Advancing a 'Climate Plan for Public Lands' Through Collaborative Advocacy

by

Amanda Wheelock

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> > Faculty Advisor: Professor Steven Yaffee

Abstract

Public land management is an often overlooked but vital part of efforts to solve the climate crisis. Changes in public land management policy could dramatically shift incentives for production of both fossil fuels and renewable energy, increase carbon sequestration and ecosystem resilience, and support or hinder a just transition for communities with local economies historically dependent on nonrenewable resource extraction. The People, Public Lands, and Climate Collaborative (PPLCC) is an informal network of nonprofit organizations that was formed in 2020 to ensure that public lands are part of a just and equitable climate solution. This practicum was undertaken to provide capacity to further PPLCC goals by advocating for Congressional action. Through an iterative process, several tools were developed to identify, analyze, and compare the relative merits of federal legislative proposals that could help achieve PPLCC priorities. These tools included a legislative tracker, a rubric for analyzing and comparing legislation, and a scorecard to visually demonstrate these comparisons. This report details the development of these tools and their implementation by the PPLCC. It also contains a case study to be used by students studying environmental policy to better understand the benefits, challenges, and relevant considerations for working in a collaborative with members that represent a variety of organizational missions, strategies, and structures.

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Section I: Introduction

Background

The climate crisis poses an enormous threat to human and non-human communities. Those who manage, advocate for, and study our natural spaces are keenly aware that management practices must change, both to minimize the amount of carbon emitted into the atmosphere and to support the adaptation of entire ecosystems to a warmer and likely more variable climate. Human communities and economies have also begun to experience the effects of the climate crisis through larger and more intense natural disasters, among many other current and anticipated impacts. Record-breaking wildfires, hurricanes, heat waves, and flooding have all made headlines in the last several years.

While discussion of climate change solutions often centers on electrification, transportation, and emerging technologies, nature-based solutions are a necessary and important piece of the puzzle. "Natural climate solutions" can increase carbon sequestration via the restoration, protection, and expansion of forests, wetlands, and other carbon-rich ecosystems (Bertazzo, 2019). Changes in public land management policy could dramatically shift incentives for energy production, facilitating or impeding the transition to a carbon-free future. If, when, and how these solutions are implemented will have life-altering consequences for human communities, particularly those that have historically been dependent upon public lands and/or natural resource extraction.

The People, Public Lands, and Climate Collaborative (PPLCC, or the Collaborative) was formed in 2020 in response to these challenges. "An informal network of U.S.-based NGOs who believe in the importance of a climate plan for public lands," PPLCC is made up of a diverse set of approximately two dozen organizations (PPLCC, n.d.). Appendix A lists member organizations as of April 2022. Members include several "big greens," such as The Wilderness Society and Sierra Club, as well as many younger, more grassroots organizations that work at local or statewide levels. The organizations range in mission from improving human health to preserving wilderness, from sharing the sport of climbing to empowering underrepresented rural communities. Since its inception, PPLCC has primarily been funded by The Wilderness Society. This funding primarily underwrites fees for facilitators from Keystone Policy Center and communications contractors (M. Huggins, personal communication, March 16, 2022).

2020 was primarily a foundation-building year for PPLCC after The Wilderness Society first gathered some of the Collaborative's future members together in December 2019 to discuss the need for such a coalition (M. Huggins, personal communication, March 16, 2022). During that year, the Collaborative met approximately monthly, and members finalized a shared framework, included in this document as Appendix B. The framework details PPLCC values, guiding principles, and the common goal of "ensuring that public lands are part of a just and equitable climate solution."

The framework also identifies three priority areas for Collaborative work:

- *Economies and Communities*: Promote sustainability, resiliency, and health for economies and communities.
- *Ecosystems*: Protect, connect, and restore critical landscapes.
- *Emissions*: Reduce emissions from energy produced on public lands.

Purpose and Scope of Practicum

The election of Joseph Biden as U.S. President in November of 2020 dramatically shifted the landscape of environmental advocacy. Within weeks of his inauguration, President Biden signed executive orders focused on combating climate change, protecting 30% of lands and waters by 2030 ("30x30"), and enhancing environmental justice. He quickly moved to nominate Deb Haaland for Secretary of Interior, marking the first time that a Native American would hold the post, and paused all new oil and gas leasing on federal public lands and waters. With the new Administration and a House and Senate that both held Democratic majorities, 2021 looked to be a year that could have dramatic long-term consequences for the Collaborative's goals.

It was fortuitous timing for the PPLCC. The group had been meeting for about a year, and members were ready to take action and begin educating the public and decision-makers about why a climate plan for public lands was needed (M. Huggins, personal communication, March 16, 2022). In the latter half of 2020, the group had created the PPLCC name and decided that the time had come to launch their work publicly (the Collaborative was ultimately formally launched on February 17, 2021). As such, PPLCC entered 2021 focused on organizing campaigns to advance the goals in its framework; increasing the Collaborative's visibility and power in policy discussions related to climate and public lands; adding new partners; and continuing to provide a space for learning and collaboration at the intersection of people, public lands, and climate.

The primary goal of this practicum, which began in January 2021, was to leverage this hopeful moment and provide capacity to the Collaborative in their efforts to advance their goals through federal legislation. As a new Collaborative, there were few established norms for how priorities would be set or how the group could work together to be more than the sum of its parts. In addition, many of the member organizations are primarily focused on grassroots empowerment and advocacy, and many work primarily at state or local levels with little or no resources devoted to federal policy, so there was a clear gap to be filled in providing subject matter expertise and ensuring these members felt connected to Collaborative-wide work at the federal level.

Through an iterative process of partnership, I worked to assist PPLCC members with understanding the existing landscape of advocacy efforts related to the Collaborative's priority areas. I then analyzed a variety of legislative proposals

through the lens of PPLCC's goals and values in order to provide PPLCC members with a richer understanding of which issue areas and legislation could best achieve PPLCC goals and benefit most from the Collaborative's advocacy. Reflecting the non-hierarchical structure of the Collaborative, I did not provide this analysis to members as a list of specific recommendations of where to focus their efforts. Rather, I hoped to provide them with the necessary information to focus and expedite conversation about how best to achieve their overarching goal, looking toward the short- and long-term horizons.

Secondary goals of this practicum related to my own learning. I aimed to learn more about the nexus of energy development, ecosystem conservation, and equity, including specific policy proposals to create a just and equitable "climate plan for public lands." I also worked to deepen my understanding of collaborative decision-making processes, policy analysis, best practices for working in coalition, and facilitation skills.

Report Outline

To help orient the reader to the relevant subject matter, Section II of this report provides a brief synthesis of my research on current efforts and ideas for policy reforms to create a climate plan for public lands. I then describe the methodology of the work I performed for the PPLCC to better inform their federal advocacy. This is divided into three sections, focused on each of the three discrete products I created as part of a toolkit for policy analysis for the PPLCC.

First, Section III details the process I used to identify legislative proposals that had the potential to advance the goals of the PPLCC. From this research, I built a legislative tracker to ensure that basic information about all relevant bills was accessible to Collaborative members and that members had an understanding of how each bill was progressing through Congress. Section IV focuses on the process of identifying criteria with which compare these pieces of legislation. Utilizing the Collaborative's shared values, guiding principles, and goals, I developed a rubric with which to analyze each piece of legislation in terms of its ultimate utility or relevance to achieving PPLCC's vision of building a climate plan for public lands. Finally, Section V details the legislative analysis process itself and its results. I presented a legislation scorecard to the Collaborative that visually demonstrates the differences in how individual pieces of legislation advance PPLCC goals and could benefit from the Collaborative's advocacy.

In Section VI, I include a discussion of the results of my work in terms of how PPLCC has utilized this toolkit. Section VII outlines some reflections on lessons learned in creating and implementing the toolkit as a method of enhancing advocacy strategy, as well as reflections on collaborative decision-making, structure and governance. The report ends with a case study built upon PPLCC processes and progress in the Collaborative's first two years. This case study is designed to educate undergraduate or graduate students on collaborative decision-making processes, building collective action, and the role of nonprofits in environmental policy creation.

Section II: Public Lands as a Climate Solution

It is widely held that comprehensive climate solutions must include mitigation (reducing overall carbon emissions), adaptation (adjusting to life in a changing climate), and resilience (bouncing back from climate-induced stressors). PPLCC's shared framework rests on a conviction that public lands can and must play a role in our national response to climate change, so it is no surprise, then, that their three priority areas map well onto these strategies:

- Mitigation through reducing *emissions* from public lands
- Adaptation through supporting sustainable transitions for *economies and communities*
- Resilience through protecting, connecting, and restoring *ecosystems*

Moreover, there is a growing recognition that all climate solutions must be rooted in justice, a theme that PPLCC carries throughout their work.

Before I could begin my practicum with the PPLCC, I performed a landscape analysis of current proposals and themes at the nexus of U.S. climate and conservation policy in order to better understand what a comprehensive "climate plan for public lands" could mean. While lands protected by certain designations such as wilderness or state parks are managed primarily for conservation and/or recreation, most U.S. public lands and waters have historically been managed for multiple uses, which can include timbering, mining, and energy development. U.S. public lands and waters were also created upon lands stolen from Indigenous peoples, who were often directly removed to create national parks and wilderness areas "untrammeled by man's influence." These lands and waters have historically been managed in ways that disadvantaged Americans of color and failed to adequately engage and consult local communities that are in many ways dependent upon these resources.

As such, managing U.S. public lands and waters as a crucial part of a justice-driven national climate solution would require significant shifts in thinking and policy. I will briefly outline key proposals and themes for engendering these shifts. I use PPLCC priority areas to provide some structure, but It is important to note that there is considerable overlap across these priority areas, just as there is significant overlap in any strategies for climate mitigation, adaptation, and resilience.

Emissions

To achieve climate goals, management strategies for our public lands must include serious decreases in fossil fuel production, increases in green energy production, and increases in carbon sequestration capacity. In addition, many advocates such as the member organizations of the PPLCC stress that these shifts must engage the communities historically and presently most impacted by climate change and pollution in decision-making, and that the transition away from fossil fuel extraction on public lands must be justice-driven.

Fossil fuels produced on federal public lands and waters account for about a quarter of overall carbon emissions in the U.S. (Merrill et al., 2018). This does not include emissions from the 46 million acres of state trust lands, much of which have primarily been managed for natural resource extraction in order to provide the highest revenues for trust beneficiaries (Culp & Marlow, 2016). Federal land and water management agencies have relatively broad but not unlimited powers in how they administer mineral and energy leases and permits, so strategies to decrease fossil fuel production are focused on both executive and legislative solutions.

In late 2020, more than 500 organizations called upon the incoming Biden administration to issue a "day one" moratorium on all new fossil fuel leases and permits on federal public lands and waters (Center for Biological Diversity, 2020). He issued such a moratorium within ten days of his inauguration as part of a broader Executive Order addressing climate change (Blum, 2021). This moratorium was intended to last until the Department of the Interior (DOI) and the Department of Agriculture (USDA) could undertake a comprehensive review to evaluate the cumulative impacts of fossil fuel extraction on all federal lands and waters and determine how leasing and permitting programs fit into an overall plan of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 50% over the next decade. The moratorium was challenged in court and later blocked by a federal judge (McGill, 2021), but subsequent lease sales have also been challenged in court and invalidated (Rott, 2022). DOI issued its report in November 2021, which recommended widespread reforms to leasing processes, royalty and bonding rates, and remediation requirements (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2021).

Changes in a variety of agency rules at DOI, USDA, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Council on Environmental Quality could bring about desired reductions in fossil fuel extraction. Reinstituting the Obama administration's rules limiting methane waste and rolling back 2020 changes to NEPA that removed consideration of cumulative impacts are two suggestions that aim to undo damage done by the Trump administration's "energy dominance" agenda. In addition, most mainstream conservation organizations have called for many of the same reforms to coal and oil and gas leasing practices recommended in the 2021 DOI report. Interior has the power to make a variety of reforms to BLM leasing and permitting via rulemaking, including:

- Increasing royalty rates to better reflect market values (Gentile, 2015)
- Adding greater transparency in decision-making processes and earlier involvement from affected communities, particularly tribal governments (The Wilderness Society, 2018)
- Eliminating anonymous leasing nominations (Gentile, 2018)
- Ending noncompetitive leasing (Wild Montana, n.d.)
- Ending leasing and permitting of land with little to no development potential (National Parks Conservation Association, 2020)

Congress could also mandate the above changes via legislation, while other proposed reforms would require Congress' hand. These reforms include the elimination of subsidies for fossil fuel production and full funding of cleanup programs for abandoned wells and mines (Coleman & Dietz, 2019; Kelly & Rowland-Shea, 2020).

Because eliminating or even decreasing fossil fuel production on public lands and waters has obvious consequences for American energy production and national security related to purchases of overseas oil, efforts to advance these reductions generally include proposals to increase renewable energy production on those same lands and waters. Moreover, because all of the reforms discussed above would only apply to new leases and/or permits, to reach net-zero emissions on public lands and waters by 2030 or even 2040 would require the rapid replacement of that energy capacity with renewable energy. "Responsible siting" of wind, solar, and geothermal is a popular buzzword in this arena, and groups ranging from Trout Unlimited to The Wilderness Society to the Outdoor Alliance support the proposals in the Public Land Renewable Energy Development Act, which had solid bipartisan support in the last several sessions of Congress and most recently passed the House in February 2022 (Library of Congress, 2022). The bill would direct DOI to establish priority areas for renewable energy siting, taking into account impacts on wildlife, cultural resources, and recreation, while directing royalties to local communities and conservation efforts.

Communities & Economies

Many communities adjacent to public lands were built around nonrenewable resource extraction. As these industries contract, jobs are disappearing and long-promised cleanups often never occur. The creation of sustainable local economies based on outdoor recreation on public lands is increasingly seen as an important solution to restoring dignity to these communities. The "outdoor recreation economy" has seen a lot of emphasis in recent years, fueled by the advocacy from the Outdoor Industry Association and subsequent inclusion of the industry in the list of those analyzed by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (Arvesen, 2019). "Gateway Communities" and "Trail Towns" have seen attention and investment from organizations like the Conservation Fund, the Appalachian Trail Conservancy, and NPCA, as well as state governments like Kentucky and Michigan. Specific policy recommendations to support these communities are primarily related to local planning and investment, but also can include federal funding.

The idea of building a just transition doesn't end at outdoor recreation, however, and other proposals to put people to work on public lands gained steam with the economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Solutions like the 21st Century Conservation Corps for Our Health and Our Jobs Act promise to provide jobs, address deferred maintenance on public lands, and fight climate change by providing funding and workers to mitigate wildfire risk and manage landscapes for increased carbon sequestration; a "21st Century Civilian Climate Corps" was frequently touted as part of the 2021 reconciliation package to accomplish climate-

friendly tasks like retrofitting home energy systems or performing ecosystem restoration projects (Bunch, 2021). While that package ultimately failed to pass, there is also movement at state and local levels to fund similar programs.

For example, in 2020, residents of the City and County of Denver passed a quarter-cent sales tax to "be used to fund programs to eliminate greenhouse gas emissions and air pollution, and adapt to climate change," including job creation in "management of natural resources," (City and County of Denver, n.d.). The Center for American Progress has advocated for the creation of a fund to employ former oil and gas workers to clean up abandoned well sites (Kelly & Rowland-Shea, 2020), and the Environmental Justice for All Act would create a Federal Energy Transition Economic Development Assistance Fund to support affected communities and workers (House Natural Resources Committee, 2021).

Ecosystems

Proposals to better protect and connect ecosystems increase resilience by allowing for greater movement of species and halting or reversing habitat loss and fragmentation. While many landscape-scale conservation efforts focus by necessity on private lands conservation, PPLCC's focus on public lands limited my search to proposals that focus on better protecting existing public lands or, more rarely, creating entirely new public lands. Such proposals are closely tied to efforts to protect 30% of American lands and waters by 2030 as well as to previously discussed efforts to reduce mineral development on public lands.

These include proposals like the Grand Canyon Protection Act, which would withdraw approximately one million acres in and around Grand Canyon National Park from mineral and geothermal leasing, and the Colorado Outdoor Recreation and Economy Act, which would protect 400,000 acres of public lands in Colorado via wilderness designations, national recreation area designations, and the cancellation of oil and gas leases and permanent withdrawal of those lands. Since President Biden's election, other lands protection proposals have centered around the creation of new national monuments via Executive Order, such as the <u>Castner Range</u> and <u>Avi Kwa Ame</u> campaigns.

Utilizing "natural climate solutions," which generally involves restoring and expanding the footprint of forests, wetlands, and other carbon-rich ecosystems, can also restore ecosystem health and function while increasing the carbon sequestration capacity of our public lands and thus reducing overall carbon emissions (Bertazzo, 2019). The Infrastructure Investment & Jobs Act of 2021 authorized significant funding for ecosystem restoration on public and private lands alike, including \$200 million to reforest abandoned minelands, \$5.6 billion for wildfire risk reduction and recovery, and more than \$1.7 billion for restoration of state, tribal, and private forests (Daley, 2021).

It also included the REPLANT Act, which will promote reforestation of National Forests by removing the cap on the USFS Reforestation Trust Fund, a change that

potentially quadruples the funding available for reforestation (American Forests, 2020). Non-legislative reforms to restore ecosystems and increase carbon storage capacity on federal lands could include explicit national management direction from the Chief of the USDA Forest Service, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, and U.S. Secretary of Interior promoting sequestration and climate resilience over timbering and development. Individual states, meanwhile, have moved to increase carbon sequestration on state-owned forests with plans such as Pennsylvania's <u>Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation Plan</u> or California's <u>Forest Carbon Plan</u>.

Section III: Survey of Legislative Proposals

After I had developed an understanding of reforms and new ideas likely to be encompassed within a climate plan for public lands, the overarching goal of my practicum was set to include assisting PPLCC with prioritizing and focusing their federal legislative advocacy. The next step was to determine what was within the spectrum of legislation that would help achieve Collaborative goals if passed. There was consensus among Collaborative members that they wanted to work on passing pre-existing legislation instead of attempting to start a campaign from scratch to work with a legislator or group of legislators to introduce a completely new bill. As such, I performed an assessment of existing legislative proposals introduced into Congress that could potentially be ripe for PPLCC support.

Screening for Relevance

To identify such proposals, I first had to determine which bills would be relevant to the work of the Collaborative. I determined relevancy based on two primary factors. One, bills had to have some nexus with public lands or waters to be considered. There are many, many bills in Congress that attempt to address the climate crisis, but PPLCC was formed specifically to focus on a climate plan *for public lands* (with public waters implied, though admittedly most member groups are more landsfocused). Second, the bill had to focus on at least one of the following Collaborative objectives:

- a) Promote sustainability, resiliency, and health for communities and economies
- b) Protect, connect, and restore critical landscapes
- c) Reduce emissions from energy produced on public lands

This language comes directly from the Collaborative's Shared Framework. By directly tying bill impacts to the goals of the Collaborative, this second criterion ensured that any bill considered would address at least one of PPLCC's three priority areas.

Identifying Specific Policy Proposals

Once I had determined what sorts of bills would be included, the next step was to identify specific bills and record each bill in a central location for Collaborative members. This list would become the "PPLCC Legislative Tracker," found in Appendix C. I built a database containing one section for each priority area of the Collaborative – Communities, Ecosystems, and Emissions – and recorded each bill's name and other pertinent information. This included the bill number(s) and link(s) to the bill in the Library of Congress, a topline description, succinct bill goal, its current status in Congress, House and/or Senate sponsors, and any notes or bill intel not otherwise covered.

I also included an area where I marked whether each bill also had goals relevant to other PPLCC priority areas. Placing each bill into a single priority area based on its

primary focus was helpful for differentiating between bill emphases and providing structure to the database, but did detract from demonstrating the intersectionality of the Collaborative's three priority areas. Thus, including each bill in a single priority area but indicating whether it would impact one or both of the Collaborative's other priority areas allowed for clarity while still indicating where goals intersected.

Later, at the request of Collaborative members, two columns were added to provide information about which member organizations were engaged on which bills, as well as bills that staff of various member organizations were hoping to build campaigns around or otherwise include in their advocacy. This information served to facilitate connections between individual member organizations with overlapping goals or campaigns.

Gathering bills to include in the database was a complex but fairly ad hoc process, the bulk of which took place in March of 2021. Staff from The Wilderness Society provided me with information on a variety of bills they had been tracking during the 116th Congress, when they first began ideating a climate plan for public lands. This provided a starting set of bills for me to research to determine if they had been reintroduced during the 117th Congress, and if so, whether they had been modified in any significant way. The vast majority of these bills were appropriate for addition into the PPLCC legislative tracker.

From there, I performed a modified snowball sample using these bills as the "snowball seed." I performed general internet searches of the bill sponsors along with search terms relevant to the work of PPLCC (e.g. "climate," "public lands," "equity," "emissions," etc.) to determine whether these legislators had introduced other bills with related goals, which would then be added to the tracker. These searches often led me to news coverage of several bills with similar goals, which then often included links to related stories, so I followed those threads of links to comb for any other bills to add to the tracker.

Beyond general internet searches, several sources were particularly helpful. I searched terms relevant to PPLCC in the database of *Environment & Energy News*. This step was helpful both in identifying bills that were previously unknown to me as well as finding up-to-date information on the status of the bills beyond the basics provided on congress.gov. I also found out about the existence of perhaps five to ten bills that were then added to the tracker through "accidental" research via Twitter, as I follow a swath of conservation organizations and some Congresspeople as well. Twitter has become a helpful medium for organizations or politicians to garner visibility for legislative efforts that are not being covered by traditional or even environmental media. As such, it made sense sense that Twitter searches uncovered several bills that I did not unearth in my broader internet and media searches.

Securing Feedback from the Collaborative

Once I felt confident that I had gathered most, if not all, of the current bills in Congress that were relevant to PPLCC, I submitted them to Juan Pérez Sáez of The Wilderness Society and Mallory Huggins of Keystone Policy Center, who served as chair and facilitator of PPLCC, respectively, and my primary contacts throughout the duration of my practicum. Both reviewed the tracker before emailing it to the entire membership for their review. I presented the legislative tracker at the PPLCC monthly meeting in early April 2021 to get feedback about its utility to members as well as to gather information from members about any missing bills they felt were relevant.

Feedback was highly positive and members expressed excitement via meeting chat and over email about utilizing the tracker in a variety of ways, primarily to better understand what legislation was out there, how it was progressing through Congress, and where individual member organizations could become engaged within and separate from their work with PPLCC. Ultimately, though, the tracker contained a large amount of information, and it was clear through my conversations with Pérez Sáez and Huggins that I would need to design some way to help members to sift through all of it.

After introducing the members of PPLCC to the legislative tracker, I continued to update it throughout the duration of my practicum. The version included as Appendix C is that which was current as of March 20, 2022. Relevant bills that were introduced to Congress after my initial research were thus added to the tracker, as were status updates for included bills as they made their way through Congress.

Section IV: Determining a Method of Analysis

Developing Criteria

Once the legislative proposals relevant to PPLCC were gathered in the tracker, the next step was to determine what criteria should be used to analyze each piece of legislation. Analyzing each bill using specific criteria and a repeatable process would enable the comparison of these bills in terms of their ultimate utility to achieving PPLCC goals. As such, it was determined that I should build a rubric which I would then use to analyze each bill. The resulting tool is included as Appendix D.

For clarity, it is important to make a brief note that the use of the word rubric here originates from the field of education. A rubric is an "assessment tool that articulates the expectations for assignments and performance tasks by listing criteria, and for each criteria, describing levels of quality," (UC Berkeley Center for Teaching and Learning, n.d.). Essentially, this rubric would become a tool to assess each bill based on a set of criteria, and how well each bill fulfilled each criterion.

After an extensive but ultimately fruitless internet search for a similar rubric, even from an unrelated field of public policy, I instead found several "scorecards" that compared electoral candidates based on how well their promises fulfilled certain criteria. These tools essentially reflected the end result of what I hoped to achieve by analyzing each bill with the rubric by providing a method of visually comparing across candidates. Data for Progress' <u>Green New Deal scorecard</u> (2020) was particularly helpful to me in thinking through how I ultimately wanted to present my data (Fig. 1). Because they compared candidates instead of individual pieces of legislation, however, they were less relevant in terms of the criteria used for comparison, so I began drafting these criteria from scratch.

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Figure 1: A section of the Green New Deal scorecard (Data for Progress, 2020)

First, in order to make this rubric as effective as possible in producing a comparison of bills more or less likely to help achieve PPLCC goals, I determined it needed to be as closely aligned to those goals as possible. As such, I utilized PPLCC guiding principles and language heavily in drafting the rubric. This resulted in the inclusion of criteria for *intersectionality*, *potential for systemic change*, *equity*, *local support*, *cost-effectiveness*, and *administrative feasibility*.

- Intersectionality: As noted in the PPLCC Shared Framework (Appendix B), members come to PPLCC "from the perspective of multiple intersecting interests: clean water, clean air, public health, inspired voices, access to public spaces, recreation, sustainable economies, honoring Indigenous knowledge and history, faith and spirituality-based stewardship of the earth, environmental justice, preservation of culture and heritage, protecting wildlife, and/or healthy food systems." Thus, policy solutions that do not address the interdependent nature of socioecological systems are less likely to adequately address the root problems that PPLCC was formed to help solve.
- Potential for systemic change: One of the Collaborative Values of the PPLCC is the "need for bold and immediate collective action." PPLCC members agree that "building a climate plan for public lands calls for a new way of thinking that prioritizes ambitious, creative, and science-based solutions." Policies that go beyond simply providing funding for existing solutions are likely to be more in line with the changes that PPLCC was formed to bring about.
- **Equity:** Acknowledgement of the exclusionary and violent history of public lands is a guiding principle of the PPLCC, and a need for equitable solutions is woven throughout its Shared Framework. Solutions aligned with PPLCC goals will look to center and benefit communities that have historically not benefited from public lands.
- Local Support: Another guiding principle of the PPLCC is stakeholder engagement. Local support, especially for lands bills that affect people living in a specific area more than other Americans, provides an indication that those who stand to be most affected by public lands decisions have provided input into and influenced those decisions.
- **Cost-effectiveness:** A balanced approach to solutions is a guiding principle of the PPLCC. Every solution has potential benefits and drawbacks. The best solutions will have benefits that far outweigh the drawbacks. Benefits and drawbacks should both be estimated using economic as well as non-economic factors.
- Administrative Feasibility: The last guiding principle of the PPLCC is a sense of urgency. Some bills rely on uncertain appropriations for implementation, and effective implementation of others may rely on factors completely outside of Congress' control (state politics, etc.). The best

solutions should build a climate plan for public lands with the same sense of urgency felt by members of the PPLCC, and thus will include stipulations to ensure effective and immediate implementation.

In addition, the rubric needed to include consideration of criteria generally accepted as beneficial for policy evaluation. Kraft and Furlong (2012, p. 185) encourage students of public policy to consider effectiveness, efficiency, equity, liberty/freedom, political feasibility, social acceptability, administrative feasibility, and technical feasibility when assessing policy. From this list, I did not think I would be able to find enough information to adequately assess social acceptability or technical feasibility for the bills under consideration, and liberty/freedom seemed less relevant to the goals of PPLCC. Administrative feasibility and equity were already included in the rubric, as was cost-effectiveness, which mapped onto Kraft & Furlong's definition of efficiency. Potential for systemic change and effectiveness were not quite as interchangeable, so I also added a consideration of *scope* to the rubric at this step. Last on their list that I had not yet addressed was *political feasibility*; I also added a separate factor for *Congressional support*. Hence, the final rubric included:

- **Scope:** PPLCC members work across the nation, and climate change necessitates big solutions.
- **Political feasibility:** Put simply, this factor asks what is the likelihood that this bill will pass during this Congress. Bills that do not pass will not effect change, so bills that are doomed to fail may not be the best investment of PPLCC effort. However, there can be value in advocating for radical change even if it is clear that those changes won't happen during this session.
- Congressional support: While closely related to political feasibility, this factor was considered separately due to the polarized nature and slim majorities of the 117th Congress. Certainly, widespread Congressional support could indicate political feasibility, but in this Congress, many bills have passed the House, even multiple times, that have virtually no chance of making it through the Senate to become law. Such bills may be more likely to be reintroduced in a future Congress, to draw the attention of media and/or the public, or to be enacted in some form via administrative action than bills that simply have one lone sponsor and move nowhere in either chamber.

Last, to ensure that bill analysis reflected not only the usefulness or value of each bill itself to advancing PPLCC goals, but specifically why PPLCC should or should not prioritize it in Collaborative advocacy work, the rubric needed to account for PPLCC's unique place in the broader climate and conservation advocacy landscapes. In other words, there needed to be consideration of the opportunity for PPLCC specifically to make an impact on moving a given bill closer to passage and thus, implementation. This consideration became the *opportunity for PPLCC impact*. A related factor, *PPLCC member organization support*, was based on whether any

individual member organizations of PPLCC already supported a bill. Thus, the final rubric included these two additional factors:

- **Opportunity for PPLCC impact:** At one end of the spectrum, if a bill had a single sponsor and no other organizations supporting it, PPLCC support might not be nearly enough to garner the level of attention needed for passage. At the other end, if a bill was already virtually guaranteed to pass without PPLCC support, then the Collaborative's limited resources would likely be better used elsewhere.
- PPLCC member organization support: Support from member organizations indicated alignment with individual member organizations' goals and would make PPLCC support less resource-intensive due to the availability of materials and a pre-existing knowledge base on the policy. Bills that members were already advocating for could thus be good targets for PPLCC prioritization.

Weighting the Criteria

Once I had determined a list of relevant factors to consider in analyzing each bill, I determined it was necessary to rank these factors based on importance. Certain factors clearly outweighed others in how much they mattered for the purpose of helping PPLCC prioritize advocacy efforts. For example, while it felt important that the scope of a bill be considered, PPLCC is founded on the concept that change is needed at all levels, and many members work at the grassroots and see huge value in locally-focused solutions. As such, it seemed important that a bill that only created a small national monument or withdrew lands from oil and gas leasing in one area should still have the chance to rise to the top in this process. Scope became one of the least important factors in the rubric.

To use another example, it felt very important that there was good opportunity for PPLCC advocacy to make an impact on the potential for passage of a bill if PPLCC were going to focus their efforts on it. So, opportunity for PPLCC impact became one of the most important factors in the rubric.

Ultimately, the factors of highest importance – opportunity for PPLCC impact, intersectionality, potential for systemic change, and equity – together represented the opportunity for PPLCC advocacy to be effective and the Collaborative's founding values as stated in their Shared Framework. The factors of moderate importance – member organization support, cost-effectiveness, local support, and administrative feasibility – reflected the guiding principles of the Collaborative. Factors of least importance – Congressional support, political feasibility, and scope – consisted of criteria that felt necessary to consider, but had mitigating effects contained within them that limited their importance in relation to the other factors. Bills of small scope, as noted above, could still be valuable to advancing the goals of PPLCC. In regards to political feasibility, gaining public, administrative, and/or Congressional attention and support for bills that were unlikely to pass Congress this session could still be valuable for enhancing the long-term likelihood of their passage or, in some

cases, enhancing the likelihood that the administration would take similar or related measures via executive action.

Devising a Scoring Scheme

Once the criteria were actualized, the next step in my work involved determining how to "score" each bill against each criterion, and ultimately compare the bills to one another. I determined that I did not want to use a numerical scale to evaluate how well each bill met each criterion. I could not find any good rationale for directly comparing the importance of various evaluation criteria. For example, I knew that how well a bill incorporated and addressed equity was more important to the members of PPLCC than its scale, but it was impossible to say whether it was two, three, or ten times as important. Similarly, it also seemed unwise to try to numerically compare how well each bill fulfilled a given criterion.

The Data for Progress (2020) Green New Deal scorecard was helpful in providing a different way of assessing and visualizing the results. Data for Progress ranked each candidate's plan based on whether it addressed, acknowledged but did not fully address, or did not include a given component; these were illustrated with a fully shaded circle, a half-shaded circle, and an empty circle, respectively (see Fig. 1, above). To add a bit of nuance while still keeping the information understandable, I added one level of quality here – each bill would be scored by whether it fulfilled a criterion to the greatest extent possible, satisfactorily, partially, or not at all. By using shaded circles instead of scores of 0-3, I attempted to mitigate the risk of comparing bills based solely on what would essentially be poorly founded math.

Incorporating Collaborative Feedback

When I had completed a draft of the rubric, I shared it with Juan Pérez Sáez and Mallory Huggins (PPLCC chair and facilitator, respectively), who identified a subset of representatives of member organizations with which to share it before encouraging the entirety of the membership to review it. I ultimately interviewed five of these individuals, who represented organizations working at state, regional, and national levels with drastically different levels of engagement on federal policy. These interviews not only included direct feedback on the legislative rubric, but because the next step was to use the rubric to analyze and compare the bills contained in the legislative tracker, I also solicited any knowledge my informants held about specific bills in the tracker (these components of the interviews will be reviewed in the following section).

Feedback about the rubric itself was highly positive overall, and informants felt that the criteria would enable policy analysis in a fashion true to the priorities and values of PPLCC. Two informants questioned the positioning of political feasibility as a factor of least importance, which was valuable feedback. After further discussion about my reasoning for including it there, we determined that this positioning was defensible and sensible within the context of the PPLCC goal of effecting bold change.

I also received feedback that enabled me to refine the rationale for scoring legislation in terms of equity and local support. In particular, one informant pointed out that in my first draft, the description focused on negative impacts to equity: it was phrased as, "would implementation of this bill place an undue burden (economically, socially, or ecologically) on marginalized populations?" He suggested that equity be defined as a positive first, resulting in the language that was ultimately used: "Does this bill include a specific focus on providing benefits and creating opportunities for marginalized populations?" I emerged from these interviews with a version of the rubric to share with the entire Collaborative, which received only positive feedback and no further suggested changes. Collaborative members at this point agreed that I should utilize this version of the rubric to analyze and compare the bills included in the legislative tracker.

In an effort to make the work I have performed for PPLCC more broadly useful, Appendix E includes a customizable legislative rubric that I have adapted from that which I created for PPLCC. Unlike the rubric I developed for PPLCC, this tool provides a variety of criteria that an organization or coalition may find valuable in evaluating policy. It walks the user through the steps of choosing and then weighting the criteria in a manner that best reflects that organization's priorities. By adding their own values, guiding principles, and goals into this rubric, I hope that other coalitions and nonprofit organizations can use it as a tool to help prioritize their advocacy efforts in an informed manner.

Section V: Analysis of Legislation

Constructing the Scorecard

Once the rubric was approved by the members of the Collaborative, the final step was to use the rubric to analyze each bill in the legislative tracker and compare the results visually via a policy scorecard. As noted in the previous section, the goal was to determine how well each bill met each criterion on the following scale: not at all, partially, satisfactorily, or to the greatest extent possible. This step involved extensive internet research on each bill as well as research via my interviews with Collaborative members (during this period, all Collaborative members were encouraged to contribute any knowledge they had on bills in the tracker, but I did not receive any feedback beyond that which I received in my interviews).

The difficulty of scoring each bill varied significantly based on the criterion at issue. Some of the information – in particular, scope, PPLCC member organization support, and to a large extent, intersectionality and potential for systemic change – was discrete, objective, or based in some clear objective of the bill, and therefore easy to gather and score for each bill. Most of the information, however, was subjective: does a bill have "satisfactory" or only "partial" local support, for example, if five local mayors, a variety of small business owners, and a local coalition of conservation and recreation groups support it, but two county councils have opposed it?

As such, I relied heavily on the judgments made by the Collaborative members I interviewed in determining how well each bill addressed elements like political and administrative feasibility, local support, or equity. Their firsthand knowledge of how bill sponsors and supporters engaged local communities, addressed concerns, and crafted bills in the first place was invaluable to this analytical process.

In addition, these interviews gave me better insight into how the goals of individual member organizations in the PPLCC intersected and diverged, and moreover, provided me with a deeper understanding of gaps in the greater environmental advocacy landscape. Specifically, these individuals spoke passionately about the role that PPLCC could play in merging the often-divorced goals of climate and conservation organizations, uplifting the voices of communities of color and rural communities, and providing support for the Biden administration and for Congress to discuss and move forward on oil and gas reforms and building a just transition.

More traditional ecosystem conservation legislation in the form of protective public lands designations, on the other hand, was seen as crucial but already well supported by a variety of powerful and well-connected organizations. This information became vital not only in my efforts to determine the opportunity for PPLCC impact on specific bills, but also in my later work to reflect this knowledge back to PPLCC members who rarely or never worked on federal advocacy efforts in order to help the membership collectively understand in which areas PPLCC advocacy might be most effective.

Sample Bill Evaluations

With more than 30 bills in the legislative tracker at the time of my analysis, this was a lengthy process. For brevity, I will provide here just two examples of bill scoring and the rationale used to assess these scores. As noted previously, I tried to avoid assigning numerical scores to each bill; the numbers assigned to each criterion below represent the extent to which the corresponding circle would then be shaded on the resulting scorecard. Note that cost-effectiveness, while included in the rubric, is not assessed below. I could not find adequate information to assess the cost-effectiveness of the vast majority of the bills in the tracker, so this criterion was ultimately left out of my analysis.

Environmental Justice for All Act

The Environmental Justice for All Act is a comprehensive attempt to integrate environmental justice into every level of federal decision-making and funding. The bill's primary provisions include the following:

- Amends the Civil Rights Act to prohibit disparate impacts as discrimination
- Codifies the environmental justice Executive Order first issued by President Clinton and strengthens some of its provisions
- Creates the White House Environmental Justice Interagency Council
- Requires additional community involvement in NEPA processes
- Creates a Federal Energy Transition Economic Development Assistance
 Fund to support communities and workers
- Funds equitable access to parks and recreational opportunities in urban centers

Opportunity for Impact -



This bill was created through extensive grassroots feedback, so it is a good fit for PPLCC advocacy in that regard. Environmental justice has become a priority of the Biden administration, so supporting this bill could be an opportunity for PPLCC to gain influence with the Administration and effect further change. In addition, there is a difficult technical conversation to be had about whether any parts of this bill could be included in reconciliation efforts, so while it does already have wide support from the EJ community, it is not a priority right now for many groups, leaving a gap.

Intersectionality -



Establishes a Federal Energy Transition Economic Development Assistance Fund using revenues from new fees on the oil, gas, and coal industries to support communities and workers as they transition away from greenhouse gas-dependent economies, but it does not directly affect emissions. Some of the provisions for more

community involvement in NEPA would likely better protect ecosystems, but again, this is indirect.

Potential for Change -



This is a sweeping, transformative bill. If passed, it would codify the long-standing but often overlooked environmental justice Executive Order (initially issued by President Clinton), strengthen the Civil Rights Act, and provide for more community involvement in NEPA, among many other vital changes.

Equity –



This bill was developed after more than a year of direct, ground-level engagement, consultation, and consent of environmental justice communities, organizations, and leaders. The goal of the bill is to enhance equity.

Member Org Support -



This bill is supported by virtually all PPLCC members that take positions on pending legislation, including the Sierra Club, The Wilderness Society, Conservation Lands Foundation, Creation Justice Ministries, Defiende Nuestra Tierra, Central Valley Air Quality Coalition, GreenLatinos, HECHO, Great Old Broads for Wilderness, National Parks Conservation Association, Pueblo Action Alliance, Wild Montana, Wilderness Workshop, League of Conservation Voters, National Wildlife Federation, Grand Canyon Trust, and American Alpine Club.

Local Support -



See rationale for equity; this bill enjoys widespread support among the communities most affected by continued environmental injustices that this bill attempts to reduce or end.

Administrative Feasibility -



The sweeping, extensive nature of this legislation means that it mandates a lot of changes, some of which could be tough to ensure proper implementation without support from the presidential administration. This is not currently an issue with a President who has committed to addressing environmental injustice, but could easily become one if Republicans retake the presidency in 2024.

Congressional Support -



This bill is a big priority for Congressman Raul Grijalva, who is the relevant committee chair, and it has been introduced in both chambers. However, it is not bipartisan.

Political Feasibility -



Again, this is a priority for Chairman Grijalva, and environmental justice more generally is a stated priority of President Biden. However, this bill likely can't be part of the upcoming reconciliation or infrastructure packages due to Congressional rules, and has a low likelihood of passing the Senate as a standalone bill.

Scope -



This bill has national ramifications.

Colorado Outdoor Recreation and Economy Act

The Colorado Outdoor Recreation and Economy (CORE) Act would protect more than 400,000 acres of land in Colorado. Specifically, the bill provides for the following protections:

- Resolves boundary disputes and formally includes Curecanti National Recreation Area as a unit of the National Park System
- Cancels all oil and gas leases in 200,000 acres of the Thompson Divide area
- Creates the nation's first National Historic Landscape at Camp Hale
- Creates two new wildlife conservation areas near the Continental Divide
- Adds more than 60,000 acres to the National Wilderness Preservation System through new and expanded wilderness areas
- Creates the Sheep Mountain Special Management Area to protect areas in the San Juan Mountains from mining and energy development

Opportunity for Impact -



The CORE Act already has very strong support from local communities, conservation organizations both locally and nationally, and the Colorado Congressional delegation. Support from the PPLCC is likely irrelevant to its fate.

Intersectionality -



This bill would decrease emissions from public lands, support local communities through enhanced outdoor recreation opportunities, and protect ecosystems.

Potential for Change -



The CORE Act provides permanent protections for the areas that it impacts via wilderness and other designations.

Equity -

The CORE Act would support rural communities, but contains no explicit focus on equity.

Member Org Support -



This bill is supported by virtually all PPLCC members that work in Colorado and take positions on legislation, including The Wilderness Society, Wilderness Workshop, American Alpine Club, Defiende Nuestra Tierra, National Parks Conservation Association, Protégete, Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, Great Old Broads for Wilderness, Protect Our Winters, and Western Colorado Alliance.

Local Support -



Components of this bill have been brought to Congress by Coloradans for over a decade, and the bill is supported by a wide variety of mayors, city and county councils, conservation and community organizations, and businesses from across Colorado. It also enjoys the support of the governor.

Administrative Feasibility -



The bill is primarily built upon time-tested methods of land protection, such as wilderness designation and withdrawals from mineral leasing. It would create the nation's first National Historic Landscape, but this is not perceived as a barrier to implementation. Rather, this designation and other protective but non-wilderness designations are seen as ways to increase buy-in and compliance from local recreationists.

Congressional Support -



Both Colorado Senators and one of two Representatives whose district would be affected by the designations contained in the CORE Act support the bill and have made it a priority for passage. Lauren Boebert (R-CO-3) does not support the bill, and much of the affected land is in her district, but she is also regarded by even some of her Republican colleagues as radical. Some Republican members of the House have supported the bill during previous votes in the House.

Political Feasibility -



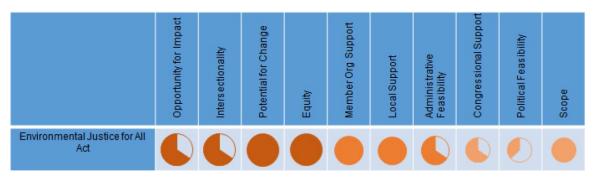
This bill enjoys strong support among Democrats, the conservation community, the governor of Colorado, and local communities. It has already passed the House once this session and multiple times during the $116^{\rm th}$ Congress. It is seen as an incredibly likely candidate for any sort of lands protection package, and with the Democratic majorities in both chambers, it just needs this sort of vehicle to gain enough bipartisan support to pass the Senate.

Scope -

This bill impacts 400,000 acres of land in Colorado.

I repeated this process for every bill included in the legislative tracker at the time, and at this point was ready to translate this data into some useable, easily digestible format for PPLCC members to utilize. The result was the scorecard included in this document as Appendix F. In order to demonstrate the relative importance of factors of greatest, moderate, and least importance, I sized the circles for each group of factors accordingly and also placed these factors from left to right, respectively, so that the eye would first be drawn to the most important factors for consideration. The scorecard line for the Environmental Justice for All Act is included as an example (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Environmental Justice for All Act as included in the PPLCC legislative scorecard. Large, red circles at the left indicate factors of greatest importance; medium, orange circles in the middle indicate factors of moderate importance; small, peach circles at the right indicate factors of least importance.



With this many bills included in the scorecard, it felt important to order them so as to make it easier to see which bills were ripe for PPLCC support according to the criteria included in the rubric. While I had tried throughout the process to avoid assigning numerical scores or weights, ordering the list ultimately required that I do so. I added up the proportions of each shaded circle, multiplying the scores for the factors of moderate importance by 2 and the factors of greatest importance by 3 so as to provide weighting across these categories. This process provided a total score for each piece of legislation which I then used to order all of the bills within the scorecard. However, I deliberately did not include these scores in the final product or share them with PPLCC members, since I felt that they were not directly reflective of the merits of each bill.

Section VI: Results

When the scorecard was complete, I presented it to the PPLCC members at their July 2021 meeting. Importantly, I framed this scorecard not as a list of bills I recommended the PPLCC support listed in order of priority, but rather as a distillation of information to inform PPLCC's advocacy moving forward. I discussed the limitations of my analysis, which included limited information about certain aspects of certain bills, the lack of data on cost-effectiveness, and most importantly, the subjectivity involved in assigning scores for many of the criteria.

Because I ultimately used numerical weights to figure out where exactly to order each bill, I urged the Collaborative members to focus less on the specific place of any given bill in comparison to the one above or below it, and more on its placement relative to the entire scorecard. Lastly, I noted that this wasn't a ranking of how "good" each bill was, but rather a ranking of how these bills fit within the goals of PPLCC and how much potential there was for PPLCC to impact their chances of success. I suggested that this tool remain an internal resource, because without this context it could be interpreted as PPLCC's judgments on how valuable each bill was.

Given these limitations, there were still interesting and helpful results to report to the group. There were several bills or sets of bills that rose to the top: the Environmental Justice for All Act, two bills focused on building a 21st century Civilian Conservation Corps, and a group of bills all focused on reforms to oil and gas leasing on federal public lands. Though all of these bills intersected all three PPLCC priority areas (one reason why they ranked highly), their primary focus areas mapped well onto communities, ecosystems, and emissions, respectively, suggesting that the criteria included in my rubric did not favor one priority area over another.

Another interesting result was that all the lowest-scoring bills were traditional land conservation bills. These are the sorts of bills that have been conservationists' focus for decades; there is, to a large extent, a known process and community that works to get these bills passed. Given PPLCC's goal to incorporate a focus on equity and emissions alongside ecosystem conservation, this result gave me further indication that the rubric I developed performed well in terms of reflecting PPLCC's unique position within the larger landscape of environmental advocacy and activism.

Collaborative members in attendance broke into groups to discuss reactions and potential ways to use the scorecard moving forward. Much of the focus centered on initial reactions, and members found value in the scorecard in several ways:

- helping narrow the focus of PPLCC,
- helping orient new members to better understand what the Collaborative is working on, and
- identifying the most important pieces of legislation to engage on within each priority area of the PPLCC.

Additionally, members provided suggestions for how to use and improve the scorecard, including repeating the rubric analysis with multiple analysts, having external conversations with other coalitions to determine where PPLCC could add value to pre-existing efforts, and coming together to focus on one or two short-term campaigns to support specific bills. In particular, questions focused on the bipartisan infrastructure framework and the exclusively Democrat-supported reconciliation package, which were beginning to take shape in D.C. at the time. Ultimately, it was determined that the recently appointed PPLCC co-chairs would take a deeper dive on the scorecard at their meeting the following week and come back to the larger group in August with suggestions on next steps, potentially with specific focus areas for a near-term advocacy campaign.

However, by the time the full membership reconvened a month later, much had changed. Juan Pérez Sáez, who, as The Wilderness Society's representative in the Collaborative had been the de facto leader of PPLCC since its inception and formally served as the sole chair until just a month prior, had left TWS at the end of July for a new professional opportunity. Two other TWS staff members introduced themselves to the Collaborative in August with plans to fill the gap left after Pérez Sáez's departure, but it remained unclear to other Collaborative members whether they were permanent additions or just helping out until Juan's replacement could be hired.

Meanwhile, the Senate had just passed what was then being referred to as the Bipartisan Infrastructure Framework and would later become law as the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act. This signaled the beginning of real negotiations on the Democrats' budget reconciliation package, which was being hailed as the one shot to enact any meaningful part of Biden's climate change agenda (Sobczyk, 2021).

It seemed likely that some form of a 21st Century Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the focus of two of the top bills on the scorecard, would be incorporated into reconciliation, as would some of the oil and gas reforms that had also scored near the top. Though some members cautioned against becoming too focused on one solution, most agreed that a short-term campaign using a 21st Century CCC to highlight the importance of connecting public lands, people, and climate would be a wise use of PPLCC members' time and resources. There wasn't enough time during the August meeting to work out the details, however, so the co-chairs were tasked with thinking through the options more thoroughly and developing a campaign.

Ultimately, PPLCC provided materials centered on the 21st Century CCC, oil and gas reforms, and some specific land protections for individual member organizations to use in communications around reconciliation. But as negotiations dragged on in D.C. and Pérez Sáez's role at TWS remained unfilled, enthusiasm waned for a full-bore campaign featuring additional measures such as placing an op-ed from one or multiple members, gathering members to make calls, or asking supporters to sign a petition.

In particular, staff from grassroots groups reported that their supporters (and even staff at times) didn't feel connected to or really understand what was happening in Washington. The complexities of what could or couldn't be included in reconciliation and why this process was being used in the first place were lost on many of the "folks at home." The impression that some black box negotiation process was happening behind closed doors in D.C. offices made it that much more difficult to connect their work on the ground with this legislation – no matter how far-reaching its impacts were projected to be if passed.

While it was still widely anticipated that some form of reconciliation would be passed, in the waning months of 2021 PPLCC members pivoted away from federal legislative advocacy. Staff from Keystone Policy Center performed 1:1 check-ins with members about the value of the Collaborative, inviting broader feedback about Collaborative goals, purposes, and leadership structure, and the last PPLCC meetings of 2021 were spent debriefing these check-ins and discussing opportunities and priorities for PPLCC in 2022. Then, in late December, Senator Manchin announced his firm opposition to the reconciliation package, essentially killing the bill.

By January of 2022, PPLCC was ready to regroup. Based on the feedback and discussions from the fall, six co-chairs, two focused on each priority area, were elected to lead the Collaborative for the year. Much of the time during monthly meetings was used to split the members into smaller working groups focused specifically on each priority area. In regards to efforts on federal legislative advocacy, I was asked to perform a thorough update of the legislative tracker to provide these working groups with an up-to-date understanding of the current status of all of the relevant bills, including several that had been recently introduced. As of this writing in April 2022, the working groups focused on ecosystems and communities are both planning to use the tracker and scorecard to inform their work in 2022. Plans as of now include a lobby day in D.C. focused on PPLCC legislative priorities as well as efforts by the communities working group to better connect local decision-makers with federal policy efforts and provide them with the resources needed to advocate for communities in need of a just transition.

Section VII: Conclusion

The goal of this practicum was first and foremost to provide capacity to the PPLCC with regards to federal legislative advocacy, but also to provide me with an opportunity to deepen my understanding of collaborative decision-making processes, policy analysis, best practices for working in coalition, and facilitation skills. While I have discussed above how PPLCC members have utilized the analysis and tools I provided for them, to conclude this report I will dive into some of my own reflections on the process I used, as well as what I learned from observing the Collaborative's dynamics over this 16-month period.

Reflections on Policy Analysis Toolkit

The set of tools that I provided to PPLCC ultimately included the tracker, evaluative rubric, and scorecard. Of these tools, the legislative tracker was both the simplest to create and, in my view, the most valuable. Although the tracker itself did not provide much basis for comparing legislation, simply having all legislation relevant to the PPLCC's goals gathered in one place proved beneficial for Collaborative members for several reasons.

First, the tracker provided a simple method of keeping everyone informed on what proposals existed and where priority legislation stood within Congress, regardless of whether that legislation was a priority to the entirety of PPLCC or simply to an individual member organization. Second, it gave members new to the Collaborative a relatively comprehensive overview of the types of policy reforms that the Collaborative was interested in. Third, the tracker provided members less familiar with federal legislation with a simple "cheat sheet." This could then provide the basis for asking questions or performing research about specific pieces of legislation that were more relevant to their work. Perhaps most valuably, once the columns were added that detailed which organizations were engaged on which bills, the tracker enabled member organizations with overlapping campaign work to connect with one another and work together outside of their efforts specific to PPLCC. For these reasons, I would recommend that any coalition working on federal legislative and/or administrative policy reform utilize a tracker similar to this one.

Though their utilization has thus far been more limited than that of the tracker, I do feel that the rubric and scorecard provided a meaningful method of analyzing policy through the specific lens of the Collaborative. In particular, the results of the analysis that were discussed in the previous section, which included traditional ecosystem conservation bills generally scoring low and seeing high-scoring bills that emphasized all three PPLCC priority areas, gave me indications that the rubric provided a method of evaluation well-tailored to the Collaborative's niche and goals. Feedback from Collaborative members, as noted, was also highly positive, and many members felt that the scorecard accurately reflected PPLCC priorities and provided a useful tool to synthesize information and strategize around advocacy.

That said, I would make some changes for future analysis of this type. Most notably, I would change the "grading" system for each criterion to only include three levels instead of four. In other words, bills would be evaluated based on whether they fulfilled a criterion fully, partially, or not at all. While this change would remove some of the nuance of the evaluative framework, it would also remove some of the subjectivity in assigning scores. Because subjectivity was a key limitation of my analysis, I believe that decreased subjectivity would be well worth the tradeoff of decreased nuance.

In addition, I would combine or remove some factors for analysis; I think a more ideal analysis would be built around 5-7 factors instead of the 10 that I ultimately used. Again, this would reduce nuance, but it would reduce the time necessary to perform the analysis (making it more likely to be repeated for future Congresses or by multiple Collaborative members, providing a "check" on one another's work) and would make the scorecard more useable by increasing its readability.

I would make several changes to the PPLCC rubric to achieve this reduction in the number of factors. First, I would combine Congressional support and political feasibility into one factor. Second, I would remove scope from the analysis, since so many members are focused on placed-based solutions and it was already a factor of low importance; to some extent, scope could be incorporated into the factor for local support. I would also then remove the third weighting and simply split factors into those of more and less importance. Finally, I would combine intersectionality and potential for change into one factor that assessed how transformative a policy proposal aimed to be. Ultimately, these changes would provide a rubric with seven facets of analysis at two levels of importance. This would result in a scorecard that was more easily interpretable.

Reflections on Collaborative Structure and Processes

Because I began working alongside the PPLCC just weeks before its public launch, I had a unique opportunity to observe dynamics within a burgeoning collaborative effort among nonprofit organizations. From this experience, I learned a variety of lessons about working in coalition and the importance of governance structure, including facilitation.

It quickly became clear to me that the personalities and leadership of specific individuals are key to the success of joint efforts. Juan Pérez Sáez, who essentially founded the PPLCC in his former role as the Strategic Partnerships Manager at TWS, was a driving force behind the Collaborative's initial efforts. After his departure from TWS, his absence was deeply felt, as indicated by the decrease in Collaborative engagement and output at this time. Additionally, I observed that there are several Collaborative members who have made outsized contributions to overall achievements despite having no official leadership role and no more obvious capacity than other members for taking on PPLCC work. These contributions seem to be based primarily on personality, leadership qualities, and a personal sense of dedication to and engagement with the goals of PPLCC.

A caveat to the above is that a strong governance structure can serve to mitigate the risk that one person's absence will dramatically shift group dynamics. Though it remains too soon to confirm conclusively, the shift in January 2022 to having six cochairs lead the Collaborative for the year seems to have played a role in reinvigorating PPLCC efforts. Moreover, placing members in smaller working groups for most of the meeting time seems to have increased output. This may be due to the increased sense of accountability that falls on each person in a smaller group, as well as to the dispersal of leadership through the establishment of two co-chair roles for each working group.

Another piece of the structure of PPLCC that has, in my opinion, been critical to sustaining the Collaborative thus far is facilitation. Based on my observations, I firmly believe that PPLCC would no longer be in existence if TWS had not funded Keystone or a similar contractor to provide facilitation and logistical support. Keystone staff have kept the Collaborative running day-to-day by taking notes, providing agendas, and sharing resources with members. Having a dedicated and talented facilitator has also kept meetings on track and provided members with a sense of accountability for tasks that they agree to take on.

Perhaps most importantly though, when engagement has waned, Keystone staff have provided the capacity for Collaborative members to meet with someone one-on-one. These discussions centered on the utility of the Collaborative, members' goals for engagement, and an opportunity to provide feedback on what works for them and what doesn't. Ultimately, these discussions provided individual members with the opportunity to feel heard, the importance of which cannot be overstated. In the fall of 2021, these one-on-one meetings were vital in sustaining the Collaborative through a moment plagued with both internal and external challenges. The takeaways from these meetings that were then shared back to Collaborative members helped remind members why they had become involved in the first place, and played a key role in reinvigorating the Collaborative moving into 2022.

A final piece of PPLCC structure that I feel is important to touch on is its membership. In trying to build a Collaborative that advocates for communities most affected by natural resource extraction from public lands, it is imperative that PPLCC membership include and reflect these communities. Of particular concern to members has been the lack of representation of Indigenous nations within the Collaborative. While several organizations do work directly with tribes and/or have tribal members on staff, only the Pueblo Action Alliance was founded specifically to empower and work on behalf of Indigenous peoples. Communities of color that are not Latino/a are also underrepresented among PPLCC membership. The Collaborative is making active efforts to recruit members who work with and represent these communities, but this remains a gap within PPLCC.

Another membership issue is that of participation of the "big greens." TWS and, to a lesser extent, the Sierra Club are the only "big greens" that have consistently participated in PPLCC meetings. The National Parks Conservation Association,

League of Conservation Voters, and National Wildlife Federation are also members. From what I have observed, some members are happy with this current dynamic, as they are worried that more participation by big greens could drown out the voices of grassroots groups and ultimately reduce PPLCC's ability to authentically represent the communities it claims to center. On the other hand, increased participation by big greens could likely open doors in D.C. and elsewhere, with the potential to amplify PPLCC's collective voice and make their joint efforts more effective.

There remain open questions as to whether organizations that are not actively engaged should be able to claim membership in PPLCC, and whether large, well-funded organizations should pay to be members. Such a structure could disperse the financial burden of sustaining the Collaborative away from TWS. This could provide more certainty of the future of PPLCC, as it would no longer be dependent on one organization's budget. It could also encourage the participation of the big greens, because if they are paying, then they would want to receive some benefit. Conversely, a dues requirement could cause some of these organizations to disengage altogether.

A related membership question is how large the Collaborative should be. As a coalition grows larger, it can become more representative of the gamut of stakeholders interested in and affected by its work. Yet too large of a membership can mean that little work is actually accomplished when everyone comes together, and relationship-building becomes hampered by the sheer number of people involved. PPLCC has begun to tackle this problem in two ways. First, membership in the Collaborative is relatively closed. There is no way for an organization to apply for membership in PPLCC; instead, current members perform outreach to individual organizations that would fill gaps in membership that have been identified. Second, the new working group model places members in small groups for much of their time together. So far, this has enabled the Collaborative to continue functioning as a cohesive unit while increasing accountability and productivity.

My final thoughts are related to how the Collaborative makes decisions as a group and determines what actions to prioritize. Working with PPLCC provided me with an opportunity to think critically about coalition decision-making processes. Moreso than other coalitions I have been a part of, PPLCC is made up of a particularly diverse set of organizations with very different theories of change, missions, and strategies for achieving their goals. I believe this is one of the Collaborative's greatest strengths and greatest weaknesses.

In terms of strength, bringing such diverse organizations together has engendered significant member-to-member discussion and learning, provided small organizations access to the resources of larger ones, and shown the public that vastly different organizations all agree that building a climate plan for public lands is necessary. In terms of weakness, it has meant that choosing specific actions for

the Collaborative to take has been challenging. This limits momentum and the capacity of the Collaborative to step forward on any issue as a united front.

So far, PPLCC has attempted to mitigate this limitation in several ways. First, they created a policy of never signing onto anything as "the PPLCC," but instead as "the following members of the PPLCC," and providing individual member organizations with the opportunity to endorse that action. This enables the Collaborative to act without consensus. In my opinion, this dilutes the strength of joining together as one collective voice, because there is no one collective voice. Overall, however, I believe the value of providing Collaborative sign-ons, letters, and endorsements outweighs this weakness. Acting together as "the following members of the PPLCC" enables organizations with limited capacity and resources the ability to weigh in on issues they otherwise would not have.

Additionally, when meeting as a Collaborative with outside actors, such as high-level DOI staff, individual members are encouraged to share their opinions and feedback, even those that diverge from other members. While speaking with one unified voice in such meetings might initially be seen as more powerful, it would not be a true reflection of the diverse needs of communities affected by climate change and natural resource extraction from public lands. Here again, joining together as a group has enabled voices to be heard that otherwise wouldn't have, specifically those representing rural communities, communities of color, and those directly affected by natural resource extraction from federal public lands. Ultimately, while it often makes their work feel slower and more challenging, it is this willingness to work together despite differences that has enabled PPLCC to begin establishing itself as a powerful, knowledgeable collection of voices at the intersection of climate, public lands, and justice for communities.

Section VIII: Case Study - Collaborative Action and Decision-Making

As noted in the introduction to this report, one of the goals of this practicum was for me to gain a deeper understanding of collaborative decision-making processes, effective strategies for working in a coalition, and facilitation skills. Working with PPLCC gave me a front-row seat to see the workings of a newly formed collaborative with members representing a diverse set of organizations. I felt that a short case study would provide the best format for me to share the knowledge I gained during this process. This can then be utilized by future students studying environmental policy to better understand the benefits, challenges, and relevant considerations of working in such a collaborative, multi-stakeholder environment. The remainder of this report is in case study format, and with author permission, it can be used as a standalone document in undergraduate and graduate courses.

Please note that the case study itself has four appendices (Appendix 1-4), which are placed before the appendices to this overall practicum report (Appendix A-F) for ease of separating the case study from the rest of the body of work.

Introduction

Hillary Jenkins¹ tugged on a strand of her hair as she looked through her daily calendar for the fourth time that morning: April 14, 2022. 9:30, quick check-in with her new boss. 10-11, Zoom into the all-staff meeting – no problem there, as she would just be listening. Then from 11:30-1 was her first Zoom with the People, Public Lands, and Climate Collaborative (PPLCC, or the Collaborative). PPLCC members met once a month, and this was their first meeting since Hillary had started her new job as the Strategic Partnerships Manager for The Wilderness Society (TWS) less than two weeks earlier.

As the Strategic Partnerships Manager, Hillary had been hired to develop and maintain meaningful relationships in support of TWS priorities, including 30x30 (protecting 30% of U.S. lands and waters by 2030), climate solutions, and community-led conservation. A key part of her new role would include managing relationships with a portfolio of grantee organizations who were engaged with PPLCC. Her grantees included some, but not all, of the grassroots groups that were PPLCC members (see Appendix 1 for a list of all member organizations).

She planned to hold one-on-one meetings with all of the grantees as soon as possible, but she had just finished trainings a few days earlier, so the first of these meetings wasn't scheduled until next week. And because she had previously worked in the Northwest, a region of the country that wasn't well represented among PPLCC member organizations, Hillary hadn't yet met anyone engaged in the Collaborative other than Daniella, her coworker at TWS, and Mallory, the Collaborative facilitator who worked for Keystone Policy Center – and even these

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¹ Hillary Jenkins is a fictitious character working in a real role at The Wilderness Society. All other characters are real.

two she had only met the week prior. Hillary was excited to virtually meet all of the PPLCC members for the first time, but she was also quite nervous.

She felt she had inherited a tricky role to play within the Collaborative. She knew that PPLCC was officially led by six volunteer co-chairs representing six different member organizations and that it was designed to function as a group where each member organization played an equal role in decision-making and group action. She also knew, however, that PPLCC had begun as a TWS initiative and was still funded exclusively by TWS. Many of the member organizations were TWS grantees, and TWS also paid for facilitation from Keystone Policy Center staff as well as a communications contractor to help amplify the Collaborative's work. Moreover, Hillary knew that the person who had previously held her job, Juan, had been integral in launching the PPLCC and rallying its members together until his departure from TWS eight months ago.

As she prepared to log onto almost four straight hours of virtual meetings, questions raced through Hillary's mind. How should she establish herself as a resource for PPLCC members, especially her grantees, without making them feel obligated to agree with her? How would she fill the gap left by Juan while bringing her own energy and personality as a leader? What techniques could she use to unlock the potential of this group? Where should the Collaborative direct its collective energy?

The Wilderness Society - Past and Present

The Wilderness Society (TWS) was founded in 1935 as an "organization of spirited people who will fight for the freedom and preservation of the wilderness." Its founders included figures such as Aldo Leopold, author of *A Sand County Almanac;* Robert Marshall, an activist who would become the namesake of Montana's sprawling Bob Marshall Wilderness; and Benton MacKaye, who first envisioned the Appalachian Trail. TWS and one of its leaders, Howard Zahniser, were integral to the writing and eventual passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964, still widely seen in 2022 as the law that provided the highest level of protection possible for public lands within the U.S.

Incorporated as a 501(c)3 with a separate 501(c)4 Action Fund, throughout its history TWS focused almost exclusively on the conservation of U.S. lands and waters via protection as wilderness, national monuments, fish and wildlife refuges, and other protective statuses. Employing strategies that ranged from grassroots organizing to direct lobbying of Congress, TWS had established a reputation as one of the nation's most powerful advocates for U.S. public lands. In 2020, TWS employed 175 staff and brought in almost \$40,000,000 in annual revenue.

TWS was generally seen as one of the "big greens," a group of large nonprofit organizations focused on environmental conservation. A list that also included the Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, National Parks Conservation Association, and the League of Conservation Voters, among others, the big greens had all been founded and historically led and staffed by white men. Combined with recent efforts

by historians and authors to fully document a history of U.S. public lands that included the violent removal of Native Americans from their homes and eras of segregation and racial discrimination in parks and on trails, this legacy had resulted in widespread agreement that the conservation movement had historically excluded many communities, including Black, Indigenous, and other people of color; women; and urban residents. TWS had formally begun to reckon with this legacy in the late 2010s through an organizational commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion.

In fact, though advocating for new land protections remained a key tenet of its work, in recent years TWS had broadened its focus in several ways. In 2020, the organization's Governing Council approved a new strategic framework to take TWS through 2030, setting two key priorities for TWS:

- Transform conservation policy and practice so all people benefit equitably from public lands.
- Make public lands a solution to the climate and extinction crises by securing a resilient, continental network of landscapes and eliminating climate-changing emissions.

Hillary was just the second person to take on the role of TWS Strategic Partnerships Manager, a position which had been created a few years earlier as part of these new efforts to strengthen and act upon TWS' commitments to diversity, equity, inclusion, and community-led conservation. When she had first applied for the job, Hillary had noted the number of times that diversity and equity were mentioned in the job description (Appendix 2). The Strategic Partnerships Manager was expected to "ensure partnerships across [TWS] reflect a broad spectrum of existing and future collaborators that reflect the diversity of the places where we work," "hold TWS accountable for its commitments to equity and inclusion," and "demonstrate unwavering commitment to advancing equity and justice both internally and in our external campaign work." Hillary felt excited by the opportunity to make a real impact on how TWS engaged with communities that had traditionally been excluded from the conservation movement, but also felt that a lot was riding on her shoulders as just one person trying to help such a large organization change the ways it worked with external partners.

Keystone Policy Center

Keystone Policy Center had been founded to help leaders "solve complex problems and advance good public policy." A nonprofit organization, Keystone consulted for public, private, and civic-sector leaders to advance solutions in seven policy areas of focus: agriculture and food; American Indian and Alaska Native policy; education; emerging genetic technologies; energy, water, and climate; public health; and public lands and land use management. Keystone employed skilled facilitators and project managers to provide services such as designing and conducting stakeholder and landscape assessments, strategic planning, designing and executing public outreach,

and managing multi-stakeholder coalitions. TWS had hired Keystone for several projects in the past and was involved in other coalitions facilitated by Keystone staff.

Genesis of the People, Public Lands, and Climate Collaborative

In the fall of 2019, Juan Pérez Sáez, who worked as the Strategic Partnerships Manager for TWS, hired Keystone to facilitate a retreat focused on the idea of creating a "climate plan for public lands." At the time, fossil fuels produced on federal public lands and waters accounted for a quarter of overall carbon emissions in the U.S., yet there was a dearth of conversation at the federal level about how public lands management intersected with the climate crisis. Mallory Huggins, a Senior Director at Keystone who had previously worked with TWS (including directly with Juan) and specialized in public lands, equity, and energy issues, was named as the lead Keystone staffer on the project.

Juan and his colleagues at TWS created a list of organizations to invite to the retreat and shared a draft with invitees of what TWS envisioned for this climate plan for public lands. This draft was explicitly created and shared as a starting point for conversation; Juan wanted to embark upon this work in coalition. He adamantly did not want himself or TWS to be seen as "owning" this work. Juan believed that the goals could only be achieved with meaningful collaboration across a variety of organizations. In fact, one stated purpose of bringing this specific list of invitees together was to build power by fostering relationships between and among local and/or grassroots organizations² and larger national organizations such as TWS. Ultimately, 20 participants representing 14 nonprofits arrived at the retreat in Santa Fe in December of 2019. Nonprofits in attendance included organizations that worked with faith-based environmentalists, outdoor recreators, Latino/a/x environmentalists, fossil fuel-dependent communities, specific national park sites, air pollution activists, as well as national environmental organizations. Attendees were excited about having a space to discuss the intersection of climate and public lands; it was clear that there was a gap to be filled here. With Mallory serving as the lead facilitator and Juan there to listen and help vision, attendees built upon the draft document shared by TWS. The result was a draft of a shared framework focused on the intersection of climate, equity, and public lands, with three priority focus areas:

- *Economies and Communities*: Promote sustainability, resiliency, and health for economies and communities.
- *Ecosystems*: Protect, connect, and restore critical landscapes.
- *Emissions*: Reduce emissions from energy produced on public lands.

² The Collaborative would later define this distinction more explicitly: "local and/or grassroots organizations" were those that met more than one of the following characteristics: annual budgets < \$1 million; fewer than 20 staff; led by Black, Indigenous, or people of color. "Larger national organizations," on the other hand, were organizations that met more than one of the following characteristics: annual budget > \$1 million; more than 20 staff; historically white-led.

The group also left the retreat with a shared commitment to continue meeting virtually once a month to hold space for conversations about these topics. Keystone was contracted by TWS to provide third-party facilitation to support the group in identifying and implementing its priorities and goals. With Juan's support, Keystone staff led by Mallory would draft meeting agendas and notes, facilitate meetings, track group priorities, and handle group logistics and administration. A small and enthusiastic group met for their first follow-up meeting in February 2020.

By the time their second monthly meeting rolled around in March, the world looked dramatically different. With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, all of the collaborative members had been sent home from their offices to "flatten the curve," first for two weeks, then for two months, until their employers simply stopped trying to predict the future. Just three months later, protests erupted across the nation after the murder of George Floyd at the hands of police officers in Minneapolis.

Throughout this time, the new group continued to meet, and some new members joined, but the sense that everyone was living through history kept conversations focused on responding to current events. Members used the meetings to share talking points and strategies about connecting their environmental and conservation work to the pandemic and to racial justice. Mallory and Juan worked hard to simply maintain any sense of momentum and purpose by setting agendas, sharing resources, and leading the monthly meetings. Members seemed to appreciate simply having a space to focus on the intersection of climate and public lands.

As people adjusted to their "new normal," however, a feeling began to surface that the group members wanted to do more than just talk. Though Juan and Mallory still played vital roles as chair and facilitator, respectively, individual members began to take ownership. The group began to discuss the idea of making their work more concrete and taking the collaborative public. This momentum was bolstered when Joe Biden won the presidential election in November, ushering in a new wave of hope for climate and conservation activists worn down after four years of President Donald Trump. The shared framework was refined, a name was chosen, and the People, Public Lands, and Climate Collaborative made plans to go public.

PPLCC Launch - Overcoming Unforeseen Challenges

After a tumultuous first year of working together and getting to know one another, members were excited to begin moving forward. They envisioned a Collaborative larger than the sum of its parts, that would build power by connecting national priorities with the place-based perspectives and ideas of those most impacted by policies related to climate and public lands. Using TWS funds, Juan hired a communications contractor to build a website and create materials for the PPLCC's first official public action. The PPLCC planned to announce its existence to the world on January 6, 2021, by calling on President-elect Joe Biden to place a day-one

moratorium on oil and gas leasing on federal public lands and waters after his inauguration later that month.

The world had other plans. The morning of January 6, scheduled email blasts and social media posts were paused as people protesting the results of the presidential election began marching toward the U.S. Capitol. Once again, the members of PPLCC found themselves watching history unfold in real time, as protestors stormed through Capitol Police defenses, ransacked Congressional offices, and chanted calls to hang the Vice President. In the weeks that followed, many Americans saw fragility in their democracy that they had never imagined, and there was little room in the public discourse for conversations that weren't about President Trump's constant and clearly dangerous claims of election fraud or the upcoming inauguration.

By the time PPLCC regrouped at their February meeting, a peaceful transfer of power had occurred and the national mood had calmed somewhat. In his first week in office, President Biden had issued a series of Executive Orders undoing Trumpera actions and setting new standards, including several EOs focused on climate, environmental justice, and ecosystem protection. In the process, he had enacted the oil and gas moratorium that PPLCC had planned to advocate for. Though this specific call to action was now moot, Collaborative members still felt that the time was ripe for them to go public. The issues of climate, conservation, and environmental justice were in the spotlight, and there was widespread hope that unified Democratic control of the House, Senate, and White House for the first time since 2009 would result in the passage of ambitious climate legislation.

Collaborative members shifted their focus to supporting Deb Haaland, a New Mexico Congresswoman and Laguna Pueblo citizen whom Biden had recently nominated to serve as Secretary of the Interior. The vote on Haaland's confirmation was expected to take place on February 23. The Collaborative officially launched on February 17 with social media posts and email blasts from some of the member organizations and a press release in English and Spanish, quickly followed by a Day of Action on February 22 to make calls to Senate offices in support of Haaland. These efforts resulted in mentions of the Collaborative in E&E News, Bloomberg News, and La Opinión, the largest Spanish-language print and internet outlet in the US; 500 visitors to the Collaborative's website; and 60+ calls to Senate offices in seven states.

Building Collective Action

The Collaborative aimed to be a vehicle through which members could inform their work with additional valuable perspectives, advance their own organizational priorities, and collectively advance a shared vision for a climate plan for public lands. They shared this ambitious vision with the public by publishing their Shared Framework (Appendix 3). This document detailed PPLCC values, guiding principles, and a set of goals related to their three priority areas of ecosystems, emissions, and economies and communities.

Prior to launch, they had also coalesced around a strategy for determining support for specific strategies and tactics. In conversations throughout the course of 2020, members had acknowledged that while each member organization shared the same broader vision of the future, they operated on varied theories of change and embraced different paths toward arriving at this future. As such, it was agreed that, unless full consensus was reached, the Collaborative would never support or sign onto any specific action as "the People, Public Lands, and Climate Collaborative." Rather, member organizations would have the opportunity to sign on to any PPLCC actions; all PPLCC endorsements or letters would be provided by "the following members of the PPLCC" with an accompanying list of members.

What hadn't been fleshed out was any sort of strategic plan or set of short-term strategies that PPLCC would use to make progress toward its goals. At the February meeting, members spent about half of their time together in small groups to brainstorm opportunities for 2021 within three potential action channels: advocacy directed at the Biden administration and federal agencies, federal legislative advocacy, and outreach to frontline communities. There was significant interest in all of these channels, with agreement that the group would need to stay nimble and act on specific opportunities as they arose.

During the spring and summer of 2021, PPLCC continued to meet monthly via Zoom, with average attendance hovering around a dozen member organizations represented by 1-2 staff members each. This included a core group of ten organizations that had a presence at virtually every meeting – TWS, the American Alpine Club, Better Wyoming, Central Valley Air Quality Coalition, Defiende Nuestra Tierra, Great Old Broads for Wilderness, GreenLatinos, HECHO³, the Sierra Club, and Western Colorado Alliance. Within this core, some individuals consistently signed up to work on PPLCC action outside of meetings, while others were enthusiastic but clearly limited in capacity by the myriad other demands and priorities of their jobs.

To foster communication outside of these meetings, the Collaborative had an email listserv made up of at least one staff person from each member organization. Virtually all of the emails sent to the listserv during this period were sent by Juan or Mallory, alerting members of new reports and research relevant to the Collaborative, developments in D.C., and opportunities for member organizations to weigh in on federal agency actions, legislation, or other relevant work. Mallory and Juan met weekly to ensure that Collaborative members were holding themselves accountable for any actions discussed in meetings and track overall progress on PPLCC priorities. The pair also continued to lead outreach to potential new member organizations. They onboarded several new members during this time period: Grand Canyon Trust, Rural Utah Project, Pueblo Action Alliance, Protect Our Winters, and Creation Justice Ministries.

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³ Hispanics Enjoying Camping, Hiking, and the Outdoors (HECHO) was founded in 2013 and became a program of the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) via a partnership structure in 2018. NWF and HECHO both joined the PPLCC as separate member organizations.

By summer, the Collaborative had really begun to ramp up its activities. The group's accomplishments since its launch could perhaps best be summarized as ad hoc, but substantive:

- Participation in a March 25 Department of Interior (DOI) public forum regarding next steps in the fossil fuel leasing program, working from PPLCC talking points.
- Submission of shared comments on inclusive stakeholder engagement to DOI leadership as part of a public comment period.
- A PPLCC meeting with several DOI leaders in June introduced the Collaborative as a resource on issues related to climate, public lands, and equity. Members stressed the role DOI could play in ensuring that federal lands were part of a just and equitable climate solution. DOI leaders in attendance included the Deputy Director of Policy and Programs for the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), a top advisor within the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, and the Senior Counselor to the Secretary of Interior.
- In a separate meeting, PPLCC met with Tracy Stone-Manning in advance of her later confirmation as the Director of the BLM.
- Member-to-member education on federal policy topics related to a climate plan for public lands, as well as presentations from outside partners to provide additional learning opportunities. This included a presentation from Navajo and Hopi leaders regarding opportunities for supporting reclamation and revitalization of lands and communities impacted by coal mining, which resulted in PPLCC members amplifying these concerns in the meeting with DOI leadership.

Based on member feedback, six co-chair roles had been created to lead the Collaborative; co-chairs were to rotate every three months so as not to ask too much of any one member. In July, alongside Juan of TWS, representatives from GreenLatinos, American Alpine Club, Protect Our Winters, HECHO, and Friends of Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks were appointed as the first co-chairs to serve through the end of September. All of them brought fresh energy to the Collaborative's work. Co-chairs and other members began to use the PPLCC listserv to promote their own organizations' days of action, request assistance on specific topics, and share training or public participation opportunities with one another.

Also, a legislative tracker and scorecard had been developed by a graduate student volunteering for the PPLCC to help members track the status of federal legislation related to their goals and prioritize advocacy efforts toward high-impact work. At the July meeting, members had used these tools to complete an exercise in which they analyzed and prioritized opportunities to impact federal legislation, with a particular focus on short-term opportunities. This short-term focus was due in large

part to the current climate in DC, which looked to have the makings of a truly significant political moment for climate activists.

A bipartisan group of Senators had spent the summer negotiating the details of a bill that would provide massive new investments in infrastructure, and it looked almost ready to pass both chambers. While climate advocates were dismayed to some extent about the levels of funding in the infrastructure bill for methods of transportation reliant on fossil fuels, there were bright spots of investments in electric vehicles, climate resiliency, and reclamation of abandoned mine lands and orphaned oil and gas wells. Moreover, House Democrats were negotiating on the basis that they would only pass the infrastructure bill alongside a significantly larger bill making transformational investments in climate solutions and other progressive priorities. The plan for this second bill was to pass it using a little-known Congressional process called budget reconciliation, which would allow it to be passed without any Republican support.

PPLCC was looking to capitalize on this political moment by advocating for the inclusion of pieces of a climate plan for public lands in the reconciliation bill. Several of the bills that PPLCC had been tracking focused on the creation of a 21st Century Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a program that would cut across all three of PPLCC's priority areas by restoring ecosystems, providing good-paying jobs, and reducing emissions. These bills scored highly in the prioritization exercise they had completed in July. Moreover, President Biden had expressed support for such a program, and there was already talk in Washington that it might be included in reconciliation. Collaborative members began to discuss the idea of launching a short-term campaign based around including the 21st Century CCC in reconciliation and tying it to the need for a greater climate plan for public lands. After the July meeting, the co-chairs were tasked with refining this idea and beginning to build materials for such a campaign.

Tumultuous Shifts

Just as everyone felt energized and further actions began to take shape, internal and external factors would collide to dramatically slow the Collaborative's momentum. Internally, the addition of new member organizations and staff turnover or shifting responsibilities within member organizations meant that it suddenly felt like many faces at meetings were unfamiliar to one another. A full third of the time during the August meeting was dedicated to introductions and jointly reviewing the overarching roadmap and priorities for the Collaborative to ensure everyone was on the same page.

It was also announced in the week leading up to the August meeting that it would be Juan's last with PPLCC, as he was leaving TWS for a new opportunity. Two other TWS staff members, Kim and Daniella, introduced themselves at that meeting with plans to fill the gap left after Juan's departure, but it remained unclear to other Collaborative members whether they were permanent additions to the group or just helping out until Juan's replacement could be hired.

Mallory and other Keystone staff worked with the co-chairs over the next months to integrate Kim and Daniella into the Collaborative and utilize TWS ties in D.C. to gain a better understanding of how PPLCC could impact the reconciliation negotiations. PPLCC provided materials emphasizing the importance of advancing a climate plan for public lands via reconciliation for member organizations to use in their communications. But negotiations dragged on in D.C. and Juan's role at TWS remained unhired. Enthusiasm waned for a full-bore campaign featuring additional measures such as drafting an op-ed from one or multiple members, getting members to place calls, or asking supporters to sign a petition.

In particular, staff from grassroots groups reported that their supporters (and even staff at times) didn't feel connected to or really understand what was happening in Washington. The complexities of what could or couldn't be included in reconciliation and why this process was being used in the first place were lost on many of the "folks at home." Furthermore, the impression from news media that some black box negotiation process was happening behind just a few key closed doors in D.C. offices made it that much more difficult to connect their work on the ground with this legislation – even though its impacts were projected to be quite far-reaching if it passed.

September 2021 came and went with little substantive movement in D.C. and, though the previous co-chairs' rotation was up, little interest within PPLCC in appointing new co-chairs. PPLCC members simply seemed less engaged than in previous months. To meet this moment, throughout October Mallory and other staff from Keystone and TWS performed 1:1 check-ins with every member about the value of the Collaborative, and invited broader feedback about Collaborative goals, purposes, and leadership structure. The last PPLCC meetings of 2021 were spent debriefing these check-ins and discussing opportunities and priorities for PPLCC in 2022. Then, in late December, Senator Manchin announced his firm opposition to the reconciliation package, essentially killing the bill.

A New Year, A New Leaf

By the start of 2022, PPLCC was ready to regroup. Based on the feedback and discussions from the fall, six co-chairs (two focused on each priority area) were elected to lead the Collaborative for the year, and the format of the monthly meetings shifted. Members began spending the majority of their time together split into three working groups, one focused on each priority area. A thorough update of the legislative tracker was performed to ensure members were aware of the status of all relevant bills, and Daniella and Mallory worked alongside the co-chairs to ensure that opportunities to comment on agency actions or otherwise engage on administrative policy were tracked and shared with the Collaborative.

During the March meeting, each working group began to refine goals for 2022 and plan immediate action steps. The ways in which these working groups aimed to impact policy varied dramatically. The ecosystems working group hoped to plan a D.C. lobby day to discuss legislation of high priority for Collaborative members and

introduce the PPLCC to Congressional offices; they also hoped to increase the opportunities for PPLCC to educate the public on the intersection of climate and public lands via social media and op-eds. The communities and economies group was focused on getting feedback from local political officials about what resources could help them get engaged on federal policy affecting their communities. The emissions group hoped to highlight key landscapes such as Chaco Canyon and to use place-based storytelling as a tool to help publicize the need for just transitions.

Hillary's Challenge

In the week and a half since Hillary had started her job, she had spent a significant time sifting through the PPLCC shared Google Drive. She had read all of the meeting notes, looked at past campaign materials, and even watched some recordings of meetings from 2021. While she had fostered partnerships and collaboration in her previous role working for a state wildlife agency, Hillary had never had so much responsibility in shepherding the work of such a large Collaborative, and certainly never one that also included grantees of funding that she managed.

Of all the preparation she had done, Hillary had gained the most from a meeting earlier that week with Mallory Huggins, still serving as the lead facilitator for PPLCC. Mallory had directed Hillary toward a slide deck she had used to debrief the 1:1 check-ins back in November (Appendix 4), which Hillary found quite helpful for getting a high-level overview of where the Collaborative's momentum was focused in recent months. Moreover, the conversation with Mallory had been illuminating, and Hillary had taken notes when Mallory's comments stuck out to her as particularly relevant or insightful:

- Many people got involved originally because of the vision Juan pitched to them – Mallory acknowledges it was tough when Juan left, excited that I'm here. Says things have been picking up recently though, in part thanks to the new working group model.
- PPLCC is in this odd place where TWS kicked things off, and people really liked it and were grateful for the opportunity to come together, but as a group they have struggled with figuring out what exactly they are doing beyond providing a space to talk to each other about these issues (which can have value in and of itself). In the ideal situation, collaboration happens organically through a bunch of groups with a shared goal coming together and finding the money to pay themselves and a facilitator, but that's rare and it's not what happened here.
- PPLCC members share overarching goals but the tactics each group uses to get to those goals are different – they recognize that it's okay to disagree, because infighting on those tactics does a disservice to those overall goals
 - But this becomes a double-edged sword because then it becomes hard to find one specific policy or action for everyone to unify around
- Major accomplishments and challenges from 2021:

- Accomplishment: people continued to show up and find value in connecting in this way.
- Accomplishment: beginning to build relationships with Biden admin officials and making PPLCC available as a resource to DOI.
- Challenge: figuring out a "way through" for smaller organizations that don't generally engage at a federal level. Helping them feel connected to federal actions especially legislation is tough for several reasons. Their staff may be inexperienced with Congressional advocacy, they don't have the time or resources, or they may even feel that this sort of engagement could draw focus away from their core mission.
 - Plus when everything was focused on reconciliation, and then it blew up, the value of engaging may have become muddied, especially for a new Collaborative with little name recognition and therefore little (public) influence
- Embracing the tension of relationship-building. Sometimes putting
 the concrete accomplishments of a new coalition such as this into a
 list makes for a really short list but in order to have the relationships
 and the trust built by the time you want to do a "real, big thing," that
 takes time up front.
- Looking forward in 2022:
 - Connecting the local to the federal (especially within economies and communities working group)
 - Continuing to build relationships with the administration and continuing to refine the framing of PPLCC as the only group of voices speaking to this specific nexus, especially with the people lens

Upon further reflection, Hillary had jotted down some questions that were still outstanding in her mind:

- Who is showing up to the Collaborative, and who should be? Seems like the other "big greens" have not been engaged where are they? Do we want them there? If so, how can we encourage their involvement?
- With PPLCC still a relatively new effort, what needs to be done to keep sustaining it? What "fuel" do we need to keep providing?
 - What is the best structure to ensure that we maintain that momentum? Mallory says the working groups seem to be helping – but does that separate members too much? Is six co-chairs the right number?
 - A separate but related question, beyond simply sustaining, how can we then transition into effectively using the Collaborative as a force

for good? As a leader and funder, how can I empower members, especially those who are enthusiastic but have little capacity to take on more work? How do we build meaningful buy-in?

- Should TWS as convener and funder try to direct PPLCC changemaking efforts into specific channels based on what might be more effective, or do we fully leave that up to members?
 - Where would PPLCC be most effective? Legislative advocacy, building relationships with the Administration – and an extra complication that this is an election year. Members have expressed some interest in 501(c)3-compatible election work – is that a good use of our resources?
- What does success look like for PPLCC in 2022, and who defines that? Is it me
 and TWS as the funder? Is it Collaborative members as a whole? Is it the cochairs as the designated leaders?
 - o If we don't "succeed," how do we keep members engaged? Do we set goals that are easily achievable so that success is guaranteed, or do we aim high to honor the transformative change we agree needs to happen?

In the few minutes she had free before the PPLCC meeting, Hillary reviewed Mallory's 1:1 takeaways slide deck (Appendix 4), and reread her notes from her conversation with Mallory as well as the questions she had written to herself. She hoped she would gain some clarity on the answers to those questions through her own upcoming 1:1 meetings with her grantees, but for now she felt she had far more questions than answers.

Hillary reminded herself that she had taken this job in large part because she felt passionately about the mission of the PPLCC. Because the Collaborative filled a critical and mostly overlooked gap in marrying the goals of conservation, climate, and environmental justice activists, Hillary firmly believed that the sky was the limit in terms of the potential for this group to create meaningful change – and that that potential remained mostly untapped.

Hillary knew that the work of collaboration and relationship-building took time. She also knew that the Collaborative members had originally come together because of a shared sense of urgency in the face of twin climate and biodiversity crises, crises that disproportionately affected the members of society who were already the most vulnerable and marginalized. She took her new job seriously and felt that she was in a position to really help the PPLCC move – or to watch it fall apart. She jotted down some final notes about themes she wanted to emphasize when introducing herself, and then clicked the Zoom link in her calendar to join the meeting.

Appendix 1: List of PPLCC Member Organizations

(as of April 14, 2022)

American Alpine Club

Better Wyoming

Conservation Lands Foundation

Creation Justice Ministries

Central Valley Air Quality Coalition

Defiende Nuestra Tierra

Friends of Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks

Grand Canyon Trust

Great Old Broads for Wilderness

GreenLatinos

HECHO

Jackson Hole Conservation Alliance

League of Conservation Voters

National Parks Conservation Association

National Wildlife Federation

Protect Our Winters

Protégete

Pueblo Action Alliance

Sierra Club

Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance

Rural Utah Project

Western Colorado Alliance

The Wilderness Society

Wilderness Workshop

Wild Montana

Appendix 2: Job Description, TWS Strategic Partnerships Manager

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Strategic Partnerships Manager is responsible for ensuring TWS develops, maintains, and grows strategic partnerships that embrace the organization's overall strategic plan and support the organization's core program areas: 30x30, climate solutions and community led conservation by leading the development of tools, practices and approaches to establish meaningful relationships with allied nonprofits, coalitions, community leaders and state and local officials. This position will require an innovative thinker skilled at bringing people together within TWS and external partners.

Together with the Senior Director of Organizing and Strategic Partnerships, this position will develop a strategy to ensure partnerships across the organizations reflect a broad spectrum of existing and future collaborators that reflect the diversity of the places where we work—especially building capacity to advocate for community conservation priorities at organizations representing Black, Indigenous and People of Color, social and economic justice activists, labor groups as well as more traditional conservation and environmental allies.

This position will manage a portfolio of grantees engaged in the People, Public Lands and Climate Collaborative. The Strategic Partnerships Manager will also support staff across the organization working in coalition and otherwise building partnerships as a consultant and strategic advisor to best leverage and maximize these relationships, and to hold TWS accountable for its commitments to equity and inclusion.

This position plays an important role in supporting an inclusive organizational culture that is grounded in trust and accountability to shared goals and outcomes. TWS has made diversity, equity, and inclusion strategic priorities for the organization and the Manager will play a key role in integrating these priorities throughout our work. Across our team, we aspire to be campaign-oriented, nimble, collaborative, innovative, transparent, and supportive of staff – our greatest asset.

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES:

- Develop and execute on a vision for strengthening and expanding TWS relationships with priority constituencies including annual, quarterly and monthly goals and a plan to report through TWS Dashboard
- Participate in key cross-functional teams, including 30x30, climate solutions and community led conservation result, as well as landscape teams, to develop respectful internal working relationships, stay abreast of priority TWS work and identify gaps and opportunities for TWS partnerships
- Develop and expand TWS' approach to capacity grantmaking that grows meaningful partnerships.
- Manage portfolio of grantees, and work with senior director of OSP to run grant application process to track progress of projects through grant cycle.
- Develop and lead execution of training curriculum for TWS staff on skills and learned experience needed to successfully build or expand key relationships including proactively communicating successes and learnings to the whole organization

- In coordination with colleagues, serve as the point of contact where appropriate for external partners by leading or attending calls, meetings, trainings, and developing online and offline content
- Contribute to big-picture strategic planning informed by ongoing analysis of current and potential future allies and opponents
- Collect and incorporate feedback that models an orientation toward learning and growth as an individual and within teams
- Demonstrate unwavering commitment to advancing equity and justice both internally and in our external campaign work
- Perform other job-related duties as requested or assigned

QUALIFICATIONS

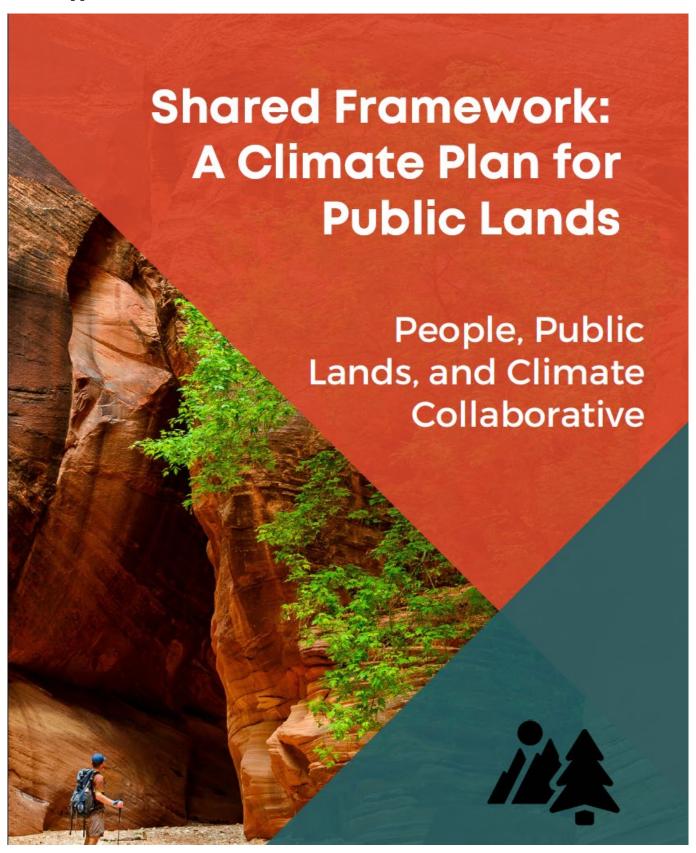
- Exemplary skills at managing various complex projects with overlapping timelines.
- Exceptional interpersonal skills and ability to work with diverse stakeholders.
- Ability to work successfully with multi-disciplinary staff and consultants in shifting roles, at times directing, advising, collaborating, and supporting.
- Ability to create, articulate, and cultivate staff investment in and ownership of shared vision.
- Proven ability to facilitate inclusive meetings both with internal and external teams.
- Exemplary skills in verbal and written communication
- Willingness and ability to travel within the U.S.
- Comfort with ambiguity, flexibility and adapting to shifting priorities and plans
- Track record working successfully in teams representing a rich mix of talent, backgrounds, and perspectives—across race and gender

The Wilderness Society offers a competitive salary and benefits package, including health, dental, vision, life, and disability insurance; sick and vacation leave; a sabbatical program; and a retirement plan. TWS is an equal opportunity employer and actively works to ensure fair treatment of our employees and constituents across culture, socioeconomic status, race, marital or family situation, gender, age, ethnicity, religious beliefs, physical ability, veteran status or sexual orientation.

As an organization, we aspire to be inclusive in the work that we do, and in the kind of organization we are. Internally, this means working as a team that listens to different points of view, recognizes the contributions of every employee and empowers each employee to bring their whole selves to work every day. Externally, this means ensuring that public lands are inclusive and welcoming, so that our shared wildlands can help people and nature to thrive. We are committed to equity throughout our work, which we define as our commitment to realizing the promise of our public lands and ensuring that all can share in their universal benefits.

To learn more about our commitment, please see http://wilderness.org/our-commitment-diversity-equity-and-inclusion-wilderness-society

Appendix 3: PPLCC Shared Framework



01 The Collaborative

Our common goal is ensuring that public lands are part of a just and equitable climate solution by:

- Promoting sustainability, climate resiliency, and healthy communities and economies;
- Protecting, connecting, and restoring critical landscapes and lands; and
- Reducing emissions from energy produced on public lands.

O2 Collaborative Values

What's at Stake

- We enter this conversation from the perspective of multiple intersecting interests: clean water, clean air, public health, inspired voices, access to public spaces, recreation, sustainable economies, honoring Indigenous knowledge and history, faith and spirituality-based stewardship of the earth, environmental justice, preservation of culture and heritage, protecting wildlife, and/or healthy food systems.
- We are experiencing a climate crisis that threatens humanity and all living beings.

Role of public lands:

- Public lands are a source of, an indicator of, and an entry point for engaging with the climate crisis.
- From time immemorial, the Indigenous inhabitants of North America have been conscientious stewards of the land. "Public lands" were created from the forced removal of native communities, and management of these lands has often prioritized extraction. Given that Indigenous peoples are proven caretakers of the natural world, public lands should be managed to protect sacred sites, counter Indigenous erasure, and respect Tribal sovereignty.
- Public lands are a celebrated, shared resource and should benefit all of our communities.
- Public lands in rural, urban, and suburban communities play a critical role in U.S. adaptation, mitigation and resiliency measures.

Need for bold and immediate collective action:

- A collective climate plan for public lands can create solidarity across a range of diverse communities, including those on the frontlines of a warming planet and disproportionate impacts, allowing organizations and the communities they work with and serve to play to their strengths, contribute to a holistic strategy, and feed into a reimagined opportunity around climate change and public lands.
- Strategies to date have not been effective. This complex and daunting challenge calls for a new way of thinking that prioritizes ambitious, creative, and science-based solutions.
- Solutions must have broad appeal and benefits.

03 Guiding Principles

- Acknowledgment of History: The U.S. conservation movement historically has benefitted from the forced or coercive displacement of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Public lands have been spaces often restricted explicitly or implicitly to use and management by individuals with racial, economic, and geographic privilege.
- Balanced approach to solutions: All climate solutions for public lands must consider emissions, the impact on wildlife, and the impact – including economic – on the community. Every solution has potential benefits and drawbacks; drawbacks should be mitigated and their burden/impact fairly shared.
- Stakeholder engagement: Public lands are for everyone. All land management planning should consider and act upon the input of local communities and the broader public this includes Indigenous populations and others who have historically been harmed by land conservation and development on lands. Those who stand to be most affected by public lands decisions must be able to provide input into and influence that decision.
- **Sense of urgency:** The climate crisis has and will continue to have devastating impacts on our communities, economies, and ecosystems. We must take bold action, now.

04 Shared Framework

Priority Areas	Goals
Economies and Communities: Promote sustainability, resiliency, and health for economies and communities.	Bolster a triple bottom line public lands economy that balances the benefit and impact on people, the planet, and profit.
	Foster a new generation of public lands stewardship through education, outreach, and outdoor access.
	Engage communities historically and presently most impacted by climate change and pollution in decision-making about public lands and waters.
	Support justice-driven transitions for communities moving away from fossil fuel economies.
Ecosystems: Protect, connect, and restore critical landscapes.	Create a well-designed and connected system of protected lands and waters, wildlife corridors, and working lands to sustain biological diversity and increase sequestration potential.
	Manage landscapes for public health and community resilience.
	Support and fund sustainable land management practices and stewardship programs.
Emissions: Reduce emissions from energy produced on public lands.	Significantly reduce emissions of both greenhouse gases and criteria and toxic air pollutants from fossil fuel production on public lands and offshore waters.
	Responsibly permit renewable energy on public lands and waters.

Appendix 4: Takeaways from 1:1s (created by Keystone Policy Center)



Basics

- Keystone/TWS reached out to all active members; checked in with all but three orgs/individuals in the last two months
- Asked some version of the following questions:
 - What was your goal/hope for being in the Collaborative?
 - O What are you finding valuable about the Collaborative?
 - What would you like to see change about the Collaborative to make it more valuable for you?
 - If you haven't been active in the Collaborative, why?
 - Capacity? Is there someone else from your team who could be involved?
 - Interest/value? Is there a way to change either the structure, the approach, or the project areas to make it more valuable?
 - O Are there things that you or your organization could take on to make the Collaborative what you hope it can be?
- The next few slides summarize why folks are involved, what's working, and what could change to make the group more valuable

Why are you involved in the Collaborative?

- Marrying climate and public lands at the same table
- The chance to connect with, support, and learn about partners/prospective partners
- Access to opportunities, resources, and learnings they wouldn't otherwise have, which can increase organizational capacity

What's working?

- Many celebrated the fact that this group has stayed connected given the pandemic and the relative newness of the group; folks acknowledged that coalition building takes time and that the structure and time commitment is working pretty well
- Access to messaging, statements, and campaign materials to use and share, including having the chance to sign onto letters and petitions
- Agencies seem to admire/respect this group; the PPLCC is a good bridge for smaller organizations to connect directly with decision-makers

What's working?

- Starting to break down power dynamics in the conservation space
 - O Disrupting the white male dominance that can pervade these spaces
 - A force for redefining what public lands conservation or public lands advocates look like
- Shared communications infrastructure
- Great mix of organizations and individuals involved
- Getting to learn more about other organizations' priorities
 - O Understanding the nuance of other positions (e.g., strategies for reducing carbon emissions on public lands)
 - O Good platform for shared thinking about the intersection of climate and public lands

What's working?

- Insight into federal issues
 - Helps smaller or locally-focused orgs feel connected to what's happening in DC
 - O Valuable to feel connected to other orgs that have more knowledge about policy processes, and capitalize on the expertise and relationships that other orgs have
- Organizations have complementary agendas

- Need a core idea/set of goals or priorities to organize around
 - There is room for visioning and being visionaries
 - O Better articulate the niche that this group fills; need a core organizing idea(s) to differentiate from other public lands groups
 - O Need to underscore the culture and why we're all here: Whose voices are we trying to elevate and why?
 - So much potential for this group to be influential

- Financial support for the Collaborative overall and for smaller orgs specifically
 - O Members called for better-resourced organizations to step up and support smaller ones
 - O Supporting the Collaborative and smaller orgs in it is a way to invest in equity and local power

- A more defined leadership/group structure
 - O Many members suggested committing to a more long-term leadership structure with co-chairs and possibly standing working groups
 - Need people to commit time to the structure/leadership while making sure everyone feels included
 - O Space for smaller working groups and/or breakouts would make it easier for folks to participate/feel empowered to speak up
 - O More consistent leadership, maybe more stable working groups or state caucuses

- More chances to connect member to member
 - More clarity/understand around who is in the group and why
 - Create a structure that makes relationship building and partnership easier
 - Ask everyone to connect to another member at least once per month?
 - O Social opportunities that are separate from main meeting?
 - O Create space within monthly meetings for member connection
 - O Email can be a tough medium, but it's nice when groups can use the listserve or monthly meetings to offer opportunities for collaboration/mutual support

- In-person gatherings
 - Could be a Hill day in DC and/or something in the West
 - January/February would be good times for a retreat
 - O Gatherings should be more about asking big questions and coming up with solutions -- not just panel discussions and presentations

- Diversity among members, on various fronts:
 - o Rural/urban
 - O Different sizes of orgs
 - Racial/ethnic diversity
 - Gender diversity

- Some debate about whether state or federal issues should be a priority; points towards need to keep connected to both
 - A lot of folks want to stay connected to federal issues; others worry that it's too hard to get air time on those issues and thus potentially not worth it
 - Executive branch could be a better place for us to target than Congress
 - O Some members asked for space to get additional intel on what's happening on the ground in different states
 - Others suggested state tables/caucuses for members from the same state to connect

What's next?:
Possible
priorities for
2022

November 2021

Priorities for 2022: What

- Ecosystems: Establish the group as a resource for DOI/BLM (e.g., localizing 30x30; defining what a Conservation Atlas will measure; helping leverage BIF funding at the local level; generally defining locally led conservation)
- **Economies/communities:** Embedding equity across the board what does it look like to foreground racial justice/equity in conservation?
- Emissions: Inform the development of a target for emissions/general climate goal on public lands. Elevate different perspectives on those targets - polluted communities, fossil fuel dependent communities, folks who don't want market-based solutions.

Priorities for 2022: How

- Frontline Connector Summit with PPLCC members, community, administration officials
 - O Could feature discussions/solution-generating like: defining locally-led conservation, reimagining NEPA/stakeholder engagement, rubric for helping small organizations/individuals identify their policy priorities for public lands/climate
 - o "Matchmaking" among small orgs and between small orgs and big greens
 - Developing relationships and partnerships between DOI and orgs on implementing America the Beautiful goals
 - Opportunities for state tables to connect/develop
- Narrative building/storytelling
 - Elevating stories at the intersection of the issues we care about climate, people, public lands
 - Leveraging Betsy, Alfredo, and Gabriella's support
- Restructure meetings with goal of providing space for members to learn from and about one another and identify ways to partner with one another

Structure: Leadership

- 3-4 co-chairs for 2022
- Nominated by self or other
- Each co-chair would align with an area of focus/working group

Structure: Role of members

- All members: Participants should expect to devote about four hours per month to the Collaborative, including a 90-minute monthly group call; email correspondence and circulation of resources and ideas between meetings; and tasks, as assigned during group meetings (outreach to prospective new members, development of presentations for monthly meetings, aggregation of resources for the group, etc.).
- Big greens/members of a certain budget: Financially contribute to the Collaborative; bring smaller PPLCC members to other tables on various issues; amplify priorities of smaller members; bring policy experts closest to key federal or state issues to the PPLCC to provide updates so smaller members can more easily stay connected to those issues

Structure: Meetings

- Updates on federal/state policy as needed
- Member discussion about different policy issues i.e., strategies for addressing carbon emissions on public lands
- Space for member to member connection
- Working group space to talk about priority areas
- Possible: At least quarterly space for groups from the same state to discuss their priorities

Appendix A: List of PPLCC Member Organizations

(as of April 14, 2022)

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Better Wyoming

Conservation Lands Foundation

Creation Justice Ministries

Central Valley Air Quality Coalition

Defiende Nuestra Tierra

Friends of Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks

Grand Canyon Trust

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Protect Our Winters

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Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance

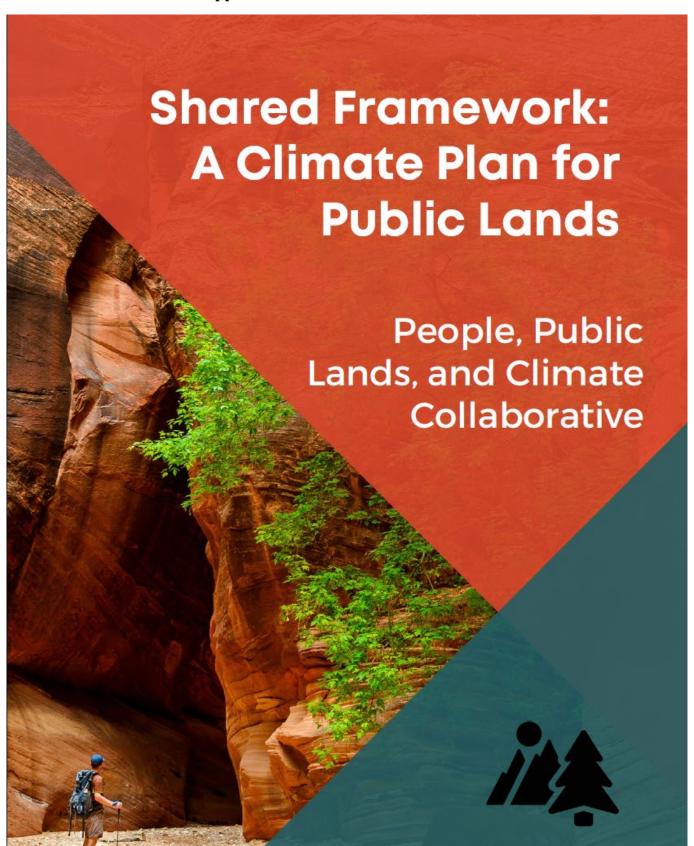
Rural Utah Project

Western Colorado Alliance

The Wilderness Society

Wilderness Workshop

Wild Montana



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- Protecting, connecting, and restoring critical landscapes and lands; and
- Reducing emissions from energy produced on public lands.

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What's at Stake

- We enter this conversation from the perspective of multiple intersecting interests: clean water, clean air, public health, inspired voices, access to public spaces, recreation, sustainable economies, honoring Indigenous knowledge and history, faith and spirituality-based stewardship of the earth, environmental justice, preservation of culture and heritage, protecting wildlife, and/or healthy food systems.
- We are experiencing a climate crisis that threatens humanity and all living beings.

Role of public lands:

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- Public lands are a celebrated, shared resource and should benefit all of our communities.
- Public lands in rural, urban, and suburban communities play a critical role in U.S. adaptation, mitigation and resiliency measures.

Need for bold and immediate collective action:

- A collective climate plan for public lands can create solidarity across a range of diverse communities, including those on the frontlines of a warming planet and disproportionate impacts, allowing organizations and the communities they work with and serve to play to their strengths, contribute to a holistic strategy, and feed into a reimagined opportunity around climate change and public lands.
- Strategies to date have not been effective. This complex and daunting challenge calls for a new way of thinking that prioritizes ambitious, creative, and science-based solutions.
- Solutions must have broad appeal and benefits.

O3 Guiding Principles

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04 Shared Framework

Priority Areas	Goals
Economies and Communities:	Bolster a triple bottom line public lands economy that balances the benefit and impact on people, the planet, and profit.
Promote sustainability,	Foster a new generation of public lands stewardship through education, outreach, and outdoor access.
resiliency, and health for	Engage communities historically and presently most impacted by climate change and pollution in decision-making about public lands and waters.
economies and communities.	Support justice-driven transitions for communities moving away from fossil fuel economies.
Ecosystems : Protect, connect,	Create a well-designed and connected system of protected lands and waters, wildlife corridors, and working lands to sustain biological diversity and increase sequestration potential.
and restore critical	Manage landscapes for public health and community resilience.
landscapes.	Support and fund sustainable land management practices and stewardship programs.
Emissions : Reduce emissions from energy produced on	Significantly reduce emissions of both greenhouse gases and criteria and toxic air pollutants from fossil fuel production on public lands and offshore waters.
public lands.	Responsibly permit renewable energy on public lands and waters.

Appendix C: PPLCC Legislative Tracker

See next page for PPLCC Legislative Tracker. Version current as of March 20, 2022.

				PPLC	CC Legislative	Tracker					
Short Title	Bill Number	Topline	Goal	Status	Senate Lead(s)	House Lead(s)	Intersection?	PPLCC Endorse?	PPLCC Orgs Engaged/Leading	PPLCC Orgs Looking to Engage	Notes/Intel
					COMMUNITIE	S					
21st Century Conservation Corps Act/Civilian Climate Corps Act	HR 1162, S 487, HR 2241, S 1057	Establish CCC to restore ecosystems, perform deferred maintenance, energy retrofitting, prioritize projects in frontline communities	Support rural economies through improving public lands and mitigating climate change risks; address increasing wildfire risks	Passed House as part of BBB, included in SENR BBB text (aka Manchin-approved)	Ron Wyden (D- OR), Chris Coons (D-DE), Martin Heinrich (D-NM), Ben Ray Lujan (D-NM)	Joe Neguse (D- CO-2), Abigail Spanberger (D- VA-7)	Ecosystems, Emissions		The Wilderness Society, American Alpine Club		Very similar bills. Some funding included in SENR BBB text. Grijalva plans to push in HNRC to pressure Senate
Parks, Jobs, and Equity Act	HR 1678, S 2258	Provide grants to cities for new/renovated parks and rec facilities, rec programming/personnel, and Native event sites. 50% of funds to low- income communities and 2% to tribes.	Decrease outdoor access gap	SENR hearing held 12/2/21	John Hickenlooper (D-CO), Alex Padilla (D-CA)	Nanette Diaz Barragán (D-CA- 44), Joe Neguse (D-CO-2), Michael Turner (R-OH-10)			The Wilderness Society, American Alpine Club	Creation Justice Ministries	Hearing held as part of group of rec bills that may be packaged together in 2022
Outdoors for All Act	HR 5413, S 2887	Codifies Outdoor Recreation Legacy Partnership into law	Decrease outdoor access gap	Passed House as part of HR 803; also as part of HR 3684. SENR hearing held 12/2/21	Alex Padilla (D-CA), Susan Collins (R-ME)	Nanette Diaz Barragán (D-CA- 44), Michael Turner (R-OH-10)			The Wilderness Society, American Alpine Club	Creation Justice Ministries	Senate hearing held as part of group of rec bills that may be packaged together in 2022. Part of EJ for All Act (HR 2021)
Environmental Justice for All Act	HR 2021, S 872	Creates a Federal Energy Transition Economic Development Assistance Fund to support communities and workers; bolsters Clinton EJ EO; requires added community involvement in NEPA processes; supports more equitable access to parks		Full committee hearing in HNRC 2/15/22	Tammy Duckworth (D-IL)	Raúl Grijalva (D- AZ-3), Donald McEachin (D-VA- 4)			Creation Justice Ministries, The Wilderness Society, American Alpine Club		
Revitalizing the Economy of Coal Communities by Leveraging Local Activities and Investing More (RECLAIM) Act	HR 1733, S 1455	Directs previously collected AML funds to carry out coal mine reclamation projects	Spur growth in rural communities through converting abandoned mine lands into usable land for economic development, wildlife and outdoor recreation	full markup held 5/26/21 passed as part of BIF?	Joe Manchin (D-WV)	Matt Cartwright (D-PA-8), Hal Rogers (R-KY-5)	Ecosystems				
Abandoned Mine Land Reauthorization Act	<u>HR 1734, S</u> 1447	Reauthorizes AML Trust Fund from SMCRA until 2036	Stop expiration of AML in September 2021	passed as part of BIF (mostly)	Joe Manchin (D-WV)	Matt Cartwright (D-PA-8), Glenn Thompson (R- PA-15)	Ecosystems				what ultimately passed reauthorized AML until 2034, but reduced fees by 20%
Transit to Trails Act	S 1461, HR 2924	Establishes a program that provides funding to groups that provide transportation connectors to green spaces for critically underserved communities	Reduce outdoor access gap	Introduced in Senate; passed House as part of HR 3684	Cory Booker (D- NJ)	Jimmy Gomez (D-CA-34)	Emissions		TWS		Part of EJ for All Act (HR 2021)
Schools and State Budgets Certainty Act	<u>S 1740</u>	Provides "energy transition payments" to states as o&g revenues decline	Cuts ties between state budgets and o&g revenues to encourage just transition	Introduced in Senate	Martin Heinrich (D-NM), Ben Ray Luján (D-NM)		Emissions				
Historic Preservation Enhancement Act	HR 6589	Permanently reauthorize and fully fund the Historic Preservation Fund; double existing funding	Support historic preservation and improve management of cultural resources on public lands	Introduced in House		Teresa Leger Fernández (D- NM-3), Earl Blumenauer (D- OR-3)					
					ECOSYSTEM	S					
Grand Canyon Protection Act	HR 1052, S 387	Withdraw ~1 million acres in/around Grand Canyon from mineral & geothermal leasing		Passed House as part of HR 803	Kyrsten Sinema (D-AZ)	Raul Grijalva (D- AZ-3)	Communities		Grand Canyon Trust, Creation Justice Ministries		
Colorado Outdoor Recreation and Economy (CORE) Act	HR 577, S 173	Protect 400,000 acres of public land in CO via wilderness, rec area designations, cancellation of o&g leases		Passed House as part of HR 803; Senate ENR subcommittee hearing 6/16/21	Michael Bennet (D-CO), John Hickenlooper (D- CO)	Joe Neguse (D-CO-2)	Communities, Emissions		TWS, Great Old Broads, American Alpine Club		
Wild Olympics Wilderness and Wild & Scenic Rivers Act	HR 999, S455	Adds wilderness, wild & scenic rivers	Ecosystem protection for Olympic Mountains	Passed House as part of HR 803; Senate ENR subcommittee hearing 6/16/21	Patty Murray (D- WA)	Derek Kilmer (D- WA-6)					

	PPLCC Legislative Tracker												
Short Title	Bill Number	Topline	Goal	Status	Senate Lead(s)	House Lead(s)	Intersection?	PPLCC Endorse?	PPLCC Orgs Engaged/Leading	PPLCC Orgs Looking to Engage	Notes/Intel		
Northwest California Wilderness, Recreation, and Working Forests Act	HR 878, S 1459	Create restoration, conservation management areas; add wilderness	Enhanced restoration, protection, and recreation on public lands in Northern CA	Passed House as part of HR 803; Senate ENR Subcommittee hearing 10/19/21	Alex Padilla (D-CA)	Jared Huffman (D-CA-2)	Communities, Emissions				authorizes R&D of forest biobased products resulting in carbon sequestration		
Central Coast Heritage Protection Act	HR 973, S 1459	Creates wilderness, wild & scenic rivers	Ecosystem protection in CA Central Coast	Passed House as part of HR 803; Senate ENR Subcommittee hearing 10/19/21	Alex Padilla (D-CA)	Salud Carbajal (D-CA-24)							
San Gabriel Mountains Foothills and Rivers Protection Act	HR 693, S 1459	Creates new Nat'l Recreation Area, adds to Nat'l Monument, adds wilderness	Protect the San Gabriel Mountains	Passed House as part of HR 803; Senate ENR Subcommittee hearing 10/19/21	Alex Padilla (D-CA)	Judy Chu (D-CA- 27)	Communities						
Protecting America's Wilderness and Public Lands Act	HR 803	Big public lands bill establishing new wildernesses, wild & scenic rivers, recreation trails/areas, etc. in CA, CO, AZ, WA, OR, NC, ME, VA, USVI		Passed House		Diana DeGette (D-CO-1)	Communities, Emissions		American Alpine Club	Creation Justice Ministries			
Roadless Area Conservation Act of 2021	HR 279	Codifies the USDA Roadless Rule	Protect 58 million + acres of USFS lands	Introduced in House		Ruben Gallego (D-AZ-7)	Emissions						
Ruby Mountains Protection Act	<u>S 609</u>	withdraw 450k acres of FS land in Ruby Mountains from O&G leasing	permanently protect Ruby Mountains from development	Reported to full Senate out of committee 11/18/21	Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV), Jacky Rosen (D- NV)		Emissions						
Southern Nevada Economic Development and Conservation Act	HR 1597, S 567	Adds 1.3 million acres wilderness, ~700,000 acres other protected designations to southern NV; exchanges lands to Las Vegas metro for affordable housing, business growth	Protect large swaths of land from development while balancing anticipated growth of LV metro	Introduced in House; Senate ENR subcommittee hearing 6/16/21		Dina Titus (D-NV-1)	Communities, Emissions				local SC chapter opposed to "sprawl in the bill" - trying to get that addressed - but sounds like opposed as written		
Northern Rockies Ecosystem Protection Act	HR 1755	Protect 23 million acres in Northern Rockies as wilderness, wild & scenic rivers, and biological corridors	Protect ecosystems, watersheds, and migration corridors	Introduced in House		Carolyn Maloney (D-NY-12)	Emissions				Blumenauer is the only cosponsor hailing from affected states		
Cerro de la Olla Wilderness Establishment Act	<u>S 177, HR</u> 2522	Establishes a 13,000 acre wilderness area within the Rio Grande del Norte National Monument	Protect important area for Taos Pueblo, wildlife	Introduced; Senate ENR subcommittee hearing 6/16/21	Martin Heinrich (D-NM), Ben Ray Lujan (D-NM)	Teresa Leger Fernandez (D- NM-3)							
Arctic Refuge Protection Act	S 282, HR 815	Establishes 1.5 million acre wilderness area within Arctic National Wildlife Refuge	Protect important area for wildlife, Gwich'in	Introduced	Ed Markey (D-MA)	Jared Huffman (D-CA-2)	Communities, Emissions		Creation Justice Ministries		House version repeals Arctic Refuge O&G program - SENR BBB text includes full withdrawal of mineral leases within ANWR		
Outdoor Restoration Partnerships Act	HR 2682, S 1248	Fund community wildfire mitigation projects, fund forest restoration projects	Prevent catastrophic wildfires and mitigate damage to communities; create jobs	Introduced	Michael Bennet (D-CO), Ron Wyden (D-OR)	Jason Crow (D- CO-6), Mike Simpson (R-ID-2)	Emissions, Communities			Creation Justice Ministries	Introduced as Outdoor Restoration Force Act in 116th		
Castner Range National Monument Act	HR 2752	Establishes 7,000 acre national monument in El Paso	Protect ecosystem, increase outdoor access for El Pasoans	NR hearing held in House		Veronica Escobar (D-TX-16)	Communities		GreenLatinos				
Blackfoot Clearwater Stewardship Act	<u>S 1493</u>	Creates 79,000 acre wilderness and two special recreation areas near Bob Marshall/Seeley Lake	Protect watershed, increase recreation opportunities, build sustainable economy	Senate ENR subcommittee hearing 10/19/21	Jon Tester (D- MT)		Communities		Wild Montana				
Save Oak Flat Act	HR 1884, S 915	Revokes a 2015 land transfer from Tonto NF to Resolution Copper	Protect sacred site and respect tribal sovereignty	Introduced in Senate, Reported to full House 4/28/21	Bernie Sanders (I-VT)	Raul Grijalva (D- AZ-3)	Communities		Creation Justice Ministries, American Alpine Club				
America's Red Rock Wilderness Act	HR 3780, S 1535	Creates 8.4 million acres of wilderness in Utah	Protect ecosystem, sacred sites	Introduced	Dick Durbin (D-IL)	Alan Lowenthal (D-CA-47)	Communities, Emissions		SUWA, Creation Justice Ministries				

PPLCC Legislative Tracker												
Short Title	Bill Number	Topline	Goal	Status	Senate Lead(s)	House Lead(s)	Intersection?	PPLCC Endorse?	PPLCC Orgs Engaged/Leading	PPLCC Orgs Looking to Engage	Notes/Intel	
Chaco Cultural Heritage Protection Act	no specific bill in 117th	protect buffer around Chaco Canyon National Park from O&G leasing	Protect ecosystem, sacred sites	Was part of BBB, not yet introduced as standalone in 117th			Communities, Emissions	Endorse	Pueblo Action Alliance, Grand Canyon Trust, TWS	Essening to Engage		
Avi Kwa Ame National Monument Establishment Act	HR 6751	Establishes 450,000 acre national monument in southern Nevada	Protect ecosystem, tribal cultural heritage and sacred landscape, support outdoor rec	Introduced in House		Dina Titus (D-NV-1)	Communities		Conservation Lands Foundation			
Shenandoah Mountain Act	<u>S 3911</u>	Establishes 92,000 acre national scenic area in Virginia	Protect ecosystem, one of the last undeveloped stretches of public land east of the Mississippi	Introduced in Senate	Tim Kaine (D- VA), Mark Warner (D-VA)				TWS			
					EMISSIONS							
California Land Protection Act	HR 456	Nullifies a BLM Bakersfield EIS until new EIS considering effects of all oil & gas dev is completed		Introduced in House		Salud Carbajal (D-CA-24)	Ecosystems					
Ending Taxpayer Welfare for Oil and Gas Companies Act	HR 1517	Raise onshore o&g royalty rates rental fees, and minimum bids; require payments for all methane	Fair return to taxpayers, reduce emissions	reported to full House 5/5/21		Katie Porter (D-CA-45)	Communities				royalty rate of 16.67%, increased rental fees and minimum bids included in SENR BBB text	
Fair Returns for Public Lands Act	S 624	Raise onshore o&g royalty rates rental fees, and minimum bids; require fee for nominations; require regular adjustments to these rates	Fair returns to taxpayers, reduce emissions	Introduced in Senate	Jacky Rosen (D- NV), Chuck Grassley (R-IA)		Communities				Companion to HR 1517; 16.67% royalty rate, inreased rental fees & minimum bids, and nomination fees included in SENR BBB text	
Methane Waste Prevention Act	HR 1492	Require EPA and BLM to set limits on methane, natural gas flaring on public lands	Reduce emissions	reported to full House 5/5/21		Diana DeGette (D-CO-1)						
Restoring Community Input and Public Protections in Oil and Gas Leasing Act	HR 1503	End non-competitive leasing; raise onshore royalty rates, rental fees, and minimum bids; end anonymous nominations; increase community input opportunities	Increase transparency and community input of oil and gas leasing; fair return to taxpayers, reduce emissions	reported to full House 5/5/21		Mike Levin (D- CA-49)	Communities				end to noncompetitive leasing, royalty rate of 16.67%, and increased rental fees and minimum bids included in SENR BBB text	
Bonding Reform and Taxpayer Protection Act	HR 1505	Increase minimum bond amount required for reclamation of o&g sites	Place burden of reclamation on polluters, increase reclamation; decrease roque emissions	reported to full House 5/5/21		Alan Lowenthal (D-CA-47)	Communities				some bonding reform included in SENR BBB text	
Transparency in Energy Production Act	HR 1506	Requires lease holders on public lands and waters to report amount of energy production and emissions	Increase transparency and track emissions from public lands	reported to full House 5/5/21		Alan Lowenthal (D-CA-47)						
California Central Coast Conservation Act	HR 479	Places moratorium on all new o&g leasing on federal lands on CA central coast until new EIS completed	Stop further development of o&g	Introduced in House		Jimmy Panetta (D-CA-20)	Ecosystems, Communities					
End Speculative Oil and Gas Leasing Act	S 607, HR 2986	Prohibit BLM from offering o&g leases on lands with low or no development potential	Increase recreational access and habitat protection on public lands	Senate subcommittee hearing 10/19/21; introduced in House	Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV)	Susie Lee (D-NV-3)	Ecosystems				Increased rental rates for nonproductive leases included in SENR BBB text	
Public Lands Renewable Energy Development Act	HR 3326	Directs DOI to establish priority areas for renewable energy dev and calls for 25 gigawatts permitted by 2025	Shift US quickly toward clean energy by promoting renewable energy projects on public lands	reported to full House by unanimous consent 11/17/21; passed House as part of HR 4521 on 2/4/22. HR 4521 must now be reconciled with similar Senate-passed bill.		Mike Levin (D-CA-49)	Ecosystems, Communities		TWS		"previously disturbed lands" - instead of brownfields; identical bill HR 3330 intro'd by Gosar (R-AZ), politics around 1/6	
Public Engagement Opportunity on Public Land Exploration (PEOPLE) Act		End anonymous nominations; require notice-and-comment periods on proposed lease sales and direct notification of local stakeholders			Michael Bennet (D-CO)		Communities				Elements of HR 1503	

	PPLCC Legislative Tracker												
Short Title	Bill Number	Topline	Goal	Status	Senate Lead(s)	House Lead(s)	Intersection?	PPLCC Endorse?	PPLCC Orgs Engaged/Leading	PPLCC Orgs Looking to Engage	Notes/Intel		
Orphaned Wells Cleanup and Jobs Act	HR 2415, S 2177	Funds state, tribal, and BLM cleanups of orphaned o&g wells; increases minimum bonding	Decrease rogue emissions, place burden of reclamation on polluters, create oil- community jobs	reported to full House 5/26/21; Introduced in Senate	Michael Bennet (D-CO)	Teresa Leger Fernandez (D- NM-3)	Communities, Ecosystems				funding pieces passed as part of BIF, some bonding reform included in SENR BBB text		
Revive Economic Growth and Reclaim Orphaned Wells (REGROW) Act	S 1076, HR 3585	Funds state, tribal, and BLM cleanups of orphaned o&g wells	Clean up o&g wells and put people in affected communities to work	passed as part of BIF	Kevin Cramer (R- ND), Ben Ray Luján (D-NM)	Kelly Armstrong (R-ND), Lizzie Fletcher (D-TX-7)	Ecosystems, Communities						
Competitive Onshore Mineral Policy via Eliminating Taxpayer-Enabled Speculation (COMPETES) Act	S 2692	Ends non-competitive leasing on BLM land	Increase transparency, recreational access and habitat protection; decrease emissions		John Hickenlooper (D- CO), Martin Heinrich (D-NM), Jacky Rosen (D- NV)		Ecosystems				Elements of HR 1503; included in SENR BBB text		

Appendix D: PPLCC Rubric for Evaluating Proposed Legislation

Step 1: PPLCC Eligibility Test

Does this bill address public lands or waters AND provide for at least one of the following:

- a) Promote sustainability, resiliency, and health for communities and economies
- b) Protect, connect, and restore critical landscapes
- c) Reduce emissions from energy produced on public lands?

If yes, continue to Step 2. If no, not a PPLCC bill.

Step 2: PPLCC Member Organization Opposition

Do any PPLCC member organizations actively oppose this bill? If yes, PPLCC cannot endorse or advocate for this bill. If no, continue to Step 3.

Step 3: Weighted Policy Evaluation Matrix

Each policy ranked on each component with a circle that is fully, mostly, partially, or not shaded. See Data for Progress' <u>GND Scorecard</u> for an example of this type of evaluation matrix.

Fully shaded: Policy fulfills criterion to greatest extent possible.

Mostly shaded: Policy fulfills criterion to satisfactory extent.

Partially shaded: Policy acknowledges criterion and partially fulfills it. Not shaded: Policy does not include criterion or attempt to address it.

Factors of Highest Importance

Opportunity for PPLCC Impact – What other coalitions or collaboratives, organizations, and funders support this bill? Can PPLCC move the needle on this bill?

• Rationale: If there is already a large groundswell of support, PPLCC may not be able to make a unique or impactful contribution to advocacy, so this policy may not be the best focus for our efforts. Alternatively, more widespread support may be indicative of political feasibility and/or on-the-ground popularity.

Intersectionality – Does this bill address and positively impact multiple PPLCC focus areas?

• Rationale: Members come to PPLCC from the perspective of multiple intersecting interests: clean water, clean air, public health, inspired voices, access to public spaces, recreation, sustainable economies, honoring Indigenous knowledge and history, faith and spirituality-based stewardship of the earth, environmental justice, preservation of culture and heritage, protecting wildlife, and/or healthy food systems. Policy solutions that do not address the interdependent nature of socioecological systems are less likely to adequately address the root problems that PPLCC was formed to help solve.

Potential for Systemic Change – Does this bill actually address the root cause of the problem it proposes to solve, or does it simply throw money at it?

Rationale: While some immediate funding interventions may be necessary,
 PPLCC members agree that strategies to date have not been effective, and that building a climate plan for public lands calls for a new way of thinking that prioritizes ambitious, creative, and science-based solutions.

Equity – Does this bill include a specific focus on providing benefits and creating opportunities for marginalized populations? At the other end of the spectrum, would implementation of this bill place an undue burden (economically, socially, or ecologically) on marginalized populations?

 Rationale: Acknowledgement of the exclusionary and violent history of public lands is a guiding principle of the PPLCC, and a need for equitable solutions is woven throughout our shared framework. The best solutions will look to center and benefit communities that have historically not benefited from public lands.

Factors of Moderate Importance

PPLCC Member Org Support – Do any PPLCC member organizations already endorse this bill?

 Rationale: Support from member organizations indicates alignment with individual member organizations' goals and makes PPLCC support less resourceintensive due to the availability of materials and a pre-existing knowledge base on the policy.

Cost-Effectiveness – To what degree do the likely impacts – including economic, social, and ecological impacts – outweigh the costs of this bill?

Rationale: A balanced approach to solutions is a guiding principle of the PPLCC.
 Every solution has potential benefits and drawbacks. The best solutions will have benefits that far outweigh the drawbacks. Benefits and drawbacks should both be estimated using economic as well as non-economic factors.

Local Support – To what degree do communities served or represented by members of the collaborative, particularly BIPOC communities near and/or closely connected to public lands, support this bill? If there is disagreement within affected communities, are there ongoing efforts to minimize these conflicts before this bill is passed?

Rationale: Stakeholder engagement is a guiding principle of the PPLCC. Those
who stand to be most affected by public lands decisions must be able to provide
input into and influence that decision.

Administrative Feasibility/Certainty – If this bill is enacted, what is the likelihood that it will be implemented effectively (or at all)?

• Rationale: The last guiding principle of the PPLCC is a sense of urgency. Some bills rely on uncertain appropriations for implementation, and effective implementation of others may rely on factors completely outside of Congress'

control (state politics, etc.). The best solutions build a climate plan for public lands with the same sense of urgency that we feel, and thus will include stipulations to ensure effective and immediate implementation.

Factors of Least Importance

Congressional Support – Do any or all of the Representatives and Senators whose districts/states would be affected support this bill? Is there bipartisan support?

Rationale: The support of local Senators and Representatives can be vital in
political feasibility and optics, especially for lands bills. Bipartisan support
generally indicates greater political feasibility. However, in the polarized nature
of the 117th Congress, bipartisan support may indicate unacceptable
compromises, and local Senators or Representatives may not even believe that
climate change exists, let alone be willing to support any bills that aim to address
it.

Political Feasibility – What is the likelihood of this bill passing the 117th Congress?

Rationale: The problems we seek to solve are urgent, and require immediate
action. Bills that are doomed to fail may not be the best investment of our effort.
However, there can be value in advocating for radical change even if we know it
will not pass Congress this time around.

Scope – What is the scope of the bill – local, state, regional, or national?

 Rationale: Climate change needs big solutions, and as a national coalition, we should prioritize solutions with the potential to effect the most change.
 However, change is needed at all levels.

Appendix E: Customizable Rubric for Evaluating Legislative Proposals

This rubric was designed to aid nonprofit organizations and coalitions in prioritizing their legislative advocacy, education, and lobbying efforts. It provides a repeatable method for assessing the potential impact of advocating for any given bill based on your unique goals and priorities. This rubric can be used to assess local, state, and federal legislation.

The bulk of this process, detailed below as Step 3, involves assessing each legislative proposal of interest to your organization or coalition using a particular set of criteria. What criteria are included in this set, as well as whether and how you choose to weigh any given criterion over another, should depend on the mission, guiding principles, and short- and long-term goals of your organization and your advocacy. What are the values that your work is built upon - the "non-negotiables" for anything your organization does? Are you thinking long-term, wanting to shift the conversation and set an agenda for the future? What if that means that none of the bills that you advocate for have any chance of becoming law during this legislative session? Do you need some "wins" early on in a campaign to demonstrate to your stakeholders? Before gathering a list of bills to analyze, consult guiding documents for your organization or coalition. A shared framework, mission statement, or strategic plan all work well here. Think through what is of most importance to your work and the goals of your advocacy. This will provide the foundation with which to customize this rubric to be most useful in helping understand where your efforts may be most impactful for your specific mission and goals.

Once this customization process is complete, gather a list of legislation of interest to your organization or coalition, and analyze each one by following the steps below. Depending on how you structure your rubric, this may result in a list of bills ordered by numerical score, or a matrix that visually demonstrates how well each bill fulfills the criteria that you have deemed most important (see here for an example). By its nature, your analysis process will include some level of subjectivity, and some educated guessing if there is missing or incomplete information. This list or matrix should not be taken as a definitive list of the first, second, and so on "most important" bills for you to support. Rather, it will provide a starting point for synthesizing information, understanding where to focus your resources, and justifying that prioritization.

Step 1: Mission Eligibility Test

Does this bill address [organization or coalition area of concern - public lands, healthcare, etc.] and help fulfill our mission in a meaningful way? If it doesn't, does it fit within our larger strategy, perhaps by bringing attention to or better defining an issue we care about, or providing our organization with credibility for supporting it? [This question should be refined by utilizing specific language from a mission statement or inserting organization pillars or values so that any bill must address at least one, multiple, or all to be considered.]

If yes, continue to Step 2. If no, likely not a relevant bill for analysis.

Step 2: Coalition Member Organization Opposition

[For coalitions only]

Do any member organizations actively oppose this bill?

If yes, our coalition cannot endorse or advocate for this bill. If no, continue to Step 3.

Step 3: Policy Evaluation

At this step, assess the bill based on the criteria you have chosen as relevant to your organization or coalition. A list of potential factors to consider, based on scholarship on policy analysis as well as practitioner experience, is listed below. You may find you want to include other factors not listed below that are also of relevance to your work. You will then assess each bill based on how well it fulfills each criterion; this can be done numerically (i.e. each bill is ranked on each criterion on a scale of 0-2, for example) or visually. The latter can be preferable if it feels like there is not enough information or too much nuance to reduce your analysis to a specific number, indicating, for example, that *X* bill enhances equity exactly twice as well as *Y* bill. In this case, we recommend using shaded circles to visually demonstrate how well each bill meets a given criterion, using the below or a similar scale:

Score each proposal with a circle that is fully, half, or not at all shaded for each factor.

Fully shaded: Policy fulfills criterion to a satisfactory extent.

Half shaded: Policy acknowledges criterion and partially fulfills it.

Not shaded: Policy does not include criterion or attempt to address it.

Some criteria may be more important than others; if this is the case, we recommend grouping criteria into those of more and less importance or, if more nuance is needed, those of high, moderate, and lowest importance. If using a numerical scoring system, you can approximate how much more important one group of factors may be than another by using multipliers (ex., a bill's score for a factor of highest importance gets multiplied by 3, whereas that for a factor of lowest importance is only multiplied by 1, when calculating its total score); if using a visual matrix, consider using sizing and coloration to show which factors matter most in your assessment.

Potential Factors to Consider

Opportunity for Us to Impact – What other coalitions or collaboratives, organizations, and funders support this bill? Can we move the needle on this bill?

 Rationale: If there is already an overwhelming groundswell of support for a specific proposal, our organization or coalition may not be able to make a unique or impactful contribution to advocacy, so it may not be the best focus for our efforts. Alternatively, more widespread support may be indicative of political feasibility and/or on-the-ground popularity, and supporting such a proposal could be a way for our organization to gain credibility or secure an early win in a larger campaign. Effectiveness – Does this bill actually address the root cause of the problem it proposes to solve, or does it simply throw money at it?

 Rationale: While some immediate funding interventions may be necessary, most problems that nonprofits are looking to solve with legislative advocacy require more transformative solutions. The most important legislation - but often the most difficult to pass - is likely to build upon ambitious, creative, community-led and evidence-based solutions.

Political Feasibility – What is the likelihood of this bill passing in this legislative session?

- Rationale: Bills that are doomed to fail may not be the best investment of our effort, especially if the problems we seek to solve require immediate action. However, there can be value in advocating for radical change even if we know it will not pass this time around, as this may shift the conversation around what is possible.
- Note: This factor may be difficult to assess for organizations without strong network ties to D.C. or state capitol "insiders." Some considerations include:
 - O How many cosponsors does the bill have?
 - o Is there bipartisan support for the bill?
 - O For bills that only impact a particular area, do the Senators and Representative(s) representing that area support the bill?
 - Do the Senators and Representatives who head the committees this bill must pass support the bill?
 - O What does any news coverage of this bill indicate in terms of the likelihood of its passage?
 - Are there events in the news relevant to this bill that you could use to raise its profile?

Equity – Does this bill include a specific focus on providing benefits and creating opportunities for marginalized populations? At the other end of the spectrum, would implementation of this bill place an undue burden (economically, socially, or ecologically) on marginalized populations?

 Rationale: The best solutions will look to center and benefit communities that have historically not benefited from past policy interventions within our area of work.

Efficiency/Cost-Effectiveness – To what degree do the likely impacts – including economic, social, and ecological impacts – outweigh the costs of this bill?

- Rationale: Every solution to our problems of interest has potential benefits and drawbacks. The best solutions will have benefits that far outweigh the drawbacks. Benefits and drawbacks should both be estimated using economic as well as non-economic factors.
- Note that this data may be difficult to ascertain for certain proposals; if this problem is widespread, this factor may be left out of the matrix.

Intersectionality – Does this bill address and positively impact multiple focus areas for our organization/coalition?

Rationale: Our members/supporters bring the perspectives of multiple intersecting interests to our work: [insert some of these interests here, e.g. public health, clean water, sustainable economies, Black communities, agricultural interests, environmental justice, housing justice, etc. - this list should be specific to your work and reflect the communities you serve]. Policy solutions that do not address the interdependent nature of the systems affecting our constituents/members are less likely to adequately address the root problems that we were formed to help solve.

Local Support – To what degree do affected communities, particularly communities that we serve or represent, support this proposal? If there is disagreement within affected communities, are there ongoing efforts to minimize these conflicts before this bill is passed?

 Rationale: Those who stand to be most affected by a legislative proposal should be able to provide input into and influence that proposal. Additionally, local support before passage is likely to increase the effectiveness of implementation.

Administrative Feasibility/Certainty – If this bill is enacted, what is the likelihood that it will be implemented effectively (or at all)?

 Rationale: Some bills look great but after passage rely on uncertain appropriations for implementation; effective implementation of others may rely on factors completely outside of the legislature's control (economic conditions, state or federal politics, etc.). The best solutions will include stipulations to ensure effective and, ideally, immediate implementation.

Member Org Support – [For coalitions only] Do any of our member organizations already endorse this bill?

 Rationale: Support from member organizations indicates alignment with individual member organizations' goals and makes full coalition support less resource-intensive due to the availability of materials and a pre-existing knowledge base on the proposal.

Scope – What is the geographic scope of the bill – local, state, regional, or national?

Rationale: We may want to prioritize solutions at a larger scale, as they have the
potential to effect change for the most people. However, change is needed at all
levels, or we may be focused on certain communities, and prioritize solutions
with a smaller geographic scope.

Appendix F: PPLCC Legislative Scorecard

See next page for PPLCC Legislative Scorecard,	as presented to PPLCC on July 8, 2021.
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	Opportunity for Impact	Intersectionality	Potential for Change	Equity	Member Org Support	LocalSupport	Administrative Feasibility	Congres sional Support	Political Feasibility	Scope
Environmental Justice for All Act										
Restoring Community Input and Public Protections in Oil and Gas Leasing/PEOPLE Act										
Ending Taxpayer Welfare for Oil and Gas Companies/Fair Returns for Public Lands Act										
Orphaned Wells Cleanup and Jobs Act										
21 st Century Conservation Corps/Civilian Climate Corps Act										
Bonding Reform and Taxpayer Protection Act										
End Speculative Oil and Gas Leasing Act										
Public Lands Renewable Energy Development Act										
Protecting America's Wilderness and Public Lands Act										
Transitto Trails Act										
Castner Range National Monument Act										
Save Oak Flat Act										
Arctic Refuge Protection Act										
Colorado Outdoor Recreation and Economy (CORE) Act										
Outdoors for All Act										
Northwest California Wilderness, Recreation, and Working Forests Act										
San Gabriel Mountains Foothills and Rivers Protection Act										
Methane Waste Prevention Act										
Roadless Area Conservation Act of 2021										
Transparency in Energy Production Act										
Grand Canyon Protection Act										
RECLAIM Act										
Abandoned Mine Land Reauthorization Act										
Cerro de la Olla Wilderness Establishment Act										
Schools and State Budgets Certainty Act										
Parks, Jobs, and Equity Act										
Outdoor Restoration Partnerships Act										
Southern Nevada Economic Development and Conservation Act										
California Central Coast Conservation Act										
California Land Protection Act				\bigcup				•		
Ruby Mountains Protection Act										
Northern Rockies Ecosystem Protection Act		0					•			
Central Coast Heritage Protection Act										
Wild Olympics Wilderness and Wild & Scenic Rivers Act										
Blackfoot Clearwater Stewardship Act										

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