative practices. For example, a tax on carbon emissions can make funds available for mitigation and adaptation efforts.

2. **Build new climate resilient civic economic infrastructure**. Build and scale new forms of political and civic participation and economic infrastructure. Examples include structured, community-driven climate action planning; municipal economic development that focuses on climate resilience; public management of local green utilities and energy production.

To build truly resilient communities, we must pursue both approaches in tandem, integrating them where possible. We must also work toward long-term and near-term goals at the same time. And — importantly — both approaches must be guided by community-driven vision, planning, and power building.

VISION

5 PUBLIC INVESTMENT in scaling models

4 PUBLIC IMPLEMENTATION

3 PUBLIC POLICY

2 PUBLIC PLANNING

1 COMMUNITY PLANNING

5 WORKERS & COMMUNITIES scaling out models

4 DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY MECHANISMS to facilitate next economy breaking up old and creating new roles and tools

3 NON-EXTRACTIVE FINANCE MECHANISMS to shift money and power

2 GROWING AND STRENGTHENING INFRASTRUCTURE through training, capacity building and new partnerships

1 PILOTS & MODELS driven by grassroots community members

« TRANSFORMING EXISTING SYSTEMS

« BUILDING NEW CLIMATE RESILIENT CIVIC AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

COMMUNITY-DRIVEN VISIONING, PLANNING AND POWER BUILDING

An example of the "two approaches" to action comes from Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC). KFTC is a grassroots organization of 7,500 members across Kentucky with decades of experience in organizing, policy, and civic engagement. In Eastern Kentucky, KFTC partnered with the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED) to establish the Kentucky Sustainable Energy Alliance (KySEA).

KySEA members include organizations with a wide range of goals: protecting the environment; creating affordable housing; addressing climate change; promoting economic development; growing small businesses and addressing poverty. These diverse groups have aligned around the following objectives for their state's energy system:[4]

- Make improving energy efficiency Kentucky's top energy priority.
- Promote the development of clean, renewable energy from solar, wind, hydro and low-impact biomass, and increase the share of our overall energy mix that comes from these sources.
- Create new jobs and opportunities for Kentuckians, including a just transition for coal-producing communities and workers that includes building new climate-resilient economic infrastructure and engaging stakeholders in transforming existing systems.

As a broad-based coalition of businesses, non-profit organizations, faith communities, and individuals, KySEA has the capacity to engage individuals, homeowners, policy makers and businesses to implement sustainable energy practices and also lobby at the state level to win the policies and funding necessary to support a just transition.

4   For more information, please see http://centered.kysea.org/about-us

Six strategic pathways

The P2R Dialogues also identified six strategic pathways — areas where concentrated effort can advance climate resilience. These pathways emerged as themes in our initial interviews and were further defined in background materials MSC prepared for the February 2014 Strategy Lab. At the Lab, participants organized into working groups based on the six pathways through which they enhanced our collective understanding of these pathways and approaches.

The six pathways, discussed in depth below, are:

1. Build Power, Expand Democracy, Increase Community Voice and Transform Place

2. Craft a Narrative Strategy that Moves the Message and Builds the Climate Resilience Constituency

3. Create a New Economy for the New Climate Reality

4. Advance the Climate Resilience Legal and Policy Agenda

5. Strengthen Regionalism and Bioregional Identity[5]

6. Align and Expand Movement Infrastructure Building

The Importance of Place

One theme that bridges all of the strategic pathways is the importance of place. Climate impacts are experienced locally, so effective actions to build climate resilience are rooted in particular places. Among the P2R Dialogue participants, there was a strong consensus that locally and bioregionally driven solutions should be at the heart of climate resilience *efforts. In addition, special attention must be given to areas with particular climate vulnerability, such as coastal regions, cities, and the most densely populated areas. At the same time, we must build new partnerships between residents of cities and of the rural areas that sustain them.*

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5   Bioregionalism is a political, cultural, and ecological system or set of views based on naturally defined areas called bioregions, similar to ecoregions. Bioregions are defined through physical and environmental features, including watershed boundaries and soil and terrain characteristics.

A WHEEL & A WEB: 6 STRATEGIC PATHWAYS
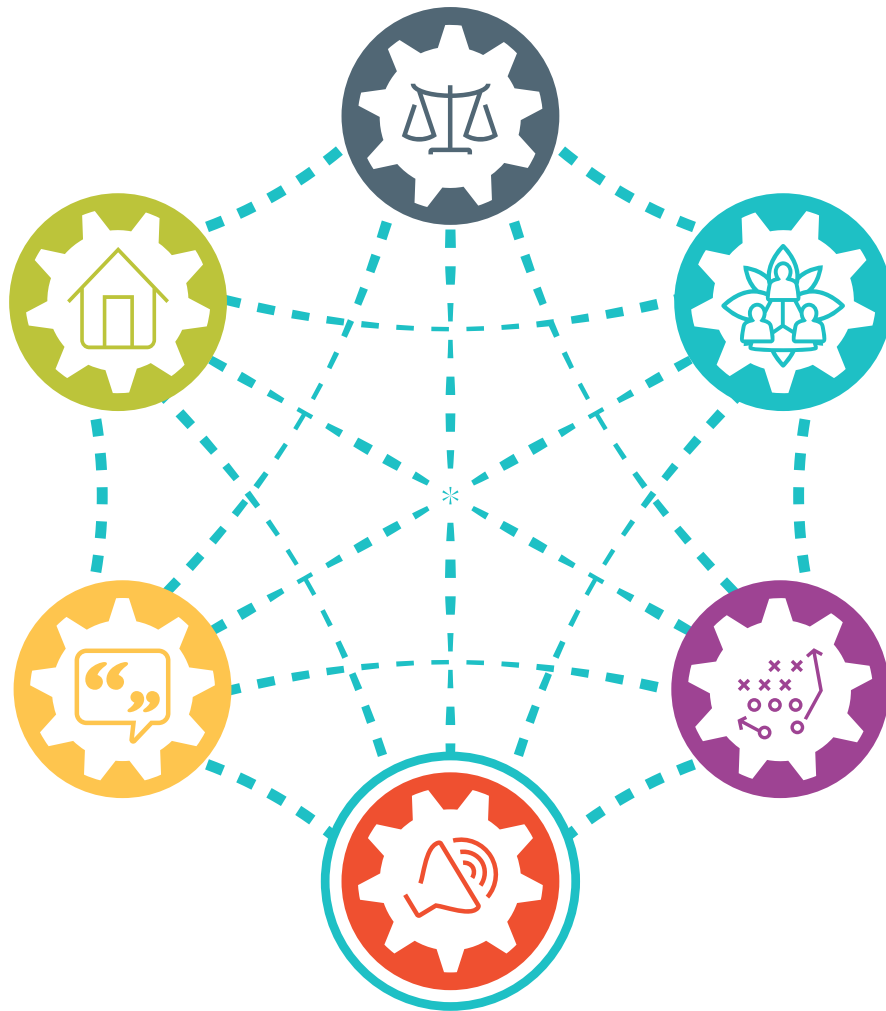
PATHWAY 1:
Build Power, Expand Democracy,
Increase Community Voice
and Transform Place

PATHWAY 2:
Craft a Narrative Strategy that
Moves the Message and Builds
the Climate Resilience Constituency

PATHWAY 3:
Create a New Economy
for the New Climate Reality

PATHWAY 4:
Advance the Climate Resilience
Legal and Policy Agenda

PATHWAY 5:
Strengthen Regionalism
and Bioregional Identity

PATHWAY 6:
Align and Expand
Movement Infrastructure Building

1 Build Power, Expand Democracy, Increase Community Voice and Transform Place

The central objectives of any resilience agenda include increasing the capacity for self-governance and rendering decision-making more democratic — ensuring that civic responsibility and leadership are widely distributed. Moreover, greater community participation and engagement is necessary to bolster the public will to take the difficult political and economic actions that are required to build resilience. In many cities, community-led interventions are already transforming public planning processes. By connecting and aligning these efforts, it is possible to leverage change at a larger scale. In particular, it is possible to:

- **Build the bigger "we"** by boosting the power of historically marginalized populations and creating alignment with partners from all communities and systems. This means engaging new constituencies — like local, elected officials of color — who may not yet have taken up climate as a primary issue for their communities.

- **Build political power** by enhancing the capacity and willingness of community institutions to take leadership in 'whole systems' such as food and energy.

- **Create "super organizers"** by crafting leadership training strategies that are place- and population-specific to ensure that key communities have trained organizers to help guide the transition.

- **Create multipliers and models** by developing new ways of organizing and new blends of social-change approaches — and by ensuring that resilience initiatives in one place help inform and support efforts in other places.

"Resilience Mobilization Hub" model. Strengthening climate resilience calls for building the power and visibility of historically marginalized communities that face the most significant climate impacts. At the same time, it will require the social-change community to build partnerships between actors across all communities and systems, including business and the public sector.

In some communities, aligning these diverse forces and putting them into motion has been facilitated by the formation of networks of collaboration and action in ways that reflect the core principles of resilience, specifically through the inclusion of informal and formal, centralized and decentralized mechanisms and strategies. These "hubs" bring together different communities and institutions within local climate action councils, community coalitions, alliances, and multi-stakeholder collaborations.
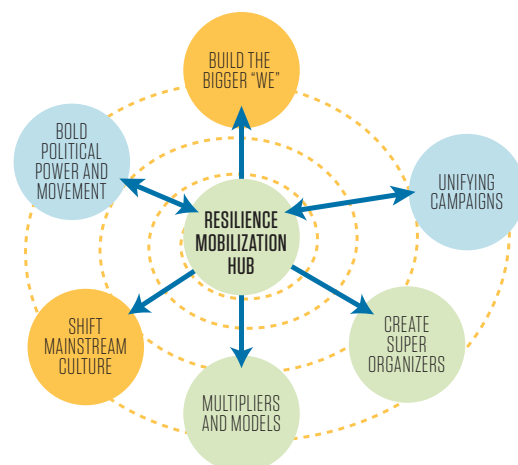
In many cities and regions, the development of climate action plans has spurred the creation of hubs that engage grassroots groups, regional campaigns, regional multi-stakeholder formations, and systems-specific coalitions at the municipal and regional levels.

California, for example, has a concentration of hubs at the community, municipal, and state levels. Community groups are organizing neighborhoods and coming together at the municipal level through structures like the Oakland Climate Action Coalition and the Richmond Environmental Justice Coalition. Regional environmental justice coalitions are forming in the Bay Area through the Resilience Communities Initiative and the Six Wins for Social Equity Network. California is also home to multi-stakeholder structures like the emergent Alliance for Climate Resilience and statewide groups such as the California Environmental Justice Alliance (CEJA).

Similar structures for community engagement in climate resilience efforts are emerging in places around the country. The Kentucky Sustainable Energy Alliance — discussed earlier — is another example of a statewide hub.

A shared purpose is at the core of a successful hub; it is key to bridging differences between people of different roles, from different sectors and contexts.

COMMUNITY RESILIENCY STRATEGY LAP FEBRUARY 2014

Diagram labels: BUILD THE BIGGER "WE"; BOLD POLITICAL POWER AND MOVEMENT; UNIFYING CAMPAIGNS; RESILIENCE MOBILIZATION HUB; SHIFT MAINSTREAM CULTURE; MULTIPLIERS AND MODELS; CREATE SUPER ORGANIZERS

2 Craft a Narrative Strategy that Moves the Message and Builds the Climate Resilience Constituency

To advance climate resilience, we must craft a narrative strategy that flows from an overall social-change strategy. As so effectively described in the Praxis Project's *Weathering Together: Resilience as a Vehicle to Reshape Policy and Political Will*, which appears in this anthology, that narrative strategy must go beyond crafting "communications messages" and take up the work of addressing widely held frames underlying concepts of nature, climate, and economy. Without changing those frames, it will be difficult to achieve the degree of public consensus needed to assure climate resilience at scale. It is also critical to differentiate between the narrative and messaging required to transform the climate-resilience movement (internal) from the narrative and messaging required to engage and move the public (external).[6]

Such work requires us to build a deeper understanding and alignment among allied social-change communities about the frames we are advancing and countering. When that alignment is achieved, we can build out communication strategies that move people to a deeper awareness of the solutions that need to be advanced, and a recognition that success necessitates implementing solutions that address root causes.

The P2R Dialogues and our organizing process identified a few key dimensions to keep in mind as we move forward:

- **Address inequality.** Socially just climate resilience requires more than technical fixes for climate impacts such as hardening coastlines against erosion and flooding. It requires addressing the inequalities that create and exacerbate community vulnerabilities. As noted in *Weathering Together,* this means asking the general public to care about low-income people and people of color and to recognize a sense of shared fate with these *others*. This, in turn, requires greater empathy, a more nuanced analysis of the economy, and a clearer understanding of the crisis and what can be done about it.

- **Speak to the base, and beyond.** Our ability to achieve our goals will depend on building a broad and committed base of support. That means we must communicate with current and potential supporters, mobilizing them to action while also seeking to reach the "opposition." To that end, we must craft a set of interlocking narratives to help the public make sense of the climate crisis, the climate clock, and opportunities to take principled and effective action.

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6   Movement Strategy Center, "Making Another World Possible: A Movement Building Framework". *What We're Learning* paper series, no. 3 (October, 2013).

Multiple frames and the possibility of alignment

Those working to advance climate resilience draw on multiple conceptual frameworks. (See sidebar for a sampling of the frames that emerged in the P2R Dialogues.)

While there is clearly significant overlap among the many frames and sub-frames, there is also diversity in surface and substance. This diversity is both an asset and a challenge. On the one hand, it can feed creativity and fuel a range of solutions. On the other, it can drive fragmentation, which could make it more difficult to create the alignment necessary to advance an inclusive resilience strategy. It remains an open question whether advocates should endeavor to build alignment around a shared "banner" or a framework to align vision, strategy, and policy agendas.

One critical step for the field is to test current narratives with key audiences, to assess which "ally facing frames" are most catalytic in unifying the social-change community, and which externally facing "public narratives" will move key parts of the population and decision makers to build resilience.

A sampling of the frames that emerged in the P2R Dialogues

- *Climate resilience*
- *Gift Economy; Solidarity Economy; Care Economy; Non-Consumption Culture*
- *Non-extractive economy*
- *Local, living, loving, and linked economy*
- *Economy for life —* buen vivir
- *Economy for the people and the planet*
- *Anti-capitalist frame — working across issues and striving for strategic political alignment*
- *Migration — disaster migration, economic migration, political migration*
- *Transportation equity*
- *Energy democracy*
- *No war, no warming*
- *Green jobs and green economy*
- *Green zones*
- *Climate prosperity*
- *Climate gap*
- *Healthy communities*
- *Healthy communities, healthy bodies, minds and souls*
- *Environmental justice and climate justice*

3 Create a New Economy for the New Climate Reality

Climate disruption results from the ways our economy consumes resources and energy. Current economic policies and practices reward financial profit at the cost of driving unsustainable growth and the extraction of natural and human resources, undermining community resilience. Therefore, any meaningful action on climate change will require an *economic transition* — a significant shift in the economic paradigm from an extractive to a regenerative economy — one that restores our connection to place and regenerates (rather than degrades) natural and human resources.

For many P2R participants, economic transition is about localizing the economy and building wealth at the local level. It is also about building effective alternatives that can, over time, become the core drivers of a new economy. Others emphasize the need to connect climate resilience efforts to economic justice efforts, arguing that pathways to economic well-being must put climate vulnerabilities at the center.

Participants highlighted several efforts and approaches necessary to support the transition to a new economy:

- **Localize the economy**, particularly food systems and energy; tie localization to policy incentives that stimulate new and sustainable forms of community-led economic activity that promotes regional and global ecological balance.

- **Integrate public- and private-sector resources**, including direct capital investment, regulatory environments, and direct incentives and disincentives such as tax policies and government subsidies.

- **Capture and redirect disaster funding**; reallocate resource flows for disaster preparedness, response, and recovery, ensuring that those resources stimulate "next economy" activity and build local wealth that can stabilize communities.

- **Shift conditions** so that it is more costly and unprofitable for the private sector to engage in economic activity that exacerbates climate change.

- **Democratize, decentralize, redistribute, and reduce** consumption of resources.

- **Promote adaptation and mitigation efforts that generate jobs** and meaningful work, while shifting the management and ownership of core systems into the hands of local communities.

- **Build partnerships between community, labor, green enterprise and public and social impact investing** to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and generate local enterprise and jobs.

Challenges

Several core challenges and tensions must be overcome for this vision to become a reality in the short window of time afforded by the climate clock. Most efforts to transform economies are struggling to move past pilot status. To bring these efforts to scale, it is essential to link localized, bottom-up efforts with top-down, large-scale public and private financing of new economic activity and to build the capacity of communities to receive and deploy existing and potential funds.

4 Advance the Climate Resilience Legal and Policy Agenda

Enlightened policy can drive far-reaching change — not only in the public sector, but in industry and enterprise. Governments can incentivize economic activity that creates climate resilience while discouraging activity that contributes to environmental breakdown — for example, by taxing carbon emissions and using the revenue to subsidize distributed, community-controlled, alternative energy.

State-level policy is especially important; it can catalyze a cascade of beneficial changes at various levels. For example, California's Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006 spurred the creation of regulations and market mechanisms to reduce California's greenhouse gas emissions by twenty-five percent. Similarly, California's Sustainable Communities and Climate Protection Act of 2008 has shaped many regional processes, including housing and transportation planning.[7]

The local Urban Environmental Accords signed in San Francisco in 2005 provided momentum for the Global Warming Solutions Act at the state level. And now both statutes require locally developed plans and activity, prioritizing climate change considerations in public sector processes and affecting the distribution of multiple streams of state funding that are now flowing to local communities. And the California model has influenced the development of climate policy in other jurisdictions around the globe. California's success was made possible through the coordination of local and state-level actions and strategy, a complex process that has generated tremendous value.

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7   SB375 directs the CARB to set regional targets for reducing GHG emissions but the ultimate responsibility for developing a "Sustainable Communities Strategy" for each region lies with its metropolitan planning organization. According to the CARB, transportation accounts for forty percent of GHGs, which makes SB375 central to achieving AB32's GHG reduction goals.

Analyze the implications of policy

Because Climate Change Mitigation + Adaptation + Deep Democracy = Resilience, all policies must be viewed through the lenses of both climate and democracy if resilience is to be socially just. Community members and civic leaders can consider these questions as they make decisions that will shape the form and function of their neighborhoods, cities, and regions:

Climate:

- How will climate change affect a particular issue — housing, food, childcare — as well as the solutions that I am putting into place?

- Does the proposed policy/ course of action have implications (positive or negative) for the severity of climate change? How will negative implications be addressed?

- Will the expected consequences of climate change affect the viability or durability of a proposed policy/course of action? If yes, what should be changed?

Democracy:

- Does the proposed policy/course of action reflect the knowledge and priorities of the communities that are most impacted?

- Who benefits and who is negatively affected by the proposed policy/course of action?

- Will the existing disparities and disproportionate impacts be lessened or exacerbated? [8]

Change policy to shift funding flows

Funding is crucial for bringing resilience to scale. And funding deployed for disaster relief or for adaptation can be designed to advance climate resilience — by helping communities "bounce forward" rather than "bounce back." For example, funds can be used to build climate-resilient infrastructure and to ensure community leadership in disaster preparation, response and recovery. Existing resources that can and should be captured and focused on climate resilience include: public funding for climate action plans; resources flowing from the fossil fuel divest/invest movement out of universities, pension funds, and foundation endowments; and social impact investment funds looking to address climate change. New sources could include local bonds and a federal carbon tax. It is important that financing mechanisms can be community controlled.

Share information and strategy

P2R participants called for a policy inventory to generate a database of successful efforts, including model climate action plans that are strong from a social justice standpoint, so that groups with varied capacities can both contribute to the inventory and draw from it as it evolves. A survey of climate litigation to inform legal action to stop dirty energy, force damage payments, and transform environmental regulatory standards would also be invaluable. The process of creating a database would help the field identify investment points and fulcrums for collective engagement.

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8   These framing questions were informed by the P2R Dialogues as well as Movement Generation's work on climate resilience, the Center for Clean Air Policy's early work on climate adaptation, EcoAdapt's work on adaptation planning, The Kresge Foundation's design of its Climate Resilience and Urban Opportunity Initiative, and input from Angela Park in the design of the Kresge initiative.

Assert human and Earth rights in policy

Current legal regimes in the United States prioritize the protection of property over human health and well-being, making it difficult to challenge policies and economic actions that harm vulnerable communities. Accordingly, the P2R Dialogues emphasized the need to advance and operationalize a human rights framework in climate policy. To that end, participants suggested that we must: build the capacity of the social-change and climate-resilience sectors; integrate legal and human-rights strategies into current efforts to change policy; and train lawyers, policy advocates, and organizers in the new approach. One way to accomplish these objectives is to establish a "rights school" that can provide clear points of intervention within the current legal framework and proposed policies.

Several organizations have launched innovative efforts to incorporate human rights in law and policy. For example, the Gulf Center for Law and Policy utilizes human rights-based legal services, community training, local leadership development, and grassroots advocacy to challenge policies and practices that produce disparate impacts on marginalized groups.[9] Advocates for Environmental Human Rights (AEHR) promotes a just and sustainable rebuilding of Gulf Coast communities that respects the right of all residents to voluntarily return to their communities with dignity and justice.[10] P2R participants emphasized the need for a more systematic effort to identify opportunities for legal and policy work that advances these priorities.

Craft policy that reflects geography of opportunity and impact

Policy and legal strategies must map the ways in which opportunity and threat unfold differently in different places. Without a shift in the power that shapes the policy, we cannot get the policy we need. This means that it is necessary to target new and existing resources in communities that are vulnerable but not already engaged in climate resilience. Thus, special attention, as noted above, must be given to resilience efforts in vulnerable areas where people are likely to suffer disproportionate impacts and where the current state of civic and economic infrastructure may compromise the community's capacity to respond.

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9   For more information, please see http://gcclp.org.

10   For more information, please see http://centered.ehumanrights.org.

5 Strengthen Regionalism and Bioregional Identity

Because cities are connected to rural areas through trade and ecosystems, we must rethink the relationships of cities to the larger "bioregions" in which they are embedded. At the same time, climate resilience requires transformation of the systems communities depend upon: energy, work, food, water, land use, housing, transportation, and more. But, because these systems often transcend jurisdictional boundaries, it is difficult to advance shared decision making when there are so many competing governing bodies involved. Moreover, regional instruments often are weak or limited in mandate, and/or they are dominated by private business and elite interests that are unresponsive to low-income communities and communities of color.

One longer-term answer to this challenge proposed by P2R participants is "people-centered bioregionalism" — efforts to reorganize culture, identity, power, and governance to reflect bioregional and regional boundaries; and ensure broad, democratic participation in large-scale planning and decision making. Through people-centered bioregionalism, communities can pursue what David Orr calls "full-spectrum sustainability" by looking at resilience across multiple systems and building regional systems that balance community, ecology, and economy.[11]

Many efforts to build socially just climate resilience — for example, on the Gulf Coast and in Appalachia — are already tackling the difficult question of how to make the promise of bioregionalism a reality. In the coming years, we must continue to build out and propagate these efforts and tie them more deeply to policy and governing agreements. At the same time, we must address and transcend limitations in the ways bioregionalism has been pursued in the past; too often, bioregionalism has emphasized natural resources management and ecosystem restoration without addressing the critical needs of communities.

Principles

People-centered bioregionalism:

- Recognizes the essential role of humans in all ecosystems.
- Reconnects people to place.
- Promotes "right relationships" between people and the natural world.
- Creates bioregional economies that encourage local sourcing.
- Fosters interrelationships between systems to ensure that regional decisions are not made in silos.
- Balances the three-legged stool of democracy, ecology, and economy without compromising one for another.

Practices

We can make people-centered bioregionalism a reality by:

- *Accounting for all potential impacts on people and ecosystems both inside and outside the boundaries of the bioregion during planning*

- *Connecting urban and rural organizing and increasing investment in rural democratic capacity*

- *Reorganizing jurisdictions so that bioregional decision making is incentivized by state and federal investment*

- *Creating and monitoring feedback loops that provide critical information about the well-being of people and ecosystems*

- *Developing and promoting regenerative business models and enterprises that are democratic and scaled appropriately to advance long-term solutions in ways that are bioregionally sensitive*

- *Analyzing and managing trade-offs carefully so as to meet current and future needs within the bioregion*

- *Framing the scope of the problem and matching solutions to the relevant geography of the solution*

- *Using ratepayer organizing to increase public control and management of utilities and build partnerships with unions connected to utilities because utilities are often providing energy municipally and regionally*

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11   See, for example, *The Essential David Orr*, a collection of Orr's writings from 1985 to 2010. Orr, David. *The Essential David Orr.* Washington, DC: Island Press, 2010.

6 Align and Expand Movement Infrastructure Building

To implement the strategies outlined above, we must align and expand movement infrastructure. Key priorities for infrastructure capacity building include:

- **Invest in the base.** Significant climate resilience work is happening in local communities but it is vastly under-resourced. Resources must be available for base building; integrating justice and equity concerns; and planning, policy, and implementation efforts.

- **Nurture and accelerate trans-local work**. Support existing networks and launch new regional, national, and issue-based networks that can support learning, solution building, and shared strategy development. Resources are needed for convening, peer-to-peer learning, mapping, and leadership development, as well as to develop platforms for communications and alignment.

- **Bridge movement divides; engage key allies.** Link socially just climate resilience to other movements and

communities of practice. Connect systematically with allies, such as the public health community, labor, public planners, and others who are driving climate-focused or resilience-focused planning and/or responses.

- **Align philanthropy.** In the mid- and long-term, given the scale of the need, the bulk of resources to support climate resilience strategies will need to come from local communities, the public sector, and some elements of the private sector. In the near-term, we need philanthropy and philanthropic investment to better align with the strategic pathways we have identified.

- **Align strategy.** There is too much fragmentation in the strategies of social-change actors important to building climate resilience, and some very large gaps that we must fill if we are to move forward effectively. Accordingly, the field must align strategy across regional, issue, and even political boundaries.

Community resilience at scale

Climate resilience begins in the neighborhoods and communities we call home. The P2R Dialogues affirmed that locally driven solutions should be at the heart of climate resilience efforts. At the same time, we must build the capacity of social-change advocates to intervene and engage at larger scales — the state and federal levels — to devolve and distribute resources to grassroots economies to implement local solutions.

To reach the scale needed for success, we must consider the full picture and define — at each level of scale — the core change model and assumptions and all the "necessary and sufficient" steps to generate the needed outcomes. Movements that build and refine a comprehensive strategy are best able to identify and leverage short-term opportunities toward long-term goals and ensure that momentum from victories is funneled and focused into the next wave of innovation and impact.

To build community resilience at scale, we need to build the capacity of social-change advocates to intervene and engage

at the federal and state levels to drive and distribute resources to grassroots economies to implement local solutions. We also need to consider the full picture and define — at each level of scale — the core change model and assumptions and all the "necessary and sufficient" steps to generate needed outcomes. Finally, we have to build out comprehensive strategies that can leverage short-term opportunities toward long-term goals and ensure that momentum from victories is funneled and focused into the next wave of innovation and impact.

LOCAL TRANS-LOCAL BIO-REGIONAL STATE/FEDERAL BIO-ATMOSPHERIC
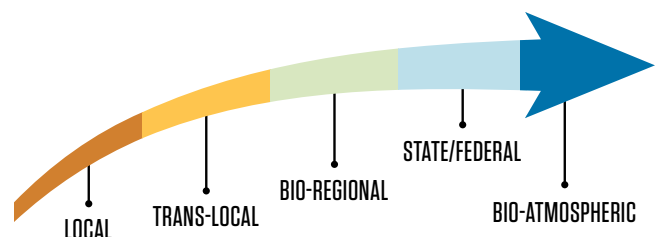
IV. CONCLUSION

As the impacts of climate change are increasing in frequency and severity, we must confront the new climate reality without desperation but with maximum speed and efficiency. We must use our sense of urgency to seek bold changes and to address the root causes of the climate crisis. And we must do so at a meaningful scale, without sacrificing broad democratic engagement.

To achieve climate resilience, we must align efforts to transform existing systems with efforts to build new ones. By focusing our attention on governance and alternative systems, we can proactively define and manifest the world we want.[12] This will require social-change movements to collaborate and adapt as never before.

If we align our efforts, we can:

- **Win what is worth winning**. Focus on real solutions that address root causes and build momentum for deeper structural change;

- **Win what is winnable today**. Look at existing openings and opportunities given the current balance of forces. For example, a policy that is a non-starter at the federal level may be winnable locally and in some states;

- **Change what is winnable.** Use short-term victories to shift the balance of forces, change the rules of the game, and create the possibility of more significant victories;

- **Consolidate the choir**, move the **congregation** and reach the **unaffiliated**.[13]

The challenges we face are real, and time is short. To advance socially just climate resilience, we must balance urgency and hope. The longer we take to address climate change, the more painful it will be for all of us — especially the most vulnerable. ■

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12   Movement Strategy Center "Movement Pivots: Five Steps to Collective Impact and Transformative Social Change". *What We're Learning* paper series, no. 1 (May, 2013).

13   Movement Strategy Center "Transition Framework for a Just Climate Resilience Agenda". *What We're Learning* paper series, no. 6 (September 2014).

Part II. Redefining Resilience:
Principles, Practices and Pathways

by Movement Generation
MOVEMENTGENERATION.ORG

JUSTICE & ECOLOGY PROJECT MOVEMENT GENERATION

I. OVERVIEW

Movement Generation has embraced "resilience" as a central orientation of our approach to addressing ecological erosion, climate change, and social and economic injustice, which we see as simultaneously drivers and consequences of the ecological crisis. We are redefining resilience from an ecological justice perspective[1] — rooted in the governing principles of ecology with recognition of the role of human communities as an integral part of a healthy ecosystem. Resilience, we believe, can bridge mitigation and adaptation, economy and ecology. It can also help us create more holistic and systemic interventions.

Before we dive deeper into the emerging approach to resilience, it is important to take note that there are many legitimate critiques of resilience as a frame. Some argue that it is too easily reduced to "surviving." Others advocate for "restoration," with emphasis on the **restoration** of human activity as an integral component of thriving, healthy ecosystems. Still others, who critique restoration for emphasizing a task rather than a relationship, advocate for a "**regenerative**" frame because it emphasizes the dynamic process of a constantly renewing ecosystem functionality in which humans play an active and complementary role.

We believe that these are all legitimate claims. Our conception of resilience, therefore, *depends* on restoration and *demands* regenerative practices — beginning with the restoration of human labor and cultures into ecosystems, while understanding that the heart of resilience is a *reflective, responsive and reciprocal relationship* to place.

Creating a Future By Facing Our Past

The visibility of ecological crisis is increasing daily. It is our view that humanity is up against the limits of nature's ability to tolerate globalized industrial production, and has been for a long time. The growth imperative, which serves as the engine for the current economy, has led us into an untenable situation.

Rapid economic growth based on the extraction of resources *beginning with labor and culture–* which outpaces the *regenerative capacities of ecosystems–*has three simultaneous devastating consequences:

1. It eradicates biological and cultural diversity;

2. It outpaces ecological regeneration, thus undermining the life support systems of the planet (forests, water, climate); and

3. It (ironically) undermines the very basis of the economy by depleting the resources upon which it depends (peak oil, peak soil, peak water).

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1   Movement Generation. "Politics of Home." Pg. 4. 2011.

The impacts are severe, especially for those with the least resources. In the last decade, we've seen families lose children, elders, and other loved ones in Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines where the typhoon season has grown increasingly deadly. We've seen elderly and disabled tenants trapped inside high-rise apartment buildings without lights and elevators in New York City's Chinatown in the days following Superstorm Sandy. And we have seen residents of the poorest wards in New Orleans abandoned after Hurricane Katrina — watching bodies float by in the rising waters after the levees broke, displaced from their homes, jobs, businesses, and communities.

In this context of increasing ecological instability, Earth's systems are beginning to undergo dramatic transformations: acidifying oceans, retreating glaciers, super storms, and extreme fire and heat events. While scientists and lay people observe these changes with alarm, nobody as yet fully understands their mid- or long-term consequences, or how these changes will unfold and interact over time. In the face of these dramatic transitions, we only know that "**Systems change will be the defining feature of our century**" and that "**if we stay on our current course, that change will manifest as collapse.**"

These dramatic shifts, however, can also be an opportunity to bring about an intentional transition towards healthy, fair, and ecologically resilient human activity that addresses the root causes of ecological disruption. To achieve this vision, Movement Generation believes we must:

Firstly, have the courage to face the past and wrestle with the genuine source of the problems so that we can identify the "**real solutions**" that can effectively address the problems. And secondly, ensure that we do not confuse the symptoms with the problems or the consequences with the causes. Otherwise, we may unwittingly make the situation worse by advancing **false promises, bad policy, and half-measures** that treat the symptoms but exacerbate the root causes. (Carbon offsets and nuclear power promoted as "clean" energy are examples of such false solutions.)

Movement Generation argues that to be effective, any approach to addressing climate disruption must begin by recognizing the root causes. Industrialism, colonialism and capitalism disconnect human communities from the web of life. We are being alienated from land, food and water and from our ability to control, direct and benefit from our own work. This has forced most of us to live and labor in ways that destroy and degrade the rest of the natural world upon which our collective survival ultimately depends. Hence, to understand the climate crisis we cannot simply look up at the atmosphere and count carbon. We must look down at the economy — at the erosion of seed, soil and story and the exploitation of land, labor and life. Simply put, the current growth-at-all-costs economy is deeply degenerative and in order to solve the climate crisis we must replace it with a regenerative economy — one that returns us to a reflexive, responsive, and reciprocal relationship to place. In short, we must reorganize **economy** (*management of home*), to be consistent with the principles of **ecology** (*knowledge and study of home*) and the goal of restoring human activity to its rightful place as a critical ingredient of healthy **ecosystems** (*relationships of home*). This in turn will build the resilience of both human communities and the ecosystems upon which we depend (see *Figure 1, pg. 22* for more detail).

THE MEANING OF HOME
ECO MEANS HOME : 'ECO' COMES FROM THE GREEK WORD OIKOS, MEANING 'HOME'

ECO SYSTEM ("HOME" + "SYSTEM")

Ecosystem means all the relationships in a home - from microorganisms, plants, animals and people to water, soil and air. An Ecosystem includes the terrain and the climate. An Ecosystem is not simply a catalogue of all the things that exist in a place; it more importantly references the complex of relationships. An ecosystem can be as small as a drop of rain or as large as the whole planet. It all depends on where you draw the boundaries of home.

ECO LOGY ("HOME" + "KNOWLEDGE")

Ecology means knowing, reading and understanding home – and by definition, the relationships of home.

ECO NOMY ("HOME" + "MANAGEMENT")

Economy means management of home.

How we organize our relationships in a place, ideally, to take care of the place and each other. But "management of home" can be good or bad, depending on how you do it and to what ends. The purpose of our economy could be turning land, life and labor into property for a few, or returning land, life and labor into a balanced web of stable relationships.

Economy does not mean money, or exchange or financial markets, or trading or Gross Domestic Product. These are simply elements or tools of specific economies. Economies ("how we manage our home") can be measured in many ways: How healthy are the soil, people, water, animals? How much wealth is generated? Who owns the wealth? What even constitutes wealth? Is it money? Well-being? Happiness?

All economic activity has ecological consequences. That doesn't mean that those consequences arealways bad. The economic activity of peoples who have developed long relationships with the ecosystemsthey are a part of have tended towards balance. This traditional evolved knowledge of place is held inlanguage, food, culture and story.

Other human communities have mismanaged home, and have created ecological consequences that arenot beneficial to a sustainable relationship with the web of life. But when a people outstrip their resource base, or create damage to an ecosystem in such a way that it can no longer sustain them, they move on or die off – hopefully learning some lessons. Mother Earth has been sufficiently resilient to recover from these paper-cuts. But…

If you globalize the economy, you globalize the ecosystem. The scale and pace of globalization combined with the power imbalance in decision-making has made it virtually impossible for people to read and respond to the changes fast enough – and in fact, we have not. If you globalize the ecosystem and you have a destructive economy (mismanagement of home) then the consequences can be big. Very Big.

The current globalized economy is compromising the life support systems of the planet: destroying biodiversity, exploiting labor, killing cultures, polluting water and disrupting the atmospheric-hydrologic cycle.

ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE ("HOME" + "JUSTICE")

Ecological Justice is the state of **balance between human communities and healthy ecosystems** based on thriving, mutually beneficial relationships and participatory self-governance. We see Ecological Justiceas the key frame to capture our holistic vision of a better way forward.

Figure 1. Adapted from *The Meaning of Home* (Movement Generation, 20XX year of publication)

Remaking Home: A Vision of Resilience and the Next Economy

Given that the dominant economy has generated so much social inequity and environmental devastation, we ask ourselves: "What is the vision for shifting us out of this situation?" "What does that vision look like in the communities that have experienced the deepest impact from the limitations and consequences of the current economy?" "Is it possible to make a transition from the old economy to the **Next Economy** — one defined by national and global networks of 'local-living economies' that are place-based, ecologically resilient, socially equitable, deeply democratic, and linked through mutually beneficial relationships of exchange?"

The process of getting from our current economy to the **Next Economy** is called the **Just Transition**.

Nature will no longer tolerate globalized industrial production, therefore change is inevitable. If we stay on our current course that change will eventually manifest itself as a collapse — of the economy and also of biological and cultural diversity as we know it. Alternatively, with intentional and coordinated action, we can make that change a thoughtful transition towards a more healthy, fair and ecologically responsible world.[2]

The exciting news is that this **Just Transition** is already underway in communities around the US and across the globe. People experiencing the worst of the environmental and social impacts of the old economy are articulating a new vision for healthy and resilient communities and taking action to build an economy that brings into balance human communities and healthy ecosystems.

These communities have a deep and complex vision of resilience that is guiding and driving their concrete efforts to: (a) respond to the current effects of climate disruption, (b) prevent new impacts, and (c) remake their relationships to each other and the natural world in ways that are deeply rooted in place. This vision come from an ancient wisdom that says economic activity — if it is to be sustainable — must be subordinated to the governing principles of living systems, as it has been for most of human history.

This approach to resilience stands in contrast to many of the dominant approaches to addressing climate disruption, in particular to the frames of adaptation and mitigation that we are about to explore. Movement Generation believes we should reconsider and challenge some of the underlying assumptions of these frames if we are to respond effectively to the impacts of climate disruption.[3]

Beyond Adaptation or Mitigation

The dominant discourse on climate action settles within two domains of activity: *mitigating* the causes of climate change, and *adapting* to the consequences.

Mitigation within the mainstream of the climate discourse has come to mean *reducing the amount of green house gases emitted into the atmosphere,* and to a lesser degree, *increasing the capacity to sequester carbon (sinks).* It is important to note that this view of mitigation does not distinguish between reducing the sources of emissions terrestrially and reducing atmospheric loading through technological interventions, such as geo-engineering or carbon

capture and storage. It simply refers to the reduction in atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases.

Many technological interventions, as currently conceived, require high levels of concentration and control of resources and therefore, tend to exacerbate social inequality. In many instances, they also cause or exacerbate other ecosystem disruptions, such as with emerging geo-engineering technologies and synthetic biology. There are interventions that don't require this level of concentration and control while at the same time, advancing justice and innovation (proposed later in this paper).

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2   Movement Generation. "Politics of Home." 2011.

3   Movement Generation. "Recipe for Resilience." 2012.

Adaptation *is the process of responding to the impending or inevitable consequences of the climate disruption already set in motion that, due to lag-effect, cannot be avoided or reversed.*[4] As policy and practice consistently fail to curb atmospheric loading and ecological erosion, the need to take seriously the implications of climate disruption on communities and ecosystems has become a growing concern. Central to the adaptation frame is the concept of "vulnerability" along a host of vectors, including:

- Geographic (island nations and coastal cities)

- Demographic (indigenous peoples, people of color, seniors, socially isolated individuals, immigrants)

- Sectors of economic life (such as, the vulnerability of California's industrial agriculture due to drought and climate change).

For human communities and natural systems to restore balance and vitality, and for us to address the disproportionate impacts of climate disruption experienced by vulnerable communities, we must address the limitations of the mitigation and adaptation approaches within the climate discourse. The following are a few of the problematic assumptions embedded in these frames that limit political strategies and even lead to false solutions:

- **EITHER/OR:** The prevalent assumption in the climate action discourse is that *mitigation and adaptation are separate domains of activity and can be done independently.* The questions, "Will this mitigation strategy compromise our ability to adapt?" and "Will this adaptation strategy exacerbate future emissions?" are assumed to be part of the calculus of strategies but are most often neglected.

  The driving question should be: "Given scale, pace and resources, what are the most effective ways to conduct mitigation and adaptation so that they reinforce one

another?" In other words, we must conduct mitigation activities in a way that increases our adaptive capacity and vice versa.

- **CARBON FUNDAMENTALISM:** The either/or assumption, in part, has roots in the underlying "carbon fundamentalism," or "carbon myopia," that has come to define climate discourse. Currently, climate change is narrowly defined by "atmospheric loading of greenhouse gases." Unfortunately, it is *not being defined* as the *interlocking ways in which different forms of ecological erosion are disrupting planetary systems that sustain life as we know it* — atmospheric, hydrological, terrestrial, and oceanic. Nor is it being defined by the shared root cause of the erosion — i.e., the global organization of an industrial economy, which both uses resources in ways that are not regenerative, and produces a wide range of harmful human and ecological impacts. Consequently, mitigation strategies have tended towards technological solutions that accommodate the non-regenerative dimensions of the existing economy.[5]

- **DON'T DISRUPT THE ECONOMY:** Since it is the very organization of the economy that is at the root of climate disruption, the thinking that mitigation and adaptation activities should be accompanied by the least amount of disruption to the economy further reinforces the problem. An argument is often made across the political spectrum to ensure the least amount of economic harm to individuals and corporations. There is an underlying assumption that a solution can and must be found without transitioning from ever-increasing industrial development because that notion is either inconceivable or undesirable. Another assumption is that economic consolidation and globalization, along with the continued concentration of capital in the hands of a few, is a social virtue. Furthermore, the current global economy is often framed as timeless,

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4   Lag effect is the common term for the scientific finding that the impacts of carbon dioxide on the earth's climate and hydrologic systems are not experienced for approximately 40-50 years after they are emitted into the atmosphere. The lag effect of other greenhouse gases, such as methane is shorter but still present. [R]

5   In fact, within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the principle that there should be the least amount of economic disruption possible when working to advance mitigation and adaptation strategies (i.e. returning to 350ppm or restricting mean warming to two degrees, neither of which are now possible) has allowed for the dominance of "false solutions" from geo-engineering to carbon markets. [R]

immutable and monolithic. Nothing could be further from the truth. *The current economy is not forever.* As noted earlier, economic growth that outpaces or erodes the capacity of ecosystems to regenerate undermines the very basis of the system. Economic growth will become increasingly unstable and eventually unravel if we follow the TINA (There Is No Alternative) train of thought.

- **VULNERABILITY IS A CONDITION, NOT A CONSEQUENCE:** Conventional approaches to adaptation and mitigation *view vulnerability as a characteristic or condition of groups of people* and not as a circumstance or consequence of the ways social groups have been historically and systemically marginalized and excluded from opportunity. As a result, the policy and practices that have been brought to bear don't address the underlying historical roots of vulnerability. In fact, they often exacerbate vulnerability by denying communities the chance to address economic disparity when leading adaptation and mitigation efforts. These conventional approaches and views often reinforce the exclusion of these groups from democratic decision-making. They also exclude them from having a voice in setting policy priorities or allocating resources to address the issues. We believe that rather than being viewed as victims to be protected and saved, vulnerable communities should instead define, develop and drive the solutions.

- **THE SCALE OF THE PROBLEM DICTATES THE SCALE OF THE SOLUTIONS.** Because climate disruption is a global phenomenon and the dominant economy is globalized, our observation is that disproportionate energy and resources are put into international and national arenas — from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), to federal climate policy. Despite the tremendous resources that have gone into them, these strategies have produced very few results, apart from advancing false solutions such as: REDDs (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation) and carbon markets. We absolutely need international, national and subnational policy and coordination aimed towards restoring ecosystems and creating resilient communities from the local level on up with a focus on *realigning the scale of primary economic activity and governance with ecological boundaries.*

Movement Generation believes that *while the scale of*

the crisis of climate disruption is global, the solutions must fundamentally be local and regional.* Scale is achieved not by creating a single big approach but rather by aggregating defining solutions appropriate to place. The notion that the problem is only one of "the atmosphere" has clouded our vision as to where interventions are required to create the greatest impact in the least amount of time. Furthermore, at the national and international levels, economic and political power is currently concentrated in the hands of corporations and elites who (at least for now) benefit from the ecological erosion and will not rethink the economy. *Remaking economy and governance towards democracy and resilience can best happen at the local and regional levels where there are the greatest opportunities for increasing democratic power in all the major arenas that impact daily life.*

Resilience: Where Mitigation and Adaptation Meet

Resilience has emerged as a new frame within the climate discourse, providing an alternative to the more mainstream mitigation and adaptation frames that have become the domain of failed climate policy and false solutions. There are many ways to talk about resilience, but at the heart of all resilience definitions is the idea of "bounce back." Resilience describes the capacity of a system (whether a community or an economy) to maintain an intact core identity in the face of change and a state of dynamic balance within which change can be avoided or recovered from without a fundamental transition to a new form. The degree to which change is fundamentally disruptive is inversely related to resilience.

We have embraced and are redefining resilience from an ecological justice perspective[6] rooted in the governing principles of ecology, which recognizes the role of human communities as integral to a healthy ecosystem.

Resilience, we believe, can bridge mitigation and adaptation, and economy and ecology, and can help us create more social cohesion, inclusion, power and participation and more holistic and systemic interventions.

Adaptation + Mitigation
+ Thick / Deep Democracy = **Resilience**

The Dimensions of Resilience

We have distilled the core aspects of resilience to five key factors that can be applied as principles of organization and as evaluative criteria for the resilience of a system[7]. They are inspired by ecological systems thinking and based on prolonged and thoughtful observation of the world around us. These principles interact and overlap, supporting and reinforcing each other. We treat them individually here for the sake of simplicity.

1. **RESISTANCE TO DISRUPTION.** Resistance is the capacity of a system to fend off a potential disruption. The immune system is a great example of resistance. A healthy immune system increases one's resistance against viral threats. Intact Gulf Coast wetlands provided resistance against storms by dissipating their impact before they reached dense human settlements, making human settlement possible in the hurricane-prone areas of the world. Of course, resistance is limited and by itself does not create sufficient resilience.

2. **LATITUDE TO ACCOMMODATE CHANGE.** Latitude, or elasticity, is the capacity of a system to stretch and accommodate change without it being disruptive. Latitude complements resistance. When something cannot be stopped, then flexibility becomes key. A strong, dense, unbending tree is resistant to winds up to a point, but the rigidity eventually becomes a point of stress and failure. A tree that can sway will have more latitude against such a threat. Similarly, in much of the western world, we build houses to be permanent and withstand as much as possible. In places where there are monsoons, people build their houses such that they can be easily rebuilt. They also build a culture around regularly rebuilding roofs and houses in order to accommodate a change that would otherwise be more disruptive.

As we think about the built environment, public infrastructure, and how to remake those systems in the face of climate

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6   Movement Generation. "Politics of Home." Pg. 4. 2011.

7   There are many other frameworks of resilience in both economy and ecology. In "The Resilience Imperative," authors Michael Lewis and Pat Conaty identify seven principles. Within the world of ecology, there are four core principles, which we have expanded upon.

change, the principle of latitude may guide us again. This principle leads us to maintain and restore living and dynamic marshlands, instead of building static and rigid sea walls with a defined lifespan that will eventually lead to failure. Or it may guide us to build human dwellings with locally sourced materials in order to reflect the wisdom of how humans can dwell in their climates with the least amount of external energy needs.

Latitude is also the key feature determining whether a non-native species functions as invasive or not. If an ecosystem has a lot of latitude, then a new species can find a niche (make home) without being disruptive to the core of the system. When a system lacks latitude, then a non-native species has the potential to become "invasive" and fundamentally transform the ecosystem identity. In other words, whether a species is invasive or not, has more to do with the total latitude of the system than with the species itself.

3. **REDUNDANCY OF ROLES AND FUNCTIONS.** Within any system there must be redundancy of key roles. Primary ecosystem functions should be served by multiple elements in the system in different ways. For example, pollination is a key ecological function for the long-term health and resilience of an ecosystem and is, therefore, best performed by many different species at once, in different ways. If an ecosystem has only one pollinator, then a threat to that species would wipe out a core ecological function — leading to an identity shift and a new state. An example is utility-scale power generation. If a large-scale generating station goes down due to a storm, a blackout occurs over a large area because there are no alternative sources of power. But if power generation is distributed across many smaller generating facilities (e.g., micro wind and rooftop solar) and there are different ways of getting energy for different uses, that redundancy will likely result in a lower impact across the grid in the face of disruption.

4. **DIVERSITY OF ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS.** Within a system, there should be diversity of scale, form and organization across elements, so that a threat to a particular structure does not compromise the integrity of the whole system. Some species are organized in colonies, some in families, some as networks, some as lone individuals congregating only to reproduce. For example, if every species in a system were organized into colonies, with one queen and multiple drones, then something like an estrogen disruptor that wiped out queens would wipe out everything in the whole ecosystem. The interplay between redundancy of roles and diversity of form creates the backbone of latitude and resistance. An additional aspect of this diversity of forms is how these elements relate to each other within the system to avoid a domino effect if one element is threatened. One of the key vulnerabilities of the dominant economy is that there is a tendency towards a single form of organization of banks and business, trade and exchange. They are all dependent on one organizational form and tethered to a speculative market, which makes all the institutions vulnerable to the same threat — i.e. speculative bubbles that burst. If there were greater diversity of size, scale and organization of financial institutions, and if so much of economic life were not tethered to a few interlinked markets, the effects of a market disruption would not ripple through the whole global economy.

Having more diverse forms of economic activity can make a community more economically resilient than one that is dependent on a central industry. This is especially the case if a community is economically dependent on an extreme energy industry, such as a coal mine, oil refinery or power utility. A diversity in the forms of economic activity and in the forms of ownership and control can create an economic resilience that is the foundation for other dimensions of community resiliency. An example to the contrary is the way that the food system has become increasingly vulnerable to threats, such as rising oil prices, drought and soil erosion as

The Dimensions of Resilience

- **RESISTANCE:** *The capacity of a system to fend off disruption.*
- **LATITUDE:** *The capacity of a system to accommodate change without letting the change be disruptive.*
- **REDUNDANCY:** *Overlapping of roles and functions in distinct niches.*
- **DIVERSITY:** *A diversity of scale, form and organization across elements that protect the integrity of the whole system.*
- **PRECARIOUSNESS:** *Describes how vulnerable (close) a system is to losing its core identity and transitioning to a new state.*

food production has transitioned from small scale producers (farmers) using diverse cultivation methods to grow diverse crops suited to specific places, to a system of ever increasing agribusiness consolidation and the mono-cropping of a handful of major crops. The same is also true for meat production.

5. **PRECARIOUSNESS.** Precariousness describes how vulnerable (close) a system is to losing its core identity and transitioning to a new state. As diversity is eradicated through disruption (reduced variety of form and functions; loss of redundancy, resistance and latitude) a system becomes increasingly vulnerable to any change. Some systems are in a delicate balance between a few interdependent elements and while stable, are precarious. Mono Lake is a good example. This hypersaline lake is an extremely simple but delicately balanced ecosystem that is extremely precarious because of the paucity of diversity upon which it depends. The introduction of just a moderate amount of pollution or the elimination of fresh water flows to the lake could force the system into a new state. In the current economic system, an individual without resources, such as extended networks and multiple sources of support to fall back on, who lives month-to-month on his/her income is in a precarious condition. An unexpected expense, such as a health care emergency, could mean an inability to pay housing or transportation expenses and compromise his/her ability to hold a job, causing his/her whole way of life to collapse. Precariousness is at the heart of the vulnerability that makes climate impacts so severe in key communities and is one of the core factors that needs to be reversed to establish resiliency.

When we use these dimensions to assess the resilience of the dominant economy against the threat of climate disruption and ecological erosion, we can see how our dominant economy is extremely vulnerable and has a long-term resiliency that is deeply compromised. In the dominant economy, redundancy of roles and structural diversity are viewed as inefficiencies. Mono crop agriculture eradicates diversity in the food system, just as mergers and acquisitions eradicate diversity in the economy. As more and more of the human population is forced into cities, we decrease our latitude to absorb the impacts of extreme weather. As we eliminate natural buffers, such as mangroves and wetlands, we compromise our resistance. Most importantly, as globalization compromises cultural integrity worldwide, we lose the diversity of forms and experiences needed to survive.

We need to reorient our strategies towards strengthening the dimensions of resilience by rethinking the scale at which primary economic activity should happen. "Too Big To Fail" is not resilient. If it is too big to fail, it is too big to exist—unless we want to increase the frequency and intensity of shocks, slides and systemic collapse. The dimensions of resilience, combined with principles of ecology, lead to a set of criteria for reorganizing the economy and, we believe, a set of strategies to advance a **Just Transition**.

Fidelity, Integrity and Identity: Understanding What We Are Working to Protect

In order to apply the dimensions of resilience to the development of strategy and practice, we must first *describe* the system in question. We need to ask, "What is the core identity of the system that defines the boundaries past which it has a new identity?" For example, city neighborhoods are often defined by their historic residents (i.e. a historically black neighborhood). Rezoning, urban renewal and gentrification present a threat to the core identity of established communities. As the system of land speculation brings in new people and forces out historic residents, the community's identity changes and at some point it no longer is a "black community." A city government, which wants to increase revenues and spur economic development, most often defines the community by its geography, not its historic residents. It creates and/or privileges geographic borders rather than social boundaries and thus, displaces the "black identity" as a core element of the place. Because cultural connection and social cohesion are what make communities strong, the failure to attend to this core aspect of identify is a key factor in weakening resilience. Indeed, building resilient communities requires that we understand the diverse character and identity of the community we are working to strengthen and preserve. And it is critical that community development that is done through the lens of increasing climate resilience preserve cultural connection and not promote displacement.[8]

Once the system has been described, a second, equally important order of business is to define the boundaries of the system. An "ecosystem can be as small as a drop of rain, or as large as the whole planet; it depends where you draw the boundaries of home."[9] And, of course, all ecosystems are interdependent. Resilience plays out at different scales and all scales are interdependent on each other — from the planetary to the bioregion to the human community, clan or family.

Principles of Action and Organizing to Create Community Resilience

Movement Generation argues that there are five core principles of organization of economic activity needed in order to foster true ecological and economic resilience. These principles apply to both the processes and the solutions. Guided by a resilience framework, we are looking for ways to *diversify, democratize, decentralize, reduce, and redistribute* at every step. These criteria manifest in different ways within different sectors of the economy in different places but when applied, drive us towards resilience.[10]

DIVERSIFY: Learning from one of nature's key organizing principles, communities must develop a diversity of structures, relationships and roles in the economy. The old lesson of the Irish potato famine applies from seeds to energy systems. When only one or two varieties of a food crop dominate, a disease, pest, or change in weather pattern can wipe out the entire crop. Farmers in the global north are relearning that diversity is our best defense. Just as sustainable farms plant a wide variety of crops to support a healthy ecosystem rich in beneficial insects and soil microbial life, a regional food system must include a diversity of producers, production methods, relationships, structures of organization, and distribution channels.[11] Such an approach supports resilience because no single structure, participant or vehicle can cause a major disruption to the overall health and functioning of the regional food system.

Similarly with other aspects of the economy. No one would use a chain saw to cut a tomato, so it makes little sense to use a nuclear power plant to make a smoothie. From bike-powered blenders to small-scale water wheels to passive solar, different energy solutions should be applied to different uses and based

8   Causa Justa :: Just Cause. "Development without Displacement: Resisting Gentrification in the Bay Area." 2014.

9   Movement Generation. "Eco Means Home." 2012.

10 These principles are inspired by many other people, most notably, Vandana Shiva and her work. Shiva, Vandana. *Earth Democracy.* Pg. 5. South End Press, 2005.

11 Brafman, Ori. "The Starfish and the Spider: The Unstoppable Power of Leaderless Organizations." 2006.

on local contexts. Examples of this principle in action can be found in Kerala, India, where communities have fought against mega hydroelectric and nuclear plants that threaten their land and livelihoods. As a result, the government has initiated policies to devolve power, decision-making and resources to the local level. This has led to an increase in diversified, decentralized, distributed energy solutions, such as rural communities investing in and building their own micro-hydro, small-scale solar, biogas digestion, and other renewable energy initiatives.[12]

Another example of diversity in action can be seen more recently in the context of transit planning in the U.S. where planners have begun to identify the value of assessing a wide range of transportation needs and their contexts, which allows them to take into consideration the most appropriate transit options rather than defaulting to the decades-old auto-based transportation approach. These principles can be seen in action in many third world countries, where people use a combination of buses for long distance, informal ridesharing or hitchhiking for trips along major highways to nearby towns, minibus taxis for trips within a city, and walking or biking for local daily needs.[13]

DEMOCRATIZE: Solutions that foster resilience ensure that people will have direct democratic control over the decisions that affect their daily lives and those most harmed by the systems that have brought us here have the opportunity to lead the way to solutions. In the Indian state of Kerala, for example, the state-sponsored "People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning" led to improved healthcare delivery, education, access to services, and other social welfare indicators.[14] In the semi-autonomous Zapatista communities in Southern Mexico and those of the Landless Workers Movement (MST) in Brazil, participatory self-governance has engaged those whose lands, livelihoods

and cultures have been compromised but who hold the evolved knowledge of place (the stories and cultures) in remaking the economy.[15] In the domestic context, it is the democratic engine of grassroots community organizing which ensures that the communities most often left out are at the table and guiding community planning processes, public policy and electoral power building — to ensure that community need and innovation drive the remaking of cities and communities.

DECENTRALIZE: The principles of resilience lead to the practice of decentralization, a core pathway to remaking economies. Local energy production should not only be spread out (distributed solar generation), ownership and control also should not be concentrated. When users are closer to the producer, they will be better equipped to make decisions that support regeneration and resilience.

The decentralization principle must be held in concert with democratization (and the other principles), so that the shifts towards clean power or regional food production, for example, address the broader needs for food and energy, rather than devolving into an "every person for themselves" scenario. Moving towards concentrated ownership of distributed energy, where a single company or utility owns all the "distributed" rooftop solar — a plausible trajectory as fossil fuel companies and finance institutions invest more in solar energy — violates the principles of resilience because it eradicates diversity and robs communities of the economic benefits that come with direct ownership and control of the systems needed for them to thrive.[16]

REDUCE: Organizing towards resilience demands that societies in the highly industrialized and rapidly industrializing worlds reduce consumption. Continued economic growth requires

12   Greenpeace India. "Taking Charge: Case Studies of Decentralised Renewable Energy Projects in India in 2010." http://www.greenpeace.org/india/Global/india/report/2011/Taking%20Charge.pdf

13   Litman, Todd. "Introduction to Multi-Modal Transportation Planning: Principles and Practices." Victoria Transport Policy Institute, 2012. http://www.vtpi.org/multimodal_planning.pdf

14   Heller, Patrick, Harilal, K. N., Chaudhuri, Shubham. "Building Local Democracy: Evaluating the Impact of Decentralization in Kerala, India." World Bank, 2007. Elamon, Joy, Franke, Richard W., Ekbal, B. "Decentralization of health services: the Kerala People's Campaign." Montclair State University, 2004.

15   Starr, Amory, Martínez-Torres, María Elena, Rosset, Peter. "Participatory Democracy in Action: Practices of the Zapatistas and the Movimento Sem Terra." 2009. http://www.trabal.org/texts/democracy.pdf

16   Center for Social Inclusion. 2013. "Community-Scale Energy: Models, Strategies and Racial Equity. A Scan of Community Innovation Around Efficiency and Renewable Energy."

intensive resource extraction and produces pollution that cuts against ecosystem health at every level — from the individual human body to the local watershed to global climate systems.[17] Despite the great potential of alternative energy to limit the impacts of resource extraction and reduce carbon emissions, without deep reductions in consumption, urban communities in the industrialized world will be unable to create truly clean energy systems that meet the current demand levels without compromising the ecosystem health of another community elsewhere. In other words, unless we combine the shift to clean energy with significant reductions in overall consumption and energy use, the economies in the industrialized world will continue to drive instability and greater vulnerability in communities on the margins in the U.S. and around the world.

REDISTRIBUTE: The massive social inequity currently present in the U.S. and the global economy must be addressed explicitly in order to foster resilience. Social inequity is a form of ecological imbalance. Left unchallenged and unchanged, it will continue to erode ecosystem health as people are forced to compromise their land, water, food, and air for survival. Hence, the solutions forged in this period must redistribute both wealth and power; and the processes of implementing these solutions must also redistribute resources and decision-making. The economic activity generated to address climate adaptation and mitigation offers real opportunities for communities usually excluded to lead and participate in these efforts in ways that increase economic equity and establish clear social cohesion.

We argue that the application of the principles of *ecological justice in action* itself generates *the just transition to resilient communities*. Just transition, therefore, is the most direct pathway to resilience.

Building Resilient Communities

We believe the framework presented here can lead to a vision of what we need to do to re-orient the economy, in particular, cities and bioregions, towards the greatest resilience. In addition, it can guide us as we rethink and remake all the key domains of economic life: energy, transportation, food, water, waste, work, housing, and finance. While we can re-design environments to adapt to the impacts of climate disruption (economic and environmental) and try to reduce emissions, it is only through a rethinking of the key domains of economic life will we be able to do both simultaneously.

17   For a well organized explanation for the limits and failures of the dominant economy, read Jerry Mander's "The Capitalism Papers: Fatal Flaws of an Obsolete System" (2012).

The Principles of a Just Transition to Resilient Communities

Form follows function: Scale and process

PRINCIPLES OF A JUST TRANSITION TO RESILIENT COMMUNITIES

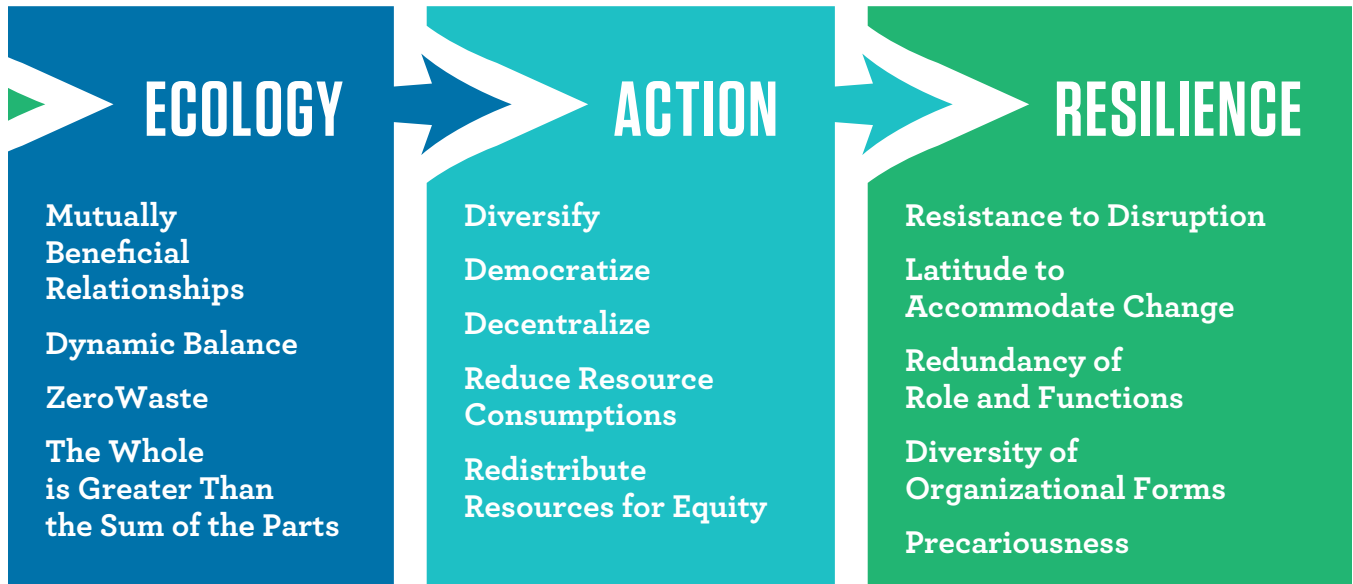| ECOLOGY	ACTION	RESILIENCE
Mutually Beneficial Relationships	Diversify	Resistance to Disruption
Dynamic Balance	Democratize	Latitude to Accommodate Change
ZeroWaste	Decentralize	Redundancy of Role and Functions
The Whole is Greater Than the Sum of the Parts	Reduce Resource Consumptions	Diversity of Organizational Forms
	Redistribute Resources for Equity	Precariousness

Figure 2. Principles of a Just Transition to Resilient Communities

While these principles — diversify, democratize, decentralize, reduce, and redistribute — are essential, they do not necessarily guarantee the right answer. We believe the right answers will come from communities innovating and experimenting with solutions, first at the micro level, then scaling out and identifying the appropriate scale of governance as they go along.

For instance, in the Bay Area, Greywater Action spent several years experimenting with different greywater systems with dozens of households and community institutions. They trained hundreds of new greywater technicians in the process of building out these systems and conducted research to assess the social, economic and ecological impacts of the systems years after they had been installed. They created a co-learning lab that engaged multiple neighborhoods in small-scale build outs and in the process, identified a plumbing code barrier that made many of the systems "illegal." Residents were informed of this but decided to make the installations anyway on the principle that "if it's the right thing to do, we have a right to do it."

Working with community users of greywater, Greywater Action advocated to change the state code to allow residents to install these safe, simple and effective systems without a permit. Some of these greywater technicians are now active in applying these principles in Los Angeles and testing them out in a very different region. Ultimately, the scale of governance for water is at the watershed level (of which there are smaller and larger sheds). By developing relationships between communities living in the watershed, people can identify the rules that need to be broken or established in order to restore and safeguard fresh water supplies.

At present, we need a diversity of interventions in different arenas of the economy. In the case of resource exchange, communities need to intervene from the smallest scale to the largest. At the individual, family and neighborhood scale, examples include: childcare coops and informal barter and gift economies. At the community scale, examples include: local currency, time banks and revolving loan funds. At the city and regional level, participatory budgeting would provide an important and appropriate model of intervention. And at the state, national and international

levels, public finance and joint funds would be appropriate for collecting, redistributing and devolving resources to the local level and towards equity as part of the transition.

In fostering transition from the current system to resilient communities, questions of scale abound: "How do we 'scale up' quickly from small individual solutions to the economy at large?" "Why should we focus on 'local' or bioregional over national?" "How do we get more people involved?" "How do we tip the scale of public debate towards a just transition?"

The most important principle in addressing questions of scale is that *form follows function*. The scale of governance and the scale of organization are determined by what they are supposed to do. So we ask: "What is being organized or governed?" For example, the scale of governance for trade is a "trade-shed" — the

region in which trade can be conducted. This is different from the scale of governance for production, which might be a shop floor in conjunction with a community that utilizes what is being produced. Though they are related, these two "scales" serve different functions, and hence take on different forms/structures that correspond to different scales of governance.

Of critical importance to where we're going is how we get there. The process of shifting systems must engage people in the project of applying their own labor to meeting community needs in ways that foster resilience. As they do this, they are building the mechanisms for democratizing a deep relationship to (and understanding of) the decisions that need to be made. As the greywater example indicates, communities that participate in the process of transition are more likely to end up with solutions that can be sustained and scaled up.

II. CONCLUSION

Rather than being a *characteristic* of social groups and communities, vulnerability is a *consequence* of the historical and systemic exclusion of groups from access to resources and political power. This root cause of vulnerability must be directly addressed in order to foster resilience. The pathway to resilience is for those communities that bear the brunt of the root causes, impacts and false solutions to the ecological crisis to lead the remaking of economy. As described in this paper, the root cause of the ecological crisis is the dominant economic system in which growth through extraction outpaces the regenerative capacities of ecosystems. Vulnerable or 'frontline' communities have a stake in ensuring that the solutions and strategies employed do not exacerbate existing vulnerabilities or create new ones — including economic and political inequality.

The frontline communities are best positioned to lead a just transition to resilient ecosystems in which human labor and cultures are reintegrated into a thriving, regenerative web of life.

A reorientation towards resilience along the lines outlined in this paper can help align policy, planning, organizing, and movement-building toward regional reinvention of the economy. Through trans-localism, where autonomous, place-based organizing and interventions are connected across communities through a unified vision, shared strategies, and common frames, we can address the scale of the problem not by choosing a single intervention but by aggregating scale. With leadership from communities on the frontlines, we can weave the fabric of the next economy now, while expanding and practicing democracy. ■

Part III. Weathering Together:

Resilience as a Vehicle to Reshape and Reimagine Policy, Political Will and the Public

by The Praxis Project

THEPRAXISPROJECT.ORG

I. INTRODUCTION

There's an old adage: "Everyone talks about the weather, but nobody does anything about it." Activists today are proving it wrong by breaking through millennia of long held beliefs about our powerlessness and helping people connect the dots between human/corporate behavior and climate change. As the public warms up to the notion of climate change resulting from human drivers, there is an opportunity to advance frames of collective responsibility, agency and interconnectedness. These frames can be advanced as part of a sensible approach to building communities able to effectively navigate the challenges ahead.

Resilience as a concept is gaining caché across a wide variety of sectors. Framed effectively, resilience can redefine what it means to be "climate ready" and offer the public a way to understand that readiness requires retrofitting society from the ground up. This briefing paper was originally developed for *Pathways to Resilience* (P2R) — a gathering of advocates involved in exploring the potential for developing and framing policy to advance resilience with equity, democracy and sustainability. An initial draft of this paper focused on some of the key embedded and emerging contradictory frames that threaten efforts to advance a more holistic approach to the climate crisis integrating economic transformation, equity and human rights as the basis for achieving truly resilient communities.

Following the gathering, additional framing issues as well as policy priorities were added. The first section examines the competing frames and agendas that shape discourse and policymaking in this arena. The second section presents a brief overview of key opinion drivers for moving a resilience agenda. The third section suggests alternative frames as well as identifying important audiences/constituencies for building support for a comprehensive resilience policy. There is still more work to do in the development of clear, resonant messaging to support this work. It is our belief that the best messaging is developed as a collaborative process that engages the wisdom and expertise of advocates/practitioners. This paper and the gathering have helped to lay the foundation for such a process in the hope that representative *groups* of advocates convene to take it up.

What we mean by framing for change

At the heart of The Praxis Project's analysis guiding this paper are four assumptions that we believe guide the interplay between messaging and effective policy development:

1. **EFFECTIVE FRAMING AND REFRAMING IS A LONG-TERM PROJECT BUILT ON AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS THAT SHAPE THE CURRENT PUBLIC CONVERSATION.** Framing and reframing requires us to pay attention to what people are already saying and thinking about the issues and values we hope to advance. We also need to understand the process by which meaning and beliefs that trigger support, opposition or apathy are created — a process that is much deeper than news coverage. We make meaning and belief based on our socialization (education, upbringing, faith values, and cultural norms), our individual experiences of what we read, watch and listen to, and a host of other factors. Reframing at scale requires that we engage all of these processes as part of a long-term strategy for embedding our frames into the fabric of socialization and the making of meaning. This may seem abstract, but it isn't. The Right is engaged in local curricular fights, such as the banning of "ethnic studies" in Arizona, not because they care about the mostly Latino children who took those courses, but because it was important to eliminate the institutionalization of any narrative counter to their dominant pro conquest narrative. As Figure 1 below suggests, socialization matters in creating public opinion. And public opinion is not created overnight.

2. **EFFECTIVE MESSAGING IS DRIVEN BY POLICY AND ORGANIZING GOALS, NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.** An obvious point, but in the face of so many communication initiatives that prescribe what should be said with little connection to our goals and sometimes, even in contradiction to them, it's important to ensure that all communication supports the work at hand. It doesn't help to reach people with "good" messages that undermine our efforts. *Messaging is a vehicle, not the destination.*

ISSUE

CURRENT CONTEXT
News coverage
and public conversation

HISTORY, BELIEF, MEMORY
What we believe, learn and have experienced
in relation to the issue and about the "characters" in the narrative

POWER RELATIONS AND STRUCTURES
How systems and key institutions produce narratives,
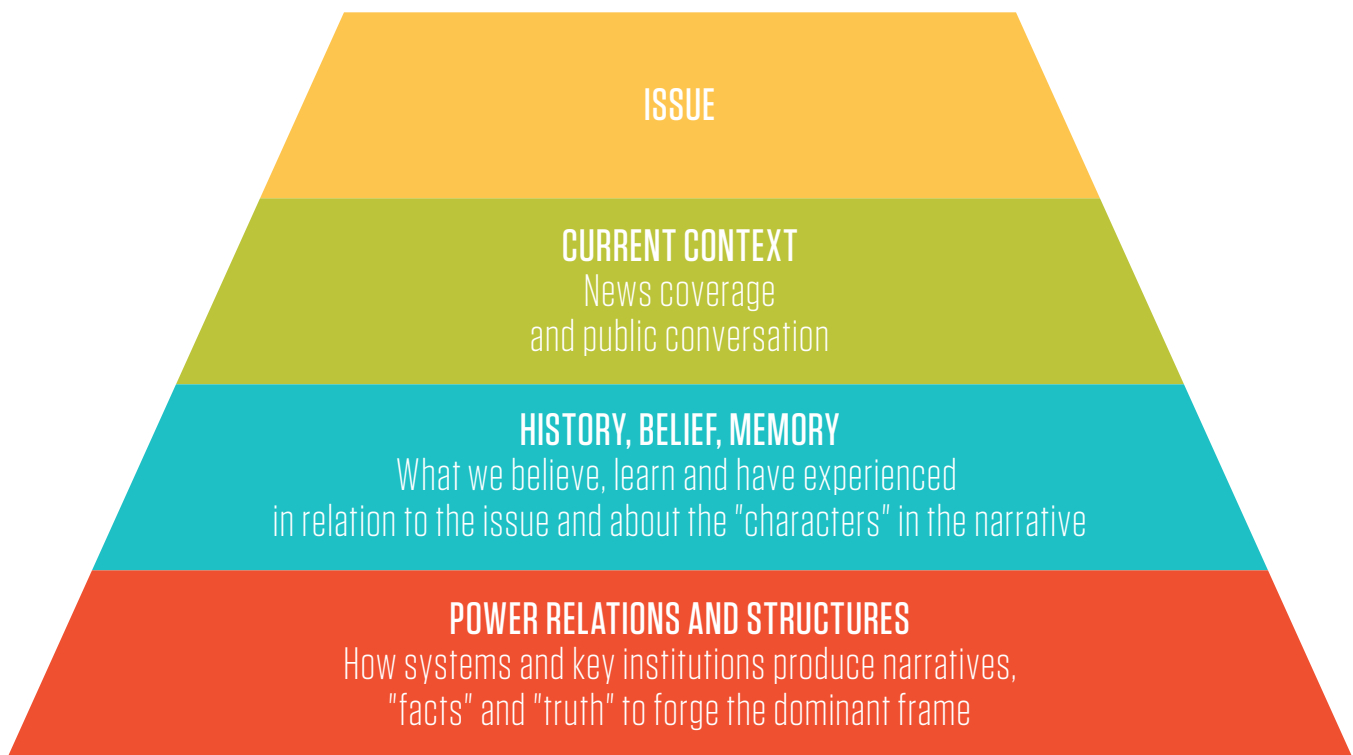"facts" and "truth" to forge the dominant frame

Figure 1. An issue frame is rooted in deep social and historical contexts

3. **THIS IS NOT ABOUT DEBATING THE ISSUES BUT ABOUT BUILDING THE NECESSARY POWER AND POLITICAL WILL TO WIN.** Our main focus must be to expand our support base and move people from awareness of the problem to a belief that something can be done. This is the heart of communicating for policy change. It's easy to get caught up in debating the opposition because they are vocal. But we lose sight of the fact that on most issues, at least a third of the people agree with us and at least a simple majority either agrees or is not particularly swayed in either direction. When people understand a policy's practicality and impact, they are moved even more. Therefore, the key to moving public discourse is to communicate directly with our audiences about our ideas. This does not mean that we do not counter bad information or simply ignore dominant frames in the conversation. Rather, it means that we focus on opposing ideas only to the degree necessary to advance our own.

4. **CLEAR, SENSIBLE POLICY IDEAS DRIVE DISCOURSE.** Whether you agree with policy ideas, such as vouchers, budget cuts and raising the minimum wage, or not, they have in common one thing — they are understood by most people. What is deemed sensible is subjective, of course, based on what we value as "good sense." Therefore, we have to engage the interplay between building shared values and outlining clear actions that actualize those values as policies.

What is framing?

Framing is essentially the interaction between how information is packaged and prepared for others to receive it and how it is received and perceived. Imagine a picture hanging on the wall in a frame. In many ways, the artist "framed" the picture for you. What is in the frame–and what is left out–shape what you see when you look upon the work. However, this is not the entirety of how you perceive the picture.

Framing = how the story is constructed + how we see it

Your interpretation of the information you receive — such as, sound, images and story — is also shaped by "conceptual frames," which are created as you learn to think about and categorize information over time. These conceptual frames help us understand and make sense of what we see. All stories and images trigger conceptual frames that are mediated by culture, environment, socialization, upbringing and other factors.

Framing versus messaging

*A message is not a slogan, although one can use slogans, visuals and other tools to convey a message. The message is the picture to be conveyed — often with a frame. The message frame operates like any traditional picture frame — defining what you see and don't see in the picture. Good messages are **affective** (they touch us emotionally), as well as **effective** (they convey what we need them to). Good messages connect with shared dreams and beliefs and surface the promise and possibilities in our coming together. They also communicate "what can be done" so that those who are normally outside the process understand what they* can do to have power inside the process, while decision-makers understand what's possible and what's at stake. For instance, the current campaign to raise the minimum wage is framing its messages to trigger our beliefs about fairness, family and independence to make sure that we understand the practical and positive impact of the policy. The actual message is that it's time to raise the wage (meaning it's overdue) and that we will solve a lot of the problems we all care about if we do. The action is the passing of a federal law. A variety of slogans, charts, chants and other tools are employed to support the message.

II. THE CURRENT CONVERSATION RELATED TO RESILIENCE

Most of the explicit conversation on resilience is taking place among "experts" — practitioners in public and private sector contexts and advocates engaged in working to shape and influence these institutional actors. As a result, there is relatively little polling or survey data that explores public perceptions of this idea (reviewed below). However, there are related markers of belief (as outlined in Figure 2 below) that helps us understand likely areas of support and opposition for comprehensive resilience approaches.

Concepts of interconnectedness and shared fate versus Dominion belief

Concepts of the proper role for government and public investment

Belief that climate change is human driven, important to address and something can be done

Concepts of fairness regarding access to services and the rights of "the others"

SUPPORT FOR RESILIENCE POLICY RELATES TO...

Belief that environmental protection happens at the expense of economic development

Concepts of corporate accountability and the proper role of regulation

Sense of vulnerability to climate change

Concern about ecological degradation and environmental protection

Figure 2. Some Key Conceptual Frames Related to Comprehensive Resilience Policy

III. EMERGING THEMES FROM POLLING AND SURVEY DATA

The "markers" of belief (shown above) are a critical foundation in the willingness to engage in the bold vision emerging from the interviews conducted in preparation for the February meeting and captured in the P2R Landscape and Framing papers. Clearly, we as a nation are "all over the place" in relation to these values and beliefs. There are gaps in understanding and analysis, as well as divergent perceptions about the practicality of addressing these issues. Moving public opinion will require speaking to and reshaping these conceptual frames as part of a comprehensive communications strategy built on a shared power analysis outlining decision-making points along the range of policies and initiatives required for this transformation. As well as building the base of support needed to move these initiatives. Below are some key themes emerging from a review the most relevant polling data:

A CONFUSED PUBLIC BUT GROWING PLURALITY OF PRACTITIONERS. A review of data[1] related to environmental sustainability and some of its key markers — prioritizing environmental protection, understanding climate crisis, perception that something can be done — reveals a public harboring a great deal of misinformation. There's a disconnect between the metrics of climate change and the public's understanding of the significance of those numbers. For example, a single degree increase in temperature in daily life seems relatively insignificant when there is little baseline understanding of the ecological impact. On the other hand, available surveys of practitioners in public agencies show that most hold a basic definition of resilience as being more than disaster response, and also have a sense of the concrete strategies necessary to advance their work in this area.[2] However, these practitioners are not thinking in the broad structural frame that emerged from the advocate interviews by Movement Strategy Center — at least not yet. Part of the challenge may be the related perception that work targeting particularly vulnerable communities, especially when race, racism and privilege are front and center, may be construed as "race conscious" or discriminatory. The growing work around **targeted universalism** and interventions focused on low income communities are an attempt to support agencies in a shift toward more equity focused efforts.

DEEPLY HELD CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS VALUES CAN "INTERRUPT" AND TRUMP RESILIENCE MESSAGES. Strong religious beliefs among a significant sector of the public in a forthcoming Apocalypse and Rapture (about 1 in 5), as well as a belief in the biblical concept that man has dominion over the earth and its use (more than half), challenge our basic narrative of species interdependence and interconnectedness. Some Christian faith traditions are transitioning doctrinal teaching from notions of dominion to "stewardship" (i.e., with dominion comes great responsibility) as a way to support environmental awareness and action. Dominion beliefs tend to be more strongly held among older people — especially in the south and in Mormon strongholds, such as Utah and Idaho — than among younger people, especially those living in the west and the northeast. Demographic trending seems to indicate a decrease in the influence of the traditional Christian church and organized religion overall. This, along with the growth of New Age, Buddhist and other non-Christian, counter-Dominion religious frames, opens the door for a different conversation on sustainability and resilience in the U.S.[3]

OPPONENTS DOMINATE MUCH OF THE FRAMING ON RESILIENCE AS DISASTER/CRISIS RESPONSE. Now that most Republicans believe that climate change is real (although to a lesser degree than Democrats and those further left), there has been less emphasis on trying to dispute its reality, though much energy goes into disputing its threat. The focus now is on thwarting positive environmental action by framing it as bad for the economy or more bluntly, as a job-killer. A Green Jobs frame

1 Vasi, I.B. *Public Support for Sustainable Development: A Mile Wide, but How Deep?* Consilience: The Journal of Sustainable Development, Vol. 8, Issue 1 (2012), Pp. 153-170.

2 Thayer, J. and Morgan, R. *Resilient Against What? How leading U.S. municipalities are understanding and acting on resilience.* Post Carbon Institute, Santa Rosa, CA. 2013.

3 See public opinion polling in this area, including Saad, L. *U.S. Confidence in Organized Religion at Low Point: Catholics' confidence remains significantly lower than Protestants'.* Gallup, July 2012, Princeton, NJ. In U.S., *3 in 10 Say They Take the Bible Literally: Plurality view Bible as inspired word of God but say not everything in it should be taken literally.* Gallup, July 2011. Princeton Survey Research Associates International, *Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life 10 Nation Survey of Renewalists.* Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, Washington, DC. 2006.

notwithstanding, the Right's efforts have penetrated public discourse — helped in no small measure by "push" polling that reinforces their frame — to such an extent that there is hardly any conversation on environmental protection not tempered by concerns about job loss. In fact, the Green Jobs frame is mostly "in play" as a nonpartisan policy solution for job creation that is a win-win[4] (i.e., economic and environmental boons), but not yet widely used as a vehicle for helping the public reimagine sustainable economies. Also affecting support for public investment in resilience beyond disaster/crisis response is the Right's strong framing of such investment as handouts, and a strong push to prioritize public investment in measures to protect business. Such framing undermines positive action to address poverty and other social vulnerability by placing market protection above all else. Efforts to increase regulation, develop community-based alternatives, and create models that substantively challenge existing economic doctrine become challenging because they are subjugated by the contradictory narrative about the private sector as the most "deserving" of public resources. Of course, these are challenges, not restrictions.

THERE IS MUCH SUPPORT FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION–AS LONG AS IT DOES NOT AFFECT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OR JOBS.

A natural extension of the "dominion" framing ("the environment" is here for our service and supply) is the pitting of environmental protection against jobs and way of life. Opponents have effectively exploited the current atmosphere of economic dislocation and anxiety to keep much of the public from supporting major initiatives by convincing them of negative economic impact. Consequently, few understand the underlying factors driving the current crisis and even fewer believe that much can be done about it without disrupting livelihoods. Of course, there are many policy approaches that are not, as opponents call them, "job killers," and many more that require some fundamental restructuring of the economy as we know it. In some ways, the perception that addressing environmental degradation disrupts business as usual can be leveraged to support our work because many of us agree that "business as usual" is detrimental to the environment. The trick is to expand concerns about the dysfunctional nature of "business as usual" and help people clearly see themselves surviving and thriving in a shared alternative future ahead.

RESILIENCE IS VIEWED AS A TECHNICAL PROBLEM REQUIRING TECHNICIANS TO FIX IT.

One aspect of the gap in alignment of the working definition and framework for resilience between advocates and some professional practitioners is the sense that it's primarily a challenge to infrastructure and systems rather than a fundamental change project. Gopal Dayaneni of Movement Generation calls this frame "carbon fundamentalism" – i.e. the idea that it's primarily a problem of controlling carbon emissions and little else. Within the "technical fix" frame, *advocates are seen as providers of feedback on projects, at best, or at worst, as invisible or problematic entities to be "managed."* Unfortunately, much of the funding for this area is not structured to provide clear, affirmative guidelines for methodology beyond technical approaches. In addition, there exists a harsh political environment — anti-immigrant, increasing racial bias, anti-democratic — that tends to discourage public engagement in key, high impact constituencies. Without intentional, formal venues for engagement–especially venues beyond mediated feedback to agencies–the framing of resilience as a technical challenge for "experts" to handle will become increasingly institutionalized. Advocates at the P2R repeatedly raised the importance of prioritizing, organizing and increasing capacity for organizing as a key strategy for moving a comprehensive resilience agenda. Accordingly, it is important to note that organizing and building power and voice among high impact communities will be critical to addressing these framing challenges.

LACK OF EMPATHY FOR THE "OTHERS" OFTEN CAUGHT IN "THE STORM."

There is a connection between the perception of a problem's impact and the perception of its urgency as a policy priority. The Pew Charitable Trust's annual poll on policy priorities shows that climate change has been at or near the bottom of the list since its debut 12 years ago. The reasons for the disconnect are complex and connected to beliefs about agency, dominion and personal sense of vulnerability as well as empathy for those who are the obvious victims of climate crisis. People of color, especially in the global south, have become the most persistent image of disaster — be it the typhoons in the Philippines, the tsunamis off the Indian Ocean, or the famine in sub-Saharan Africa, images of disaster embodied by people of color are deeply etched in our minds. While geographic distance can create emotional distance from the issue, lack of racial

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4   Quiroz-Martinez, Julie. *Beyond Green Jobs.* The Public Eye Magazine, Fall 2010, Vol. 25, No. 3. http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v25n3/beyond-green-jobs.html

empathy or empathy for "the other" is also a significant part of the challenge.

Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath provide a compelling domestic case in point. The inhumane treatment of people of color — mostly Black — by authorities, agencies and the media ran the gamut of biased, negative media portrayals: from the use of the term "refugee" to describe displaced local residents to the racially coded ways, in which the national leadership (including President Bush and his mother Barbara Bush) trivialized the devastation. Although Hurricane Sandy triggered the revival of some of the same frames, a combination of ongoing advocacy on the ground since Katrina and an active "ethnic" media helped to mitigate the negative portrayals to some degree. However, support, empathy and access to services in the aftermath of Sandy are still highly racialized as opponents persist in using the dominant narratives that exploit socialized racial bias to undermine support for publicly funded services for low-income people. They push even harder against explicit efforts to advance equitable access to services.

As Dr. Cecilia Martinez of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy observed at the P2R gathering, Native communities have been operating from a resilience framework for many years in response to centuries of devastation of which climate crisis is only a part. One of the many lingering effects of this history is the normalization of people of color and low income communities in crisis. The story of devastation is often observed and reframed in ways that obscure oppression–especially in its structural and institutional forms. This sense of crisis, dislocation and deprivation as a fixed, inevitable norm for many communities not only desensitizes others to the unfair impact of climate crisis, it undermines

support for focused policy interventions.

CALL IT RESILIENCE, SUSTAINABILITY, OR SOMETHING ELSE? Resilience is a term that can capture the broad array of systems and synapses needed to survive and thrive during times of dynamic change. To some, resilience has negative connotations — a frame defined by adaptation to crises[5] rather than the important work required to create sustainable societies that can reverse the climate crisis. They argue that resilience is anthropocentric, placing humans, not the entire planet at the center of the ecological narrative. They also question the need for introducing a relatively new term like *resilience*, when significant investment has already been made in getting the public to grasp *sustainability*. Others, however, feel that *resilience* illustrates the human factors — what we need to be and what we need to achieve — most succinctly for a planet dramatically reshaped by climate crisis (Earth 2.0). The word has positive triggers related to survival as triumph — successfully weathering life as it comes, transcending difficulty and other embedded (including heroic) frames — even though it is not imbued with a particularly structural frame.[6]

There is yet another argument, discussed in Movement Generation's paper, *The Politics of Home,* that says neither resilience nor sustainability accurately capture what we are trying to convey. Indeed, "sustainable" and "development" are mutually exclusive terms for those who believe that you cannot continue to develop in the conventional way if you erode the ecological system. As Movement Generation has argued elsewhere, "If you say, 'sustainable development,' you are assuming that development can be sustained."[7] You are also assuming that industrial development, continued growth and better redistribution of

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5   See, for example, Alexander, D.E. on this adaptation focus: "One aspect of cultural ecology is the need for human societies to adapt to environmental extremes. In this respect, a definition of resilience based on Rankine's articulation for the mechanics of materials… but used by analogy to express the robustness and adaptation capacity of social networks is one of the most promising developments for disaster risk reduction. Klein et al. (2003, p. 43) went so far as to argue that maintaining and enhancing adaptive capacity should be the overall goal of resilience. However, rather than adaptation being a property of resilience, Klein, et.al., saw resilience as part of the capacity to adapt that every society needs during these times of high hazard and climate change… The definitional problem is a product of the difficulties experienced in making resilience operational, i.e. designing strategies to achieve it in diverse, and often dynamic, circumstances." *Resilience and disaster risk reduction: an etymological journey.* Institute for Risk and Disaster Reduction, University College London. Copernicus Publications on behalf of the European Geosciences Union, London, UK. April 2013. http://www.nat-hazards-earth-syst-sci-discuss.net/1/1257/2013/nhessd-1-1257-2013.pdf

6   Law, A. and Mooney, G. offer this critique of social capital in the context of resilience: "Social capital, we argue, constructs a new political and social conformism with the aim of demobilising working-class organisations and activity. It encourages a fatalistic and conformist notion of social capital by confining voluntarism to safe, de-politicised channels. Hence part of its attraction for New Labour and the New Democrats has been its conservative emphasis on the norms of social integration while neglecting the basis of social disintegration in neo-liberal capitalism. In contrast, we describe a politically active sense of voluntarism, 'recalcitrant voluntarism', based on resistance to neo-liberal imperatives." *The maladies of social capital II: resisting neo-liberal conformism.* Critique, 34(3), 253-268. 2006.

that growth are the only ways to address poverty and economic inequity.

As resilience is used increasingly by policymakers to describe the adaptation of infrastructure in response to crisis, the window of opportunity in which to advance resilience in a broader frame keeps shrinking. Additionally, opponents' consistent use of deeply embedded frames around race and worthiness, economic anxiety, "free" markets, and the right to use the natural world as we see fit challenge our efforts to advance the broader resilience frame.

Moving a comprehensive agenda for a holistic and just approach to resilience will require creating a sense of a shared fate with those "others" most affected by climate crisis, as well as a shared belief in the underlying values that drive the policies we seek. Helping people make the connections through greater racial empathy, a more nuanced analysis of the economy and how it works,

and a clearer understanding of the crisis and what can be done about it are all at the heart of our efforts to build political will. In a time when much of what is considered "public" is under intense attack and fear, violence and marginalization of communities of color are widespread, the resilience framework provides an opportunity for the nation to reimagine governance, the purpose of public works, and earth stewardship, and expand the definition of "We" as we evolve our understanding of interconnectedness.

As ecology professor and author Alf Hornborg observes, *"... the currently burgeoning discussions on 'socio-ecological resilience'* [8] *tend to mask the power relations, contradictions of interest, and inequalities that to a large extent determine how humans utilise the surface of the Earth. On the other hand... [there is the] potential of resilience theory to radically confront such power structures by identifying some of the basic assumptions of economics as the very source of vulnerability, mismanagement, and crises."* [9]

7   Movement Generation. *Politics of Home.* 2011.

8   Berkes, Fikret and Folke, Carl, eds. *Linking Social and Ecological Systems: Management Practices and Social Mechanisms for Building Resilience.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 1998; Levin, Simon A., et al., *Resilience in Natural and Socio-Economic Systems.* Environment and Development Economics 3, no. 2, 222–35, 1998; Peterson, Garry D., *Political Ecology and Ecological Resilience: An Integration of Human and Ecological Dynamics.* Ecological Economics 35, no. 3, 323–36, 2000; Gunderson, Lance H. and Holling, Crawford S., eds. *Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems.* Island Press, Washington, DC, 2002; Berkes, Fikret, Colding, Johan and Folke, Carl, eds. *Navigating Social-Ecological Systems: Building Resilience for Complexity and Change.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2003; Folke, Carl, *Resilience: The Emergence of a Perspective for Social-Ecological Systems Analyses.* Global Environmental Change 16, no. 3, 253–67, 2006.

9   Hornborg, Alf. *Revelations of resilience: From the ideological disarmament of disaster to the revolutionary implications of (p)anarchy.* Resilience: International Policies, Practices and Discourses, 2013.

IV. REFRAMING FOR A NEW BIG PICTURE

If we agree that underlying our project is a fundamental reframing of how most Americans make sense of the environment, the economy and each other, then we must accept that this is not a short term project. However, there are other short-, intermediate- and long-term framing projects that we can undertake right now to move us forward. One way to imagine this process is to think of it as building a bridge. You need to know the two points you want to connect before you can begin. In our case, the two points are: moving from the current context (HERE) to creating the transformation we seek (THERE) by building the necessary infrastructure and changing current conditions.

The work of bridging these two points requires attention to the gaps in knowledge and belief and the value differences that hold us in the current context. We need to pay attention to the assets and resources available right now that will help us get further faster. *"Figure 3. Identifying Key Framing/Re-Framing Activities"* (below) shows how this process of inquiry works to develop framing and re-framing strategy. We usually populate the answers in the first and third columns before we return to the middle column to "build the bridge" from "here" to "there."

Addressing the Current Context	Bridging Toward Our Goals	Building Infrastructure and Making the Change
• What are the current conversations and "state of belief" on climate change and related issues among our key constituencies?	• What should our constituencies and other key "members of the public" understand and agree on in order to support this agenda?	• What will the public "state of belief" and conversations look and sound like when we succeed?
• How are the terms that define our frame being defined in the public conversation? What are the prospects for *our* definition(s) to take hold?	• What "evidence" — statistics, data trends, success stories — do we need to develop and disseminate to build credibility for our framework?	• What are the key concepts and terminologies that can help drive the transformation in this era? How and in what contexts will they be defined?
• Who are the actors shaping the current conversation and what is their credibility? What are the opportunities for amplifying our voices?	• What are the fundamental, competing beliefs that must be deconstructed and/or reconstructed to create more "social space" for supportive beliefs?	• Who are the experts whose input will be considered critical to informed decision-making?
• Is there a sense that we can solve these issues? What solutions are being offered currently?	• What are the opportunities for providing a glimpse into the future with our (better) policy ideas?	• What will be considered best practice and good policy?

Figure 3. Identifying Key Framing/Re-Framing Activities

"Figure 4. Key Framing/Re-Framing Activities for Advancing a Resilience Framework" (below) explores some of the key framing activities that need to be carried out to specifically advance a resilience framework. It is important to note that this is not a linear process. We must test and develop a comprehensive strategic communications approach that incorporates all of these elements over time as they overlap, inform and shape each other.

Addressing the Current Context	Bridging Toward Our Goals	Building Infrastructure and Making the Change
• Use polling, surveys and focus group research to identify beliefs and understanding among key segments of the public. • Be more visible in defining the term for the broader public. • Promote the public good by advancing themes of "governing together/ better together" that counter individualistic anti-government frames. • Build on beloved community themes to increase sense of a shared stake in collaboration for a sustainable/resilient/fair/compassionate nation. • Define opposition policies as lose-lose propositions; delegitimize credibility of spokespersons from corporations that profit from the status quo; increase credibility of "green" voices. • Unmask opponents' misleading tactics, including fake science, fake "victims" of protective policies, "AstroTurf" lobby groups, and corporate authored sermons to wrap propaganda in religious terms.	• Expand resources that translate the scientific evidence into metrics and stories that are more easily understood. • Provide practical, sensible solutions to help the public see how we make a difference beyond individual change. • Talk about models for economics, governance, collaboration, and ecological practice that work (i.e., health in all policies, cooperation economy, etc.) • Tell stories that help reinforce our connectedness as human beings across race, class and nation status. • Develop a compelling story about the future that goes beyond mitigation and adaptation[10]. • Counter the "Dominion" frame with a "good stewards" frame, aware of our interconnectedness with all life and our responsibility to the planet.	• Build public support for corporate regulation and accountability, and incentives for triple bottom line investments. • Build public understanding and support for good stewardship and human rights frameworks as foundational principles for policy and practice. • Build support for revenue generation mechanisms, such as affirmative tax reform, land valuation and green credits. • Shift official language, definitions, operating policies, and recommended best practices to align with our framework. • Ensure that this framework and underlying values are integrated in key curricula, including K-12, human rights education, professional training, and key disciplines, such as, planning. • Advance narrative and cultural framing that supports legal and policy infrastructure built around asserting "human rights "the rights of nature" in environmental legal and policy efforts.

Figure 4. Key Framing/Re-Framing Activities for Advancing a Resilience Framework

10 Shared by Miya Yoshitani of the Asian Pacific Environmental Network (APEN).

V. LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR EFFECTIVE META MESSAGES

These framing activities taken together can form a potent basis for the development of supportive meta messaging–overarching themes that provide a communications and storytelling framework at the movement or mass level. Such high level messaging is best developed collaboratively, where "on the ground" expertise of advocates and other key stakeholders can inform its focus and content.

Cognitive linguist George Lakoff describes three levels of messaging:

- **LEVEL 1** is the expression of broad, overarching values, such as fairness or responsibility — the core values that motivate us to change the world.

- **LEVEL 2** is the issue we work on, such as, housing, the environment, schools, or health.

- **LEVEL 3** is about the nitty-gritty of those issues, including the policy detail or strategy for achieving change.

Messaging about climate crisis and resilience, with few exceptions, tends to hover around Level 3, the most detailed level of expression. This makes connecting with the broad public difficult since it is at Level 1 that the greatest number of people connect in the deepest way. According to Lakoff, people's support for (or rejection of) an issue is determined by whether they can identify and connect with the Level 1 values. Values are motivators, and messages should reinforce and activate values.

Developing meta messages to advance a comprehensive resilience framework requires identifying the broad values that span across our Level 2 and Level 3 issues. The key to a meta message is not to have every advocate in the panoply of our work utter the same words. Rather, it is to have every advocate voice the same broad underlying Level 1 values in the context of all our messages. Additionally, meta messages should emphasize interconnection — how issues and values fit together in a landscape or context — rather than individual issue "portraits" or campaigns. Meta messaging requires time for planning and building a shared analysis that connects the dots between issues and campaigns. Although the P2R gathering did not allow for such extensive preparatory work, there were message themes (noted in *"Figure 5. Initial Message Themes for Communicating Resilience at All Levels"* on the following page) that surfaced as part of the discussion.

Potential Message Themes	Level 1 (Values)	Level 2 (Issues)	Level 3 (Policy)
• *This is an urgent crisis that requires all hands on deck.*	• *Facing the facts.* • Courage, maturity, reason.	• The future depends on how we face this challenge together (setting aside bias). The issue is too important for industry-dominated business as usual (money and politics, corporate speech).	• Policy goals and recommendations for expanded governance, alternatives, new regulatory and policy structure.
• *We are doing our part for the planet.*	• *This is about X community taking charge of our future.* • Local pride, caring for our neighbors, being part of the solution not the problem, being good stewards.	• We are all changing, giving and doing to confront this challenge. We are creating opportunities for learning and action retraining.	• Policy goals and recommendations for establishment of local incentives and equity in access and engagement; reframing of fines and new fees as "doing your part."
• *We have the know-how to get this done.*	• Ingenuity, initiative, community organizing, listening to those who have "weathered the storms," good science, and "just doing it."	• All over the world, we are succeeding when we listen and work together. We can build a world for our grandchildren and their grandchildren; we can take success to scale.	• Communicating about successful programs, policies, collaborations and pilots.
• *Working together, we can make a difference.*	• Sharing the work, taking responsibility, also rolling up our sleeves.	• We all have an important role to play including government and advocates.	• Communicating about successful collaborations and targeted briefings on policy options.

Figure 5. Initial Message Themes for Communicating Resilience at All Levels

VI. BUILDING PUBLIC SUPPORT FROM THE BASE UP

Getting from here to there is largely dependent upon effectively engaging a compelling base of support. As participants stressed throughout our time together at P2R, effective organizing will be critical to our efforts. But it can be easy to get caught up in communicating with our opposition while ignoring the work of base-building. Of course, debate has its place, especially given the dominance of many opposing frames. However, there are still plenty of constituencies to organize and engage which, taken together, can grow into an impressive majority for resilience.

Within these broad categories, there are a number of niche demographics — Hip Hop Greens, Unitarian Universalists and vegetarians are three examples — that need to be "teased" out and the strategy further developed to take a nuanced approach to connect to their values and needs. We must also look at capacity building strategies to help forge a sense of community and connection to a larger movement among these diverse segments. Some activities in this area are suggested below in *"Figure 6. Key Constituencies"*.

EXPANDING THE BASE
of knowledgeable, supportive
opinion leaders recognizing that most state
and national policymakers start at the policy level

BUILDING ANALYSIS AND AWARENESS
of the concerned public identified by their buying patterns,
faith communities, organizational membership, etc.

BUILDING A CADRE of changemakers, cultural workers, and media
that can embed the issue in its existing work; understanding and articulating
the frames (labor, DIY media, groups in high impact areas, socially conscious
artists), in order to move from mainstream to resilience and justice framing.

BUILDING A COHESIVE BASE of advocates and supporters who are
already "in" so that there is shared analysis, division of labor and framing "echo."
Building capacity for coordination, collaboration, network development, and effective
personal communication that support outreach and organizing of base constituencies.
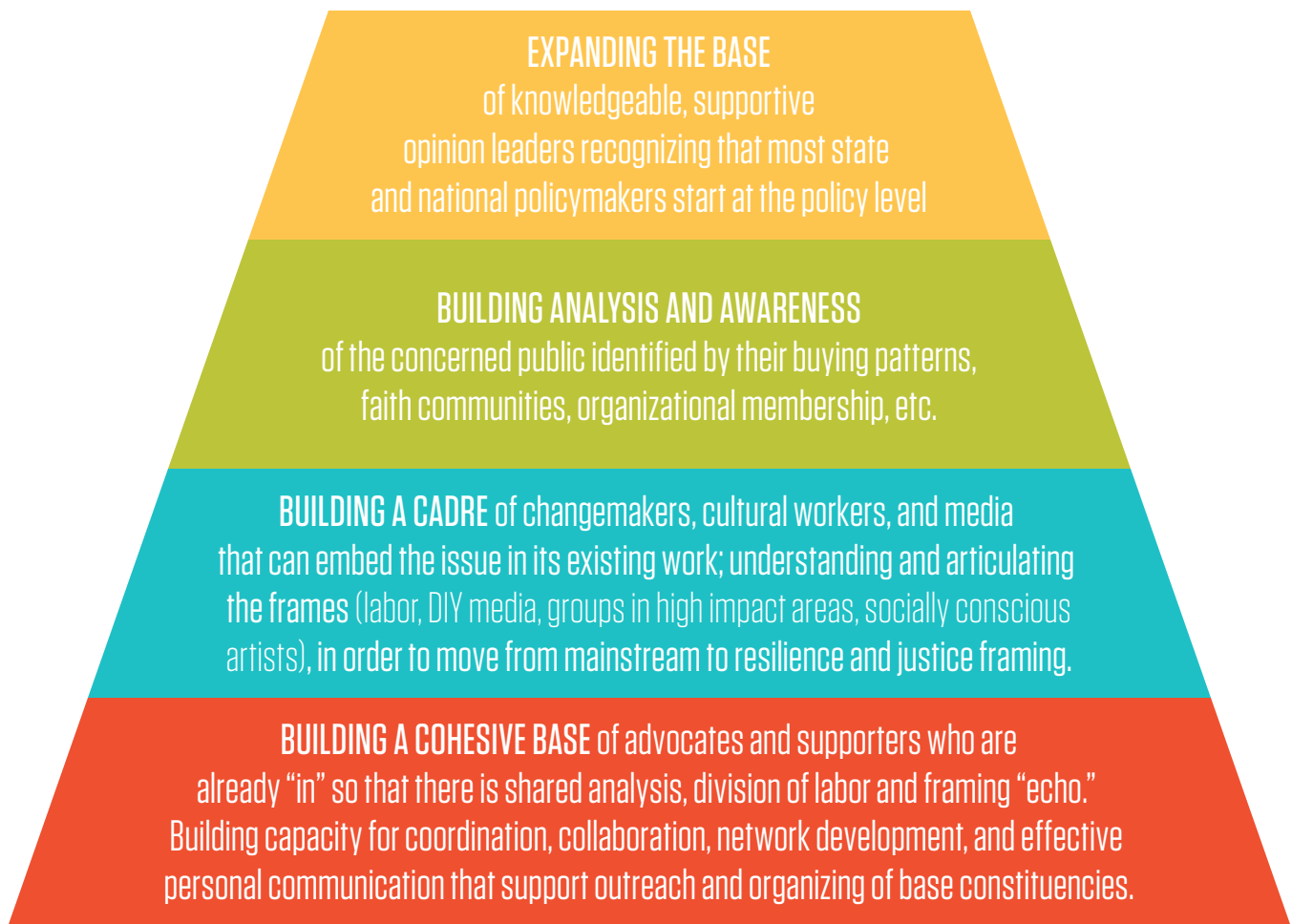
Figure 6. Key Constituencies

VII. BUILDING A MOVEMENT THAT MATTERS

Given the enormous tasks ahead, it's clear that big changes are required — in the world and within our own organizations and fields of work. Creating the capacity for movement-building at this scale will require *institutionalizing* the capacity to learn from and connect with one another. Specifically, this means paying attention to the revenue base, human development and public awareness, as well as retrofitting our institutions to create a supportive cultural and political infrastructure that continues to evolve and replicate itself over the long term. In other words, we must develop strategies that weave together our work in order to change the *culture and conditions*.

"Figure 7. Key Areas for Work to Advance Comprehensive Resilience Framework" (below) outlines key areas of work along these lines as one way to help us think about the range of activities required. It is represented as a Venn diagram because these processes overlap and reinforce each other. *"Figure 8. Key Activities to Build Field Capacity" (page 49)*, examines specific activities that support field building to help sustain this work over time.
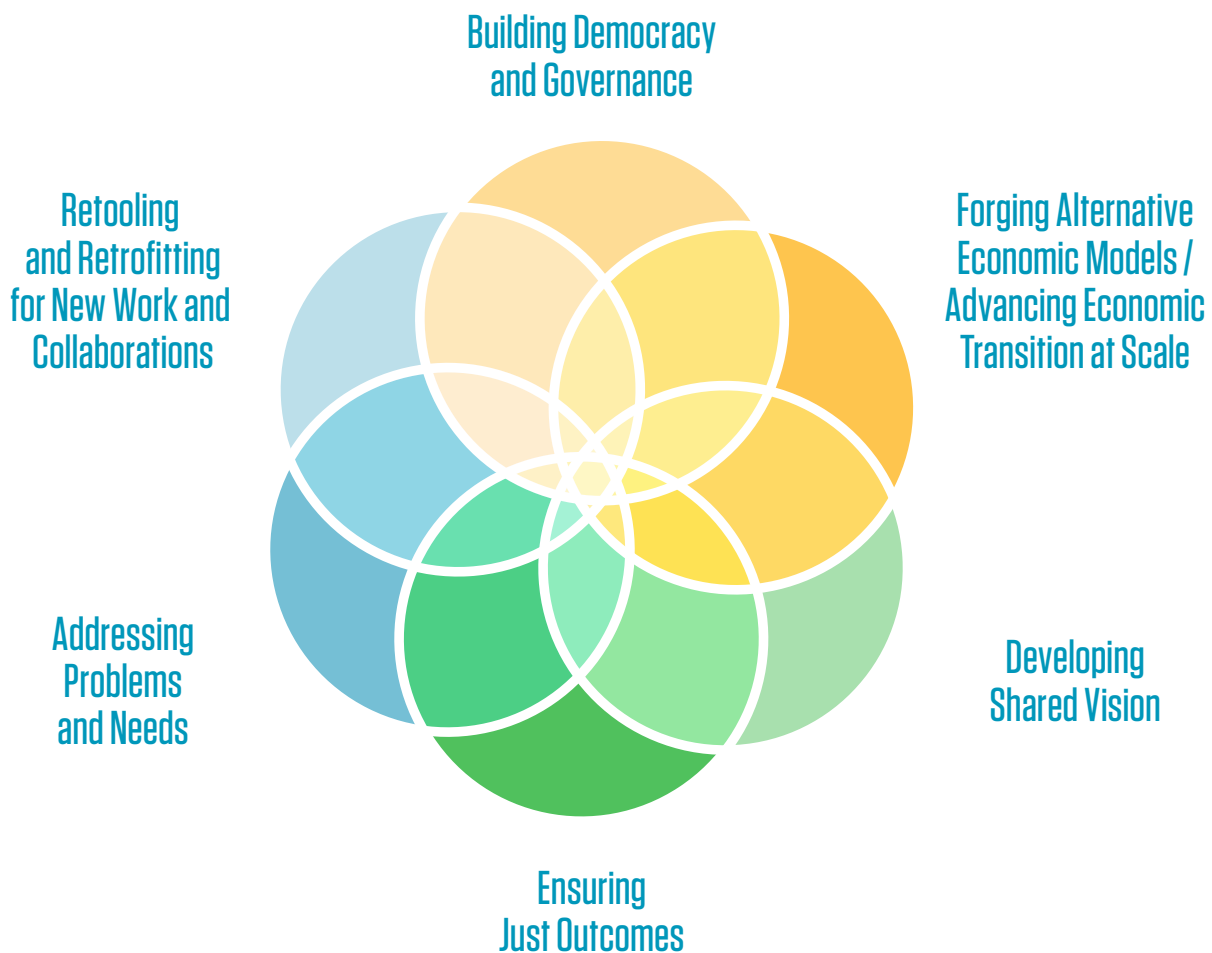

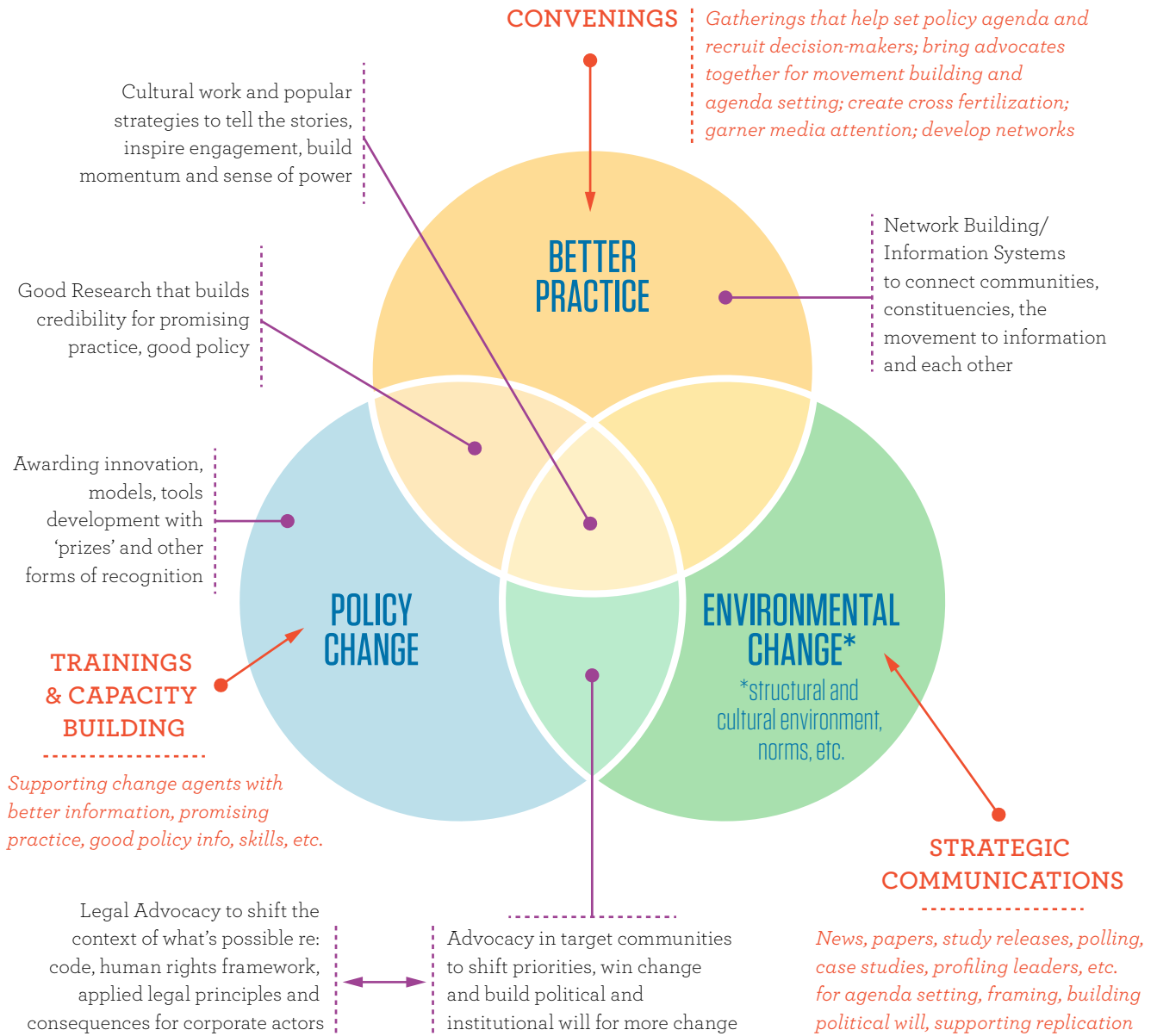Figure 7. Key Areas for Work to Advance Comprehensive Resilience Framework

CONVENINGS
Gatherings that help set policy agenda and recruit decision-makers; bring advocates together for movement building and agenda setting; create cross fertilization; garner media attention; develop networks

Cultural work and popular strategies to tell the stories, inspire engagement, build momentum and sense of power

BETTER PRACTICE

Network Building/ Information Systems to connect communities, constituencies, the movement to information and each other

Good Research that builds credibility for promising practice, good policy

Awarding innovation, models, tools development with 'prizes' and other forms of recognition

POLICY CHANGE

ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE*
*structural and cultural environment, norms, etc.

TRAININGS & CAPACITY BUILDING

Supporting change agents with better information, promising practice, good policy info, skills, etc.

STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS

News, papers, study releases, polling, case studies, profiling leaders, etc. for agenda setting, framing, building political will, supporting replication

Legal Advocacy to shift the context of what's possible re: code, human rights framework, applied legal principles and consequences for corporate actors

Advocacy in target communities to shift priorities, win change and build political and institutional will for more change

Figure 8. Key Activities to Build Field Capacity

VIII. POTENTIAL POLICY HANDLES: WHAT WE CAN DO

As outlined above, having clear, actionable policies will be critical to effective messaging and moving our agenda. The following policy initiatives are summary examples of the kind of models and infrastructure required to advance the resilience framework at scale, integrating many of the ideas generated at P2R. It will be important to further develop these and other policy ideas into actual model legislation and program plans in order to facilitate implementation and replication — especially at the local level.

- **MAKING OUR MONEY MAKE A DIFFERENCE:** Pursue tax and revenue strategies that decrease profitability for harmful practices and provide incentives for constructive and/or reparative ones. At the agency level, create federal incentives for state and local comprehensive resilience initiatives and develop transparent, accountable mechanisms for ensuring that public research and development dollars support resilience efforts.

- **CREATING A CULTURE OF INTERCONNECTED-NESS:** Making cultural shifts of this magnitude require supportive policies that help prepare us to embrace those shifts and institutionalize the new norms we seek. Our schools, faith institutions, media, and other key centers for creating meaning in our lives must be significantly reshaped to promulgate a shared understanding of ourselves as members of a global family. Work in this area should include: establishing resilience values in school curricula to engage students from an early age; getting key institutions to integrate resilience principles in their canon and practice; and ensuring that there are active pathways to independent media infrastructures to effectively tell our stories.

- **INCORPORATING HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUITY IN ALL POLICIES:** Through expanded work on institutionalized curricula, education and training, we must engage in targeted efforts to develop a broad public understanding of human rights and equity principles, especially among practitioner communities deeply engaged in resilience-related work. There are important opportunities to actualize many of these ideas at the local level, such as the local health departments that are adopting frameworks for health and health equity in all policies. There are also other opportunities to work with multiple local agencies as they engage in disaster and/or resilience planning.

- **MAKING BETTER USE OF WHAT WE HAVE:** Advance equity in metro and regional land use; engage in innovative approaches, such as farmland compacts; make creative use of litigation; address planning barriers to sustainable development; and institute policies, which incentivize uses that drive adaptation and mitigation goals.

- **DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC MODELS:** At multiple points and in multiple forms, ranging from co-ops to local currencies, community-held utilities and cooperative insurance structures, a better economy is within our reach. Drive local planning that can support the shift to more sustainable economies, thus removing the disincentives for those formations while ensuring strong accountability measures.

- **CREATING A NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR A NEW ECONOMY:** Retrofit systems of education and training to meet the changing needs; bolster and restructure underutilized education resources, such as community colleges and extension programs; and support local, regional and national learning communities among existing formations (for example, National League of Cities, local elected officials of color, American Planning Association) to build capacity for undertaking structural approaches to resilience.

- **WORKING TOGETHER TO BE UP TO THE TASK:** Develop formal, institutionalized venues — i.e., participatory budgeting, neighborhood councils, and increased authority for existing resident advisory groups — in order to provide greater access to decision-making and create "windows" into what's possible through direct experience of shared governing.
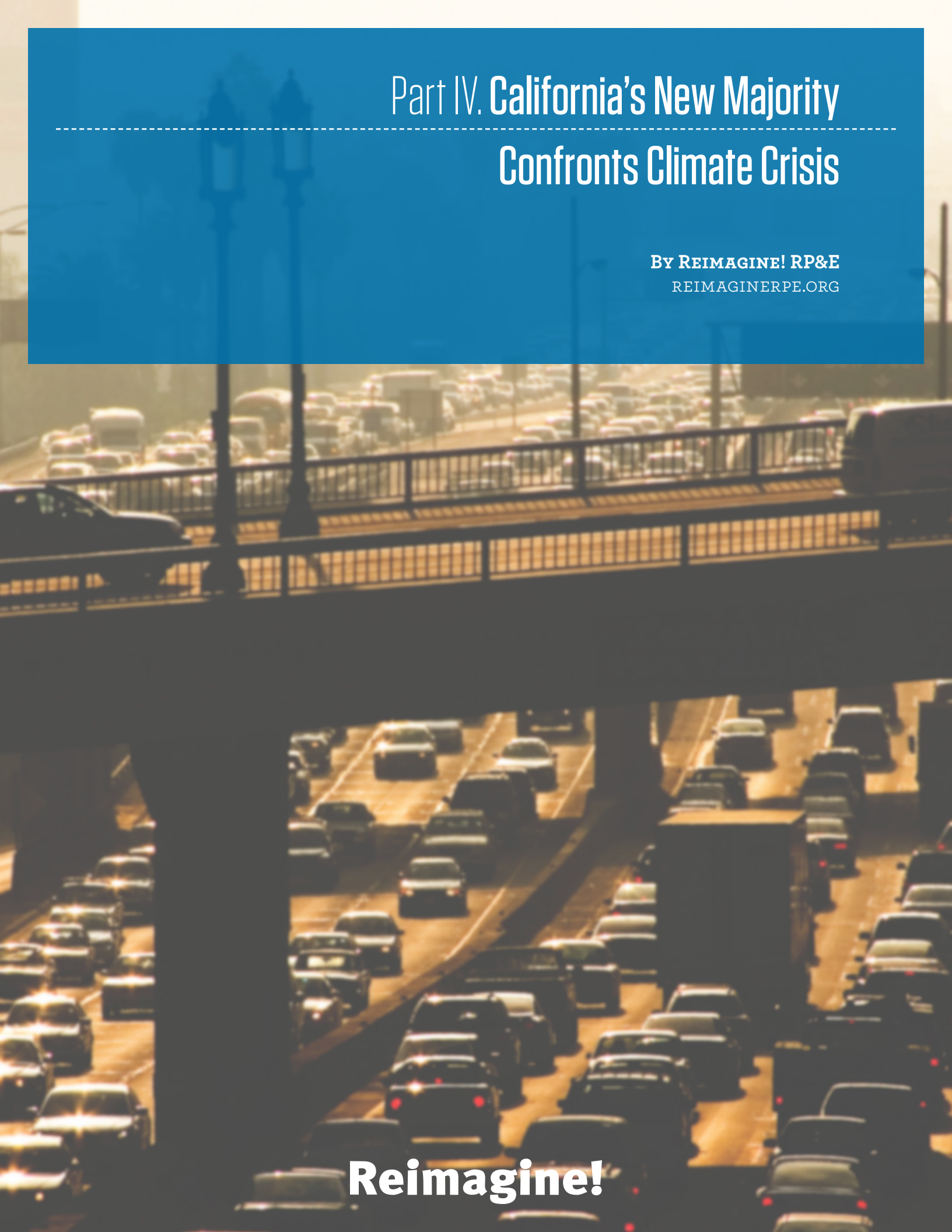
IX. DISCUSSION

This briefing paper is a relatively brief summary of a range of communications and policy ideas, each of which could fill a book on its own. Hence, this paper is not designed to provide a comprehensive analysis of all the policy approaches or communications efforts required for a project of this magnitude rather, it's a vehicle for further discussion and input.

As stated earlier, creating a more detailed and substantive policy and communications strategy will require a strong power analysis, a clear delineation of policy priorities, and consensus on the power/organizing strategy that can help us build and maintain the agency needed to tackle this challenge. More research and testing must be done in order to develop a comprehensive communications strategy to advance the actual policy priorities that emerge from this work. It is also critical that the messaging should be generated from a participatory process that places advocate knowledge and experience at its center to help ensure its relevance to the work "on the ground."

At present there are some serious gaps in the research and methodology — i.e. polling, surveys, policy development — which, if addressed, will offer critical insights into this work, especially with regard to equity impact, the role of race and class bias, and historic patterns of marginalization. We will need to look closely at these gaps and together, generate relevant questions that will help us move this work forward.

As discussed at the P2R, resilience is a complicated and contested concept. It can offer a home for deeply rooted frameworks like environmental justice and human rights to thrive, or it can be a conceptual gentrifier that appropriates these ideas while displacing the work and needs of communities that should be at the center of these efforts. The P2R gathering gave us hope that working together, we can ensure that resilience will be defined in powerful and inclusive new ways. But we understand that it is a long term project and look forward to more conversations ahead. ◼

Part IV. California's New Majority
Confronts Climate Crisis

By Reimagine! RP&E
REIMAGINERPE.ORG

Reimagine!

Figure 1. Oakland Climate Action Coalition Rally at Oakland City Hall, March 2010, courtesy of Ella Baker Center.

I. INTRODUCTION

As the process of advancing climate resilience plays out in communities and regions around the country, there are unique and inspiring lessons to be gleaned from recent efforts in California. These efforts point to the promise and peril of winning and implementing the resilience policy that can advance adaptation, mitigation and social cohesion in sustained and integrated ways. The work in California shows what is possible and builds momentum for advances to be made in other regions of the country.

Shaping a resilient future: Lessons from California

Low-income communities and communities of color are on the frontlines of the changing climate — they are hit first and hardest by climate impacts. But these communities are also leading the way to a resilient future. Here, we explore case studies from California, where frontline communities are using their growing political power to defeat harmful legislation and implement alternatives that are both socially just and climate resilient.

Policy Highlights

1. *Developing policy-making capacity at the grassroots level within communities of color is crucial for coalitions to succeed in winning power and building climate resilience at local and state levels.*

2. *People of color are the new majority in California and the emerging majority in the nation. New majority support and action on environmental issues undergird the success of climate policy measures in California and are also key to building a successful national movement.*

3. *The combination of state mandates and local action in California provide a model for building movement capacity to shape a new policy landscape.*

A shifting landscape

Climate change and demographic change are both reshaping California's political landscape. On the one hand, the combined electoral power of Latinos, Asians and African Americans has repeatedly tipped the balance in state and local elections to bring forth a more liberal if not yet progressive generation of political leadership.[1] On the other, climate change is hitting low-income people and communities of color first and hardest.[2]

Now more than ever, environmental and climate justice communities have a vital role in shaping climate policy choices that will result in better opportunities for health, jobs, transit, and housing for all. Our communities can and should provide the next generation of leadership for the environmental and climate movement. Greenhouse gas reduction policies and mitigation and adaptation measures that aim to protect the human and natural environment from the impacts of climate change can be leveraged to strengthen our communities, make them more resilient and open pathways for a just transition to a new economy.

This opportunity is still nascent. Policy victories require multi-year campaigns with multiple coalition participants. They also require the ability to challenge undemocratic planning processes through a political program based on input from impacted communities. Even if communities present coherent, expert-tested plans that are objectively superior to industry-backed proposals, they will not be adopted without the exercise of political power.

Results from California's redistricting as well as the newly enforced California Voting Rights Act (which enables fair representation of communities of color at the local level) demonstrate that the raw electoral power of communities of color and low-income people is on the upswing.[3] The campaign against the Dirty Energy Proposition 23 demonstrated that a political alliance of communities of color can engage with state-wide mainstream and environmental groups to defend progressive environmental

policy. The victory in creating a Green House Gas Reduction Fund (SB535) with specific percentage targets for impacted communities shows that organizing can shape public policy in a positive — and not just a defensive — manner.

The scorecard on environmental justice and climate policy, however, still remains to be tallied. The economic and environmental impacts of the processes set in motion by AB32[4] have not yet resulted in substantive results on the ground.

The most challenging aspect of California's climate policy in the past two decades has been that the progressive thrust of legislation and climate planning, achieved through community input and democratic process, has been channeled into less accountable forums, such as the Air Resources Board and the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC), where neither democratic process nor policy expertise determine outcomes. Vested interests in polluting industries, corporate lobbyists and politicians who serve them often dominate such decision-making entities.

But there is an important lesson to be learned even in defeat: policy proposals that are debated and contested in democratic or popular political forums create opportunities for constituent education, alliance building with other constituencies and regions, a public record of the deliberations, and a better jumping off point for the next round. It's important, therefore, for environmental and climate justice advocates to create a terrain of contention where democratic process can carry the day. While behind-the-scenes lobbying and relationships with politicians and policy-makers in the environmental and administrative agencies are necessary for moving policy, they are simply not enough by themselves.

1   Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) Statewide Surveys 2008-2012 (ppic.org/main/series.asp?i=12) and "A Perfect Storm," Catherine Lerza. 2011. (wherewelivefilm.org/more/white-paper/)

2   "Getting Ready for Change: Green Economics and Climate Justice," B. Jesse Clarke, *RP&E Journal*, Vol.13, No.1. 2006. (reimaginerpe.org/rpe/13-1/about)

3   "Voting Rights are Local Rights," Gil Cedillo, RP&E Journal, Vol.18., No.2. 2011. (reimaginerpe.org/18-2/cedillo)

4   AB32, California's Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006, requires the California Air Resources Board (CARB or ARB) to develop regulations and market mechanisms to reduce California's greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2020, representing a 25 percent reduction statewide.

Long-term environmental and climate justice organizing shapes the playing field

Since the late 1980s, in California and nationally, climate and environmental justice organizers have been engaging communities to fight pollution and toxic contamination. Kettleman City, California, still a site of contention between waste disposal companies and the community, was at the heart of a 1988 struggle that characterized the organizing efforts of the time. Kettleman's predominantly Latino residents, prevented from participating in public hearings by government actions, organized a political campaign based on civil rights principles, which halted the siting of that particular incinerator.[5]

Numerous other battles in Los Angeles, Oakland and the Central Valley resulted in the first California State environmental justice legislation. In 1999, Governor Grey Davis signed SB115, making California the first state in the nation to codify a definition of "environmental justice." In the years following, a number of related measures have created state oversight boards for environmental justice in numerous departments.

As Manuel Pastor, director of the Center for Justice, Tolerance and Community, observed at the time,[6] it was often the Latino politicians responding to their constituencies — key swing districts in California state politics — that moved EJ into state law. Similarly now, as climate change has become ever more important in California, it is often the pressure from communities of color that pushes California to the national forefront on climate mitigation and adaptation legislation.

Cities break national climate policy paralysis

Global climate impact and policy are being driven in a local and trans-local way. As international climate negotiations and the actions of most national commitments have consistently fallen short of the dramatic action needed to address climate change, the most significant policy advances have been in cities and states that have stepped forward to try to fill the gap created by the failure at the international and national government levels.

In 2005, over 50 mayors from cities, such as London, Rio de Janeiro, Tehran, Cape Town, Sydney, and Shanghai came to San Francisco to sign the "Urban Environmental Accords," a city-to-city compact to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.[7] The Kyoto protocol was only eight years old and had just come into force that February.[8] But as local governments across the United States were trying to implement climate policies and build momentum for the global treaty, they were being stymied at the national level by the George Bush administration.

The Accords addressed seven environmental areas common to all the world's large cities: water, energy, waste, urban design, transportation, urban nature, and environmental health.[9] Parin Shah, a climate activist then working to implement the Accords,[10] hailed the fact that direct action by cities made it more likely that climate policy would take the needs of environmental justice

5   California Environmental Protection Agency Environmental Justice Program Update, February 2014. (www.calepa.ca.gov/Publications)

6   "Environmental Justice: Reflections from the United States," Manuel Pastor. 2002. (peri.umass.edu/ Political Economy Research Institute)

7   "Mayors gather for climate change summit." Associated Press, May 31, 2005. (nbcnews.com/id/8044734/#.UugSgfbTkYI)

8   The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in Kyoto, Japan, on December 11, 1997 and entered into force on February 16, 2005. The detailed rules for implementation of the Protocol were adopted at COP 7 in Marrakesh, Morocco, in 2001 and are referred to as the "Marrakesh Accords." The Protocol's first commitment period started in 2008 and ended in 2012. (unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php)

9   "Mayors Sign Historic Urban Environmental Accords." Department of the Environment, City and County of San Francisco, June 5, 2005. (sfenvironment.org/news/press-release/mayors-sign-historic-urban-environmental-accords)

10   Parin Shah on Urban Environmental Accords (transcript of audio interview). (old.globalpublicmedia.com/transcripts/829). Shah was director of the Urban Accords Institute. He now works at APEN.

communities into account. Bay Area environmental and climate justice groups coordinated by the Ella Baker Center organized to create the first Social Equity Track at the UN World Environment Day and staged a dozen events during the three-day Accords conference to ensure that the voices of people of color were heard.[11]

California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom both played prominent roles at the Accords. (In 2004, San Francisco became one of the first U.S. cities to adopt a local climate action plan). The Governor used the occasion to sign an executive order that set non-binding statewide greenhouse gas emissions targets and ordered state agencies to begin planning toward those ends.[12]

Since then, California's climate policy has seen a dynamic inter-play between mainstream political leaders making ambitious and publicly popular promises — often with no implementation plan in sight — and environmental and climate justice organizations struggling to include the interests of low-income people and communities of color in actionable policy language.

California responds to popular support for climate action

Environmental protection has always been popular in California and following the 2005 Executive Order, politicians throughout the state began work to turn the non-binding targets into actual legislation. The back- and-forth between the Democratic legis-lature and the Republican Governor continued throughout the legislative process with frequent and visible public debates that in the end produced the California Global Warming Solutions Act (AB32).[13]

A key accomplishment of the lobbying by environmental and climate justice groups was the explicit language in the law re-quiring the California Air Resources Board (ARB) to "ensure that activities undertaken to comply with the regulations do not disproportionately impact low-income communities and that these communities also benefit from statewide efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions."[14]

The legislation has numerous sections directing the executive branch to take environmental and climate justice communities into account. The body responsible for monitoring the impacts is the Environmental Justice Advisory Committee (EJAC).[15]

Unfortunately, on the eve of the 2006 election, Governor Schwarzenegger — although campaigning as pro-environ-ment — started to undermine AB32 with an executive order that pushed the state toward implementation of his original agenda, a cap-and-trade program.[16] In 2007, he fired ARB Chair Robert Sawyer who wanted to aggressively implement early action reg-ulations to bring down emissions quickly. ARB Executive Officer Catherine Witherspoon resigned in protest.

Angela Johnson-Meszaros, co-chair of the EJAC, reportedly said that ARB was already ignoring their recommendations "not just for climate change, but for co-pollutants."[17] (Co-pollution is a term for the emission of both toxic chemicals and carbon. Reducing those toxic emissions is central to the protection of

11   "Reclaim the Future: Striving for Restorative, Economic and Environmental Justice in Oakland." Joshua Abraham, *Left Turn Magazine*. March 1, 2006. (leftturn.org/reclaim-future-striving-restorative-economic-and-environmental-justice-oakland)

12   Executive Order S-3-05 by the Governor of the State of California. Signed June 1, 2005. (dot.ca.gov/hq/energy/ExecOrderS-3-05.htm)

13   "The History of Schwarzenegger, AB 32, and Global Warming." California Progress Report. February 23, 2007. (californaprogressreport. com/site/history-schwarzenegger-ab-32-and-global-warming)

14   Assessing the Effects of AB 32 Climate Change Mitigation Programs in Environmental Justice Communities. (arb.ca.gov/cc/ejac/meetings/102213/tracking-indicators.pdf)

15   arb.ca.gov/cc/ejac/ejac.htm

16   Executive Order S-17-06. Office of the Governor of the State of California. October 16, 2006. (c2es.org/docUploads/CAExecOrderS%2017%2006.pdf)

17   "Gov. Schwarzenegger's Global Warming Act Called Hot Air." Paul Rosenberg, *Consumer Watchdog*. July 27, 2007. (consumerwatchdog.org/story/gov-schwarzeneggers-global-warming-act-called-hot-air)

low-income communities, which are usually located near the sources.)

This particular dynamic — public support for climate action and environmental justice vs. closed-door pressure from incumbent polluters — continues to plague the implementation of AB32. Nonetheless, public support is so strong that whenever the issues are considered in an authentic democratic process, a better environment for all is advanced. This lesson was borne out in 2010.

Communities of color defeat Proposition 23 with "Climate Firewall"

Just as the major provisions of AB32 were to begin taking effect, two oil companies financed a campaign to suspend implementation of the law until unemployment dropped below 5 percent. Proponents of Prop 23 (Dirty Energy) cloaked their argument for overturning AB32 in the classic "jobs vs. environment" format.

Environmental and climate justice advocates faced a tough challenge. Despite its drawbacks, AB32 was California's strongest piece of pro-environment legislation in a generation and a leader in the nation's climate policy. And while the protection of impacted communities had been a struggle at each stage of its implementation, it was still considered a major step in working toward the environmental health of those communities.

Mainstream environmentalists and business groups were quick to form a

In "A Perfect Storm,"[18] her post-election analysis of the campaign and its results, Catherine Lerza draws a number of important demographic and policy conclusions about the leadership role that communities of color can and are playing in California's environmental policy battles.

(Read the entire report at edgefunders.org/publications-resources).

**ALAMEDA
SANTA CLARA
FRESNO
KERN
VENTURA
LOS ANGELES
ORANGE
SAN BERNANDINO
RIVERSIDE
SAN DIEGO**

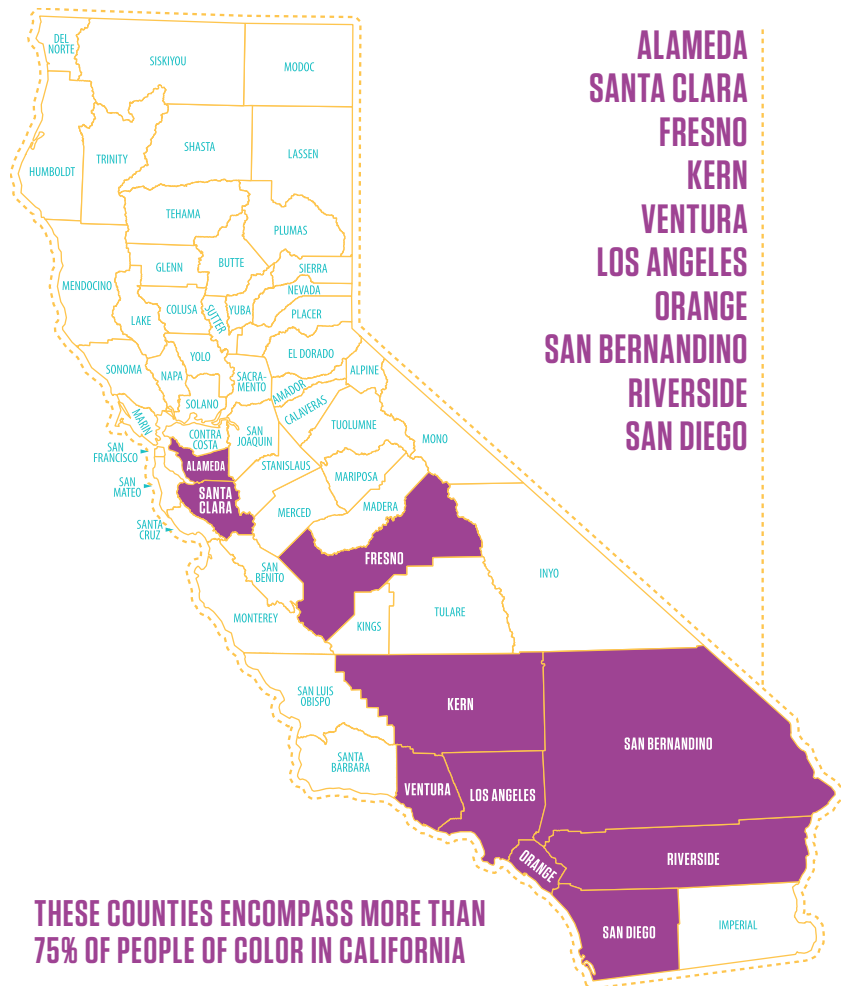**THESE COUNTIES ENCOMPASS MORE THAN 75% OF PEOPLE OF COLOR IN CALIFORNIA**

Figure 2. Prop 23 was soundly defeated in the 2010 election, thanks to communities of color, which turned the tide. According to surveys by the California Public Policy Institute, Latinos (67%) and blacks (63%) are far more likely than whites (40%) or Asians (38%) to say that global warming is a very serious threat.

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18   "A Perfect Storm." Funders Network for Transforming the Global Economy (FNTG).
     (edgefunders.org/publications-resources/; edgefunders.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Prop23CaseStudy_000.pdf)

well-funded coalition to defeat the measure. Many environmental and climate justice groups joined this larger coalition but others created their own statewide coalition — Communities United Against the Dirty Energy Proposition — which laid the groundwork for future collective action and advocacy. This enabled a statewide conversation about the equity of environmental priorities, culture-specific organizing within impacted communities, and the creation of a strong statewide network with equity concerns at its heart. Working collaboratively, the coalitions defeated Prop 23 by a majority 60 percent vote.[19]

Cap-and-trade

The next big battle for the environmental and climate justice community was cap-and-trade. Steam-rolled in as the methodology for "putting a price on carbon," advocates on the ground and within the legislature knew from the start that cap-and-trade would allow incumbent polluters to keep their facilities dirty while vulnerable communities suffocate in the toxic effluents of power plants, refineries, industrial agriculture, and automobile exhaust. Direct regulations of carbon pollution or an actual carbon tax were considered by many to be more effective ways of improving health and safety for impacted communities.

In the initial legislative battle, Governor Schwarzenegger had lost his bid to force "market-based mechanisms" into the legislation. Cap-and-trade policies were mandated to be considered only after "early action" measures — primarily direct regulation of carbon pollution — had been implemented. But the legislation also gave considerable discretionary power to the ARB. The firing of the Board's chairperson, coupled with the Governor's order directing the Executive Branch agencies to prioritize cap-and-trade moved it to the top of the agenda.[20]

Repeated expert testimony that called cap-and-trade an untested methodology for controlling carbon emissions, as well as Europe's failure in implementing it, were ignored.[21] Scores of policy recommendations made by the legislatively mandated EJAC went unimplemented as the legislature provided practically no funds for the work. Although EJAC members had a clear grasp of the intricacies of climate policy, they lacked the leverage to alter the cap-and-trade program included in the draft scoping plan proposed by the ARB.[22] As a result, several of the organizations represented on the EJAC, including the Center on Race Poverty and the Environment (CRPE) and Communities for a Better Environment (CBE), decided to sue the ARB to block implementation of cap-and-trade.

The plaintiffs were pleasantly surprised when on May 20, 2011, Judge Ernest Goldsmith of the San Francisco Superior Court ruled that the ARB had violated the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) because, among other things, it had failed to properly consider alternatives to a cap-and-trade program in its Scoping Plan to implement AB32.[23] Unfortunately, the ruling only addressed the procedures the ARB had used, not the merits of the program. So the ARB was able to proceed with cap-and-trade after formally considering and rejecting the alternative plan.

19 Suspend Air Pollution Control Law (AB 23). Election Results by County, California Secretary of State.
(sos.ca.gov/elections/sov/2010-general/maps/prop-23.htm)

20 "California's Climate Change Planning: Policy Innovation and Structural Hurdles," Stephen M. Wheeler. Planning for Climate Change: Strategies for Mitigation and Adaptation (Eds. Simin Davoudi, Jenny Crawford and Abid Mehmood). London: Earthscan. 2009.
(its. ucdavis.edu/research/publications/publication-detail/?pub_id=1616)

21 "Equitable Alternatives to AB 32's Cap-and-Trade Program." Recorded remarks of Adrienne Bloch, Senior Staff Attorney, Communities for a Better Environment. (reimaginerpe.org/files/Bloch-AB32-06.10.11-64kbs.mp3)

22 Recommendations and Comments of the Environmental Justice Advisory Committee. Proposed Scoping Plan. October 1, 2008.
(arb. ca.gov/cc/ejac/ejac_comments_final.pdf)

23 crpe-ej.org/crpe/images/stories/campaigns_climate/AIR_v_ARB_5-20-11.pdf

Greenhouse gas reduction revenues could fund climate action

The lawsuit against the ARB provided significant media visibility for the environmental justice critique of cap- and-trade. Across the state, people were educated about the fact that carbon pollution and toxic pollution are co-pollutants and that cap-and-trade permitted continued emissions at refineries, power plants, and other sources situated in low-income communities. The lawsuit helped build a persuasive argument that communities of color and low-income people need to be included in shaping policy on how climate change mitigation efforts impact our communities.

Community organizations that had tried and failed to establish an ambitious carbon trust fund (SB31) in 2009[24] came back to the legislature with a new plan and in 2012, two Greenhouse Gas (GHG) Reduction Fund measures (AB1532 and SB535) were passed and signed by Governor Jerry Brown. Organizations both for and against cap-and-trade had united in support of directing 25 percent of the proceeds from carbon permit auctions towards improving conditions in impacted communities.[25]

After a decade of struggle, there is now in place a revenue stream specifically targeted at funding local and regional efforts to reduce GHG emissions and climate change impacts. In 2013-14, carbon permit auctions yielded over $500 million in revenues and the ARB estimates that within a few years, depending on market conditions, the amount of money flowing through this channel could be substantial — as much as $1.5 billion in 2014-15 and $2.4 billion in 2015-16 and 2016-17.[26]

Gaining access to that money, however, is an on-going battle with the State, as well as with regional and local agencies that make allocation decisions. One major channel for the funds will be regional transportation planning organizations, mandated to reduce carbon emissions as a result of another California state climate policy, the Sustainable Communities and Climate Protection Act, commonly referred to as SB375. This legislation supports the State's climate action goals to reduce GHGs through coordinated transportation and land-use planning for more sustainable communities.[27]

The planning agencies are critical sites for decision-making on a host of issues, ranging from transportation access to jobs and economic opportunities to neighborhood streetscape improvements. Broad-based community intervention in the San Francisco Bay Area attempted to ensure that benefits and impacts of such development would be shared by all communities. The alternative plan proposed by community forces demonstrated that by addressing the needs of low-income people, the plan could better serve the entire Bay area, both in terms of mitigating carbon emissions and improving health outcomes.

24 "A Trust Fund for California's Poor Communities." Evelyn Marcelina Rangel-Medina, *RP&E Journal*, Vol.16, No.2. 2009. (reimaginerpe. org/node/4921)

25 "California Cap-and-Trade." Center for Climate and Energy Solutions. January 2014. (c2es.org/us-states-regions/key-legislation/california-cap-trade)

26 "Politics of Carbon Auction Proceeds–The Battle Ahead." Four Twenty Seven Climate Solutions. (427mt.com/2013/12/politics-carbon- auction-proceeds-battle-ahead)

27 arb.ca.gov/cc/sb375/sb375.htm

Equity, Environment and Jobs | Grassroots participation in SB375 San Francisco Bay area

Richard A. Marcantonio and Alex Karner detail the course of one battle in their case study of the San Francisco Bay area planning process "One Bay Area."[28] Anticipating the possible opening SB375 could create for local organizations, community groups across the nine-county San Francisco Bay region came together in 2010 to create a regional policy and investment platform that would put the needs of disadvantaged communities first. The coalition that emerged — The 6 Wins Network — has since been engaged in shaping planning priorities.

Public Advocates, a key member of this broad network of over 40 organizations, summarizes three of the important accomplishments of The 6 Wins so far:

1. **Launching the first-ever community-built, equity-driven, alternative regional plan**. *Developed in 2011, the Equity, Environment and Jobs (EEJ) scenario focuses on creating a more healthy, prosperous and sustainable future for Bay Area residents of all races and incomes, including struggling families.*

2. **Showing that equity is better for everyone.** *In July 2012, MTC and the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) were persuaded to study the benefits of an EEJ scenario in their Environmental Impact Report (EIR) of the Plan. The EIR, released in April 2013, concluded that the EEJ out-performed the Draft Plan and three other alternatives. In fact, MTC and ABAG called the EEJ scenario an "environmentally superior alternative" because it resulted in fewer greenhouse gas emissions and air pollutants; a broader distribution of affordable housing; $8 billion more to increase transit*

Lowest Scores (Bottom 10%)
-
-
-
-
-
-
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Highest Scores (11 - 20%)
Highest Scores (Top 10%)
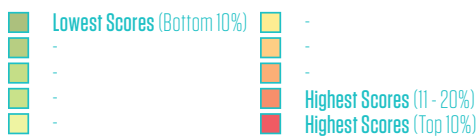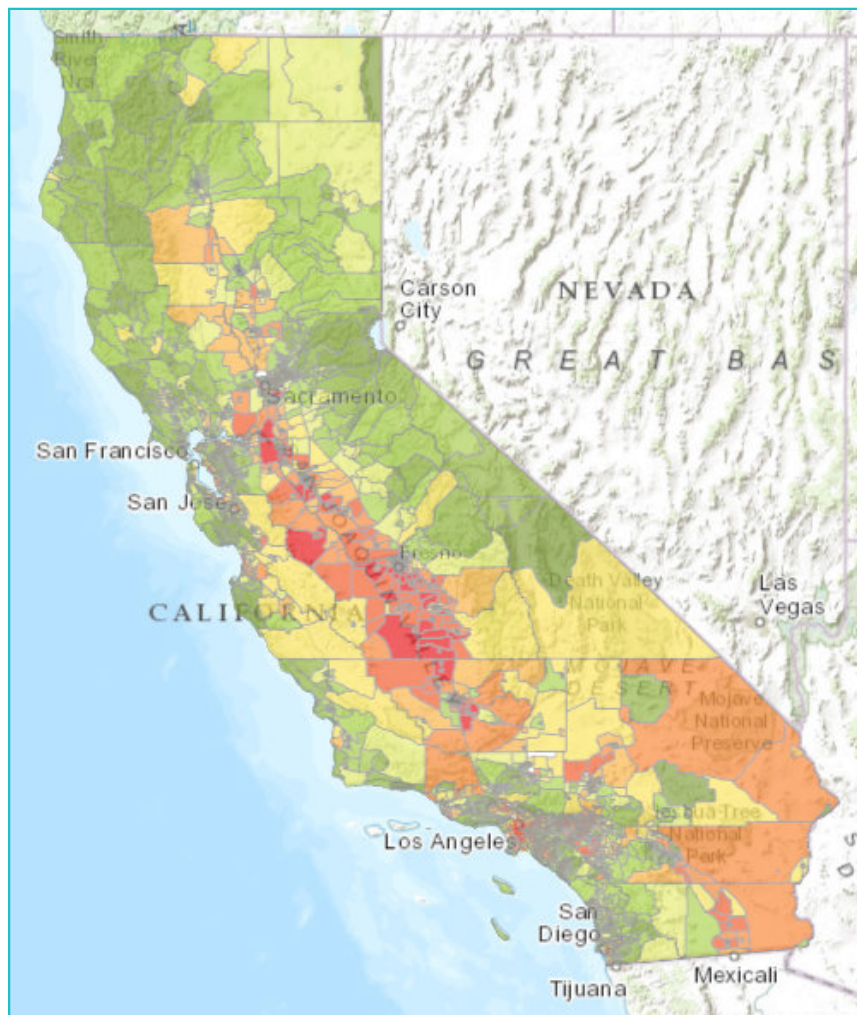
Sources: Esri, HERE, DeLorme, TomTom, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, NPS, NRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), swisstopo, MapmyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS User Community.

Figure 3. Cal EPA is developing an instrument that combines multiple metrics to measure pollution and poverty and analyzes (by zip code) the "disadvantaged communities" that could receive benefits from SB535. [July 1, 2014]

28 "Disadvantaged Communities Teach Regional Planners a Lesson in Equitable and Sustainable Development." Richard A. Marcantonio and Alex Karner, *Poverty & Race*, Vol. 23, No. 1. January, 2014.

Moving the money

Another dimension of climate engagement may be found in the Municipal Energy and Climate Action Plans (ECAP), which set policies on how cities can engage in GHG emissions reductions and energy conservation. ECAPs potentially are the basis by which GHG reduction funds will be directed. Since 2004, when San Francisco first enacted its plan, other cities across California have followed suit. In Oakland, the community-based Climate Action Coalition (OCAC) engaged in a two-year campaign to institute an 18-point program now in place.[29]

Miya Yoshitani, executive director of APEN, compares these plans to the "shovel ready projects" of the stimulus fund in 2008. Cities that are ready with a plan will get the funding when the money finally comes through.

Across the state, there are hundreds of small-scale projects that are already moving ahead with climate resilience policies and practices that are equity-driven efforts from the ground up. Communities are finding intervention points in classic land-use battles, such as the work of the Environmental Health Coalition in San Diego's Barrio Logan.[30] Transit organizing projects in Los Angeles[31] and the San Francisco Bay Area[32] are fusing concerns about climate with transit access organizing to force authorities to provide better service to low-income communities — and reduce carbon and other forms of pollution. Urban greening projects, such as Urban Tilth in Richmond[33] and Urban Releaf in Oakland[34] are building greener cities, strengthening communities, and advancing policy positions on carbon reduction and sustainable agriculture.

In "Facing the Climate Gap," published in 2012, authors Manuel Pastor, et al. demonstrate the breadth of community involvement in climate resilience action through 12 case studies at 18 community-engaged organizations.[35] The authors observe that "impacted communities are knowledge rich; they have often been a part of action research projects that expose the weakness of compliance, rule-making, and record-keeping. Beyond environmental needs, they know what would work, on the ground, in their neighborhoods. Combining community wisdom — especially the traditional ecological knowledge of California's indigenous communities — with

service levels; more opportunities for walking and biking; fewer injuries and fatalities from traffic accidents; the fewest renters priced out of their neighborhoods; and the lowest combined housing and transportation costs for low-income households.

3. **Linking grassroots groups, academics, and policy and legal advocates.** *We know that we're stronger when we each bring our unique skills to the table and work collectively across issue areas. The 6 Wins has built bridges to groups that focus on environment, public health, good government, and business. By May 2013, more than 40 groups, including the American Lung Association, the League of Women Voters of the Bay Area, and the Natural Resources Defense Council, had joined in calling on MTC and ABAG to incorporate key elements of the EEJ in the final plan.*

Cal EPA is developing an instrument that combines multiple metrics to measure pollution and poverty and analyze (by zip code) the "disadvantaged communities" that could receive benefits from SB535.

29 "Oakland Coalition Charts New Course on Climate Strategy." Al Weinrub, *RP&E Journal*, Vol.16, No.2. 2009. (reimaginerpe.org/cj/weinrub)

30 environmentalhealth.org/index.php/en

31 "LA Bus Riders' Union Rolls Over Transit Racism." Geoff Ray, *RP&E Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2007. (reimaginerpe.org/node/327) (thestrategycenter.org/project/bus-riders-union)

32 "TJ Youth Score Win for Free MUNI Passes." Rene Ciria-Cruz, *RP&E Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2. 2007. (reimaginerpe.org/19-2/ciria-cruz-TJ)

33 urbantilth.org

34 urbanreleaf.org

35 "Facing the Climate Gap: How Environmental Justice Communities are Leading the Way to a More Sustainable and Equitable California." Ellen Kersten, Rachel Morello-Frosch, Manuel Pastor, and Marlene Ramos. Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE), University of Southern California. October 2012.

academic and policy-making expertise has the potential for deep impact."

In 2014, the Legislature and Governor Brown agreed on the first release of Greenhouse Gas Reduction Funds.[36] Approximately $230 million (about 26 per cent) was allocated to aid environmental and climate justice communities. This includes $75 million to weatherize low-income homes and $25 million for transit and intercity rail networks in poor communities.[37] Another $130 million will go to the Strategic Growth Council to fund local planning efforts across the state.

According to William Fulton, in an analysis published in the California Development and Planning Report, "local governments and their nonprofit partners are focusing on implementation of previous plans — especially climate action plans."[38] If this prediction bears out, local governments should be more receptive than ever to partnering with grassroots organizations to promote climate resilience work developed with an equity framework.

California is in the grip of a three-year drought — the worst since it acquired statehood — and perfectly in line with the prediction of more extreme weather resulting from climate change. The drought, which has hit all western U.S. states, is already threatening water supplies, worsening air quality, and beginning to drive up food prices.[39] These climate impacts are hitting our communities now. While international climate policy has stalled, and the EPA has only just begun the rulemaking to limit carbon emissions, California's decades-long struggle to shape a coherent policy is a notable bright spot in the efforts to adapt to and mitigate climate change.

We need to continue the fight, acknowledging that it will be a generations-long process. Now is the time for us to move beyond reframing the debate and educating our communities, to winning resources and political power that can make positive change.

Catherine Lerza calls California's communities of color "a climate firewall" because it was *our* voting power that turned the tide to preserve AB32 in the 2010 elections. Indeed, low-income people and communities of color are our best hope for preventing the firestorm of extreme weather and extreme right political positions that dominate the national political and environmental landscape. Accepting the centrality of community-based leadership and decision-making in channeling climate adaptation and mitigation investments is also the best method of ensuring that the proceeds produce real community resilience. ▪

Since publication, ReImagine! published the following articles updating the story on the work in California:

- Moving the Money: CalEnviroScreen Debate Signals New Focus on Environmental Justice in State Policy
  By Amy Vanderwarker
  http://reimaginerpe.org/20-1/vanderwarker

- Can't See the Trees... or the Forest: Why Oakland Can't Afford to Keep Ignoring Urban Forestry
  By Eric Arnold
  http://reimaginerpe.org/20-1/arnold

B. Jesse Clarke is the project director of Reimagine!, a nonprofit collaboration that enables media-making by community-based organizations. Reimagine! is the new home of Race Poverty & the Environment (RP&E) Journal and a fiscally sponsored project of the Movement Strategy Center.

36 AB-1532 California Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006: Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund. 2011-12. (leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=201120120AB1532)

37 "Calif. Earmarks a Quarter of Its Cap-and-Trade Riches for Environmental Justice." *Inside Climate News.* June 25, 2014. $230 million from the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund will go to programs for low-income and minorities this year. (insideclimatenews.org/news/20140625/calif-earmarks-quarter-its-cap-and-trade-riches-environmental-justice)

38 "Will SGC money pay for planning or implementation?" William Fulton. (cp-dr.com/node/3513)

39 "Severe Drought Has U.S. West Fearing Worst." Adam Nagourney and Ian Lovett, *The New York Times*, February 1, 2014. (nytimes.com/2014/02/02/us/severe-drought-has-us-west-fearing-worst.html?_r=0)

AFTERWORD

Many of us may be surprised to realize that against the backdrop of real and serious bad news on climate change there is important and inspiring good news. While each day brings more dire and urgent warnings from climate scientists and international climate talks fail to produce the action needed by national governments, we also see signs of hope. Across the country communities are bringing to life a new and accurate definition of climate resilience. These grassroots efforts are shaping how climate adaptation is understood and helping everyone to see that real climate solutions must include adaptation, mitigation and social cohesion:

- Local and state governments in the US are creating their own partnerships and agreements to implement solutions for reducing green house gas emissions and developing life-saving climate adaptation plans.

- In New York, the largest climate march in history lifted up the solutions frontline communities are generating and inspired millions around the world to work for real climate solutions.

- Local communities are working to advance climate resilience solutions through innovations in transportation, housing, urban agriculture and energy production.

- Communities are successfully standing up to the fossil fuel industries that are standing in the way of that innovation. In Richmond, California, for example, community activists won a stunning victory against a big oil company-backed slate of candidates.

- In New York, activists brought efforts to expand fracking to a grinding halt.

- In California there are plans afoot to add climate adaptation to the state's historic greenhouse gas reduction legislation that is making climate mitigation efforts possible in communities all across the state. Local groups are deeply engaged in the implementation of these efforts, building the social cooperation and cohesion necessary for a comprehensive approach to resilience.

- Key philanthropic players are stepping forward to embrace climate resilience, including the Kresge Foundation and other leaders in philanthropy who are shifting resources to support social equity in communities, local government and business as fundamental for addressing the impacts of climate change. Others include Rockefeller's Resilient Cities initiative which is strengthening the capacity of local governments to advance resilience efforts, as well as the Chorus Foundation's new Just Transition initiative which is making deep long term investments in community-driven efforts to advance a real vision for resilience.

Through the P2R Dialogues we hope to accelerate the process of transforming cities and helping people to leverage our interconnections into practical solutions that allow us to face the reality of climate change and respond with unprecedented partnership, vision, and innovation.

Taj James
Executive Director
Movement Strategy Center

APPENDIX A: RESOURCES

Shared by participants in the Pathways to Resilience Dialogues

Black History Month: 'Wrong Complexion for Protection' when disasters strike. By Robert D. Bullard and Beverly Wright. Published February 20, 2013.

CAKE: Climate Adaptation and Knowledge Exchange. http://cakex.org

Charting Best Practices for Advancing Health Equity and Community Resiliency to Climate Change in U.S. Cities. Developed by Texas Health Institute. Updated on December 2, 2013

Charting Best Practices for Advancing Health Equity and Community Resiliency to Climate Change in U.S. Cities. Summary of Study Methodology & Selection of 15 Cities. Developed by Texas Health Institute. Updated December 2, 2013

Climate Savvy: Adapting Conservation and Resource Management to a Changing World. By L.J. Hansen and J.R. Hoffman. Published 2011.

Creating a Culture of Zero Waste: San Francisco, USA. By Virali Gokaldas. Published June 2012.

Differential Vulnerabilities: Environmental and Economic Inequality and Government Response to Unnatural Disasters. By Robert D. Bullard. Published 2008.

Energy Democracy: Supporting Community Innovation. The Center for Social Inclusion. Published 2012.

Equity Tools and Resources For Sustainable Communities Implementation. Policy Link. www.policylink.org

Foundations of Ecological Resilience. Edited by Lance H. Gunderson, Craig R. Allen, and C. S. Holling. Published November 3, 2009.

Greener Pathways: Jobs and Workforce Development in the Clean Energy Economy. By Sarah White and Jason Walsh. Published 2008.

Greener Reality: Jobs, Skills, and Equity in a Cleaner U.S. Economy. A report Sarah White with Laura Dresser and Joel Rogers. Published 2012.

Greener Skills: How Credentials Create Value in the Clean Energy Economy. Published 2010.

HBCUs Form Partnership to Address Climate Change in Vulnerable Communities. By Robert D. Bullard. Published June 27, 2013.

Innovations for Building Community Wealth and Health and Re-Localizing the Food System. By Penn Loh and Glynn Lloyd. Published December 20, 2013.

Labor's Route to a New Transportation System: How Federal Transportation Policy Can Create Good Jobs, First-Rate Mobility, and Environmentally Sustainable Communities. Cornell University Global Labor Institute. Published July 2011.

Leap Forward: Why We Need to Think Bigger on Climate Resilience. Huffington Post. By Jeremy Hays. Published February 11, 2014.

More Jobs, Less Pollution: Growing the Recycling Economy in the U.S. Prepared by: Tellus Institute with Sound Resource Management. Published November 15, 2011.

Nature of Urban Design. By Alexandros Washburn. Published October 3, 2013.

Next Generation Infrastructure. By Hillary Brown. Published May 15, 2014.

On the Road to Zero Waste. By Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives. Published June 2012.

Our Power Film: Black Mesa Water Coalition.
http://vimeo.com/84751170

Panarchy Synopsis. By Lance Gunderson; edited by C. S.
Holling. Published August 1, 2002.

Panarchy. Edited by Lance H. Gunderson and C. S. Holling.
Published December 1, 2001.

*Pipe Dreams: Jobs Gained, Jobs Lost by the Construction of
the Keystone XL.* Cornell University Global Labor Institute.
Published September 2011.

Planning for Coastal Resilience. By Timothy Beatley.
Published July 10, 2009.

Planning for Community Resilience. By Jaimie Hicks Masterson,
Walter Gillis Peacock, Shannon S. Van Zandt, Himanshu
Grover, Lori Feild Schwarz, and John T. Cooper, Jr.
Published November 24, 2014.

Resilience Practice. By Brian Walker and David Salt.
Published August 6, 2012.

Resilience Thinking. By Brian Walker and David Salt.
Published August 22, 2006.

Resilient Cities. By Peter Newman, Timothy Beatley,
and Heather Boyer. Published January 9, 2009.

*Resist, Reclaim, Restructure: Unions and the Struggle for Energy
Democracy.* Cornell University Global Labor Institute.
Updated November 2012.

Solar in the Lower Nine. Sierra Club. Published July 2013.

State of the World 2013. By Worldwatch Institute.
Published April 15, 2013.

Trade Unions for an Energy Democracy.
Cornell University Global Labor Institute.

UPROSE launches community center for climate justice.
Brooklyn Spectator.

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANTS IN THE P2R DIALOGUES

Convening Participants

Ananda Lee Tan, *Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives*
Bill Gallegos, *Communities for a Better Environment*
Burt Lauderdale, *Kentukians for the Commonwealth*
Cecil D. Corbin-Mark, *WE ACT for Environmental Justice*
Cecilia Martinez, *Center for Earth, Energy and
    Democracy at the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy*
Cindy Wiesner, *Grassroots Global Justice Alliance*
Connie Leeper, *NC WARN*
Daniel Katz, *Overbrook Foundation*
Denise Fairchild, *Emerald Cities Collaborative*
Elizabeth Yeampierre, *UPROSE*
Felipe Floresca, *Emerald Cities Collaborative*
Genaro Rendon, *Southwest Workers' Union*
Gopal Dayaneni, *Movement Generation*
Heather Boyer, *Island Press*
Jacky Grimshaw, *Center for Neighborhood Technology*
Jacqui Patterson, *NAACP: Climate Justice Initiative*
Janet Redman, *Institute for Policy Studies*
Jeremy Hayes, *Green For All*
Jihan Gearon, *Black Mesa Water Coalition*
Joan Byron, *Pratt Center for Community Development*

Jovida Ross , *Movement Strategy Center*
Kalila Barnett, *Alternatives for Community and Environment*
Kalima Rose, *Policy Link*
Lara Hansen, *Eco-Adapt*
Lara Skinner, *Global Labor Institute, Cornell University*
Laura Dresser, *Center on Wisconsin Strategy (COWS)
    at The University of Wisconsin*
Leslie Fields, *Sierra Club*
Linda Rudolph, *Public Health Institute*
Lisa Hoyos, *Climate Parents, Labor Network For Sustainability*
Lois DeBacker, *The Kresge Foundation*
Makani Themba, *Praxis Project*
Marian Urquilla, *Movement Strategy Center*
Mary Hendrickson, *University of Missouri*
Mimi Ho, *Movement Strategy Center*
Miya Yoshitani, *Asian Pacific Environmental Network*
Monique Harden, *Advocates for Environmental Human Rights*
Penn Loh, *Tufts University*
Robert Bullard, *University in Houston, Texas*
Taj James, *Movement Strategy Center*

Interviewed

Anthony Giancatarino, *Center for Social Inclusion*
Colette Pichon Battle, *Moving Forward Gulf Coast*
Dayna Cunningham, *MIT Co-Lab*
Kimberly Wasserman,
    Little Village Environmental Justice Organization (LVEJO)
Kwame Cooper, *Battalion Chief, LA City Fire Department*
Laura Berry, *Interfaith Center of Corporate Responsibility*
Manuel Pastor, *University of Southern California,
    Program for Environmental and, Regional Equity (PERE)*
Mercedes Marquez, *City of Los Angeles*
Michael Dorsey, J*oint Center for Political and Economic Studies*
Michel Gelobter
Michele Roberts, *Environmental Justice and
    Health Alliance for Chemical Policy Reform*
Shalini Gupta , *Center for Earth, Energy and Democracy /
    Institute for Agriculture and Trade policy*