A Planet to Win and the Green New Deal for Housing

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Rutgers University

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Global CO2 emissions and probabilistic temperature outcomes of Paris

A Emissions pathways

B Temperature probabilities

Projected warming until 2100 relative to preindustrial levels
- 1-1.5°C
- 1.5-2°C
- 2-3°C
- 3-4°C
- >4°C

Likelihood of projected warming until 2100 (%)
“We understand a state of affairs by grasping what it can become in a range of circumstances: the understanding of the actual is inseparable from the imagination of the possible—of the adjacent possible, of what can next happen or of what we can make happen next.”

(Unger 2014: 71)
A Planet to Win
Why We Need a Green New Deal

FOREWORD BY NAOMI KLEIN

KATE ARONOFF, ALYSSA BATTISTONI, DANIEL ALDANA COHEN, AND THEA RIOFRANCOS

We Need a Green New Deal for Housing

BY DANIEL ALDANA COHEN

What would a bold left-wing housing plan look like? Let’s build ten million new, public, no-carbon homes in ten years and guarantee housing for all.
The AOC Green New Deal has three core features:

1. **Massive public investment** and coordination to decarbonize extremely fast

2. **A jobs guarantee** for anyone willing and able to work; for anyone working in the fossil fuel sector, a better paying job in the green economy

3. **Close the racial wealth gap**, in part by **prioritizing investments** for adaptation and decarbonization in “environmental justice” communities in the United States
Want a Green New Deal? Here’s a better one.

Pollution pricing is not untested theory. It is the policy that ended acid rain, ahead of schedule and more cheaply than projected. Following that success, it was long assumed that pricing carbon dioxide would be the centerpiece of any ambitious plan to slash emissions. Yet Republicans never embraced the market-based idea, even though conservative economists admit its appeal, because they never accepted the need to act at all. Some environmentalists, meanwhile, are increasingly wary of carbon pricing. The Democrats’ Green New Deal, which is noncommittal on the policy, reflects the accelerating drift from the obvious.

Yet neither the science nor the economics has changed. It is still imperative to act. And carbon pricing is still the best first-line policy.
Whole Community Climate Mapping

A project of the Socio-Spatial Climate Collaborative, or (SC)$^2$

Daniel Aldana Cohen, Kevin Ummel, and Nick Graetz
Urban density! Reduce energy demand, make decarbonization easier
The Case for a
Green New Deal for Housing
A Green New Deal for Housing

BY DANIEL ALDANA COHEN

A Green New Deal can’t deliver economic or environmental justice without tackling the housing crisis. We should go big and build 10 million beautiful, public, no-carbon homes over the next 10 years.

• 10 Million Public, No-Carbon Homes in 10 Years
  • Highest design standards
  • Diversity of governance
  • Cities, suburbs, towns, reservations

• Energy upgrades of existing buildings, prioritizing
  • Low-income housing
  • Public housing
  • Big commercial properties
(Even CAP Thinking About This)

Homes for All
A Program Providing Rental Supply Where Working Families Need It Most

By Michela Zonta Posted on July 24, 2018, 7:45 am

OVERVIEW
It is time for the federal government to contribute more aggressively to the U.S. supply of affordable housing, as it did in the past.
10 Million Public, No-Carbon Homes in 10 Years: Why?

1. Housing inequality as important as un- or under-employment, especially to racial wealth gap

2. Climate change will exacerbate housing needs, with sea level rise alone displacing over 12 million people by 2100 (never mind heat, drought, voluntary relocation, population growth, increases in immigrant and refugee populations)

3. Need to decarbonize building sector, which consumes 39% of US energy

4. Social services and public goods will increasingly get provided through climate-linked investment, or not at all. So focus on the climate intersections and get it right

5. Affordable housing crucial to effectively decarbonize density
Inequality Snapshots

The Color of Law
A FORGOTTEN HISTORY OF HOW OUR GOVERNMENT SEGREGATED AMERICA
RICHARD ROTHSTEIN

The Origins of the Urban Crisis
RACE AND INEQUALITY IN POSTWAR DETROIT
THOMAS J. SUGRUE
Winner of the Bancroft Prize in American History
Racial Wealth Inequality Is Rampant In The U.S.
Median household wealth by race/ethnicity in the United States (1983–2024)

- White
- Black
- Latino

Source: Prosperity Now & Institute For Policy Studies
How Real Estate Segregated America

Real-estate interests have long wielded an outsized influence over national housing policy—to the detriment of African Americans.

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor ▪ Fall 2018

Richard Nixon, HUD Secretary Romney, and D.C. Mayor Washington tour a neighborhood damaged by riots after the death of Martin Luther King Jr. (Vally McNamee / Corbis / Getty Images)
Inequality Snapshots

One in Four Renters is Severely Cost-Burdened, Spending 50% or more of their Income on Rent

49.7% of renters spend 30% or more of their income on rent

Share of Income Spent on Rent (2016)

- Not Burdened
- Moderately Burdened
- Severely Burdened

Source: Census; Apartment List Calculations
Inequality Snapshots

Figure 1: Energy Insecurity for urban households in the Mid-Atlantic region
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Real estate and unions slam green-building bill

Coalition criticizes sweeping effort to cap carbon emissions

As New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio looks on, Henry Garrido, DC 37’s executive director, speaks in Queens at the April 22 announcement of OneNYC2050, the city’s ambitious environmental initiative. Photo: Mike Lee

An alliance of property owners and unions claims that the city’s vision for fighting global warming needs to come down to earth.
United Electrical Becomes First US Industrial Union to Endorse Green New Deal and Global Climate Strike

The 35,000-member union called the transformative proposal “our best hope to meet the challenge of climate change while creating millions of good union jobs.”

by Jake Johnson, staff writer

Photo by IBEW: Lou Antonellis and colleagues always think “green on the job.”

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A HOMES GUARANTEE AND A GREEN NEW DEAL

A Homes Guarantee will have enormous benefits that extend beyond the roof over one’s head. Housing security will improve education, health, and employment prospects for tens of millions of people, and will provide a meaningful step in equalizing disparities across racial lines. Less widely appreciated is the fact that housing plays a critical role in the environment. Homes are where we seek shelter from extreme weather. Their energy and associated transit systems are also a major cause of carbon pollution. Home energy use, plus transportation by car to and from homes, are responsible for nearly one third of the country’s carbon footprint.

The housing, energy, and climate crises converge in American homes. A massive build-out of new homes with old materials and in the wrong places could exacerbate the climate emergency. But done right, a national Homes Guarantee, including the interventions prescribed in this book—to build new social housing, reinvest in public housing, protect communities from gentrification, and increase community wealth in historically disenchanted Black and Brown neighborhoods—could play a pivotal role in advancing the goals of a Green New Deal, and vice versa. A Homes Guarantee would be an effective and efficient lever for decarbonizing the economy and creating good jobs while increasing social, economic, and racial justice.

There are over 138 million housing units in the country, of which 43 million are renter. Homes are responsible for over 15% of US greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, more than the emissions caused by commercial buildings’ energy use. But not everyone has equal or sufficient access to efficient and affordable energy in their homes. Roughly one third of Americans suffer from energy insecurity, or have recently received a utility shut-off notice, forgone other essentials like food to pay utility bills, or kept their home at an unsafe temperature. Low-income, Black, and Latino households suffer disproportionately from energy insecurity. Low-income households tend to have less well-insulated homes older appliances, low-income residents pay 25% more for utilities bills per square foot of housing than non-low-income residents. Utility bills are one of the most common reasons low-income families take out payday loans. In addition, most American homes are dense cities. Residential sprawl is a major reason cars are responsible for over 15% of the country’s GHG emissions.

American households are also intensely exposed to other environmental harms, from in-home toxins including lead in both pot and pipes, toxic mold, and carbon monoxide from gas ranges that are old, lack exhaust hoods, or both. Indoor air quality can also be worsened by outdoor exposure to toxic facilities, ranging from coal plants and fly ash deposits to waste dumps and diesel bus and truck terminals. A Homes Guarantee must also address these issues systematically through massive green investment in frontline communities, in concert with a broader overhaul of the built environment of environmental racism.

Meanwhile, millions of Americans will have to move because of climate harms that cannot be prevented. Sea level rise alone is projected to displace at least 13 million Americans by the end of the century. By 2030, over 300,000

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Housing for All

In the richest country in the history of the world, every American must have a safe, decent, accessible, and affordable home as a fundamental right.

Details

For more than 40 years, we have had an affordable housing crisis in America that has only gotten worse.

In America today, over 18 million families are paying more than 50 percent of their income on housing, while last year alone the five largest banks on Wall Street made a record-breaking $111 billion in profits.

How are families in America supposed to pay for food, transportation, health care, prescription drugs, education, and childcare when over half of their income is going to pay the rent or the mortgage? The sad and painful reality is that many of them cannot, and millions of Americans are going deeply into debt just to make ends meet.

In America today, there is virtually no city or town where a full-time minimum wage worker can afford a decent, two-bedroom apartment. Meanwhile, the top 25 hedge fund managers in America made an average of $850 million apiece last year.

In America today, over half a million people will be sleeping out on the streets or in homeless shelters because they don’t have the money to put a roof over their heads. Meanwhile, large, profitable corporations like Amazon, which is owned by the wealthiest person in the world, pay nothing in federal income taxes.

Decarbonize Our Housing

We will pass a Green New Deal to achieve 100 percent sustainable energy for electricity and a fully decarbonized building sector by no later than 2030.

As president, Bernie will:

- Weatherize homes.
  - Perform energy efficiency upgrades to make buildings more energy efficient and lower energy bills.
  - Provide grants for low- and moderate-income families and small businesses to invest in weatherizing and retrofitting their homes and businesses.
  - Because our mobile home stock is leaky and often very old, we plan to replace all mobile homes with quality zero-energy modular homes.

- Electrify homes.
  - Provide grants for low- and moderate-income families to invest in cheaper electricity for these needs. A federal mandate through the Department of Energy will ensure that all new construction and wealthy homeowners meet our electrification goals.

- Energy assistance.
  - We will expand the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) to help low-income families pay their heating and cooling bills. Additionally, the program will be expanded to provide 10 percent of program costs for maintenance of new efficient heating and cooling systems and technical assistance for the installation and use of new furnaces, heat pumps, boilers, and other upgrades for the duration of the 10-year transition.

- Decarbonize public housing.
  - Through the Green New Deal, we will electrify and decarbonize all public housing by conducting deep energy retrofits including appliances, power, and heating. We will also ensure that public housing has quality, shared community spaces to ensure every public housing complex has the capacity to serve as a community resiliency center.

- Save families money on energy bills.
  - After 2035 electricity will be virtually free, aside from operations and maintenance costs.
A GREEN NEW DEAL FOR NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY (NYCHA) COMMUNITIES
Mapping Public Housing Communities
# The Green Homes Guarantee is Popular

Daniel Aldana Cohen, Senior Fellow at Data for Progress, Director of the Socio-Spatial Climate Collaborative at the University of Pennsylvania

Tara Raghuvir, Housing Campaign Director at People's Action

Sean McElwee, Co-Founder of Data for Progress

Jack Nicol, Analyst at YouGov Blue

John Ray, Senior Analyst at YouGov Blue

## Housing Items Policy Support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Description</th>
<th>Strongly Support</th>
<th>Somewhat Support</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Somewhat Oppose</th>
<th>Strongly Oppose</th>
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<tr>
<td>National Tenant Bill of Rights</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>21%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Green investment in housing retrofits, sustainable housing, environmental clean up, clean transit</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homes Guarantee</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>23%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Investing $100bn annually in social housing</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investing $50bn annually in retrofitting public housing</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prioritizing green investments in housing retrofits and public transit</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
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#### Support Level for a Fund to Create Disaster Safety Centers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Strongly Support</th>
<th>Somewhat Support</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Somewhat Oppose</th>
<th>Strongly Oppose</th>
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<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent/Other</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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</table>

#### Support Level for Cancellation of Loans for Families Who Were Targeted with Unfair Loan Practices

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Strongly Support</th>
<th>Somewhat Support</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>Somewhat Oppose</th>
<th>Strongly Oppose</th>
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<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent/Other</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vienna Precedent

“The international community has increasingly recognized that private-only housing models adopted in the 1970s and 1980s have failed. ... The United States is almost alone in the fierce resistance of the overwhelming majority of both its major parties to the involvement of federal and local government in the direct provision of affordable housing.”

(Gowan and Cooper 2018: 15)
Vienna Precedent
Vienna Precedent
Vienna Precedent
Amalgamated Dwellings (NYC)
Design for the Public Good

As TVA brought public power to the Tennessee Valley, TVA architect Roland Wank put design to work for the people—starting with his visionary plan for Norris Dam.
NOWHERE TO GO BUT FORWARD

BY ROLAND A. WANK

ONE MIGHT BE passionately fond of apple pie without ever wanting to swallow the recipe on which it was made; and likewise, even people who enjoy architecture may feel cold towards its analytic dissection. Architecture is physical and inert—a hard admired but hardly abstracted. This more professions including architecture. Practitioners of the latter tended towards gruited preoccupation with objects of beauty—unrelated and isolated in a world shaped by brutal, virile, and often mutually destructive forces. The clash of those forces piled wreckage high, in cities, suburbs, and countryside, around beauty tenderly created but lacking stout roots in the groundstream of civilization. Retreat to the islands of the past is now hopeless. Forces and hot dry stands long clear to the
Core Tensions and Values

Tensions

1. Fast vs Deliberate
2. Centralist vs Local
3. Public vs Private

Values

A. Experimentalism and institutional diversity
B. Popular sovereignty with internationalist solidarity
C. Design as terrain of democratic struggle
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New Jersey Precedent

Taking **Legal Action** for Affordable Housing in Communities of Opportunity

The Mount Laurel Doctrine has led to the development of over 60,000 affordable housing units outside New Jersey's racially and economically-segregated urban centers.

Fair Share Housing Center fights to **defend the rights of New Jersey's poor** by monitoring, enforcing and expanding the Mount Laurel Doctrine.

Still Stuck with the Storm?: **We are gathering stories so we can advocate for changes to the state's disaster recovery efforts.**

Latest Blog Updates »
- West Windsor signs major new fair housing agreement
  Oct 11th by Anthony Campisi
- NAACP and FSJC urge Jersey City Council to Vote Against Elimination of Obligation for 87 Affordable
  Apr 25th by Kevin Walsh
- Mercer County court upholds fair housing obligations in major win for working families
  Mar 9th by Anthony Campisi
# California Precedent

## Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund: Sustainable Communities & Clean Transportation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Total Appropriations as of November 2016</th>
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<tr>
<td>Low Carbon Transportation</td>
<td>$695m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low Carbon Transit Operations Program</td>
<td>$135m</td>
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<td>(5% continuous appropriation)</td>
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<td>Active Transportation Program</td>
<td>$10m</td>
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<tr>
<td>High-Speed Rail Project</td>
<td>(25% continuous appropriation)</td>
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<td>$800m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transit &amp; Intercity Rail Capital Program</td>
<td>$381m</td>
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<tr>
<td>(10% continuous appropriation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affordable Housing &amp; Sustainable Communities</td>
<td>$526m</td>
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<tr>
<td>(20% continuous appropriation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sustainable Agricultural Lands Conservation</td>
<td>$44m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical Assistance</td>
<td>$2m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transformative Climate Communities</td>
<td>$140m</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>TOD</strong></th>
<th><strong>REQUIRED CAPITAL PROJECT</strong></th>
<th><strong>ADD-ONS</strong></th>
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<td>½ mile from High Quality Transit</td>
<td>Affordable Housing (AHD) or Housing-Related Infrastructure (HRI)</td>
<td>Sustainable Transportation Infrastructure (STI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Example partner</td>
<td>Affordable Housing Developer</td>
<td>Additional Capital or Program Uses</td>
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<th><strong>ICP</strong></th>
<th><strong>Sustainable Transportation Infrastructure (STI)</strong></th>
<th><strong>ADD-ONS</strong></th>
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<td>BIKE ORGANIZATION</td>
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<td>CITY PUBLIC WORKS DEPT.</td>
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