

INFLATION
REDUCTION ACT:
**CAMPAIGN
OPPORTUNITIES
FOR STATE
COALITIONS**
TO ADVANCE
A GREEN NEW DEAL

A RESOURCE GUIDE FOR GNDN STATE TABLES

This report is designed to help organizers at the state level navigate the opportunities within the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act and inform their strategies to advance wins for climate, jobs and justice.

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OVERVIEW

The Green New Deal Network (GNDN) played a key role in passing the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and the Infrastructure, Investment, and Jobs Act (IIJA) through its cross-sector, united-front coalition and national mobilization strategy. The IRA and IIJA contain the most significant climate investments in our nation's history, but GNDN must continue our IRA/IIJA organizing efforts to ensure that federal funds become real benefits for our communities.

GNDN believes that building power in states is key to enacting transformative policies, protecting our communities from fossil fuel interests, and defending and strengthening our victories at the federal level. The IRA and IIJA investments have opened up opportunities for climate organizers to build power and advance more wins toward a Green New Deal.

This report is designed to help organizers at the state level navigate the opportunities within the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act and inform their strategies to advance wins for climate, jobs and justice.

How to Use This Document

- » Start by reviewing [1. Big Picture: Building power by taking advantage of federal climate money](#) — this will dig into the 5 types of power GNDN is working to build, and what broad implementation goals and tactics can help us to do so. This section also includes some high level campaign focus areas, and a rundown of how federal funds flow to communities.
- » Next, review [2. Building the Good: Implementation Campaigns in the Buildings and Power Sectors](#), which outlines campaign ideas within the two sectors that GNDN has prioritized for our implementation work: clean energy and buildings. We've provided some campaign demand recommendations to help you think through your own state-level strategy.
- » We've also included a section called [3. Filling the Gaps: Implementation Campaign Opportunities](#), which outlines some campaign ideas designed to address the shortcomings of the IRA with respect to environmental justice.
- » Check out our [Recommended Resources](#) section for a handful of excellent reports, articles and webinars that can offer a baseline understanding of the opportunities and challenges in IRA!
- » Finally, to refer to more specific sections of the bill, we've created summary tables of provisions relevant for states, municipalities and tribes, as well as for the energy and buildings sector in the Appendix. You can also see the [Appendix](#) for our [power building framework](#) and other key references.



1.

BIG PICTURE:

**BUILDING POWER BY
TAKING ADVANTAGE OF
FEDERAL CLIMATE MONEY**

Let's start off by looking at the big picture.

Here are a few overarching ways that campaigning around the implementation of federal funds can support your state coalition in building power.¹

Power Building Opportunities with Federal Climate Money	
TYPE OF POWER	IMPLEMENTATION CAMPAIGN GOALS
Organizing Power	Build your base by helping constituents access the benefits of these federal investments, whether through connecting them to individual benefits, state/city level campaigns, or launching community-led clean energy projects
Legislative Power	Leverage new funding opportunities to push elected officials on passage of your climate, jobs and justice agenda
	Strengthen relationships with those in power to move toward a model of co-governance, where our communities are part of the decision-making process
Electoral Power	Build momentum off these wins to get more Green New Deal champions into office to advance further gains; build support for local and federal Democrats for 2024, and shame Republicans who opposed climate funding
Narrative Power	Connect the gains of the IRA with the broader vision for a Green New Deal
	Reinforce the narrative that the federal government delivers material benefits
United Front Power	Broaden your coalition by bringing in new constituents and organizations through IRA opportunities

Potential Campaign Focus Areas

IRA and IIJA allocate billions of dollars in the form of tax credits, grants and loans for the following sectors:

- » Clean energy manufacturing and jobs
- » Just transition for fossil fuel workers
- » EVs, electric buses, EV charging infrastructure
- » Home energy retrofits & weatherization rebates
- » Building electrification incentives (ex: rebates for heat pumps)
- » Solar for nonprofits, public buildings, and schools

How the Money Flows

Funding from the IRA flows in two ways: 1) directly to state agencies, which then utilize the funds or distribute them to local governments, communities, or private entities, and 2) directly to private entities and/or individuals.

Many provisions of the IRA will be implemented at the state level. Action taken by states will be essential to moving the US toward cutting greenhouse gas emissions to avoid the worst of the climate crisis.

IRA provisions will be rolled out differently in each state, and depend on existing administrative structures and programs. Key State Agencies include: State Energy Offices, State Environmental Protection Offices, State Transit Authorities, and more.

Eligibility for IRA programs depends on each program's funding structure.

- » **BLOCK GRANTS** are distributed to state and local governments and not to private entities.
- » **TAX CREDITS** are distributed to individuals, bypassing state and local governments. However, the IRA has several clean energy tax credit provisions that municipalities, tribes and non profits can access (see above).
- » **DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY LOANS** can be awarded to a wide range of entities.

State organizers have the opportunity to advocate that state governments, Tribal governments and local governments proactively apply for the competitive grant funding, and to ensure that the projects identified in the application uplift community demands around climate, jobs and justice.

IRA also includes grants that non profit organizations can directly apply to for community-led projects.

IRA HIGHLIGHT ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE JUSTICE BLOCK GRANTS

EPA will be administering a \$3 billion program to provide grants that invest in community-led projects in disadvantaged communities. Eligible funding recipients include community-based nonprofits or organizations, or a partnership between community-based nonprofit organizations and a tribe, local government or institution of higher education.

Eligible activities include:

- » Community-led air and other air pollution monitoring, prevention and remediation, investments in low- and zero-emission and resilient technologies and workforce development that help reduce GHG emissions and other air pollutants
- » Climate resilience and adaptation
- » Reducing indoor toxics and indoor air pollution
- » Mitigating climate and health risks from urban heat islands, extreme heat, wood heater emissions and wildfire events
- » Facilitating engagement of disadvantaged communities in state and federal public processes



For a deeper dive on how federal funds reach the state and municipal level, check out [Memo: How the Inflation Reduction Act money flows to communities.](#)



2. **BUILDING THE GOOD**

IMPLEMENTATION CAMPAIGNS IN THE POWER & BUILDING SECTORS

The Green New Deal Network will be building power in states to defend our victories at the federal level and ensure investments in **CLEAN ENERGY** and **BUILDINGS** result in:

- » Building resilience, wealth and health for frontline communities
- » Reducing emissions to prevent climate catastrophe
- » Lowering the cost of utility bills
- » Creating millions of family-sustaining jobs
- » Building political momentum and laying the groundwork for winning future federal investment

The energy and buildings sectors are some of the top sources for climate-change causing emissions in the country:

- + The Power sector is the second highest source of emissions in the US, but has the greatest potential for reductions through a just transition to renewable energy.
- + The buildings & housing sector has become the source of the most significant increase in direct emissions, a trend that reflects the rapid expansion of unsustainable construction. Green improvements in buildings can also yield public health benefits by improving indoor air quality, removing hazardous materials, and improving resilience in extreme weather.

Both sectors have the potential to generate millions of new green jobs; according to Blue Green Alliance, the IRA is projected to create:

- + **5 million clean energy jobs**, including more than 1.7 million jobs from clean energy tax credits
- + **900,000 clean manufacturing jobs** including, 670,000 jobs in wind turbines, solar panels, EV batteries and other clean technologies and nearly 120,000 jobs in projects at steel, aluminum, cement and other energy-intensive manufacturing facilities
- + **900,000 efficient buildings jobs**, including nearly 720,000 jobs from retrofitting and energy efficiency tax credits

See below for more specific campaign opportunity ideas, broken down by sector:



Clean Energy Sector Campaign Ideas

Targets: Governors, Public Utility Commissions, State Legislatures, and State Energy Agencies

ACCELERATING THE TRANSITION TO 100% CLEAN ENERGY

-  **Launch a “Solar for All”-style campaign to solarize Non-profits, Schools, Houses of Worship in your state, county, or multiple towns and cities.** A huge opportunity for solar has opened up through IRA – an uncapped, direct-pay tax credit taking 30% off the cost of solar installation that can be accessed directly by municipalities, tribal communities, and nonprofit entities – a benefit that historically only been available to taxpaying entities. For example, this will enable schools, city buildings, rural electric cooperatives, or non-profits (including houses of worship such as churches, temples, synagogues, congregations, mosques, etc.) to directly access tax credits that make it much easier and affordable to install solar panels.
-  **If your state does not yet have a climate plan, now is a great time to push for one!** Organizers can leverage the tax incentives in the IRA and infrastructure funds in IRA to push for an ambitious plan to address carbon emissions – including a clean electricity standard to cut pollution from the power sector while improving air quality and public health.² [22 states](#) have set the goal of achieving 100 percent carbon-free power generation. The IRA provides the opportunity to strengthen these standards by making clean energy even cheaper; thus States can leverage IRA tax incentives to set/accelerate clean energy targets without increasing costs. States, municipal and Tribal governments can also apply for Climate Pollution Reduction Grants, \$5 billion administered by EPA for developing and implementing strong climate pollution reduction plans.

IRA HIGHLIGHT CLIMATE POLLUTION REDUCTION GRANTS

The EPA received \$5 billion to assist states, air pollution control agencies, Tribes and local governments to develop and implement strong climate pollution reduction plans. These eligible entities can apply for planning grants and then apply for grants to implement those plans. The grants flexibly supports states’ implementation of programs for clean electricity, zero-emission vehicles and EV charging infrastructure, green buildings; incentives for smart-growth, housing and transit-oriented development; climate-smart agriculture and lands conservation.

Although nonprofits are not eligible to apply directly to these grants, organizers can campaign for ambitious climate plans and demand that local, state, and tribal governments apply for these funds!

-  **Launch public power campaigns that demand large-scale, publicly-owned clean energy generation.** In states with publicly-owned energy utilities and cooperatives, push for the rapid construction of clean energy projects. In states with investor-owned or private utility companies, State lawmakers and regulators such as the public utility commission are key in setting mandates for utilities to shut down fossil-fuel-fired power plants and increase the share of renewable energy resources such as wind and solar power. This is crucial to reducing the carbon footprint of the electric grid as states adopt broader efforts toward electrifying buildings, transit, and industrial processes — all sectors where states also play a crucial role. State organizers should identify their state’s energy office or administering agency for IRA and IIJA funding, and include them in a power mapping process.

IRA HIGHLIGHT MAXIMIZING BENEFITS OF CLEAN ENERGY FOR WORKERS & FRONTLINE COMMUNITIES

Publicly owned energy projects also have the potential to tap into key provisions in the IRA includes provisions to increase potential benefits for workers, frontline and tribal communities:

- » **Wage and job training requirements:** IRA tax incentives are five times larger for projects that meet prevailing wage and apprenticeship requirements
- » **Prioritize frontline communities:** Bonus incentives are also provided for clean energy projects sited in or benefiting low-income communities, those that are historic victims of environmental injustice and communities at risk of losing fossil fuel jobs or revenues in the energy transition
- » **Opportunity for Tribal energy projects:** IRA increases the aggregate amount of loans available at any time under the Tribal Energy Loan Guarantee Program (TELGP) from \$2 billion to \$20 billion.



Demand that states create public green banks to close the gap between federal funding and the total cost. Almost every IRA/IJJA project will contain a financing gap for nonprofits and governments to recover, so banks are critical to the rollout. Financing the gap in IRA tax credits for renewable energy and energy efficiency could either benefit private bankers (including those that profit from climate pollution) or build up public sector capacity through the creation of public financing institutions or green banks. Public financing could strengthen the community trust of public institutions by delivering tangible benefits.

IRA HIGHLIGHT GREENHOUSE GAS REDUCTION FUND: A NATIONAL GREEN BANK?

The \$27 billion Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund is an exciting component of the IRA that can act as a national “green bank.” The fund will provide \$27 billion in financial and technical assistance grants to states, tribal governments, nonprofits, and other eligible recipients to enable communities to deploy or benefit from technologies that combat climate change and reduce other forms of air pollution. \$15 billion from the fund are specifically dedicated to providing financial and technical assistance in low-income and disadvantaged EJ communities — \$7 billion in funds for zero-emission technologies and another \$8 billion in other qualifying projects).

So how will the money get to communities?

- » For the first pot of money (\$7B zero emissions technology), communities can directly apply and propose the projects that they need most!
- » For the other two pots of money, (\$11.9B general assistance + \$8 for disadvantaged communities) communities will need to work with eligible nonprofits – specifically, those that can leverage capital, such as green banks – to ensure that the right projects make it to their communities.

JUST TRANSITION



Demand that state leadership creates a Just Transition Office to dedicate resources to energy community transition. “Funding and coordination is needed to ensure that communities currently dependent on the fossil fuel economy can smoothly transition to clean energy and identify opportunities for the clean energy economy in your state.



States can use DOE Loan funds to create a Just Transition Fund to retrain workers in dirty industries to be ready for new clean energy jobs, as well as leverage tax credit supports clean energy projects located in communities that have seen significant job loss in the fossil fuel economy, or due to the closure of a coal mine or coal-fired power plant, or are host to a brownfield site.

CASE STUDY COLORADO OFFICE OF JUST TRANSITION

In 2019, Colorado established an Office of Just Transition “to assist workers and communities that will be adversely affected by the loss of jobs and revenues due to the closure of coal mines and coal-fired power plants. Its purpose is to help workers transition to new, high-quality, jobs, to help communities continue to thrive by expanding and attracting diverse businesses, and to replace lost revenues.” The legislation makes a “moral commitment” to a “just transition” for these workers and communities. In addition to the Office of Just Transition, the bill created the Just Transition Advisory Committee to help develop a plan for how the state will fulfill this commitment.

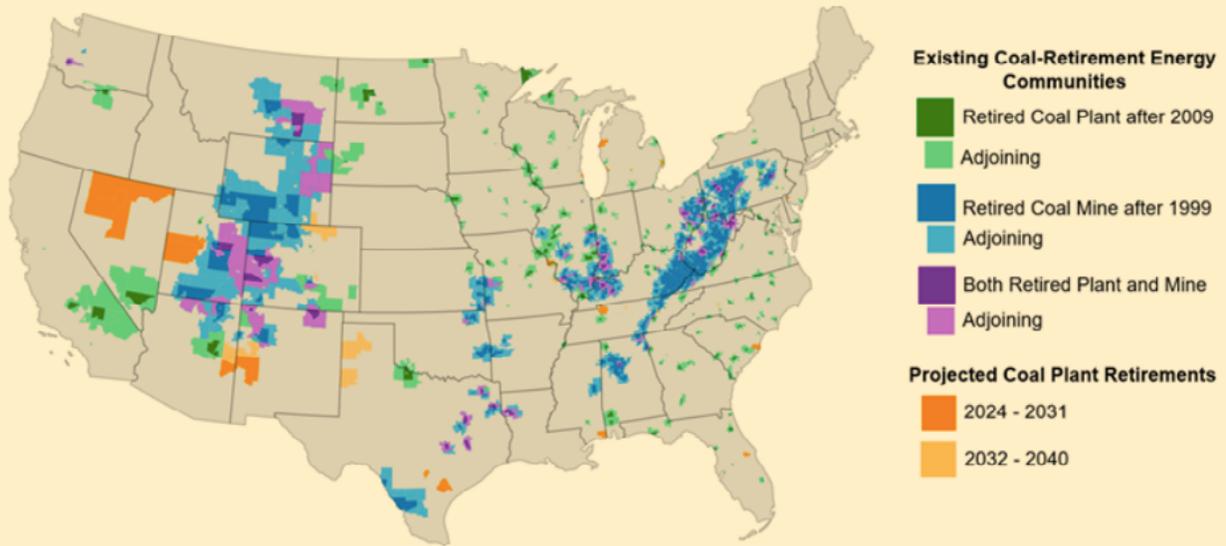
[Learn more about the Office of Just Transition here.](#)



Demand that States replace polluting fossil fuel infrastructure in frontline communities with clean energy with job opportunities. By combining clean energy production and generation tax credits with financial support to pay down uneconomic fossil fuel plants, the IRA reduces the cost and creates new pathways for clean generation resources. States can leverage DOE funds from the Energy Infrastructure Reinvestment Program (Sec. 1706) which guarantees loans to “projects that retool, repower, repurpose, or replace energy infrastructure that has ceased operations, or enable operating energy infrastructure to avoid, reduce, utilize, or sequester air pollutants or anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases.”

KEY OPPORTUNITY FOR COAL STATES

The IRA includes \$5 billion to back \$250 billion in low-cost loans from the Department of Energy (DOE) for utilities to reduce coal debt and invest in renewable energy in coal communities. Another provision allocates \$9.7 billion in financial assistance for rural electric cooperatives to transition to clean energy sources.



Demand that Public Utility Commissions protect ratepayers from footing the bill of the energy transition. Require utilities to reduce electricity rates by taking advantage of IRA tax incentives and in-state protections from rate hikes for energy customers, while also tapping into the \$65 billion for electric and grid infrastructure in IIJA. Demand mandates for utilities to close down fossil-fuel-fired power plants and increase the share of zero-carbon energy sources.

Buildings Sector Campaign Ideas

According to the [National Housing Trust](#), IRA provisions include a total of \$25B of spending that is directly targeted to or can be leveraged for affordable housing.

Targets: State Energy Offices, state and local Building Energy Code authorities, state housing authorities, city planning departments

POTENTIAL COMPONENTS OF A 'GREEN AND HEALTHY HOMES FOR ALL' PACKAGE

Some states or municipalities have campaigned for these demands under the banners of 'Green New Deal for Housing,' Carbon-Free & Climate-Ready Buildings; or Building Decarbonization & Resilience.



A dedicated Green Buildings/Whole Home Repair Office. With billions of dollars in rebates for weatherization flowing from the federal to the state level, States will need a streamlined and well-resourced office to ensure that the benefits of energy efficiency and electrification can reach low-and-middle-income (LMI) communities.

CASE STUDY PENNSYLVANIA WHOLE HOME REPAIR CAMPAIGN

The Pennsylvania [Whole Home Repair campaign](#) successfully leveraged funding from the American Rescue Plan Act (2021) to establish a dedicated office “to provide funding for county-wide agencies to address habitability and safety concerns, provide measures to improve energy or water efficiency and make units accessible for individuals with disabilities. Additionally, this program provides funding to the counties for construction-related workforce development.”

This new one-stop shop for Pennsylvanians to repair and weatherize their homes:

- » Provides up to \$50,000 for habitability repairs and energy efficiency upgrades
- » Allocates support staff to ensure applicants receive the help they need in the order they need it
- » Funds pre-apprenticeship and training programs to build a skilled local workforce capable of meeting the growing demand.

Campaign organizers worked closely with the office of State Sen. Nikhil Saval to win a \$125 million budget appropriation of state ARPA funds for this program. [Learn more about the program and campaign here!](#)



Campaigns for green retrofits in affordable housing. IRA created a new \$1 billion grant program for Improving Energy Efficiency or Water Efficiency or Climate Resilience of Affordable Housing to help cover the cost of energy efficiency upgrades, electrification of systems and appliances, installation of renewable energy, and improvements to property resiliency.

*** Coordination and added incentives to ensure rebate programs benefit low-income residents and environmental justice communities.** According to the [Just Solutions Collective](#), the IRA includes two separate rebate programs for residential energy efficiency and electrification, both to be administered at the state level — The first is the Home Energy Performance-based, Whole-house rebates (HOMES) program. Although HOMES contains a provision permitting states to increase rebate amounts for LMI households, there is no requirement to prioritize or target low-income households or residents in environmental justice communities. The second provision is the High-Efficiency Electric Home Rebate (HEEH) program. The HEEH rebate program is restricted to low- and moderate-income (LMI) households, and sets aside \$225 million for Tribal Nations. However, without additional outreach and coordination at the state level or further advocacy for more incentives, the program will likely benefit moderate income homeowners rather than low income.

*** Green Standards for New Construction.** IRA allocates nearly \$1B to help States and Local Governments adopt or create plans to adopt clean building codes. Organizers can push their municipal and state governments to exceed these code standards to include more ambitious goals.

CASE STUDY ELIMINATING FOSSIL FUELS IN NEW CONSTRUCTION

[New York City](#) has banned gas cooktops or ranges for use in new construction, with exemptions for restaurants, bakeries, and laundromats, as well as in residential buildings in which at least half of the units are classified as affordable housing.

*** Job Training for a Green and Healthy Buildings Workforce.** IRA includes a \$200 million State-Based Home Efficiency Contractor Training Grants program, all created through the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA). The purpose of these programs is to train residential contractors to deliver energy efficiency and electrification upgrades. According to [Grist](#), there is currently a shortage in the labor force in the building retrofit and electrification sector. The IRA and IIJA include many consumer tax benefits to incentivize home electrification, but “most houses aren’t wired to handle the load from electric heating, cooking, and clothes dryers, along with solar panels and vehicle chargers.” Rewiring America estimates that 60 to 70 percent of single-family homes will need to upgrade their electric panels to accommodate a fully electrified house.

BASE BUILDING OPPORTUNITIES

- » **Community town hall meetings** in partnership with housing justice and tenants rights groups about the IRA benefits and gaps.
- » **Door knocking** campaigns to help homeowners understand the energy efficiency and home electrification tax credits and bring them into your voter contact list or organization’s membership at the same time. [NRDC released A Consumer Guide to the Inflation Reduction Act](#) outlining how to save on electric vehicles, solar panels, heat pumps, and more via tax credits and rebates.



3. FILLING THE GAPS

IMPLEMENTATION CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITIES

IRA is missing many aspects of the THRIVE Act and Build Back Better Act necessary for a truly transformative Green New Deal — some of these gaps can be taken as opportunities for organizers to demand at the local level.

PROBLEM: Tax incentives for microgrids, housing efficiency and rooftop solar measures tend to benefit homeowners and wealthier residents, meaning frontline communities are less able to take advantage of incentives for renewable and resilient energy.³ Low-income communities without the ability to pay for upfront installation costs will be locked out of these benefits, alongside renters who have no say over whether their buildings go solar.

RECOMMENDATION: Organizers should demand that municipal and state governments develop programs to scale up community solar projects and reduce barriers to access for renters, and low-income homeowners.

PROBLEM: The Climate Justice Block Grants do not require community engagement or control over use of funds. The IRA includes \$3 billion in environmental and climate justice block grants (§ 60201), including grants and technical assistance to community-based organizations in disadvantaged communities. However, the IRA does not include provisions “to ensure that tax credit subsidized projects are consistent with community priorities (through robust engagement and public participation processes, for example), do not cause further harm, or result in real benefits to the community.”⁴

RECOMMENDATION: Organizers should demand that these block grants be prioritized for projects that support frontline communities.

PROBLEM: The IRA falls short of its promises for programs specifically for environmental justice and low-income communities. [A Just Solutions Collective](#) section-by-section analysis of the IRA’s text estimates a total of \$40 billion for these communities (in contrast to the figure of \$60 billion from White House estimates).

RECOMMENDATION: Organizers should demand stronger commitments to funding for EJ and low-income communities when states or municipalities use federal funds, requiring that at least 40 percent of the funding benefits these communities. For example, the CA Green New Deal table ran a campaign to pass a bill that would codify a requirement for California to invest 40%+ of federal climate funding within disadvantaged communities. While it did not pass in 2022, such initiatives can push states to make sure federal money goes to communities on the frontlines of the climate crisis in the state.

PROBLEM: While much of the IRA funding can help spur the green economy, IRA lacks critical guardrails preventing funds from being used for false solutions. State Legislatures often have broad latitude to structure state programs that receive federal funding or to shift funds to different priorities in response to new sources of federal funding. State lawmakers can also decide how funds are used and how programs are designed within a broader sector or category. For example, infrastructure funding could be allocated for energy efficiency and community resilience, or it could be used to build or maintain fossil fuel infrastructure that worsen the climate crisis and harm our communities. State governments can also determine who qualifies for programs, the application process for funding, whether community outreach is part of the program, and whether barriers to access for historically marginalized groups are addressed.

RECOMMENDATION: State organizers should advocate for legislation that ensures federal climate dollars are used only for climate justice projects that reduce emissions, create good jobs, and equitably benefit communities. Or, if your state does not have an existing comprehensive climate plan, this is a key time to develop and advocate for one with strong equity guardrails as this money starts to flow from the federal government to states.

RESOURCE ENERGY COMMUNITIES FUNDING CLEARINGHOUSE

In 2021, Biden signed an Executive Order to create an Interagency Working Group on Coal and Power Plant Communities and Economic Revitalization, to provide technical assistance and funding to communities most dependent on the fossil fuel economy.

The Interagency Working Group created a centralized clearinghouse that catalogs the billions of dollars in federal funding sources for energy communities to fund infrastructure, environmental remediation, job creation, and community revitalization efforts.

[Check out the Energy Communities Funding Clearinghouse here!](#)

CONCLUSION

This guide is designed to give climate organizers at the state level a baseline understanding of how federal funding can be leveraged to advance more ambitious goals for climate, jobs and justice. The Inflation Reduction Act represents an unprecedented investment in the clean energy economy, but whether these funds and tax incentives yield material benefits for our communities is up to us! We hope you have a better understanding of some of the key opportunities and gaps across multiple sectors to help inform your campaigns.

Recommended Resources

- » [C40 Cities \(2022\) Climate Action and the Inflation Reduction Act](#) — A comprehensive assessment of the opportunities in the IRA for local governments, including strategic recommendations for local governments to advance environmental justice. Surveys opportunities in several sectors, including Air Quality & GHG Reduction, Housing, Resilience, Clean Vehicles, and Workforce Development. Features great one-pagers at the end with breakdowns of the key climate provisions of the IRA.
- » [Just Solutions Collective \(2022\) Our Analysis of the Inflation Reduction Act](#) — A critical review and detailed analysis of the environmental justice provisions in the IRA including beneficial investments, and also what policymakers and mainstream advocates overreach to suggest are environmental justice investments.

APPENDIX

The Appendix of this report includes tables with key information about specific IRA programs:

- » [Summary: Inflation Reduction Act — Programs for Municipal, State and Tribal Governments](#)
- » [Table: IRA Provisions Related to Local Government Action](#)
- » [Table: Inflation Reduction Act Provisions Relevant for Energy Sector](#)
- » [Table: Inflation Reduction Act Provisions Relevant for Buildings Sector](#)
- » [GNDN Power Building Framework](#)

Summary: Inflation Reduction Act — Programs for Municipal, State and Tribal Governments

PROGRAM NAME & DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	ELIGIBLE	AGENCY
<p>Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund (Sec. 60103)⁵</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » \$7 Billion for grants, loans, and financial and technical assistance “to enable low-income and disadvantaged communities to deploy or benefit from zero-emission technologies,” including rooftop solar, and other GHG reduction activities. » \$11.97 billion for grants to provide direct and indirect investment in projects, activities, or technologies that (1) reduce or avoid greenhouse gas and other air pollution by leveraging investment from the private sector or (2) “assist[s] communities in the efforts of those communities to reduce or avoid greenhouse gas” and other air pollution » \$8 billion is made available for the above activities specifically in low-income and disadvantaged communities 	\$27 billion	Municipalities, states Tribal governments Nonprofit entities	EPA
<p>Climate Pollution Reduction Grants (Sec. 60114)</p> <p>Funds to help develop and implement plans to curb emissions (Sec. 60114) This EPA-administered grant flexibly supports states’ implementation of clean electricity policies; programs driving adoption of zero-emission vehicles and buildings; deployment of EV charging infrastructure; incentives for smart-growth, housing and transit-oriented development; climate-smart agriculture and lands conservation, and more. \$250 million for planning, \$4.75 billion for implementation.</p>	\$5 billion	States Municipalities Tribal governments Air pollution control agencies	EPA
<p>Investing in Coastal Communities and Climate Resilience (Sec. 40001)</p> <p>Program will “provide funding through direct expenditure, contracts, grants, cooperative agreements, or technical assistance to” a variety of grantees, including local governments, for “the conservation, restoration, and protection of coastal and marine habitats, resources, Pacific salmon and other marine fisheries, to enable coastal communities to prepare for extreme storms and other changing climate conditions, and for projects that support natural resources that sustain coastal and marine resource dependent communities.”</p>	\$2.6 billion	TBD	NOAA
<p>Assistance for Latest and Zero Building Energy Code Adoption (Sec. 50131)</p> <p>Helps states and local governments adopt new building codes, and to implement plans to achieve building code compliance, including through active training and enforcement programs and measurement of the rate of compliance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » \$330 million to help states and local governments adopt codes that meet or exceed buildings codes for a) Residential: the 2021 International Energy Conservation Code; & b) Commercial: ANSI/ASHRAE/IES Standard 90.1-2019 » \$670 million for adoption of codes that meet or exceed “the zero energy provisions in the 2021 International Energy Conservation Code or an equivalent stretch code” and for related compliance plans 	\$1 billion	States Municipalities Tribal governments	NOE

5 See [Coalition for Green Capital — Day one agenda](#) for types of projects funded by 20+ state green banks.

PROGRAM NAME & DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	ELIGIBLE	AGENCY
<p>Clean Heavy-Duty Vehicles (Sec. 60106)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » A program to cover incremental costs associated with replacing non-zero-emissions heavy duty vehicles with zero-emissions heavy duty vehicles, as well as for fueling and charging infrastructure, and for workforce development and technical activities. » An additional \$400 million is set aside for the same activities in nonattainment areas as designated under the U.S. Clean Air Act. Municipalities and nonprofit school transportation associations, among others, are eligible for these grants. The EPA is directed to develop a program for issuing grants and rebates within 180 days, and the funding is set to remain available until September 30, 2031. 	\$600 million	Municipalities Nonprofit school transportation associations	EPA
<p>Low-Emissions Electricity Program (Sec. 60107)</p> <p>Appropriation through an amendment to the U.S. Clean Air Act “for outreach and technical assistance to, and partnerships with, State, Tribal, and local governments with respect to reductions in greenhouse gas emissions that result from domestic electricity generation and use.” The IRA does not specify details for how EPA might allocate funds.</p>	\$17 million	States Municipalities	EPA
<p>Neighborhood Access and Equity Grant Program (Sec. 60501)</p> <p>Purpose: Program will provide funding for highway removal, remediation, or capping; mitigating local impacts of highways; building or improving “complete streets, multi use trails, regional greenways, or active transportation networks”; and providing “affordable access to essential destinations, public spaces, or transportation links and hubs.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » 1.262 billion is set aside for economically disadvantaged communities; communities with community benefits agreements in place; communities with anti-displacement policies, community land trusts, or community advisory boards; and communities with a “demonstrated... plan for employing local residents in the area impacted by the activity or project” covered by this grant program. » \$50 million is appropriated for technical assistance, including in the form of subgrants to local governments. <p>Note: A cost sharing provision caps the federal grant at 80 percent of the cost of a project, unless the project is located in a disadvantaged or underserved community, in which case the federal contribution may be as high as 100 percent.</p>	\$3 billion	Municipalities States, Tribal governments Metropolitan planning organizations	Federal Highway Administration (FHWA)
<p>Environmental Review Implementation Funds</p> <p>Provides funding to local governments, among other eligible entities, to facilitate and build capacity for environmental review of surface transportation projects that require federal approval. A cost sharing provision caps the federal share at 80 percent of cost of activities qualifying under this section.</p>	\$100 million	Municipalities	FHA

PROGRAM NAME & DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	ELIGIBLE	AGENCY
<p>Environmental and Climate Justice Block Grants (Sec. 60201)</p> <p>A new block grant program for (1) “community-led air and other pollution monitoring, prevention, and remediation, and investments in low- and zero-emission and resilient technologies”; (2) mitigation of urban heat islands, extreme heat, wood heater emissions, and wildfires; (3) reducing indoor air pollution; (4) climate resilience and adaptation; and (5) “facilitating engagement of disadvantaged communities in State and Federal advisory groups, workshops, rulemakings, and other public processes.”</p>	\$2.8 billion	States Tribes Municipalities Nonprofits	EPA
<p>State and Private Forestry Conservation Programs (Sec. 23003)</p> <p>Support tree planting activities through the Urban and Community Forestry Assistance Program.</p>	\$1.5 billion	Municipalities Tribal governments Insular areas Non profits	Urban and Community Forestry Assistance Program

IRA Programs by Federal Agency

FEDERAL AGENCY	KEY IRA PROGRAMS IMPLEMENTED AT THE STATE LEVEL
US Department of Energy (DOE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Home energy performance-based, whole-house rebates (§ 50121) » High-efficiency electric home rebate program (§ 50122) » State-based home energy efficiency contractor training grants (§ 50123)
US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Clean heavy-duty vehicles (§ 60101) » Grants to reduce air pollution at ports (§ 60102) » Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund (§ 60103) » Diesel emissions reductions (§ 60104) » Funding to address air pollution (§ 60105) » Funding to address air pollution at schools (§ 60106) » Methane emissions reduction program (§ 60113) » Climate pollution reduction grants (§ 60114) » Neighborhood access and equity grant program (§ 60501)

Tables: IRA Provisions Related to Local Government Action

Source: [C40 Cities: Climate Action and the Inflation Reduction Act, 2022](#)

AIR QUALITY AND GREENHOUSE GAS REDUCTION

TITLE (SECTION IN THE LAW)	AMOUNT	MECHANISM	FOCUS AREA	WHO IS ELIGIBLE?	AGENCY	TIMEFRAME FOR NEXT STEPS
<u>GHG Air Pollution Plans & Implementation Grants</u> (§60114)	\$5 billion	Grants	Cross-cutting	State, municipal, and tribal governments	EPA	Spring 2023
<u>GHG Reduction Fund</u> (§60103)	\$27 billion	Grants and loans	Cross-cutting	State and local governments, non-profit financial institutions	EPA	Spring 2023
<u>Environmental and Climate Justice Block Grants</u> (§60201)	\$3 billion	Grants	Cross-cutting	Community-based non-profit organizations, including partnerships with local and tribal governments or universities	EPA	Not specified
<u>Air Pollution Monitoring & Screening</u> (§60105)	\$280 million	Grants	Air pollution	State, local, and tribal governments	EPA	Not specified
<u>Grants to Reduce Air Pollution at Ports</u> (§60102)	\$3 billion	Grants	Air pollution at ports	Ports and state, local, tribal governments with jurisdiction over ports	EPA	Not specified
<u>Neighborhood Access and Equity Grant Program</u> (§60501)	\$3 billion	Grants	Transportation	State and local governments, metropolitan planning organizations	DOT	Not specified
<u>Clean Electricity Production Tax Credit</u> (§13101 and §13701)	\$62 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Electricity generation	Electricity producers, including municipal electric utilities and other non-tax paying entities	Treasury	Extension is immediate; significant modifications take effect in 2025
<u>Clean Electricity Investment Tax Credit</u> (§13102 and §13702)	\$65 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Electricity generation	Individuals, businesses, and non-tax paying entities who invest in clean-electricity projects	Treasury	Extension is immediate; significant modifications take effect in 2025

RESILIENCE

TITLE (SECTION IN THE LAW)	AMOUNT	MECHANISM	FOCUS AREA	WHO IS ELIGIBLE?	AGENCY	TIMEFRAME FOR NEXT STEPS
<u>Urban and Community Forestry Assistance Program</u> (§23003)	\$1.5 billion	Grants	Forestry	State, local, and tribal governments or nonprofits	Forest Service	Not specified, but annual grant solicitation expected spring 2023
<u>Investing in Coastal Communities and Climate Resilience</u> (§40001)	\$2.6 billion	Grants	Coastal resilience	Coastal and Great Lakes states, local, and tribal governments, nonprofits, universities	NOAA	Not specified
<u>Reclamation Domestic Water Supply Projects</u> (§50231)	\$550 million	Grants	Water supply infrastructure	Not specified but will likely include local drinking water suppliers	DOI	Not specified
<u>Drought Mitigation in the Reclamation States</u> (§50233)	\$4 billion	Grants	Water use reduction projects and programs	Public entities in AZ, CA, CO, ID, KS, MT, NE, NM, NV, ND, OK, OR, SD, UT, WA, WY	DOE	Not specified

HOUSING

TITLE (SECTION IN THE LAW)	AMOUNT	MECHANISM	FOCUS AREA	WHO IS ELIGIBLE?	AGENCY	TIMEFRAME FOR NEXT STEPS
Environmental Product Declarations Assistance (§60112)	\$250 million	Grants	Construction material manufacturers	Businesses, states, local, and tribal governments, and non-profit organizations	EPA	Not specified
Home Owner Managing Energy Savings (HOMES) Program (§50121)	\$4.3 billion	Rebates	Housing energy retrofits	Individuals and owners of multifamily buildings; administered by State Energy Offices	DOE	DOE must approve state plans by August 2024
High-Efficiency Electric Home Rebate program (§50122)	\$4.5 billion	Rebates	Housing electrification	Individuals and owners of multifamily buildings; administered by State Energy Offices	DOE	DOE must approve state plans by August 2024
Residential Energy Efficiency Tax Credit (§13301)	\$12.5 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Housing energy retrofits	Individuals who install energy upgrades in their primary residence	Treasury	Effective 2023
Residential Clean Energy Tax Credit (§13302)	\$22 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Housing energy systems	Individuals who install renewable energy systems	Treasury	Effective immediately (except addition of battery storage takes effect in 2023)
New Energy Efficient Home Tax Credit (§13304)	\$2 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	New housing	Contractors who build energy-efficient new houses or multifamily housing	Treasury	Extension effective immediately; new eligibility and higher incentives take effect in 2023
Improving energy or water efficiency or climate resilience of affordable housing (§30002)	\$1 billion (loans up to \$4 billion)	Grants and loans	Affordable housing	Owners of public or affordable housing	HUD	Not specified
Energy efficient commercial buildings deduction (§13303)	\$360 million (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Commercial buildings	Owners of commercial buildings, including non-tax-paying entities	Treasury	Higher incentive levels take effect 2023
Assistance for Latest and Zero Building Energy Code Adoption (§50131)	\$1 billion	Grants	Building code adoption	State and local governments that have authority to adopt codes	DOE	Not specified (states to submit plans)

CLEAN VEHICLES

WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT

TITLE (SECTION IN THE LAW)	AMOUNT	MECHANISM	FOCUS AREA	WHO IS ELIGIBLE?	AGENCY	TIMEFRAME FOR NEXT STEPS
Clean Heavy-Duty Vehicles (§60101)	\$1 billion	Grant	Electric and zero emission vehicles	State, local, and tribal governments; school districts and school transportation authorities	EPA	Spring 2023
Clean Vehicle Tax Credit (§13401)	\$7.5 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Electric and zero emission vehicles	Individuals	Treasury	Most provisions take effect in 2023
Credit for Previously Owned Clean Vehicles (§13402)	\$1.3 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Electric and zero emission vehicles	Individuals	Treasury	Available starting in 2023
Commercial Clean Vehicles (§13403)	\$3.6 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Electric and zero emission vehicles	Business and non-tax-paying entities, including municipalities	Treasury	Available starting in 2023
Tax credit for alternative refueling property (§13404)	\$3.6 billion (estimated but uncapped)	Tax credits	Electric and zero emission vehicle charging/refueling systems	Business, individuals, and non-tax-paying entities, including municipalities	Treasury	Available starting in 2023
Home Energy Efficiency Contractor Training (§50123)	\$200 million	Grants	Workforce development	State energy offices	DOE	Not specified

Table: Inflation Reduction Act Provisions Relevant for Energy Sector

IRA FUNDING	DESCRIPTION
<p>Direct Pay from the Clean Energy Tax Credit Program (Uncapped)</p>	<p>“The IRA includes a provision that provides non-taxable entities investing in and producing clean energy with a direct payment option in lieu of tax credits. This provision is applicable for tax years starting after December 31, 2022 and ending before January 1, 2033. A project that is under construction now could potentially qualify.</p> <p>Under the IRA, direct pay applies to states, cities and local municipalities, tribes and other tax-exempt entities, such as municipal water or power utilities and school districts. For city leaders, direct pay is an option for funding city-owned clean energy projects that will make projects more affordable for local governments and level the playing field between local governments and the private sector, which has traditionally benefited from tax credits.” (Source: National League of Cities)</p>
<p>Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund (\$27 Billion)</p>	<p>“The Inflation Reduction Act amended the Clean Air Act to create a new program: the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund. This first-of-its-kind program will provide competitive grants to mobilize financing and leverage private capital for clean energy and climate projects that reduce greenhouse gas emissions – with an emphasis on projects that benefit low-income and disadvantaged communities – and further the Biden-Harris Administration’s commitment to environmental justice.” (Source: US EPA)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Clean energy technology accelerator + Rooftop solar for low-income and disadvantaged communities (\$7 Billion available) + Larger scale community owned clean energy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$11.97 billion for grants to provide direct and indirect investment in projects, activities, or technologies that (1) reduce or avoid greenhouse gas and other air pollution by leveraging investment from the private sector or (2) “assist[s] communities in the efforts of those communities to reduce or avoid greenhouse gas” and other air pollution + \$8 billion is made available for the above activities specifically in low-income and disadvantaged communities
<p>Low-Income Communities Tax Credit</p>	<p>“...the IRA authorized bonus for renewable energy investment tax credits (ITCs) for low-income communities and affordable housing is estimated to provide \$10 billion through at least 2032. For low-income communities, the IRA includes more than \$25 billion of direct spending that can be used for affordable housing in the form of several U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and U.S. Department of Energy programs (DOE) programs.”</p>
<p>DOE Loan Program (\$250 billion)</p>	<p>“In implementing the Energy Infrastructure Reinvestment Program — also known as the Section 1706 program — the Loan Programs Office will be able to make up to \$250 billion in low-interest loans... The Inflation Reduction Act declares that the Section 1706 program can offer loans for projects that “retool, repower, repurpose or replace” closed-down energy infrastructure or enable still-running infrastructure to “avoid, reduce, utilize or sequester” carbon emissions or air pollutants. This could encompass a dizzying array of projects.” (Source: Canary Media)</p>

IRA FUNDING	DESCRIPTION
Energy Communities Credit	<p>The Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) offers commercial solar and energy storage projects up to 10% additional tax credit for projects built within an “energy community.”</p> <p>In the section titled Special Rules for qualified Facility Located in Energy Community, the IRA defines energy community as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + A brownfield site (as defined in...of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980). + An area which has (or, at any time during the period beginning after December 31, 1999, had) significant employment related to the extraction, processing, transport, or storage of coal, oil, or natural gas (as determined by the Secretary). + A census tract in which after December 31, 1999, a coal mine has closed, or after December 31, 2009, a coal-fired electric generating unit has been retired, or which is directly adjoining to any census tract described in subclause.” <p>We are still waiting for guidance from the IRS on where these energy communities are located. To learn more, read this article by Resources for the Future.</p>
Clean Energy Investment Tax Credit	<p>“The Inflation Reduction Act modifies and extends the clean energy Investment Tax Credit to provide a 30 percent credit for qualifying investments in wind, solar, energy storage, and other renewable energy projects that meet prevailing wage standards and employ a sufficient 2 proportion of qualified apprentices from registered apprenticeship programs (discussed in greater detail in the next section).</p> <p>In connection with the Investment Tax Credit, the Inflation Reduction Act:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Provides an additional investment credit to be allocated to projects in low-income communities, up to a total of 1.8 gigawatts of capacity developed annually o Projects located in low-income communities or on Tribal land are eligible for a bonus investment tax credit of 10 percentage points <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Projects that are part of a qualified low-income residential building project or a qualified low-income economic benefit project are eligible for a 20 percentage point bonus investment tax credit + Provides a bonus credit of up to 10 percentage points for qualifying clean energy investments in energy communities” (Source: US Treasury)
Renewable Energy Production Tax Credit	<p>“The Inflation Reduction Act modifies and extends the Renewable Energy Production Tax Credit to provide a credit of 2.5 cents per kilowatt-hour in 2021 dollars (adjusted for inflation annually) of electricity generated from qualified renewable energy sources where taxpayers meet prevailing wage standards and employ a sufficient proportion of qualified apprentices from registered apprenticeship programs.</p> <p>In connection with the Production Tax Credit, the Inflation Reduction Act provides a bonus credit of 10 percent for qualifying clean energy production in energy communities.” (Source: US Treasury)</p>
Advanced Energy Credit (\$4B)	<p>“The Inflation Reduction Act provides at least \$4 billion from the Advanced Energy Project Credit – an allocated credit of up to 30 percent for advanced energy manufacturing investments – to projects in areas that have seen the closure of a coal mine or retirement of a coal-fired electric generating unit.” (Source: US Treasury)</p>

Table: Inflation Reduction Act Provisions Relevant for Buildings Sector

IRA FUNDING	DESCRIPTION
<p>Environmental and Climate Justice Block Grants (\$3 billion)</p>	<p>The IRA will provide \$3 billion to establish a program to provide grants that invest in community-led projects in disadvantaged communities and community capacity building centers to address disproportionate environmental and public health harms related to pollution and climate change.</p> <p>Eligible funding recipients will be community-based nonprofits or organizations, or a partnership between community-based nonprofit organizations and a tribe, a local government or an institution of higher education.</p> <p>Eligible activities include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » community-led air and other air pollution monitoring, prevention and remediation, investments in low- and zero-emission and resilient technologies and workforce development that help reduce GHG emissions and other air pollutants » mitigating climate and health risks from urban heat islands, extreme heat, wood heater emissions and wildfire events » climate resiliency and adaptation » reducing indoor toxics and indoor air pollution » facilitating engagement of disadvantaged communities in state & federal public processes
<p>Assistance for Latest and Zero Building Energy Code Adoption — Sec. 50131 (\$1 billion)</p>	<p>The IRA appropriates \$330 million to the DOE to help states and local governments adopt codes that meet or exceed the 2021 International Energy Conservation Code (for residential) or the ANSI/ASHRAE/IES Standard 90.1-2019 (for commercial), as well as for such unit of government “to implement a plan for the jurisdiction to achieve full compliance with any [such] building energy code... which plan shall include active training and enforcement programs and measurement of the rate of compliance.”</p> <p>The IRA additionally appropriates \$670 million for the adoption of codes that meet or exceed “the zero energy provisions in the 2021 International Energy Conservation Code or an equivalent stretch code” and for related compliance plans. The funding is set to remain available until September 30, 2029. (Source)</p>
<p>Whole Home Retrofits — Sec. 50121 (\$4.3 billion)</p>	<p>Tax incentives for residential and commercial use were extended ten years as well as expanded to increase eligibility and value to taxpayers. This includes a commercial tax deduction for energy efficiency from which tax-exempt institutions, such as schools, are now able to benefit. Schools can take advantage of this new eligibility by partnering with energy savings performance contractors that can take the tax credit and pass on the savings to school districts.</p> <p>The tax credits pertaining to commercial buildings and multifamily housing also come with the same strong labor standards described in the clean energy section of this site, including prevailing wage and apprenticeship requirements, including \$200 million for contractor training for energy efficiency improvements.</p>

IRA FUNDING	DESCRIPTION
Energy Efficiency or Water Efficiency or Climate Resilience of Affordable Housing (\$1 billion)	Energy Efficiency or Water Efficiency or Climate Resilience of Affordable Housing to help cover the cost of energy efficiency upgrades, electrification of systems and appliances, installation of renewable energy, and improvements to property resiliency.
HUD Green and Resilient Retrofit Program (\$837.5 million)	“Appropriates \$837.5 million through HUD for direct loans and grants to improve energy efficiency and climate resiliency in homes. The eligible recipients of this program include owners and sponsors of HUD-assisted Section 202, Section 8II, Project-based Section 8 and Section 236 properties. The program can be used to improve water or energy efficiency, implement low emission technologies, address climate resiliency, or use energy and water benchmarking.” (Source: Novogradac)
High Efficiency Electric Home Rebate Program (\$4.5 billion)	<p>HEEHRA is a voluntary program that covers 100 percent of electrification project costs (up to \$14,000) for low-income households and 50 percent of costs (up to \$14,000) for moderate-income households.</p> <p>Qualified electrification projects include heat pump HVAC systems, heat pump water heaters, electric stoves and cooktops, heat pump clothes dryers, and enabling measures such as upgrading circuit panels, insulation, air sealing, ventilation, and wiring.</p> <p>Project costs will cover both purchase and installation costs. And, notably, these point-of-sale rebates will act as off-the-top discounts when a household makes the purchase.</p>
Home energy performance-based, whole house rebates (HOME Rebates) (\$4.3 billion)	<p>Grants to states to provide rebates for home retrofits:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » \$2,000-\$4,000 for individual households; Up to \$2,000 for retrofits reducing energy use by 20 percent or more, and up to \$4,000 for retrofits saving 35% or more. » Up to \$400,000 for multifamily buildings <p>Maximum rebates double for retrofits of low- and moderate-income homes.</p>
Energy Efficiency Tax Credits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Residential Efficiency (25C) » New Energy Efficient Homes (45L) » Energy Efficiency Commercial Buildings (179D)

GNDN Power Building Framework

Developed by the Grassroots Power Project

GNDN BUILDS FIVE DIFFERENT TYPES OF POWER⁶

- + The GNDN builds **legislative power** by working to pass state and federal legislation that advances a Green New Deal, and sharing lessons learned, best practices, and model legislation among states working in similar political conditions.
- + The GNDN builds **electoral power** by helping to create electoral realignment through direct participation in elections. A GND will not be possible without a shift in the political balance-of-power; we seek to grow progressive power in both chambers of Congress and statehouses across the country. State-level wins might also position us to campaign defensively and deflect potentially harmful bills in red-state legislatures.
- + The GNDN builds **narrative power** to align organizations and constituencies around shared ideas, beliefs and values (“ideological unity”), such as the shared idea that action on climate change can and must move racial and economic justice forward); to move a public narrative that weakens the influence of the opposition’s shared ideas, beliefs and values (eg that government regulation is bad), strengthens ours (eg we need government intervention to address climate change); to win people over to our vision for a Green New Deal; to shape what is possible within public policy and other arenas of governance. We leverage the power of mass disruption and amplify GND wins and demonstration projects to shift the public’s sense of what is possible as part of our narrative power-building strategies.
- + The GNDN builds **organizing power** by expanding the numbers of people who are supportive of the GNDN’s vision and platform and are active participants in ongoing work to move the GND forward. Organizing power includes the capacity to expand the base of support, develop leaders, and grow the base’s ability to force those in power to meet their demands. Organizing power includes both:
 - + **Base-building** — defined as recruiting, developing and retaining leaders from the base of impacted peoples to identify their interests and create a sense of collective identity and basis for ongoing engagement in action to change conditions. This creates trained volunteer capacity and mass leadership that have a sense of agency and political identity. Base building is a foundational and critical component to building more organizing power, most often carried out by local organizations in the GNDN universe.
 - + **Mobilizing** — defined as turning out the base and an ever-increasing number of people to strategic mass interventions, the purpose of which is to force outcomes that advance the GNDN agenda and vision. partner organizations and expands the number of people in support of the GNDN’s vision.
- + The GNDN prioritizes building **united front power** by building a national and ongoing statewide formation composed of multiple organizations/networks from multiple sectors of the movement (issue areas, constituencies, geographic areas) to aggregate the power needed to win and whose core functions as a coordinated team with a high level of trust & accountability; establishing a strategic division of labor among members; aligning across organizations and sectors towards transformative structural change.

⁶ This overview of types of power is drawn from the State Power Caucus’s work in the “Fist of Fury” and GPP’s framework on the [“Three Dimensions of Power,”](#) as defined in the revised [GNDN Purpose & Theory of Change](#) document.

These five types of power are all in constant interaction with each other. For example, organizing and united front power help you build the other types of power; organizing, united front, and narrative power enable legislative and electoral victories, and in turn legislative and electoral victories can help shift narrative, broaden the base, and strengthen the united front; organizing power expressed through mass disruptions can drive narrative change; and so on. No one type of power is strong enough to win a comprehensive agenda without the others; likewise, no single organization can sufficiently build all five types of power alone. Building united front power is critical because the united front supports and aggregates the different types of power various organizations/sectors build and wield most effectively to achieve the formation's shared goals.

Together, these various types of power build toward GOVERNING POWER, which GPP defines as the power and capacity to design, drive demand for, legislate, enforce and defend a structural reform agenda that serves the interests of our people (rather than the wealthy few), until our agenda becomes the new "common-sense" of governance. This requires us to reshape the structure of the government itself so that it can advance democratic control, redistribution and reparation, instead of serving the interests of the rich.

Grounding a mid-range agenda in a power-building approach makes building power as important as the win. The way that we structure our legislative and electoral campaigns has to center the question of power-building, rather than focusing solely on the most expedient path to the near-term win. We also need to make the power we build more durable year after year by embedding goals for growth, base building, leadership development, and alliance formation within our campaigns. Those campaigns may focus on a set of issues, electoral pursuits or narrative shifts aimed at consolidating and aligning different organizations and constituencies. Ultimately, a mid-range agenda helps hold focus in building and sustaining power.