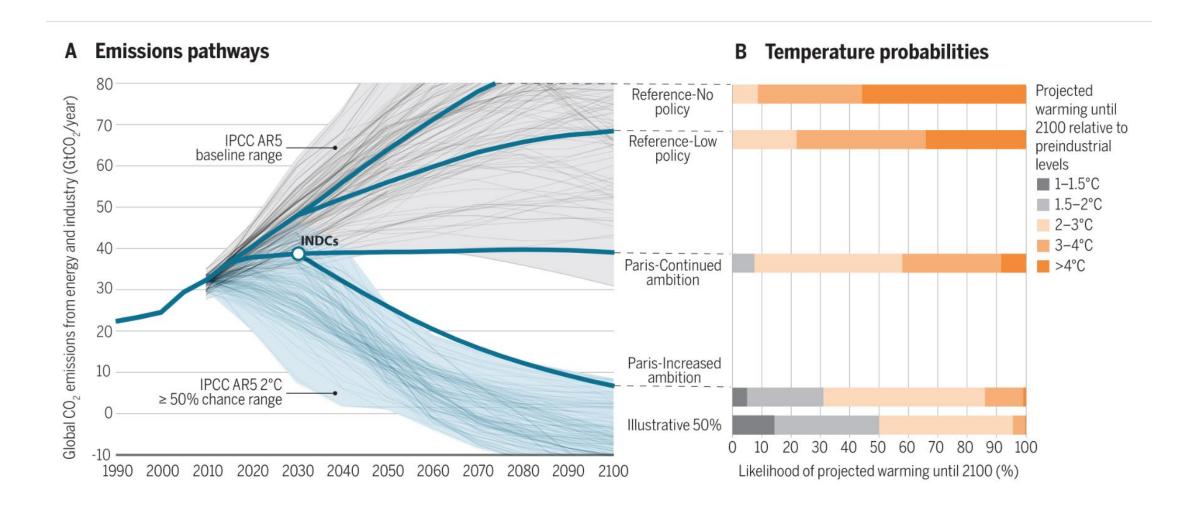
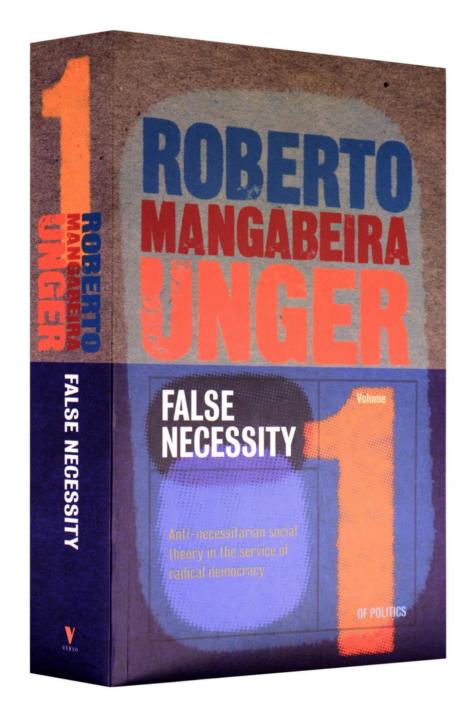




# Global CO2 emissions and probabilistic temperature outcomes of Paris





"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)



## JACOBIN

# A Planet to Win



# Why We Need a Green New Deal

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.



# A Planet to Win



# Why We Need a Green New Deal

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

# The AOC Green New Deal has three core features:

- 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

## The Washington Post

Democracy Dies in Darkness

The Post's View • Opinion

# Want a Green New Deal? Here's a better one.

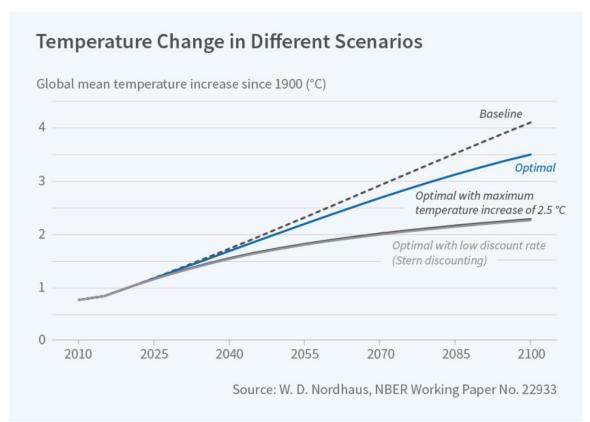


(Robert F. Bukaty/AP)

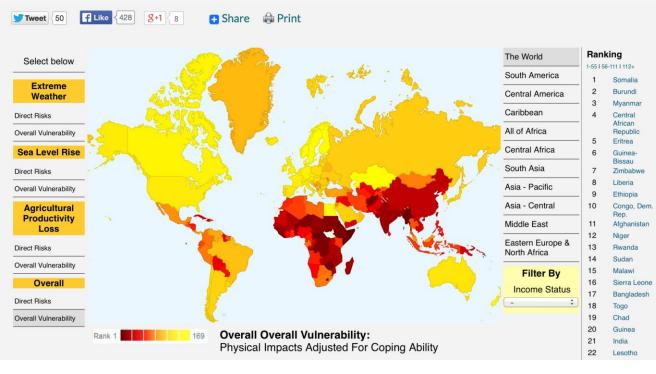
**By Editorial Board** 

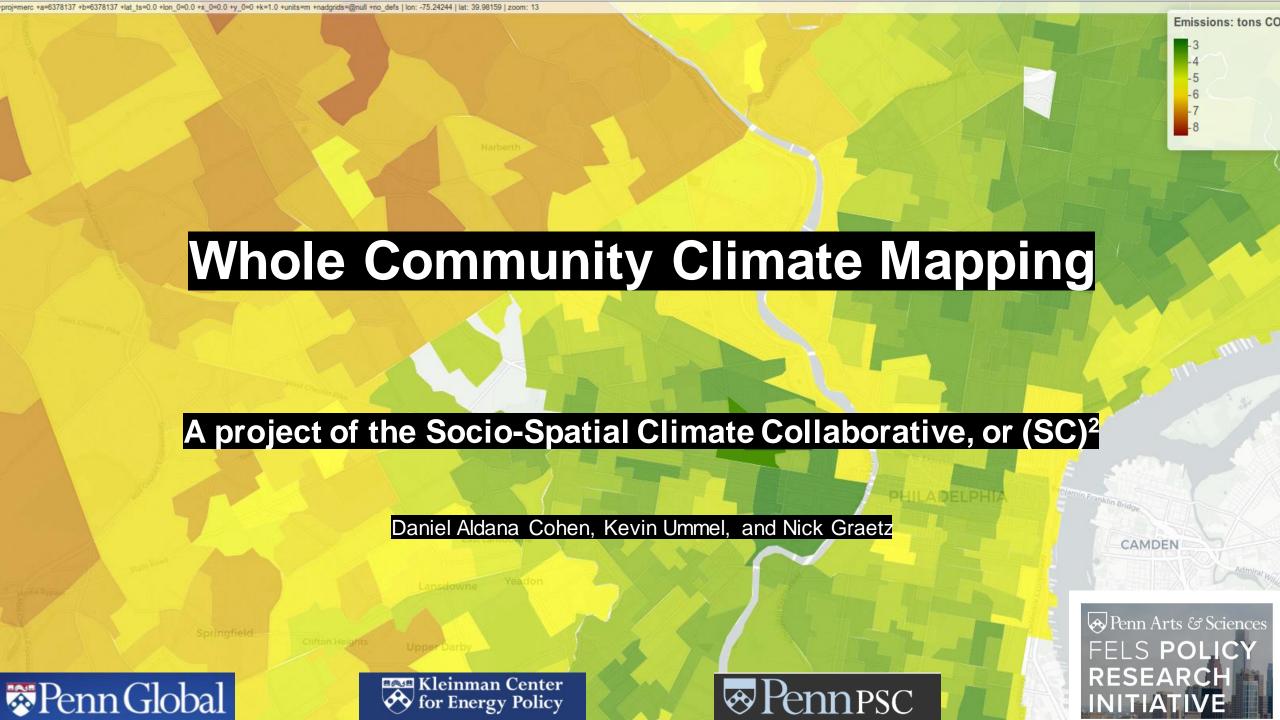
Pollution pricing is not untested theory. It is the policy that ended acid rain, ahead of schedule and more cheaply than projected. Following that success, it was long assumed that pricing carbon dioxide would be the centerpiece of any ambitious plan to slash emissions. Yet Republicans never embraced 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.

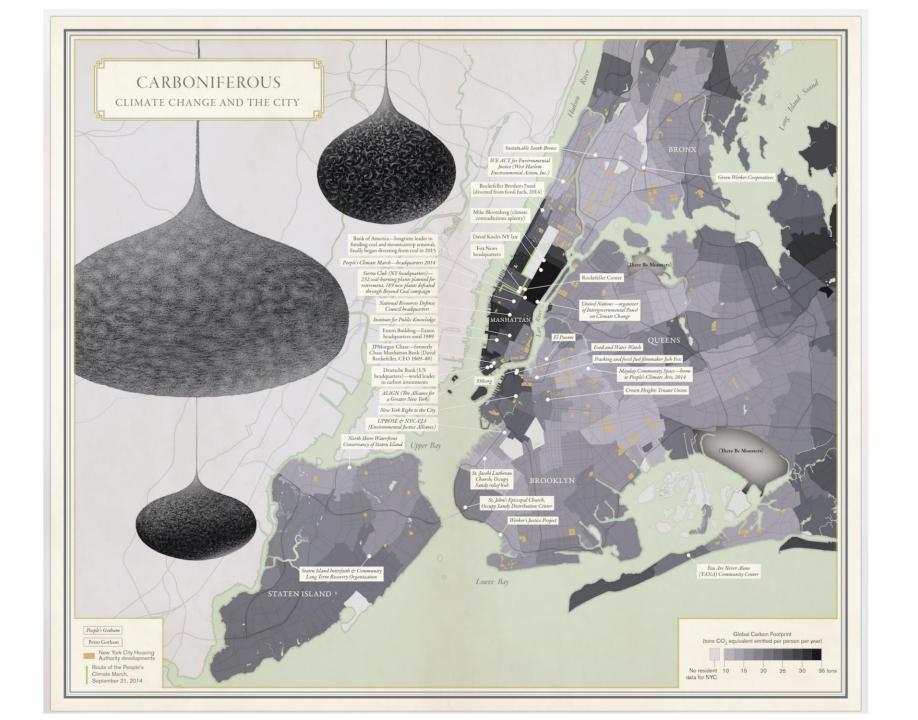
Yet neither the science nor the economics has changed. It is still imperative to act. And carbon pricing is still the best first-line policy.



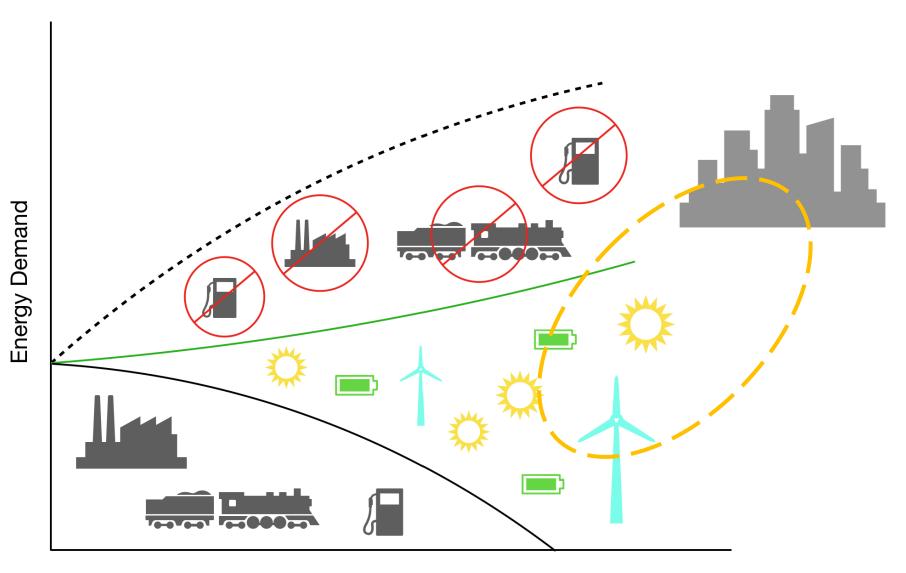
## Mapping the Impacts of Climate Change







# Urban density! Reduce energy demand, make decarbonization easier



Time

# The Case for a **Green New Deal for Housing**







## **JACOBIN**

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<b>(</b>	Ŋ	×	đ

## 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

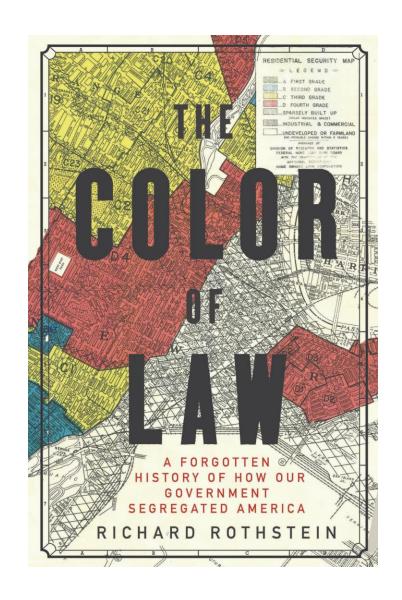
By Michela Zonta Posted on July 24, 2018, 7:45 am

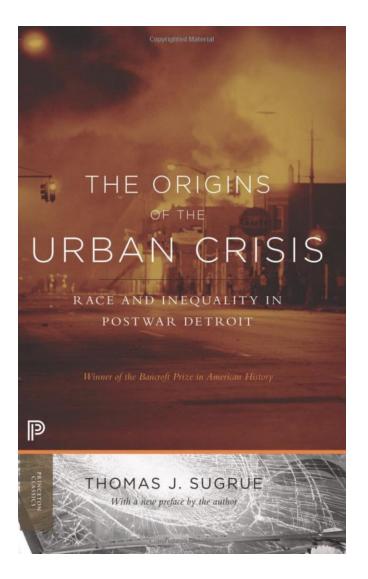


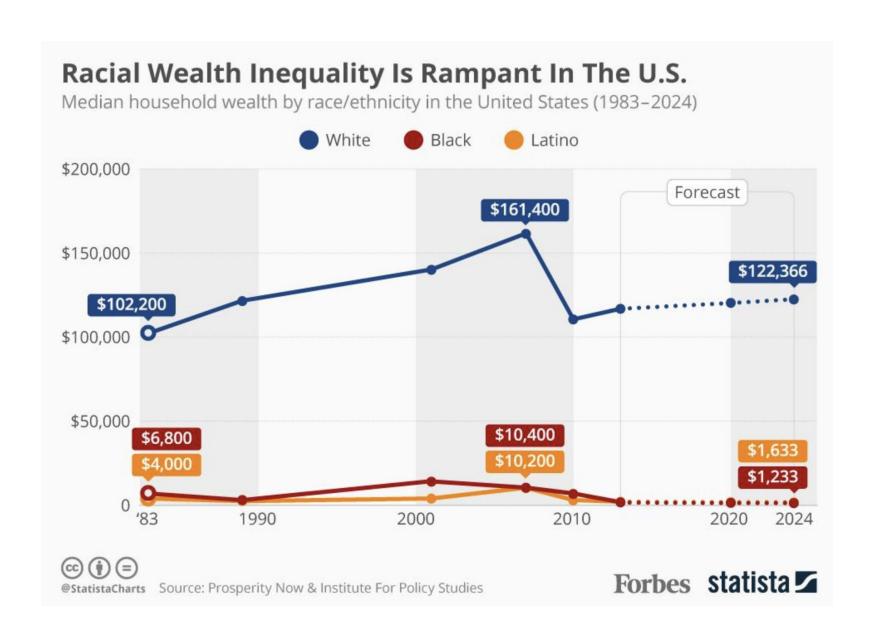
**PRESS CONTACT** 

A construction worker helps place a roof truss onto a house under construction.

- Housing inequality as important as un- or under-employment, especially to racial wealth gap
- 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)
- Need to decarbonize building sector, which consumes 39% of US energy
- 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









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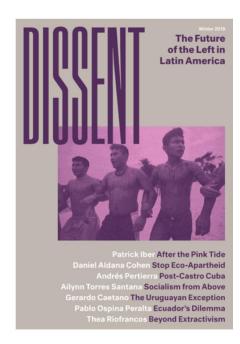
## **How Real Estate Segregated America**

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. (Wally McNamee / Corbis / Getty Images)



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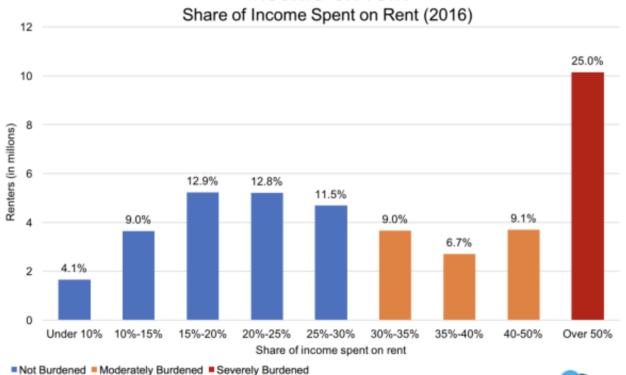






# One in Four Renters is Severely Cost-Burdened, Spending 50% of more of their Income on Rent

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



Source: Census; Apartment List Calculations



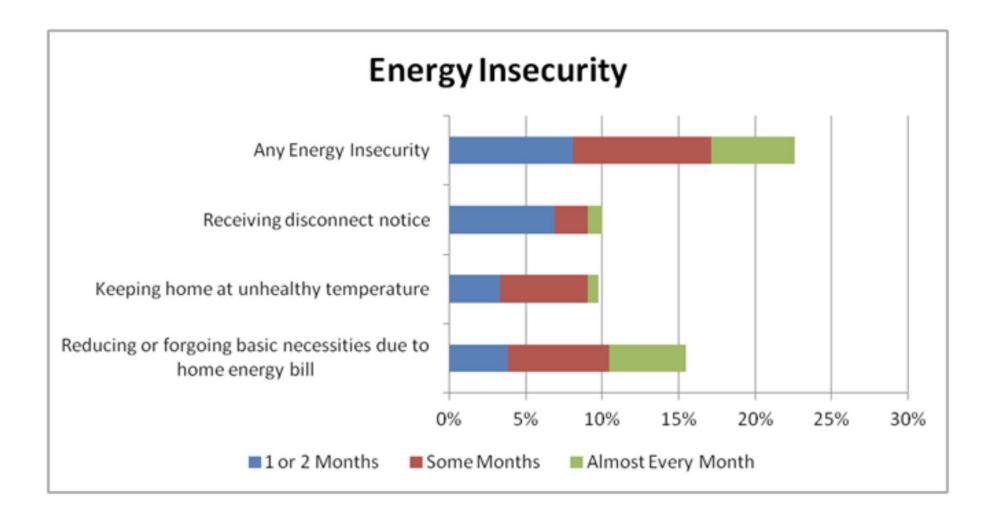


Figure 1: Energy Insecurity for urban households in the Mid-Atlantic region

- Housing inequality as important as un- or under-employment, especially to racial wealth gap
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Home » ABOUT DC 37 » DC 37 Efforts Pivotal in Green New Deal Passage

### DC 37 Efforts Pivotal in Green New Deal Passage

Posted on June 19, 2019 by Mike Lee in ABOUT DC 37, NEWSROOM, POLITICAL ACTION, POLITICS // 1 Comment



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



DATA & LISTS VIEWPOINTS

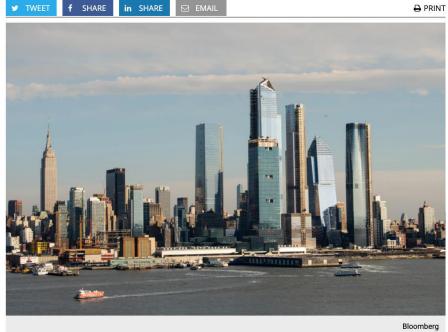
#### Real estate and unions slam green-building bill

Coalition criticizes sweeping effort to cap carbon emissions

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PRINT



An alliance of property owners and unions claims that the city's vision for fighting global warming needs to come down to earth.



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Published on Friday, August 30, 2019 by Common Dreams

#### 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



Sunrise NYC, a climate activist group, rallies in front of Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer's office in Midtown Manhattan demanding that he support the Green New Deal. (Photo: Gabriele Holtermann-Gorden/Pacific Press/LightRocket via Getty Images)

# IBEW Local 103 Leader Endorses Green New Deal



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

IBEW Local 103 Business Manager Lou Antonellis has endorsed the Green New Deal resolution proposed by Senator Ed Markey and U.S. Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, according to Jennifer Smith of the *Dorchester Reporter*.







- Housing inequality as important as un- or under-employment, especially to racial wealth gap
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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.<sup>63</sup> 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 disenfranchised 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 rented.<sup>64</sup> Homes are responsible for over 15% of US greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, more than the emissions caused by commercial buildings' energy use.<sup>65</sup> 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. <sup>66</sup> Low-income, Black, and Latino households suffer disproportionately from energy insecurity. Low-income households tend to have less well-insulated homes older appliances; <sup>67</sup> low-income residents pay 25% more for utilities bills per square foot of housing than non-low-income residents. <sup>68</sup> Utility bills are one of the most common reasons low-income families take out payday loans; <sup>69</sup> In addition, most American homes are outside dense cities. Residential sprawl is a major reason cars are responsible for over 15% of the country's GHG emissions. <sup>70</sup>

American households are also intensely exposed to other environmental harms, from in-home toxins including lead in both paint 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. <sup>71</sup> By 2030, over 300,000

HOMESGUARANTEE.COM 18 PEOPLE'S ACTION

<sup>63</sup> IPCC. 2018. "Summary for Policymakers." In Global Warming of 1.5°C. https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/chapter/summary-for-policy-makers/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Jennifer Rudden. 2019. "U.S. Residential Housing - Statistics and Facts." Statista. January 16.

https://www.statista.com/topics/1618/residential-housing-in-the-us/

<sup>65</sup> Leung, Jessica. 2018. "Decarbonizing U.S. Buildings." Center for Climate and Energy Solutions. July. https://www.c2es.org/document/decarbonizing-u-s-buildings/

<sup>66</sup> U.S. Energy Information Administration, N.d. "One in three U.S. households faced challenges in paying energy bills in 2015." https://www.eia.gov/consumption/residential/reports/2015/energybills/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ela (Energy Information Administration). 2013. "Heating and Cooling No Longer Majority of US Home Energy Use." *Today in Energy*, March 7. https://www.eia.gov//bodayinenergy/detail.php?id=1027l&src=%E2%80%B9%20Consumption%20%20%20%20%20%20Residential%20Energy%20Consumption%20Survey%20Cineschieded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> EIA (Energy Information Administration). 2009. "Residential Energy Consumption Survey." Accessed November 2015. www.eia.gov/consumption/residential/index.cfm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Levy, R. and J. Sledge. 2012. A Complex Portrait: An Examination of SMall-DOllar Credit Consumers. Chicago: Center for Financial Services Innovation. <a href="https://www.fdic.gov/news/conferences/consumersymposium/2012/A%20Complex%20Portrait.pdf">www.fdic.gov/news/conferences/consumersymposium/2012/A%20Complex%20Portrait.pdf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Environmental Protection Agency. 2019. "Fast Facts on Transportation Greenhouse Gas Emissions." June.

https://www.epa.gov/greenvehicles/fast-facts-transportation-greenhouse-gas-emissions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Milman, Oliver. 2018. "We're moving to higher ground": America's era of climate mass migration is here." *The Guardian*. September 24. https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/sep/24/americas-era-of-climate-mass-migration-is-here

ISSUES

# 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 <u>Green New Deal</u> to achieve 100 percent sustainable energy for electricity and a fully decarbonized building sector by no later than 2030.

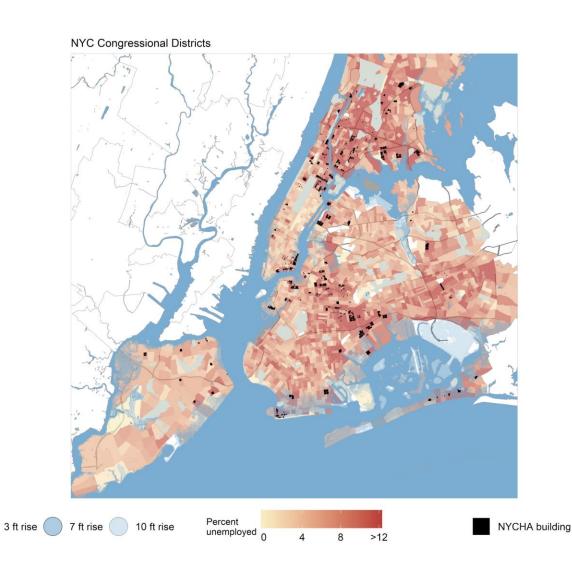
#### As president, Bernie will:

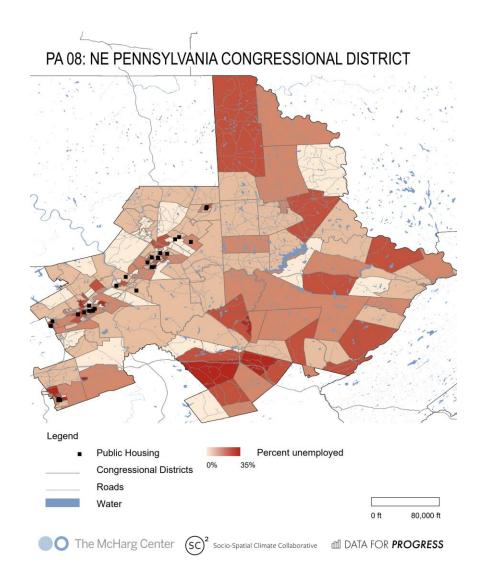
- Weatherize homes.
  - Perform energy efficiency upgrades to make buildings more energy efficient and lower energy bills.
  - Provide grants for low- and moderate-income families and small businesses to invest in weatherizing and retrofitting their homes and businesses.
  - Because our mobile home stock 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.





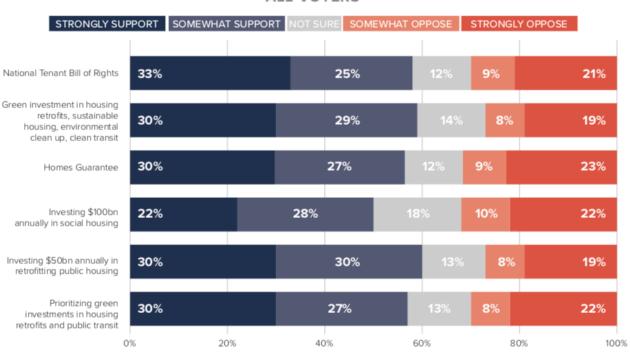
# Mapping Public Housing Communities







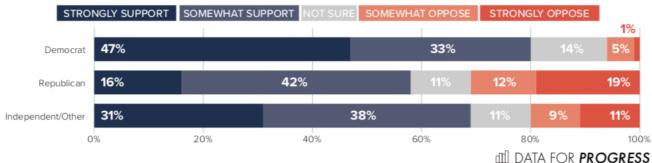
## HOUSING ITEMS POLICY SUPPORT ALL VOTERS



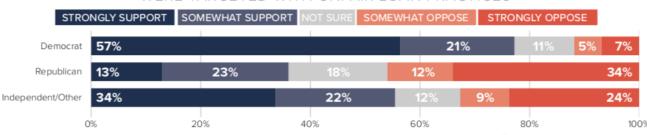
**M** DATA FOR **PROGRESS** 



#### SUPPORT LEVEL FOR A FUND TO CREATE DISASTER SAFETY CENTERS

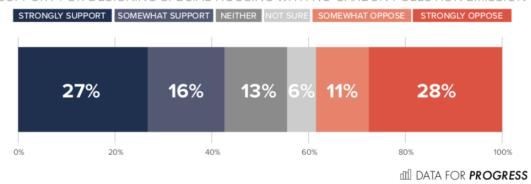


## SUPPORT LEVEL FOR CANCELLATION OF LOANS FOR FAMILIES WHO WERE TARGETED WITH UNFAIR LOAN PRACTICES

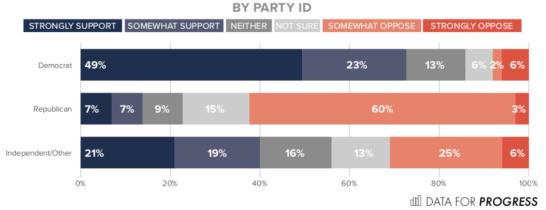


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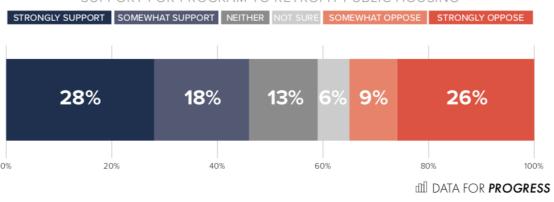
#### SUPPORT FOR DESIGNING SPECIAL HOUSING WITH NO CARBON POLLUTION EMISSION



#### SUPPORT FOR DESIGNING SPECIAL HOUSING WITH NO CARBON POLLUTION EMISSION

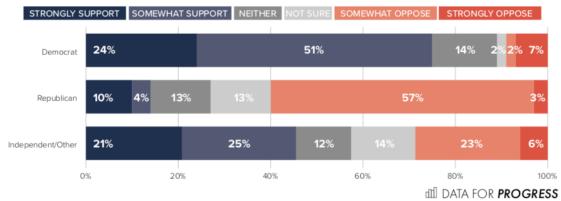


#### SUPPORT FOR PROGRAM TO RETROFIT PUBLIC HOUSING



7

#### SUPPORT FOR PROGRAM TO RETROFIT PUBLIC HOUSING BY PARTY ID



## Vienna Precedent



PETER GOWAN & RYAN COOPER

People's Policy Project

"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





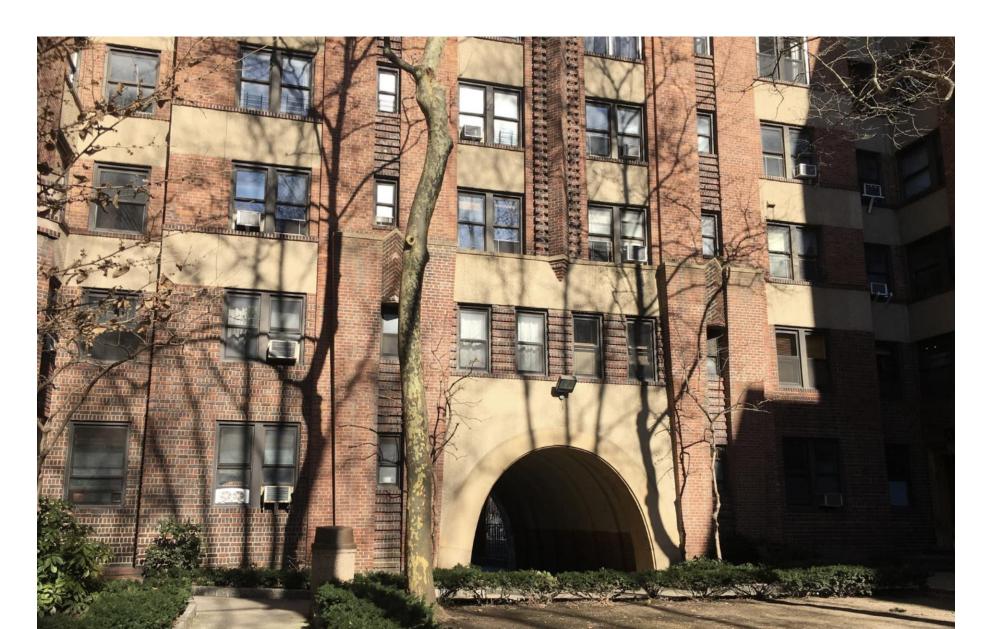








# **Amalgamated Dwellings (NYC)**





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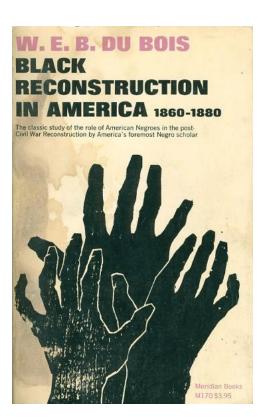


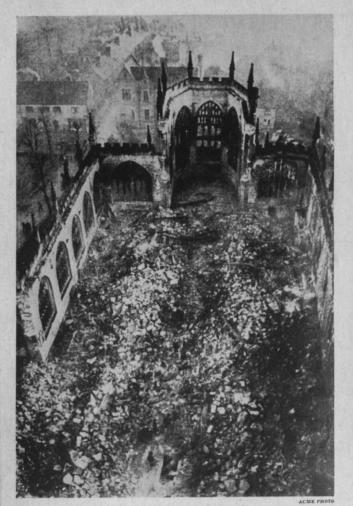
# Design for the Public Good

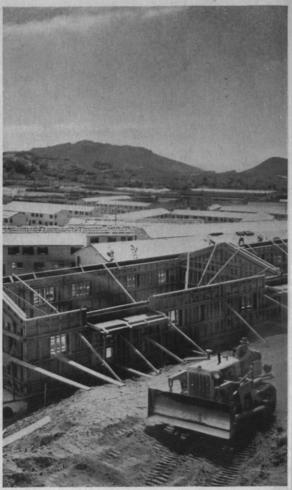
As TVA brought public power to the Tennessee Valley, TVA architect Roland Wank put design to work for the people—starting with his visionary plan for Norris Dam.











USHA PHOTO

"A time to cast away stones and a time to gather stones together. . . ." Ecclesiastes III, 5. (LEFT: Looking down from the spire of St. Michael's Cathedral, Coventry, after November 15, 1940. RIGHT: Sunnydale Low Rent Housing Project, San Francisco, under construction)

### 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

more professions including architecture. Practitioners of the latter tended towards genteel 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

### **Core Tensions and Values**

#### **Tensions**

- Fast vs Deliberate
- 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**



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MOUNT LAUREL DOCTRINE

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### 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.

LEARN MORE

MAKE A DONATION

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

### California Precedent

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

D				
P	ro	gr	a	m

as of November 2016

Low Carbon Transportation	\$695m
Low Carbon Transit Operations	\$135m
Program	(5% continuous appropriation)
Active Transportation Program	\$10m
	\$800m
High Spood Pail Project	(25% continuos appropriation)
High-Speed Rail Project	
	\$10m
Transit & Intercity Rail Capital	\$381m
Program	(10% continuous appropriation)
Affordable Housing & Sustainable	\$526m
Communities	(20% continuous appropriation)
Sustainable Agricultural Lands	\$4400
Conservation	\$44m
Technical Assistance	\$2m
Transformative Climate	¢1.40m
Communities	\$140m

# California Precedent

TOD	REQUIRED CAPITAL PROJECT	ADD-ONS (1 required – higher score w/ 2+ )	
½ mile from High Quality	Affordable Housing (AHD) or Housing-Related Infrastructure (HRI)	Sustainable Transportation Infrastructure (STI)	Additional Capital or Program Uses
Transit		BIKE LANE	PASS
Example partner	AFFORDABLE HOUSING DEVELOPER	<ul><li>TRANSIT AGENCY</li><li>CITY PUBLIC WORKS DEPT.</li></ul>	BIKE     ORGANIZATION     CITY DEPT
ICP	Sustainable Transportation Infrastructure (STI)	<ul> <li>Affordable housing OR</li> <li>Housing infrastructure</li> <li>Transportation-Related Amenities</li> </ul>	Additional Capital or Program Uses
Served by Qualifying Transit	<ul> <li>TRANSIT AGENCY</li> <li>CITY PUBLIC WORKS DEPT.</li> <li>CITY TRANSPORTATION DEPT.</li> </ul>	• AFFORDABLE HOUSING DEVELOPER • TRANSIT AGENCY • CITY PUBLIC WORKS DEPT.	<ul> <li>BIKE ORGANIZATION</li> <li>CITY DEPT</li> <li>AFFORDABLE HOUSING DEVELOPER</li> </ul>