



# Accelerating a Just Transition in Washington State: Climate Justice Strategies from the Frontlines

## APPENDICES

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# Appendix A: Equitable Governance Policy Examples

A. Centering People Most Impacted in Public Policy Decision-Making

B. Enhancing Grassroots Participatory Democracy

## A Centering People Most Impacted in Public Policy Decision-Making

**Require state agencies to create EJ policies:** these policies create specific directives to state agencies to develop and implement Environmental justice policies and programs. For example, the New Jersey Environmental Justice Executive Order required the Department of Environmental Protection to issue “guidance for all Executive branch departments and agencies for the consideration of Environmental Justice in implementing their statutory and regulatory responsibilities,” and states that “all Executive branch departments and agencies shall consider the issue of Environmental Justice and make evaluations and assessments in accordance with that guidance.”<sup>1</sup> In Massachusetts, community groups have proposed legislation that would require agencies to develop an EJ policy or strategy.<sup>2</sup> Front and Centered’s proposed HEAL Act would have required state agencies to use all practicable means and measures to promote environmental justice and fair treatment. The San Francisco Public Utilities Commission has a policy that requires staff to “identify and implement initiatives to avoid or eliminate disproportionate impacts of the utility’s decisions and activities.”<sup>3</sup>

**Require identification of communities that face a disproportionate burden of pollution:** these policies require the state to identify communities most impacted, and then depending on how aggressive the policy is, require that these communities receive various benefits or increased protections. California’s CalEnviroScreen tool has been used in numerous policies to direct increased funding and environmental protections into communities identified as highly impacted through the statewide screening method.<sup>4</sup> Massachusetts Environmental Justice Policy includes a codified definition of what are EJ communities, including an additional definition for communities that face “vulnerable health” conditions, and have an online “EJ Viewer” mapping tool that illustrates the areas throughout the state that meet the definitions.<sup>5</sup> Front and Centered’s proposed HEAL Act would have required eight state agencies to implement the use of a cumulative impacts analysis in funding, regulations, policies and enforcement to identify, target, and improve concentrated health outcomes, as identified by the Washington Environmental Health Disparities Map.

<sup>1</sup> <https://nj.gov/infobank/eo/056murphy/pdf/EO-23.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> <https://malegislature.gov/Bills/190/SD1956>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nrdc.org/sites/default/files/local-policies-environmental-justice-national-scan-tishman-201902.pdf> pg 42

<sup>4</sup> [https://calgreenzones.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/CEJA-CES-Report-2018\\_web.pdf](https://calgreenzones.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/CEJA-CES-Report-2018_web.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> [http://maps.massgis.state.ma.us/map\\_ol/ej.php](http://maps.massgis.state.ma.us/map_ol/ej.php)

**Require analyses of impacts in overburdened communities:** because so many policies are at the state and national level, having detailed data on the impacts of climate change and air quality at the localized level is very important and can result in important and useful policy recommendations. California's Renewable Portfolio Standard required a study on the barriers and opportunities to increase renewable energy and energy efficiency programs within disadvantaged communities.<sup>6</sup> The recommendations from the report were then used as a basis for community advocacy. California's Governor also directed state agencies to produce an annual report on the benefits and impacts of greenhouse gas emissions limits within disadvantaged communities, to be updated at least every three years.<sup>7</sup>

**Targeting statewide investments to most impacted communities:** policies that set aside a specific percentage of public funds for most impacted communities ensure these areas receive the benefit of climate investments. There have been multiple pieces of legislation in California that set aside climate investments for most impacted by pollution and poverty, as identified by the states' cumulative impact screening tool. 25% of climate investments are required to be invested in overburdened communities and 10% in low-income communities. This has resulted in \$2 billion dollars of climate investments in highly impacted communities.<sup>108</sup>

**Create a dedicated Office of Equity or Environmental Justice. and/or staff positions within agencies:** these policies create a dedicated office or staff person that is charged with overseeing inclusion of environmental justice at government agencies. While they are less inclusive than an EJ Committee, such an office or staff person can bring to bear the resources and authority of an institutional office. The federal Environmental Protection Agency has a long-standing Office of Environmental Justice. Illinois,<sup>8</sup> New York,<sup>9</sup> Pennsylvania<sup>10</sup> and California<sup>11</sup> all have Environmental Justice Programs within their regulatory agencies, which include staff, which can include high-level positions such as the California Assistant Secretary for Environmental Justice. California's Attorney General even has a Bureau of Environmental Justice.<sup>12</sup> The City of Seattle has an "Equity and the Environment Initiative" within their Office of Sustainability & Environment.<sup>13</sup> The City of Los Angeles is exploring the creation of a Climate Emergency Mobilization Department.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> [https://www.energy.ca.gov/sb350/barriers\\_report/](https://www.energy.ca.gov/sb350/barriers_report/)

<sup>7</sup> <https://oehha.ca.gov/media/downloads/environmental-justice/report/oehhaab32report020217.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www2.illinois.gov/epa/topics/environmental-justice/Pages/ej-policy.aspx>

<sup>9</sup> [https://calgreenzones.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/CEJA-CES-Report-2018\\_web.pdf](https://calgreenzones.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/CEJA-CES-Report-2018_web.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.dep.pa.gov/publicparticipation/officeofenvironmentaljustice/pages/default.aspx>

<sup>11</sup> <https://calepa.ca.gov/envjustice/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://oag.ca.gov/news/press-releases/attorney-general-becerra-establishes-bureau-environmental-justice>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.seattle.gov/environment/equity-and-environment/equity-and-environment-initiative>

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.theclimatemobilization.org/blog/la-votes-to-explore-climate-emergency-mobilization-department>

**Creating Environmental and Climate Justice Task Forces or Advisory Groups:** these bodies create a dedicated space for environmental justice representatives or residents to consider and advise on policy matters. Their charges range from broad guidance on how to include environmental justice within a particular agency, to specific guidance on implementing a particular policy or program. Members can represent different communities or geographic regions. In 2019, Front and Centered helped create a new statewide task force to recommend strategies for incorporating environmental justice principles into how state agencies discharge their responsibilities including guidance.<sup>15</sup> Advisory committees can also be policy or issue specific. The California Public Utilities Commission has a Disadvantaged Communities Advisory Group,<sup>16</sup> and the California Air Resources Board has an Environmental Justice Advisory Committee to advise specifically on implementation of climate change policies.<sup>17</sup> Many official EJ bodies reside within the state environmental regulatory agency. EJ Task Forces, Committees or overarching Advisory Groups exist at the federal Environmental Protection Agency, and in Virginia, New Jersey, Oregon, Minnesota, Michigan, and Pennsylvania.

**Require Environmental Justice representatives on decision-making boards:** these policies create specific seats on environmental or energy regulatory agencies that are reserved for environmental justice representatives, which can be defined in a variety of ways. In 2016, California passed a new law requiring “a person who works directly with communities in the state that are most significantly burdened by, and vulnerable to, high levels of pollution, including, but not limited to, communities with diverse racial and ethnic populations and communities with low-income populations” to sit on the powerful statewide agency implementing climate change and air quality policies, the California Air Resources Board.<sup>18</sup>

**Training for individuals to join Boards and Commissions:** resident participation in local governance structures can enhance the democratic and community-oriented nature of these decision-making bodies. These programs, often run by non-profits, train individuals in how to join local Boards and Commissions, including everything from the Rent Board to the Planning Commission to a Neighborhood Advisory Committee. Training programs help residents understand the civic engagement process and how to be an effective advocate. Front and Centered member Puget Sound Sage runs a Community Leadership Institute that trains emerging leaders from communities of color and low income communities are chosen to be resourced, trained, and placed on strategic boards and commissions within King County and Pierce County.<sup>19</sup> They also recently launched a new program designed to support and train low-income communities and communities of color in pursuing community driven development, land stewardship,

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<sup>15</sup> <https://frontandcentered.org/analysis-how-did-the-2019-legislative-session-fare-on-climate-justice/>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.cpuc.ca.gov/dacag/>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.arb.ca.gov/cc/ejac/ejac.htm>

<sup>18</sup> [https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=201520160AB1288](https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201520160AB1288)

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.pugetsoundsage.org/programs/community-leadership/cli/>

and strategies for long-term affordability.<sup>20</sup> The Community Water Leaders Network is an example specific to a type of resource, in this case water. It focuses on supporting residents to join their local water boards in California's Central Valley, which is plagued with water injustices.<sup>21</sup>

**Community Capacity-Building, Technical Assistance or Grant Programs:** these policies create new programs run and funded by the state specifically to build the capacity of low-income communities and communities of color, or fund EJ work within these communities. Examples include Environmental Justice Grant Programs, which give grants to community-based organizations working on environmental justice issues, such as the California Environmental Protection Agency Environmental Justice Small Grants<sup>22</sup> or the New York Environmental Justice Impact Grants.<sup>23</sup> Policies can also support low-income communities and communities of color through provision of technical assistance to access statewide programs or policies or increase technical skills more generally. In 2018, California created a statewide Technical Assistance program to help disadvantaged communities prepare strong, competitive applications for climate funding.<sup>24</sup>

**Environmental Justice training for agency staff:** these policies require agency staff to undergo training on environmental justice to make them better equipped to include and address EJ within their work. The Michigan Environmental Justice Task Force created a clear, comprehensive set of recommendations for EJ training: new State employees should receive environmental justice/social equity training and encourage local employees and elected officials to do the same; incorporate environmental justice into employee training for positions in all departments, especially those related to the environment; direct each department within State government to send at least one employee to the National Environmental Justice Conference and Training program; produce teaching materials to inform leaders about environmental justice concepts and principles, and to promote environmental justice decision-making; establish a lecture and learning series to provide continuing education for staff.<sup>25</sup> The Oregon Department of the Environment, under their Environmental Justice Policy, developed a handbook on integrating environmental justice into programs and policies for staff.<sup>26</sup> While the Washington Department of Transportation has a link to an online EJ training on its

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.pugetsoundsage.org/learning-circle/>

<sup>21</sup> [https://www.communitywatercenter.org/water\\_leaders\\_network](https://www.communitywatercenter.org/water_leaders_network)

<sup>22</sup> <https://calepa.ca.gov/envjustice/funding/>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-cuomo-announces-43-million-environmental-justice-community-impact-grants>

<sup>24</sup> <http://sgc.ca.gov/programs/tech/vision/>

<sup>25</sup> [https://www.michigan.gov/documents/snyder/Environmental\\_Justice\\_Work\\_Group\\_Report\\_616102\\_7.pdf](https://www.michigan.gov/documents/snyder/Environmental_Justice_Work_Group_Report_616102_7.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> [https://www.oregon.gov/gov/policy/environment/environmental\\_justice/Documents/2016%20Oregon%20EJTF%20Handbook%20Final.pdf](https://www.oregon.gov/gov/policy/environment/environmental_justice/Documents/2016%20Oregon%20EJTF%20Handbook%20Final.pdf)

website, it does not appear to be required training and it is not clear how widely it has been implemented.<sup>27</sup>

Public participation, outreach, and language access requirements: these policies ensure that highly impacted communities have access to venues and information where decisions are made. They range from explicit requirements to guidance on best practices for state or local agencies. Examples of public participation requirements include: requiring an agency to host a specified number of public meetings across a geographic region, particularly in communities that would be impacted by a decision; requiring webcasting of regulatory meetings that are held in the Capitol so that people living elsewhere can participate; requiring translation of documents regarding a proposed decision or policy into the languages most commonly spoken in the area impacted; and increased public notice requirements within impacted communities for new polluting facilities to ensure that communities are aware of a proposed project or decision; or requiring a public comment period on a new policy or project. The Illinois EJ Program has a public participation policy that includes many of these elements, such as provision of fact sheets in “plain language” and translation of these materials into languages other than English if appropriate, but do not appear to require many of the provisions.<sup>28</sup> King County has a Written Language Executive Order that requires all public communication materials and vital documents to be translated into Spanish.<sup>29</sup>

## B Enhancing Grassroots Participatory Democracy

**Local climate action plans and other types of localized resource management:** localized planning processes that develop city and county specific climate solutions have emerged as a significant focus for planning over the past several years. These city or county specific plans develop strategies and plans to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, as well as achieve additional sustainability goals. They can be opportunities for participatory democracy in that they can include significant community engagement and introduce localized policies and programs. The City of Portland developed a Climate Action Plan that has a significant equity component and was informed by an Equity Working Group, made up of six community organizations. The group developed 9 Equity Principles to be integrated throughout the overall plan,<sup>30</sup> and also developed specific objectives and goals that were included in the plan.<sup>31</sup> Energy Action Plans and Urban Agricultural Committees are other types of localized resource management bodies run by local governments. Watershed Councils or User Associations are examples of resident-run resource management groups. State policy can support these types of localized processes in several ways; it can require local governments to develop specific types of

<sup>27</sup> <https://wsdot.wa.gov/environment/technical/environmental-training>

<sup>28</sup> <https://www2.illinois.gov/epa/topics/environmental-justice/Documents/public-participation-policy.pdf>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.kingcounty.gov/~media/operations/policies/documents/inf142aao.ashx?la=en>

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.adaptationclearinghouse.org/resources/climate-action-through-equity-the-integration-of-equity-in-the-portland-multnomah-county-2015-climate-action-plan.html>

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/article/583501>

plans through the Growth Management Act, such as Climate Action Plans; it can also provide financial support; and can link state funding to recommendations made within plans or prioritize projects that have emerged from localized planning in state funding.

**Community Listening Sessions and Assemblies:** social movements have a long history of using “people’s assemblies” as a way to practice direct participatory democracy. They are spaces to bring together all voices in a community to engage in dialogue and visioning and collectively agree on action steps.<sup>32</sup> Increasingly, they are also used as a way to determine recommendations for government actions to address critical issues such as climate change. For example, in 2017 Front and Centered groups held listening sessions on pollution to inform the coalition’s policy advocacy agenda. In the rural county of Winona, Minnesota, a community dialogue was hosted to discuss the impacts of climate change and options for addressing it. The recommendations from the dialogue then created the basis for an Energy Action Plan adopted by the Winona City Council.<sup>33</sup> In 2016, the Citizens Assembly Project launched an ambitious effort across Ireland. 99 participants were chosen at random from across geography, age, gender, and class, and were tasked with discussing five policy issues: abortion, how to deal with an ageing population, and climate change. They met over 12 weekends, hearing from experts, engaging in discussion, and eventually voting on recommendations to address the issues.<sup>34</sup> Their recommendation to end the constitutional ban on abortion was part of the social movement that then overturned the ban in a 2018 voters referendum.<sup>35</sup> The Citizens Assembly made 13 recommendations on how to address climate change,<sup>36</sup> which have helped fuel the national conversation.

**Participatory budgeting:** participatory budgeting is process that empowers residents to make decisions on how to allocate public resources. It entails designing a democratic process, developing proposals from all participants on how to use public funding, and then voting on the proposals.<sup>37</sup> It is currently being used at many different levels of governance, including cities, school districts, and regions. The City of New York has used a participatory budgeting process for the past 7 years to determine how to allocate a portion of its budget, resulting in \$210 million in public funding for 706 community projects over the 7 years. In 2018, almost 100,000 voters participated, and the project has also influenced additional New York city spending priorities, such as allocation of additional money for air conditioners in schools.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.peoplesmovementassembly.org/>

<sup>33</sup> <https://jefferson-center.org/2018/02/building-resilience-winona-county/>

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/About-the-Citizens-Assembly/CA-Fact-Sheet-June-2018.pdf>

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.scmp.com/news/world/europe/article/2147950/ireland-votes-overwhelmingly-repeal-abortion-ban-prime-minister>

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/How-the-State-can-make-Ireland-a-leader-in-tackling-climate-change/Final-Report-on-how-the-State-can-make-Ireland-a-leader-in-tackling-climate-change/Climate-Change-Report-Final.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.participatorybudgeting.org/what-is-pb/>

<sup>38</sup> <https://www.participatorybudgeting.org/participatory-budgeting-in-nyc/>

**Increasing community control over land, resources, businesses, and infrastructure:** there are growing efforts across the country to create new structures of ownership that have more community and economic control than the privatized model of private ownership. These institutions can take many different forms, including nonprofit management, direct community ownership, or ownership and operation by public institutions, including government.<sup>39</sup> Under these structures, decisions about managing resources or provision of services can be required to align more with community, social or environmental priorities, rather than just maximization of profit. In doing so, they can build economic security and opportunity for local communities, especially if they are planned and operated by low-income communities and communities of color, as well as strengthen democratic participation and practice. Many different types of services and resources can be managed through institutions that are not profit-oriented, including: community land-trusts and cooperative housing (also discussed in Chapter IV); municipalization of utilities or formation of energy co-operatives (also discussed in Chapter VI); creating public banks; developing cooperative businesses and services; cooperatives and open access to land to enable local agricultural production (also discussed in Chapter V); and even green infrastructure.<sup>40</sup> State policies can support alternative ownership models through funding mechanisms, policies that reduce legal barriers, finding ways to partner with existing cooperatives and non-profit institutions for provision of services, and pilot projects that demonstrate the potential for alternative ownership models with an environmental, climate and justice focus.

**Supporting community-based participatory research (CBPR):** this is “a collaborative process that equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each brings. CBPR begins with a research topic of importance to the community with the aim of combining knowledge and action for social change to improve community health and eliminate health disparities.”<sup>41</sup> CBPR has often been used to explore issues of environmental health, but is not limited to this application. For example, in 2013, Front and Centered member Got Green in Seattle used a community-based research project to survey 150 Seattle young adults on barriers to employment, and specifically how to support youth in obtaining green jobs. As a result of the year-long research project, the youth developed a set of recommendations and successfully created a new Green Internships program for young people within the City of Seattle.<sup>42</sup> Another example are “bucket brigades,” where residents in an impacted area use the Bucket – a tool devised to collect and test air samples - and use the data to advocate for stricter environmental protections.<sup>43</sup> State policy can support CBPR through funding mechanisms and using the model to partner with community based organizations to advance understanding of statewide environmental health issues. For example, the federal National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities, housed within the Department of Health and Human Services, has long run a CBPR funding program.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> <https://thenextsystem.org/diversifying-public-ownership>

<sup>40</sup> For research and case studies on the many different types of community ownership, visit: <https://community-wealth.org/>

<sup>41</sup> <https://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/CBPR.pdf>

<sup>42</sup> <http://gotgreenseattle.org/history/>

<sup>43</sup> <https://grassrootschange.net/2014/05/a-grassroots-movement-for-clean-air-bucket-brigades/>

<sup>44</sup> <https://www.nimhd.nih.gov/programs/extramural/community-based-participatory.html>



**Decriminalizing civil disobedience:** many communities are increasingly turning to civil disobedience as a way to stop new fossil fuel developments in their communities, in the face of the growing climate crisis and slow or non-existent government action. Protests, including physical blockades of new fossil fuel infrastructure, such as those against the Keystone XL pipeline and the Dakota Access pipeline have mobilized tens of thousands of people in the fight to stop the expansion of fossil fuel infrastructure. In response, there have also been a wave of new state laws criminalizing oil and gas infrastructure protests. At least six states have passed new law criminalizing pipeline protests, while seven other states are considering it.<sup>45</sup> One township has provided an example of moving in the opposite direction: Grant Township in Pennsylvania passed a law that decriminalized civil disobedience by prohibiting prosecution of people who participate in nonviolent direct action. The measure was a direct response to the town's efforts to prevent a new fracking wastewater injection well in their city limits.<sup>46</sup> State policy could reduce penalties for civil disobedience, or prevent the prosecution all together of people engaged in nonviolent direct action.

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<sup>45</sup> <https://grist.org/article/after-standing-rock-protesting-pipelines-can-get-you-a-decade-in-prison-and-100k-in-fines/>

<sup>46</sup> <https://celdf.org/2016/05/press-release-pennsylvania-township-legalizes-civil-disobedience/>

# Appendix B: Healthy Place-Based Communities

## Policy Examples

- A. Local Accessibility: Integrated housing and transportation provisioning
- B. Clean Up and Prevention of Pollution
- C. Green Infrastructure and Open Space
- D. Supporting Healthy Ecologies
- E. Regenerative Agriculture

### A Local accessibility: integrated housing and transportation provisioning

#### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

#### Integrated housing and transportation planning

**Increase the percentage of transportation funding for equitable transit oriented development that includes affordable housing and displacement protections:** Existing state transportation and housing funding stream should prioritize equitable transit-oriented development, and align with climate and overall land-use and growth goals. Federal transportation funds can be used by metropolitan planning organizations to encourage the production of dense affordable housing near transit and thereby boost transit ridership. An example is the Housing Incentive Program in San Francisco, which funds high density housing using two sources of federal funding, with increased grant amounts for housing that is affordable.<sup>47</sup>

**Include anti-displacement and location-efficient construction criteria or requirements in transportation and housing funding grant programs:** state grant programs and funding sources can include requirements to prevent displacement, or support siting of affordable housing near transit. They can also include extra points in their scoring criteria for project proposal that include anti-displacement protections. For example, California's Affordable Housing and Sustainable Communities Program, which funds transit-oriented developments throughout the state, are not only requires that a percentage of developments be located in highly impacted communities, but they also require projects to be designed to avoid displacement of local businesses and achieve "no net loss" of affordable housing.<sup>48</sup> States that have included criteria to site affordable housing near transit in federally-funded projects that receive the federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit have had more success in attracting affordable housing near rail transit compared to states that did not award extra points.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> [https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN\\_Equity\\_final.pdf](https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN_Equity_final.pdf) pg 48

<sup>48</sup> <https://1p08d91kd0c03rlxhmhtydpr-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/AHSC-2018-Full-Report.pdf>

<sup>49</sup> [http://www.urbandisplacement.org/sites/default/files/images/zuk\\_safeguarding\\_chapter\\_full.pdf](http://www.urbandisplacement.org/sites/default/files/images/zuk_safeguarding_chapter_full.pdf) pg 22

**Create statewide requirements for transit-oriented developments that include affordable housing:**

the state could adopt clear goals for defining and increasing transit oriented development that includes affordable housing development. HB 1490, proposed in 2009 in the Washington legislature, would have required higher density housing near transit stations, also requiring 25 percent of new units affordable to households making at most 80 percent of county median income. While the affordable housing provisions were not strong enough, and the bill ultimately did not pass, it provides an example of a state policy that could be strengthened in the future.<sup>50</sup>

**Increase funding for equitable transit oriented development planning:** Providing funding to local jurisdictions to prepare plans and adopt ordinances that facilitate equitable transit-oriented development.<sup>51</sup>

**Increase funding and support for innovative funding programs for equitable transit oriented development:** Washington state already has a range of programs that could be expanded to include a specific focus on equitable transit oriented development. The state can also support the development of other loan funds that include private contributions. For example, the Seattle Office of Housing has partnered with four public agencies and private funders to create a \$21 million revolving acquisition loan fund for acquiring sites near high capacity and frequent transit that include affordable housing. The REDI Fund for Equitable Transit-Oriented Development provides early, low-cost financing for nonprofit and for-profit developers to acquire sites to preserve affordable housing or to develop new affordable and mixed-income housing.<sup>52</sup> In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Metropolitan Planning Organization committed \$10 million to establish the Bay Area Preservation Pilot Fund, a new revolving loan fund to help nonprofit developers finance the acquisition and preservation of existing, affordable multifamily housing properties that are located in areas with high-frequency transit service.<sup>53</sup>

**Authorize new local housing and transportation financing mechanisms, such as tax increment financing:** local governments need more tools to be able to finance housing and transportation projects; but face prohibition in Washington state law from enacting local financing measures.<sup>54</sup> Tax increment financing (TIF) is a development tool that dedicates a share of increased tax revenues from designated improvement areas to repay investments in infrastructure, transit, and development.<sup>55</sup> In Atlanta, community

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<sup>50</sup> <https://www.sightline.org/2018/11/02/state-led-upzones-7-lessons-from-modern-cascadia/>

<sup>51</sup> [http://www.ftod.com/research/general\\_tod/statewide\\_transit\\_oriented\\_development\\_study.pdf](http://www.ftod.com/research/general_tod/statewide_transit_oriented_development_study.pdf)

<sup>52</sup> <https://housing.seattle.gov/upcoming-regional-equitable-development-initiative-redi-oversight-committee-meeting/#sthash.ty0mlyWB.dpbs>

<sup>53</sup> <https://mtc.ca.gov/whats-happening/news/mtc-pledges-10-million-new-fund-preserve-affordable-housing>

<sup>54</sup> <https://pugetsoundsage.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/TOD-that-is-Healthy-Green-and-Just-1.pdf> see also [https://www.gglo.com/wp-content/uploads/Blueprint\\_for\\_Transit-Oriented\\_Communities.pdf](https://www.gglo.com/wp-content/uploads/Blueprint_for_Transit-Oriented_Communities.pdf)

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/documents/departments/seattleplanningcommission/seattletransitcommunities/professionalprojectfinaljuly13.pdf>

groups advocated to ensure that 15 percent of a TIF created to develop greenways through the city would go into the Beltline Affordable Housing Trust Fund. In Pennsylvania, the state enacted the Transit Revitalization Investment District (TRID) Act, which allows local governments to create value-capture areas near transit stations and put the revenue back into public transportation capital improvements, related site development improvements and maintenance.

**Establish special districts or zones to create a focal point for healthy, equitable transit oriented**

**investments:** such a statewide designation can create a way to align investments and policies in areas that need special consideration.<sup>58</sup> The Transformative Climate Communities program in California identifies disadvantaged communities for targeted, public health, housing economic development and climate investments.<sup>59</sup> The HEAL Act, sponsored by Front & Centered and currently being considered in the Washington legislation, would require state agencies to highly impacted communities and identify priority actions to reduce environmental health disparities.<sup>60</sup> The City of Minneapolis has created Green Zones in highly impacted communities and is exploring land-use changes that can prevent displacement and reduce the cumulative burden of pollution in designated neighborhoods.<sup>61</sup> Zoning overlay districts are another tool that can increase equitable transit oriented development. These are zoning districts that are pre-approved for higher-density development, with requirements for affordable housing. Municipalities that adopt this kind of zoning receive an incentive payment. Massachusetts has a Smart Growth Zoning and Housing Production Act, which encourages communities to create dense residential or mixed-use smart growth zoning districts, including a high percentage of affordable housing units, to be located near transit stations. Once a jurisdiction adopts this zoning, they are eligible for payments and additional incentives.<sup>62</sup>

**Prioritize publicly-owned land for transit-oriented development with affordable housing protections:**

these policies require or allow public agencies to offer surplus or publicly owned lands to developers for transit-oriented, mixed-used development that could include affordable housing requirements. Sound Transit is now required to sell at least 80% of its surplus property around transit for affordable housing for at no cost, sale, or long-term lease. The City of Seattle has a policy that requires city departments to prioritize affordable housing development when disposing of surplus public land,<sup>63</sup> and

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<sup>56</sup> [https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN\\_Equity\\_final.pdf](https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN_Equity_final.pdf) pg 46

<sup>57</sup> [https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN\\_Equity\\_final.pdf](https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN_Equity_final.pdf)

<sup>58</sup> Healthy Development without displacement

<sup>59</sup> <http://sgc.ca.gov/programs/tcc/>

<sup>60</sup> <http://lawfilesexternal.wa.gov/biennium/2019-20/Pdf/Bills/Senate%20Bills/5489-S2.pdf>

<sup>61</sup> See: [https://lms.minneapolismn.gov/Download/File/33/07\\_Green%20Zones\\_Presentation.pdf](https://lms.minneapolismn.gov/Download/File/33/07_Green%20Zones_Presentation.pdf)

<sup>62</sup> <https://www.mass.gov/service-details/chapter-40r>

<sup>63</sup> <https://crosscut.com/2018/10/seattle-wants-give-away-land-affordable-housing>

maximizing use of publicly owned lands for affordable housing is one of the recommendation of the Washington Housing Affordability Response Team.<sup>64</sup>

Community benefit agreements / districts (CBA's) - these are negotiated agreements between developers and community groups that outline the benefits a developer will provide to a local community during the development.<sup>65</sup> Benefits addressed in CBAs may include living wages, local hiring and training programs, affordable housing, environmental remediation and funds for community programs. Local governments can support and promote the use of CBA's.<sup>67</sup>

Encourage ETOD joint development projects: Transit agencies can leverage the production of affordable housing near transit by adopting joint development and transit-oriented development policies that encourage production of affordable housing as part of joint development efforts.<sup>68</sup> Joint development is the sale or lease of transit authority property for development, which involves a partnership between transit agencies and developers. For example, the Los Angeles Metro rail system has policies to guide any housing developments near metro stations that include a goal of 35% affordable housing units available to people making 60 percent or less of Area Median Income.<sup>69</sup>

Require considerations of equity, environmental justice, and climate impacts in the Growth Management Act: this would direct local and regional planning jurisdictions to add climate considerations and/or equity when developing Comprehensive Plans.<sup>70</sup> In California, SB 1000, a law passed in 2016, requires all General Plans, which are similar to Comprehensive Plans, to include a specific Environmental Justice Element or integrate EJ goals, policies and objectives into other chapters.<sup>71</sup>

Require consistency between Comprehensive Plans, Regional Transportation Plans, and statewide climate policies: state transportation funding decisions, land-use planning through Comprehensive Plans, and Regional Transportation Planning should all be consistent and align with state climate goals, while having clear criteria for addressing equity.<sup>72</sup> In California, SB 375 sets regional GHG reduction targets, requires all Metropolitan Planning Organizations to develop a "Sustainable Communities Strategy" in the regional transportation plan that demonstrates how the region will meet the greenhouse gas emission targets, and strengthens connections between regional

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<sup>64</sup> <http://www.commerce.wa.gov/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/ahab-hart-affordablehousing-report-2017.pdf> pg 25

<sup>65</sup> [http://www.sparcchub.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Implementing-ETOD-Factsheet\\_11\\_7FINAL.pdf](http://www.sparcchub.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Implementing-ETOD-Factsheet_11_7FINAL.pdf)

<sup>66</sup> [https://www.northeastern.edu/csshresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN\\_Equity\\_final.pdf](https://www.northeastern.edu/csshresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN_Equity_final.pdf)

<sup>67</sup> <https://pugetsoundsage.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/TOD-that-is-Healthy-Green-and-Just-1.pdf>

<sup>68</sup> [https://www.northeastern.edu/csshresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN\\_Equity\\_final.pdf](https://www.northeastern.edu/csshresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN_Equity_final.pdf) pg 49

<sup>69</sup> [http://media.metro.net/projects\\_studies/joint\\_development/images/JDP\\_Policy\\_0225\\_2016.pdf](http://media.metro.net/projects_studies/joint_development/images/JDP_Policy_0225_2016.pdf)

<sup>70</sup> <https://apawa.memberclicks.net/4--washington-s-planning-framework-for-climate-change>

<sup>71</sup> SB 1000 Planning Toolkit

<sup>72</sup> [https://www.gglo.com/wp-content/uploads/Blueprint\\_for\\_Transit-Oriented\\_Communities.pdf](https://www.gglo.com/wp-content/uploads/Blueprint_for_Transit-Oriented_Communities.pdf) pg 63, see also <https://deptofcommerce.app.box.com/s/za1cy5wbl0mubgd74t7dadowjua296zh> pg 10

housing planning.<sup>73</sup> There have been challenges to implementation because the regional GHG targets are not set high enough, but it is an example that can be built on for how transportation, GHG and housing planning can be better coordinated.

## Housing

**Legalize rent control:** rent control policies seek to regulate the price of rental housing, which commonly is structured to regulate how much a landlord can increase or charge rent. While rent control is used in many cities, such as San Francisco and New York, a 1981 law prohibits all cities in Washington from enacting rent control.<sup>74</sup>

**Support increased tenant protections:** these policies help tenants stay in place by limiting the circumstances in which tenants can be evicted and enacting legal tenant rights in cases of eviction, such as requiring a specified amount of advance notice. In Washington, tenant rights are established under the Landlord Tenant Act, but some cities have enacted stronger Just Cause ordinances at a local level, such as Seattle,<sup>75</sup> Tacoma, and Bellingham.<sup>77</sup>

**Create and fund implementation of localized anti-displacement strategies:** understanding the places most at risk of displacement, developing strategies to meet the needs of these areas, and fully funding implementation are a critical step to preventing displacement. Seattle has an Equitable Development Initiative that has identified places at risk of gentrification and identified strategies to mitigate this displacement,<sup>78</sup> but has not yet moved forward with aggressive implementation or full funding

**Provide increased, stabilized source of state funding for new affordable housing construction:** the state has a range of programs that could be stabilized and expanded, in particular the Washington Housing Trust Fund, the largest state program for low-income and special needs housing.<sup>79</sup> Additional programs that could be expanded include the Housing Finance Commission's Capital Plus Program, which make loans for small nonprofit projects for multifamily and community facility programs, among others.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> <https://www.ca-ilg.org/post/basics-sb-375>

<sup>74</sup> <http://archive.kuow.org/post/rent-control-illegal-seattle-here-s-why>

<sup>75</sup> [https://www.seattle.gov/sdci/codes/codes-we-enforce-\(a-z\)/just-cause-eviction-ordinance](https://www.seattle.gov/sdci/codes/codes-we-enforce-(a-z)/just-cause-eviction-ordinance)

<sup>76</sup> [https://www.cityoftacoma.org/government/city\\_departments/finance/tax\\_and\\_license/business\\_license/landlord\\_and\\_tenant\\_ordinance](https://www.cityoftacoma.org/government/city_departments/finance/tax_and_license/business_license/landlord_and_tenant_ordinance)

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.cob.org/services/housing/landlord-tenant/Pages/ordinance-2018-02-004.aspx>

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/OPCD/OngoingInitiatives/SeattlesComprehensivePlan/EDImpPlan-042916final.pdf>

<sup>79</sup> <http://www.commerce.wa.gov/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/ahab-hart-affordablehousing-report-2017.pdf> pg 24

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.wshfc.org/admin/HousingFinancePlan.pdf>

**Expand funds for acquiring land and protecting existing affordable housing:** Many cities have acquisition funds for development and preservation of affordable housing in transit communities. These funds help nonprofit developers quickly access equity and predevelopment money to hold at-risk properties while they pursue permanent financing. The Washington State Housing and Finance Commission has a similar program, the Rapid Response Program, that assists Washington organizations in purchasing land, buildings, or mobile home parks for the preservation or development of affordable housing and community facilities through loans and a dedicated Land Acquisition Program. Unfortunately no funds have been available since 2009.<sup>81</sup> Other examples include public-private partnerships that create pooled funds to support preservation of affordable housing or land acquisition, such as the Naturally Occurring Affordable Housing (NOAH) Impact Fund, launched by the housing agency of Minnesota state, Hennepin County, where the Twin Cities are located, and several philanthropic and private institutions to preserve affordable housing in the Twin Cities region.<sup>82</sup>

**Require one to one replacement of any affordable units lost during new housing construction:** Cities can enact mandates that require developers to replace the same number of affordable units lost due to new developments and ensuring these units are accessible to people who meet low-income definitions. The City of Portland adopted a “Central City No Net Loss” policy that created a citywide commitment to maintaining the existing number of affordable housing units, though the city has been unable to meet the goals set out by the policy.<sup>83</sup> A Seattle City Councilmember recently introduced an anti-displacement ordinance that would require developments meeting certain requirements to either have a one-to-one, onsite replacement of any affordable units lost during construction of new developments in areas identified as high risk for gentrification, or pay higher fees into the citywide affordable housing fund.<sup>84</sup> One challenge with these policies is that even if funding is created for new affordable housing, it can take many years to build and can also not be located in the same neighborhoods where housing was lost, leading to displacement of residents in the housing demolished.

**Inclusionary zoning:** this requires certain percentages of affordable housing in new developments and is usually enacted at a City level. It is practiced in over 500 cities across the U.S.<sup>85</sup> Most inclusionary requirements are enacted as a zoning ordinances and require somewhere between 10 and 25 percent of units in a housing development

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<sup>81</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/documents/departments/seattleplanningcommission/seattletransitcommunities/professionalprojectfinaljuly13.pdf>

<sup>82</sup> <https://noahimpactfund.com/about/>

<sup>83</sup> [https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/04/portland\\_nearly\\_1500\\_units\\_sho.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2015/04/portland_nearly_1500_units_sho.html)

<sup>84</sup> <https://www.theurbanist.org/2019/02/21/mayor-durkan-and-councilmember-herbold-each-propose-anti-displacement-strategies/>

<sup>85</sup> <http://mrsc.org/Home/Stay-Informed/MRSC-Insight/November-2016/Inclusionary-Zoning-for-Affordable-Housing.aspx>

be affordable.<sup>86</sup> They often also include an option for developers to pay into a public fund for affordable housing construction in lieu of onsite construction, which most take advantage of.<sup>87</sup> Several cities in Washington have inclusionary zoning, such as the Seattle, City of Redmond, Issaquah, and Sammamish, though the housing requirements are very modest.<sup>88</sup> See the equity considerations section for a discussion of Seattle's new inclusionary zoning policy. Incentive zoning, which provides incentives for but does not require a percentage of affordable housing, can also be considered.<sup>89</sup>

**Impact fees:** these are one-time fees assessed to developers to help pay for public infrastructure. Under Washington's Growth Management Act they can only be used to pay for roads, parks and open space acquisition, schools, and fire protection services.<sup>90</sup> For example, Pierce County has an impact fee charged to developers and used to fund recreational facilities and parks.<sup>91</sup>

**Moratorium on new real estate development:** these policies prohibit new real estate developments for a specified time-period. They can be customized to prohibit only developments of a certain size, or in certain locations. In 2018, at least 5 cities in King County has temporary building moratoriums in place while the cities updated local zoning codes to meet the increased development pressures. Washington state law limits moratoriums to six months, but they can be renewed in additional six-month increments if it is determined that there is still an emergency or a need to study the problem further.<sup>92</sup>

**Support community land-trusts:** these are projects set up to preserve long-term affordability of land. They separate ownership of the land from ownership of housing, which permanently removes the price of land from the home's cost, thereby reducing the effect of rising land prices. A nonprofit then holds the land in trust and requires that homes are rented at affordable rates or sold at affordable prices based on agreed-upon resale formulas. They often include other types of community-driven developments, such as community centers or agricultural space.<sup>93</sup> Some states and municipalities allocate Community Development Block Grant and other available resources to community land trust programs, while others allocate city-owned land. Twenty-one community land trusts exist in Washington State, with Homestead Community Land Trust serving Seattle and parts of King County.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> [https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN\\_Equity\\_final.pdf](https://www.northeastern.edu/cssresearch/dukakiscenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/03/TRN_Equity_final.pdf) pg 47

<sup>87</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/documents/departments/seattleplanningcommission/seattletransitcommunities/professionalprojectfinaljuly13.pdf>

<sup>88</sup> <http://mrsc.org/Home/Stay-Informed/MRSC-Insight/November-2016/Inclusionary-Zoning-for-Affordable-Housing.aspx>

<sup>89</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/documents/departments/seattleplanningcommission/seattletransitcommunities/prof>

<sup>90</sup> <https://www.theurbanist.org/2019/03/18/impact-fees-in-washington-state-an-introduction/>

<sup>91</sup> <http://mrsc.org/Home/Explore-Topics/Planning/Land-Use-Administration/Impact-Fees.aspx>

<sup>92</sup> <https://crosscut.com/2018/05/slow-growth-some-washington-cities-halt-development>

<sup>93</sup> [https://homesforall.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Communities-Over-Commodities\\_Full-Report.pdf](https://homesforall.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Communities-Over-Commodities_Full-Report.pdf)

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/documents/departments/seattleplanningcommission/seattletransitcommunities/professionalprojectfinaljuly13.pdf>



**Community right to purchase:** these policies require that residential building owners who want to sell give either tenants or nonprofits the opportunity to buy the building. The District of Columbia has a Tenant Opportunity to Purchase Act, which stipulates that when the owner of a rental property wants to sell, they must first give tenants the opportunity to match the third-party offer. However, there has been mixed success of the law, and it was recently revised to exempt single-family houses.<sup>95</sup> However, D.C. also passed a District Opportunity to Purchase Act, which gives the local government an opportunity to purchase a building if tenants cannot.<sup>96</sup> The City of San Francisco recently passed the Community Opportunity to Purchase Act, under which owners trying to sell buildings of at least three units must notify qualified affordable housing nonprofits to provide first right of refusal on the building. Owners may still reject the nonprofits offer but only after they are given the chance to match a private buyer offer.<sup>97</sup>

**Commercial building stabilization:** maintaining affordable commercial spaces can help small local businesses and thus stabilize a neighborhood. Strategies to accomplish this include: encourage home-based businesses; expand options for accessory dwelling units; concentrate street-level commercial uses in pedestrian zones; giving preference to locally owned businesses in commercial districts.<sup>98</sup>

**Planning to meet community needs in place:** policies should actively seek to meet community-identified needs in the local area by expanding access to services, not just relying on transportation. For example, by allowing the use of Fresh Buckets electronic benefits at farmers and supermarkets it creates more access to fresh produce, nearby.

**Create a stable, long term funding source for combined energy efficiency and healthy home upgrades in affordable housing:** energy efficiency upgrades in affordable housing can save GHGs and lower household utility costs. If combined with healthy home interventions such as lead and mold abatement, they can have significantly increase health benefits. In 2015, Washington state launched a pilot project called Weatherization Plus Health that combines energy and cost-saving weatherization improvements with measures that help to improve the home environments for children and adults who have asthma.<sup>99</sup> The program will continue in 2018 - 2019, and expanding it to include all affordable housing developments should be explored.

**Direct a percentage of statewide clean energy and energy efficiency funds into low-income communities and communities of color:** the state's Clean Energy Fund could include a direct set aside for energy efficiency and renewable energy projects in low-income communities and communities of color, including anti-displacement protections.

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<sup>95</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/documents/departments/seattleplanningcommission/seattletransitcommunities/professionalprojectfinaljuly13.pdf>

<sup>96</sup> <https://dcist.com/story/18/11/15/after-a-decade-of-waiting-d-c-implements-law-allowing-it-to-buy-buildings-to-keep-them-affordable/>

<sup>97</sup> <https://www.sfccho.org/in-the-news/2019/4/19/city-grants-nonprofits-first-priority-in-building-sales>

<sup>98</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/documents/departments/seattleplanningcommission/seattletransitcommunities/professionalprojectfinaljuly13.pdf> pg 40

<sup>99</sup> <https://www.commerce.wa.gov/growing-the-economy/energy/weatherization-and-energy-efficiency/matchmaker/weatherization-plus-health-wxh/>

## Transportation

**Expand local, regional and statewide public transportation funding:** the existing transit oriented development, rural transit and disabled access grant programs need increased funding. This is particularly true because of the Constitutional limitations on the fuel tax, the primary source of transportation funding, which is decreasing. As a way to replace lost revenue from the fuel tax, Washington is testing a road usage charge, which charges a per mile fee.

**Prioritize equitable public transit projects in public transportation funding:** for publicly funded programs, the state can prioritize public transit projects that reduce GHGs and reach low-income residents. This can be accomplished by creating guidelines within state funding programs or scoring criteria for state grants. The state could make the provision of certain transportation funding contingent on approval of land-use plans focused on compact development to reduce GHGs. States can use incentives or holdback funding to incentivize planning to reduce GHGs.

**Create regional VMT reduction targets:** these policies aim to reduce the number of miles being travelled. Washington has a statewide VMT reduction target, but current law does not require the regional planning agencies demonstrate how they are planning for reduced VMTs and monitoring implementation.

**Expand land-use authority to require location efficient and multimodal planning within transportation plans:** the transportation planning requirements of the Growth Management Act could be enhanced to require consideration of location-efficient, multimodal transportation needs, as well as access and affordability of transit options to low-income residents.

**Require clear goals and increase funding for transit reach and affordability for low-income, youth and disabled residents:** goals can include percentage of the population with access to public transit, accessibility for target populations, such as seniors, youth or the differently abled, as well as agency planning for increased investments across all modes of public transit.

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<sup>100</sup> [https://www.gglo.com/wp-content/uploads/Blueprint\\_for\\_Transit-Oriented\\_Communities.pdf](https://www.gglo.com/wp-content/uploads/Blueprint_for_Transit-Oriented_Communities.pdf) pg 64

<sup>101</sup> <https://washtransplan.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/WTPPhase2-2017-web-Plan-1.pdf> pg 39

<sup>102</sup> <https://waroadusagecharge.org/>

<sup>103</sup> <https://www.jtlu.org/index.php/jtlu/article/viewFile/1173/1020>

<sup>104</sup> <https://www.jtlu.org/index.php/jtlu/article/viewFile/1173/1020>

<sup>105</sup> <https://deptofcommerce.app.box.com/s/za1cy5wbl0mubgd74t7dadowjua296zh>

<sup>106</sup> [https://www.pscleanair.org/DocumentCenter/View/3314/Evaluation-Report\\_Transportation-Actions\\_June2018?bidId=](https://www.pscleanair.org/DocumentCenter/View/3314/Evaluation-Report_Transportation-Actions_June2018?bidId=) pg 21

<sup>107</sup> <https://www.psrc.org/sites/default/files/t2040finalplan.pdf> pg 52

### **Create fare assistance programs for low-income public transit users and other vulnerable**

**communities:** there are a range of programs to that provide free or low-cost fare passes for low-income, youth or other vulnerable populations, in an effort to ensure public transit shares are affordable. The City of Seattle currently has a pilot program that provides reduced fare passes valid on most public transit agencies, and recently announced a free pass program as well.

**Create and implement active transportation plans:** Pedestrian Plans, Bicycle Plans, Safe Routes to School, and Complete Street are all land-use and transportation plans that can increase physical activity and reduce GHGs. For example, Complete Streets are those that plan for all different types of transportation, such as bikes, walking, and buses. If these modes of transportation are safe, comfortable, and convenient, people have more opportunities to choose active forms of transportation. In 2011, Washington created a Complete Streets Grants program to encourage localities to develop Complete Street ordinances.

**Enhance planning for and funding of accessible shared mobility:** shared mobility are resources that are shared among different transportation users, either concurrently or one after another. This includes public transit; bikesharing; carsharing, carpooling and vanpooling; shuttle services and “microtransit”; and more. They can be customized to serve low-income residents and residents, particularly through targeted siting of infrastructure or lowering costs of participating for low-income people. For example, Washington has a Vanpool Grant program, and there are more than 2400 vanpools in the Puget Sound Region active every day.

## **B Clean Up and Prevention of Pollution**

### **KEY POLICY APPROACHES**

**Use the Polluter Pays principle to guide policy decisions:** these are policies that ensure the companies who have polluted pay for the costs of both mitigation and adaptation. For example, the Portland Clean Energy initiative charges a 1% surcharge on the revenue of large retailers to create a Portland Clean Energy Fund, which will go into job training, renewable energy, regenerative agriculture and green infrastructure funding programs.<sup>107</sup> More on the ways pricing can be used to address energy extraction is covered in Chapter VI.

<sup>108</sup> <https://seattle.curbed.com/2019/2/19/18232271/free-transit-low-income-seattle>

<sup>109</sup> <https://www.doh.wa.gov/Portals/1/Documents/8380/340-205-ACEtoolkit-en-L.pdf> and [https://www.cdph.ca.gov/Programs/OHE/CDPH%20Document%20Library/CCHEP-General/CDPH-2012-Climate-Action-for-Health\\_accessible.pdf](https://www.cdph.ca.gov/Programs/OHE/CDPH%20Document%20Library/CCHEP-General/CDPH-2012-Climate-Action-for-Health_accessible.pdf) pg 21

<sup>110</sup> [https://www.psrc.org/sites/default/files/complete\\_streets.pdf](https://www.psrc.org/sites/default/files/complete_streets.pdf)

<sup>111</sup> <https://www.doh.wa.gov/Portals/1/Documents/8380/340-205-ACEtoolkit-en-L.pdf> pg 12

<sup>112</sup> <https://sharedusemobilitycenter.org/what-is-shared-mobility/>

<sup>113</sup> [https://www.itdp.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Shared-Mobility\\_Full-Report.pdf](https://www.itdp.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Shared-Mobility_Full-Report.pdf)

<sup>114</sup> <https://www.wsdot.wa.gov/transit/rideshare/vanpool>

**Use the precautionary principle to guide policy decisions:** this principle urges that caution is used when all the information, data or science is not available, thus seeking to prevent any harm from unknown, adverse health or environmental consequences of a decision. It is often used to guide chemical policy decisions to prevent the approval of a chemical that might harm human health or the environment. Applying it in policy would entail more strict regulations on chemical and industrial manufacturing, production, and products. It is often

**Increased land-use protections or restrictions in EJ communities:** these policies restrict the types of new businesses coming into particular communities or require more strict environmental standards that can reduce the pollution burden locally. For example, in the City of Los Angeles, community groups passed a “Clean Up Green Up” ordinance that creates higher building standards and requirements to reduce the air pollution burden in cumulatively impacted neighborhoods.<sup>115</sup> The City of Newark’s Environmental Justice and Cumulative Impacts Ordinance requires all industrial or commercial development applicants with an environmental permit from the state, federal, or county regulating agency to submit an Environmental Justice Checklist to the Environmental Commission.<sup>116</sup>

**Require buffer zones between sensitive land uses and polluters:** these identify a specific amount of land that must exist between polluting land-uses and sensitive land-uses, where people live or spend lots of time, or where people who are susceptible to pollution spend lots of time, such as hospitals, child care facilities, and senior centers.<sup>117</sup> For example, based on public health data, the California Air Resources Board has issued recommendations for how much distance there should be between stationary and mobile sources of pollution and sensitive receptors and land-uses.<sup>118</sup> Community groups in California are trying to pass a 2500 foot buffer zone between oil drilling and homes in Los Angeles.<sup>119</sup>

**Amortization ordinances to move polluting land-uses away from EJ communities:** amortization is the phase out of non-conforming land-uses over time to allow land-owners to recoup their investment.<sup>120</sup> If polluting land-uses do not comply with local zoning or land-use plans, they can be phased out using amortization. In National City, near San Diego, community residents successfully updated their community land-use plan for the area, and then passed an amortization ordinance that identifies polluting businesses that should be phased out, using a city-determined formula.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> [http://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2015/15-1026\\_ORD\\_184245\\_6-4-16.pdf](http://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2015/15-1026_ORD_184245_6-4-16.pdf) see also: <https://cleanupgreenup.wordpress.com/about/frequently-asked-questions/>

<sup>116</sup> <https://www.nrdc.org/sites/default/files/local-policies-environmental-justice-national-scan-tishman-201902.pdf>

<sup>117</sup> <https://www.libertyhill.org/sites/libertyhillfoundation/files/hidden-hazards-low-res-version.pdf>

<sup>118</sup> <https://www.arb.ca.gov/ch/handbook.pdf>

<sup>119</sup> <https://www.stand.la/ladph-report.html>

<sup>120</sup> <https://law.pace.edu/non-conforming-users>

<sup>121</sup> [https://frontandcentered.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/MTCA-Report\\_1-25-17.pdf](https://frontandcentered.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/MTCA-Report_1-25-17.pdf)

**Increased environmental review in EJ communities:** increased environmental review for new developments or permits can be required under state environmental laws in communities that have a high pollution burden. The Massachusetts Environmental Justice Policy requires enhanced analysis in the Environmental Impact Report process for any projects that are located within one mile of an EJ population.<sup>122</sup> The Minnesota Pollution Control Agency's Environmental Justice Policy also recommends the agency use authority during permitting of project to "identify and evaluate additional measures, beyond meeting established permit limits, to avoid and diminish impacts" in EJ communities.<sup>123</sup>

**Increased environmental protections in EJ communities:** based on an assessment of pollution burdens and socioeconomic indicators, specific places can be identified for increased protections or standards under state environmental law. The recently passed Healthy Environments for All Act in Washington will require state agencies on the newly create EJ Task Force to adopt a cumulative impact analysis for use in policymaking.<sup>124</sup> A 2015 law in California requires inclusion of cumulative impacts in overburdened communities to be considered in hazardous waste permitting decisions.<sup>125</sup>

**Prioritized clean-up in EJ communities:** state regulatory agencies can identify sites that are in need of toxic clean-up within EJ communities for prioritized remediation. Washington's Toxic Clean Up Program includes a ranking system for identifying sites for clean-up based on the potential threat to human and environmental health of each toxic site and could include specific equity criteria<sup>126</sup>

**Prioritized funding for environmental clean-up in EJ communities:** given the prevalence of toxic sites in EJ communities, these areas should be prioritized for state clean up funding. In California, SB 535 prioritizes 25 percent of climate revenues to go into overburdened communities.

**Enact a ban on polluting industries:** particular industries can be banned from activity, based on their impact on the environment, climate, or public health. For example, three states have banned hydraulic fracturing,<sup>127</sup> and the Washington state legislature is currently debating a bill to ban hydraulic fracturing for production of oil and gas<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> [https://www.mass.gov/files/documents/2017/11/29/2017-environmental-justice-policy\\_0.pdf](https://www.mass.gov/files/documents/2017/11/29/2017-environmental-justice-policy_0.pdf)

<sup>123</sup> <https://www.pca.state.mn.us/sites/default/files/p-gen5-05.pdf>

<sup>124</sup> <http://lawfilesexternal.leg.wa.gov/biennium/2019-20/Pdf/Bill%20Reports/House/5489-S2%20HBR%20APP%2019.pdf>

<sup>125</sup> [https://www.dtsc.ca.gov/HazardousWaste/Permit\\_Roundtables.cfm](https://www.dtsc.ca.gov/HazardousWaste/Permit_Roundtables.cfm)

<sup>126</sup> [https://frontandcentered.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/MTCA-Report\\_1-25-17.pdf](https://frontandcentered.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/MTCA-Report_1-25-17.pdf)

<sup>127</sup> <https://stateimpact.npr.org/pennsylvania/2017/04/04/with-governors-signature-maryland-becomes-third-state-to-ban-fracking/>

<sup>128</sup> <http://lawfilesexternal.leg.wa.gov/biennium/2019-20/Pdf/Bill%20Reports/Senate/5145%20SBA%20AWNP%2019.pdf>

**Prohibit development of new fossil fuel infrastructure or specific projects (oil pipelines and terminals, coal ports, etc.):** preventing the construction of new projects that facilitate the transport of fossil fuels<sup>129</sup> can limit the overall supply and extraction of fossil fuels. In January 2019, King County passed a six month moratorium on new fossil fuel infrastructure, which will prevent the construction or approval of any new fossil fuel infrastructure within the county limits, such as pipelines, large-scale storage facilities, refineries, or export terminals.<sup>130</sup> The Puyallup Tribe in Tacoma have been fighting a new proposed Liquefied Natural Gas plant on ancestral territories, which would store and freeze natural gas piped in from British Columbia.<sup>131</sup> In 2016, the City of Portland adopted Fossil Fuel Terminal Zoning Amendments that restrict the development and expansion of bulk fossil fuel terminals.<sup>132</sup>

**Increased environmental impact reviews for new fossil fuel supply projects:** these policies require increased assessment of the climate impacts of new, proposed fossil fuel infrastructure. Organizations in Whatcom County have proposed an ordinance that would require increase review of the impacts of new any future development and expansions at Cherry Point, the county's primary heavy industrial area that includes two refineries, a propane export facility, heavy rail lines, oil and gas pipelines, and a deepwater port.<sup>133</sup>

**Limit extraction, production, or export:** The most direct form of regulation would be to set limits on fossil fuel production, via moratoria or a quota on production<sup>134</sup>. For example, Obama issued a moratorium on coal mining on public lands in 2016. Community groups in California are calling for a limit on oil drilling in highly impacted communities.<sup>135</sup>

**Phase out fossil fuel production:** creating a clear, quick plan to decline fossil fuel production to zero is absolutely necessary to stop climate change. Some places, such as South Wales, Spain, Poland, and parts of China have phased out coal, but thus far there has yet to be an oil and gas phase-out plan. Key components of a phase-out include: Develop a plan that analyzes the potential impacts of fossil fuel industry decline and evaluates possible policies to address economic, environmental and social impacts; Identify options for economic diversification, social safety nets and new employment that can support workers and their families in the transition; Establish a dedicated fund to support a just transition and economic diversification; Use savings from fossil fuel subsidy reform, as well as environmental taxes and charges, to fund the transition. These elements are also discussed in more depth in Chapter V.

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<sup>129</sup> <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10584-018-2266-3>

<sup>130</sup> <https://e360.yale.edu/digest/washington-county-passes-moratorium-on-new-fossil-fuel-infrastructure>

<sup>131</sup> <https://crosscut.com/2019/01/tacomass-long-delayed-natural-gas-plant-has-community-edge>

<sup>132</sup> <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/71118>

<sup>133</sup> <https://www.stand.earth/blog/fossil-fuel-free/pacific-northwest/whatcom-county-wa-proposes-groundbreaking-policies-protect>

<sup>134</sup> <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10584-018-2266-3>

<sup>135</sup> <https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2019/5/17/1858436/-Bill-to-mandate-setbacks-from-oil-and-gas-drilling-sites-held-until-next-year>

## C Green Infrastructure and Open Space

### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

**Prioritize funding for parks, open space preservation and greening in low-income areas:** state funding for parks, green space, and outdoor recreational facilities should be prioritized for low-income areas and areas that are overburdened with pollution. For example, the Washington Wildlife and Recreation Program, which funds land protection and outdoor recreation, typically requires a match from a local agency applying. However, the program waives or reduces the match requirement if a community meets the definition of underserved.<sup>136</sup> In California, several bond measures in both 2006 and 2018, which increased funding for parks, water and natural resource conservation and protection, included hundreds of millions of dollars in set asides for infrastructure investments in overburdened communities.<sup>137</sup>

**Create goals for open space access in underserved communities as part of land-use planning:** local governments should analyze what areas in their jurisdiction lack adequate outdoor facilities and open space, and create goals and implementation plans in Comprehensive Plans for increased access. The Growth Management Act includes several provisions that encourage the preservation and planning for open space.<sup>138</sup>

**Increased requirements for implementation of green infrastructure in development:** clear guidelines, requirements or encouragement of best practices can be included in local or statewide building standards and land-use plans to increase the use of green infrastructure. For example, King County includes guidelines around low-impact development in their stormwater management program.<sup>139</sup>

**Expand green infrastructure funding and financing programs with focused on implementation in EJ communities:** federal, state, and local funds can be targeted into low-income communities and communities of color and expanded. Local financing mechanisms can also support inclusion of green infrastructure in low-income areas; Seattle's RainWise program includes rebates for property owners to install rain gardens and cisterns,<sup>140</sup> and these could be increased or made free to qualifying low-income households.

<sup>136</sup> <https://rco.wa.gov/grants/MatchReduction.shtml>

<sup>137</sup> <https://www.smartgrowthcalifornia.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/SB-5-Summary-Sheet.pdf> see also: <https://www.nrpa.org/parks-recreation-magazine/2016/september/park-funding-for-all/>

<sup>138</sup> [https://www.rco.wa.gov/documents/manuals&forms/CTED-IAC\\_parks\\_rec\\_plan\\_guide.pdf](https://www.rco.wa.gov/documents/manuals&forms/CTED-IAC_parks_rec_plan_guide.pdf)

<sup>139</sup> <https://kingcounty.gov/services/environment/water-and-land/stormwater/documents.aspx>

<sup>140</sup> <https://www.nrdc.org/sites/default/files/philadelphia-green-infrastructure-retrofits-IB.pdf>

## D Supporting Healthy Ecologies

### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

**Recognize legal rights of Nature:** these policies recognize the intrinsic right of ecosystems to flourish. This is contrary to our current legal model, where Nature is recognized as a property to be used, or as a public good can also be used. “Laws recognizing the Rights of Nature change the status of ecosystems and natural communities to being recognized as rights-bearing entities. As such, they have rights that can be enforced by people, governments, and communities on behalf of nature.”<sup>141</sup> The City of Pittsburgh adopted an ordinance that recognized the rights of nature over corporate profits, and used this to enable a ban on fracking.<sup>142</sup> Bolivia’s “Mother Earth Law” law gives nature legal rights, specifically the rights to life, regeneration, biodiversity, water, clean air, balance, and restoration. Many Indigenous communities have traditional practices and a world view that affirms the Rights of Nature framework.<sup>143</sup>

**Include full valuation of the role of healthy ecosystems in environmental and economic policies:** the value of ecosystem and their climate benefits must be included in regulatory and policy decisions. This value has been largely unaccounted and overlooked, particularly in the traditional model of cost / benefit analysis that accompanies most environmental policy making.<sup>144</sup> State agencies must undertake efforts to both understand the full value of ecosystems, and then include this in decision-making.

**Increase ecosystem protection, particularly in areas with high potential to sequester carbon:** policies should seek to increase protections for ecosystems that have critical capacities to sequester carbon.

**Phase out activities that lead to a loss of carbon sequestration capacity:** activities such as deforestation that reduce carbon sinks should be phased out, or management practices recalibrated to prioritize sustainability and diversity of the resource over economic profits. For example, forestry management that allows large-scale timber harvests and re-plants clear cuts trees of the same species undermines ecosystem health.

**Encourage resource management policies and practices that use an integrated approach:** statewide agencies need to ensure coordination and integration to maximize ecosystem restoration and widespread deployment of natural climate solutions across issues and ecosystems, from agriculture to wildlife.

<sup>141</sup> <https://celdf.org/rights/rights-of-nature/rights-nature-faqs/>

<sup>142</sup> <https://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/pittsburg-bans-natural-gas-drilling>

<sup>143</sup> <http://www.ienearth.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/RONME-RightsBasedLaw-final-1.pdf>

<sup>144</sup> <https://www.wri.org/our-work/project/world-resources-report/ecosystem-management-need-adopt-different-approach-under>



## **Require reporting of emissions from ecosystem losses and ecological events in statewide GHG**

**accounting:** current statewide GHG inventories only include human activities and do not account for either GHG's saved or lost due to ecosystem management. This includes both the benefits of forest protection, for example, as well as the impacts of extreme events such as increasingly common wildfires, which emit large quantities of carbon dioxide.

**Increase funding for ecosystem restoration projects:** state environmental funding should prioritize projects that will help restore and protect damaged ecosystems and provide natural climate benefits.

**Support indigenous leadership in ecosystem restoration:** Indigenous communities have a unique and important role to play in ecosystem restoration. Restoration programs should fund Tribes to manage programs and find ways to incorporate indigenous knowledge and practices into resource management. They should also identify strategies to return land to Tribes and indigenous people.

## **E Regenerative Agriculture**

### **KEY POLICY APPROACHES**

**Regulate agricultural emissions:** While the agricultural sector in Washington is required to report on a limited amount of GHG emissions, there are no direct regulations on major sources of agricultural emissions, such as methane from large-scale dairies. California law has created emission reduction requirements for short-lived climate pollutants, which includes methane from dairies.

**Include urban agriculture-friendly policies in Comprehensive Plan and adopt urban agriculture friendly zoning policies:** local governments can adopt language in zoning codes and Comprehensive Plans that support local, small-scale agricultural production, prioritizing sites in low-income communities and communities of color. Seattle's P-Patch Program oversees 89 community gardens in the city. The program maps potential urban farm parcels and partners with other organizations to support related market gardening, youth gardening, and community food security programs.<sup>145</sup>

**Provide financial support for start-up or operating costs through grants on a variety of issues and low-interest loans, available at the local, state, or federal levels:** The City of Cleveland's economic development department started a program in 2008 that provides grants up to \$3,000 to urban farmers for tools, irrigation systems, rain barrels, greenhouses, display equipment, and signage, through a program called "Gardening for Greenbacks." Cities such as Madison, Cleveland, and Boston use Community Development Block Grant funds to develop urban agriculture projects.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> <https://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/p-patch-community-gardening/about-the-p-patch-program>

<sup>146</sup> [https://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/URBAN\\_AG\\_FULLREPORT.PDF](https://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/URBAN_AG_FULLREPORT.PDF) pg 35

**Support the development of agricultural cooperatives:** these enterprises can build community assets, support more ecological methods of farming, and increase participatory democracy. Members of the recently formed farmworkers union in Whatcom County are now creating Cooperativa Tierra y Libertad, a farming cooperative that is now seeking to buy land to collectively farm.<sup>147</sup>

**Expand funding for regenerative agricultural practices:** farms that are implementing agroecology principles or other regenerative agricultural practices should receive funding.

**Expand farmland conservation programs:** Washington state has one farmland conservation program, the Washington Wildlife and Recreation Program, which should be expanded.

**Improve agricultural land-use protections:** agricultural zoning is an important tool to protect farmland because it protects the land from other uses and allows larger parcel sizes, but it is currently underutilized and used incorrectly.<sup>148</sup>

**Increase programs that encourage healthy soil management practices:** soil stores significant amounts of carbon, and degradation of soil impacts both agricultural productivity as well as the climate. Improving soil management sequesters carbon naturally and has a wide range of ecosystem, and human health, benefits. An example is the recently created Healthy Soils program in California, which provides financial assistance for implementation of conservation management that improve soil health, sequester carbon, and reduce GHG emissions.<sup>149</sup>

**Encourage more sustainable livestock waste management practices:** Incentives to support pasture-based livestock management practices, which reduces methane from large waste ponds like those at Confined Animal Facility Operations. An example is California's Alternative Manure Management Program.<sup>150</sup>

**Increase farmworker protections and right to organize:** such as increased protection from heat waves in the form of increased access to water and shade, as well as exploring new wage standards. Front and Centered member Community to Community Development in Bellingham were a key part in a campaign to win one of the first independent farmworker unions in the country, Familias Unidas por la Justicia. They also recently helped pass a bill that would fund the establishment of an office specifically tasked with monitoring labor, housing, and health and safety requirements for farms using a special visa program for agricultural workers, known as the H2A program.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> <https://ussen.org/2018/08/06/cooperativa-tierra-y-libertad/>

<sup>148</sup> [http://www.farmlandinfo.org/sites/default/files/AFTLosingGroundReportWeb-1\\_1.pdf](http://www.farmlandinfo.org/sites/default/files/AFTLosingGroundReportWeb-1_1.pdf)

<sup>149</sup> <https://www.cdfa.ca.gov/oefi/healthsoils/>

<sup>150</sup> <https://www.cdfa.ca.gov/oefi/AMMP/>

<sup>151</sup> <http://www.foodjustice.org/blog/2019/4/12/sb-5438-unanimously-passes-in-wa-house-bringing-hope-for-h2a-farmworker-protections>

# Appendix C: Regenerative Economies Policy Examples

- A. Meet universal, fundamental needs, create a social foundation
- B. Create economic models and livelihoods within ecological limits
- C. Equitable Distribution of Wealth and Work

## A Meet Universal, Fundamental Needs, Create a Social Foundation

### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

**Expand Social Safety Net Programs:** Social safety net programs include food assistance, social security, welfare (Temporary Aid to Needy Families), public or subsidized housing, and infant nutritional services, childcare support, Medicare, and Medicaid, among others. In 2017, social safety net programs kept 44.9 million people out of poverty.<sup>152</sup> Not only could these types of programs be reinstated, but they could be expanded to include other important services such as universal pre-kindergarten.

**Universal basic services:** this is a proposal to provide a set of basic services for free by the state. Developed by academics in England, it proposes to provide free housing, food, transportation, and information services to residents.<sup>153</sup> It could also include place based strategies identified in the previous chapter, including access to public spaces, healthy food options, and cultural resources, particularly for indigenous and immigrant communities, and affordable and accessible commercial space for small businesses.

**Basic income:** this is a government guarantee that everyone would receive a basic income. The amount and structure of the income can vary; some focus on a flat amount for everyone, others below a certain income level. One federal proposal would give residents a choice between a \$1000 “Freedom Dividend” to all taxpayers over the age of 18, or the equivalent in social services.<sup>154</sup> A universal basic income is being tried in cities as diverse as Barcelona, Ontario, and Stockton, California.<sup>155</sup>

**Remove barriers for previously incarcerated people:** The number of people locked up in Washington state has steadily increased since the 1980’s. In 2017, there were over 30,000 people in jail or prison, with another 100,000 on probation or parole. There is a stark racial inequality to who is imprisoned; the white imprisonment rate is 224 per

<sup>152</sup> <https://www.vox.com/2018/9/12/17850426/census-poverty-income-2017-trump>

<sup>153</sup> <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/igp/news/2017/oct/igps-social-prosperity-network-publishes-uks-first-report-universal-basic-services>

<sup>154</sup> <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2019/04/what-andrew-yangs-universal-basic-income-would-actually-look-like/>

<sup>155</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/jun/27/benefit-or-burden-the-cities-trying-out-universal-basic-income>

100,000 residents, while the Black rate is 1272 per 100,000.<sup>156</sup> The formerly incarcerated face many barriers to successful re-entry after they are freed, including disenfranchisement, access to services, housing and employment opportunities. This compounds the nation's extreme overreliance on incarceration as a solution to any problems, and the increased criminalization of low-income people and people of color. While Washington has taken steps to reduce barriers for the formerly incarcerated, such as restoring voting rights to felons even if legal financial obligations are owed and preventing employment applications from inquiring about felony convictions, there is much work to do to ensure both reduce the number of people locked up and to ensure that those who have served their time are able to fully participate in all aspects of society. For example, voting rights are not restored until one is off probation or parole. Most recently, an effort to create alternatives to incarceration for parents failed to pass in the state legislature.

**Expand homeownership opportunities for low-income communities and communities of color:** One indicator of the extreme racial wealth gap in the U.S. is the differential in homeownership rates across race; in Washington, 67% of white families own homes, compared to 47.3% of households of color, while just 30% of the Black community owns homes.<sup>157</sup> These statistics mirror national patterns that show large disparities across race in homeownership. Yet, homeownership is overwhelmingly the largest asset in family wealth, and home equity is a critical way to pass wealth onto future generations. The current racial disparities in homeownership has many roots. In addition to just the overall lack of wealth in many households of color, discriminatory federal housing policies, redlining, and discriminatory mortgage lending practices have all contributed to the pattern of inequality. The Great Recession of 2008 also had significant impacts in communities of color; not only did lenders intentionally steer people of color to subprime mortgages during the housing boom, they also charged extra fees and rates to borrowers of color.<sup>158</sup> Not only did this result in high rates of foreclosure for people of color, it gutted the main asset for those Black families who had been able to over the years grow any assets.<sup>159</sup> While the median white family lost 16 percent of their wealth in the housing crash and Great Recession, Black families lost 53 percent and Latino families lost 66 percent.<sup>160</sup> Policy solutions such as expanding the mandate for loan modifications for struggling homeowners; increasing funding for people of color to buy homes; expanding opportunities for people of color to access credit; strengthening monitoring and regulation of mortgage lenders and the secondary lending market should all be explored.<sup>161</sup>

**Substantially expand existing savings vehicles for low-income residents:** there are different kinds of savings vehicles that are developed to support low-income families and individuals in building assets over time, which are usually accompanied by government seed funding or other types of incentives. For example, Child Savings Accounts are long-term savings accounts that provide incentives for post-secondary educational needs, through initial deposits or matched deposits.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> <https://www.sentencingproject.org/the-facts/#detail?state1Option=Washington&state2Option=0>

<sup>157</sup> <https://scorecard.prosperitynow.org/data-by-issue#housing/outcome/homeownership-rate>

<sup>158</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/13/business/wells-fargo-to-settle-mortgage-discrimination-charges.html>

<sup>159</sup> [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/discrimlend\\_final.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/discrimlend_final.pdf)

<sup>160</sup> [https://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/RacialWealthGap\\_1.pdf](https://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/RacialWealthGap_1.pdf)

<sup>161</sup> [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/discrimlend\\_final.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/discrimlend_final.pdf)

**Establish state-funded “baby bonds:”** a “baby bond” is a government funded trust account for young people, who can then access the money when they reach a certain age. A recent proposal from Presidential hopeful Cory Booker would offer all newborns \$1,000, and then add up to \$2,000 annually for children in low-income households, and recent research has demonstrated that this would make substantial strides towards reducing the racial wealth gap.<sup>163</sup>

## **B Create Economic Models and Livelihoods Within Ecological Limits**

### **KEY POLICY APPROACHES**

#### **Well-Being Economy: Equitable Well-Being over Trickle-Down Growth**

**Measure what matters:** the current measures of economic success are linked to both economic growth and maximization of profit, both of which exacerbate the climate crisis and economic inequality. These metrics include things like the Gross Domestic Product, rate of return on investments, and annual profit. They fail to include measures of poverty, living costs, health, ecological balance, and many other indicators of how people and the planet are faring. By adopting alternative metrics, organizations and governments can undermine the driving logic of profit and growth and focus attention on issues that we need to measure to enact a Just Transition. Researchers, academics and even governments have developed a range of alternative indicators that capture examples of alternative metrics include: Genuine Progress Indicator, Human Development Index, Happy Planet Index,<sup>164</sup> Gross National Happiness Index used in the country of Bhutan. The United Nations Development Program has developed the Human Development Index which looks at life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio, GDP per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms in US dollars, and releases annual reports ranking all countries.<sup>165</sup> Several countries have also started tracking measures of well-being, such as the U.K.<sup>166</sup> The Genuine Progress Indicator, for example, “is designed to measure sustainable economic welfare rather than economic activity alone. To accomplish this, the GPI uses three simple underlying principles for its methodology: account for income inequality; include non-market benefits that are not included in Gross Domestic Product, and identify and deduct harms such as environmental degradation, human health effects, and loss of leisure time. The GPI developers identified 26 indicators, then populate them with verifiable data.”<sup>167</sup> It is being used as one indicator in the Maryland as part of a government-run “Maryland Quality of Life Initiative” to help build a Quality of Life Dashboard for the state. The state of Washington could launch a similar effort.

<sup>162</sup> [https://prosperitynow.org/sites/default/files/resources/CSA\\_101\\_and\\_FAQ\\_7-20.pdf](https://prosperitynow.org/sites/default/files/resources/CSA_101_and_FAQ_7-20.pdf)

<sup>163</sup> <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2019/1/21/18185536/cory-booker-news-today-2020-presidential-election-baby-bonds>

<sup>164</sup> <http://happyplanetindex.org/>

<sup>165</sup> <http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/humandev>

<sup>166</sup> <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing>

<sup>167</sup> <http://dnr.maryland.gov/mdgpi/Pages/what-is-the-GPI.aspx>

Restructure Public Budgets Around Metrics of Social and Ecological Well-Being: in 2019, New Zealand announced that it would structure its entire budget around measurements of well-being. While the country has a strong GDP, it recognized many New Zealanders were not benefitting in their everyday lives. The well-being budget requires all new spending to go toward five specific well-being goals: bolstering mental health, reducing child poverty, supporting indigenous peoples, moving to a low-carbon-emission economy, and flourishing in a digital age.<sup>168</sup>

Establish comprehensive metrics that address equity and well-being and their application in legislative and programmatic analysis: state programs and policies can integrate metrics for social and ecological well-being into their goals, into assessments of their policies, and as a way to guide budgetary decision-making. For example, Finland has a “Well-Being at Work” initiative that outlines the strategy of their national workforce administrations to achieve healthy and safe working places for all employment, using a comprehensive vision for eliminating occupational health risks and hazards.<sup>169</sup> In the U.S., multiple cities have developed “Equity Indicators” to help guide public policy decisions.<sup>170</sup> In California, multiple pieces of legislation have adopted language that specifies policies must benefit disadvantaged communities. For example, applicants to the state Active Transportation Program grant program, which funds bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure, “must clearly demonstrate, with verifiable information,” how the project will provide a direct, meaningful, and assured benefit; significantly address an important community need; and avoid substantial burdens on a disadvantaged community.”<sup>171</sup>

Basing economic development strategies on community defined need rather than just tax revenue or aggregate number of jobs

## Living Within Ecological Limits

Individual resource quotas: food rationing was used during World War II when resources were scarce, including the creation of local food rationing boards to make decisions on resource allocation.<sup>172</sup> With space to absorb carbon in the atmosphere now scarce, there are various proposals to create a similar type of “carbon quota” for individuals or households. Such a policy would enact a carbon budget, divided equally among individuals and households and declining each year. Goods and services that emit carbon would be debited from each individuals’ carbon budget, and there would be a system to appeal for more in a budget.<sup>173</sup> Rationing could also be applied to specific resources, goods or services, such as air travel, home construction, etc. For example, some groups in Europe have created a proposal for a “Energy Budget Scheme,” which would issue declining energy consumption entitlements among households and public and private organizations.

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<sup>168</sup> <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2019/6/8/18656710/new-zealand-wellbeing-budget-bhutan-happiness>

<sup>169</sup> [http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/161451/STM\\_4\\_2019\\_Policy%20for%20the%20work%20environment.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/161451/STM_4_2019_Policy%20for%20the%20work%20environment.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)

<sup>170</sup> [www.equalityindicators.org](http://www.equalityindicators.org)

<sup>171</sup> [https://calgreenzones.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/CEJA-CES-Report-2018\\_web.pdf](https://calgreenzones.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/CEJA-CES-Report-2018_web.pdf)

<sup>172</sup> <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0Bze7GXvI3ywrSGxYWDVXM3hVUm8/view>

<sup>173</sup> <https://grist.org/climate-energy/you-want-to-ration-my-what/>

The total number of entitlements issued would equal Europe's agreed energy budget, and consumers who use less than their allocated entitlement could sell them to others who need them.<sup>174</sup> Another approach is creating specific quotas for resource usage; "Tradable Energy Quotas" are a proposal where everyone would get a guaranteed entitlement to purchase a certain amount of energy. Above that standard entitlement, a person would have to purchase additional units.<sup>175</sup>

**Enact limits on resource consumption by sector:** policies can create a limit on the amount of resources consumed can be a way to limit consumption. These can apply to specific resource, or on an individual level. Many natural resources already use a type of limit or quota-based consumption; for example, to avoid overfishing, daily and/or individual catches are often limited, or the number of days a company or individual can fish are also limited.<sup>176</sup> In an example of a limit on individual consumption, Portland recently enacted strict limits on the size of new buildings, proportional to lot sizes.<sup>177</sup>

**Promote localized, independent reuse and repair of goods:** Create policies and investments that support people to self-provision (cooking at home, clothing repair) and peer to peer sharing (e.g. buy nothing websites). In Hennin County, MN Fix-It Clinics, residents bring in household appliances, clothing, electronics, and more and receive free guided assistance from volunteers with repair skills to disassemble, troubleshoot and fix their items. Policies can also support the "consumer right to repair," which allows consumers to fix electronics in particular but also other goods that they own; this capacity is often limited by manufacturer repair monopolies that require expensive fixes or purchase of new goods through the same company, which leads to increased waste and consumption. Around 20 states are considering various versions of consumer right to repair bills.<sup>178</sup>

**Promote a people-powered sharing economy: across the country, people and organizations have developed** new ways to share resources rather than purchase their own, new goods. The sharing economy has extended to transportation, housing, food, and the development of co-operatives.<sup>179</sup> Policies can support specific types of sharing, such as bike sharing or cooperative housing, or can support the overall concept of resource sharing. For example, in 2012, Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) launched the Sharing City Seoul program and enacted the Seoul Metropolitan Government Ordinance on the Promotion of Sharing. The purpose of the ordinance is to "maximize utilization of resources, recover communities and revitalize the regional economy" by promoting sharing. The ordinance defines sharing as "activities that create social, economic and environmental values by jointly using resources, such as space, goods, information, talent and experience." The ordinance designates official sharing enterprises that address urban challenges and meet social, economic, or environmental criteria and creates funds available to these entities.

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<sup>174</sup> [http://www.ceeweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/energy\\_budget\\_scheme\\_short.pdf](http://www.ceeweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/energy_budget_scheme_short.pdf)

<sup>175</sup> <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/07/150716111004.htm>

<sup>176</sup> <https://worldoceanreview.com/en/wor-1/fisheries/fisheries-management/>

<sup>177</sup> <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/article/678802>

<sup>178</sup> <https://gizmodo.com/right-to-repair-is-less-complicated-and-more-important-1834672055>

<sup>179</sup> [https://neweconomy.net/sites/default/files/resources/183-e649186fed7d67a19a8585dbcf999b9\\_policies\\_for\\_shareable\\_cities\\_selc\\_9\\_9\\_13.pdf](https://neweconomy.net/sites/default/files/resources/183-e649186fed7d67a19a8585dbcf999b9_policies_for_shareable_cities_selc_9_9_13.pdf)

**Promote zero waste:** zero waste aims to significantly reduce, even eliminate, the amount of material we send to disposal. Zero waste policies aim to increase comprehensive recycling and composting and reduce disposables, among other things. States and local governments can create zero waste mandates, incentives, and support programs that achieve zero waste goals.

**Extended producer responsibility (EPR):** this is a policy approach where producers are given a significant responsibility – financial and/or physical – for the treatment or disposal of post-consumer products. Examples of EPR policies include policies to regulate disposable and rechargeable battery production and waste; at one time, batteries were contributing significant quantities of lead into landfills. EPR laws required producers to submit plans explaining how they would collect batteries and educate the public.<sup>180</sup> State agencies can adopt specific requirements for particular industries or can adopt overarching frameworks that then guide policy implementation. For example, California’s Department of Resources Recycling and Recovery has adopted an EPR framework to guide its policies and programs.<sup>181</sup>

**Require product reliability and longevity:** policies to ensure the creation of durable products, rather than disposal ones with short lifespans, can also help reduce consumption. For example, policies can create design requirements for products to guarantee a minimum lifetime or develop a system to rate durability of products.<sup>182</sup>

**Eliminate Producer Waste & Toxics:** Many products produced and consumed have large quantities of packaging and have toxic lifecycles. State policies can require reductions in packaging or ban certain types of packaging, such as single use plastic bags and straws. Policies can ban the use of particular toxic chemicals, require disclosure of chemicals used in production, require companies to shift to safer alternatives for production where feasible, and incentive the development and adoption of greener production methods.

**Increased, culturally competent education on the benefits of a plant-based diet:** recent studies have shown that massive reductions in the consumption of meat are needed to limit global warming to 2 degrees Celsius. Food production and the raising of livestock in particular has large indirect GHG emissions and environmental impacts, such as deforestation and water shortages. In the U.S., residents need to cut beef by 90% and milk by 60% while increasing beans and pulses between four and six times.<sup>183</sup> Policies can educate people about the GHG impacts of meat production.

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<sup>180</sup> [https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/mrcbg/files/Nash\\_Bosso\\_2013-10.pdf](https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/mrcbg/files/Nash_Bosso_2013-10.pdf)

<sup>181</sup> <https://www.calrecycle.ca.gov/epr>

<sup>182</sup> <https://zerowasteeurope.eu/2015/03/joint-statement-on-improving-product-durability-and-reparability/>

<sup>183</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/oct/10/huge-reduction-in-meat-eating-essential-to-avoid-climate-breakdown>



### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

#### Progressive Taxation & Wealth Redistribution

**Enact progressive income taxes:** Income is tightly correlated with emissions. A progressive income tax would create a more stable source of revenue, could reduce the dependence on the sales tax without undermining funding for critical government programs and services, and would help curtail unnecessary material throughput from high income earners at the source. Washington state does not have an income tax, which means revenues rely heavily on sales tax. This is a regressive tax that burdens low-income households and is volatile.<sup>184</sup>

**Tax the wealthy:** Ensuring that those with the most resources are paying their fair share and not accumulating large quantities of profit, while others are unable to even make ends meet, is a critical component of a regenerative economy. It can also help curtail emissions by slowing resources available for speculation in extractive industries ensure. Examples of ways to the tax the wealthy include enacting targeted income taxes on people above a certain income threshold and taxing assets that are common amongst the affluent. For example, multiple states have “millionaire taxes,” which enact a specific income tax on people making above a specified income level, ranging from \$250,000 to \$1,000,000.<sup>185</sup> Other types of taxes that target those with the most resources include inheritance and estate taxes. Multiple different proposals for “taxing the rich” are also being circulated at the federal level.<sup>186</sup>

**Close tax loopholes, such as enacting a Capital Gains tax:** given the regressive nature of Washington’s overall tax structure, ensuring that as many loopholes for the wealthy are closed is a critical way to generate more resources for the state. For example, All in for Washington has identified over 600 tax breaks and special deals are buried in our tax code. One of the most clear loopholes to close is the lack of a Capital Gains tax in the state; Washington is one of only 9 states that does not require people to pay taxes on profits they make through the sale of assets, such as land, stocks or a business. A recent effort in the 2019 legislature to pass a Capital Gains tax did not pass.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>184</sup> <https://www.seattlebusinessmag.com/economy/it%E2%80%99s-time-state-income-tax>

<sup>185</sup> <http://knowledgecenter.csg.org/kc/content/state-imposed-millionaires-tax>

<sup>186</sup> <https://www.vox.com/2019/3/19/18240377/estate-tax-wealth-tax-70-percent-warren-sanders-aoc>

<sup>187</sup> <https://www.kuow.org/stories/washington-senate-democrats-propose-capital-gains-tax-new-wildfire-tax>

**Reform the state property tax code:** many local services – schools in particular – rely on property taxes for funding. But the property tax’s ability to support these investments has steadily eroded since 2001, when an Initiative 747 was passed that limited the annual growth in property tax collections to a maximum of 1 percent per year. Because the state’s portion of the property tax is dedicated to K-12 public schools under the state constitution, this restriction on property tax revenue means it cannot keep pace with the annual growth in essential education costs. Removing this limit on annual tax collections and other property tax reforms, increasing property tax rates for \$1000 assessed value, combined with a “safeguard rebate” that reduced property tax payments for low and moderate income households, would take important steps to reforming the property tax system in Washington and creating the revenues that schools in particular need.<sup>188</sup>

**Explore new strategies to tax large corporations:** Ensuring that large corporations and companies that make significant revenue in the state also pay their fair share is another critical aspect to a regenerative economy. There are many different ways corporate revenues can be taxed. The City of Seattle passed a “head tax” ordinance that would have levied a \$275 per employee tax on Seattle businesses making more than \$20 million a year, which was quickly overturned after pressure from corporations such as Amazon.<sup>189</sup> Portland recently enacted a Clean Energy and Jobs Initiative, which applies a 1% supplemental business license surcharge on large retailers that generate over \$1 billion a year in national revenue and \$500,000 in Portland sales for clean energy investments.<sup>190</sup>

**Enact a Working Families Tax Credit and other tax breaks for low-income residents:** this a state-based match to the federal Earned Income Tax Credit. It gives a tax credit to qualifying households based on income, and while created in the state, has yet to be to be fully funded by the Washington legislature.<sup>191</sup> Other tax credits that can benefit low-income residents and could be expanded include the Child and Dependents Tax Credit and the American Opportunity Tax Credit.

**Supporting innovative local tax reform efforts:** the ability of local jurisdictions to enact progressive tax reforms can be an important source of revenue to fund social services and ensure strong government programs that meet people’s needs, such a schools, firefighters, transit, and libraries. For example, faced with growing inequality, an increasing population and growing number of wealthy residents, the City of Seattle passed an income tax in 2017 on the affluent, which would have required individual city residents to pay a 2.25% tax on any income earned beyond \$250,000 annually. A lawsuit was immediately filed to prevent the tax from being enacted, and it is now being argued in the courts.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> <https://budgetandpolicy.org/schmudget/its-time-to-strengthen-our-property-tax-code-to-invest-in-schools/>

<sup>189</sup> <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2018/06/how-amazon-helped-kill-a-seattle-tax-on-business/562736/>

<sup>190</sup> <https://www.portlandcleanenergyfund.com/faq/>

<sup>191</sup> <https://www.kuow.org/stories/washington-senate-democrats-propose-capital-gains-tax-new-wildfire-tax>

<sup>192</sup> <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/washington-state-supreme-court-declines-to-review-ruling-that-killed-seattles-income-tax/>

**Reform the Business & Occupation tax:** Washington has a skewed tax on businesses that creates a higher tax burden on small businesses because it does not take into account the costs of running a business, which can be very high for small businesses such as restaurants. Over the past several years, several proposals have been made to reform the way the tax works, allowing businesses with gross revenue, which includes deductions for the costs of running a business, below a certain level to be exempt.<sup>193</sup>

## Transition to Good Jobs in Non-Extractive Industries

**Ensure financial support and job placement for workers in fossil fuel industries that phase out:** If any particular fossil fuel facility is being phased out or closed, both the workers in the facility and the surrounding community need support to offset the economic impacts and develop new sources of jobs and local revenue. These supports include a range of options, from training to retirement funds. In addition, workers in industries that are heavily impacted by climate change may also need targeted support. For example, agriculture will face many challenges related to climate change. Farmworkers, who already lack significant labor protections, should have additional protections as the industry changes. Policies can include funding for dedicated training and employment placement services for impacted workers, such as prioritized employment in the clean energy sector, retraining costs for a certain period of time, and peer counseling services during transition, and a broader range of support services, such as personal and/or family counseling, peer support, or other social service referrals. Policies can also ensure that workers are guaranteed benefits after any job loss, such as full wage replacement for a set period of time, provision of health benefits, and pension contributions.<sup>194</sup> Many of these policies were included in the proposed Initiative 1631, which would have enacted a fee on carbon pollution.

**Funding to support new, sustainable community-based development in areas surrounding fossil fuel infrastructure:** The loss of revenue from a fossil fuel facility will not be immediately replaced; the companies not only provide a tax base for the area but may make specific contributions to local development, such as schools or otherwise. Thus, it may be necessary to initiate a broader range of economic development initiatives that can help stabilize the community while new economic activities grow. The settlement that led to the closure of one of Washington's coal plants, the Centralia Coal Plant, established a **Centralia Coal Transition fund**, with annual contributions adding up to \$55 million by 2023. The fund supports \$10 million for weatherization and energy efficiency projects; \$20 million for education, job training, and economic development projects (and \$5 million set aside for Centralia plant workers); and \$25 million for energy technology investments, all focused on the geographic area surrounding the plant.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> <https://housedemocrats.wa.gov/blog/2018/01/25/small-business-tax-reform-proposed-by-house-democrats/>

<sup>194</sup> [https://www.sos.wa.gov/assets/elections/initiatives/finaltext\\_1482.pdf](https://www.sos.wa.gov/assets/elections/initiatives/finaltext_1482.pdf) page 11

See also: <https://www.greentechmedia.com/articles/read/california-cpuc-approves-landmark-ev-charging-proposals#gs.2ih3ae>

<sup>195</sup> <https://energytransition.org/2018/01/washington-state-leaves-coal-behind-but-not-its-workers/>

**Priority and local hire:** targeted or local hiring policies create a system to expand access for particular groups of workers, such as women, people of color, low-income people or people from environmental justice communities or another specific geographic area. Typically, employers notify designated community-based organizations or training programs about job openings, and the groups refer local job applicants to the jobs, and can be targeted to focus on particular communities. For example, PUSH Green, a community-based organization in Buffalo, is contracted with the state to provide workforce development services for public energy efficiency and renewable energy investments.<sup>196</sup>

**Workforce Training & Apprenticeship programs:** workers who want to develop new skills to be competitive in the green economy need training, skills development, and opportunities to enter new labor markets. These programs can all be crafted to include specific goals or provisions that prioritize recruiting participants from environmental justice communities or other target populations, such as women, formerly incarcerated people, or former foster care youth. Programs can also be designed to include community-based organizations, particularly in recruitment but also potentially program delivery, if there is not a union partner. This can be a benefit because including trusted community organizations who have relationships with hard-to-reach communities can be critical for program success. Within the construction industry, there exists a strong model of Apprenticeships that are highly effective at improving wages and job placement. Apprenticeships are run by unions (most commonly Building Trades), and provide paid, on-the-job training experience.<sup>197</sup> Apprenticeship programs have direct relationships with employers, who in some cases have agreements to hire from the programs and/or are helping cover the program costs. They are important because many folks from low-income communities and communities of color face a range of barriers to entering the workforce, from economic stability to knowledge of workforce professional standards. Not all industries have a clear Apprenticeship pathway established, and this is where broader workforce training programs can be critical. For many low-income people, community colleges provide a critical pipeline into careers, and they can be a critical place to integrate green job training programs. For example, in Illinois, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers will be developing a solar training curriculum for implementation at 6 community colleges. The program will also include a high-school curriculum component at 6 underserved schools.<sup>198</sup> Community-based organizations can also deliver green job training programs. Another focus for green workforce training programs can be new skill development for currently employed people. This recognizes that not all green jobs need to be in renewables or energy efficiency, or that everyone will be able to get jobs in these sectors. For example, the Green Building Council-Los Angeles and SEIU partnered to create a “Green Janitor Education program.” The program meets the growing need for people who are familiar with operations and maintenance at green buildings, including LEED certified buildings. Janitors develop new skills through the training to access more job opportunities.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> <http://www.pushgreenwny.org/workforce>

<sup>197</sup> <https://aceee.org/files/proceedings/2012/data/papers/0193-000333.pdf>

<sup>198</sup> <https://www.ibew309.com/Uploads/UploadedFiles/Documents/2017/Future%20Energy%20Jobs%20Act%20-%20FEJA.pdf>

<sup>199</sup> <http://www.buildingskills.org/programs/greenjanitor/>

**Ensure workforce standards:** in a regenerative economy, all work should meet basic standards: ensuring family-sustaining wages; jobs that have clear links to career pathways; include benefits; and supports prevailing wage and workforce standards across the sector. Additional job standards that must be considered include ensuring worker safety, including proper health protections, adequate breaks, etc. Policies such as responsible contractor and employer standards require contractors or employers who receive public funding, require public approvals, or benefit from public investment to meet pre-established minimum standards for working conditions, including such items such as demonstrating workplace safety, full wage and labor law compliance, provision of prevailing wage, and provision of health benefits.<sup>200</sup> Front & Centered member Community 2 Community recently helped pass a bill that would fund the establishment of an office specifically tasked with monitoring labor, housing, and health and safety requirements for farms using a special visa program for agricultural workers, known as the H2A program.<sup>201</sup>

**Support worker organizing and the right to unionize:** unions have faced multiple attacks over the past several years. So-called “right to work” laws across the country allow union members to avoid paying dues, which undermines the funding of unions and can thus paralyze their operations, which was upheld in the 2018 Supreme Court Janus Vs AFSCME decision. This particularly impacts public sector unions, which are strong in Washington state. Policies that support the rights of workers to unionize are important; a recent federal proposal would allow workers to sue employers who illegally interfere with unionizing efforts. It would also let the National Labor Relations Board fine employers if they break the law. Right now there’s currently no financial penalty for employers who illegally fire workers who are trying to unionize, for example.<sup>202</sup> It is also important to support worker organizing more broadly, especially in non-unionized sectors, such as enacting policies to protect workers against employer retaliatory measures against employees who demand better working conditions or wages. For example,

**Support a living wage:** a living wage is the wage needed to provide a decent standard of living. It should cover the cost of living in an area, which in major metropolitan areas like Seattle can be very expensive. It is different from the minimum wage, which is a floor for all workers designed to keep people out of poverty, but is not nearly sufficient to cover all costs of living or even basic necessities in many areas. In 2016, Washington voters passed Initiative 1433, which requires a statewide minimum wage of \$12 in 2019 and \$13.50 in 2020. In addition, thanks to community organizing, the City of Seattle has a \$16 minimum wage. Both these wages are some of the highest in the country, but in contrast, a living wage in Seattle is estimated to be about \$20.24 for a single adult and \$35.99 for a household with two adults and two children.<sup>203</sup> Policies can support a living wage by setting a state-based living wage. More than 140 cities and counties adopted “living wage” ordinances, which vary from place to place but require government contractors or, in some places, businesses benefitting from government assistance, to pay workers a wage sufficient to lift them above the federal poverty level. However, they often only apply to a narrow segment of low-wage workers.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> <https://www.forworkingfamilies.org/page/policy-tools-responsible-contracting> See also: <https://www.nelp.org/wp-content/uploads/responsible-contracting-best-practices.pdf>

<sup>201</sup> <http://www.foodjustice.org/blog/2019/4/12/sb-5438-unanimously-passes-in-wa-house-bringing-hope-for-h2a-farmworker-protections>

<sup>202</sup> <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/5/14/18536789/right-to-work-unions-protecting-the-right-to-organize-act-bill>

<sup>203</sup> <https://rainiervalleycorps.org/2017/07/take-achieve-living-wage-seattle/>

<sup>204</sup> [https://www.ssa.uchicago.edu/ssa\\_magazine/living-wage-ordinances-are-not-model-minimum-wage](https://www.ssa.uchicago.edu/ssa_magazine/living-wage-ordinances-are-not-model-minimum-wage)

**Prevent enclosure and privatization:** Enclosure is the process of taking items that were once commons and restricting access to those with the ability to pay. Privatization shifts functions from the public sector to private companies. Once that occurs, the public loses any chance to ensure that services are being provided in a way that aligns with broader goals of sustainability and well-being. Many of the social safety net programs in the U.S. have been privatized, which has led to increased inequality.<sup>205</sup> State and local policies can seek to prevent monopolization of services by corporations, proactively seek to provide services, or protect land and services for the commons so that it cannot be privatized.

**Regulate the “gig economy:”** “gig” companies use internet-based technology platforms, accessible via personal computing devices like smartphones, to coordinate and manage on-demand piecemeal work in a variety of service industries, from taxi to food delivery to domestic work. Gig companies use a variety of practices to avoid increased labor costs, such as misclassifying workers as independent contractors instead of employees, and avoiding paying any benefits.<sup>206</sup> State policies can end worker misclassification and require benefits, such as retirement and health care.

**Shift Jobs Toward Care and Craft:** require economic policy, taxes, incentives to promote low intensity sectors like community health, teaching, arts, locally sourced renewable goods. For example, Seattle Sewn is a program that connects local sewers - focused on low-income and immigrant workers - with clothing retailers.<sup>207</sup>

**Keep Work Local or In-state:** as environmental, labor and workforce standards increase, often times companies export jobs overseas, leading to loss of employment in U.S. communities. Policies such as procurement standards, which require U.S. based or even in-state or locally purchased goods and can thus support U.S. companies, investments in worker education and training to ensure a skilled workforce, and government support for ecologically sustainable industries with local employment can help reduce potential off-shorting.

## Community Centered Work and Enterprise

**Facilitate the start-up and operation of neighborhood and locally owned businesses:** these policies create favorable conditions for people to set up and maintain local businesses. They can include public funding opportunities specifically for small businesses, creating preferences or set asides for neighborhood businesses in new commercial buildings, creating rent assistance programs for local businesses, and using zoning to promote local businesses, and promoting adaptive reuse, or the revitalization of old commercial spaces through neighborhood-led initiatives.<sup>208</sup> Programs like Enterprise for Equity, which supports low-income people to start businesses in Washington, could be publicly funded and expanded.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> [https://www.inthepublicinterest.org/wp-content/uploads/InThePublicInterest\\_Inequality\\_Sec3\\_Sept2016.pdf](https://www.inthepublicinterest.org/wp-content/uploads/InThePublicInterest_Inequality_Sec3_Sept2016.pdf)

<sup>206</sup> <https://www.nelp.org/publication/rights-at-risk-gig-companies-campaign-to-reopen-employment-as-we-know-it/>

<sup>207</sup> <http://seattlerefiner.com/fashion-beauty/local-program-aims-to-bring-sewing-back-to-seattle>

<sup>208</sup> <https://ilsr.org/independent-business-policy-library/>

<sup>209</sup> <http://www.enterpriseforequity.org/about/>

## **Financial support and technical assistance for small businesses that meet sustainability and equity**

**criteria:** Community enterprises that seek to embody the principles of a regenerative economy need financing, in particular capital to cover start-up and ongoing operation costs. By creating new vehicles that explicitly fund regenerative activities, it can not only pull resources away from extractive investments, but support the proliferation of community-led alternatives. Public resources can be made available to help start and operate small, locally owned businesses that meet specific equity and sustainability criteria. For example, Pennsylvania created a Fresh Food Financing Initiative (FFFI), which has financed 84 grocery stores in underserved urban and rural communities across the state, which was seeded with a \$30 million seed fund from the state, which then created a financing pool to continue its operations.<sup>210</sup> The Washington Coast Works program, for example, is funded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture features a competition to support development of new small, triple-bottom-line businesses and build business leadership in local communities, while growing a constituency that supports conservation and sustainable natural resource use.<sup>211</sup> Other funding programs can be geared to help small businesses become more sustainable. For example, the Clean Up Green Up Initiative in Los Angeles, which is a city-wide initiative focused on environmental communities. It is working to create financial incentives to small businesses in environmental justice communities that wish to enact more sustainable practices.<sup>212</sup> Expanding State Revolving Loan funds and creating new equity and sustainability criteria for eligible entities could also help facilitate the creation of locally-owned small businesses. The Working World provides loans and investment capital specifically too worker cooperatives, requiring only the repayment of revenues generated by the investment.<sup>213</sup> The Detroit Community Wealth Fund provides financial resources and tailor made business support to cooperatives, organizations, and community-based businesses. Local financing can also go to land acquisition, which is discussed in the Place-Based Approaches chapters. States can support these types of community-focused investments by making public funding, such as revolving loan funds and pension investments, available to local investment vehicles, as well as supporting the development of community-led lending institutions locally.

**Support co-operatives: Local and state government policies can support the development of co-operatives in a variety of ways:** they can create direct financing and technical assistance programs for co-operatives; ease legal and technical barriers to starting and operating co-operatives, and give preference to co-operatives in public contract and bidding. The City of Berkeley adopted a Co-operative Ordinance that gives co-operatively incentives public contracts to use co-operatively owned businesses, creates a dedicated co-operative worker support office, exempts co-operatives from City permitting fees for its first 2 years of operation, and created a dedicated Worker Co-operative Development Fund.<sup>214</sup> In 2015, New York City launched the Worker Cooperative Business Development Initiative (WCBDI) as a way to reduce poverty and income inequality through support of worker-owned cooperatives. WCBDI has led to the creation of 21 new worker cooperatives, doubling their number in New York City, and has built the capacity of existing cooperatives through education, training, technical assistance, and funds.

<sup>210</sup> <https://ilsr.org/rule/financing-local-businesses/3005-2/>

<sup>211</sup> <http://wacoastworks.org/>

<sup>212</sup> <https://cleanupgreenup.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/cugu-business-faq-final.pdf>

<sup>213</sup> <https://www.theworkingworld.org/us/what-we-do/>

<sup>214</sup> <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1VPWTZ0vw6MSWxuZIEtOXRIQU0/view>

It is estimated that over 141 new worker-owner jobs have been created and over 900 entrepreneurs have received training in co-op development. This initial success encouraged the New York City Council to increase the initiative's funding to \$2.1 million for fiscal year 2016. In 2014, the Center for Inclusive Entrepreneurship received a federal Small Business Administration grant to support the development of worker co-operatives among low-income entrepreneurs in Seattle.<sup>215</sup> These kinds of public resources could be expanded.

**Local Purchasing Preferences:** Local and state governments can make their purchasing double as economic development that strengthens the local economy by giving a preference to locally owned businesses in their spending decisions.

**Expand and reform Community Development funds to better meet sustainability and equity goals:** there are a range of community development funds available for low-income communities, including the federally-funded Community Development Block Grants and the Community-Development Financial Institutions Fund, which usually fund the development of community institutions, services, programs and businesses in low-income communities. These types of programs need to be expanded, made more accessible for a wider range of groups, and develop new ways to better support enterprises with a clear equity and sustainability focus.

**Restrict formula businesses:** "formula businesses" are those that have standardized services, decor, and methods of operation. Some cities and towns have adopted ordinances that prohibit formula businesses, cap their total number, or require that they meet certain conditions to open.<sup>216</sup> For example, in 2005, Port Townsend enacted a temporary ordinance limiting formula retail stores and restaurants to a single commercial zone along the main road leading into Port Townsend and barring them from all other areas of town, including the downtown.<sup>217</sup>

**Eliminate subsidies for corporation operations and re-locations:** there are many public subsidies that support large, corporate retailers and businesses. They take many forms, including property tax exemptions, sales tax rebates, job tax credits, and can be hard to track. For example, Amazon received \$14.2 million in tax incentives between 2012 and 2015 for a range of operations, including new structures and machinery.<sup>218</sup> In 2013, the Washington state legislature passed a bill providing more than \$8 billion dollars in tax breaks to Boeing, in exchange for building the wings of its 777X aircraft in Washington state, and also keeping the final assembly of the new 777X aircraft in Washington. After the deal passed, however, Boeing still moved thousands of other jobs out of the state.<sup>219</sup> States can restrict or prohibit the types of subsidies they make available. In July 2007, Arizona adopted the following law, which bars municipalities in the Phoenix metropolitan region from providing tax breaks or incentives to retail development. The penalty for cities that violate the law is a reduction in the revenue that they receive from the state equal to the amount of the incentive.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> <http://www.geo.coop/story/co-ops-get-boost-seattle>

<sup>216</sup> <https://ilsr.org/rule/formula-business-restrictions/>

<sup>217</sup> <https://ilsr.org/rule/formula-business-restrictions/2319-2/>

<sup>218</sup> <http://www.workingwa.org/blog/2017/10/19/12-billion-in-public-subsidies-for-amazon>

<sup>219</sup> <https://crosscut.com/2019/03/jay-inslees-about-face-boeings-big-tax-break>

<sup>220</sup> <https://ilsr.org/rule/banning-public-subsidies-for-big-retailers/2303-2/>



Guaranteeing and financing rights of workers to collectively buy and own businesses: transferring ownership of a business to employees of a business can maintain local control and prevent sale to an outside or corporate entity. Policies can support this process by creating dedicated funds to support such a buy-out, providing technical assistance to navigate the legal complexities, and easing the legal barriers to employee purchasing.

**Reduce the work week or create flexible work hour policies:** reducing the amount of time worked would reduce GHG emissions. There are increasing studies that demonstrate the link between reducing work hours and reducing GHG emissions: one study suggests that a 1 percent decrease in working hours could lead to a 0.8 percent decrease in GHG emissions; another predicts that a 1 percent decrease in working hours could lead to a 1.46 percent decrease in carbon footprint and 0.42 percent decrease for CO2 emissions. An analysis of European economic data shows that the amount of work each week vastly exceeds any measure of planetary ecological sustainability and that a sustainable work week in the United Kingdom would be 9 hours; in Sweden, where there is a more carbon-efficient economy, it would be 12 hours.<sup>221</sup> Other, less dramatic approaches can support flexible schedules and reduced work weeks, which all help reduce carbon emissions. If, by 2050, the world works as many hours as Americans do, it could consume 15-30% more energy than it would following Europe, and conversely, if the United States had adopted European standards for work hours (around 35 hours per week on average), U.S. carbon dioxide emissions in 2000 would have been 7 percent lower than its actual 1990 emissions.<sup>222</sup> For example, in 2007, the state of Utah shortened the work week to four days and saved \$1.8 million in energy costs, even though the five day work week was re-instated in 2011 because people were so unaccustomed to the change.<sup>223</sup>

## Move the Money

**Divestment from fossil fuels:** these policies seek to limit the number of investors willing to invest money in oil, gas and coal extraction and production. The focus includes commitments to not invest public and private monies in oil, gas, and coal extraction, as well as commitments to stop funding new fossil fuel infrastructure. Divestment activists claim that campaigns have led to at least 1000 institutional commitments to divest from fossil fuels, totaling over \$8 billion in U.S. dollars, of which 28% are faith-based groups, 17% are philanthropic organizations, 15% are educational institutions, 15% are government agencies, and 14% are pension funds.<sup>224</sup> In 2018, Ireland became the first country to commit to divesting all of its investment assets (approximately 8 billion in Euors) from fossil fuels as soon as practicably possible.<sup>225</sup> New York City also announced that it will divest \$5 billion of its pension funds presently invested in fossil fuel stocks.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>221</sup> <https://www.sierraclub.org/sites/www.sierraclub.org/files/blog/EV%20Policy%20Toolkit.pdf>

<sup>222</sup> <https://www.arb.ca.gov/msprog/aqip/efmp/efmp.htm>

<sup>223</sup> <https://qz.com/770758/how-three-day-weekends-can-help-save-the-world-and-us-too/>

<sup>224</sup> <https://gofossilfree.org/divestment/commitments/>

<sup>225</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/jul/12/ireland-becomes-worlds-first-country-to-divest-from-fossil-fuels>

<sup>226</sup> <https://www.labor4sustainability.org/uncategorized/how-new-york-city-won-divestment-from-fossil-fuels/>

**Financial transaction taxes:** These policies tax financial transactions. On a daily basis, there is a large amount of trading in stocks, bonds and derivatives; as of 2018, more than \$1 trillion in stocks and bonds are traded on a typical business day.<sup>227</sup> This would not only raise revenue, but theoretically cut down on the types of highly speculative financial trading that can lead to massive economy-wide destabilization. A recent federal legislation proposal would tax the sale of stocks, bonds, and derivatives at a 0.1 percent rate.<sup>228</sup> Land value capture, a way to capture the value of land sales, is covered in Chapter IV on Communities Connection to Place.

**Prohibit or limit interest bearing debt:** the U.S. economy has large quantities of debt. U.S. consumer debt rates have been steadily rising; in 2019 they are around 5.2% to \$4.07 trillion. Of this, \$3.005 trillion is for education and auto loans.<sup>229</sup> The U.S. also has \$22.5 trillion dollars in public debt; this is money the federal government owes to holders of U.S. Treasury bills, notes and bonds.<sup>230</sup> Both these types of debt finance the extraction and consumption economy of the U.S., which in turn fuels GHGs emissions, as well as fueling economic instability overall, while presenting great risks to individuals and the government.<sup>231</sup> The 2008 recession displayed what can happen to individuals with high debt when the economy takes a downturn. Many recent proposals have emerged to limit the amount of debt private companies and banks can accrue at the expense of individuals: Senator Bernie Sanders and Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez recently introduced legislation to cap interest rates on credit card and other consumer loans, and multiple policy proposals have emerged federally to limit the escalating rates of student loan debt.<sup>232</sup> States can reduce debt by creating more public investments, such as in higher education, which comprises a significant portion of debt, and by enacting regulations on predatory lending.

**Democratize the ability to put savings toward local and community-owned businesses, enterprises, and institutions:** Seattle residents alone hold billions of dollars in retirement savings most of which is in wall-street corporations. Reforming securities law and new vehicles are needed to bring these savings home to invest in community businesses and equitable development. People of color should be able to save in ways that support their own communities.

**Lending circles:** these are groups of people who gather together to make collective land to members. The members all make equal monthly payments, and rotate who gets a loan, usually at no interest. They can help expand access to capital for people who may have trouble accessing loans because of credit history. State policies can create funding for organizations that administer lending circles.

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<sup>227</sup> <https://www.cbo.gov/budget-options/2018/54823>

<sup>228</sup> <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/2/28/18235067/brian-schatz-financial-transaction-tax-stock-market>

<sup>229</sup> <https://www.thebalance.com/consumer-debt-statistics-causes-and-impact-330570>

<sup>230</sup> <https://www.thebalance.com/the-u-s-debt-and-how-it-got-so-big-3305778>

<sup>231</sup> [http://positivemoney.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Escaping-Growth-Dependency-final\\_print.pdf](http://positivemoney.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Escaping-Growth-Dependency-final_print.pdf)

<sup>232</sup> <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/education-postsecondary/reports/2019/06/12/470893/addressing-1-5-trillion-federal-student-loan-debt/>

**Public banking:** these are financial institutions owned by the government, funded with taxpayer money, and directly accountable to elected officials and civil servants. Public banks can have several benefits: they can offer loan terms that are more favorable for customers, such as lower interest rates, and can make investments that can be guided by additional criteria outside of just a profit motive, such as environmental sustainability or social equity. Public banking systems exist in Germany, Canada and China; Germany's 200-year old public bank has been a major investor in the country's significant renewable energy development.<sup>233</sup> States and cities in the U.S., such as New Jersey and San Francisco, are exploring the option of creating public banks, but currently only one state has a public bank: the Bank of North Dakota, founded in 1919. There have been nine bills to create a public bank in the state of Washington, most recently in 2019, but none have made it through the legislative process.<sup>234</sup>

## Appendix D: Renewable Resources & Energy Policy Examples

- A. Pollution Limits
- B. Building Energy Conservation & Electrification
- C. Increase Renewable Energy Production
- D. Electrification of Transportation and Buildings

### A Pollution Limits

#### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

**Set a target for GHG reductions in the energy sector:** this entails setting a goal to reduce GHG emissions in a specific timeframe. 23 states in the US, including Washington, have set specific goals for reducing GHGs, but they are all economy wide.<sup>235</sup> GHG reduction targets do not necessarily dictate how the sectors or regulated facilities would achieve the goals. California's target for 2030 GHG reductions will be achieved through a range of policies that have been passed since the initial reduction target was established, including a limit on electricity emissions, a cap and trade system, reductions in mobile source emissions, among others. Targets are not always legally binding, and do not necessarily specify how the reductions will occur.

<sup>233</sup> <https://www.cbo.gov/budget-options/2018/54823>

<sup>234</sup> <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/2/28/18235067/brian-schatz-financial-transaction-tax-stock-market>

<sup>235</sup> <https://www.thebalance.com/consumer-debt-statistics-causes-and-impact-330570>

**Set an absolute limit on GHG emissions from energy sources or industrial sectors:** this entails limiting greenhouse gas emissions to a fixed amount, or a cap. Washington's Clean Air Rule, proposed in 2016, attempted a cap on emissions across sectors, however it allowed multiple easier alternative compliance pathways and lawsuits invalidated full implementation. Another example is an 'indirect source rule,' where a state or regional agency enacts a regulatory limit on GHGs or other air pollutants from mobile sources, targeting heavily trafficked areas such as ports and the airport. They then require facilities or sources to report and reduce emissions by a set amount or percentage by a target date.<sup>236</sup> Yet another approach could set regional targets for transportation-related GHG emissions, such as California's SB 375 model, in which the major transportation agencies in the state set GHG goals that all regional planning and transportation strive to meet.<sup>237</sup> However, this limit was set very high and without strong enforcement measures, which has led to lackluster reductions in GHGs.

**Limit the polluting sources used in energy generation:** this would limit the uses of certain types of fuel sources that lead to large amounts of GHG emissions. For example, 15 percent of electricity-related GHG emissions come from coal.<sup>238</sup> The Washington legislature is currently debating a new carbon fee standard that would phase out all coal-powered electricity by 2025.<sup>239</sup> In 2016, the Oregon legislature passed the nation's first law that requires utilities to remove coal from their energy mix by 2035 (SB 1547B). A similar approach could be taken for other fossil fuel sources, such as natural gas.

**Create performance standards:** these set an emission standard that all regulated entities must meet, without prescribing how an entity should achieve the standard.<sup>240</sup> Performance standards are commonly used to ensure that the amount of pollution per kilowatt per hour from power plants is below a certain level; Washington's performance standard for power plants requires new plants to emit greenhouse gas at a rate of no more than 1,100 pounds per megawatt-hour.<sup>241</sup> Nationally, the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) vehicle standards set minimum vehicle performance levels; the revised and strengthened standards released in 2012 by then President Obama would have doubled the average fuel economy of passenger vehicles to the equivalent of 54.5 miles per gallon by 2025, the Trump Administration has since halted the implementation of these standards.<sup>242</sup> Performance standards for stationary sources are also one of the main policy tools used within the Clean Air Act to regulate air toxics.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> [https://www.pscleanair.org/DocumentCenter/View/3314/Evaluation-Report\\_Transportation-Actions\\_June2018?bidId=](https://www.pscleanair.org/DocumentCenter/View/3314/Evaluation-Report_Transportation-Actions_June2018?bidId=) pg 25

<sup>237</sup> <https://www.ca-ilg.org/post/basics-sb-375>

<sup>238</sup> <https://fortress.wa.gov/ecy/publications/documents/1802043.pdf> pg 14

<sup>239</sup> <http://lawfilesexternal.leg.wa.gov/biennium/2019-20/Pdf/Bill%20Reports/House/5116-S2.E%20HBR%20ENVI%2019.pdf>

<sup>240</sup> <https://climatepolicyinfohub.eu/non-market-based-climate-policy-instruments>

<sup>241</sup> <https://ecology.wa.gov/Air-Climate/Air-quality/Business-industry-requirements/GHG-standards-for-power-plants>

<sup>242</sup> <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/02042018/climate-change-car-fuel-efficiency-cafe-standards-epa-pruitt-auto-pollution-gas-mileage-california-global-warming>

<sup>243</sup> <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL30853.html>

**Create technology standards:** these require the use of certain technologies to ensure facility-based emissions are as a clean as is feasible. Technology-based standards, applied under the jurisdiction of the Clean Air Act, were the backbone of the Clean Power Plan.<sup>244</sup> The Clean Air Act establishes technology-based emission standards for sources of 187 hazardous air pollutants; all entities regulated under the provision must ensure that their facilities are operating with a technologies widely used across the industry to reduce emissions.<sup>245</sup>

**Set a limit on the intensity of pollution in energy sources:** this entails limiting the amount of pollution per quantity of output, rather than a specific level of emissions.<sup>246</sup> These policies reduce pollution on a relative basis; as output grows, so could emissions.<sup>247</sup> One common approach is a standard on the carbon-intensity of all fuels sold by a distributor for transportation use. Fuel standards generally allow the regulated companies to purchase credits of fuels with lower carbon intensity (blended fuels, electricity as fuel) to balance their higher intensity products, so they do not really function as a hard limit. Both Oregon and California have laws that put a limit on the lifecycle carbon intensity of oil distributors, and the Washington legislature has seen multiple bills to create a statewide standard for transportation fuels, although none have gotten to the Governor's desk.<sup>248</sup> Such standards can also be applied regionally; Puget Sound Clean Air Agency is currently considering a regional fuel standard to help meet their goal of reducing climate pollution by 50 percent.<sup>249</sup>

**Eliminate public subsidies for fossil fuels:** actions could be taken to repeal or halt various government actions that lower the cost of fossil fuel production, such as tax breaks for fossil fuel companies, transfers of liability or risk from private operations to the public, or tax credits. Research has identified about \$20 billion worth of federal level fossil fuel subsidies.<sup>250</sup> For example, after years of work, Washington decision makers closed a tax loophole that has benefited out-of-state oil companies for decades. While the tax loophole was created in the 1940s for wood biomass fuels and not originally intended for oil companies, these dirty industries have enjoyed tax cuts instead of paying their fair share to support our state. Closing the loophole will provide \$70.8 million to state programs over the next four year.<sup>251</sup>

**Enact fees or penalties on to raise revenue for pollution reduction:** this entails setting a specific dollar amount that regulated entities must pay per ton of greenhouse gases emitted to invest in greenhouse gas reductions. The Washington Initiative 1631 would have placed a \$15 per ton fee starting in 2020, rising to \$35 in 2040.<sup>252</sup> The price was also calibrated to stay level or rise based on whether the state was meeting its GHG reduction targets. The Initiative also created a framework for investing the revenue in climate and equity programs. A fee can also take the form of a tax. Carbon taxes also are not often linked to a specified GHG reduction target, instead relying entirely on increased costs that would drive reductions down.

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<sup>244</sup> <https://www.c2es.org/content/regulating-industrial-sector-carbon-emissions/>

<sup>245</sup> <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL30853.html>

<sup>246</sup> [https://wriorg.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/pdf/target\\_intensity.pdf?\\_ga=2.251194694.1365714937.1553551734-2121324990.1552072922\\_pg\\_7](https://wriorg.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/pdf/target_intensity.pdf?_ga=2.251194694.1365714937.1553551734-2121324990.1552072922_pg_7)

<sup>247</sup> <https://www.c2es.org/document/standards-for-electricity-ghg-emissions/>

<sup>248</sup> <https://app.leg.wa.gov/bills/summary?BillNumber=1110&Year=2019&Initiative=false>

<sup>249</sup> <https://www.pscleanair.org/528/Clean-Fuel-Standard>

<sup>250</sup> [http://priceofoil.org/content/uploads/2017/10/OCI\\_US-Fossil-Fuel-Subs-2015-16\\_Final\\_Oct2017.pdf](http://priceofoil.org/content/uploads/2017/10/OCI_US-Fossil-Fuel-Subs-2015-16_Final_Oct2017.pdf)

<sup>251</sup> <https://wecprotects.org/history-victories/2017-legislature-ends-decades-old-big-oil-tax-loophole/>

<sup>252</sup> <https://carbonwa.org/1631-compare-recent-carbon-pricing-proposals-washington-state/>

There is currently a federal level Energy Innovation and Carbon Dividend Act, which enacts a fee starting at \$15 per metric ton of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent emissions, and increases \$10 per year.<sup>253</sup> Carbon taxes are often proposed to be “revenue neutral,” seeking to avoid imposing additional revenue constraints on polluters. They often also limit additional regulations on polluters. Both of these policy mechanisms have serious equity concerns, discussed in the Equity Considerations.

**Create “ghost fees” to account for the social costs of climate change:** these fees, often called “adders,” can be added into regulations to account for the long-term and often externalized damages of climate change. The fees are based on the “social costs of carbon,” or the long-term costs of damages from greenhouse gas pollution, including far-reaching impacts such as property damage from flood risks, changes in agricultural productivity, public health impacts, loss of natural ecosystem services, and more.<sup>254</sup> Carbon adders are often included in the electricity sector, where utilities are required to factor the social cost of carbon into their resource planning and acquisition. The adder is integrated into wholesale markets, rather than operator costs, and is a way to create a price signal for generators to minimize GHG emissions. Public utility commissions in at least 7 states require carbon adders,<sup>255</sup> and the current renewable portfolio standard bill that the Washington legislature is debating has a carbon adder, which would be a fee that utilities would have to include in their procurement plans.

## B Building Energy Conservation & Electrification

### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

**Limit excessive energy use:** these entail explicit caps on energy use at the individual or household level could be a way to tamp down on large quantities of energy consumption, particularly among higher income and wealth users. Research has shown that biggest indicators of carbon footprints are “per capita living space, energy used for household appliances, meat consumption, car use, and vacation travel,” and that high income people emit more GHGs overall.<sup>256</sup> For example, in the Isle of Eigg, Scotland, the community decided to cap the amount of electricity a user can consume at any one time to meet the capacity of the grid.<sup>257</sup>

**Pricing to discourage higher consumption energy source:** this entails a fee on high home of building energy consumption.

**Set energy conservation standards:** apply energy use limits on buildings, equipment, etc. Legislators in Washington are considering requiring that large commercial buildings meet an energy efficiency performance standard in the 2019 session.

<sup>253</sup> <https://energyinnovationact.org/>

<sup>254</sup> [https://www.nap.edu/read/24651/chapter/3\\_pg\\_5](https://www.nap.edu/read/24651/chapter/3_pg_5)

<sup>255</sup> [Lessons from Integrated Resource Planning and Carbon Trading for integrating carbon adders into wholesale electricity markets, pg 4](#)

<sup>256</sup> <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0013916517710685>. See also [https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file\\_attachments/mb-extreme-carbon-inequality-021215-en.pdf?cid=aff\\_affwd\\_donate\\_id78888&awc=5991\\_1554835895\\_f28da3ab9d-4d4712349affafe5a976cf](https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/mb-extreme-carbon-inequality-021215-en.pdf?cid=aff_affwd_donate_id78888&awc=5991_1554835895_f28da3ab9d-4d4712349affafe5a976cf)

<sup>257</sup> <http://isleofeigg.org/eigg-electric/>

**Performance, equipment and building code standards:** building code requirements and energy performance standards can be used to require increased use of electrical technologies and increased energy efficiency in buildings. The proposed Washington Clean Building Act includes an energy-based performance standard for large commercial buildings.<sup>258</sup> In 2018, California passed a bill mandating the state's building sector reduce its emissions 40 percent below 1990 levels by 2030.<sup>259</sup> Performance standards can also be applied to industrial equipment, such as pumps and boilers, which are a main source of energy consumption in industrial processing.<sup>260</sup>

**Mandatory targets for industrial efficiency:** requirements for improvements of industrial energy efficiency can be established for specific industries. For example, in 2010 Japan introduced a program requiring industries to achieve a 1% annual energy efficiency improvement.<sup>261</sup>

**Financial incentives for commercial and industrial electrification:** programs that support individuals to convert heating to electrical systems and builders and contractors to integrate clean technologies into construction. In Massachusetts, utilities are offering incentives for “fuel switching,” moving from oil and propane boilers to electrical heat pumps.<sup>262</sup> The proposed Washington Clean Building Act currently includes \$75 million in clean building and retrofit incentives.<sup>263</sup> In 2018, California created the BUILD (Building Initiative for Low-Emissions Development) program, which allocates \$50 million per year in incentives to builders who integrate clean technologies, with 30 percent set aside for affordable housing.<sup>264</sup> It also created a program to spur market development for low-emissions space and water heating equipment through upstream incentives, customer education, and contractor training.<sup>265</sup> From an equity perspective, it is important that incentives for private commercial and industrial energy efficiency are not paid for by the public.

**Direct investments in home energy efficiency and conservation:** these include programs that pay to upgrade home conditions, including lighting, weatherization, insulation, etc. These include federal programs such as the Weatherization Assistance Program, which provides grant funds to states to improve home energy efficiency and reduce energy consumption by low-income households, and the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program, a block grant to states, territories and tribes to assist low-income households with heating and cooling expenses and home weatherizing. Currently, the Department of Commerce funds Community Action Partnerships across the state to qualifying households and pay for energy improvements that improve comfort and often reduce energy consumption and bills on average \$270.

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<sup>258</sup> <https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/reducing-energy-use-in-aging-buildings-is-worth-the-investment/>

<sup>259</sup> <https://www.thenation.com/article/building-emissions-constantinides-new-york/>

<sup>260</sup> <https://www.energypolicy.solutions/policies/industrial-energy-efficiency/>

<sup>261</sup> <https://www.energypolicy.solutions/policies/industrial-energy-efficiency/>

<sup>262</sup> <https://www.vox.com/energy-and-environment/2019/3/20/18269356/green-new-deal-building-electrification-states-cities>

<sup>263</sup> <https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/reducing-energy-use-in-aging-buildings-is-worth-the-investment/>

<sup>264</sup> <https://www.nrdc.org/experts/merrian-borgeson/governor-delivers-clean-homes-californians>

<sup>265</sup> <https://www.nrdc.org/experts/merrian-borgeson/governor-delivers-clean-homes-californians>

**Expand financial incentives for home energy efficiency:** these programs provide rebates for the installation of energy-efficient goods, such as homes and appliances. They are often offered by the state or utilities

**Education and outreach:** for both homes and buildings, education and outreach programs about existing programs and the potential cost savings over time of efficiency upgrades can help individuals and businesses make the necessary changes. Puget Sound Energy Resource Conservation Manager (RCM) program provides up to \$28,000 grant for three years to help large energy users, such as schools, to reduce their consumption through tracking and adjusting operations.

**Support PACE financing:** In more than 30 states, Property Assessed Clean Energy (PACE) financing, allows loans for critical building improvements, like solar, fire protection, or flood readiness, to be secured on the property tax obligation so repayment stays with the property rather than the owner whenever the building is sold.<sup>266</sup>

## C Increase Renewable Energy Production

### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

**Set standards for renewable energy:** these policies set a minimum standard or mandate for how much of a state's electricity comes from renewable energy sources. Washington's existing standard, passed in 2006, requires utilities to meet a 15 percent renewable energy standard, excluding hydro, through renewable generation or credits. 29 states plus the District of Columbia have a renewable portfolio standard (RPS), and most are significantly higher than Washington's 15 percent.<sup>267</sup> Washington's new clean energy standard, SB 5116, requires all electricity sold in Washington to be 80 percent carbon free by 2030 and 100 percent by 2045, as well as phasing out coal power by 2025.<sup>268</sup>

**Progressive energy assistance:** these policies provide utility credits to income-qualified homes, thus reducing the energy burden. For example, Puget Sound Energy's Home Energy Lifeline Program provides bill payment assistance to qualified homes.<sup>269</sup> The current RPS bill being debated would require all utilities to establish energy assistance programs.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>266</sup> <https://www.energy.gov/eere/slsc/property-assessed-clean-energy-programs>

<sup>267</sup> <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=38492>

<sup>268</sup> <https://frontandcentered.org/100-percent-clean-senate-win/>

<sup>269</sup> <https://www.pse.com/pages/bill-and-weatherization-assistance>

<sup>270</sup> <https://frontandcentered.org/100-percent-clean-senate-win/>



**Financial incentives for renewable energy:** solar installations are still not financially accessible to low-income residents, so direct financial support is critical. California recently initiated a program that subsidizes small-scale solar installations on multifamily, affordable housing units, and also sends utility savings back to renters.<sup>271</sup> Other policies reduce upfront costs or barriers to installing renewable energy. Washington's Clean Energy Fund (CEF) program funds the development, demonstration, and deployment of clean energy technology, and could set aside a portion of funding specifically for low-income communities and communities of color.

**Reforming Investor Owned Utilities:** there are different policies that can reform IOU's or make them more accountable to a broader set of environmental or community goals. "Performance based regulations are policies seek to align utility profits with environmental and social goals, instead of capital investments as is the traditional model, seeking to "reward the utility based on its achievement of specific performance measurements."<sup>272</sup> De-coupling, or separating the utility finances from the volume of energy it sells, is another example. Hawaii is using PBR to move forward its commitment to 100% renewable energy by 2045; a recent bill directed regulators to create a new utility business model that separated revenues from capital expenditures.<sup>273</sup>

**Expand public ownership of utilities:** converting utilities to public ownership can create an alternative vehicle to build or purchase increased supplies of renewable energy. Public utilities theoretically would not have the same interests in maintaining fossil fuel power infrastructure, or the impetus to maximize shareholder profits.<sup>274</sup> For example, the City of Boulder Colorado decided to leave their for profit utility and create a municipal utility that would provide more renewable energy.<sup>275</sup> Other forms of alternative utility ownership include co-operatives, where members can set their own priorities and maximize renewable energy. Co-op Power is a network of community energy coops sets their own priorities and raises capital to invest in community scale projects.<sup>276</sup>

**Reforming / starting new rural electric cooperatives:** Rural electric cooperatives serve about 25% of Washington's geographic area, mostly in Eastern Washington. Cooperatives are consumer-owned businesses and are separate from local government. Rural electricity cooperatives were first started in the 1930's as a way to provide energy to rural areas because IOU's would not extend services to areas where the population was so dispersed. The governing Board of a cooperative is voted on by and comprised of member-owners, theoretically containing more opportunities for accountability and community control. Cooperatives operate on a not for profit basis, and any revenues are credited to member-owners. However, rural cooperatives have not always operated with principles of democratic governance or sustainability, often being controlled by local power brokers or in an exclusive manner.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> <https://www.calsomah.org/>

<sup>272</sup> <https://americaspowerplan.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/APP-OVERVIEW.pdf>

<sup>273</sup> <https://www.forbes.com/sites/energyinnovation/2018/05/07/americas-utility-of-the-future-forms-around-performance-based-regulation/#483b86142bb2>

<sup>274</sup> <https://thenextsystem.org/learn/stories/public-ownership-energy-democracy>

<sup>275</sup> [http://www.dailycamera.com/news/boulder/ci\\_32311056/boulder-moves-forward-municipal-utility-xcel-sets-clean](http://www.dailycamera.com/news/boulder/ci_32311056/boulder-moves-forward-municipal-utility-xcel-sets-clean)

<sup>276</sup> <https://www.cooppower.coop/about-us>

<sup>277</sup> <http://appvoices.org/2018/10/17/the-problem-with-monopoly-utilities/> see also <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/the-unlikely-case-for-utility-populism-rural-electric-cooperatives>

Cooperatives can also be subject to contracts that prohibit increasing decentralized energy, and are often dependent on coal. However, a more recent generation of cooperatives have started developing with a clear focus on increasing renewable energy and inclusive, local control.<sup>278</sup> For example, Co-op Power in the North East supports Community Energy Cooperatives in 7 regions across the North East, with a focus on clean energy and community energy planning.<sup>279</sup> Other communities, such as Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, have advocated for reforms to their rural electric cooperatives to make them more democratic.<sup>280</sup>

**Expand community solar:** Community solar, or shared solar, are projects where participants access the electricity from a nearby, small solar array and receive a credit on their electricity bill. It allows people who cannot afford or do not have a house to install photovoltaics to support and benefit from solar energy. Community solar projects are directly owned by participants, while shared solar projects are usually owned by a third party, such as a utility.<sup>281</sup> Washington created a new policy framework for community solar in 2017, and has 76 community solar projects in 36 cities.<sup>282</sup>

**Community choice and bulk purchase:** Community choice allows groups to collectively purchase power outside their utility, while bulk purchasing aggregates the buying power of multiple participants to negotiate the price of energy efficiency upgrades or renewable energy. Both allow people to utilize collective arrangements to demonstrate demand for and realize increased renewable energy provision. In California residents in one county normally served by the state's largest investor owned utility, created a new entity called East Bay Clean Energy under the state's community choice energy law, which procures renewable energy and uses the IOU's infrastructure to distribute it.<sup>283</sup> Bulk purchasing does not require the establishment of a whole new utility, but can be a way for individuals to group together to access renewable energy and thus drive demand.<sup>284</sup>

**Expand the Washington Renewable Energy System Incentive Program to make it accessible to low- and moderate-income residents:** In 2017, the Washington legislature created a program to provide incentives to people who operate solar on their homes and businesses. This solar "production credit" went to 5,246 systems, including community solar, but ate through the \$110 million allocated several years more quickly than anticipated, due to high demand. In addition, the program does not contain any specific provisions or supports for low-income access; with the cost of residential solar still around \$25,000, it will not reach any low or even moderate income households.<sup>285</sup> Washington could provide up-front financing for solar installations on low-income households, such as the California Single- and Multi-Family Affordable Solar Homes programs.

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<sup>278</sup> [o-rural-america/?utm\\_source=Ag+Insider+Subscribers&utm\\_campaign=9404f58c99-EMAIL\\_CAM-PAIGN\\_2019\\_03\\_25\\_11\\_56&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_b0e8c666dd-9404f58c99-120345957](https://www.o-rural-america/?utm_source=Ag+Insider+Subscribers&utm_campaign=9404f58c99-EMAIL_CAM-PAIGN_2019_03_25_11_56&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_b0e8c666dd-9404f58c99-120345957)

<sup>279</sup> <https://www.cooppower.coop/what-is-a-community-energy-co-op>

<sup>280</sup> <http://kftc.org/campaigns/energy-democracy/reforming-the-electric-co-ops>

<sup>281</sup> <https://ilsr.org/report-beyond-sharing/#Benefits%20of%20CRE>

<sup>282</sup> <https://sparknorthwest.org/projects/solar/communitysolar/>

<sup>283</sup> <https://ebce.org/overview/>

<sup>284</sup> <https://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Community-Scale-Energy-Models-Strategies-and-Racial-Equity.pdf>

<sup>285</sup> <http://www.energy.wsu.edu/documents/RenewableEnergySystemIncentiveProgramJanuary2019UpdateTC.pdf>

**Supporting distributed generation (DG):** these are small renewable projects that generate energy near the point of use, instead of relying on one large centralized system for the production and transmission of electricity. Unused electricity can be sold back to the grid, enabling small operators to generate and sell energy. Distributed generation faces a range of policy barriers, including a lack of financing tools and barriers to accessing the grid.<sup>286</sup> A renewable portfolio standard can require utilities to include DG, which eases some of the policy barriers to DG integration; 23 states, including Washington, have an RPS that includes DG provisions.<sup>287</sup>

**Net metering:** allows distributed generation operators to sell excess energy to a utility and receive credit on their utility bill. It is a critical policy to make distributed generation viable. Washington has a net metering policy that was updated in 2019.<sup>288</sup>

## D Electrification of Transportation and Buildings

### KEY POLICY APPROACHES

**Zero Emission Vehicle mandates:** require auto manufacturers to sell zero emission vehicles (ZEV). Research has shown that the states with the highest ZEV sales are those that include a mandate for sales,<sup>289</sup> which Washington currently does not have. California has both a regulation requiring automakers to sell ZEV's,<sup>290</sup> as well as an Executive Order that set a goal of 5 million ZEVs on the roads by 2030 and 250,000 electric vehicle charging stations by 2025.<sup>291</sup> ZEV mandates can also focus on public agency fleets, requiring all publicly owned vehicles to be ZEV. California recently passed a regulation that requires all transit agencies to purchase only electric buses by 2029.<sup>292</sup> The City of Seattle determined it would save \$2 million over 10 years if it purchased 300 Nissan Leafs instead of hybrids for its passenger vehicles, and save more than \$3 million compared to gas vehicles.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>286</sup> <https://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Energy-Democracy-Report-WEB-1.pdf>

<sup>287</sup> [http://ncsolarcen-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/RPS\\_carveout\\_4.pdf](http://ncsolarcen-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/RPS_carveout_4.pdf)

<sup>288</sup> [https://www.solarwa.org/solar\\_incentives](https://www.solarwa.org/solar_incentives)

<sup>289</sup> [https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Environment/ClimateChange/Drive\\_Clean\\_Seattle\\_2017\\_Report.pdf](https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Environment/ClimateChange/Drive_Clean_Seattle_2017_Report.pdf) pg 15

<sup>290</sup> [https://www.arb.ca.gov/msprog/zevprog/factsheets/zev\\_regulation\\_factsheet\\_082418.pdf](https://www.arb.ca.gov/msprog/zevprog/factsheets/zev_regulation_factsheet_082418.pdf)

<sup>291</sup> <http://www.cpuc.ca.gov/zev/>

<sup>292</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/14/climate/california-electric-buses.html>

<sup>293</sup> <https://www.sierraclub.org/sites/www.sierraclub.org/files/blog/EV%20Policy%20Toolkit.pdf> pg 3

**Ban or restrict the sale or use of internal combustion engines:** these policies either ban the sale of internal combustion engines (ICE), essentially vehicles powered by petroleum. 16 countries have taken action to phase-out the sale of ICE vehicles on various timelines, but these goals have all been non-binding.<sup>294</sup> Policies can also restrict the registration on new or used internal combustion engines. For example, Tokyo has banned vehicles that do not meet particulate matter standards.<sup>295</sup> Some cities are restricting the areas where ICE vehicles can be driven through the creation of “low emission zones,” placing limits on diesel vehicles in particular. In Paris, older diesel cars are gradually being banned from the city, and by 2030 only low emission vehicles will be allowed in the center city area.<sup>296</sup>

**Financial incentives for electrification:** policies to make EV’s more affordable and accessible include rebates for retiring low-fuel economy vehicles, often called ‘Cash for Clunker’ programs,<sup>297</sup> which can be accompanied by additional incentives to purchase new low or zero emission vehicles; upfront financing for ZEV purchases, including loan loss guarantees or buy-down vouchers; California’s Enhanced Fleet Modernization Program provides a \$1500 rebate to low-income residents for retiring old polluting cars, which can be paired with an additional rebate of up to \$9500 for new zero emission vehicle purchases. California’s Enhanced Fleet Modernization Program provides a \$1500 rebate to low-income residents for retiring old polluting cars, which can be paired with an additional rebate of up to \$9500 for new zero emission vehicle purchases.<sup>298</sup>

**Direct investments in electrification:** utilities can be required to make large-scale investments in EV infrastructure. In California, per the requirements of the Renewable Portfolio Standard, utilities were ordered to propose electrification projects and programs, resulting in \$738 million dollar investment in electric transportation infrastructure programs, with a focus on investments in low-income communities impacted by pollution. A significant portion of the investments will focus on electrifying heavy and light duty trucks, which are polluting environmental justice communities.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> <https://climateprotection.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Survey-on-Global-Activities-to-Phase-Out-ICE-Vehicles-FINAL-Oct-3-2018.pdf>

<sup>295</sup> <http://www.kankyo.metro.tokyo.jp/en/automobile/diesel.html>

<sup>296</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-paris-pollution/greater-paris-to-ban-old-diesel-cars-from-summer-2019-idUSKCN1N-H2BC>

<sup>297</sup> [https://www.pscleanair.org/DocumentCenter/View/3314/Evaluation-Report\\_Transportation-Actions\\_June2018?bidId= pg 18](https://www.pscleanair.org/DocumentCenter/View/3314/Evaluation-Report_Transportation-Actions_June2018?bidId= pg 18)

<sup>298</sup> <https://ww2.arb.ca.gov/our-work/programs/enhanced-fleet-modernization-program>

<sup>299</sup> <https://docs.cpuc.ca.gov/PublishedDocs/Published/G000/M215/K380/215380424.PDF>