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Navajo Nation photo taken by Emile Hallez Williams.

Richmond, CA photo taken by Jacob Ruff.

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As we complete this report, the nation awaits action on a comprehensive climate change bill, and the Stimulus begins to inject billions of dollars into a troubled economy. For those of us who have been working at the intersection of sustainability and social justice – what we call environmental justice – this moment in history presents not only unprecedented challenges, but new opportunities. It offers an open door to policy makers, civic leaders, and funders to build new community capacities and practices that can result in greater sustainability and justice, at the same time.

This report describes a shared vision for a just and sustainable economy, and highlights grassroots environmental justice successes in our communities. We hope to stimulate discussion and build consensus around the idea that sustainability and justice must be simultaneous results; that one simply cannot happen without the other.

As this report demonstrates, although environmental justice communities may have emerged from a shared opposition to unjust and polluting practices, many have moved into proactively exploring alternative energy solutions, community driven decision making, and urban design discussions with partners in the public and private sectors. These solution-based approaches are aimed not only at minimizing environmental degradation, but also building community political power and enhancing overall quality of life.

This report concludes with detailed recommendations for policy makers at all levels. Recommendations fall into three broad categories, and the Case Studies included in this report demonstrate how those principles are beginning to be put into practice. Overall, policies that aim for true sustainability would:

**Enable full, meaningful participation of all communities in decisions.**

Environmental justice groups have modeled processes that enable our communities to “speak for ourselves” and engage in democratic self-determination. The participation of those that have historically been marginalized by inequitable economic and environmental practices is critical to ensuring effective long term solutions.

**Invest only in truly sustainable infrastructure and economic development.**

Environmental justice groups have promoted many policies that have raised environmental and health standards for all and have ensured that new development is truly green. Policies supporting real sustainability would ensure that new public investment builds long term community leadership and infrastructures, and discourages “business as usual” whereby benefits are reserved for the privileged few.

**Create shared wealth.**

Environmental justice groups are pioneering community-driven models for green development that also build wealth, opportunities, and assets within our communities. Public policy and resources need to refine the definition of sustainability and green wealth so that the values of social capital, community cohesion and well being, and other community-based assets can be supported.

Members of the working group for this report look forward to assisting policy makers as they seek to apply these guidelines. To facilitate continued conversation, a Resource List containing further readings, weblinks, and contact information for working group members and other organizations that have signed on to the Vision Statement that follows, is included at the end of this report.
Our Common Ground

Three sets of activities unite environmental justice groups as we engage in sustainability work including near-term local efforts and long-term initiatives to address global climate change. Whether we present ourselves as social justice, community organizing, or advocacy groups, whether we are organizers, policy advisors, or researchers, we are:

- **Striving for full democratic participation.**
- **Building capacity for a truly sustainable infrastructure and green economy.**
- **Creating and sharing “green” wealth.**
Though we come from different urban and rural communities across the nation, environmental justice communities often face similar situations and are exploring common approaches in our work:

- **Our Communities Live and Work on the “Fencelines.”**
  Our communities are often located next to dirty power plants, refineries, coal mines, and polluting industries. It is from these frontlines that we are checking the expansion of the current unsustainable economy.

- **We Are Watchdogging and Seeking Accountability.**
  Many groups have set up community-based “watchdog” processes that hold polluters and developers publicly accountable for their actions.

- **We Are Proactively Reframing the Meaning of “Green Spending” and Proposing Policy Alternatives.**
  We are asserting our voices into public conversations and deepening debate around public spending objectives at the local, state, and federal levels.

- **We Have Arrived at a Teaching Moment.**
  We see our climate justice-related activities as an opportunity to educate our communities on how solutions to environmental degradation must be linked to basic justice. Through these activities, we are identifying and cultivating new leaders.

- **We Are Building Alliances.**
  Many of the organizations are building new coalitions that are cross-issue, national, interdisciplinary, multi-constituency, or inter-tribal, to challenge or defend against large, well-funded opponents.

- **“Green Jobs” Cannot Be the Only Answer.**
  In all Case Studies, “green jobs” are only part of a much wider set of policy solutions that must be addressed to bring about long-term sustainability.

- **We Are Approaching a Tipping Point in Our Wins.**
  Several of the groups profiled have recently won court and policy victories resulting in permit denials, stricter environmental guidelines, and corporate remediation. And they are building on those victories by organizing and educating their communities for bigger wins and even more effective activism.
A Vision Statement
Toward a Just and Sustainable New Economy

To download PDF versions of this Vision Statement or full document, go to: http://ejstimulus.wordpress.com/
To add your name or organization to the growing list of endorsers of this Vision Statement go to:
http://ejstimulus.wordpress.com/selected-list-of-endorsers/

As we engage in discussions on climate change, sustainability, and economic recovery, we have an opportunity now to think deeply about our policy approaches and resource spending decisions:

• President Obama has emphasized the necessity of making the right choices for generations to come. So how might we ensure that our climate change and “green” spending decisions benefit all communities, both now and in the future?

• Can “green wealth” be defined as more than just jobs, alternative energy development, and one-time community investments?

• What is “wealth” as defined by our nation’s most marginalized communities, and how might policy approaches address wealth expansion through those new definitions?

• Can we even reach climate change and sustainability policy goals, unless all communities are engaged and have a positive stake in the outcomes?

Policy approaches to these questions have the potential to create social shifts as profound as those brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the New Deal.

In response to these questions, environmental justice approaches to climate change policies are often predicated on these beliefs:

If we are to avert calamitous climate change, we cannot continue “business as usual.” Policies that achieve real sustainability will require redefining the fundamental ways in which we measure both monetary and social costs and benefits, as well as how we assess which communities stand most to benefit or to pay. A sustainable economy will require new ways of defining wealth and the American Dream that de-link our well-being from over-consumption of Earth’s resources. It will require production systems that do not depend on the exploitation of nature and people, or the over-reliance on fossil fuels. It will require a shift from a throw-away consumer culture, in which certain peoples are excluded from decision making, or in which certain lands and communities are seen as expendable. Green investment policy decisions cannot be solely synonymous with the adoption of green lifestyles by those who can afford them or with the limited provision of lower tier “green” jobs.
This great transition towards sustainability will be the ultimate test of our democracy. The decisions we make now will affect us all profoundly and reshape our relationship to Mother Earth and to one another. They will require the participation of all sectors of society, to decide how we can best move into a new era, together. Policy decisions must be guided by and accountable to all communities, particularly those that have historically been most impacted by environmental degradation.

Sustainability is fundamentally a matter of equity and justice. Our policy decisions now will determine who will have opportunities for many generations to come, to access, share, and control new green wealth. Lower income communities and communities of color have endured the most devastating effects of environmental degradation and unsustainable economies, and have benefitted the least from the tremendous short term wealth generated by them. Thus, in a new green economy, these marginalized communities deserve the resources and first opportunities to share in new “green” wealth.

Equitable sharing of this new “green” wealth must be part of any definition of sustainability. In fact, the extreme wealth inequalities generated in our current economy only fuel its unsustainability. Therefore, any transition in which the majority of the world’s people remain in poverty and lack basic human needs is neither stable, secure, nor, in the long run, sustainable. As long as our profit and business models fail to capture the social, intangible, or currently unmeasured costs of environmental degradation (in economic terms, so-called “externalities”), and as long as those costs remain hidden or fall disproportionately on historically marginalized communities while accruing benefit to a small minority, we will continue to experience “business as usual.”

As the “canaries in the coal mine” coming from “fence-line” neighborhoods, environmental justice communities have valuable experience fighting unfair burdens and shaping sustainable and just alternatives. For many decades, our grassroots struggles have been blazing the way towards a more sustainable, democratic, and just society. But we know that we cannot achieve this vision alone. Fortunately, there are partners who we can and must join with, ranging from social, economic, and racial justice sectors to governmental and private sector partners, who see the necessity for deep, systemic change to address the climate change crisis.

“...any transition in which the majority of the world’s people remain in poverty and lack basic human needs is neither stable, secure, nor, in the long run, sustainable.”
In this report, we highlight the work of community-based environmental justice groups that are manifesting the ideals of our Vision Statement. These Case Studies are only a sample of the breadth and depth of the work in the field. They are also works in progress, snapshots of partial successes which may grow into long term, fuller successes with the support of stronger, more connected networks of like-minded leaders, advocates, and concerned community members.

Los Angeles, CA

Redefining Sustainable Transportation
Transit Riders for Public Transportation

Harlan County, KY

Replacing a Coal Economy with a Green Economy
Kentuckians for the Commonwealth

Chicago, IL

Expanding Advocacy from Toxic Clean Up to Community Redevelopment
Little Village Environmental Justice Organization

Navajo Nation

Navajo Youth Lead the Way to Green Jobs
Black Mesa Water Coalition

Miami, FL

Fighting Gentrification by Building Green Affordable Housing
Miami Workers Center

San Diego, CA

Defeating Power Plant Expansion by Providing Sustainable Alternatives
Environmental Health Coalition

Richmond, CA

Stopping Big Oil and Fueling a Green Economy
Asian Pacific Environmental Network, Communities for a Better Environment, and West County Toxics Coalition

New York, NY

From Clean Buses to Regional Development: A 360° Policy Approach
WE ACT for Environmental Justice
“...a mass transit system that prioritizes the needs of the most transit-dependent communities can serve the needs of all.”
Los Angeles, California

Redefining Sustainable Transportation
Transit Riders for Public Transportation

With the Federal Transportation Act set to expire at the end of 2009, grassroots activists and environmental justice organizations have launched a bold campaign to steer federal transportation spending towards mass transit as the cornerstone of a green and equitable economy.

Members of the coalition Transit Riders for Public Transportation (TRPT) believe that our environment and our economy will benefit significantly if our public transportation dollars are diverted away from highways and toward mass transit. Their campaign tosses this gauntlet - Can we envision moving towards a 90% reduction in U.S. greenhouse gases by virtually eliminating the auto and replacing it with a nationwide system of public transit?

According to Eric Mann, Director of the Labor/Community Strategy Center, the coordinating member of TRPT, families that have difficulty affording the maintenance of their private vehicles would be willing to give them up if they could be guaranteed a safe and affordable public transit system. “Such a system would have to run on a 24-hour basis within facilities that are well lit,” Mann states; “Plus, it would have to drop people off at their homes.”

Mann believes that, to move into a green economy, auto use should be restricted, and a 24-hour bus system should be a primary provider of a community’s transportation needs. He also feels that a strong investment in public transportation can create real green jobs (defined as jobs that reduce fuel emissions, and provide sustainable, long term employment with promotions potential for minority populations).

The Labor/Community Strategy Center estimates, for instance, that 7,000 green jobs could be created for every 1,000 buses built. For every 100 buses, they estimate that 300 drivers could be hired to enable buses to run round the clock. Jobs in clerical work, cleaning and maintenance, bus mechanics, and bus construction would also be created.

TRPT launched in April 2009 with 11 member groups across the nation – from Los Angeles to New York City.

Headed by Mann’s organization and the Bus Riders Union, their campaign is building a national coalition by organizing riders to engage in the decision making around how public transit dollars should be spent.

“In the name of congestion relief and reducing emissions, the bi-partisan auto lobby has funneled billions of dollars of public funds into freeway and road expansion projects despite countless studies showing that increased road capacity only generates more cars to fill the space. Most of the groups lobbying in DC don’t even pretend to represent the public transportation users,” says Mann.

Mann adds, “we have found that most of the people on the street who use public transportation have never even heard of the Federal Transportation Act.” Thus, the TRPT’s coalition partners are educating their communities about the renewal efforts around this act and bringing their members to Congress.

TRPT envisions a three to four year process to change national transportation policy towards its goals. The process begins with shifting the “center of gravity” in current transportation policy debates and exposing the impacts of automobile emissions and their damaging effects on low income communities. Their campaign seeks to shift at least half of all federal transportation spending towards mass transit.

As Mann states, “a mass transit system that prioritizes the needs of the most transit-dependent communities can serve the needs of all. The process of getting people out of their cars can begin now, not after manufacturing 200 million electric cars or after constructing a multi-billion or trillion dollar new rail project, or after transitioning to a clean electricity grid 20 years from now.” Mann and the Center believe that once auto free zones, auto free rush hours, and auto free days are implemented, land that was once used for parking, gas stations, and roads can be converted to pedestrian and transit friendly zones as well.
In the history of Appalachian coal mining, Harlan County, Kentucky is a landmark in the grassroots fight for better living and working conditions. Labor unrest in the 1930’s even led to the county being referred to as “Bloody Harlan.” Intense organizing continues today as Harlan County resident leaders help their communities transition from a coal economy into one based on renewable energy and energy efficiency.

Poor communities in Appalachia face a complex range of historical challenges: There are few employment alternatives to coal-related jobs, even as coal employment in Kentucky is a third of what it was 30 years ago, largely due to the increased mechanization of the industry. Large absentee landlords and local land-owners are unaccountable to new forms of economic development. The local elite maintain tight control over politics, commerce, and public life in this region. And now, the Appalachian region faces declining coal reserves and a growing public awareness of the deleterious role of coal in climate change and environmental devastation.

Consequently, the residents of two Harlan County towns are working hard to create a green future beyond coal.

In Benham, a coalition made up of KFTC and the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED) is exploring a range of “green,” renewable energy sources. In addition to wind power, potential exists for micro-hydro power, utilizing the creeks that run through the towns, and small-scale solar energy. The coalition’s efforts are informed by two reports from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology: one on models for developing locally owned wind power and a second on viable strategies for local renewable energy and energy efficiency improvements.

As the mines “write people off,” with job elimination that trigger growing desperation and anxiety, Harlan County KFTC leader, Carl Shoupe, a retired, disabled third generation miner, realizes that this moment is a “critical time” to take action. Another KFTC member, Roy Silver, realizes that he and other coalition leaders must understand the “fear tactics” used by mining companies. This intimidation has served to inhibit participation in community development. Silver’s and Shoupe’s community organizing, as a result, is highly personal, requiring trusting contact with neighbors, friends, and families that represent a critical mass of people living in the area.

For Silver, success in any of these efforts will be about getting more local residents involved in the policy process. Attendance at public discussions on these issues has grown, and has resulted in the collection of more than 60 energy efficiency pledges by residents.

Many new partners have begun to participate in this Harlan County-wide greening effort. For example, the Benham Garden Club, a group of women, who for 16 years has pursued community development, historic preservation, and
political leadership in Benham, recently used their Energy Star Change the World grant to distribute compact fluorescent light bulbs. The Benham United Methodist Church has hosted discussions on energy efficiency and energy audits along with energy efficient light bulb distribution.²

Silver describes one of the KFTC chapter’s evolving roles as a “watchdog” of the Benham Power Board. The community’s monitoring of the municipal utility has, for instance, unearthed problems of accountability and transparency in energy rate setting and policy. They found, for example, that while the city had not paid its electric bill for years, the Power Board had raised the energy rates it charges its single family household users.³

In the neighboring city of Lynch, the mayor and the city council, led by Harlan County KFTC Chapter members Anne Carr and Bennie Massey, with the support of city residents, have become active in efforts to preserve the community’s high quality water source from destruction from three proposed coal mines. The headwaters of the Cumberland River not only supply Lynch and Benham but is the source of a proposed water bottling facility and much needed new jobs. Lynch resident and KFTC member Rutland Melton is also leading the development of renewable energy sources.

Other local leaders wanting to explore the possibilities of tying green initiatives to local economic development are also now seeking KFTC’s guidance. According to one of KFTC’s organizers, “It’s significant that Community Action is reaching out to and recognizing [our members] as being in touch with something bigger. ... That’s the way the work evolves—through relationship building.”

The symbolism of wind turbines in the heart of the coalfields is not lost on the residents of Benham and Lynch. Roy Silver points out, “If there are no mountains, there is no potential for wind.”

“Intense organizing continues today as Harlan County resident leaders help their communities transition from a coal economy into one based on renewable energy and energy efficiency.”
Local organizing around toxic clean up is often just the beginning of a community’s activism for a healthy and sustainable neighborhood. Case in point is the story of one Chicago community, called Little Village, home of the largest Mexican American population in the U.S. outside of East Los Angeles. The Little Village Environmental Justice Organization (LVEJO) has been this community’s environmental watchdog group, demanding accountability and better environmental practices from the many polluters in the neighborhood.

For more than a decade, LVEJO has led the struggle to ensure the proper clean up, remediation, and redevelopment of a former Superfund site – a local asphalt plant known as the Celotex site. For over 70 years of its operation, hazardous wastes – including cancer-causing polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons – crept into the surrounding soil. When flooding occurred in the basements of neighboring homes, contact with the water would cause severe skin rashes for residents. After a 10-year investigation, the EPA found in 1999 that Honeywell Corporation was legally liable for the clean up of the site and neighboring homes, due to its inherited liability through a series of mergers and buy-outs involving Celotex.

When follow up discussions with the EPA regarding the clean up proved unsatisfactory to LVEJO and the community, LVEJO began direct negotiations with Honeywell, without EPA support. A confluence of grassroots organizing, evidence of extraordinarily high levels of contamination and negative health impacts, and constant pressure from LVEJO and its partners led Honeywell to go above and beyond the federal levels of remediation federally required from them.

To date, Honeywell has cleaned up more than 175 homes. Through LVEJO’s agreement with Honeywell, the company also agreed to an open bidding process for cleanup-related service contracts.

Little Village resident Martha Castellon expressed what many felt: “my life is different because for the first time in over 10 years my grandchildren can play outside in the yard and I don’t have to worry about them playing in the dirt. I can plant in the ground and eat what I grow. I don’t have to worry about my basement flooding anymore and getting rashes on my skin when I touch the water.”

Yet, despite these near term victories, the fight for a thorough clean up continues. While the City of Chicago and the Chicago Park District announced in 2007 that they would build a park on the Celotex site, full remediation of the underlying site remains uncertain. As Lorena Lopez, a community organizer for LVEJO said, “The Little Village Community is glad the City of Chicago and the Park District have finally decided on a park site. However, we will not accept a park that could put our health and environment at risk.”

The community continues to negotiate with the EPA over clean up standards and remediation methods for the future park. Residents believe that the EPA’s proposal to cover the Celotex site with a gravel cap will not safely contain the toxins which, due to elevated land levels, can run off down to street level. LVEJO and the community have demanded that the entire industrial site be leveled properly, back to street level, so that the recently remediated homes will not run the risk of being re-contaminated. This street-level clean up would also allow the park to house a field house, swimming pool, and gym.
“...residents are realizing the power of organizing and, in their advocacy, have won other improvements, such as new sidewalks and streetlights that improve safety”.

Through this struggle, Little Village residents are realizing the power of organizing and, in their advocacy, have won other improvements, such as new sidewalks and streetlights that improve safety.

As victories mount, the focus areas of LVEJO and Little Village leaders likewise evolve and expand, and their grassroots ties strengthen. For example, with the introduction of the new park, residents are growing concerned about potential gentrification and its many effects, including potential displacement of current residents and shifting economic bases. Speakers from local community development organizations have been invited to share advice on these issues. In this way, LVEJO is broadening the community’s understanding of urban planning. By working with partners beyond conventional environmental networks, they are also expanding the local movement for their sustainability-related advocacy.
Navajo Youth Lead the Way to Green Jobs
Black Mesa Water Coalition

The Navajo and Hopi Nations, more than 250,000 people strong, live on land scarred with abandoned uranium mines, with four coal-burning power plants surrounding them. Ironically, those coal-burning plants also provide one of the few employment opportunities for residents on those reservations. As Enei Begaye, Executive Director of Black Mesa Water Coalition puts it, "on the reservation there are jobs for doctors and some for teachers. Or you could work at the Circle K or in the coal mines."

Begaye, a Navajo who grew up on the reservation, and her fellow Indigenous youth leaders are sparking a new movement to create jobs in renewable energies and connect their tribes’ traditional economies with 21st century opportunities.

The Black Mesa Water Coalition is an inter-tribal, inter-generational organization founded in 2001 by Navajo and Hopi youth. In 2005 the Coalition's efforts led to the permanent closure of the Black Mesa coal mine in 2005. But the work of these young leaders did not stop there. They then realized that they needed to continue with a pro-active vision - an economic and employment transition plan for the Navajo Nation. This resulted in the Navajo Green Jobs Campaign.

That Campaign, launched in May of 2008 by Black Mesa Water Coalition, is now working with the local Navajo government to create projects, jobs and training programs around renewable energy, energy efficiency, and sustainable water projects. With the passage the Navajo Green Jobs Act by the Navajo Nation, the Campaign won the establishment of the Navajo Green Economy Commission to coordinate green economic planning and secure and allocate funding.

The Commission will have diverse representation, including a youth representative, at least two women, and a Navajo non-governmental organization representative. It will oversee a Green Economy Fund that will create hundreds of new sustainable job opportunities, including community-led green job initiatives that revitalize and preserve traditional practices.

The Campaign members define green jobs broadly, as jobs with fair wages that support economic self-sufficiency on the reservation and that respect Indigenous culture and Mother Earth. With such a definition, the Campaign champions opportunities to support jobs and local economies based on traditional sheep-raising and agriculture practices, such as green wool mills, weavers’ coops, farmers markets, and community gardens.

The challenges to this ambitious and proactive Campaign are many. For instance, within the Navajo Nation alone, there are 110 local governments. The considerable distance between communities creates travel time and cost obstacles. And since work is done in the Navajo language, translation has been time consuming and logistically difficult.

Because royalties continue to be the major source of revenue for the Navajo Nation, organizers often face a Navajo central government that is hesitant to move away from fossil fuel and mineral extraction, the anchor of the Navajo Tribal economy since the 1920’s. The Navajo Nation has set up an office to administer Stimulus-related activities, but according to Begaye, this office appears to envision a heavy "oil and gas and coal-powered plant" agenda. Begaye describes this factor amidst high poverty as the major obstacle to their work.

Nevertheless, the Coalition has had particular success organizing Navajo and Hopi young people around the potential of green jobs, particularly via Facebook and other technology platforms. The Navajo Green Economy Coalition Facebook page connects more than 700 young Navajo and Hopi who want to invest in their communities and are interested in exploring green jobs.
“... the Coalition has had particular success organizing Navajo and Hopi young people around the potential of green jobs, particularly via Facebook and other technology platforms.”

Their work has sparked momentum. Approximately 23 local Navajo Chapters have signed resolutions in support of the Green Jobs Campaign, leading the Coalition to initiate a green jobs discussion with the Navajo Nation tribal council. As a result, the Green Jobs Act was passed in July 2009 by the Navajo Nation’s Tribal Council, by a vote of 62 to 1. According to Nikke Alex, a Navajo youth organizer, “There’s nothing like this in history. It’s the first time that Navajo youth have come out to the (Navajo Nation) Council. And it’s the first time that the Navajo Nation Council’s Speaker has worked on a proactive initiative in regards to clean energy development on the Navajo Nation.”

“The real work starts now,” continues Alex. The Navajo will now need public and private funding to develop their green economy. The Coalition hopes to direct $20 million in annual air pollution permits from the closure of one of the area’s coal power plants towards green economic development.

“This is just the beginning for Indian country,” said Wahleah Johns, Co-Director of Black Mesa Water Coalition, “We hope our efforts pave the way for other tribal nations to bring local, sustainable, green jobs to their communities.”
Some see urban redevelopment and gentrification as beneficial, but the low income communities of color that are displaced see it as an injustice. In Liberty City, a historically black neighborhood in Miami, residents have not only won their battle to rebuild affordable housing units, but also to rebuild them sustainably. Moreover, this victory has led to new grassroots efforts to develop a “green enterprise zone” in an adjoining vacant industrial site.

Beginning in 2001, Miami Workers Center (MWC) sought to prevent the demolition of low-income housing developments in Liberty City. Though they saved two housing projects, representing the homes of more than 5,000 people, they could not prevent the razing of the Scott-Carver development, which housed over 1,100 families. Redevelopment of the Scott-Carver public housing complexes was part of a $35 million project proposed by the Miami-Dade Housing Agency under the auspices of HUD’s HOPE VI Program. Under the federally-funded redevelopment plan, the 850 units at Scott-Carver would be rebuilt with only 80 affordable units. After more than five years of struggle and direct action (including the building of a shantytown and the grassroots takeover of one of the last standing buildings) the displaced residents of Scott-Carver won a historic agreement to ensure that all units in that project would be replaced and that all former residents would have a right to return.

According to Hashim Benford, a MWC community organizer, the organization’s focus on green development was an outgrowth of their housing justice efforts. Since the Scott-Carver projects were partially built on a former dump, site remediation became an integral part of their policy discussions and a key community demand. They are also demanding that the replacement housing be re-built in compliance with LEED green building standards.

Leaders at MWC stress that a main goal of their work has been to deepen community involvement in the redevelopment and green design process. In early 2008, MWC collaborated with US Green Builders to host a community design competition, called a charette, of the Scott-Carver site. These charettes have served as a popular education piece for residents, and MWC members and have helped the wider community understand the connection between environmental and racial justice.

More than 150 participants took part in an initial design workshop that kicked off the competition. After selecting a developer for the site, McCormack Baron Salazar, the County also required the developer to work with MWC on the green building plan.

Now, residents are working with environmentalists, architects, and universities in the design and building processes. In this ongoing work, MWC is now pushing for an independent remediation assessment and local hiring for green jobs. Benford feels that it is critical for environmental justice organizations “to get out front in defining what green jobs are,” particularly at this moment of Stimulus spending and potential public investment in a green economy.

Though MWC did not begin as an environmentally-focused group, as a result of this work, their members are now “claiming green as theirs” according to Benford. Key MWC members are now leading the integration of environmental values in their daily practices, such as recycling and gardening.
Community activism has spread beyond Scott – Carver. Next door to that project is Poinciana Industrial Park, a mostly vacant industrial site that for three decades was supposed to have brought economic development and opportunities to the black community. MWC is helping policy makers and developers understand the value of turning that Park into a “green enterprise zone” that will host small to medium scale green businesses. In its attempt to reframe conventional “green” discourse, MWC uses the term “Community Driven Green Industry” to describe the public, non-profit, and private sector ventures that create environmentally friendly products and services that also generate long-term living-wage jobs at all skill levels.

As Benford explained, MWC “really need[s] to drive consciousness of what kind of development we need to be focused on,” given Miami’s track record of pursuing “shallow” development versus wealth-generating development.

MWC’s work demonstrates that, when communities are able to define their own priorities to policy makers, they can advance sustainability and justice at the same time.

“...the organization’s focus on green development was an outgrowth of their housing justice efforts.”
In their fights against disproportionate toxic burdens, environmental justice communities have steadily exposed the true costs of pollution on health and the environment. Now, these communities are also advancing their own plans for a clean energy future.

In one such example, a coalition led by one of the nation’s oldest environmental justice organizations, San Diego-based Environmental Health Coalition (EHC) successfully blocked the expansion of a fossil fuel power plant in Chula Vista, California, where over 80% of residents are people of color and 16% of all residents fall below the poverty line. This proposed plant expansion would have more than doubled the size of the existing plant to produce 100 megawatts of electricity to meet peak demands and prevent blackouts. It would have been sited 1,300 feet from a local elementary school and only 350 feet from the nearest home in that community.

The proposed plant expansion had blatantly contravened the Chula Vista General Plan, a policy that had taken EHC more than two years to pass. The lesson therefore appeared to be that “you can’t protect people even if you get the policies right,” said Laura Hunter, Co-Director of EHC’s Clean Bay/Sustainable Energy Campaign, and, according to Hunter, EHC was not “willing to accept this.”

EHC mounted a community-wide protest that led to California Energy Commission’s denial of the plant permit in June 2009. In its decision, the Commission cited violations of the California Environmental Quality Act and the Chula Vista General Plan for land use. “This is an incredible victory for the community,” said Chula Vista resident Diana Vera after the ruling. “The Commission listened and acted to protect our health.”

In its campaign against the plant, EHC was also a solution provider. They drafted a detailed energy plan that described the rationale and benefits for alternatives such as solar arrays on rooftops and parking lots, repair of transmission lines, and improvement of residential energy efficiency. EHC also provided expert testimony and analysis showing that these options were not only feasible and cost-effective, but could provide three to four times the energy that the proposed plant would provide.

This assertive approach also helped the community to overcome the impression that its activism always implies naysaying. Now, the community’s own energy plan has become a positive vision that they can fight for. This solution-based approach is also helping communities launch more strategic efforts that link episodic, site specific battles to a long term vision.

To develop their energy alternatives, EHC has had to increase their technical competency on energy issues and collaborate with energy developers. This new capacity has helped to strengthen their organizing work, making their “asks” more relevant and allowing them to proffer detailed alternatives that can gain decision support from decision makers.

EHC has also used the momentum of its Chula Vista victory to build community participation in Stimulus spending discussions. Recently, EHC succeeded in engaging the San Diego community to push for a public process on the allocation of $12 million of Stimulus funding earmarked for sustainable energy projects. In another example of how sustainability themes are impacting policy discussions on equity generally, the San Diego City Council recently approved using some of the stimulus funds for retrofit programs for low income neighborhoods as a means of creating jobs for that community. It is “easy for decision makers to get excited…if there’s 50 community residents in their office,” says EHC’s Hunter.

EHC efforts demonstrate how community resistance to unsustainable environmental practices can be a first step in building community expertise and greater grassroots capacity for sustained activism around clean energy and equity.
Activism doesn’t always imply naysaying – “Now, the community’s own energy plan has become a positive vision that they can fight for.”
A David vs. Goliath Victory
Since the early 1900s the “fenceline” community of Richmond, California, a community made up of 72% people of color, has suffered from the impacts of toxic emissions from the many oil refinery and petrochemical facilities clustered in the area. Toxic spills have occurred over the course of several decades, and Richmond’s cancer and child-asthma rates have exceeded area, state, and national averages.

For many years, community and environmental justice groups, including Communities for a Better Environment (CBE), Asian Pacific Environmental Network (APEN), and West County Toxics Coalition (WCTC), have been fighting one particular refinery owner – Chevron, the world’s fifth largest corporation by revenue in 2009 – to responsibly clean up its spills and minimize its pollutants. The activists’ recent court victory shows that, in this David and Goliath story, David can, in fact, still win.

In the latest round of this battle, these groups have worked together to prevent Chevron from expanding and transforming their Richmond facility into one that can refine dirtier grades of crude oil. Through protest, watchdogging, court actions, and active involvement in the permitting and environmental impact report (EIR) process, this coalition is trying its hardest to usher Chevron and the city of Richmond into a green economy, where the costs of polluting behavior are priced in, accounted for, and made public.

To begin with, this coalition organized the community against the proposed expansion. Hundreds of residents jammed the City Council hearings during which Chevron’s EIR was presented. They demanded that the City Council limit the refinery from processing dirtier crude oils and that they re-do their EIR. Community groups also demanded that Chevron pay into a “Fund for Richmond’s Future” – a community-controlled fund to support the development of a cleaner and greener economy in Richmond.

But instead of honoring the community’s demands, Chevron offered the City Council $61 million in funding for local projects, which the community groups allege was made in exchange for approval of the project. This proposal was preliminarily approved without a public vetting, and presented at the City Council’s hearing on the project without public notice.

In response, in 2008, the environmental justice groups filed a lawsuit challenging the Richmond City Council’s approval of Chevron’s refinery expansion. “The City Council is selling out our community, but our health is not for sale,” said Henry Clark, WCTC Executive Director.

In 2009 a judge ruled in favor of the community groups and ordered Chevron to cease work on the oil refinery expansion pending submission of a revised, City-approved environmental impact report (EIR). The original EIR, the judge stated, did not answer key questions, such as how much added pollution the expanded refinery would produce. This was a milestone victory proving that concerned residents, in resisting corporate presumptuousness through all available legal and civic means, can prevail.

The legal victory, however, is only a first step. Now that a new EIR must be drafted, Chevron now has the opportunity to work responsibly and openly with community groups to restructure the project in the greenest, most sustainable way possible. In addition to considering environmental impacts, the new EIR process opens the door for Chevron and the community to explore green development and the creation of green jobs for Richmond residents.

According to Mari Rose Taruc of APEN, making the transition to a green economy in a place like Richmond means that “we have to take on the corporate oil giant. We’ve proven that we can stop their expansion of dirty energy. Now, we need them to work with us to invest in a clean energy future.”
Five out of six public transit bus depots on Manhattan are located in the brown and black, low-income communities of Northern Manhattan. For the most part, these bus depots are situated close to apartments, schools, playgrounds, and senior centers.

Inundated by toxic diesel pollution, residents suffer some of the highest rates of childhood asthma hospitalizations in the nation, and disproportionately high levels of other respiratory illnesses and heart disease. Northern Manhattan’s cancer and child-asthma rates exceed area, state, and national averages.

Years of advocacy by WE ACT for Environmental Justice (WE ACT) and other partners have certainly helped lessen the toxic burden of these transit depots. Their coalition work has resulted, for example, in the conversions of 400 diesel buses into compressed natural gas buses, and another 900 into hybrid electric buses.

But WE ACT’s environmental justice efforts go well beyond these near term mitigations. WE ACT and others are intent on exposing the systemic inequities of pollution, by expanding their communities’ capacity not only to resist toxic loads in their neighborhoods, but also to determine their communities’ own green, sustainable future.

Their policy work, like the work of many environmental justice organizations profiled here, spans across legal, organizing, and community education strategies. Case in point: After more than a decade of petitioning the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) to reduce pollution from its bus depots, WE ACT filed a civil rights complaint in 2000 with the Federal Transit Administration (FTA). In doing so, WE ACT exposed racial and other disparities, charging that the MTA was discriminatory, specifically in its siting of the bus depots. While the Federal agency’s decision, ultimately, was not a full victory for WE ACT, the FTA did find that the MTA had failed to comply with rules to promote public health and support community participation, a problem which the MTA was directed to rectify.

As a result of several years of negotiations and pressure from WE ACT and other environmental organizations, residents, and elected officials, the MTA announced that it would tear down and rebuild one of its Northern Manhattan facilities. They chose the Mother Clara Hale Bus Depot, which services over 120 buses a day. The MTA also committed to work toward LEED (Leadership in Energy & Environmental Design) green building certification for the new depot.

With these new commitments, WE ACT saw an opportunity to activate its community. They organized residents living near Mother Clara Hale Depot, soliciting their input around the demolition of the old depot and the construction of the new one. Working with WE ACT organizers, residents then established the Mother Clara Hale Community Taskforce, a 30-person group made up of community residents, representatives of community-based organizations, and elected officials.
Over time, community involvement grew. Local residents were trained in the principles of green building and the science of sustainability. This enabled them to voice their perspectives even more effectively. It empowered them to ask the right questions, in favor of green development in their community. Now, those residents’ visions of a sustainable community go far beyond the building of the Mother Clara Hale Bus Depot.

In September of 2008, the Taskforce recruited an unprecedented 170 community residents to participate in a design charrette organized by the MTA. Using their knowledge of sustainable development, Taskforce members suggested green design features that they wanted to see integrated with the design of the new bus depot, such as a green roof, air pollution controls, energy efficiency, and gray water reclamation. WE ACT and the Taskforce are currently in talks with the MTA to secure the incorporation of these green design features.

Then, during their June 2009 monthly meeting, the members of the Taskforce took the next step towards becoming a more formal body. Their more formal structure will now help them extend their work beyond the bus depot, so that they may work with other major developers in Northern Manhattan, and ensure community input into significant projects that affect their health, wealth, and way of life.

“Their coalition work has resulted... in the conversions of 400 diesel buses into compressed natural gas buses, and another 900 into hybrid electric buses.”

What started as a teardown and construction project ultimately transformed into a grassroots call to action that will, in turn, ensure a more self-determining, vibrant, and participatory community.

“I’m very grateful to WE ACT for the work they are doing with us here,” says Mr. Fred Wilson, a member of the Taskforce and head of the 146th Street Block Association. “I have learned a lot from WE ACT about how to advocate for better air quality in this community. That knowledge is helping me organize people on my block around development of a housing structure. I definitely feel empowered after having worked with the Taskforce and with WE ACT this past year.”
The Recommendations and full publication can be downloaded at: http://ejstimulus.wordpress.com/

The working group of this report identified three key principles that should guide us towards building a just and sustainable new economy. Examples for implementation follow each principle.

Enable full, meaningful participation of all communities in spending decisions.

Environmental justice groups have modeled processes that enable our communities to “speak for ourselves” and engage in democratic self-determination. The participation of those that historically have been adversely affected by the current unsustainable economy is critical to ensuring effective long term solutions.

- **Actively solicit input** of lower income communities and communities of color on how policies might stimulate the overall wealth, well-being, and life opportunities in their neighborhoods.

- **Tap community expertise.** Environmental justice communities and advocates, such as those listed in this report, represent a wealth of knowledge and experience that can be valuable to researchers, policy makers, and the media.

- **Promote accountability and transparency provisions.** As provided for in parts of the Stimulus and climate change legislation, accountability and transparency should also be integral aspects of future decision making and policies. Data collection and public reporting are a vital resource to ensuring equity.

- **Pilot new evaluation tools and indicators to measure the impact of policies in terms of human well-being, community cohesion, and sustained ecological integrity.** Such tools would measure the impact of public spending on meeting basic human needs and sustaining local ecologies. Examples of alternative indices include the Genuine Progress Indicator and the Index of Sustainable Human Welfare.
Invest only in truly sustainable infrastructure and economic development.

Environmental justice groups have promoted and helped win many policies that have raised environmental and health standards for all, and have ensured that new development is truly green. We must be vigilant to ensure that new public investment builds the infrastructure for a new era of sustainability and does not perpetuate “business as usual” whereby benefits are reserved for the privileged few.

- Delegate sufficient resources to ensure strong and equal enforcement of environmental, labor, health, safety, and non-discrimination regulations.
- Invest in energy efficient, green, and affordable housing for low and moderate income residents and families.
- Phase out old polluting power sources (fossil fuels and nuclear) and rebuild our energy infrastructure clean and green:
  - Meet energy demands in the following priority: 1) energy efficiency; 2) demand reduction; 3) renewable energy and distributed generation. This means that energy efficiency projects, especially in low income communities, take priority over new power plants.
  - Retrofit our buildings and homes to save energy, with a focus on reducing costs to lower income residents and locally owned businesses.
  - Prioritize development of local renewable energy infrastructures over building new transmission lines.
  - Phase out old polluting power plants. Replace them with clean, locally distributed generation resources.
  - Refuse to approve new conventional power plants in already impacted communities.
  - Require that at least 33% of the energy we use comes from renewable resources by 2020.
- Provide resources and incentives to local and state governments to reduce carbon use and other environmental impacts (through weatherization and energy retrofits of publicly owned buildings and schools, water conservation, community education, green building policies, etc.).
- Direct transportation funds for public transit and alternative transportation infrastructures (sidewalks, bike lanes) and away from highways and roads.
- Prioritize transit investment to economically distressed communities to increase access to economic opportunities and maintain affordability of fares.
- Ensure the maintenance and sustainability of existing transit infrastructures before expanding new transit lines.
- Fund infrastructure projects that are consistent with equitable development, regional equity, and smart growth principles.
Create shared green wealth. Environmental justice groups are pioneering community-driven models for green development that also build wealth, opportunities, and assets within our communities. Public policy and resources should support and promote the development of economic alternatives that can generate shared green wealth.

- Prioritize investment in chronically economically distressed communities.
- Invest in programs that build community involvement in neighborhood stabilization and revitalization projects, including developing anti-displacement and community engagement policies and ensuring that these projects result in local benefits for current residents.
- Invest in and promote wealth creation and entrepreneurship programs in communities of color and low income communities.
- Ensure job standards, worker health and safety, living wages, and local hiring for all work generated by recovery funds.
- Protect the rights of workers in the new green economy to organize through labor unions and workers coalitions.
- Target hiring and training for jobs generated by public funding towards the chronically unemployed and underemployed (especially our youth ages 18-24). Ensure that such jobs have growth potential.
- Provide a just transition for workers in the fossil fuel industry and others who will be displaced as the economy becomes sustainable. This transition includes job training and targeted hiring.
- Prioritize institutions that already have effective programs for engaging and supporting our disadvantaged communities. Position these programs to serve as placement.
We have no choice but to forge a new path towards sustainability and justice.

Our successes along this road hinge greatly on our ability to collaborate in new ways and unite around a vision that is not only “green,” but also just and equitable.
Endnotes

Los Angeles, California

1. Safe, Accountable, Flexible, Efficient Transportation Equity Act: A Legacy for Users (SAFETEA-LU) was enacted as Public Law 109-59 on August 10, 2005. The Act, which represents the largest surface transportation investment in US history ($244.1 billion), provides funds to promote investment in and enhancement of the nation’s surface programs in order to meet evolving transportation, highway safety, and transit needs in the country. Funding was initially designated for a five-year period, 2005-2009 (US Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration. Safe, Accountable, Flexible, Efficient Transportation Equity Act: A Legacy of Users, A Summary of Highway Provisions, August 25, 2005. SAFETEA-LU was originally set to expire at the end of September 2009, but is currently under review for possible renewal.

Harlan County, Kentucky

1. Mechanization has also facilitated the widespread surface mining practice known as mountaintop removal.


Chicago, Illinois


2. LVEJO urged US EPA to order a clean up of the surrounding homes using Illinois state standards for remediation, which were more stringent than the federal ones. However, the EPA recommended remediation of only 32 homes that exceeded federal levels (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Fact Sheets Region 5 Cleanup Sites, EPA Proposes Cleanup Plan; Requests Public Comment: Celotex Superfund Site, page 3 (October 2004). http://www.epa.gov/region5/sites/celotex/pdfs/celotex_fs-eng-200410.pdf. (Accessed: 11/15/09)).

Navajo Nation


2. Ibid.

3. A Navajo Chapter is a local governmental unit like a township.


5. On August 3, 2009, Navajo Nation President Joe Shirley Jr. signed both Navajo Green Jobs bills into law.


Miami, Florida

1. Details of the Miami-Dade Public Housing Agency’s HOPE VI projects are available at http://www.miamidade.gov/housing/hope6.asp. The HOPE VI Program (Homeownership Opportunities for People Everywhere) began in 1993 by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (See About HOPE VI, History & Background, http://www.hud.gov/offices/pih/programs/ph/hope6/about). The aim of the program was to eradicate severely distressed public housing in America and replace said distressed units with mixed-income developments.


7. Ibid.

San Diego, California


New York, New York

1. Two of the Northern Manhattan bus depots – the Mother Clara Hale Bus Depot and the Kingsbridge Bus Depot – are listed as being within the MTA NYCT’s Bronx Division because they service the Bronx; however, the depots are physically located in Northern Manhattan.

2. Founded in 1988, WE ACT has represented environmental justice interests of northern Manhattan and now is a leader in convening environmental justice groups nationally.


5. A workshop to solve an architectural or design problem.

6. The MTA has committed to rebuild Mother Clara Hale Bus with a green roof and LEED Certification. The MTA has also promised to keep WE ACT apprised of the building and design process as the development of the bus depot moves forward.

Richmond, California

1. Located in the San Francisco Bay Area, Richmond has a population of over 100,000, comprised largely of Black (36%), Asian (12%) and Latino (26%) residents (US Census Bureau, ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates: 2006-2008: Richmond City, CA.).
Here is a list of contacts for the working group member organizations and those groups highlighted in the case studies. In addition, there is a brief (and partial) list of some of the other organizations and resources that may be of interest to readers.

**Working Group Members:**

**Alternatives for Community & Environment**  
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**Asian Pacific Environmental Network**  
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http://www.apen4ej.org

**Communities for a Better Environment**  
Bill Gallegos, Executive Director  
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**Detroiters Working for Environmental Justice**  
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http://www.dw ej.org/

**Environmental Health Coalition**  
Diane Takvorian, Executive Director  
401 Mile of Cars Way, Suite 310  
National City, CA 91950  
Phone (619) 474-0220, Fax (619) 474-1210  
http://www.environmentalhealth.org/

**Kentuckians for the Commonwealth**  
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Burt Lauderdale, Executive Director  
P.O. Box 1450  
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http://www.kftc.org/

**Power U Center**  
Denise Perry, Director  
164 NW 20th St. #104  
Miami, FL 33127  
Phone (305) 576-7449, Fax (305) 573-8772  
http://www.poweru.org/

**West Harlem Environmental Action**  
Peggy Shepard, Executive Director  
Cecil Corbin-Mark, Deputy Director/  
Director of Policy Initiatives  
P.O. Box 1846  
New York, NY 10027  
Phone (347) 465-8485  
http://www.weact.org

**Other Organizations Profiled in Report:**

**Black Mesa Water Coalition**  
P.O. Box 613  
Flagstaff, AZ 86002  
Phone (928) 213-5909, Fax (928) 213-5905  
http://www.blackmesawatercoalition.org/  
also see: Navajo Green Economy Coalition: http://www.navajogreenjobs.com/

**Little Village Environmental Justice Organization**  
La Organización de Justicia Ambiental de la Villita  
2856 S. Millard Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60623  
Phone (773) 762-6991, Fax (773) 762-6993  
http://www.lvejo.org/

**Miami Workers Center**  
6127 NW 7th Ave  
Miami, FL 33127  
Phone (305) 759-8717  
http://www.theworkerscenter.org
Transit Riders for Public Transportation
c/o Labor/Community Strategy Center
3780 Wilshire Blvd. Suite 1200
Los Angeles, CA 91101
Phone (213) 387-2800
http://www.thestrategycenter.org/project/transit-riders-public-transportation

West County Toxics Coalition
305 Chesley Ave.
Richmond, CA 94801
Phone (510) 232-3427, Fax (510) 232-4111
http://www.westcountytoxicscoalition.org/

Other Environmental Justice Organizations and Alliances:
Alliance for Appalachia
http://www.theallianceforappalachia.org/

California Environmental Justice Working Group
http://californiastatealliance.org/article.php?id=50

Center for Social Inclusion: Black Brown and Green Project
http://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/ideas/?url=black-brown-and-green

Deep South Center for Environmental Justice
http://www.dscej.org/

EJ Matters
http://www.ejmatters.org/index.html

Environmental Justice and Climate Change Initiative
1904 Franklin Street, Suite 600
Oakland, CA 94612
Phone: (510) 444-3041

Environmental Justice Leadership Forum on Climate Change

Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark University
http://www.ejrc.cau.edu/

Green for All
http://www.greenforall.org/

Indigenous Environmental Network
http://www.ienearth.org/

Just Transition Alliance
http://www.jtalliance.org/

Movement Generation
http://www.movementgeneration.org/

PolicyLink
http://www.policylink.org

Reports and Articles:
A Climate of Change: African Americans, Global Warming, and a Just Climate Policy for the U.S.
J. Andrew Hoerner and Nia Robinson
Environmental Justice and Climate Change Initiative and Redefining Progress
July 2008
http://www.rprogress.org/index.htm

The Climate Gap: Inequalities in How Climate Change Hurts Americans and How to Close the Gap
Rachel Morello Frosch, Manuel Pastor, Jim Sadd, and Seth Shonkoff
May 2009
http://college.usc.edu/pere/publications/

Colorlines Magazine
March/April 2008: Who Gains from the Green Economy

Energy Justice in Native America: A Policy Paper for Consideration by the Obama Administration and the 111th Congress
http://www.ienearth.org/energy.html

Everybody’s Movement: Environmental Justice and Climate Change
Angela Park
Environmental Support Center
December 2009
http://www.envsc.org/esc-publications/everybodys-movement

Race, Poverty, and Environment: A Journal for Social and Environmental Justice
Fall 2009: Climate Justice or Climate Chaos?
(also see many other issues)
http://urbanhabitat.org/rpe

Reflections on the Green Economy
Bill Gallegos
April 7, 2008
http://www.movementgeneration.org/resources/articles
Sustainability is fundamentally a matter of equity and justice. Our policy decisions now will determine who will have opportunities for many generations to come, to access, share, and control new green wealth.