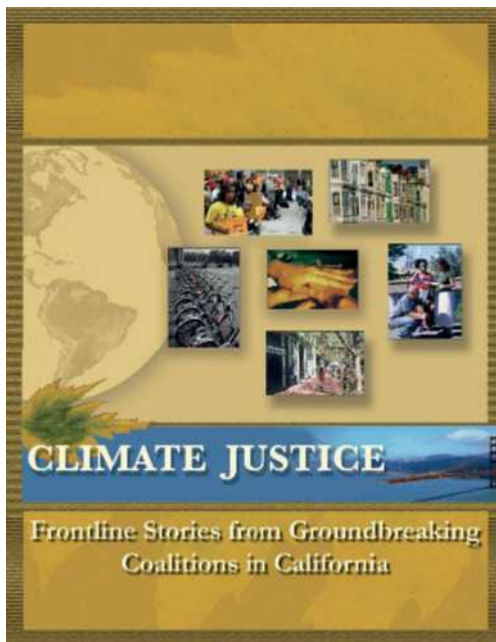


CLIMATE JUSTICE

Frontline Stories from Groundbreaking Coalitions In California



Edited by

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Foreword by Carl Anthony

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Breakthrough Communities Learning Action Project
Earth House Center
Oakland CA

Mission

Breakthrough Communities builds multi-racial and multi-class leadership for sustainable metropolitan communities in California, the United States and globally. We provide education, training and multimedia communication tools.

Breakthrough Communities demonstrates that a viable economy, a healthy environment and social equity are mutually reinforcing and provide the framework for planning and resource allocation to achieve healthy, just and sustainable communities.

Support

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Material produced in this manuscript includes original contributions by coalition partners, as well as original work by Breakthrough Communities team. This draft manuscript has been compiled in preparation for future distribution across a variety of platforms for the intention of strengthening the work of the coalition partners featured here.

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Lessons Learned



Lessons Learned: Gaining New Ground

“The steps we take now make new earth grow beneath our feet.
The steps we take now decide what kind of earth that will be.”

– Herbert and Pavel, *Random Kindness and Senseless Acts of Beauty* 2004)



Voice Matters

On the cover of our Six Big Wins for Social Equity brochure (an achievement of coalition development in itself), there is a photograph of our coalition in action at the Metro Center. Please enter into this photo through the eyes of a coalition member. The man at the podium—tall, original, distinguished in suit and tie, and dreads—steps up with calm and grace. We hold our breath. The man at the podium providing testimony is Azibuike Akaba, the Six Wins’ climate scientist. His lifetime career is dedicated to environmental justice and he has applied his scientific knowledge on behalf of vulnerable communities in countless heartbreaking situations where poison meets poverty and race. Voice matters. And Azi

proves that civic engagement is much more than signing a blue card as you enter the room at the Joint Policy Commission. Finding one’s voice after being officially registered is yet another challenge.

Azi’s voice matters in our community. He has just followed Devilla Ervin and several of the youth of color from New Voices are Rising, who have unearthed their power, crafted their messages in spokesperson training, and have been learning to conduct door-to-door community-based outreach and education in their neighborhoods from West Oakland to Fruitvale to the Iron Triangle. For them there is a challenging journey to finding their voice—crossing territories of shame, the historic silencing across boundaries of class, sometimes coming from immigrant families for whom English is a new lan-

guage, then climbing the hurdle of yet another foreign language—urban planning and policy jargon—SB 375, SCS, RTP, MTC. These youth of color of various ethnic backgrounds have traversed perilous obstacles with aplomb and have become a force—a consistent, evocative, and persuasive presence in the SB 375/ SCS process. Many elected officials remarked that it was the voice of the youth that caused them to shift their positions on social equity. Today, Azibuke rises to speak about the new face of the climate crisis—not polar bears on an iceberg, but children with asthma in communities of concern. He knows the territory, and the scientific authority of his testimony following the firsthand experience of the youth is powerful and effective.

On this occasion, when Azi brings his voice to the podium, he is holding additional coalition authority. He speaks today from the successful resolution of a conflict between two Win networks. The Six Big Wins steering committee had reached an impasse between public health advocates and affordable housing advocates on the issue of placement of infill housing near transit centers, which may contribute to asthma rates.

In other regions this divisive issue created fractures in the community and split coalitions. Azi is the leader of the Health and Safety Win network and took a bold step to propose a joint conference with the Bay Area Air Quality Management District (BAAQMD) and the Regional Asthma Management Project (RAMP). Further, Azi, through RAMP, sponsored a series of workshops where advocates from both issue areas put the spotlight on their conflict and entered a safe place for in-depth community exploration of their impasse. At the culmination of the

second daylong, he facilitated a participatory process that resulted in a bottom-up community-led innovation. Community members invented new policy recommendations for a win-win-win that was subsequently adopted by BAAQMD and the SB 375 planning process for implementation: Reduce the concentration of low income housing density in existing corridors and create more housing in locations of opportunity, offer better site design and require mitigations to reduce the impact on the air quality of those living there. Historically white architects had invented “walkable neighborhoods” with new housing around public transit, a generally agreed principle. However, EJ folks had evidence that the concen-

tration near inner city neighborhoods increased asthma and hospitalization as a result of that—they needed their voices to be heard.

Therefore, when Azi stands at the podium on this day, he is much more than a three minute spot in the MTC lineup.

He has helped us hear one another across sectors, through disputes and fights across our issues, he has held a larger container. Rather than closing off and splintering and

retreating—he invented a larger civic space for exploring and reaching a new horizon with one another.

We are rooting for him, we are grateful for his diplomacy, his scientific knowledge, and his dedication to social justice as a leading value in this process and in the community over time. We are holding our signs up in solidarity with him—Azibuke Akaba is a Climate Justice Superhero.



The Power of Story

In the foreground of this photo, the first person that we see, the most prominent and most visible in the front row is Alia Phelps. She is a member of a frontline community, and in our highest intention she and her community are setting the priorities of our work. She is also a story weaver, and an embodiment of the power of story—the next lesson learned in the SB 375 Sustainable Communities Strategy process.

There are three Alia's in this picture. The first Alia is an individual, the young African American woman who set out to visit her father on Father's Day with her siblings and infant son on the bus. AC Transit had cut Sunday service without notice from Oakland to Antioch, where her father had recently moved. Alia's father is one of 300,000 other African Americans who have left the inner city for the suburbs—displaced from West Oakland due to rising real estate prices—but also a man following the promise of the American dream: a better life in the suburbs, less stress than the city. Alia's father moved to Antioch, a car-commute away from anywhere. There he found himself caught in the latest machine of disinvestment: isolation and lack of infrastructure, and the growing "Suburbanization of poverty." \$400K homes are now underwater with \$100K appraisals. Alia stands at the bus stop and waits 2 hours for the infrequent bus which never comes. With infant son in arms and siblings set on celebration with dad, and no fare for cab, they resourcefully decided to walk. It takes them four hours in the heat. They attempt to secure water enroute, but are turned down along the way. They arrive in time for dinner with dad.

The second Alia in this picture is wearing a yellow T-shirt which signifies that she is a member of the organization ACCE-- the Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment (formerly ACORN). Many would feel victimized and discouraged by the daily kinds of incidents that Alia experienced waiting for the bus on Father's Day. Alia turned this challenge into power. As a lead organizer for ACCE, she works to raise up the voices of low income, immigrant and working families across California. Alia is a leading the way on Transit Justice organizing in the East Bay. Her current passion and ACCE campaign is that of

forming a Bus Riders Union, inspired by the successful frontline work of Eric Mann in Los Angeles. The personal Alia knows the pain of transit injustice and is working with the professional Alia to help other people who are living in places that do not have service, to mobilize their personal and community knowledge to effect policy change. She is principled, head-strong, and clear in her intent.

The third Alia is a member of a regional coalition. In this photo, we know this because she is holding an orange sign with black letters—I support the Equity Scenario. She works with other base-building groups to lead the Community Power Win network. She is a team player and played a major role in the education and advocacy days for the Six Big Wins. Alia is also a dedicated mother, and approaches her organizing work with the same fierce care. Alia is uncompromising about being at service to low income communities and communities of color, and is willing to reach for new horizons to achieve a goal. She is committed to finding public transit infrastructure dollars that benefit a robust transportation plan for the Bay Area's most vulnerable communities. And she has been sharp about translating the needs of her community into the technical requirements of creating the Equity, Environment and Jobs scenario. Alia is a Climate Justice Superhero.

University / Community Networks At Work

Lets look more closely at Alia's orange sign. There are many in this room holding orange signs—inexpensive as an organizing tool to produce—three cents at Krishna Copy, but they represent a significant financial investment of time, energy and dollars by the coalition and the larger communities they represent.

Embedded in this visible orange sign is an invisible process. A modest investment by private foundations to provide technical assistance is leveraged by extraordinary matching investment from the community undertaking education, tapping the community-based knowledge of issues, identifying self-interest, translating the issues and demands, creating a frame and strategy, and performing the transportation modeling needed to be authentic to the

community needs, and effective in the process of delivering a professionally credible scenario.

Embedded in this neon orange sign, there is an invisible presence, a strategic partner, who is also a part of this picture. This invisible other is an ally of Alia's and ACCE and the Six Big Wins coalition, and his name is Alex. Alex Karner is a post-doc researcher at UC Davis who came forward when asked to assist with community requests to gain credibility in the SCS process. He provided technical assistance in developing a community-based scenario which included the indicators and requirements of vulnerable communities. This came to be known as the Equity, Environment and Jobs Scenario (EEJ).

Alex Karner is the young buoyant genius who assisted the community on the technical side to translate their concerns, issues and demands in the SCS process. He jumped through many hoops with us, both technical and political, to pass muster and co-create a world class transportation modeling proposal—the Equity Environmental and Jobs Scenario (EEJ Scenario). At the time, he was a post-doctoral researcher at the University of California at Davis Center for Regional Change. However, in the spirit of emerging Community/University networks, the university translated community needs into power at the decision-making table. He is modeling a new kind of role for the University. This was not an ivory tower University faculty-driven research project using community in a parasitic relationship of knowledge-mining and extraction for their own ends. This is a new model.

The community was at a crisis point—if we did not want to end up on the menu, we needed to be at the table. In order to have power, standing, credibility in this SCS process, we would have to convert our demands into the language of modeling, the coin of the realm. Alex became our alchemist. As a graduate student at U. C. Davis he was all about being the supertech genius—in love with technology, data and statistics. In the process of his graduate study in the innovative and progressive Center for Regional Change, working in a new field-based model of community development, he himself has been transformed. As he reports in his interview, he has become a scholar/activist, an equity advocate, with an expanded sense of mission to communities in the US

and throughout the globe. Dr. Karner now “has the tools to dismantle the master’s house” (Audre Lorde). He goes another step—he is also critiquing the tools. He sees that they can be used and misused in these professional and policy processes. To paraphrase, people know what needs to be done in order to create a more just and sustainable world, but they avoid taking the clear actions needed due to a misuse of technology and statistics. True knowledge is power.

As a movement we have great respect for real data that can provide a wider lens on an issue, and help mobilize the scale of action needed into clear focus. Yet we also recognize that these knowledge systems can easily be used to justify and reproduce the status quo. Alex Karner is challenging the game on statistics. See Dr. Karner’s article in Resources that was inspired by new discoveries he made in the SB 375 and SCS process. We are deeply grateful for this new evolution of Community-University partnership, and for the many colleagues and new centers he represents. Alex Karner is a Climate Justice Superhero.

The Power of Framing: Linking Opportunity to Communities

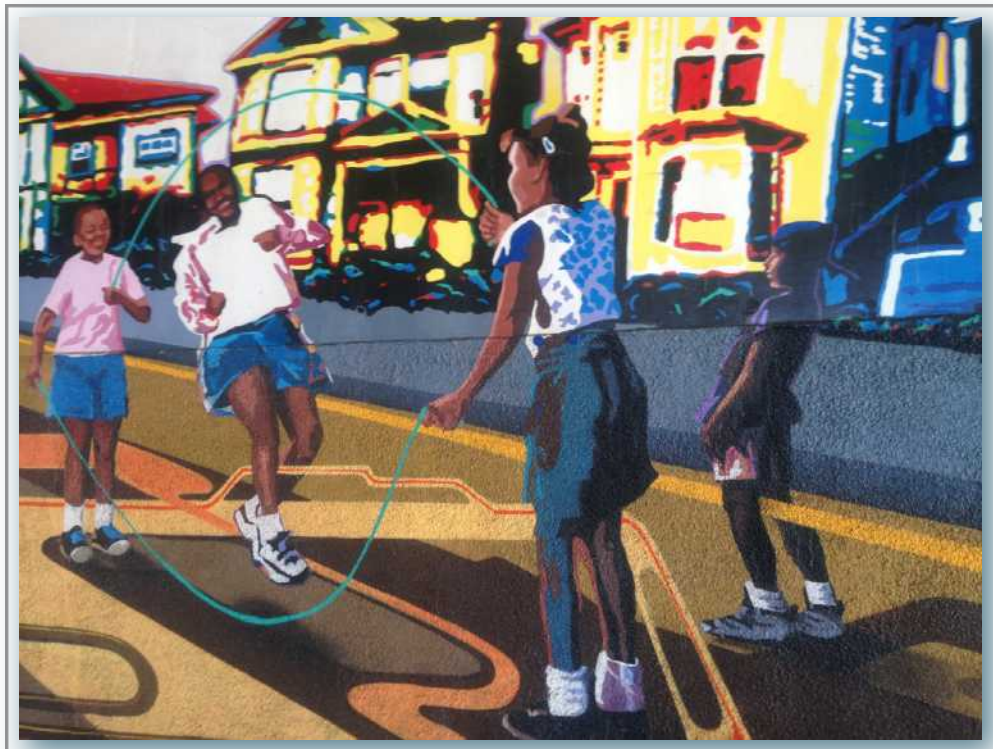
We would like to direct your attention to another figure that is partially visible in our photo. Standing in the center background of the image, standing against the wall, slightly obstructed, is Carl Anthony. Doubtless he is supporting us all, yet again, like a steel I-beam or granite bedrock. He wears a tan suit today, tie and the ubiquitous brief case. At 75, he has a recent vision impairment, but he remains a visionary leader who brings history and perspective, battle scars and wisdom, illumination and wit to the daily grind of our SB 375 movement building. But he is also a tireless force of nature, a mountain of strength and intelligence—panoramic in his scholarship and strategic intelligence. We grow new legs for the possibility of following in his footsteps. FBI-style wingtips, but retro cool, Carl is a secret weapon in any tough negotiation. He reliably creates a bigger pie where all can win, with deft political acumen. And today our senior statesman is “in the house”. His presence demands accountability—they can’t pull

any B.S. on his watch. When he enters the room, there is an air of gravitas--something serious must be underway. Today, there are heads nodding from both sides of the room when he takes the stand, evidencing the respect he has earned from decades of relationship with both community groups and mayors, county supervisors, and agency heads. The waves part as he walks through today's crowd to the public podium and we all breathe deeper, more confidently, when he takes the stand with that resonant, velvet baritone voice, a worthy opponent for some, a living legend for others. "Good morning, my name is Carl Anthony, Co-founder of Breakthrough Communities and our mission is building multi-racial and multi-class leadership for sustainability and justice in our metropolitan regions. Today I invite us to wake up to the opportunity that is before us"

Carl Anthony has an amazing talent for framing the issues. In 2007 on returning from the Ford Foundation, he began researching and scouting the opportunities that currently exist in this moment in history and in the policy climate of California for vulnerable communities. As an architect and urban planner, he is partial to land use and transportation. He was one of the first to unearth and excavate the policy opportunity of SB 375 and climate change as a means for activating a new round of social justice and civil rights mobilization. In the beginning, he would say "The bad news is, no one knows what a Sustainable Communities Strategy is. The good news is, no one knows what a Sustainable Communities Strategy is." We can lower greenhouse gas emissions, reduce racial injustice, and create economic opportunity at the same time. Indeed, un-

less we see the interdependence of these forces, we will not get it right. With the threat of increased extinction of species and the loss of biological conditions which support complex life on earth, this is an important moment in planetary history. And the heat really is on for us to get it right. Carl Anthony has not only given us a fish, he has taught us to fish.

I feel personal pride and gratitude for the opportunity to work with this superstar for nearly 15 years. With a sparkle in his eye, he reminds us all to grow up and act our age—13.7 billion years. It has been a long journey from the supernova and the birthplace of humankind in Africa. We are stronger for his



guidance and voice in the wilderness. Carl is now working on a new climate justice story of the Universe. With decades of achievement and service, Carl Anthony is our Climate Justice Superhero.

Be The Media: The Power of Telling Our Story

"My arms grow longer or shorter by your looking or not looking". (Rosa Lane, poet Roots and Reckonings)

Back to our photo. Who else is in the picture? Each one of our coalition members that you see standing or sitting in this room I would propose is one of our Climate Justice Superheroes. Each has a voice, has a story, and has a frame of meaning for their own mobilization in the SB 375 SCS process. Learning to work together as a coalition and see one another deeply, we have created the conditions for each of our voices and visibility to be amplified in this process. We are literally witnessing one another into being. The New Voices Are Rising Youth are a dramatic demonstration of this.

Who is not in the picture? The many in our own communities who wanted to be in this room but could not get off work to be here in person, or who cannot squeeze another hour from the press of survival to be here in person. We who occupy this room feel you and seek to speak on your behalf.

Who else is not in this photo? The Tea Party members. We heard a lot of noise and saw a lot from them, throughout this process. They were a curve ball. It took great discipline and focus, not to engage with their negative and distracting energy and to stay in alignment with our deepest vision and values and sustain our respectful and collaborative leadership working for collective impact. Beyond “saying no” to the Tea Party framework, we stayed on our own message to “say yes” to solutions that would move us closer to sustainability and closer to reconciliation of protecting what is vital about urban culture and bring it into alignment with the life support system of the planet.

Who is not in the picture? The more than human world, the larger living system of our planet. When we stand up to give testimony at the Metro center, we are part of the feedback loop in the living body of the earth, we speak not only for vulnerable communities, but also for the trees.

Who else is not in this photo? Coalitions in other regions. Those in each of the five target regions who have been the writers and contributors to this California Climate Justice story are not in the photo, but they are present to us as we look at this photograph. We are also aware of those who have been participating in similar processes in each of the 18 regions of California. And we are aware of those whose eyes throughout the nation and the world are on California and this historically significant process.

We acknowledge the need for a second stage of the Climate Justice project—to gather the knowledge that so many have gathered and generated here and share that knowledge more widely. There are many places ripe to share learning, strategy. Starting with ourselves. We say this even as SB 535 and Cap and Trade are already looming. We feel the heat and need to prepare together for greater collective impact. Up our game. Fast. We have learned much in this process. The power of we, and the tools and the capacity to create an even larger we.

Who else is missing from this photo? On the other side of the room, the target for our community



remarks in this civic engagement process are the decision makers. On the right hand border of the photo, we see the consternation of the gentleman holding his head sitting at the boundary of the two sides of the room. He is a symbol of the struggle at

the boundary to reach through these complex processes and hear one another in fresh and powerful ways that forge a future we can live for (to paraphrase Nelson Mandela). To his right just outside of our frame is a large U-shape structure of tables with individual microphones—the Board of the Metropolitan Policy Organization (MPO) formally in session. These decision makers are becoming more visible to us.

We are learning to go outside the frame of this designated photo, to cross this line with increasing aplomb. And we are becoming visible to them. The voice of Contra Costa County District One Supervisor

John Gioia in this Climate Justice volume is a powerful demonstration of this dynamic. And he represents other electeds who also seek to cross the line, listen deeply and respond to their most vulnerable constituents, walking the walk of democracy.

And finally, who else is missing from this photo?

The person who took it. Yet, the photo exists. We are able to have this shared perspective because we are both looking at this photo together. We are bound in a horizon of new possibility, by the documentation of the work of our coalitions. Why does this matter? As the photographer, I took this picture because I wanted to capture our coalition's story. I am speaking now of this individual photo before us, however it reflects the larger project of documenting

and recording our work, telling our story as a practice and as a necessity of our social justice movements. We ask you to join with us in strengthening the Climate Justice project which is before you now (the interviews, the videos, the articles, the analyses, the lessons learned, the recommendations).

In order to place ourselves in the center of the frame, we must be the media. We must document,

hear and see ourselves in action. And we must share this message. Who are our primary audiences?

First we must share this story with ourselves. We need to see ourselves reflected back, and in effective action. Second we need to

share our story with vulnerable communities, for education and mobilization. Third, as the crisis deepens, we must share our story with other allied communities including the middle class in the United States who stand to benefit from healthy public transit investment. Fourth, we must share our story with a larger national audience and in solidarity with those in the developing world, sending a grounded demonstration that social justice is compatible with reducing greenhouse gas emissions and increasing solutions to climate change. We must get the word out: Another world is possible beyond rampant consumption and waste. (Paloma Pavel, Ph.D., Editor)



Lessons Learned: Conclusions

We need a new story. We need a story that is going to tell us about what is possible, a story that includes not only the rich people and the white people but also the people of color, and the poor people and the working people, and the working families. We need to acknowledge where we are and some of the difficulties we have had, but we also need to step up to the plate and say “Here is what’s possible in the 21st century.” We have shared with you some parts of the new story. This new story is informed by an old story, a story that goes back to the beginning of time: the struggle of humanity to make a place for itself in the world. This story began in Africa, where we strove and struggled for over 200,000 years before coming to a critical low point in our history, the slave trade. Our ancestors went through a huge humiliation, and our communities are not the only ones that have been humiliated. There were witch burnings and one-half of the people in Europe died during the Plague. There were huge hunger traumas in the Irish community. Many communities have experienced trauma. The Native American community was almost completely demolished. We need to be able to accept those tragic parts of our story as part of our shared history. But now we are in the 21st century, we have a chance to undo one of the worst episodes in urban development--the creation of parasitic urbanism, white and affluent flight to the suburbs abandoning the people in the cities as they were suffering from enormous poverty. Now, given the fact of rising prices of gasoline, the costs of living are going up. People are coming back from the suburbs to the cities, and we are happy to have them come back, but we want to be able to share the wealth and the prosperity with them, not be displaced. So this is a new story. It is a story about what people in those suburban, urban, and rural communities are doing together about adapting to climate change in the 21st century.

This is the story of how we came to really understand the need to reshape our metropolitan regions, including not only a response to climate, but also a

response to social and racial injustice. We have been at this for approximately 25 years, since I started the Urban Habitat program, then met Dr. Paloma Pavel before I went to the Ford Foundation. We collaborated at the Ford Foundation and produced a book called Breakthrough Communities (MIT Press) and subsequently established an organization with that same name which builds multiracial, multicultural environmental leadership for sustainable communities in the Bay Area, in California, across the nation, and around the world.

Climate change is probably the most important issue facing our communities all over the world today. Human activity, the human economy has been so effective in heating up the atmosphere that we are now facing the threat of extinction of many, many species and even the possibility of life as we know it. We are facing the opportunity to rein in that trend, and make our economy respond to the discipline of an organized community saying no, we refuse to go extinct. We are at a remarkable moment in history, and California is at the forefront. California was the first state in the nation to adopt what was essentially the Kyoto protocol while the Federal government was unable to adopt a methodology for reducing CO2 emissions. We as a state of 40 million people stepped up to the challenge and passed AB32, pledging to bring our CO2 emissions back down to 1990 levels.

California SB 375 followed and was legislated to shape our metropolitan policy for dealing with transportation and land use together in order to reduce the CO2 emissions in the state. It turns out that 40 percent of the greenhouse gas emissions in the state actually come from cars and light trucks, so we saw we could make a difference by finding a way to change our behavior around cars and light trucks. There are eighteen metropolitan planning organizations in the state of California that are making plans for public investment in transportation. We have been lucky to be participating in that effort, both in the Bay Area, where there is a very high level of en-

gagement, but also in several metropolitan districts throughout the state.

The idea behind SB 375 was for the state to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions from some thirteen tons per person throughout the state annually down to two tons by 2050. It is a remarkable decision to make a commitment to that, and it has actually been tested by ballot. Some of the oil companies did not like this idea and financed a campaign to roll back AB32, but the voters of California said “no, we really need to go forward with this legislation.” AB32 supports change in our land use and our transportation policies and all the other policies in the state, providing leadership for the United States and around the world, showing what is possible.

If you have any idea of how dependent we are on these fossil fuels with their accompanying CO2 emissions, you can imagine that going from thirteen tons per person, per capita, down to two tons annually is a pretty remarkable transformation. The scale is hard to imagine, but for example, Plan Bay Area governs investments of about 270 billion dollars over 20 years, a very substantial investment. This means that not only will we have to revise our transportation policies, but we will also have to revise our housing patterns to get our housing closer to the transportation networks so people can walk and take public transportation, and use bicycles. It is really changing the

pattern from an autocratic society to one which is based on a much more balanced set of transportation choices.

There is a major role for community organizations and social justice groups in this process. Breakthrough Communities is part of a national conversation that has been going on, linking the whole idea of social justice and sustainability. Sustainability includes the three E's: the Environment, the Economy, and social Equity, and very often people forget about social equity. The viewpoint that we have been putting forward is that we need a plan that not only reduces the greenhouse gas emissions, but we also have to face issues that our communities are very con-

cerned with that are not that much linked in the public discussion. For example, we need to begin thinking about dismantling racism in our criminal justice system. We need to think about how we are going to respond to the challenges of suburbanization of poverty. We continue with high levels of unemployment and some places do not have tax revenues to support the social services. All these things need to be addressed at the same time that we are reducing CO2 emissions, and we say that it is possible to do these things together.

When forty five social justice organizations in the Bay Area--the Six Wins-- put forward a plan called the

Equity, Environment, and Jobs Scenario, we demonstrated that not only could we reduce the CO2 emis-



sions, but we also showed that we could meet our criteria for making life more equitable in the Bay Area. We demonstrated that you actually achieve better outcomes for climate change and better outcomes for reducing CO2 emissions and reducing displacement and increasing public health if you lead with social equity. This new story is about how we were able to advance an idea about planning for the seven million people in the Bay Area to meet these quite extensive goals of reducing CO2 emissions while at the same time advancing ideas about social and racial equity throughout the region, in ways that lifted up communities that have been very oppressed. We are very proud of those findings and we are very proud of the people we have been working with over the last three years.

What is really exciting is that we can in fact continue to meet our goals in terms of the technical requirements, but we can also do it in a much fuller sense of appreciation of the diverse people who are in the communities, who are also wanting to change their ways of living and what kinds of communities they live in. First of all, it is a story of people, diverse people. One of the things we feel very blessed to be doing in this project is presenting it not only as a planning episode or a set of technical interventions, but also as a story of the people who advanced those interventions. We were able to tap into a deep set of currents that have been working in the communities for the last 20, 30, 40 years, and find a way to connect them to the big challenge of adapting our behavior to a different set of assumptions about climate. We started the Six Wins coalition and many of us have been working actively on it for three years. We started it when this process was kicked off in April of 2010, and then we had a series of community meetings that followed that. We said to these coalition communities, “look at what you are already doing. Look at what you’ve been trying to do for the last four or five years, and see if this is not the best opportunity that is available to achieve some of those goals.” The Six Wins adopted a framework for doing that and we were very pleased to be a part of it with a number of other groups.

Lessons Learned

A number of innovations were made in order to accomplish the outcomes of the Six Big Wins. I think the most important thing is that we were able to dig deep into the organized community. We have had a number of organized communities that have been working on major issues for a long time. For example, the environmental justice community came into being toward the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, and has been working on toxic pollution. We were able to make the link between their goals and transportation policy, environmental justice, gentrification and displacement. As it turns out, if we are going to try to get people into a new housing pattern that is close to transportation, communities are at risk of being displaced. The question is how can we get investment and development in these communities without displacing the people. And who knows about this the best? People who have been struggling with anti-displacement and economic conversion in our communities since the dotcom boom. These were the groups that were the best resources for figuring out how to do that.

The same thing is true for our concern with public transportation, and we really had to try to find a new pattern for financing public transportation. We have been so reliant on all these automobiles. Automobile companies bought up the public transportation system to force our purchase of private vehicles. People get very excited about the return of light rail, but it needs to address the issue of how working people, working families get to work. People rely on their automobiles but with the price of gasoline going up the question becomes “how can we finance a public transit system that meets the needs of the poorest people, and then of all the people in the region?” So one goal was to get operating funds for public transit so that it really met the needs of everybody, and we were successful to some extent in getting that done. We also had important goals in terms of creating economic opportunities for the low income and the marginalized populations in the Bay Area, and that is in the process of being implemented.

One of the goals, of course, was developing economic opportunity. How could we actually create more jobs and more economic opportunity for people in this process? And then we had a goal to pro-

vide housing in high opportunity neighborhoods, particularly in the suburbs where there is a strong tax base and schools are good. We think that it would be crucial to have affordable housing in those locations, particularly since many of those locations are also where the jobs are. We advocated for that, and we also advocated building community power in this process.

One of the main contributions that I think this process has made is that we showed the knowledge base of the communities is actually quite strong. We showed that if we approach these communities and say, “build on what you know, participate in this process, which is a very complicated process with lots and lots of actors, but participate from the point of view of what you know,” it turns out that each of these communities were able to draw on its own network. We had people who were quite knowledgeable in each field. They built on what they knew. They moved it up from a neighborhood scale to a regional scale. They were able to get out of their silos and work with one another, and they were able to begin this process with the end in mind, for example, they had an idea that we wanted to have investment without displacement, and they stuck with it for three years, all those public hearings, to speak coherently and conclusively about the goals they had for each of the Six Big Wins.

One of the things happening now is an initiative that has been operating statewide to allocate a huge

amount of money coming out of the cap and trade process. The state has established a cap on the amount of CO2 emissions that will be allowable. A price penalty as emissions increase provides more revenues in the state while incentivizing the reduction of CO2 emissions. The cap and trade initiative has been established and SB 535 was just signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown, saying that twenty five percent of the money raised by cap and trade has to go to improve the lives of low income communities. Ten percent of the whole is to be spent directly in communities that are on a map showing they are under siege from pollution, or people who have low educational backgrounds, or people who are suffering from high rents, basically, low income communities. Going forward, we will try to understand how we can get those investments into those communities and participate with those communities in deciding how that money will be spent. This will create a pool of funds, about 3 billion dollars a year starting this year, and that will increase over the next five or ten years.

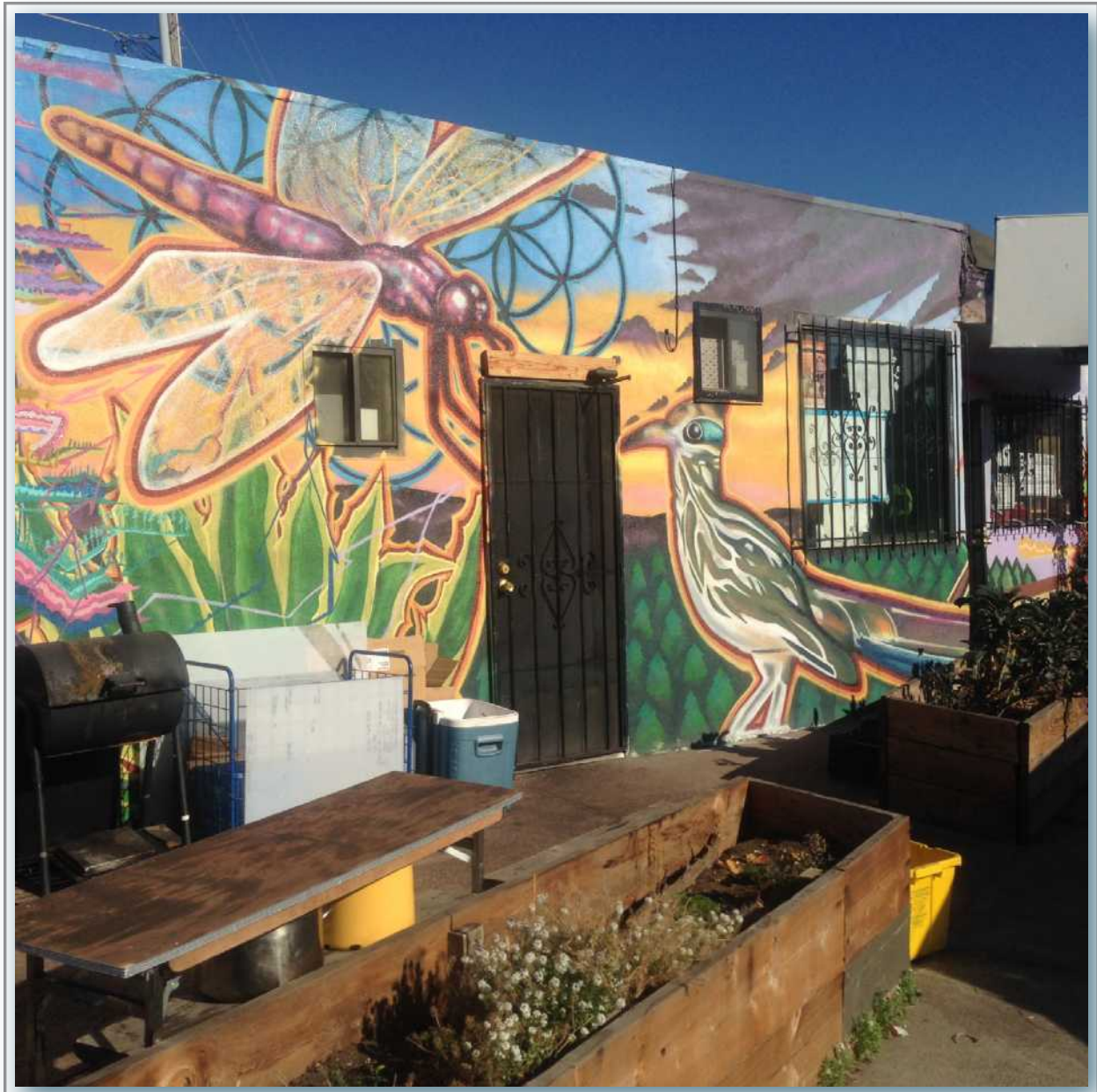
The important thing is, we actually created a plan for the whole Bay Area that demonstrated that we could organize ourselves and get the support of many, many communities in endorsing the Equity, Environment, and Jobs scenario. Not only did we achieve some impact on the last planning process, but the process will be continuing and they will ramp up again to make the next three years of planning for the metropolitan area. This will be a starting point



for a new round of commitments to public transportation.

We also got a fairly substantial commitment for investment using OBAG, One Bay Area funds for communities that are trying to fight displacement, and that is a really important accomplishment. We also had a set-aside of the cap and trade funds for operating expenses for public transit. These are our victories.

Going forward, there are some areas where we need to focus more. We should be focusing more on the suburban neighborhoods that have high opportunities and make sure that those opportunities are available not only for the people there, but also for some of the communities that need jobs and economic opportunities located in the suburban communities. We also need to make sure there is additional money in the till for public transit. There has been a new trend developing over the last decade called the suburbanization of poverty. We really need



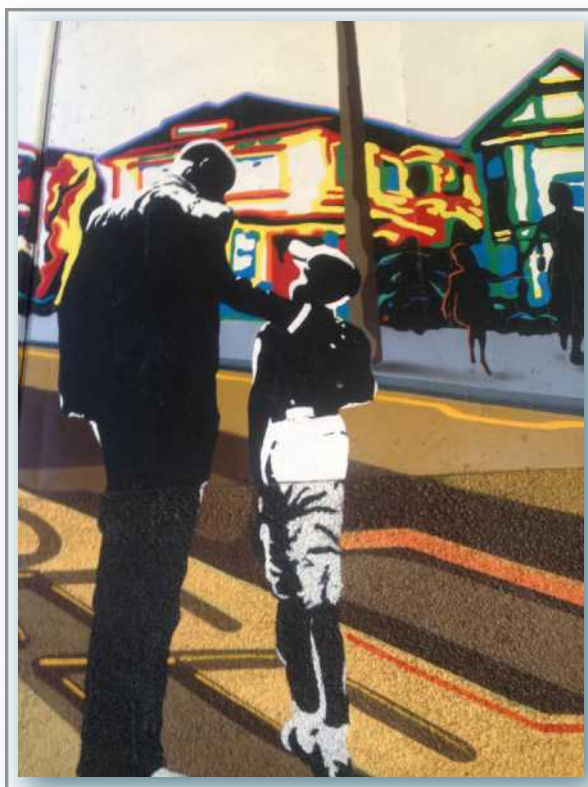
to be thinking about how we can address the needs of people who moved out of the ghetto and into the suburbs only to find themselves trapped in places that basically have no tax base and no jobs and no schools and no public transportation, so in some ways they are worse off than before they moved. The suburbanization of poverty is something we need to focus on. We also need to focus on the young people who have been caught in the drift nets of the criminal justice system. We really have to dismantle that, and I think there is a real connection between having healthy metropolitan regions and eliminating this system that has trapped people.

I would also add that people need to become much more self-reliant. Fourteen percent of the people around the world live in cities that grow their own food. We need to think about what kind of urban agriculture we can develop so that our fruits and vegetables are not traveling from thousands of miles away. We are paying for petroleum rather than actually paying for food. These are some of the innovations we are looking to see, that can happen in the Bay Area.

We need to build new campaigns for how we should be using the cap and trade money, how to implement the anti-displacement efforts, and also to get new resources and money into supporting operating expenses for our public transportation system. One of the really important aspects of this is to increase our communication throughout the region so that people will understand what has been succeeding in the past and can use that as a starting point. The interviews and reports in this book will be put up on the web and where people can see that there are African American and Asian and Pacific

Islander and Latino and European American people who are passionate about climate change, and sharing positive solutions they have been able to contribute. California is a remarkable state and it is a remarkably diverse state, and most of the people in the state now are people of color. So we are very interested in being able to communicate well what our success has been and where we need to put our focus.

Now we have a model that can provide direction and support for many communities throughout California, including the next round in the Bay Area, but especially for the next generation of environmental justice leaders throughout the country and the world. We really look forward to being able to get this document out, to show what we can do in the face of a terrible threat of climate change, to help improve people's opportunity for surviving, prospering, and being able to function in a way that's really much healthier and much more energy efficient. We feel this demonstration should be shared with other people and we are excited to be able to offer these case studies in this particular form.



The answers are not yet complete, but we have a new body of material in hand, from which we can draw out new implications for transportation and land use policy. The next phase is discovery of the implications for special populations: silenced minorities (now in the majority), immigrants, foreign language speaking, youth, people of color. What forces contribute to the suburbanization of poverty? What special needs get included in policy? What decisions made in planning silos, focused on solutions based on technology, create greater problems for the groups affected? How can we

overcome marginalization and silencing so that the voices of the people are justly heard? When evidence from the life experiences of silenced groups is heard, new conclusions can be drawn. Civic engagement is not MTC allowing you to fill out a blue card for permission to speak for three minutes. It is a culmination of community groups, whose voices were suppressed, having come forward with additional knowledge to inform the whole.

We can bring the unique lenses of various professionals including psychologists, anthropologists, urban architects and social historians to create new knowledge. For example, through the lens of Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (*Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, record-keeping tends to privilege voices and artifacts from the more powerful while the most marginalized are silenced in history-making processes. Learning from Trouillot, we seek to use our media-making capacity to lift up voices from marginalized communities and make history in a way that can undergird the kind of equitable and sustainable society we want to create. Inclusive recreation of our history can reshape society's understanding of itself. A second example is the Breakthrough Compass lens, the learning-action theory outlined in this book that has the flexibility and robustness to be applied to many diverse further projects.

Next is dissemination of this community-generated knowledge, strategy, and wisdom. The next generation will need to solve our major climate problems. Their voice is currently barely heard, and requires careful listening. We need to create contexts for the unheard to practice their voices being heard in civic engagement. We need to provide them with the best tools we have developed so far. An example is our creation and filming of a youth-to-youth salon on Climate Justice for the Summer Externship program of The Rose Foundation's New Voices Arising project. We also co-sponsored a teacher training for Alameda County integrating a hands-on mapping tool and our Compass for Transformative Leadership model incorporating multi-media based learning on

SB 375 for classroom use. Breakthrough Communities and two other of our Six Big Wins network leaders have completed a communications framing workshop with Alan Jenkins of Opportunity Agenda. Alan has enthusiastically agreed to collaborate with us on a three-part strategic communications training using our new campaign focused on SB 375 implementation as well as SB 535 Cap and Trade for all Six Wins network members this year.



Further Research

We need to explore the links between SB 375 and the suburbanization of poverty, the immigrant rights agenda and workers rights. This ties to the newly revitalized Quality Jobs network of Six Win, and Cap and Trade (SB 535) with its commitment of specified funding to aid at-risk communities. More research is needed to clarify rural transportation and infrastructure issues.

It has been a great joy and privilege to gather the cutting edge social innovation and community-based knowledge that is being generated by these community leaders and their networks. Now we are preparing for the next phase of our strategic communications work. The material we have gathered has great potential to provide guidance and inspiration for a range of audiences throughout California and beyond.

Proposed Activities

We need to get the word out. Activists in regions throughout California can see that the gains achieved in the Bay Area are common to their own struggles. There needs to be an investment of time, energy and support for all the regions in California to stimulate a flowering of this commitment. This effort should include: completion, publication, dissemination of this report, website development, other communication, and workshops. There are many potential audiences for this material. With the right support, the valuable assets generated by this work can be tailored for a wider range of audiences.

1 Edit, refine, and disseminate the material in this essay for publication in many forms: as a book, as free-standing essays, as youtube segments, as a curriculum guide, and as blogs on a website.

2 Provide strategic communication support for three of the Six Big Wins Campaigns cap and trade, community benefits for priority development areas in Oakland, and operating funds for public transit.

3 Promote community resilience in at-risk communities in the Bay Area and elsewhere in California to prepare low income communities and communities of color for the impacts of climate change.

4 Further develop the statewide Community/University Network throughout California to provide research, technical assistance, and students to support social justice policies and practices for community regional equity with organizing in transportation, as well as in land use planning to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

