Powering the Transition

COMMUNITY PRIORITIES FOR A RENEWABLE AND EQUITABLE FUTURE
Executive Summary A transition away from an extractive, fossil-fuel based economy towards a human-centered, renewable energy powered economy is required for humanity to survive climate change. Indigenous, Black, Brown, and low-income communities are most impacted by climate change despite contributing the least to the problem. Our expertise, decision-making, and leadership are critical to the success of policy-making needed to guide our region through these transformative times. In 2019, Puget Sound Sage embarked on a research project to determine our community’s top energy policy priorities. We heard opinions from hundreds of community members about climate change, renewable energy, transportation, housing, utilities, and more. Despite our community’s great diversity of identities and experiences, clear patterns emerged. This is what we learned.

Our community’s top climate concerns are poor air quality, food insecurity, and affordable housing. Access to clean air, healthy and affordable food, and affordable housing are basic human rights that our communities are fighting for on a daily basis. Indigenous, Black, Brown, disabled, female, LGBTQ, and low-income people are hit first and worst by the impacts of climate change, which worsens existing disparities.

Focus transportation policy on shifting people from driving to other modes of transportation. Expand public transit, reduce fares, and electrify public transit infrastructure. We need to reimagine our transportation system to center people. We must build an integrated local and regional system that prioritizes walking, rolling, biking, and public transit over personal vehicles.

Pair infrastructure investments with anti-displacement policies. Transportation and energy infrastructure, programs, and resources meant to benefit our communities will displace our communities if not accompanied by policies that keep us rooted in place.

Meet the urgent need for low-income bill assistance and energy efficiency retrofits. Our low-income community members are over-burdened by the high cost of energy bills and often live in energy inefficient homes because of displacement and rising housing costs. We must increase outreach to ensure that all who qualify benefit from low-income bill assistance. Government must subsidize energy efficient upgrades so that everyone, including renters and people who live in older homes, has equal access to their cost-saving benefits.

The transition to renewable energy must have direct local benefits for frontline communities. Our communities want affordable energy prices, equitable distribution of solar infrastructure, and accountable utilities. The transition to renewable energy offers an opportunity to generate community prosperity. Our community needs the benefits of the transition to be reinvested back into our wallets, our neighborhoods, and our infrastructure. We prefer locally-controlled utilities over investor-owned utilities.

A promise of good jobs must be backed by real access and collective bargaining. The transition must incorporate existing fossil-fuel workers and prioritize job pathways to frontline communities. The renewable energy transition must generate good jobs for our community, and those jobs must be accessible to all members of our community, not only a privileged few. We must ensure workers entering, or transitioning to, the renewable energy sector can look forward to careers with wage, benefit, and workplace standards that allow workers and their families to thrive.

The transition to renewable energy must be led by frontline communities and funded by those who caused climate change. Corporations and individuals who created the capitalist structures driving climate change have rigged the system to accumulate and control the vast majority of the world’s wealth and resources amongst themselves. Government must partner with community to enact policy that ensures the cost of transitioning is assumed by those who have contributed the most to climate change and not Indigenous, Black, Brown, or low-income communities. Placing the burden of change and cost on our communities is ineffective and unjust. We have the vision to lead the transition and those who have benefitted from the extractive, profit-driven economy have the resources to fund it.
We acknowledge the research and development of this report was conducted on stolen Duwamish land. The Duwamish Tribe, Coast Salish, and other Indigenous people from many Tribal Nations reside in and around Washington state and have made countless contributions to our work and way of life. The many Tribes of this region have stewarded this land for thousands of years and today are an integral part of our communities as both urban communities and sovereign Nations. We believe in their self-determination and seek to follow their leadership.
Climate change in the United States didn’t just begin with the burning of coal to fuel the industrial revolution. It began with the colonization of Indigenous lands by European settlers. Colonization drove the deforestation of lands stewarded by Indigenous peoples for millennia. White settlers destroyed natural carbon sinks and replaced systems of communal land stewardship with the commodification and privatization of land. Employing tools of genocidal enslavement, and environmental destruction, wealthy white men with capital generated immense wealth in the name of free market capitalism. These systems operated in the past and built the foundation upon which our society operates to this day.

In coalition with hundreds of other environmental justice organizations across the world and within the Salish Sea region, we at Puget Sound Sage believe that the antidote to climate change is a Just Transition away from our current extractive economy rooted in oppression of the earth and of people and toward a regenerative economy rooted in cooperation and working people’s rights. We must simultaneously reduce carbon pollution and transform the systems causing pollution.

This report builds upon the foundation of Our People, Our Planet, Our Power published in 2016 and written in collaboration with Got Green. Our People, Our Planet, Our Power highlighted the concern Black and Brown residents of South Seattle have about climate impacts and explained how anti-displacement strategies designed to keep communities rooted in place are climate resilience and carbon emissions reduction strategies. In it, we laid out how communities on the frontlines of oppression in South King County envision a transition away from an extractive, fossil fuel based economy.

We believe that healthy housing, accessible transportation, and renewable energy are fundamental human rights. Capitalism has put a price on basic needs, making energy into a commodity that can be bought and sold for a profit. In this research, we asked our community to envision a different world. We asked how energy is a part of day-to-day life and learned that access to energy is vital to our community’s well-being. We use it to heat our homes when it’s cold outside, to light our living rooms during long winter nights, to cook and clean, to get around via public transit and personal vehicles, and to sustain our lives with assistive medical devices and medication refrigeration. Our community’s access to these everyday needs is threatened when energy is treated as a commodity instead of a basic component of survival. We envision a future where everyone has access to affordable renewable energy, energy produced without harm to people or planet and by an accountable utility whose profits are reinvested into projects that build community prosperity. As community member John Page shared, “I want the transition to be built in cooperation with community.” We believe that this transition is possible when those of us most impacted by climate change are the decision-makers driving solutions, policy-making, and change.

Hundreds of community members, the vast majority of whom are connected to South Seattle and South King County, participated in this research project. We conducted 9 listening sessions with 5 community based organizations, working with a total of 102 participants. Working in 10 different languages, we surveyed 352 community members in collaboration with 7 community-based organization and 1 union. We conducted 30 individual interviews with community leaders and government partners. When we say “our communities” throughout the report, this is who we are referring to.

We intentionally prioritized Indigenous, Black, Brown, female, LGBTQ, disabled, and low-income communities in this project, reaching out to communities who aren’t typically engaged by policy-makers and researchers. These communities, our communities, are on the frontlines of climate change. This means that we are disproportionately impacted by climate change and climate disasters. We believe that those who live with the daily impacts of climate change, energy injustice, economic injustice, white supremacy, and patriarchy bring expertise that is crucial to solving the problems brought about by climate change. When we build solutions that work for those on the frontlines of climate impacts, energy burden, and systemic injustice, we build solutions that benefit everyone.

We express our deep gratitude to all of the local organizations and individuals who collaborated with us to make this research possible. We also acknowledge our national partners Race Forward, Partnership for Southern Equity, and Empower DC, who are organizing in their communities around issues of energy justice—our work is in solidarity with theirs.
CHAM REFUGEE COMMUNITY
Cham Refugees Community first opened its doors to serve the ethnic Cham population from Vietnam and Cambodia more than 30 years ago. Today, it is a non-profit agency serving the local Muslim refugee and immigrant communities in Seattle and the surrounding areas by providing family and community-focused services. The organization continues to serve ethnic Cham populations, and newly arrived refugees from East Africa, Iraq, and Burma (Rohingya). Annually, the organization sees more than 1600 individuals and families in Seattle and South King County, who utilize their facilities and services.

DUWAMISH RIVER CLEANUP COALITION
Duwamish River Cleanup Coalition’s (DRCC) mission is to elevate the voices of those most impacted by Duwamish River pollution and other environmental injustices. DRCC advocates for clean, healthy, and equitable environment for people and wildlife, promotes place-keeping, and prioritizes community capacity and empowerment.

EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY SERVICES
For nearly two decades, East African Community Services (EACS) has been a consistent anchor, providing important programs and services to East Africans living in South King County. In 2019, they embraced a new mantra: “From Cradle to Career and Beyond.” It embodies their desire to provide innovative, state-of-the-art programs and services that prepare East African youth to THRIVE in life. EACS is proud to offer K-12 after-school, summer camp, girls mentorship and innovative S.T.E.M. programs for their youth. They also convene the Parent Leadership Training Institute and Wadajir Parent Support Group. These forums are designed to engage East African parents around social, economic, cultural, and political advocacy practices that seek to inform, educate, and engage East African communities in policy decisions that guide resource allocation.

ENTRE HERMANOS
Entre Hermanos came into being by the initiative of a group of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender Latinos/as that saw the need for social, educational, and health support services in their community in the spring of 1991. By December of 1992, the group was organized and carried out various activities to raise funds to cover
its operating costs. These activities were done in cooperation with the Washington Latino AIDS Coalition, a group affiliated with People of Color against AIDS (POCAAN). Entre Hermanos’ mission and vision is to promote the health and well-being of the Latino Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and questioning community in a culturally appropriate environment through disease prevention, education, support services, advocacy, and community building.

**GOT GREEN**
Got Green organizes for environmental, racial, and economic justice as a South Seattle-based grassroots organization led by people of color and low-income people. They cultivate multi-generational community leaders to be central voices in the Green Movement in order to ensure that the benefits of the green movement and green economy (green jobs, healthy food, energy efficient & healthy homes, public transit) reach low-income communities and communities of color.

**INTERIM CDA**
In 1969, business leaders and community activists came together to establish the International District Improvement Association, shortened to Inter*Im, to save and revitalize Chinatown. Inter*Im brought local residents and business owners together to identify and address unmet needs in the community. Inter*Im’s early initiatives included starting a community health clinic and a Head Start center. It also brought the community together by breaking down ethnic barriers and promoting a stronger pan-Asian sense of community identified as the International District. In 1979, in order to play a more proactive role and to secure public and charitable funds, Inter*Im established InterIm Community Development Association (InterIm CDA), as a 501(c)3 non-profit community development corporation.

**MOTHER AFRICA**
Mother Africa focuses on innovative, community-led approaches to helping women and their families on the path to their highest potential. Since 2013, Mother Africa has listened to the needs of their community through direct outreach and grassroots programming. They have partnered with local community-based organizations, governments, and funders to extend a strong web of resources and deliver them in an equitable, culturally-sensitive way. Mother Africa is deeply embedded within their community, finding ways to answer the call for a safety net and a ladder to economic independence.
NA’AH ILLAHEE FUND

Na’ah Illahee Fund (Mother Earth in the Chinook jargon language) was established in 2005 with funding from an individual philanthropic leader who shared the vision of powerful Native female-centered activism and leadership. Na’ah Illahee Fund’s scope of impact includes urban, rural, island, and reservation-based Indigenous communities throughout the Pacific Northwest region and beyond – including over 50 tribal nations in the US and Canada and Native Hawaiian groups in Hawaii. They provide funding and support to Native women-led organizations and projects, opportunities for youth to learn, grow, and develop into strong Indigenous leaders, as well as land based Indigenous Ecology and Food Sovereignty programming and Gender, Environmental, and Climate Justice policy advocacy that helps advance sustainable Indigenous cultures and collective capacities as well as centers Indigenous ways of knowing and being in the fight to heal and preserve Mother Earth. They are teachers and learners, grantmakers and conveners, committed to remembering and revitalizing traditional values and practices. Na’ah Illahee Fund defines women and girls inclusively as all female-identified people in our work and programming, including two spirit Native peoples, trans women as well as our gender non-conforming relatives.

ROOTED IN RIGHTS

Rooted in Rights tells authentic, accessible stories to challenge stigma and redefine narratives around disability, mental health, and chronic illness. As part of Disability Rights Washington, Rooted in Rights’ Seattle-based team of disabled video producers, editors, and digital organizers partner with both local coalitions and national advocacy campaigns to fight for concrete changes for the disabled community.

SOMALI HEALTH BOARD

Somali Health Board (SHB) is a public, non-profit 501(c)3 grassroots organization, formed in 2012 by Somali health professionals and volunteers concerned about the health disparities that disproportionately affect new immigrants and refugees within King County, with ambitious goals of eliminating and reducing health disparities. SHB envisions a thriving and healthy Somali community in Washington State. Their mission is to reduce health disparities in King County’s Somali community and to establish and maintain partnerships with health systems and allied community organizations to advocate for systems and policy change.

WILD

A program of InterIm CDA, the Wilderness Inner-City Leadership Development (WILD) program is open to 14-19 year olds who are looking to build leadership qualities like self-confidence and teamwork within the context of environmental education, civic engagement, and intergenerational relationship building. During the school year, they offer an after school drop-in program and an environmental justice and advocacy fellowship. In the summer, they offer paid hands-on opportunities in urban gardening, engaging community in parks, cultural events, and outdoor recreation. Since their inception in 1997, WILD has served about 1,000 primarily low-income, Asian and Pacific Islander (API) immigrant and refugee youth. Graduates of WILD have come back to Interim CDA as college interns, program coordinators, and even full-time staff! They are proud to have a 20-year legacy of developing environmentally-informed leaders of color and building relationships with elders and residents of the Chinatown-International District.

UNITE HERE! LOCAL 8

UNITE HERE! Local 8 represents about 5,000 workers in the hospitality industries of Oregon and Washington state. Local 8’s members are the face of our region’s hospitality industry, including room cleaners, cooks, bartenders, bellmen, food and beverage servers, bussers, and dishwashers. UNITE HERE! has an incredibly diverse membership, comprising workers from many immigrant communities as well as high percentages of African-American, Latino, and Asian-Pacific Islander workers – the majority of whom are women.

TENANTS UNION

The mission of the Tenants Union (TU) is to create housing justice through empowerment-based education, outreach, leadership development, organizing, and advocacy. Founded in 1977, the TU carries on a proud legacy of work to create concrete improvements in tenants’ living conditions and challenge and transform unjust housing policies and practices. As a membership organization, the TU’s work is grounded in the strong conviction that tenants must be the leaders of efforts to transform our housing conditions and communities. The TU embraces the values of equality, hope, tenant leadership, respect, direct action, civic courage, racial and economic justice, and self-determination in our work.
Our Survey Communities

FIGURE 1. GENDER
The majority of our survey respondents experience some form of gender oppression. Almost two-thirds of our survey respondents identify as female, while 27% identify as male. An additional 6% of respondents identify as transgender or gender nonconforming.

FIGURE 2. AGE
Our survey respondents are diverse in age, with representation from Gen Z, Millennials, Gen X, and Baby Boomers. The majority are in their mid 20s to mid 40s, with a substantial sample of youth and elders.

FIGURE 3. RACE
81% of our survey respondents are People of Color—just 19% of our survey respondents identify as white. The largest racial group represented in our survey identify as Black (28%), while the second largest group identify as Asian or Pacific Islander (26%). 16% of respondents identify as Hispanic or Latino, 9% identify as Native American or American Indian, and 3% identify as Middle Eastern.

FIGURE 4. DISABILITY
35% of our survey respondents identify as having a disability, which is significantly higher than the national average. According to the Institute on Disability at the University of New Hampshire, 12.7% of Americans had a disability in 2017. Due to the fact that our survey data oversamples People of Color and low-income people compared to the general population, this indicates that people from our communities are more likely to have a disability. The Disability Justice framework, developed by the Disability Justice Collective, explains why our communities are more likely to have a disability by highlighting the ways that ableism is connected to other forms of oppression like racism, classism, homophobia, and transphobia.

FIGURE 5. EDUCATION
45% of our survey respondents have formal education from outside the U.S., informal, traditional, or culturally-based education. This indicates that a significant percentage of our survey respondents are immigrants.

FIGURE 6. LANGUAGES
Two-thirds of our survey respondents speak a language other than English at home. These respondents are likely to be recent immigrants and/or speak sovereign or religious languages. These languages include: Amharic, Arabic, American Sign Language, Cambodian, Cantonese, Cham, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Kikuyu, Kinyarwanda, Korean, Lakota, Lingala, Mandarin, Marshallese, Michif, Moor, Navajo, Romanian, Samoan, Somali, Spanish, Swahili, Tagalog, Tigrinya, Togar, Toisanese, Tutelo-Saponi, Ukranian, Vietnamese, Wolof, and Yiddish.
FIGURE 7. HOUSEHOLD SIZE
About one third of our survey respondents live in large households of 4 or more people. A significant percentage of people we surveyed live alone—this group is mostly made up of elders.

FIGURE 8. HOUSEHOLD INCOME
The majority of our survey respondents are low-income. In 2018, the Area Median Income (AMI) in King County was $95,009. Over 90% of our survey respondents have a household income below the AMI, and nearly half (48%) earn less than $30,000 per year.

FIGURE 9. RACE AND INCOME
Of households making less than $30,000/year, three-quarters are households of color. This is a tangible example of how the racial wealth gap is negatively impacting our majority Indigenous, Black, and Brown community members.

FIGURE 10. GEOGRAPHY
The majority of our survey respondents live in Seattle and South King County. Within Seattle, the majority live in South Seattle neighborhoods like Beacon Hill, South Park, the Rainier Valley, and Rainier Beach. A small minority of survey respondents live in East King County, Snohomish County, and Pierce County. This report focuses on policy recommendations for South Seattle and South King County because that is primarily where our community members live.
Part 1

Top Climate Concerns

- Poor Air Quality
- Reduced Access to Healthy & Affordable Food
- Affordable Housing
Our community’s top climate concerns are air quality, food security, and affordable housing (Figure 11). These priorities are the same as those reported in *Our People, Our Planet, Our Power*, underscoring the need to resource and innovate on these issues. Access to clean air, healthy and affordable food, and affordable housing are basic human rights that, due to environmental racism, we fight for on a daily basis. Climate change exacerbates these existing injustices, and disproportionately impacts Indigenous, Black, Brown, disabled, female, LGBTQ, and low-income communities. Without intervention, existing disparities will widen.

FIGURE 11. WHICH CLIMATE-INDUCED STRESSES CONCERN YOU THE MOST? (PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS, CHOOSING UP TO THREE ANSWERS)

- Reduced access to healthy, nutritious and affordable food: 52%
- Reduced access to affordable and stable housing: 52%
- Poor outdoor air quality, due to air pollution and wildfire smoke: 35%
- Reduced access to affordable healthcare: 28%
- Poor indoor air quality and exposure to mold: 26%
- Community safety (incarceration, deportation, homophobia, etc.): 24%
- Reduced access to living wage jobs: 20%
- Increased costs to heat, cool or light your home: 18%
- Living near polluting industries or near major highways: 17%
- Reduced access to a variety of public transportation options: 16%
- Accommodate climate refugees: 8%

FIGURE 12. HOW CONCERNED ARE YOU WITH THESE LONG-TERM CLIMATE IMPACTS?

- Wildfires: 68%
- Rising food costs: 65%
- Heat waves and increased temperature in the region: 58%
- Increased diseases: 53%
- Heavier rainfall and increased flooding in the region: 48%
- Rising sea level: 45%
- Droughts: 42%

FIGURE 13: HOW IMPORTANT IS REDUCING THE POLLUTION & TOXINS THAT ENTER OUR AIR, OUR WATER AND OUR BODIES?

- 93% Very important/important
- 5% Somewhat important/not important
- 1% No opinion

POOR AIR QUALITY

Addressing poor outdoor air quality resulting from air pollution and wildfire smoke is a top community priority (Figures 11, 12). Our communities are already impact ed by pollution from cars, trucks, freight, airplanes, and manufacturing plants and overwhelmingly support action to reduce pollution and toxins entering our air, our water, and our bodies (Figure 13). Low-income, majority Black and Brown communities like South Beacon Hill, South Park, SeaTac, Tukwila, Renton, Kent, and parts of unincorporated King County are directly below the SeaTac, King County, and Renton flight paths, adjacent to large interstate freeways like I-5 and I-405, and host numerous manufacturing and industrial plants. Many of these neighborhoods are also located in natural topographic depressions that reduce air flow, resulting in increased rates of air pollution. Duwamish Valley residents are more likely to be hospitalized for asthma than other King County residents, and Georgetown and South Park residents have up to a 13-year shorter life expectancy at birth than wealthier parts of Seattle. Due to legacies of redlining and racially-restricted covenants, as well as current displacement, these are the areas where our community members live. Our communities are more vulnerable to climate impacts because we are already facing threats to our health in the neighborhoods we call home.

Extended wildfire seasons due to climate change are also worsening air quality. During the summers of 2017 and 2018, Seattle had some of the worst air quality in the world and experienced unprecedented air quality emergencies due to wildfire smoke from regional fires. Exposure to wildfire smoke increases risk of premature death due to cardiovascular diseases like heart attacks, strokes, pulmonary disease, and pneumonia up to a year after the smoke event.

Rachel Brombaugh, Acting Director for Climate and Energy Initiatives at the King County Executive’s office, spoke about this issue, “Wildfire smoke impacted everyone, but it was a real danger for young people, elderly people, and people with heart or lung illnesses.” Low-income people in King County are twice as likely to have asthma and already experience higher rates of cardiovascular disease and respiratory illness. Given that the majority of our survey respondents are low income, and over one-third identify as disabled, wildfire incidents carry an increased health risk for our community members compared to the general population.
Lack of affordable housing is a top climate concern (Figures 11, 12). Listening session participants shared that they want to eat healthy food, but often can’t because it’s too expensive. Food is a basic human right. Yet for decades, our communities have been fighting to breathe clean air, drink clean water, eat nutritious food, and live a safe, healthy life. Black and Indigenous communities are disproportionately affected by high rates of obesity, diabetes, and heart disease, and Black and Brown communities are not adequately represented in the medical research being done on health and wellness. This gap in research data is a direct consequence of the lack of trust our communities have in the medical industry. Tanika Thompson, Food Access Organizer with Got Green, shares how she is working to create more access to healthy food, “By creating space for our community to grow our own food, we are lessening harm to our environment from food distribution trucks on our highways, to the depletion of nutrients in the soil our food is grown in. We are fighting food insecurity by closing the Food Security Gap, creating access to healthy affordable foods.”

Lack of access to traditional foods affects Indigenous communities in our state and around the world. Changes in water temperature and ocean chemistry impact the health of salmon, shellfish, steelhead, and other sources of seafood that have been fundamental to Coastal Salish cuisine since time immemorial. Indigenous community member Taylor Pulsifer spoke about the impacts of climate change on her community: “I think about our food a lot when I think about the future and climate change. We need to make changes to protect our foods. Our food is impacted by everything—air, water, soil, human interaction. So, when we think about food, we have to think about the whole system. We have to reduce water pollution, air pollution, and soil pollution. As a coastal Native person, I was told that when our salmon cease to exist, we as a people cease to exist.”

**LACK OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING**

Lack of affordable housing is a top climate concern (Figure 1). Seattle has one of the most expensive housing markets in the country. And yet, 48% of our survey respondents make less than $30,000/household annually and are more likely to be overly burdened by the high cost of rent and homeownership (Figure 8). Unable to access affordable housing, many community members report living in substandard housing where they are exposed to toxins like mold and use more energy because of poor insulation. When gentrification, skyrocketing rent, and displacement prevent our community members from staying housed, carbon emissions increase. Displacement from Seattle to outlying cities and unincorporated parts of the county can push transit-dependent households into suburbs with fewer social services where they are forced to purchase a car and are farther removed from the social networks they rely upon during times of crisis. Safe and stable housing undergirds our community’s ability to weather climate impacts.

**CLIMATE DISASTERS HAVE DISPROPORTIONATE IMPACTS**

Climate change hits Indigenous, Black, Brown, disabled, and low-income communities first and worst, exacerbating existing inequity. "The people who are most affected by climate change are from marginalized communities—People of Color, low-income people, senior citizens, people with disabilities. There are no protections for people in these communities," shares housing advocate Violet Lavatai. In the Salish Sea region we are already experiencing increased flooding, landslides, sea level rise, hotter and drier summers, warmer and wetter winters, heat waves, and extended wildfire seasons as a result of climate change. When we use the term climate disaster in this report, we are referring to natural disasters that are no longer “natural” because they are intensified or caused by climate change.

Climate disasters have a disproportionate impact on Indigenous communities whose culture, food, medicine, language, and lifeways are tied to place. Pah-tu Pitt, a member of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and co-owner of Native Kut, speaks about the challenges her community is already facing: “My tribe doesn’t have potable water throughout the summer. We have frequent fires and air quality issues. The heat is bad and a lot of people do not have air conditioning or air filtration systems to escape the pollution. As some of the most impacted by dams, the rates of power are often not affordable to families or business.”

Co-founder of Mazaska Talks, Matt Remle (Lakota) elaborates, "Climate change is already affecting the health and well-being of tribal communities. It’s played out in many different ways— affecting salmon, access to traditional plants and medicine, and rising sea levels in coastal Washington."
As a coastal Native person, I was told that when our salmon cease to exist we as a people cease to exist.”

TAYLOR PULSIFER
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY MEMBER

Contributing to resource wars and global migration, climate change is reshaping the lives of Indigenous communities around the world. Rich Stolz, Executive Director of OneAmerica, explains the connections between immigration and climate change: “Across the world, people are migrating and pushed out of their homes and livelihoods because of significant weather events, social strife, and military action caused in part by climate change. If people are able to make it to the U.S., they have a tendency to wind up in places where their life expectancy may decrease due to pollution.”

Climate disasters can be life-threatening for people with disabilities. In addition to the one-third of our survey respondents who identify as disabled, another 18% report that they use assistive mobility, medical device, or medicine that relies on energy. (Figures 4, 14). Assistive devices are medically necessary technologies that include wheelchairs, breathing machines, hearing aids, and electronic communication devices. Pah-Tu Pitt asked, “If the power shuts off, are there places people with medical devices can go?” For these members of our community, having access to emergency electricity during a power outage can be a matter of life and death. Clark Matthews, Lead Producer at Rooted in Rights, shared: “I know a disabled couple in New York City, one of them is on a ventilator. When Hurricane Sandy happened, shelters were not accessible for him, the elevators were out in his building, and the power went out for two weeks. For two weeks, people had to haul diesel fuel up the stairs to his 8th floor apartment so that he could keep breathing. Access to energy means a lot to people with disabilities.”

These threats are even more severe considering the fact that the majority (63%) of our community members, including those with disabilities, do not have emergency preparedness plans (Figure 15), despite the fact that a desire for increased resources and information about emergency preparedness was a persistent theme in listening sessions. Our community members want to be prepared for disasters—especially earthquakes—and highlighted a desire for investment in emergency resources for their communities, including nonperishable food sources, a community shelter, emergency electricity, and emergency medicines. This indicates a need for increased outreach and investment in active emergency management so that our communities can be better prepared for future disasters that are guaranteed to impact us first and worst.

FIGURE 14. DO YOU USE AN ASSISTIVE, MOBILITY, MEDICAL DEVICE, OR MEDICINE THAT RELIES ON ENERGY?

FIGURE 15. DO YOU HAVE EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS AND EVACUATION PLANS FOR EITHER THE BUILDING YOU LIVE IN OR YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD?
Part 2

Expand Public Transit, Reduce Fares, and Electrify Buses
Our communities depend on public transit to get around and support public transit investments as an equitable climate solution that reduces emissions and increases climate resiliency. When asked how local government should prioritize transportation investments, increasing public transit options, reducing public transit fares, and electrifying public transit topped the list (Figure 16). Overall, 36% of our survey respondents use bus and light rail while another 16% walk or bike as their primary method of transportation (Figure 18). Only one-third of our respondents drive a vehicle alone for everyday commuting (Figure 18). Our research shows that dependence on transit increases as household income decreases (Figure 19). Across income, a majority of respondents support prioritization of investments in public transit over investments in car-centered infrastructure (Figure 17).

To quickly reduce transportation carbon emissions, we need to fundamentally shift our planning, policy development, and infrastructure investments to prioritize public transit, walking, and biking over personal vehicles. While this type of behavior shift requires major policy effort and political leadership, our communities are on board. In a survey question about which strategies Seattle’s public agencies should prioritize to reduce pollution, the top response was to “make public transportation more reliable, efficient, and go more places” (Figure 20). Additionally, over 50% of survey respondents indicated that improving public transportation so that people drive less is a priority strategy for reducing our reliance on fossil fuels (Figure 21). As Pah-tu Pitt, a member of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and co-owner of Native Kut, explained, “I would really like to see efforts to reduce the need to drive everywhere. People would like to reduce their emissions, but it’s difficult when they may not have access to decent transportation. There is a desire to have better infrastructure.”
We need to make transit plans and policies that prioritize people over cars, from the onset. How can we build infrastructure and develop communities that are accessible to as many people as possible? We need to view cars as a last resort as opposed to a first. We need to prioritize all people’s ability to get around.”

CLARK MATTHEWS
LEAD PRODUCER AT ROOTED IN RIGHTS
MAKE USING ELECTRIC VEHICLES EASIER FOR EVERYONE BY PUTTING CAR CHARGING STATIONS AROUND THE CITY

MAKE ELECTRIC VEHICLES MORE AFFORDABLE TO LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS THROUGH FINANCIAL SUPPORTS

REPLACE DIESEL BUSES WITH ELECTRIC ONES

MAKE ELECTRIC VEHICLES MORE AFFORDABLE TO LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS THROUGH FINANCIAL SUPPORTS

FUND LOCALLY CONTROLLED RENEWABLE ENERGY PRODUCTION

MAKE USING ELECTRIC VEHICLES EASIER FOR EVERYONE BY PUTTING CAR CHARGING STATIONS AROUND THE CITY

FIGURE 20. IF SEATTLE’S PUBLIC AGENCIES HAD MORE MONEY TO SPEND ON REDUCING POLLUTION, WHICH STRATEGIES WOULD YOU PRIORITIZE? (PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS, CHOOSING UP TO THREE ANSWERS)

FIGURE 21. HOW HIGH A PRIORITY ARE THE FOLLOWING TO REDUCE OUR USE OF POLLUTING ENERGY SOURCES LIKE OIL, COAL, AND FRACKED GAS? (PERCENT OF RESPONDANTS INDICATING A HIGH PRIORITY)
We can build a world where cars are no longer our primary mode of transportation.

RACHEL BROMBAUGH
ACTING DIRECTOR OF CLIMATE AND ENERGY INITIATIVES
OFFICE OF KING COUNTY EXECUTIVE DOW CONSTANTINE

INCREASE PUBLIC TRANSIT OPTIONS
When asked how the local government should prioritize investments in transportation, the top response was to increase public transit options (Figure 20). One of the biggest barriers to taking public transit is that it doesn’t get us where we need to go in a timely manner. This is especially true for the high percentage of our community members who live farther away from the city center in South King County (Figure 10). TraceAnna Holiday, Community Director at Africatown Community Land Trust, shared, “Right now, mass transit only gets you to urban hubs. It’s not going to get you to where you need to get in the suburbs.” Abdirahman Yussuf, Equitable Development Organizer at Puget Sound Sage, summarized his observations: “Members of Sage’s South Communities Organizing for Racial and Regional Equity (SouthCORE) coalition have shared that while there is some north-south public transit service allowing them to commute to urban cores during peak hours, there is a need for increased east-west service throughout all of King County and not just within Seattle city bounds.” Young people at listening sessions spoke about the unique impact lack of reliable transit has on their community, many of whom are too young to drive even if they could afford to. Late or infrequent buses can cause them to be late to important obligations including school, resulting in disciplinary action. This illustrates one way that our current transportation system contributes to the school to prison pipeline.

REDUCE PUBLIC TRANSIT FARES
Our community members voiced significant interest in reduced transit fares across interviews, listening sessions, and survey data. Across all incomes, reducing public transit fares was a top transportation priority (Figures 16, 17). Youth participants at listening sessions reported walking or biking long distances to save on transportation costs.

Sharon Lee, Executive Director of Low Income Housing Institute, shared: “It would be good to have more of a sliding fee scale. It’s great that public school students are now getting free bus passes, but we need to expand that because there are still low-income families paying the same fare as everyone else.” Reducing or eliminating public transit fares puts money directly back in the pockets of low-income people, who are more likely to rely on transit (Figure 19).

ELECTRIFY PUBLIC TRANSIT
As Front and Centered Co-Executive Director of Programs & Policy Deric Gruen told us, “Electrification is key to get off of fossil fuels, but it’s crucial to electrify the things we really need first, like public transit.” Our survey data shows that electrifying public transit is extremely popular among our communities (Figure 16). Community members at listening sessions envisioned a world where transit is 100% free and 100% electric. It’s important to note that electrification falls third on the list of transportation priorities, after public transit expansion and increasing public transit affordability. We want to underscore that mode shift—getting more commuters out of cars and into public transit—in and of itself reduces carbon emissions. The more we are able to advance an integrated and efficient local, regional, and national public transit system, and then electrify that system, the more effective we will be at reducing transportation carbon emissions as a whole.

INVESTMENT IN ELECTRIC VEHICLE CHARGING INFRASTRUCTURE IS OUR COMMUNITY’S LAST TRANSPORTATION PRIORITY
Installing electric vehicle charging infrastructure for passenger vehicles came last in two separate survey questions (Figures 18, 20). One likely reason
is because owning a car, whether it’s electric or has an internal combustion engine, is expensive, and 48% of our survey participants have an annual household income of less than $30,000 (Figure 8). That said, a majority of survey respondents expressed interest in personal or community use of an electric vehicle if it was affordable: affordability was the key to our question about electric vehicle interest (Figure 22). Rachel Brombaugh, Acting Director of Climate and Energy Initiatives at the King County Executive’s office, reflects: “Owning a car is very, very expensive. How can we make it easier for people to use transit instead of a car, so they don’t have to pay for gas, insurance, or a car payment?” Listening session participants pointed out that while electric vehicle charging stations are helpful for some people in Seattle, they do not benefit our communities as much as investment in mass transit.

PAIR TRANSIT INVESTMENTS WITH ANTI-DISPLACEMENT STRATEGIES

Our community’s access to transit is directly related to our housing crisis. Housing prices in the Seattle area are some of the highest in the country. In 2019, the median home price in Seattle was over $700,00026 and median rent for a two-bedroom apartment was $1,660,27 or nearly $20,000/year. Lack of affordable housing and risk of displacement were our community’s top concerns in Our People, Our Planet, Our Power28 and continue to be a pressing issue for respondents in this survey (Figure 11).

Displacement is a climate issue because it significantly impacts housing and transportation. Abdirahman Yussuf told us about the experience of many SouthCORE members, “Displacement has pushed transit-dependent families away from economic opportunity in Seattle and out to less

FIGURE 23. RELIANCE ON TRANSIT, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE (PERCENT RELYING ON TRANSIT AS PRIMARY MODE OF TRAVEL)

FIGURE 24. RELIANCE ON DRIVING ALONE OR WITH OTHERS, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE (PERCENT RELYING ON DRIVING AS PRIMARY MODE OF TRAVEL)
Displacement has pushed transit-dependent families away from economic opportunity in Seattle and out to less resourced parts of South King County where they no longer have access to public transit services and are forced to purchase a car. Our survey data shows a correlation between transit use and availability of transit infrastructure and options: Seattle residents report higher rates of public transit use than residents outside Seattle, while South King County residents report the lowest rates of public transit use and highest rates of driving (Figures 23, 24). When we look at the same data, but narrow our focus to households who earn less than $30,000/year, we find that 87% of Seattle residents take public transit, disability assistance services, walk, or bike, as compared with 44% of South King County residents (Figure 25). Displacement and inadequate public transit increase single-occupancy car trips. Sarah Vorpahl, Senior Energy Policy Specialist at the WA State Department of Commerce, summarized the problem well: “Housing affordability is a transportation issue. Gridlock is a housing problem.”

Transportation investments into communities of color and low-income neighborhoods – especially light rail or other resource-intensive investments—need to be paired with community-led development and other anti-displacement strategies. Plaza Roberto Maestas, a community-driven development project in Beacon Hill, and the Graham Street Community Vision, a community planning vision for the neighborhood surrounding the future Graham Street Light Rail station, are examples of how communities are guiding transit investments into their neighborhoods. Without planning for how to keep communities rooted in place, we risk displacing the communities the infrastructure is meant to serve. Light rail expansion into the Rainier Valley exacerbated gentrification and displaced low-income communities of color. It pushed households that previously used public transit out of the urban core and into suburbs with inadequate public transit. This increased these households’ carbon emissions by forcing them to purchase a car and/or commute longer distances (Figures 23, 24, 25). Displacement also reduced their climate resilience by pushing them farther away from culturally-relevant resources such as shops, grocery stores, restaurants, community centers, places of worship, family, friends, and neighbors - the resources our communities need to bounce forward from climate disasters. Transit investments need to be paired with anti-displacement strategies in low-income communities of color in order to be effective climate mitigation and resilience strategies.

ABDIRAHMAN YUSSUF
EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZER WITH PUGET SOUND SAGE
Part 3

Meet the Need for Low-Income Bill Assistance and Energy Efficiency Upgrades
Our communities report high levels of energy burden, mirroring a national trend that the lower a person’s income, the higher their energy burden. The term energy burden refers to the percentage of a household’s income that goes to energy costs. Almost half of our survey respondents are very low income, earning less than $30,000 annually. 92% have an annual household income below the Area Median Income of $95,009/year (Figure 8). Yet the majority of our survey respondents experienced increasing energy costs over the past five years and are concerned about increasing energy costs in the future (Figures 26, 27). While energy efficiency upgrades can help cut down on costs, they are not accessible to many members of our community. Sharon Lee, Executive Director of Low Income Housing Institute, explained, “Energy costs are regressive. Low-income people end up living in substandard housing that may not be energy efficient so they end up paying more for energy.”

Our communities cut basic needs to pay for high energy bills. When energy bills increase by $50/month, survey respondents report not heating or cooling their home, unplugging appliances, or cutting basic necessities like rent or mortgage payments, food, medicine, childcare, or eldercare (Figure 28). During listening sessions, some participants shared that 20-30% of their income goes to utility bills while others reported needing to choose between paying for food or electricity when money is tight. To save money, some listening session participants reported unplugging the refrigerator, cutting grass by hand, and turning off the heat. Given that over 90% of our community members live in homes heated by electricity, we are concerned that these tactics increase our community’s risk of falling or staying ill due to lack of heating or cooling, spoiled food, or chronic stress (Figure 29). This risk is even higher for the 35% of community members who identify as disabled (Figure 4).
In our survey, we found that an alarming number of our low-income households do not receive low-income energy assistance. On the whole, a third of all survey respondents receive some type of low-income energy assistance (Figure 30). Yet 24% of households that make less than $9,999/year, 62% of households that make between $10,000-$29,999, and 84% of households that make between $30,000-$49,999 do not receive low-income energy assistance (Figure 31). A deeper analysis of our data revealed that many survey respondents eligible for bill assistance, which is determined based on a combination of household income and size, had not enrolled (Figures 32, 33).

In our survey, we found that an alarming number of our low-income households do not receive low-income energy assistance. On the whole, a third of all survey respondents receive some type of low-income energy assistance (Figure 30). Yet 24% of households that make less than $9,999/year, 62% of households that make between $10,000-$29,999, and 84% of households that make between $30,000-$49,999 do not receive low-income energy assistance (Figure 31). A deeper analysis of our data revealed that many survey respondents eligible for bill assistance, which is determined based on a combination of household income and size, had not enrolled (Figures 32, 33).

**Figure 30. Do you receive low-income energy assistance offered by the city, county or your utility?**

![34% YES](image)

**Figure 31. Rate of low-income bill assistance use by income**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Size</th>
<th>Puget Sound Energy*</th>
<th>Seattle City Light*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0-9,999</td>
<td>$18,732</td>
<td>$35,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10-29,999</td>
<td>$25,368</td>
<td>$46,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30-49,999</td>
<td>$31,992</td>
<td>$57,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50-89,999</td>
<td>$38,628</td>
<td>$68,448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than $90,000</td>
<td>$45,252</td>
<td>$79,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000+</td>
<td>$51,888</td>
<td>$90,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$150,000+</td>
<td>$58,512</td>
<td>$92,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000+</td>
<td>$65,148</td>
<td>$94,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>$71,772</td>
<td>$96,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$300,000+</td>
<td>$78,408</td>
<td>$98,568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Maximum gross annual income

**Figure 32. Low income bill assistance eligibility criteria for Puget Sound Energy and Seattle City Light**

**Figure 33. Percent of eligible households receiving low-income bill assistance**

- Seattle: 72%
- Outside Seattle: 33%

*Energy costs are regressive. Low-income people end up living in substandard housing that may not be energy efficient so they end up paying more for energy.*

— Sharon Lee
Executive Director
Low Income Housing Institute
Many of our survey respondents report not knowing that low-income energy assistance programs exist or believe that they do not qualify (Figure 35). When asked why they don’t receive low-income energy assistance, over 40% of respondents whose households make less than $29,999/year report that they hadn’t heard about low-income energy assistance programs (Figure 36). One out of four (26%) of those households additionally report that they do not qualify for low-income energy assistance and one out of four who receive between $10,000 and $29,999 report that it is too much of a hassle to apply (Figure 36). Nearly half (49%) of all respondents report that they do not qualify for low-income energy assistance (Figure 36). Considering that most of our survey respondents are low income, it’s possible that many people believe they are not qualified but actually are (Figures 8, 33, 36).

Our findings suggest that there is a need for increased outreach and education about the existence of low-income energy assistance programs, application assistance, and a reduction in administrative barriers to ensure that those who qualify are able to receive benefits. Given that many of our community members speak English as a second language or don’t speak English at all, all of this programming and outreach needs to be translated and conducted in culturally-relevant ways (Figure 9). Before any utility or government launches renewable energy policy or programming, they must first address the gap between low-income energy assistance need and use of current programs. Our communities are reporting that bills are too high, and our region’s utilities—especially PSE—are failing to adequately serve their low-income households (Figures 30, 31, 33, 36).

**PUGET SOUND ENERGY CAN BETTER SERVE LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS**

According to our survey data, Puget Sound Energy (PSE) is meeting a third of the need for low-income bill assistance in its service area. We found that eligible Seattle households are enrolling in low-income bill assistance programs at over double the rate (72%) of households outside of Seattle (33%) (Figure 33). City boundaries roughly correlate with Seattle City Light (SCL) and PSE service territories, revealing discrepancies in program efficacy between the two utilities. One key difference between programs is income eligibility. SCL’s program serves families at 70% of state median income while PSE uses a lower cut-off: 150% of the federal poverty level, which on average is 45% less (Figure 32). One key factor is household size. Survey respondents outside Seattle have a larger household size (3.5 people) than inside Seattle (2.4), which makes more families eligible for the program (Figure 34).

Our communities are disproportionately displaced from SCL service territory and into PSE service terri-
Our research revealed that energy inefficient housing is a contributing factor to our community’s energy burden. Building more affordable housing that uses less energy and providing financial and technical support to reduce energy use in buildings were two of the top three priorities for local investments to reduce pollution (Figure 20). During listening sessions, energy efficiency upgrades consistently surfaced as a top priority, with community members reporting living in housing with unsealed windows and uninsulated walls. Utax Gardheere, Equitable Development Division Manager at the City of Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development, explains: “A lot of low-income people of color can only afford to live in old homes that are not energy efficient. That contributes to their overall costs.” In addition, over 60% of our survey respondents live in multifamily housing, and are more likely to be renters (Figure 37). Community members report fear that if they ask for improvements to their housing, their rent will be increased and they will be forced to move. Energy efficiency retrofits need to be paired with anti-displacement policies to ensure housing security for the households these programs are meant to help.

Programs and funding that pair low-income bill assistance with energy efficiency upgrades reduce energy burden while also reducing a household’s carbon footprint by decreasing the amount of energy needed to heat or cool that home. Our communities do not have the extra money to make energy efficiency upgrades. As UFCW Local 21 union member David Rojas explained, “Right now people are worried about getting that electric bill paid for. We’ll worry about things like energy efficient appliances, weatherization, and electric cars when we have extra money.” Low-income households need support in order to make energy efficiency upgrades and weatherization retrofits. As Sarah Vorpahl, a Senior Energy Policy Specialist at the WA State Department of Commerce, said, “Energy efficiency is the best renewable energy resource, but we hear the least about it.” Low Income Housing Institute Executive Director Sharon Lee offered, “Government could help tremendously by making capital available for upgrades that would improve existing buildings and infrastructure.”

EXPAND ENERGY EFFICIENCY RETROFIT PROGRAMS AND PAIR WITH ANTI-DISPLACEMENT POLICIES

FIGURE 36: REASON FOR NOT USING BILL ASSISTANCE, BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

FIGURE 37. WHAT TYPE OF HOUSING DO YOU LIVE IN?
The Transition to Renewable Energy Must Provide Local Benefits
KEEP ENERGY PRICES AFFORDABLE FOR LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS

Our communities overwhelmingly support transitioning off of fossil fuels and to renewable energy (Figures 13, 20, 38). We defined renewable energy as inclusive of solar, wind, and hydro power; nuclear and fracked/natural gas were not included in the definition. Listening session participants envisioned living in a world powered entirely by renewable energy, and 87% of our survey respondents believe that it is important or very important for their community to switch to renewable energy assuming no increase in energy bills (Figure 38). Support remained high at 76% even when assuming a 10% increase in energy bills (Figure 39).

As our society transitions to renewable energy, we must guard against price increases for low-income communities. While the above findings underscore resounding support for transitioning to renewable energy, we want to emphasize that our communities do not have the capacity to bear a 10% increase in energy bills. When our survey respondents have an increase to their energy bill by $50, they cut basic necessities like heating or cooling to their home, rent/mortgage payments, food, medicine, childcare, or eldercare (Figure 28). Policy makers and utilities must keep energy prices affordable and stable. Not only is this the just and equitable thing to do, it is central to our ability to meet our climate goals of carbon emissions reductions and climate resilience. Price increases in energy are one of the factors that contribute to increased housing costs and displacement in the region. As we elaborated earlier, displacement is a climate issue because it pushes households away from public transit infrastructure, social networks, and cultural resources, the same resources a household relies on during times of emergency. Maintaining stable and affordable energy prices is a critical piece of transitioning to a renewable energy future.

FIGURE 38. IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS, HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU THAT PEOPLE AND BUSINESSES IN YOUR COMMUNITY SWITCH TO RENEWABLE ENERGY?

FIGURE 39: HOW IMPORTANT IS THE SWITCH TO USING RENEWABLE ENERGY IF COSTS INCREASE BY 10%?

Dams: 21st Century Examples of Ongoing Colonial Violence

Most hydroelectric plants use dams to harness the kinetic power of water into energy. Hydropower is considered a renewable energy technology, however, it is crucial to account for the historic and ongoing impact of dams on Indigenous peoples and the ecosystems of the Pacific Northwest. As one example, the construction of the Dalles Dam in the Columbia River basin in the 1950s destroyed Celilo Falls, a significant location for numerous tribal communities. By flooding Celilo Falls, the United States government destroyed fisheries, villages, cultural sites, and access to traditional foods including salmon. To this day, our local energy system is built upon hydropower produced by dams owned by Seattle City Light and Bonneville Power Administration (BPA). BPA owns the Dalles Dam as well as numerous dams along the Columbia River and its tributaries, and sells the energy they produce to public and private utilities across the region. While hydropower is a carbon-neutral energy source, our region’s reliance upon dams causes ongoing harm to Indigenous people of this land and our ecosystem, threatening the survival of salmon, orca, and other native species. As a region, we need to have a robust and honest conversation about what reliance on hydropower means and what mitigation measures and reparations are needed to address these harms.
Renewable energy technologies like solar, wind, and battery storage are crucial to our ability to reduce carbon emissions and slow the rate of climate change. However, these technologies are not without harmful impacts—they all require the use of mined minerals like aluminum, copper, neodymium, and dysprosium.\(^6\) The mining practices surrounding these minerals have harmed workers, surrounding communities, and the environment in multiple ways.\(^6\) Furthermore, these minerals are primarily sourced in the Global South, where communities already suffer disproportionate harm from climate change.\(^6\)

Even though these minerals aren’t sourced in the Seattle area, our community members are concerned about the impacts of extractive mining on communities around the world. Maria Francisca Torres commented on this issue: “Where do renewable energy materials come from? Mines? Where are the mines? Are we exploiting workers in other parts of the world? Whatever you use, it needs to be fair for everybody.” We are committed to standing in solidarity with communities from which these resources are sourced and advocating for their right to earn a fair wage and live pollution-free lives. In addition, many members of our immigrant community have personally suffered from the impacts of mining. In a Just Transition, it is vital that we source batteries, solar panels, and wind turbines from companies embodying responsible labor, mining, and recycling practices.

**EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF SOLAR INFRASTRUCTURE REQUIRES GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT**

Our communities envision local solar generation as a part of the transition to renewable energy and need government support to make it a reality. Patricia Brown, a Licensed Practical Nurse at Tacoma General Hospital and member of UFCW Local 21, commented, “I would love to see everyone in my neighborhood have solar panels!” 60% of survey respondents indicated interest in all forms of local solar production, and support was highest for public subsidies for solar panel installation (88%) and installation on local, publicly-owned buildings like community centers, libraries, and schools (85%) (Figure 40). These results indicate the need for government support through subsidies and investments into public infrastructure to make the technology accessible to our communities.

**FIGURE 40. HOW INTERESTED ARE YOU IN INSTALLATION OF LOCAL SOLAR PANELS? (PERCENT INTERESTED OR VERY INTERESTED)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88%</td>
<td>Public subsidies that cover a portion of the cost of solar panels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85%</td>
<td>Solar panels on all the public buildings in your neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74%</td>
<td>If you rent your home, your landlord putting on solar panels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74%</td>
<td>Having many of your neighbors put solar panels on their roofs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68%</td>
<td>Put solar panels on a community-owned spaces through a coop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61%</td>
<td>If you own your home, having solar panels on your roof</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost, access to information, and barriers to ownership of buildings or other infrastructure upon which the solar panels would be sited are barriers for our communities. Maria Francisca Torres, a South Seattle resident and organizer at Teamsters Local 117, reflected, “I’d like to have solar panels, but can I afford it? Right now it’s not possible.” Deric Gruen, Co-Executive Director of Programs & Policy at Front & Centered, elaborates, “Our communities have less access to clean energy technologies due to racism and economic disparities.” Our listening session attendees imagined a future in which these disparities are addressed and everyone in the community has solar panels because the technology has become affordable and accessible.\(^4\)
Our community members favor community-controlled, owned, or accountable utilities. Currently, 56% of our survey respondents receive energy utility services from Seattle City Light (SCL), a municipal utility. Another 41% pay bills to Puget Sound Energy (PSE), an investor-owned utility (Figure 41). Given the choice, however, nearly 66% of survey respondents would prefer to get their energy from a publicly- or community-owned utility rather than a privately-owned one (Figure 42). Only 7% of survey respondents prefer to get their energy from a private, investor-owned utility like PSE (Figure 42).

We believe that this survey result reflects our community’s distrust in the responsiveness of private corporations to community priorities. Corporations are fundamentally not accountable to local communities, but instead to their board, shareholders, and investors, which in the case of PSE includes residents of Canada and the Netherlands. The profits of investor-owned utilities go to shareholders instead of being reinvested into the local community like publicly-owned utilities. As one example, SCL’s low-income energy bill assistance programs are much more robust than PSE’s (Figure 32). When comparing bill assistance programs, SCL’s income eligibility threshold for a household of four or less is almost double that of PSE’s and rates of enrollment in low-income bill assistance programs are much higher among survey respondents living in SCL’s service area than PSE’s (Figures 32, 33). Our survey data estimates that SCL currently provides bill assistance for about 72% of eligible households within their service territory, whereas PSE only serves 33% of eligible households within their service territory (Figure 32).

The transition to renewable energy must be paired with community benefits in order to be successful. Community benefits include local-control and decision making, reduced and stable energy rates, improved low-income energy assistance and weatherization programs, and increased local jobs. Deric Gruen shared his perspective: “Our communities would like to see utilities understand and respond to the complexity of our needs, and we should build new institutions to shift this responsibility closer to community. Communities should benefit through owning the distributed collective energy infrastructure, and provide decision making on key policy choices.” For centuries, energy has been the domain of the elite billionaires, capitalists, and dictators. As we transition to renewable energy, we have an opportunity to shift control of energy resources and profits to democratically run institutions like public utilities and energy cooperatives, providing the chance to reduce energy burden, build community wealth, and increase prosperity for many instead of an elite few.

**FIGURE 41. IF YOU PAY ENERGY OR FUEL BILLS, WHICH UTILITIES OR COMPANIES DO YOU PAY?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utility Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seattle City Light</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puget Sound Energy</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Don’t Know</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound Oil</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GeneSEO Oil</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 42. IF YOU HAD A CHOICE, WHAT KIND OF A PROVIDER WOULD YOU PREFER TO GET YOUR ENERGY FROM?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provider Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A publicly-owned utility, like City Light, that is answerable to Seattle voters</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A community-owned or co-op-owned energy provider that is locally accountable</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No preference</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A for-profit corporation like Puget Sound Energy that is answerable to investors</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WHAT’S THE DIFFERENCE?**

**Cooperatively-Owned, Publicly-Owned and Investor-Owned Utilities**

An electricity cooperative is owned by its member-consumers. Electricity cooperatives are governed by elected boards made up of member-representatives. Cooperatives are directly accountable to their customers because every customer is a part-owner of the utility, and extra profits can be reinvested directly in the cooperative or used to fund projects in the community. Cooperatives are directly accountable to their customers because every customer is a part-owner of the utility, and extra profits can be reinvested directly in the cooperative or used to fund projects in the community. Electric cooperatives have their origins in the 1930s in rural communities that were frustrated by investor-owned utilities (IOUs) who refused to expand to them because it was less profitable than operating in urban centers. Examples of electricity cooperatives include Energy Solidarity Cooperative in Oakland, CA and the Co-Op Power Network in New England.

**Investor-Owned Utilities**

Investor-owned utilities (IOUs) are private corporations that provide electricity or other utility services to customers in their communities. IOUs typically operate as monopolies, in part due to the expense of setting up energy infrastructure. Like all privately-owned enterprises, IOUs are accountable to shareholders. We have three electricity IOUs in Washington State – Puget Sound Energy, Avista Corporation, and Pacific Power & Light Company – all of which are regulated by the Washington Utilities and Transportation Commission.

**Publicly-Owned Utilities**

Publicly-owned utilities are not-for-profit, locally-regulated utilities that include public utility districts (PUDs) and municipal utilities. Public utilities are governed by elected decision makers, so they are accountable to voters. PUDs were first created in the 1930s as a government response to urban energy companies’ refusal to provide services to rural areas because it wasn’t profitable. Today, there are 28 PUDs serving constituents across Washington state. PUDs typically serve entire counties whereas a municipal utility like Seattle City Light serves a city, and in the case of SCL, several bordering communities. PUDs are also authorized to provide water and sewer services, and mass communication services like municipal broadband.
A Promise of Good Jobs Must be Backed by Real Access and Collective Bargaining
Worker organizing and collective bargaining have historically been the most effective strategy to blunt the worst of worker exploitation in the fossil fuel industry over the last century. The same will be true for the emerging renewable energy industry. Transforming our economy from an extractive, exploitative model powered by fossil fuels to a visionary and equitable model powered by renewable energy is going to require robust standards of what constitutes a “good job” and a deliberate strategy for worker participation. Workplace democracy and a voice on the job will be critical in ensuring frontline communities can both benefit from and lead the transition.

“Thirty years from now, I would like our energy system to be powered by unionized jobs or worker cooperatives that have strong community oversight or worker control.”

JUDY TWEDT
CLIMATE RESEARCHER AND UAW 4121 BOARD MEMBER
OUR COMMUNITIES WANT JOBS IN THE RENEWABLE ENERGY INDUSTRY

First and foremost, our communities want to participate in the renewable energy workforce. Fifty-three percent of our survey respondents believe retirement age indicated a desire for a job related to the transition to renewable energy (Figure 43). Yet, most of our respondents (87%) do not know people in jobs specifically related to renewable energy sources, such as solar, wind, and hydro power (Figure 44). The good news is that over half of our respondents work in, or know people who work in, other energy-related sectors, such as construction (51%) and transportation (48%) (Figure 44). For some jobs in the renewable energy economy, our communities already have skills and experience to be a part of the transition.

A JUST TRANSITION REQUIRES ACCESS TO GOOD JOBS AND THE RIGHT TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY

Second, a Just Transition must not leave behind incumbent workers in the existing fossil fuel industry. Not only does the transition need their political support, the renewable energy sector also needs their skills and experience. One important piece of that experience is workplace democracy and the practice of collective bargaining. Another is the system of apprenticeships and on-the-job training that skill people up while getting paid. The challenge for workers and unions who have organized in fossil fuel industries for decades, and who have made significant gains in workplace standards and safety, is the prospect of seeing those jobs replaced by low-wage jobs in the emerging renewable energy sector. Clark Matthews, Lead Producer at Rooted in Rights, agreed that “better labor standards and higher wages will make the transition easier.” Jobs created in a Just Transition must go above and beyond the minimum to provide a living wage that allows workers to support their families.

That said, incorporating incumbent workers into new and growing renewable fields must be accompanied by large-scale efforts to provide job pathways to frontline communities. Just as few of our respondents know people in the renewable energy workforce, equally few (13%) know people in the fossil fuel industry, even though the industry creates many blue-collar jobs that don’t require a college education (Figure 44). Historic industry practices that left out communities of color from unionized blue-collar jobs will absolutely undermine a Just Transition and destroy support for change from frontline communities. South Seattle resident and Teamsters 117 organizer Maria Francisco Torres emphasized that a Just Transition represents an opportunity to get better jobs: “For my community, raising labor standards is the priority. We need to give everybody a decent salary, good health insurance, and a good pension.”

There are many reasons to be optimistic that a Just Transition will grow the workforce pie and not pit incumbent workers against new workers. In the last decade, researchers have released hundreds of studies on projected job creation in the renewable energy economy. Jobs that will be created in the renewable energy transition are more far-reaching and durable than installing solar panels or building wind farms. As climate researcher and UAW 4121 board member Judy Twedt told us, “Huge infrastructure development requires a lot of workforce development. Expanding public transit, retrofitting buildings on a large scale, etcetera – these are all long-term job creators.”

Will more jobs and strong labor standards really be enough for frontline communities to economically benefit from a Just Transition? Decades of workplace discrimination and barriers to employment for frontline communities will require a deep and robust strategy for large-scale entry into the new workforce. Karia Wong, Family Center Coordinator at Chinese Information and Service Center said, “We need to think about how non-English speaking people will have access to job opportunities in the renewable energy transition.” Got Green Climate Justice Organizer Nancy Huizar added, “We must ensure that good job opportunities are accessible to LGBTQ people, the formerly incarcerated, and people who have been historically discriminated against.”

It won’t be enough to merely change the focus of our existing workforce development system – we need more investment and a systemic strategy to break down barriers. Young adults emerging from a broken public education system, immigrants and refugees who speak English as a second language, and formerly incarcerated workers will need additional education and support to be on an even playing field. Women, LGBTQ, Indigenous, Black, Brown, and disabled workers need changes in workplace cultures where overt and covert discrimination forces people out, regardless of their skills. This is yet another reason for ensuring workplace democracy is embedded in the renewable energy sector—bargaining for good working conditions is the most direct means for workers to create a supportive and healthy workplace. As Judy Twedt remarked, “30 years from now, I would like our energy system to be powered by unionized jobs or worker cooperatives that have strong community oversight or worker control.”

The Just Transition must be powered by jobs that provide family wages, excellent benefits, and opportunities for collective bargaining. Additionally, those jobs must be accessible to all members of our community, not only a privileged few. It is a challenge that government, labor, and climate justice advocates need to unite around to ensure workers entering, or transitioning to, the renewable energy sector can look forward to careers with wage, benefit, and workplace standards that allow them and their families to thrive.
Small Footprints Have the Vision to Lead the Just Transition, Big Footprints Have the Resources to Fund It
Transitioning to renewable energy requires immense resources and a fundamental shift in how we relate to each other and the earth. Government must partner with community to enact policy that ensures the cost of transitioning is assumed by those who have contributed the most to climate change—wealthy communities and institutions who have rigged the rules in their favor, and not Indigenous, Black, Brown, or low-income communities. Multiple studies have shown that an individual’s carbon footprint increases with income. Corporations and individuals who created the capitalist structures that drive climate change have rigged the system in their favor to accumulate the vast majority of the world’s wealth and resources amongst themselves. In 2018, the 26 richest people on earth—including local billionaires Jeff Bezos and Bill Gates—had the same net worth as the poorest half of the world’s population: almost 4 billion people. Growing wealth inequality is a global issue with local impacts—since 2010 the rich in Seattle have been getting richer while poor people’s wages remain stagnant. As Matt Remle (Lakota), co-founder of Mazaska Talks, argues: “Who will pay the cost? Low-income communities of color shouldn’t pay for it — make oil companies pay for it!” Placing the burden of change and cost on our communities is ineffective and unjust. We have the vision to lead the transition and those who have benefitted from this system have the resources to fund it.

**BALANCE OUR UPSIDE-DOWN TAX CODE**

Local and state governments have an opportunity to change our upside down tax code by passing laws that require the wealthy to pay their fair share. Balancing our tax code to generate progressive sources of revenue is extremely popular amongst our communities and has a direct positive impact on Indigenous, Black, and Brown people who on average earn less than white people and have less access to generational wealth (Figure 21). reinvestment funds into communities dispropor-

**INVEST IN LEADERSHIP AND IDEAS FROM FRONTLINE COMMUNITIES**

Investing in frontline communities is a Just Transition strategy that addresses both racial inequity and the climate crisis. Local frontline communities are living with the impacts of air pollution, flooding, and sea level rise, and by virtue of their lived experience and knowledge of the problem, are best situated to develop solutions. 60% of our survey respondents support the reinvestment of funds into communities disproportionately impacted by fossil fuel pollution (Figure 45). As Ubax Gardheere, Equitable Development Division Manager at the City of Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development, explains, “Low-income people and people of color are the most impacted, so they should be at the forefront of solutions and receive the most benefits. Government should undo the problem that they helped create by enacting programs, policies, and investments to undo harm. This ensures that harmed communities are centered in policy formation.” OneAmerica Executive Director Rich Stolz elaborates on how community and government should work together to create policy solutions: “It’s really important that community members are involved and invested in decision-making and planning processes. Broader buy-in from our communities will increase the possibility of success. We need a strong partnership between community and government.” We need strong government partners and elected leaders who are willing to advocate for our priorities and center frontline communities when developing policies. Mikhaila Gonzalez, Project Manager at Spark Northwest, shared, “Corporations need to pay up! Government needs big and bold policies like moratoriums, carbon fees, and mandated electrification dates.” UFCW Local 21 union member David Rojas believes that “we need to get money out of politics. We need to prioritize what benefits our communities, not what benefits the billionaires.” Our communities are civically active and ready to advise government on the policies that will work for our families.

**FIGURE 45. WHICH OF THE STRATEGIES BELOW SHOULD SEATTLE USE TO HELP SLOW THE IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE? (PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS CHOOSING ANSWER, CHOOSING UP TO TWO)**
Individual behavior change is small scale. We need to demand behavior change from corporations who pollute.

NANCY HUIZAR
CLIMATE JUSTICE ORGANIZER
GOT GREEN

FOCUS CARBON EMISSIONS REDUCTION POLICY ON THE BIGGEST CARBON FOOTPRINTS

We must place the focus of carbon emissions reduction policy on individuals and corporations that have historically and are currently contributing the most to climate change. Low-income communities have the smallest carbon footprints. Investments in reducing our individual footprints are less impactful than reducing the carbon footprints of institutions and wealthy individuals who created the problem and use more energy. As Nancy Huizar, Climate Justice Organizer at Got Green, put it, “Individual behavior change is small scale. We need to demand behavior change from corporations who pollute.” KL Shannon, Community Organizer at Seattle Neighborhood Greenways, highlighted the false promise of behavior change for low-income people: “You don’t have the option to change your behavior if you’re always in survival mode, trying to make sure that your family has dinner on the table, that the rent’s paid, that the light bill’s paid. That’s a hard way to live. We don’t have options.” Rich Stolz agreed, “Culture change and behavior change are good, but it assumes that the drivers of behavior change have choices. The choices have to be real.” Government needs to work with community to enact policy that ensures corporations and wealthy individuals pay their fair share and change their polluting behavior to effectively tackle the climate crisis.
Climate change is radically reshaping all aspects of life on earth and requires us to envision a world that centers health—the health of the planet and the health of human communities—if we wish to survive.

A healthy, thriving world can only be achieved if our communities, communities on the frontlines of climate change, are decision-makers and leaders in government, policy-making, and economic transformation. Our communities are ready to sit in seats of power to shape economic, climate, and energy policy, infrastructure spending, and government budgets. We possess expertise about climate change and have a clear vision for solutions that those insulated by privilege do not. Our lands are disappearing into oceans; our homes are being destroyed by wildfires, droughts, floods, landslides, and hurricanes; and we’re living with the poor air quality, food insecurity, and housing insecurity that climate change brings. While we are hit first and worst by climate change, the climate impacts we live with on a daily basis are your future too, if not your present already. For each of us, our individual ability to survive this disaster is tied to our collective ability to work together to hold those responsible for climate change accountable while winning equitable solutions that work for all and not just a privileged few. Climate solutions that work for frontline communities most impacted by climate change work for everyone impacted by climate change. None of us will escape climate change—the question remains of how we choose to respond.

At Puget Sound Sage, our next step in this project is continued organizing with our community partners to hold our government institutions and policymakers accountable to advancing equitable climate and energy policy that benefits all. We will host community report back sessions and an Energy Justice Solutions Lab, building our community’s capacity for collective action. We’re fighting for our future and we’re fighting for your future too. Will you join us?
“I want a community where... homelessness doesn’t exist because everybody has a house to live in. I want everybody to make enough money to have a good quality of life. I want transportation that goes where we need it to go, but also doesn’t pollute and damage our natural resources. I want to be able to enjoy our parks, rivers, oceans, and lakes. I want to be able to breathe.”

MARIA FRANCISCA TORRES
SOUTH SEATTLE RESIDENT AND ORGANIZER WITH TEAMSTERS 117
We designed our methods of data collection to learn from people and communities typically underrepresented in research and policy analysis on renewable energy issues. We identified the communities and leaders to participate with careful attention to race, gender, age, immigrant and refugee status, ability, sexual orientation, and policy to guard against selection bias. Our goal was to achieve a strong majority of respondents from marginalized communities who bear the highest burden of climate change impacts.

We used three methods to obtain data and gain insights into our sampled communities: surveys, listening sessions, and individual interviews. For the first two, as described below, we relied on community partners for organizing, translation, and linguistic and cultural expertise. We identified community partners through Sage’s extensive network of small, People of Color-led, community-serving organizations throughout the South King County region and through allies in our climate justice work.

Surveys
We designed a 38-question survey that took about 20-30 minutes for English speakers and 30-60 minutes for non-English speakers to complete. Each participant received a $20 gift card as an appreciation for their time. To reach participants we partnered with community-based organizations who have deep connections and networks within their members and who could recruit respondents for the survey. As such, our method is largely a convenience sample rather than a representative one.

Each partner identified a facilitator and, in some cases, an interpreter from their organizations. Sage staff trained them on survey delivery. Partner organizations were responsible for organizing and administering the survey to their respondents from their communities. Partner organizations also received compensation for their expertise and time in administering the surveys.

With the help of our partner organizations, we translated the survey instrument into Spanish and Somali. For other language needs, partner facilitators “walked” participants through the survey with simultaneous interpretation. Participants were not guided in their answers, but could ask clarifying questions about energy and renewable energy jargon not found in their answers, but could ask clarifying questions.

We administered the surveys, along with the 10 language versions of the surveys, we strove to make the analysis an accurate representation of our pool of respondents. We took the following steps:

* As with standard practice, presentations of averages and percentages in this report are based on comparison of answers to the total number of respondents who answered that question (rather than the total number of people in the survey).
* In general, questions that had less than 260 reliable answers were not used.
* Likewise, when doing crosstabulations, we did not use data with less than 30 reliable answers in a subcategory for analysis. For example, from the survey, we did not have enough respondents outside of King County to analyze as a separate group.

Note that in order to reduce the length of our figure titles throughout the report, we used an abbreviated version of the survey questions. We used a combination of Likert scales and yes/no answers across the survey questions, and have generally indicated in each figure how the choices the respondents had to make (e.g. choose up to three, choose only one, etc.).

The full survey questions are available on the report’s web page as a downloadable PDF at the following link:
http://www.pugetsoundsage.org/research/clean-healthy-environment/community-energy/

APPENDIX B: ENDNOTES

* Observations from our listening sessions in April, May, and June 2019 with community members from Puget Sound Ishiga’s organizing partners: Cham Refugee Community, Dukwater River Clean Up Coalition: 20 participants (English); Guam refugee Community: 30 participants (Cham, Cambodian); East African Community Services: 30 participants (Somali).

Interviews

Our final method was interviewing community and government leaders engaged in either climate justice work, racial justice work, or renewable energy policy. We asked a series of open-ended questions to understand both 1) how interviewees saw their work impacting frontline communities and 2) opportunities for climate justice and energy policy to benefit these same communities. We interviewed 30 people, most affiliated with an organization, who represent a broad range of expertise, focus, and community representation.

Analysis of Survey Data

While our survey data is not representative of the larger subpopulations we surveyed (e.g., like a poll or statistical study), we strove to make the analysis an accurate representation of our pool of respondents. We took the following steps:

* As with standard practice, presentations of averages and percentages in this report is based on comparison of answers to the number of respondents who answered that question (rather than the total number of people in the survey).
* In general, questions that had less than 260 reliable answers were not used.
* Likewise, when doing crosstabulations, we did not use data with less than 30 reliable answers in a subcategory for analysis. For example, from the survey, we did not have enough respondents outside of King County to analyze as a separate group.

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See Endnote 2.


See Endnote 6.

To calculate eligibility, we compared the household income and household size of each respondent with the thresholds for utility bill assistance programmes for Seattle City Light and Puget Sound Energy. Each utility is authorized to use ratepayer revenue to subsidize bills, in addition to whatever Federal subsidies are available. SCL offers the Utility Discount Program and PSE offers the Home Energy Lifeline Program. We used the income cutoffs for each program available on a King County website in March of 2020: https://www.kingcounty.gov/health/locations/health-insurance/access-and-outreach/homeenergy-assistance.aspx. Note that nine (9) of our respondents live outside of King County, which is served by both PSE and by other local utilities.

Ibid.

For maps of the utility service areas, see Appendix B and C.

Observation from our listening sessions, see Endnote 3.


Ibid.


See Endnote 4.


Ibid.

Note that many households pay for both electricity from SCL and natural gas from PSE.


Ibid.


See Endnote 7.

See Endnote 59.


Ibid.
PHOTO CREDITS

COVER: DRCO listening session by Puget Sound Sage, Chief Sealth Trail by Oran Viriyincy (Flickr), Light Rail by SDOT (Flickr), International District elders playing table tennis by Interim CDA.

8–9: Oham Refugees Community, Cherry blossoms by Zoritsa Valova (unsplash.com/@xpipzzyx), East African Community Services.

10–11: Interim CDA, Mother Africa, DRCO listening session by Puget Sound Sage

12: Rooted in Rights, Na’ah Illahee Fund

19: Clouds by Chris Nguyen (unsplash.com/@espeek), Grocery carts by Ali Yaha (unsplash.com/@ayahya09)

22: Skyline in clouds by Jordan Steranka (unsplash.com/@jordansteranka), New Seattle developments by Matt Reame (unsplash.com/@jepskyomatt), Picking cherries by Jay Clark (unsplash.com/@jayclark)

27: Yellow leaves by Craig Tidball (unsplash.com/@devonshiremedia), #7 bus in Columbia City (SDOT Flickr)

30: Forest by Panpics (unsplash.com/@panpics), Rooted in Rights

37: 10th and Lander by SDOT (Flickr)

41: MLK Way powerlines by Oran Viriyincy (Flickr), Apartments by Charles Deluvio (unsplash.com/@charlesdeluvio)

46: Chief Sealth Trail by Oran Viriyincy (Flickr)

49: Othello apartments (Screenshot from Google Maps), Tent under overpass (Flickr), Beacon Hill house (Flickr)

51: Grocery cart by David Clarke (unsplash.com/@thethinblackframe), Interim CDA

53: Fishing at Celilo Dam (oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/celilo_falls)

54: Aerial of mining site by Shane Molendon (unsplash.com/@kctinman)

59: Forest trail by Will Swann (unsplash.com/@will), One Job Should be Enough action by Unite Here Local 8

60: Fred Meyer Renton workers and organizers by Puget Sound Sage

65: Fir Needles by Irina Iriser (unsplash.com/@iriser), Duwamish River Cleanup Coalition

69: Puget Sound Sage and Got Green organizers by Puget Sound Sage

70: Ocean water by Laurenz Kleinheider (unsplash.com/@laurenzpicture), Climate Justice Team by Puget Sound Sage, Puget Sound Sage staff by Puget Sound Sage

73: Green leaves by Han Lahandoe (unsplash.com/@blcksdz), East African Community Services

78–79: Puget Sound Sage CID action, Rainbow over mountain by Eberhard Grossgasteiger (unsplash.com/@eberhardgross), Rainbow on sidewalk by Charles Deluvio (unsplash.com/@charlesdeluvio),
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Mother Africa
Na'ah Illahee Fund
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