DATA FOR PROGRESS

GREEN NEW DEAL SCORECARD

Frontrunner Comparison

January 2020
**HOW OUR SCORECARD WORKS:**

Data For Progress devised a Green New Deal scorecard identifying 48 components of a Green New Deal. Candidates got half credit for Green New Deal concepts that they acknowledged, but did not lay out a clear policies or actions to address, and full credit for those that they had policy prescriptions for in their plan; however, these scores did not consider the merits of any particular policy mechanism. For instance, if one candidate asserted his or her intent to invest DOE funds into advanced nuclear research, while another outlined a plan to phase out existing nuclear entirely, both would receive full credit. Moreover, we could only assess qualitatively how the elements of plans worked together cohesively. These scores were tallied to give us a sense of the overall thoroughness of the plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Incomplete</td>
<td>0 - 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete</td>
<td>12.5 - 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorough</td>
<td>24.5 - 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Thorough</td>
<td>36.5 - 48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HOW 2020 FRONTRUNNERS STACK UP ON A GREEN NEW DEAL**

Earlier this year, Data For Progress released a Green New Deal scorecard to identify which candidates have released plans to address Data For Progress’s 48 elements of a Green New Deal. We believe reasonable people can disagree on the appropriate policy design or theory of political change, so we do not pass a value judgment on the merits of candidates’ approaches, just their thoroughness in meeting the mantle of a GND. As the 2020 Democratic field narrows and the “ideas primary” cools off, we use our scorecard to compare how each of the frontrunners — Sanders, Warren, and Biden — are preparing to address the climate crisis.

**OVERALL SCORES**

Bernie Sanders: Very Thorough 45/48
Elizabeth Warren: Very Thorough 41/48
Joe Biden: Thorough 30.5/48
We find substantive differences in each of the three frontrunners’ climate plans. It is clear that the Sanders and Warren climate plans are much more thorough in addressing the triple crises of climate, jobs, and justice than Biden’s. Sanders and Warren overlap heavily, addressing 36 of the same components while Biden shares no more than 25 with either.

### Key Areas of Divergence

**Intersectionality**

Sanders and Warren emphasize social safety net programs, EJ issues, and indigenous rights throughout their plans, while Biden’s climate plan makes fewer linkages between climate change and social issues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Areas of Divergence</th>
<th>Sanders Plan</th>
<th>Warren Plan</th>
<th>Biden Plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intersectionality</strong></td>
<td>▶ Strengths indigenous sovereignty &amp; leadership</td>
<td>▶ Strengths indigenous sovereignty &amp; leadership</td>
<td>▶ Task Force on Coal and Power-Plant Communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▶ $40 billion Climate Justice Resiliency Fund</td>
<td>▶ Equity screen for climate investments</td>
<td>▶ Vulnerable community preference in competitive grant programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▶ Builds over 9 million housing units</td>
<td>▶ Housing payment assistance to redlined communities</td>
<td>▶ More energy efficient low-income housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▶ Aligns with the Jemez Principles and UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples</td>
<td>▶ Joint occupation safety-health committees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▶ Funds green retrofits in public housing and low-income communities, including mobile homes</td>
<td>▶ Combats climate gentrification in post-disaster planning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▶ Increases affordable low-carbon density with rent control and zoning reforms for low-income housing</td>
<td>▶ Climate justice agenda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Data for Progress Rubric Score**

*Plans 3 and 5 did not add to Warren’s overall score*
## Key Areas of Divergence

### Climate Ambition
Sanders and Warren meet all of Data For Progress’s GND emissions targets, though Sanders stands apart from Warren and Biden in the scale of federal investment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SANDERS PLAN</th>
<th>WARREN PLAN</th>
<th>BIDEN PLAN</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>▶ 100% renewable electricity by 2030</td>
<td>▶ Carbon-neutral electricity by 2030</td>
<td>▶ No electricity sector target</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Emissions-free transportation by 2030</td>
<td>▶ Emissions-free buildings by 2028</td>
<td>▶ 50% decarbonized buildings by 2035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Emissions-free economy by 2050</td>
<td>▶ Net-zero emissions economy by 2050</td>
<td>▶ Net-zero emissions economy by 2050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ 20 million jobs</td>
<td>▶ 10.6 million jobs</td>
<td>▶ 10 million jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ $16.3 trillion investment</td>
<td>▶ $3 trillion investment</td>
<td>▶ $1.7 trillion investment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Technologies
Sanders, Warren, and Biden treat non-renewable clean energy options differently. Sanders calls nuclear and CCS “false solutions;” Warren neither endorses nor writes them off, and Biden embraces both.

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<th>BIDEN PLAN</th>
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<tr>
<td>▶ Moratorium on non-renewable clean energy technologies, including existing nuclear and carbon capture</td>
<td>▶ Differentiates between carbon-neutral, net-zero, and emissions-free targets, acknowledging that non-renewable clean energy may play a role, at least temporarily</td>
<td>▶ “Double-down” on federal investments and increase incentives for carbon capture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ $1.5 billion in R&amp;D for new farming techniques</td>
<td>▶ $400 billion in clean energy R&amp;D</td>
<td>▶ Nuclear research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>▶ $400 billion in innovation, including ARPA-C for climate solutions</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Global Leadership
All three have fairly rich programs for a global GND. Sanders and Biden lean more on international aid and finance, while Warren emphasizes trade.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>▶ Emphasis on equitable international finance</td>
<td>▶ Green Marshall Plan to promote U.S. clean technology abroad</td>
<td>▶ End fossil fuel finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ End fossil fuel finance</td>
<td>▶ Blue New Deal includes international waters protection and alliances</td>
<td>▶ Clean Energy Export &amp; Climate Investment initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Renegotiation of U.S. trade deals to include climate &amp; labor standards</td>
<td>▶ Border adjustment to maintain competitiveness</td>
<td>▶ Reestablish climate as an Arctic Council priority</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**CENTERING ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE (EJ)**

A Green New Deal demands that we tackle the climate crisis through processes and programs that dismantle our history of environmental racism and the disproportionate threat that fossil fuel use poses to low-income, elderly, and minority communities. Since our first GND presidential candidate scorecard, we have seen an increase in the prioritization of just process and policies. So, beyond our 48-component GND rubric, we created a sub-rubric to dig deeper into Democratic candidates’ approach to environmental justice in their climate plans, including rectifying historic environmental damages, establishing democratic and inclusive governance processes, and enacting core climate justice measures.

**USE OF EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY**

In a recent poll, Data For Progress found that voters overwhelmingly support strong executive action to curb climate pollution. We also looked at which GND components Joe Biden, Bernie Sanders, and Elizabeth Warren intend to tackle under executive authority. These include executive orders that are explicitly stated in their climate plans, as well as actions we consider highly likely to fall under existing executive jurisdiction. Examples of the latter category include programs that leverage Clean Air Act authority at EPA, efficiency standards at DOE, equity screening across federal programs, procurement initiatives, leases on public lands, and polluter liability and antitrust action at DOJ.

Our analysis of climate plans revealed the following:

- Sanders and Warren leverage executive authority to accomplish more components (18 each) than Biden (13), including by declaring a national emergency
- Sanders and Warren have robust plans to align executive agencies with environmental justice principles and protect indigenous rights
- Biden, Sanders, and Warren will all task DOJ to pursue current and historic polluters, though only Sanders and Warren mention antitrust actions
- All three candidates plan to use executive authority to strengthen EPA standards, end fossil fuel leases on public lands, and reestablish U.S. international climate leadership

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**A full account of each candidate’s use of executive action can be found in their individual rubrics:**

SANDERS | WARREN | BIDEN