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# 1 Evaluating Local Climate Policy: Municipal Action Plans through the Lens of

# **Resilience and Environmental Justice**

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# Evaluating Local Climate Policy: Municipal Action Plans through the Lens of Resilience and Environmental Justice

24	In the US, local governments are increasingly crucial in driving climate action.
25	Drawing upon Tang et al. (2010) and Baker et al. (2012), this study assesses nine local
26	climate action plans in the state of Michigan. It introduces a comprehensive
27	framework, integrating climate resilience and environmental justice (EJ) indicators to
28	evaluate plan content. Despite recognizing global climate concerns, qualitative content
29	analysis shows that plans lack localized analyses and actions, hampering planning due
30	to insufficient data, minimal coordination, limited funds, and finite policy options. Key
31	aspects like equitable resource distribution, environmental burdens, and community
32	engagement are often overlooked. Without addressing these, local governments lack
33	the tools to effectively implement just and climate-oriented policies.

34 Keywords: climate action plan; environmental justice; municipal government; city

35 government; urban climate policy

#### 36 Introduction

37 Climate change poses severe challenges to the environment, human and non-human health,
38 economic stability, equity, and the organization of society. As described in the latest report published
39 by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), urgent and robust action must be taken to
40 mitigate the worst effects of global climate change, which is already manifesting disproportionately in
41 marginalized communities around the world (1).

In the last three decades, the global community has come together in an attempt to develop long-term strategies, leading to the establishment of treaties such as the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement. In addition to collaboration across international borders, increasing attention is being given to scaling efforts across domestic levels of government. In the US, local governments play a crucial role in federal and state climate policies, possessing key decision-making powers over the development of renewable energy projects and investments in sustainable transportation, water, utility, and other energy infrastructure. 49 Many local governments are pursuing avenues to combat climate change in their 50 communities. Since 2007, more than 1,000 localities have joined the US Conference of Mayors' 51 Climate Protection Agreement, pledging to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in line with the Kyoto 52 Protocol (2). Moreover, upwards of 750 municipalities have signed onto the Climate Mayors 53 Network, which aims to fulfill the commitments agreed upon in the Paris Climate Agreement (3). 54 To facilitate policy action, pioneering municipalities have begun developing climate action 55 plans, also referred to as sustainability plans. These typically outline specific strategies and targets for 56 reducing greenhouse gas emissions, increasing renewable energy use, improving energy efficiency, 57 and adapting to the impacts of climate change. They are often intended to inform policies that reduce 58 municipal emissions by involving various stakeholders, including businesses, community 59 organizations, and residents. At the local level, their development supports the transition to a low-60 carbon, climate-resilient future by guiding political decision-making, financial investments, 61 infrastructure projects, and more.

#### 62 Literature Review

63 Several studies have evaluated climate action plans in a municipal context. According to 64 Wheeler (2008), first-generation climate plans enacted by cities lacked institutional support, long-65 term planning direction, and adequate progress measures (4). Others emphasize that first-generation 66 plans were often isolated from other policy areas, limiting their impact on governance (5). To quantify 67 how plans influence local policymaking, Tang et al. (2010) outlined a framework conceptualizing 68 plan quality, focusing on local awareness, analysis, and actions (AAA) to mitigate and adapt to 69 climate impacts (6). Their research shows that while municipalities may be actively conscious of the 70 threats posed by climate change, most have insufficient analytical capacities to elevate these concerns 71 to confront complexities and execute plans that generate substantive changes. Baker et al. (2012) 72 supported this claim through an assessment of local plans against a multi-criteria framework, 73 evaluating the content and quality of the plans (7). In doing so, they found vital structural, procedural, 74 and contextual constraints influencing local adaptation planning, such as failing to consider climate 75 change across multiple departments.

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76 However, this does not preclude municipalities from effectively facilitating climate mitigation 77 and adaptation endeavors. In many cases, success relies upon financial and technical resources. In an 78 analysis of Copenhagen's climate plan, Damsø et al. (2017) determined that the city government was 79 an essential incubator for coordinating efforts between the municipal administration and the local 80 utility provider (8). Consequently, the climate plan receives high marks, particularly for energy supply 81 and emission reduction goals. Furthermore, other studies go beyond qualitative measures, aiming to 82 quantify the impacts of local plans on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. For instance, Millard-Ball 83 (2011) concluded that cities with plans successfully implemented strategies to reduce emissions. 84 However, there is not substantial evidence that climate plans themselves play a role in this success; 85 instead, it is likely that the environmental preferences of those living in cities are the most significant 86 factor (9). Additionally, researchers have conducted comparative analyses measuring the emissions 87 impact of policy interventions in cities against business-as-usual (BAU) conditions. Morlet and 88 Keirstead (2013) evaluated the carbon abatement costs of London, Berlin, Copenhagen, and Paris, 89 comparing them against a set of urban and energy governance metrics (10). They ascertained that 90 governmental structure and the elevation of climate-related concerns have a substantial impact on 91 carbon abatement costs and mitigation.

92 While these studies were critical in assessing the effectiveness and implementation of first-93 generation plans, they do not touch upon the increasingly relevant issue area of EJ. In recent decades, 94 EJ has become a key climate priority for campaigners, academic researchers, non-profit organizations, 95 and policymakers. Meta-analyses and systematic literature reviews substantiate the stark 96 environmental and socioeconomic injustices that negatively impact Black, Indigenous, and People of 97 Color (BIPOC) communities in the US (11-13). Several scholars believe addressing environmental 98 injustice is essential to achieving an equitable and robust transition toward decarbonization (14-17). 99 Indeed, focusing climate action at all levels of government is essential to uprooting the inequities 100 brought upon by structural and systemic racism (18-20).

101 Under federalism, municipalities have a significant role to play in determining key EJ
102 outcomes. Although varying by state, local governments have the authority to enforce local

103 environmental regulations, monitor pollution, and ensure access to clean air and water (21). In 104 addition, local jurisdictions decide upon industry and energy infrastructure placement, zone 105 properties, and shape communities' access to sustainable transportation and green spaces. Historically, 106 these powers have marginalized lower-income communities and people of color, perpetuating racial 107 segregation and discrimination (22-23). Despite this, municipalities can also generate positive 108 outcomes by embracing justice-informed approaches to elevate the concerns and priorities of 109 underserved residents (24-26). Instead of sitting polluting industries in underserved neighborhoods, 110 localities can prioritize a more equitable distribution of industrial facilities, implement stricter 111 pollution control measures, or avoid sitting high-emitting sources altogether. 112 Across the country, cities are beginning to acknowledge their vital role in advancing EJ. 113 According to a study published by Diezmartínez and Gianotti (2022), 69% of the 100 largest cities in 114 the US with climate action plans have incorporated themes of justice and equity into their policy 115 processes (27). Other entities, including the Biden Administration, further recognize the interplay 116 between federal EJ initiatives and municipal implementation. Both the Inflation Reduction Act of 117 2022 and the Infrastructure, Investment, and Jobs Act of 2021 pledged billions of dollars to local and 118 tribal governments to expand clean drinking water, remediate polluted sites, and provide localities 119 with financial resources to combat injustices (28-29). 120 Building upon the critical assessments of first-generation plans and increasing recognition of 121 the alignment between climate action and social justice at a practical level, a new wave of literature

122 has emerged to evaluate climate action plans and their integration with environmental justice

123 considerations. To evaluate the prevalence of equity in local climate action plans, Caggiano et al.

124 (2023) compared equity measures developed by the American Planning Association against indicators

125 ranging across ten thematic areas: including transportation, air quality, energy, green space. They

126 found that less than one third of large US cities with climate action plans include measurable progress

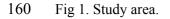
127 indicators, reflecting an incomplete integration of equity into implementation apparatuses (30).

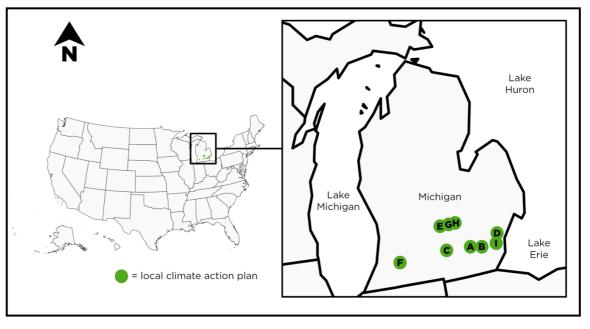
This relates to findings published by Chu and Cannon (2021), who conducted a narrative
review of key planning documents from the ten largest cities in the US using equity, inclusion, and

130 justice indicators. The study revealed that cities exhibit variable approaches to operationalizing 131 equity, inclusion, and justice criteria across four crucial decision-making stages: designing 132 institutional arrangements, participatory practices, policy integration, and strategic implementation 133 processes (31). Equity was discussed in most plans, generally in the form of income inequality rather 134 than other inequalities (e.g., race and gender). While all surveyed plans provided evidence 135 of inclusion in decision-making processes (e.g., collecting resident feedback), there was little 136 evidence of socially accountable decision-making. When justice was mentioned, it was often framed 137 as race and wealth-based vulnerabilities, whereas transformative strategies to address these underlying 138 conditions were not as commonly discussed. 139 Similarly, Cannon et al. (2023) identified two distinct pathways in which equity-thinking is 140 embedded in the climate adaptation plans of the largest twenty-five US cities (32). The first is referred 141 to as the ideology-driven pathway, where shared beliefs within local actors and public agencies drive 142 adaptation efforts, shaping the definition and implementation of social equity. Meanwhile, the 143 recognition-driven pathway involves cities adopting equitable climate strategies early on, normalizing 144 and reflecting climate equity rhetoric in their adaptation planning procedures. 145 While there is a growing body of literature scrutinizing the heightened focus on equity and 146 justice in climate action plans, to the best of the authors' knowledge, there has not been an attempt to 147 develop an evaluatory framework that seamlessly integrates well-established themes concerning 148 adaptation and mitigation planning-such as renewable energy, water quality, and municipal solid 149 waste-with EJ considerations. Serving as the inaugural article in a series that explores the intersection 150 of local governance and EJ and building upon work conducted by Tang et al. (2010) and Baker et al. 151 (2012), I outline a combined evaluatory approach which considers climate resilience and EJ. I begin 152 by defining the regional area of interest to provide policy context for Michigan. Then, I outline the 153 methodological components underpinning my evaluation. I conclude with my findings and assess the 154 challenges in integrating EJ into local climate mitigation and adaptation efforts.

#### 155 Regional Context

- 156 Michigan is the eleventh largest state by area, the tenth most populous, and is well-known for
- 157 its automotive industry, the Great Lakes, forests, and other natural resources. Figure 1 denotes the
- 158 municipalities in Michigan with community-level climate action plans as of March 2023. The names
- 159 of the localities are kept anonymous.





161

162 A changing climate poses severe social, environmental, and economic challenges to 163 Michigan. Global rising temperatures are likely to contribute to rapid changes in Great Lakes water 164 levels (33). This rise in average temperatures is expected to shorten the winter season for sporting 165 activities, thus harming the outdoor recreation industry and adjacent local economies (34-36). Other 166 sectors, such as agriculture and forestry, are expected to face significant stress from climate-induced 167 heatwaves, droughts, soil erosion, and more favorable conditions for pests and pathogens (37-38). 168 Although corn and soybean crops may experience a short-term increase in yield due to increased 169 atmospheric carbon dioxide stimulation, productivity gains will likely decline towards the end of the 170 century due to increased heat stress (38). Commercial fruit trees may benefit from a longer growing 171 season but could face increased pressure from pests and higher sensitivity to cold temperatures after 172 budbreak (38). According to Reich et al. (2022), a temperature increase of fewer than two degrees

173 Celsius would cause significant problems for tree species and boreal forests more generally,

174 particularly when combined with reduced rainfall (39).

175 In addition to anthropogenic climate change, Michigan has a long history of environmental 176 disasters that have culminated in injustices unevenly affecting marginalized communities. Most 177 notably, in 2014, the City of Flint switched its water source to the Flint River, leading to the 178 contamination of drinking water with high levels of lead and other pollutants. The crisis 179 disproportionately affected low-income residents and people of color, who have suffered from health 180 risks and the long-term consequences of lead exposure (40-43). Additionally, due to the state's history 181 as an industrial powerhouse, many residents in historic manufacturing and mining areas face exposure 182 to legacy contamination (44-46). As of 2022, there are an estimated 24,000 contaminated sites in the 183 state, mainly due to groundwater and soil pollution (47). 184 In light of these events, the state government has sought to minimize climate-induced 185 stressors and environmental injustices. In 2020, Executive Order 2020-182 was promulgated, 186 directing the Michigan Department of Environment, Great Lakes, and Energy (EGLE) to develop a 187 state-wide climate action plan (48). Finalized in April 2022, the MI Healthy Climate Plan presents 188 several strategies to conserve natural resources, electrify industry and transportation infrastructure, 189 develop clean energy systems, and commit to EJ (48). Significantly, the plan acknowledges that close 190 cooperation with local and tribal governments is essential for implementing state-wide goals 191 surrounding EJ. As a result, the state of Michigan has been chosen as a compelling case study to delve 192 into the pivotal relationship between local government and the advancement of EJ.

#### 193 Methodology

A report published by the Michigan Climate Action Network (MiCAN) served as a starting point to identify municipalities with local climate plans (49). According to the report, sixteen municipalities in the state had climate action policies and renewable energy goals as of 2022. This included five climate action plans, as well as numerous climate-related city council resolutions, master plans, municipal utility plans, and local ordinances. For this analysis, I defined communitylevel climate action plans as policy tools that outline specific actions or strategies to adapt to and 200 mitigate climate-induced risks at a municipal scale. It is important to note that such plans explicitly 201 exclude actions targeting municipal operations and focus solely on broader initiatives concerning the 202 community as a whole. Moreover, "sustainability" or "environmental action plans" were considered to 203 be synonymous with climate action plans, unless they did not specifically focus on climate risks. 204 To corroborate the findings of the MiCAN report, I conducted an additional search among the 205 1,773 localities in Michigan, descending in order based on population. I utilized various sources, 206 including municipal websites, online news platforms, and local ordinances to gather relevant data. 207 This relieved four additional local climate action plans, bringing the total to nine. Upon identifying 208 the plans, I modified the approaches developed by Tang et al. (2010) and Baker et al. (2012) to 209 evaluate the presence of climate resiliency and EJ within the plans through qualitative content 210 analysis.

#### 211 Outcome Criteria

This study evaluated thirteen outcome criteria related to climate resilience and EJ against two evaluative categories: overall progress and plan quality (Table 1). As in Baker et al. (2012), outcome criteria reflect the ideal outcomes plans should strive to achieve through assessing issues and implementing climate policies at the local level. These criteria can be divided into eight key topics: water, air, energy, transportation, weather, ecosystems, solid waste, and EJ. They differ from the ones used by Baker et al. (2012), who curated them for different ecological, geographic, and policy contexts. Additionally, Baker et al. (2012) did not include criteria for EJ or equity considerations.

219 Table 1. Outcome criteria for evaluating local climate plans.

Торіс	Outcome Criteria
Water	C1. Improved water quantity and quality.
Air	C2. Improved air quality.
	C3. Reduced GHG and other gaseous emissions.

Energy	C4. Increased utilization of clean energy.
2	C5. Reduced energy use through efficiency savings.
Transportation	C6. Improved access to sustainable transportation.
	C7. Enhanced opportunities for human-powered transportation.
Weather	C8. Improved resiliency towards extreme weather events.
Ecosystems	C9. Expanded green space and urban forests.
	C10. Improved genetic, species, and ecosystem diversity.
Solid Waste	C11. Expanding recycling, reuse, and other programs leads to a decrease
	in municipal waste.
	C12. Increased community involvement in environmental decision-
Environmental Justice	making.
	C13. Establishment of an equitable distribution of environmental
	resources, benefits, and costs.

## 220 Evaluation Categories

221Outcome criteria were evaluated against two evaluation categories: overall progress and plan222quality. The awareness-analysis-action (AAA) framework proposed by Tang et al. (2010) informs the223assessment of overall progress. In this case, *awareness* refers to acknowledging the causes and224consequences of climate change. *Analysis* involves interrogating and synthesizing relevant225information, while *action* focuses on the application of this data to develop policies.226Meanwhile, plan quality determines the ability to describe, localize, and build policy upon227climate resiliency and EJ concepts. Importantly, this is not focused on actions taken after a plan is228accompleted but rather on how the plan is cituated to exting up for success. It ampleasing

completed, but rather on how the plan is situated to set policy actions up for success. It emphasizes

the need for the plan to be implementable, adaptable, and responsive to changing circumstances, with

- a well-crafted plan not only outlines strategies but also anticipating potential challenges, incorporating
- stakeholder input, and establishing a framework that can withstand evolving conditions. The five plan
- quality components established by Baker et al. (2012) are utilized: information base; vision, goals,
- and objectives; options and priorities; actions; and implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Table
- 234 2 describes these components in further detail.
- Table 2. Plan quality components.

Plan Components	Description
Information base	Discussion of current and future conditions (e.g., ecological,
	environmental, economic, social, agricultural) influenced by climate
	change. Includes data and analysis of local assets and natural
	resources, identification of non-climate determinants of
	vulnerability, or vulnerability and risk assessments.
Vision, goals, and objectives	The long-term vision of how the community will adapt to and
	mitigate climate impacts, including the statement of quantifiable
	objectives and targets aimed at conserving and equitably
	distributing resources in a climate-stressed world.
Options and priorities	Development, consideration, assessment, and prioritization of
	alternative climate solutions. Includes opportunities for public
	engagement and stakeholder considerations.
Actions	Principles to guide land use decisions, energy investments,
	infrastructure projects, and more to achieve goals. Includes policies
	or strategies for implementation.

Implementation, monitoring,	Resources and personnel directed to achieve successful plan
and evaluation	implementation, monitoring, and evaluation commitments. Includes
	the development of a holistic, integrated climate approach aimed at
	connecting different policy areas (e.g., transportation, planning,
	parks, and recreation) and data reporting mechanisms.

## 236 Coding System

- The coding system assigned values to the evaluation categories, assessing the extent of the
- 238 outcome criteria present. Each criterion was compared against these categories, with the juxtaposition
- quantified on a five-point scale (Table 3).

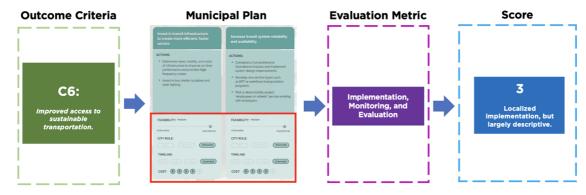
# Table 3. Coding system for evaluation

Score	Description
0	No mention of outcome criterion in the plan.
1	Outcome criterion is mentioned, but with little to no detail.
2	Outcome criterion is mentioned and includes a description with moderate detail.
3	Outcome criterion is mentioned and includes a limited level of locally specific application. However, it is still primarily descriptive.
4	A detailed analysis of the outcome criterion is provided, and it is addressed in a locally specific manner using a variety of tools such as vulnerability, exposure or risk assessments, maps, fieldwork, GIS analysis, and local climate scenario modeling.

241

Figure 2 visualizes the operationalization of the coding system. In this example, sustainable transportation (C6) was selected as the outcome criteria (in green). The local climate plan pictured was then consulted to find any elements related to achieving access to sustainable transportation
systems. Once identified (in red), this was compared against a relevant evaluation component, in this
case, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (in purple). Because this plan accounted for
feasibility, the role of the city, timeline, costs, and other implementation metrics in a localized
fashion, yet lacked quantitative measures, a score of 3 was awarded (in blue). For each plan and
outcome criteria, this process was carried out, focusing on the two evaluation categories described
above.

251 Fig 2. Example of the coding system.



253 The highest possible score for each AAA category and plan quality component was 52 (i.e., 254 thirteen outcome criteria, with a maximum score of 4). The high possible score for overall progress 255 was 156 (i.e., 52 multiplied by the number of AAA categories), while the highest possible score for 256 overall plan quality was 260 (i.e., 52 multiplied by the number of plan quality components). 257 Meanwhile, the highest possible score for an individual criterion was 32 (i.e., eight evaluation 258 metrics, with a maximum score of 4). Results are displayed as a percentage of the highest possible 259 score. Any portion of the total possible score at or below 50% indicates that, on average, the related 260 outcome criteria received a score of 2 or less. In this scenario, the outcome criterion has not been 261 sufficiently localized to a municipal context for the specific evaluation category.

#### 262 Limitations

252

263 There is an unavoidable level of subjectivity underpinning the coding system, as established264 by Baker et al. (2012). Qualitative coding involves interpretation on behalf of the coder, which can

introduce subjectivity into the analysis. To minimize bias, a rigorous approach was adopted. Each
plan was reviewed twice in random order by both the primary author and an undergraduate research
assistant, providing an opportunity to cross-reference initial coding decisions. This iterative process
allowed for self-correction and the identification of any inconsistencies. By employing this method,
the aim was to enhance the reliability and validity of the coding process and minimize potential errors
or individual preferences.

Due to a limited number of plans (n = 9), was difficult to make statistical inferences or draw general conclusions. Statistical tests, such as t-tests, require larger sample sizes to yield meaningful results and detect statistically significant differences between groups. Therefore, alternative analytical approaches, such as qualitative comparisons and descriptive analyses, were employed to explore and interpret the data. This study does not aim to be generalizable to other US states or the country as a whole. Instead, its primary objective is to showcase the practical implementation of the evaluatory framework and the specific results it yields within the context of the state of Michigan.

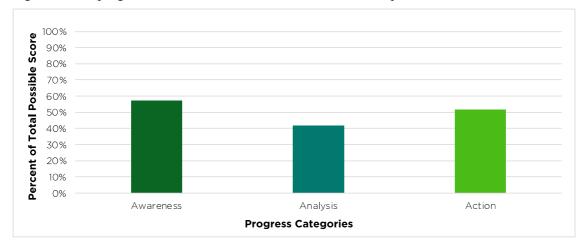
#### 278 Results

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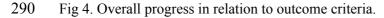
## 279 Overall Progress

Awareness, analysis, and action categories gauged progress toward climate resiliency and EJ in localities. Among the nine plans considered, the awareness category received the highest score (57% of the total possible), while the other two categories received 42% and 51%, respectively (Fig 3).

Fig 3. Overall progress for all outcome criteria within evaluated plans.



- Among all the outcome criteria, awareness scores consistently surpassed or equaled the scores for
- analysis or action, with the exception of sustainable transportation (C6). Emissions reductions (C3)
- 287 received the highest awareness score, while procedural justice (C12), distributive justice (C13),
- biodiversity (C10), and clean air co-benefits (C2) ranked the lowest, underscoring a comparatively
- 289 lesser degree of attention allocated to these specific topics (Fig 4).







292 In the context of this study, climate action plans that received higher rankings exhibited a 293 notable practice of explicitly linking each addressed topic to climate-induced risks. In contrast, lower-294 ranking plans demonstrated a lesser degree of emphasis on establishing this explicit connection 295 between the various topics and the risks induced by climate change. Emissions reductions (C3) and 296 biodiversity (C10) received the worst scores within the analysis and action sections, followed by 297 procedural (C12) and distributive justice (C13) (Fig 4). Notably, all outcome criteria received an 298 analysis score of less than 50%, which heavily contrasts the scores given to awareness and action (Fig 299 4).

Among the nine municipal plans considered, Plan C had the lowest awareness score (12%)
(Fig 5). In contrast, Plan G had the smallest analysis (15%) and action (37%) scores (Fig 5). Two
plans, Plan D and Plan F, had scores above 50% for each progress category (Fig 5).

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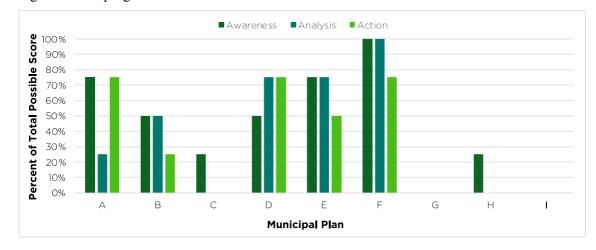
#### 305 Fig 5. Overall progress scores per municipal plan.

306

307 The evaluation results indicate a notable strength among the assessed plans in identifying 308 climate-related issues. However, there appears to be a relative weakness in terms of their analytical 309 depth and the proposal of comprehensive policies to effectively mitigate these identified issues. In 310 essence, while the plans demonstrated proficiency in recognizing climate-induced challenges, they 311 were comparatively less adept at formulating robust strategies for addressing and mitigating these 312 issues. This may arise from limited technical or financial resources to conduct comprehensive 313 analyses or develop policy recommendations. It could also reflect local governments' capabilities and 314 perspectives toward climate action plans, as municipalities with limited analytical capacitates often 315 frame action in terms of outlining future research. For example, Plan C listed, "investigat[ing] and 316 evaluat[ing] alternative models for city water access" without the inclusion of policy recommendation 317 for improving water quantity and quality (C1). On the other hand, municipalities that have already 318 conducted analyses describe action in concrete policy terms. This is demonstrated in Plan F, which 319 outlined "piloting micro-mobility projects' employees on wheels' service working with employers" to 320 achieve more human-powered transportation (C7). 321 While a majority (56%) of municipalities included the results of GHG inventories in their

plans, very few conducted other analyses (Fig 5). Notable exceptions were plans that evaluated tree
canopy cover and urban heating, as well as flooding zones, walking and transportation mobility, and
ease of access to green spaces.

325 Municipal plan scores varied widely for procedural justice (C12) and distributive justice 326 (C13) outcomes. Figure 6 provides a visual representation of the aggregated awareness, analysis, and 327 action scores attributed to procedural justice (C12) and distributive justice (C13) within the context of 328 an integrated EJ framework. Plan C, Plan G, Plan H, and Plan I exhibited minimal to negligible 329 awareness of EJ principles. Moreover, these plans demonstrated a dearth of analytical consideration 330 concerning factors related to equity. Additionally, they were found to inadequately propose policy 331 actions aimed at addressing community-engaged governance and equitable resource distribution. For 332 instance, Plan C stated that the local government "recognize[d] that... we do not face environment 333 challenges equally," but failed to expand upon this message with meaningful analysis or policy 334 priorities. Phrases similar to the one mentioned often lack strategic language that emphasizes rigorous 335 analysis or actionable steps, a trend that is also observed in other topics like the reduction of 336 greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions.



337 Fig 6. Overall progress associated with EJ outcome criteria.

338

Out of the evaluated plans, a significant 78% of them made mention of either procedural justice (C12) or distributive justice (C13). However, it is noteworthy that Plan F stood apart as the sole plan that received scores above 50% for all three progress categories (Fig 6). While Plan A, Plan B, and Plan D, and Plan E acknowledged EJ, they lack descriptive analysis or action. For instance, Plan A emphasized that it "is grounded in justice and equity" and integrates an equity impact component to each policy action it proposes. Further, Plan A had a section dedicated to advancing equity programming, but did not analyze equity conditions, such as access to clean drinking wateramong marginalized community members.

Moreover, Plan C and Plan H espoused awareness without substantive analysis of proposed policy actions. Plan C notably encompassed a well-defined account of EJ encompassing its historical context and relevance to climate change but did not include any commentary on the specific local conditions or proposed policies to effectively mitigate existing inequities. Plan H simply mentioned that equal access should be a goal when considering transportation infrastructure, without providing further detail.

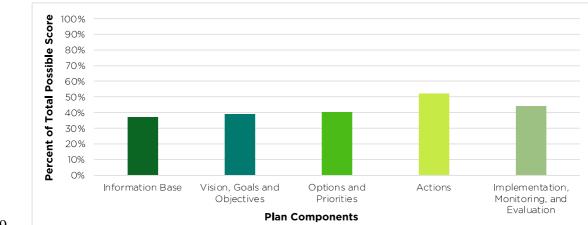
# 353 Plan Quality

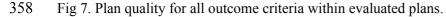
354 Plan quality was assessed based on how well outcome criteria were reflected within the five

355 plan components. Among these, only the action component scored above 50% (Fig 7). The least-

ranked component was information base (37%), followed by vision, goals, and objectives (39%),

options and priorities (40%), and implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (44%) (Fig 7).







Emissions reductions (C3) ranked the highest for all five plan components (Fig 8).

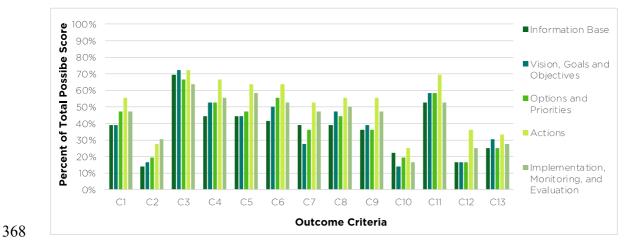
361 Meanwhile, procedural justice (C12), distributive justice (C13), biodiversity (C10), and clean air co-

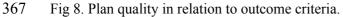
- 362 benefits (C2) ranked the lowest (Fig 8). Overall, outcome criteria (except for human-powered
- transport (C7) and biodiversity (C10)) scored the least within the information base component (Fig 8).
- 364 Notably, emission reductions (C3) and municipal waste (C11) were the only outcome criteria to

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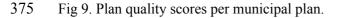
365 achieve 50% among all five components, indicating that the other outcome criteria were lacking

#### 366 sufficient localization.





Among the plan quality components, the information base ranked the lowest, apart from the scores for Plan D, Plan F, and Plan H (Fig 9). In most cases, the plan information base consisted of descriptive statements about current conditions, rather than focusing on future implications in a process guided by localized, quantitative projections. Consistently, the information base for each outcome criteria relied on generic global impacts rather than specific information within the local jurisdiction.



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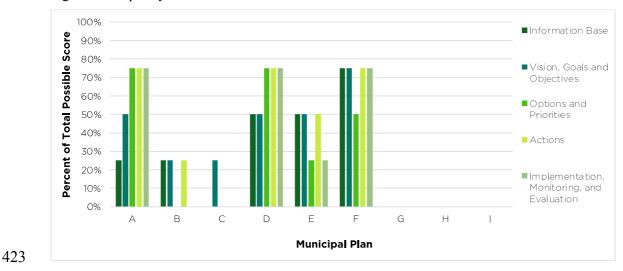
377 For instance, when commenting on the significance of reducing GHG emissions, Plan C 378 stated that the "IPCC 2018 Special Report recommends that to mitigate climate change and to keep 379 the world under 1.5 degrees Celsius, carbon dioxide emissions need to be reduced by 45% by 2030 and should reach net-zero by 2050." This is contrasted by Plan E, which included a municipal GHG 380 381 inventory to identify the sources and sectors that contribute the most to emissions. Although seven out 382 of the nine plans assessed included summary figures or referenced the results of GHG inventories, 383 several were outdated and only reflected emissions derived from municipal actions. Leveraging 384 localized outputs such as an up-to-date community-level GHG inventory, it is possible to aid 385 policymakers in effectively prioritizing and targeting mitigation efforts toward the most substantial 386 emission sources.

387 Visioning statements and objectives varied among plans, with some municipalities outlining 388 specific visions tailored for local conditions. Plan F adeptly integrated the city's strategic vision, 389 aligning policy proposals with core elements such as environmental responsibility and economic 390 vitality. Conversely, several other plans merely expressed the need to "adapt to climate change" or 391 "respond equitably" without considering the distinctive municipal context. Similarly, options and 392 priorities were handled differently across the plans. While some local plans presented multiple 393 alternative solutions to achieve a specific objective, others offered only one policy fix. demonstrated a 394 comprehensive approach by proposing various options to expedite electrification, such as incentives 395 for all-electric new construction projects, synergizing rooftop solar energy, and education campaigns. 396 On the contrary, Plan H solely suggested an educational awareness drive as a solution to encourage 397 residential uptake in the same topic. Because climate change is a complex and multifaceted issue, 398 presenting alternative strategies is crucial for a flexible and adaptive approach, enhancing plan 399 resilience in the face of potential political, economic, or technological shifts.

In the overall analysis, it was evident that the plans encompassed in this study were deficient
in providing sufficient details for the implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of the proposed
policies. Specifically, there was a lack of critical elements, such as the identification of key
stakeholders, delineation of responsible government divisions, allocation of funding, and

404 establishment of timelines to guide the execution and assessment of the proposed initiatives. This 405 inadequacy in comprehensive planning hinders the effective operationalization and evaluation of the 406 policies outlined within the plans. When implementers are unable to act effectively, the overall impact 407 of a plan diminishes, possibly resulting in public resistance, insufficient support, or uninformed 408 decision-making. Furthermore, without identifying responsible government divisions, there may be 409 confusion about roles, responsibilities, and the allocation of resources. For plans that preclude funding 410 information and an implementation timeline, there may be a lack of accountability, indefinite delays, 411 and policy abandonment. In total, four plans outlined which divisions of local government would 412 implement given policies, while two plans went further by identifying funding measures and costs. Out of these two plans, one outlined cost in relative terms (e.g., ranking scale), while the other 413 414 provided specific estimates in dollar amounts. 415 The plan quality scores for procedural justice (C12) and distributive justice (C13) had a range 416 of outcomes, as illustrated in Figure 10. Plan F and Plan D were the only plans with scores equal to or 417 greater than 50% for all five components (Fig 10). Plan A narrowly failed to meet this threshold, with

418 its score for information base falling below 50% (Fig 10). Conversely, the remaining plans garnered
419 limited rankings, with Plan G, Plan H, and Plan I lacking any plan quality components meeting the
420 established criteria (Fig 10). Meanwhile, Plan B had two components missing, while Plan C had four
421 absent (Fig 10).



422 Fig 10. Plan quality associated with EJ outcome criteria.

The information base for EJ among plans was largely generic, consistent with the broader trend observed across other outcome criteria. Plan A defined equity as "ensuing everyone gets what they need to succeed based on where they are and where they need to go," but did not go into detail about current and future conditions impacted by climate change. On the other hand, Plan F presented quantitative data on energy burdens, tree equity scores, risk of lead poising, and flood resiliency. As a result, the information base in Plan F offered a greater understanding of equity and justice issues, in turn making the plan more actionable.

431 Among the six plans with visioning statements for EJ, scores ranged from 25% to 75% (Fig 432 10). Lower ranking plans emphasized the importance of incorporating EJ into governance and 433 municipal operations, without stressing how equity and justice conditions could be obtainable in a 434 local setting. Plan B, which scored 25%, emphasized that the municipality "understands that its 435 populations of people of color and low-income households are more vulnerable to both the physical 436 and social impacts of climate change," stating that "every attempt should be made to dismantle them 437 or to minimize actual and potential harm" through the execution of the plan. The highest-scoring plan, 438 Plan F, demonstrated a notable commitment to equity principles by dedicating a dedicated section 439 specifically outlining key tenets such as shared prosperity, accountability, accessibility, and 440 interconnectedness. In a further display of comprehensive planning, Plan F proceeded to provide a 441 detailed breakdown of how each equity theme was effectively fulfilled through the incorporation of 442 corresponding goals, strategies, and specific actions outlined within the plan. In doing so, Plan F 443 provided a vision for how EJ can be integrated into a governance framework and addressed with 444 policy action at the local level.

Fewer than a majority (44%) of plans presented alternative EJ options and priorities. Among those that did, several policies were presented to address procedural (C12) and distributive justice (C13) concerns. Plan A outlined all strategies and goals from an equity impact perspective, while Plan D established alternative procedures related to equity. These included promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives, redesigning transit routes to address injustices, and promoting a livable wage.

450 Conversely, Plan E focused on a smaller set of initiatives to contribute to EJ, such as developing an
451 equity toolkit and workforce training.

452 Out of the plans evaluated, the action component achieved the highest score for EJ plan 453 quality. Plan A, Plan D, and Plan F scored 75%, as each presented descriptive and localized policies 454 to address procedural (C12) and distributive justice (C13). An illustrative example is found in Plan F, 455 where a community solar project pilot is proposed to address energy injustices and affordability 456 concerns by employing a municipal-specific equity guide. Plan B, the lowest scoring plan, did not 457 consider the local context when detailing how the municipal government would add an equity-focused 458 component to street tree placement and planning. 459 The implementation, monitoring, and evaluation component was observed in merely four out 460 of the nine plans assessed, thereby signifying the potential for substantive enhancements generally. 461 Plans A, D, and F outlined critical steps such as identifying the responsible governmental unit, 462 exploring funding options, and establishing clear implementation timelines. Meanwhile, Plan E 463 acknowledged the necessity of a "workable funding strategy" for executing climate resiliency and EJ 464 policies, albeit without specifying potential funding sources. Additionally, this plan lacked the

465 incorporation of precise timelines and responsible units, thereby leaving room for further

466 enhancement in terms of implementation clarity and accountability.

#### 467 Takeaways

468 The findings indicate that municipalities which develop climate action plans generally 469 possess a degree of awareness regarding the challenges presented or intensified by climate change. 470 However, this awareness is not always adequately tailored to the specific local context, and there may 471 be room for improvement in this regard. In Michigan, localities with climate plan have demonstrated 472 a commitment to climate action that extends beyond others. Out of the state's 1,773 municipalities, 473 less than 10% have plans. Further research is needed, particularly in the US context, to understand 474 why some cities and townships choose to develop climate action plans while others do not. 475 Although striving to develop a climate roadmap fit for a specific community, most plans 476 (56%) struggled to adequately localize efforts, possibly due to a lack of capacity as demonstrated by

477 Tang et al. (2010) and Baker et al. (2012). Instead, most relied upon global and national assessments. 478 Additionally, this analysis relieved that most local plans only focus on a select number of issue areas. 479 GHG emission reductions, solid waste, and energy systems received the most attention from plans, while they largely clear air, biodiversity, and EJ impacts. By neglecting to establish the connections 480 481 between these topics and EJ perspectives, integrating justice and equity concerns into local plans may 482 be challenging. Unless the individuals responsible for creating a plan are willing to actively advocate 483 for including distributive and procedural justice principles beyond a passing mention, other topics will 484 likely receive higher priority and attention.

485 Most plans lacked solid information bases to understand both present and future climate 486 change conditions. Three plans had adequate implementation, monitoring, and evaluation metrics, 487 with scores at or above 50%. However, a majority (66%) did not focus on these elements in detail. 488 Even among the plans with metrics, they generally did not outline specifics, such as funding sources 489 and costs. Among the nine municipalities subject to evaluation, a significant proportion of five 490 exhibited minimal or negligible efforts to address crucial aspects of equity, participatory governance, 491 and the equitable distribution of burdens. However, among those that did endeavor to tackle these 492 considerations, merely three demonstrated substantial progress in effectively localizing EJ issues. The 493 remaining municipalities fell short of meeting the 50% threshold, signifying the need for further 494 advancements.

#### 495 Conclusion

496 With the environmental, societal, economic, and political challenges posed by climate 497 change, in combination with local governments' vital role in regulating and implementing 498 environmental policy, local mitigation and adaptation approaches must be considered. In the US, 499 climate action plans have become salient among pioneering municipalities. For local governments to 500 propose, design, and implement effective policies, institutional capacity and support are required. 501 Resources, like staffing personnel and fiscal support, will be crucial to developing plans beyond 502 general global recognition. Without localization, it is challenging to create meaningful and actionable 503 policy change, as the impacts of climate change vary widely across different regions and

communities. Most crucially, local governments are unique position to understand the vulnerabilities
and opportunities within their communities and can tailor policies and strategies to meet their specific
needs.

507 Thus, it is imperative for localities to go beyond their current efforts and actively engage with 508 EJ principles while drafting climate plans. With support from state and federal partners, municipal 509 governments are well-positioned. Relying upon their designated powers, such as zoning and planning 510 controls, localities can pursue strategies to ensure the equitable distribution of environmental benefits 511 and burdens across communities, preventing low-income and marginalized communities from bearing 512 the brunt of the negative impacts of climate change.

513 Data Availability Statement

The data supporting the findings of this research are openly available and can be accessed through the public repository on Figshare (https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.25321282). The dataset is released under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0), allowing for the unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction of the data in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. This commitment to open data aligns with the principles of transparency and reproducibility, fostering collaboration and enabling researchers, policymakers, and the public to engage with and validate the results presented in the manuscript.

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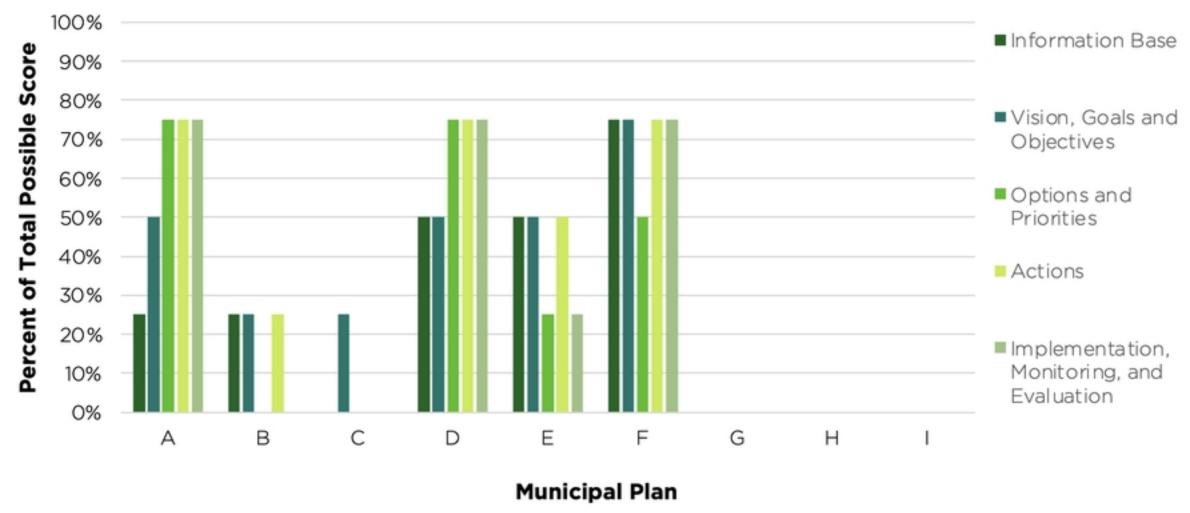
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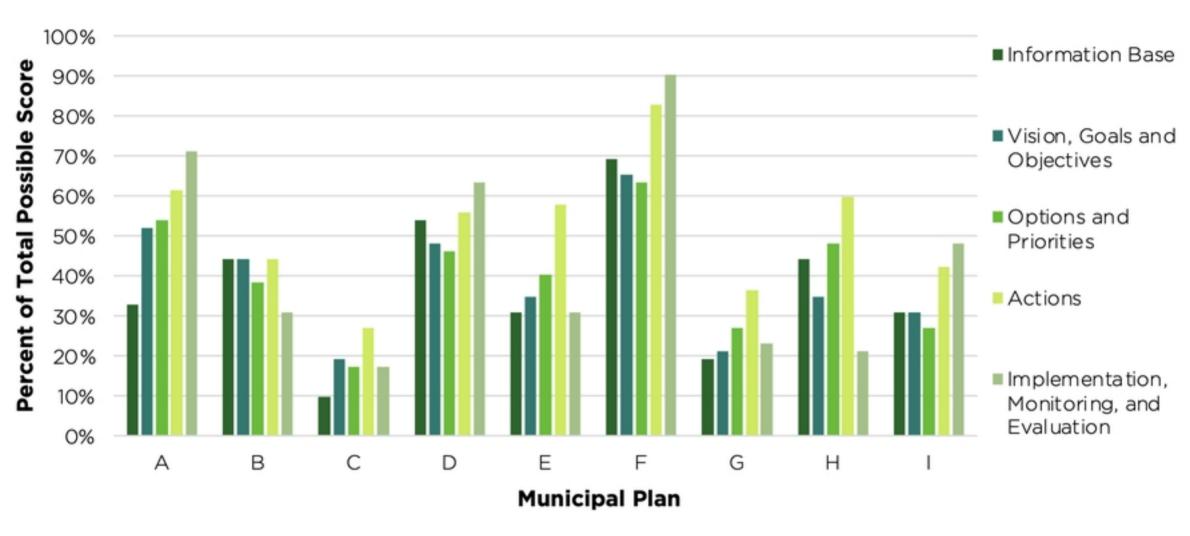
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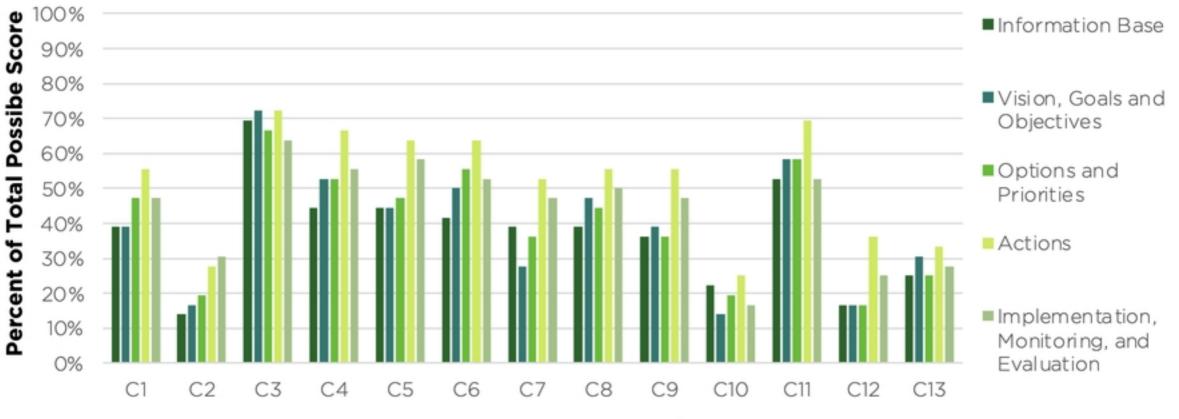
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Plan quality associated with EJ outcome criteria

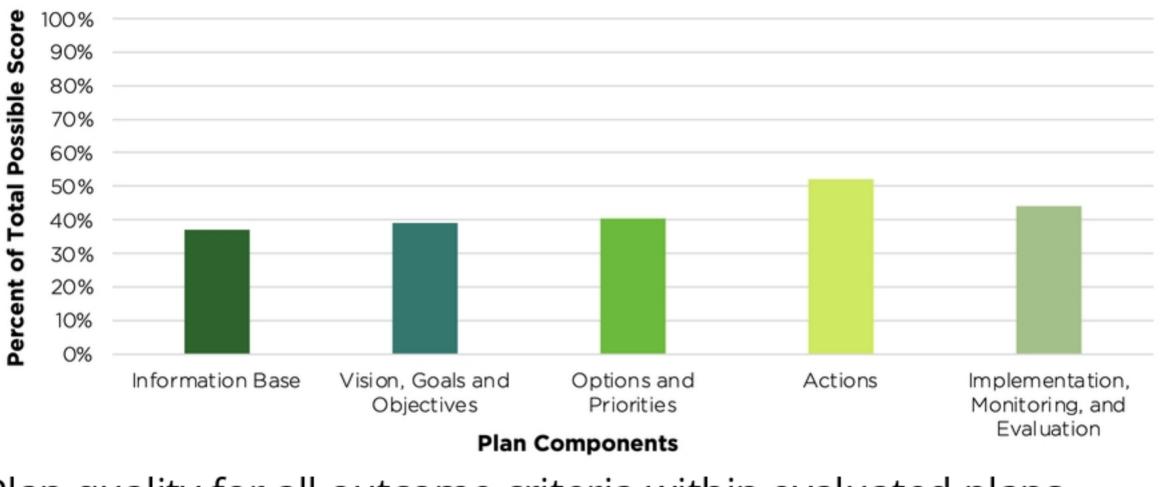


Plan quality scores per municipal plan



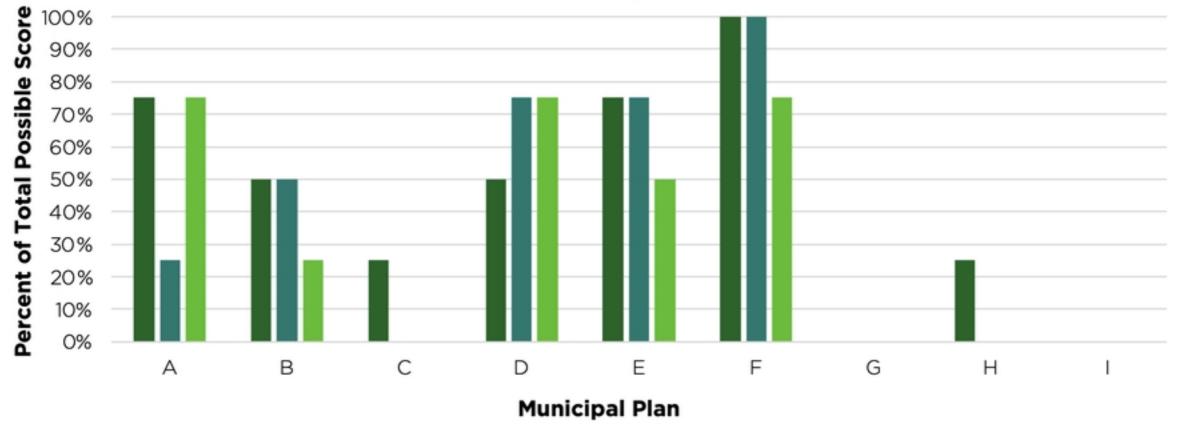
**Outcome Criteria** 

Plan quality in relation to outcome criteria



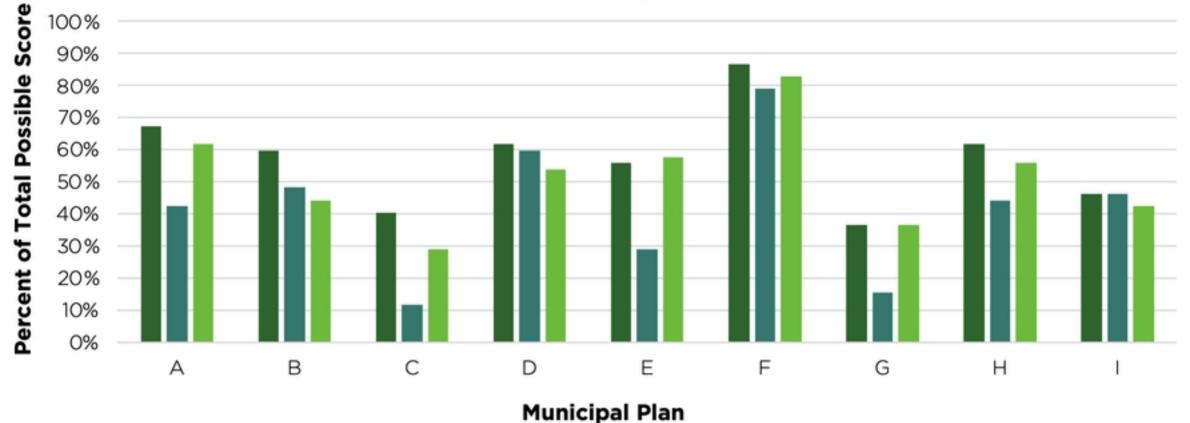
Plan quality for all outcome criteria within evaluated plans

Awareness Analysis Action



Overall progress associated with EJ outcome criteria

Overall progress scores per municipal plan



Awareness

Analysis

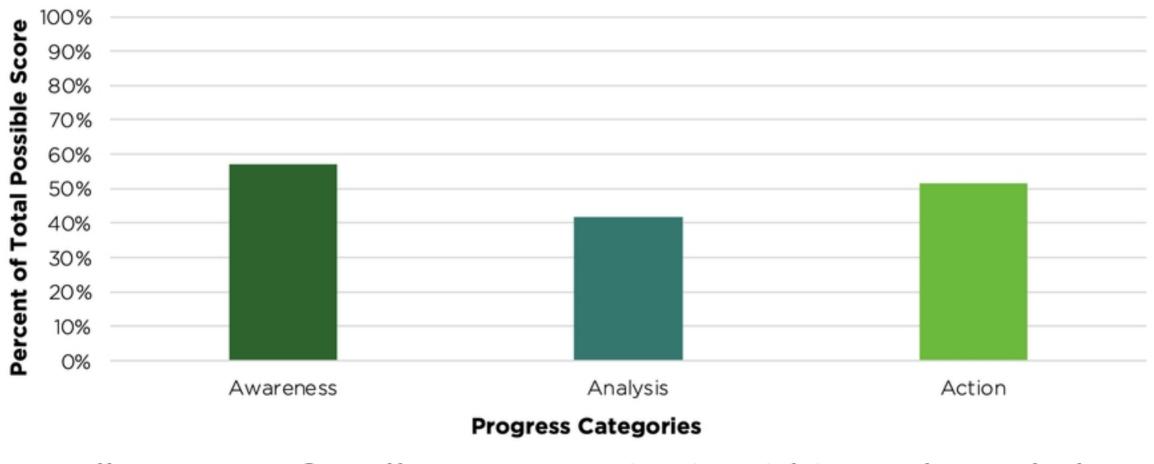
Action

of Total Possible Score 100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% Percent 20% 10% 0% C1 C2 C3 C4 C10 C11 C12 C13 C5 C6 C7 C8 C9

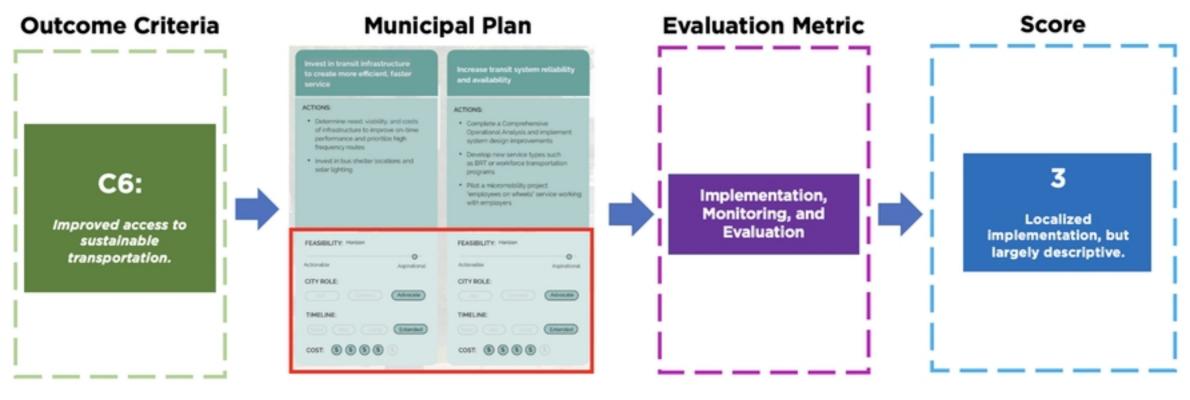
**Outcome Criteria** 

Overall progress in relation to outcome criteria

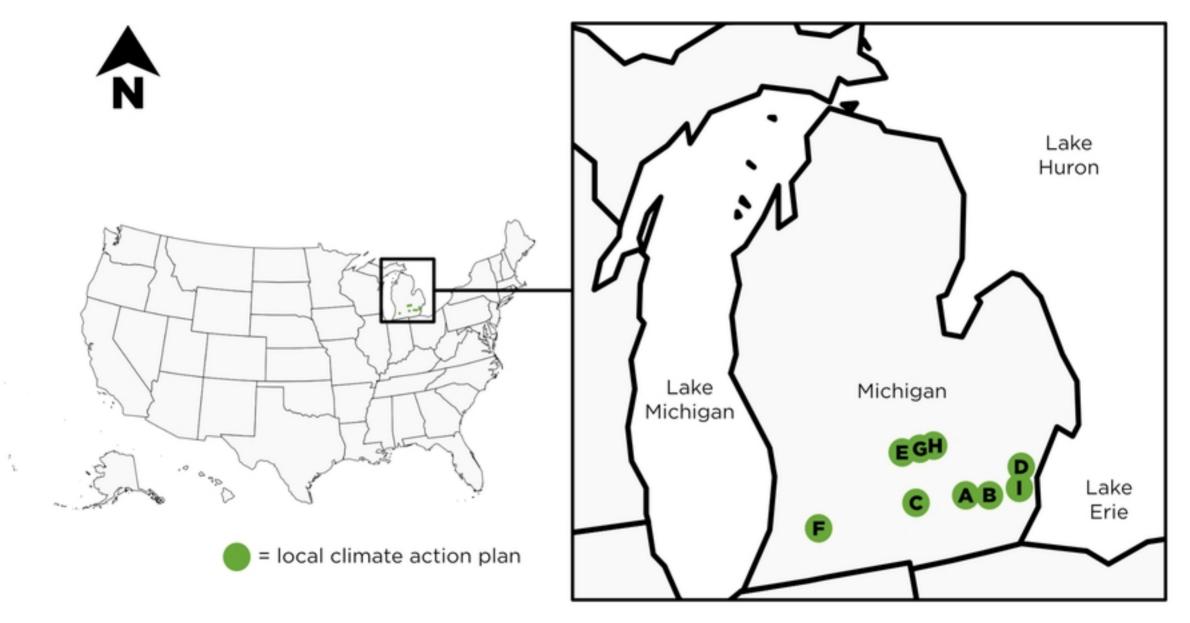
# Awareness Analysis Action



Overall progress for all outcome criteria within evaluated plans



Example of the coding system



Study area