

A Clean Energy Workforce and the Path to Equity

Nikki Luke

March 2, 2023



Project #1932905

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AFL-CIO
AMERICA'S UNIONS

WHAT UNIONS DO FORM A UNION WHAT WE CARE ABOUT TAKE ACTION

PRESS RELEASE

AFL-CIO Applauds Senate Passage of the Inflation Reduction Act

August 7, 2022

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BLUEGREEN ALLIANCE

9 MILLION JOBS FROM CLIMATE ACTION: THE INFLATION REDUCTION ACT



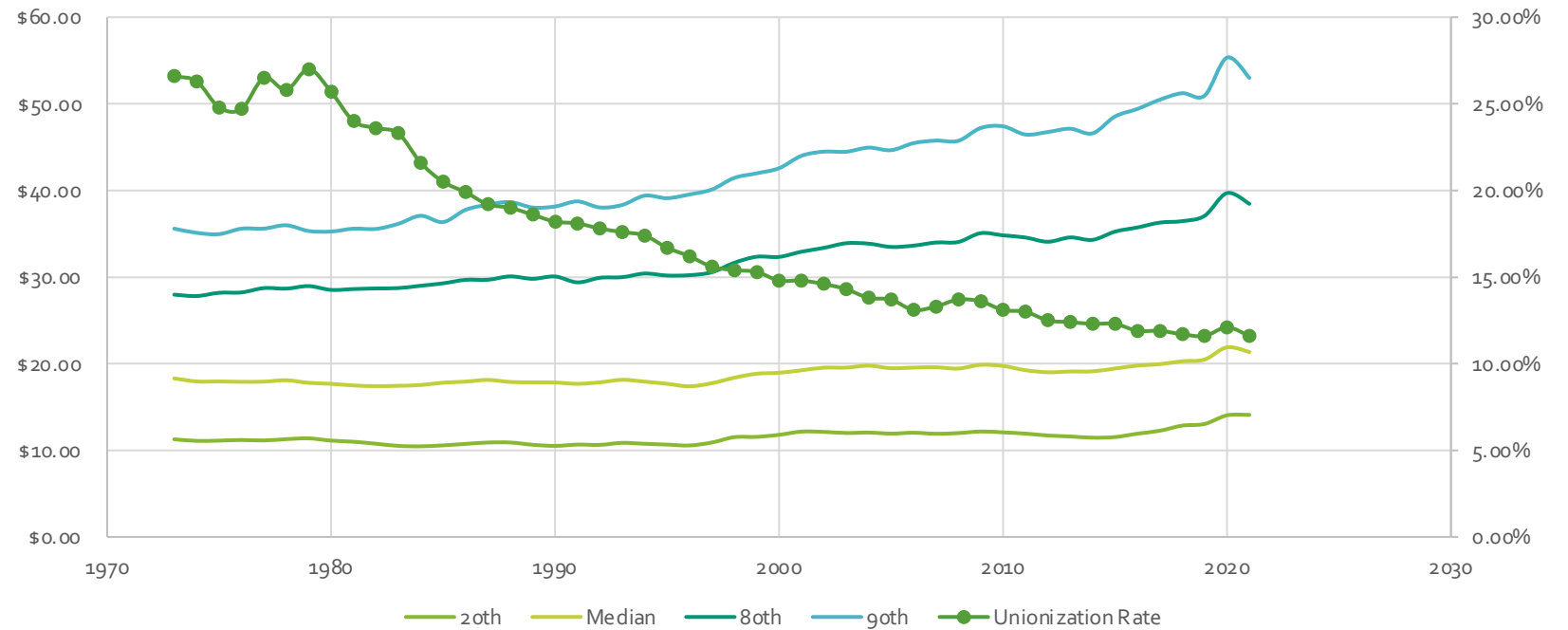
AUGUST 19, 2022

FACT SHEET: The Inflation Reduction Act Supports Workers and Families

 BRIEFING ROOM STATEMENTS AND RELEASES

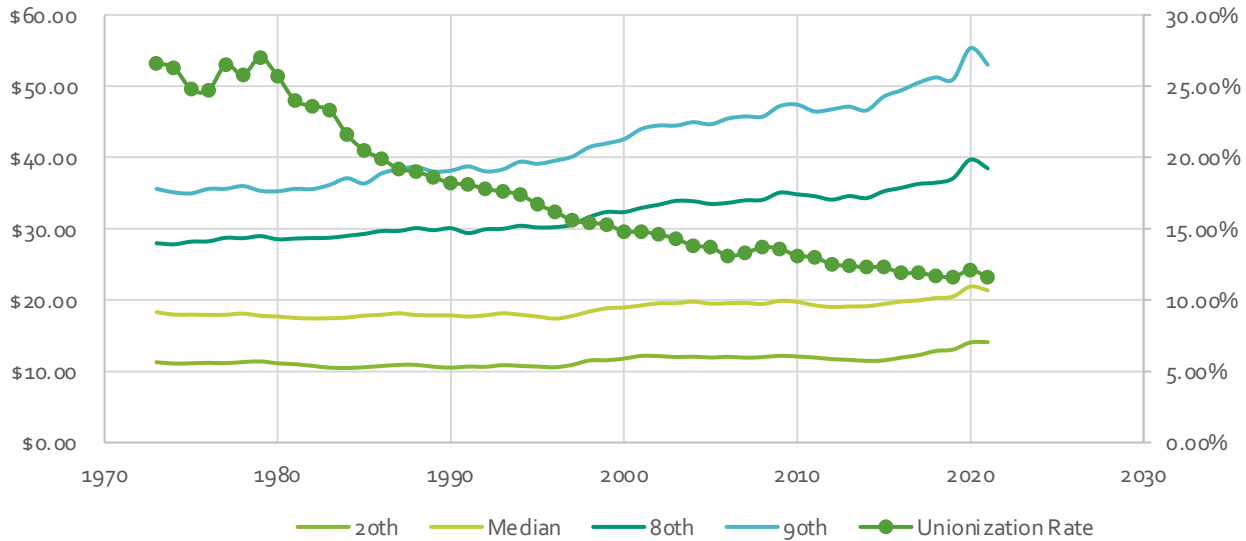
Unionization

Changes in Unionization Rate and Hourly Wages for Workers in Lowest and Highest Quintiles

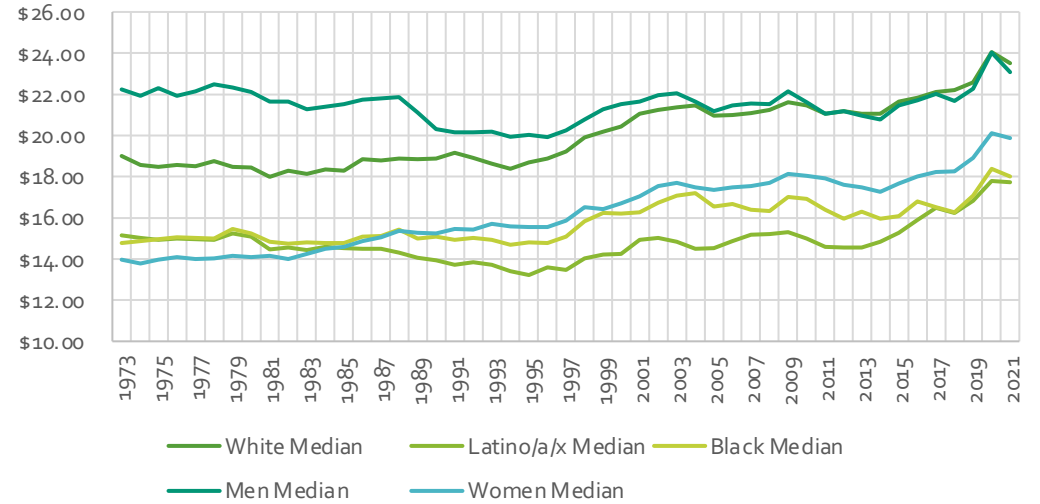


Author compiled based on EPI data (2023)

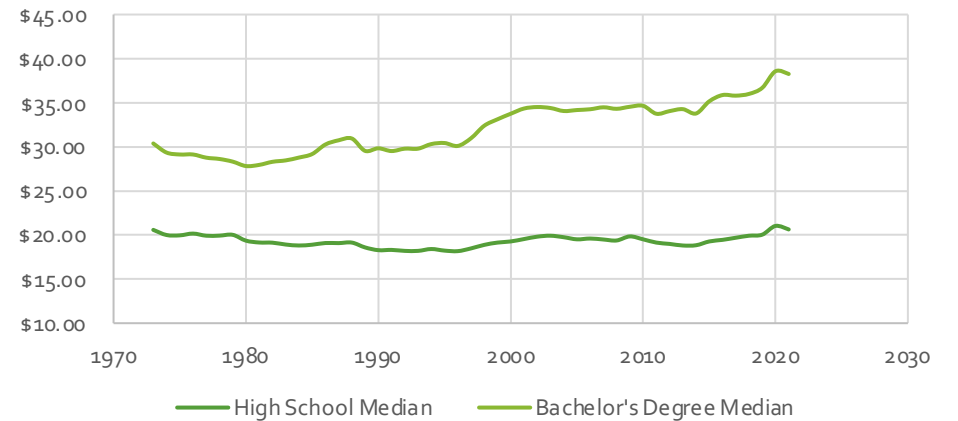
Changes in Unionization Rate and Hourly Wages for Workers in Lowest and Highest Quintiles



Change in Median Wages by Race and Gender (1973-2021), in 2021 dollars



Change in Median Wages by Education (1973-2021), in 2021 dollars



Author compiled based on EPI data (2023)

Research Questions

1. Why is energy policy seen as labor policy?
2. How and why is workforce training central to energy policy?
3. How can federal policy address geographic disparities in good job creation in light of the uneven geographical development of labor markets in the U.S.?

Overview of Today's Talk

1. Theoretical background on the historical-geographies of labor in the U.S.
2. Genealogy of “green jobs” beginning in the 1970s
3. Demonstrate three examples of “green jobs” training established in Atlanta
4. Connect historical lessons from “green jobs” training to the need for enforcement to realize good jobs in implementation of federal legislation.

THE CRISIS IN ORGANIZED LABOR AND
A NEW PATH TOWARD SOCIAL JUSTICE

SOLIDARITY



DIVIDED

Bill Fletcher, Jr., and Fernando Gapasin

A NEW DIRECTION FOR LABOR BY TWO OF ITS LEADING ACTIVIST INTELLECTUALS

THE CRISIS IN ORGANIZED LABOR AND
A NEW PATH TOWARD SOCIAL JUSTICE

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DIVIDED

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A NEW DIRECTION FOR LABOR BY TWO OF ITS LEADING ACTIVIST INTELLECTUALS

- Labor geographies ask how workers resist uneven geographical development (Herod, 1997; Hunter 1997; Eskew 2001; Tufts and Savage 2007; Peck 2016; De Lara 2018; Mazer 2019; Keegan 2020)
- Economic geographers seek to de-naturalize the geographies of uneven development (Massey 1984; Smith 2006; Peck et al. 2022)
- Scholarship on racialized uneven development and Black geographies considers how space is produced, known, and lived (Woods 1998; 2017; McKittrick 2006; Wright 2006; Gilmore 2007; Wright 2020; Drake Rodriguez 2021)

Geographies of Labor Law in the U.S.

- National Labor Relations Act of 1935
 - Established framework for collective bargaining that became part of social welfare regime (Windham 2017)
 - Enacted divisions between women's work and work predominately carried out by Black and immigrant workers (Quadagno 1996; Lichtenstein 2003; Katznelson 2006)
 - Meant "the extension to the federal scale—through differentiations of protections from calamity and opportunities for advancement—of the South's apartheid practices" (Gilmore 2002, 18).

Geographies of Labor Law in the U.S.

- 1947 Taft Hartley Act
 - A. Phillip Randolph (1966: 108) observed “the black and white working poor in the ‘Right-to-Work’ states of the South, noted for sweat-shop starvation wages, are not free to organize bona-fide unions to fight for living wages.”
 - Inaugurated “socio-spatial undercutting” based in a “new politics of capital mobility and protecting states of regulatory exception” (Peck 2016, 10).



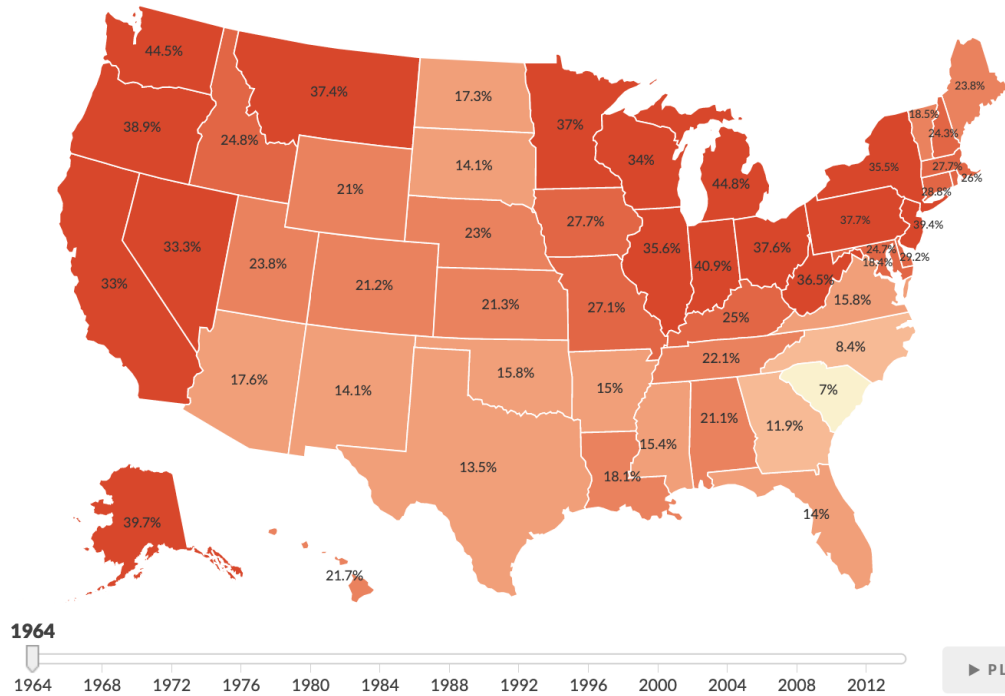
PLANET MONEY

50 Years Of Shrinking Union Membership, In One Map

February 23, 2015 - 11:04 AM ET

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Percentage of Workers In Unions

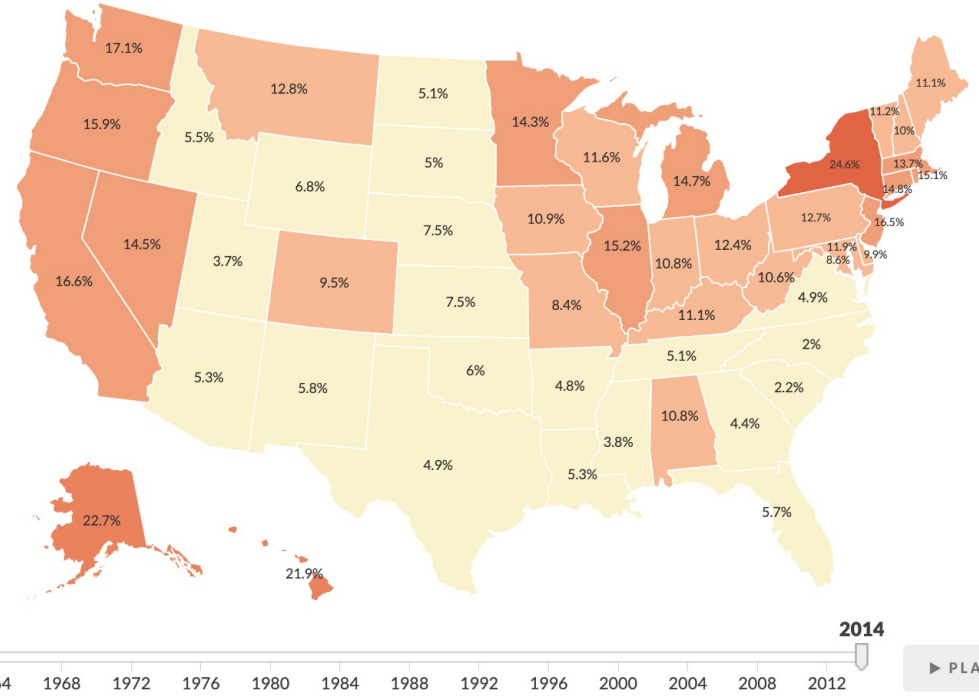


1964

1964 1968 1972 1976 1980 1984 1988 1992 1996 2000 2004 2008 2012

[▶ PLAY](#)Source: Barry Hirsch, David A. Macpherson, and Wayne G. Vroman
Credit: Quoctrung Bui/NPR

Percentage of Workers In Unions



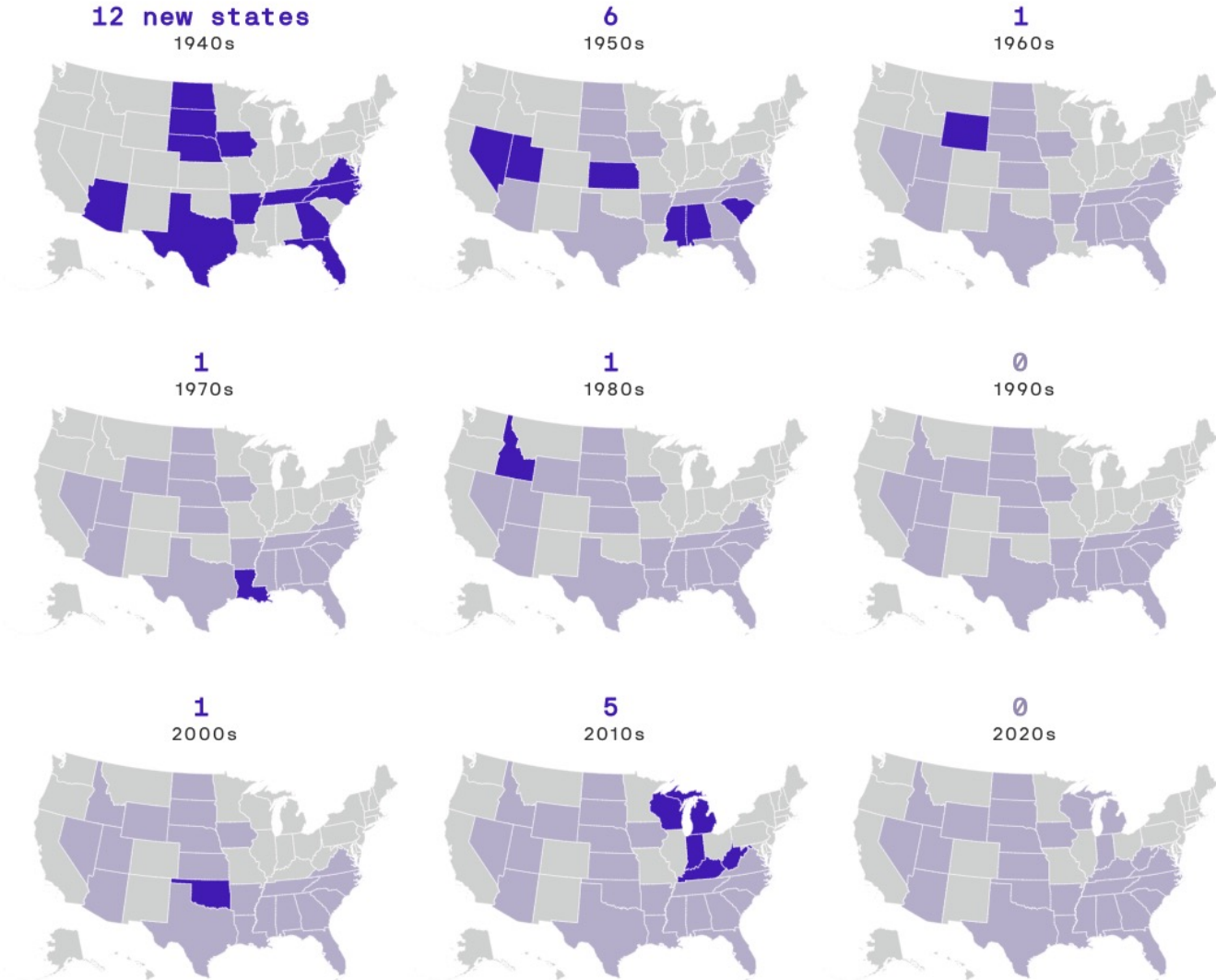
2014

1964 1968 1972 1976 1980 1984 1988 1992 1996 2000 2004 2008 2012

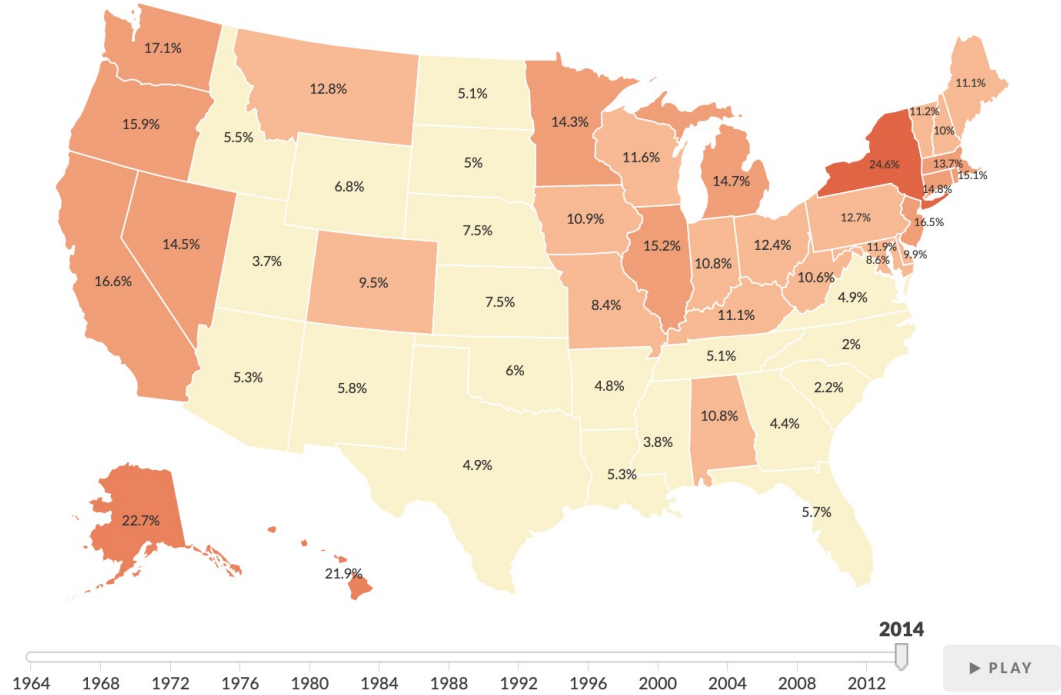
[▶ PLAY](#)Source: Barry Hirsch, David A. Macpherson, and Wayne G. Vroman
Credit: Quoctrung Bui/NPR

States enacting new "right-to-work" legislation

27 states as of Sept. 5, 2022



Percentage of Workers In Unions



Data: [NCSL](#); Map: Kavya Beheraj and Nicki Camberg/Axios

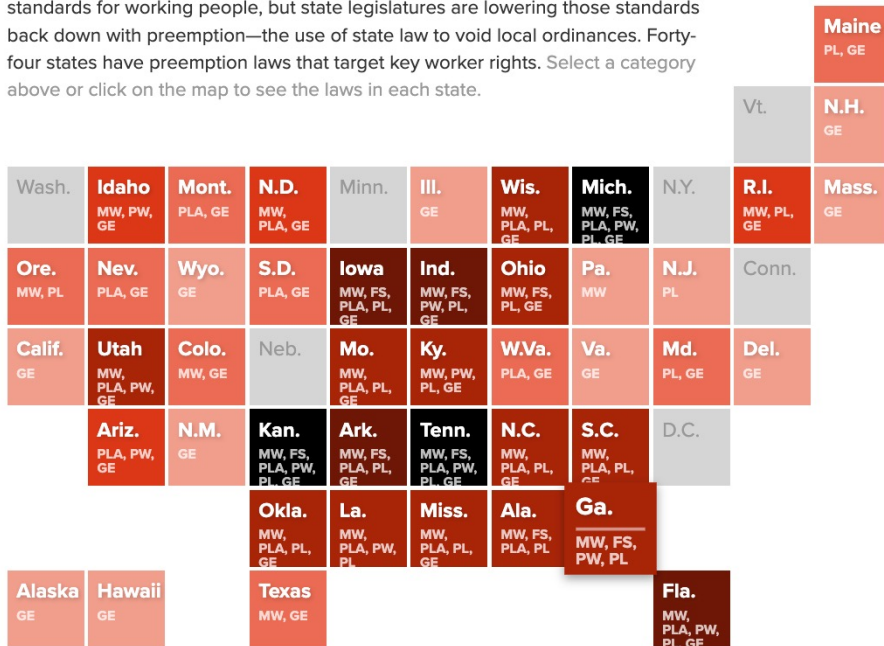
Source: Barry Hirsch, David A. Macpherson, and Wayne G. Vroman
Credit: Quoctrung Bui/NPR

Workers' rights preemption in the U.S.

A map of the campaign to suppress workers' rights in the states

Overview
Minimum wage (MW)
Fair scheduling (FS)
Project labor agreements (PLA)
Prevailing wage (PW)
Paid leave (PL)
Gig economy (GE)

Cities, counties, and other local governments are enacting policies that raise standards for working people, but state legislatures are lowering those standards back down with preemption—the use of state law to void local ordinances. Forty-four states have preemption laws that target key worker rights. Select a category above or click on the map to see the laws in each state.

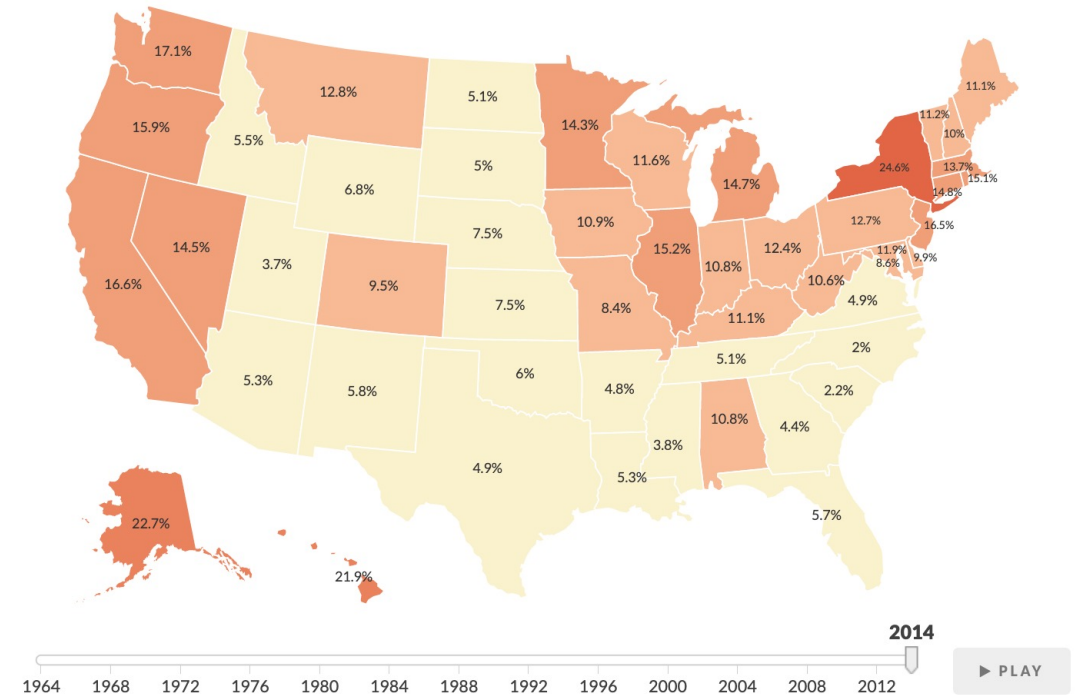


Georgia

Georgia has preemption laws for:

- Minimum wage (2004)
- Fair scheduling (2017)
- Prevailing wage (2013)
- Paid leave (2004)

Percentage of Workers In Unions



Source: Barry Hirsch, David A. Macpherson, and Wayne G. Vroman
Credit: Quoctrung Bui/NPR

JOBS AND PRICES IN THE WEST COAST REGION

HEARING
BEFORE THE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY SERIES
JANUARY 12, 1976

Printed for the use of the Joint Economic Committee



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

79-189

WASHINGTON : 1976

HEARING
BEFORE THE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

JOBS FOR THE ENVIRONMENT—THE COMING GREEN COLLAR REVOLUTION

(By Patrick Heffernan, University of California at Berkeley)

The second largest public works program in the State and in the nation today is the construction of wastewater treatment facilities to meet the standards of the Clear Water Act. Other environmental protection programs in California that provide meaningful work for thousands of Californians include the manufacture of air pollution control systems, the operation of mass transportation

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

79-189

WASHINGTON : 1976

“It doesn't matter what color you are, you need a good job, you need affordable housing, you need health care. And so that should be the glue - the economic interest.... the thinking would seem to me, its pretty common sense, politically” - *Interview, June 28, 2019*

Labor and Welfare Policy Changes

PROMISING PROGRAMS

Job Training Partnership Act

Lloyd W. Tindall
Sally B. Hedberg

Mark, a learning disabled California high school student, was depressed because he could not compete with his peers in regular classes. He was bored with his special class. What he really wanted was a job. With the help of his teacher, a work experience coordinator, his parents, a vocational evaluator, and an understanding employer, Mark now has a job in the nursery business. He has progressed from watering and cleaning plants to assisting with inventory, performing special landscaping jobs, and loading customers' cars. This success story happened with the support of the local Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) project.

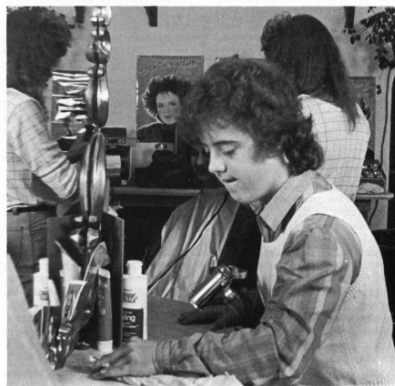
The Job Training Partnership Act (P.L. 97-300), implemented in October, 1983, established a U.S. Department of Labor program that provides over \$3 billion annually to "prepare youth and unskilled adults for entry into the labor force and to afford job training to those economically disadvantaged individuals and other individuals facing serious barriers to employment, who are in special need of such training to obtain productive employment" (JTPA, 1982, Section 2). Approximately 10% of the funds are spent on handicapped youth, who are given opportunities to acquire competencies in basic educational skills, job-specific skills, and pre-employment and work maturity skills. JTPA funds provide secondary and postsecondary schools and community organizations with resources to either supplement their existing programs or develop alternative programs. Funds are dispersed primarily through the Private Industry Council.

How JTPA Programs Work

Most JTPA programs follow five basic steps to help special education students develop job skills and obtain employment. First, students are identified and enrolled in the program. Next, the candidates are assessed to determine their vocational interests and

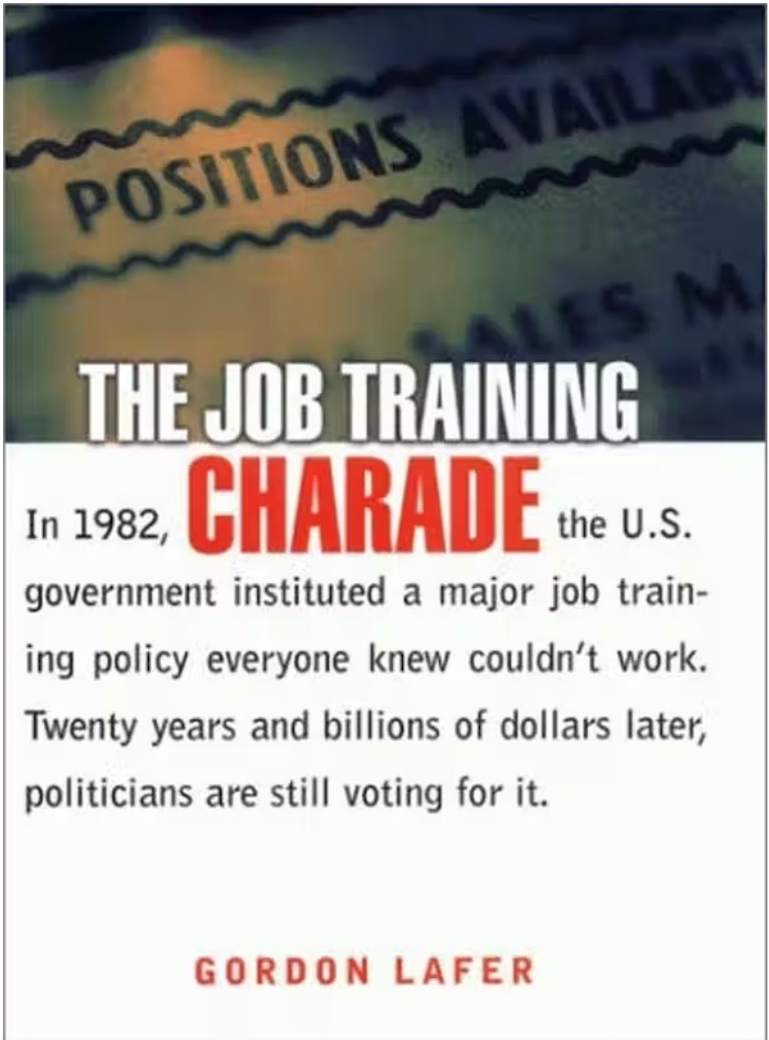
needs. In step three, training is selected, developed, and assigned to meet the students' needs. In step four, practical experience such as on-the-job training is provided, and in step five, this training, combined with other experience, is used to gain permanent employment (independence). Fundable activities and services under JTPA include: job search assistance, basic skills training, vocational skills training, employment counseling, work experience, on-the-job training, and the development of good work habits.

Under JTPA regulations, at least 43% of the participants must enter employment and at least 75% must terminate positively. A positive termination is interpreted as entering employment or apprenticeship training, another JTPA program, or the armed forces, returning to school, or achieving JTPA Youth Competencies. Special education youth in JTPA programs have an entered employment rate equal to that of their nonhandicapped peers and have a slightly higher positive termination rate than their nonhandicapped peers (President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped, 1985).

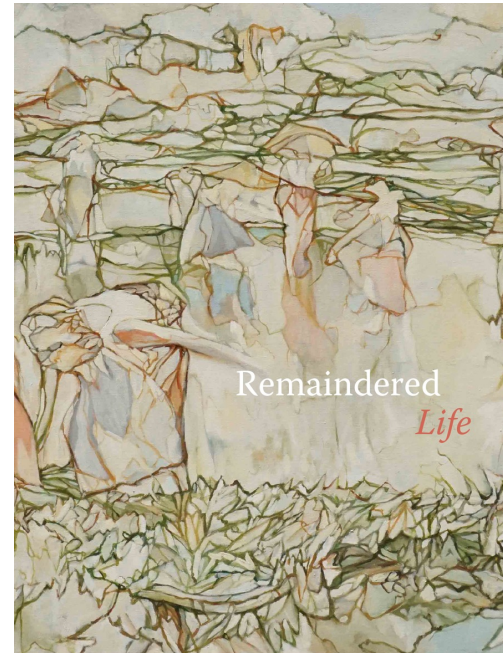
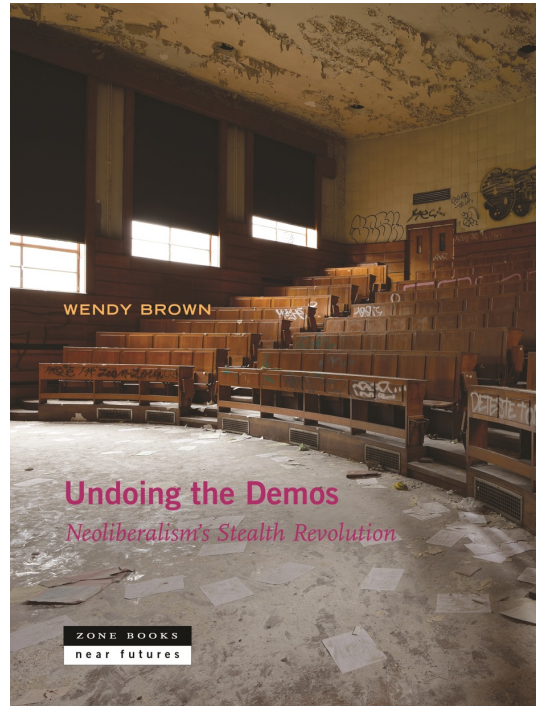


As part of the Job Training Partnership Act project, a student works as a custodian in a beauty salon.

- Job Training Partnership Act (1982)
- Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (1996)
- Workforce Investment Act (1998)
- Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (2014)



“By far the most common complaint of employers focuses not on any traditionally defined skill at all, but rather on workers’ discipline, punctuality, loyalty and ‘work ethic’” (p.5).



NEFERTI X. M. TADIAR

Manufacturing Mammies: The Burdens of Service Work and Welfare Reform among Battered Black Women¹

Dana-Ain Davis *Purchase College, State University of New York*

We cannot become a nation of short-order cooks and saleswomen, Xerox-machine operators and messenger boys. (Pola Ekbatyn, 1983)²

Abstract: The impact of economic restructuring from industry to service that began in the 1970s continues to leak across cities in the United States. One outcome of restructuring has been the targeted focus of corporate interests in realizing profits. To that end, corporations have become increasingly engaged in policy issues, specifically decreased wages and deregulation. The confluence of economic restructuring, corporate interests and neo-liberal policy have converged at the lived experience of battered Black women on welfare. This paper examines the links between these broader processes that have influenced

Introduction

Contemporary welfare reform in the U.S. has been praised by conservative policy elites for its role in disciplining the poor and reducing the numbers of people receiving public assistance and focusing on work, not welfare (Horn and Bush, 2003; O'Neil and Hill, 2003). However, outside those circles, social scientists including anthropologists have generated a considerable critical

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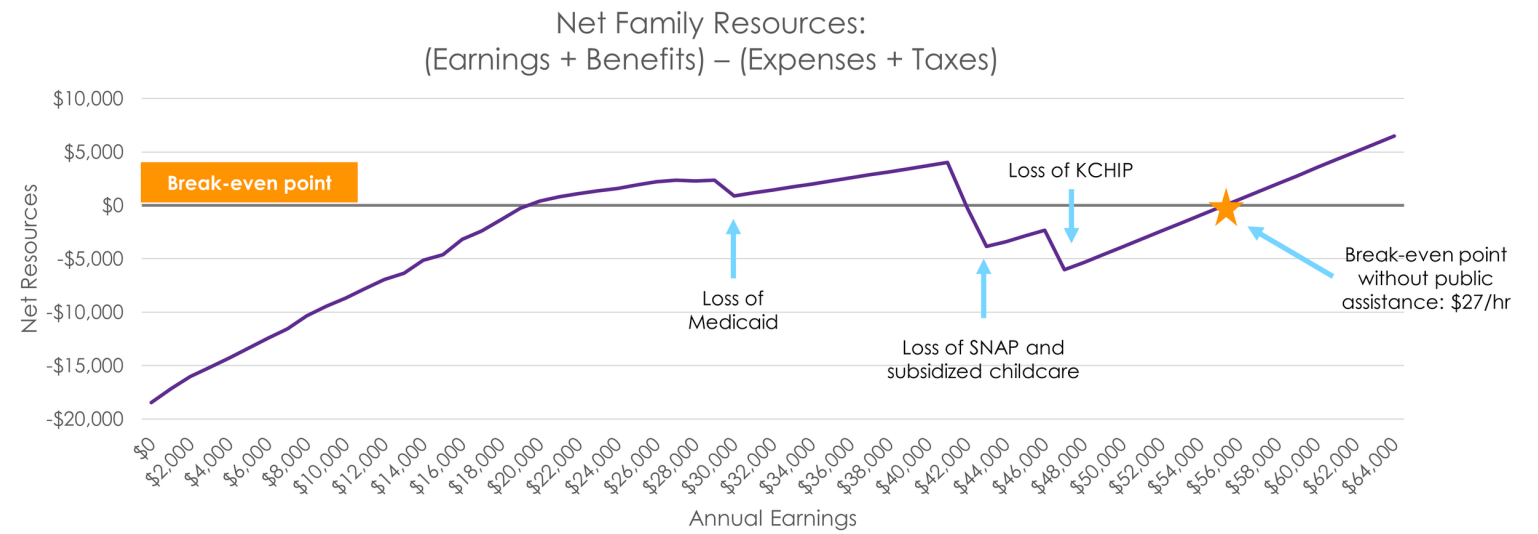
Illusions of opportunity? A critical discourse analysis of Atlanta's opportunity youth initiative

Alexander Camardelle

Human Capital and the Value of Surplus Labor

The "Benefit Cliff"

Cliff effects: when work doesn't pay



Source: NCCP Family Resource Simulator
Note: Data reflects one working adult with two children living in Jefferson County

(Kentuckiana Works, 2021)

“...Help you with the tuition, we'll help you with any of the costs and if you have children, help with childcare while you're in school. It's kind of a blanket to help people get off of welfare or never get on welfare. That's really the way you can look at it. So, I joke that this is one of the few federal programs that all the political spectrums are okay with. You know what I mean? I mean, nobody argues with this stuff” – *Interview, September 23, 2019*

Green Jobs

630

Remarks on Earth Day

April 21, 1993

Apr. 21 / Administration of William J. Clinton, 1993

“That’s why our policies must protect our environment, promote economic growth, and provide millions of new high-skill, high-wage jobs.”



**Antiracism and Environmental Justice
in an Age of Neoliberalism: An
Interview with Van Jones**

**Anoop Mirpuri, Keith P. Feldman
and Georgia M. Roberts**

Department of English, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA;
anoop@u.washington.edu

“My program is Green Jobs Not Jails, because it addresses the two worst aspects of the present US reality: we have throw-away people, throw-away neighborhoods, throw-away children, thrown into prison, and we also act as if we have a throw-away planet. The answer to both the social and the ecological crisis is somewhere in the direction of less ecologically devastating forms of economic life” (Jones, 2009, p.)

Green Jobs are “family-supporting, career-track, vocational, or trade-level employment in environmentally-friendly fields” (Jones, 2009, p.)



“there was this huge Department of Labor funding ... for ‘shovel-ready jobs,’ and green jobs was the big thing they threw all this money at... I just remember hearing the people in the workforce [development agencies] kind of going, ‘Well, that was a big kind of boondoggle,’ it's not terribly well thought out and successful” –
Interview, May 19, 2019

“a little icing on the cake.... But when we report to Congress, we're not reporting green, we're not reporting workforce, we're reporting 200 jobs, \$70 million of private investment, and Congress doesn't care, necessarily what those jobs or private investment is doing.... We're in the public infrastructure business. We're not in, you know, policing companies and how much they pay their employees” – *Interview, August 6, 2019*

“And it was the sexy thing to do, right? And I think it's suffered from things we still see green jobs suffer from today is like, what do you mean? What are you actually going to do, more than just talk about it? And so, we just kind of floundered” – *Interview July 30, 2019*

1. Pre-Apprenticeship and Apprenticeship



(Georgia STAND-UP, n.d.)

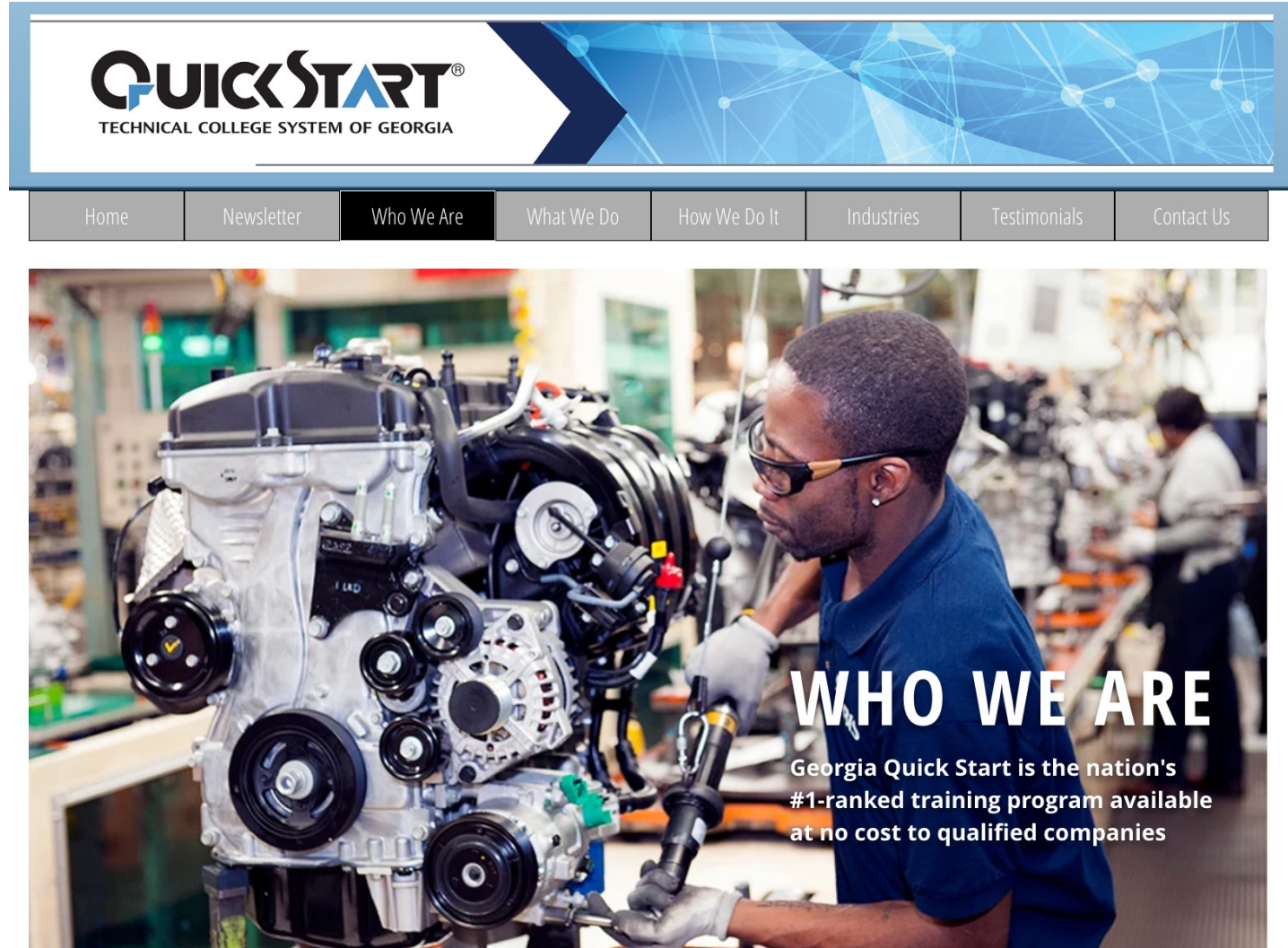
- Federally-registered apprenticeships are the gold standard in workforce training and certification.
 - Registered apprenticeships are approved and tracked by the U.S. Department of Labor or a state apprenticeship agency.
- Apprenticeships are industry-driven.
- Apprentices receive paid work experience, progressive wage increases tied to skill acquisition, and a combination of on-the-job and classroom instruction.
- Apprentices graduate with a portable, nationally and industry-recognized credential.



2. Non-Profit Training Programs

“We saw a potential market for this work as an opportunity to go out and try to build a program that we could go into the community, especially with elderly [people] and do this [energy efficiency improvement] work and unfortunately, that didn't take off like we thought it was going to” – *Interview, September 13, 2019*

3. Technical Colleges



QUICKSTART[®]
TECHNICAL COLLEGE SYSTEM OF GEORGIA

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WHO WE ARE

Georgia Quick Start is the nation's #1-ranked training program available at no cost to qualified companies

“We try to keep in touch with business and industry. That's really why we exist. We're not studying the Higgs Boson particles or any other things like that, we're just putting people into the workforce or enabling them to get into the workforce. So, everything we do is based on what industry in the area needs.... Its kind of one of our big secrets in Georgia about how we attract and do such good business for business.” – *Interview, September 23, 2019*

“There was this big, 'we're going to go solar'... we got with industry and worked with that. A lot of that industry didn't make it, but some ... are still in operation and going strong, and we're still providing them with a workforce” – *Interview, September 23, 2019*



“Instead of having to spend four, five weeks on training someone with no knowledge ... it could enable [the utility]’s training folks to sort of expedite their training process so that when students come through here, they can start at a more advanced level, as they've already had the entry level training. And that's really the purpose and mission of our technical colleges in Georgia, is to provide the foundational skill sets needed so that employers can build that.” – *Interview, September 21, 2022*

Renewable energy

Republicans in the US 'battery belt' embrace Biden's climate spending



Qcells cranks out around 12,000 solar panels a day in Dalton, Georgia. The state has seen a wave of clean energy technology projects materialize in the wake of Biden's climate agenda. Photograph: The Washington Post/Getty Images

Southern states led by Republicans did not vote for climate spending, but now embrace clean energy dollars like never before



Oliver Milman

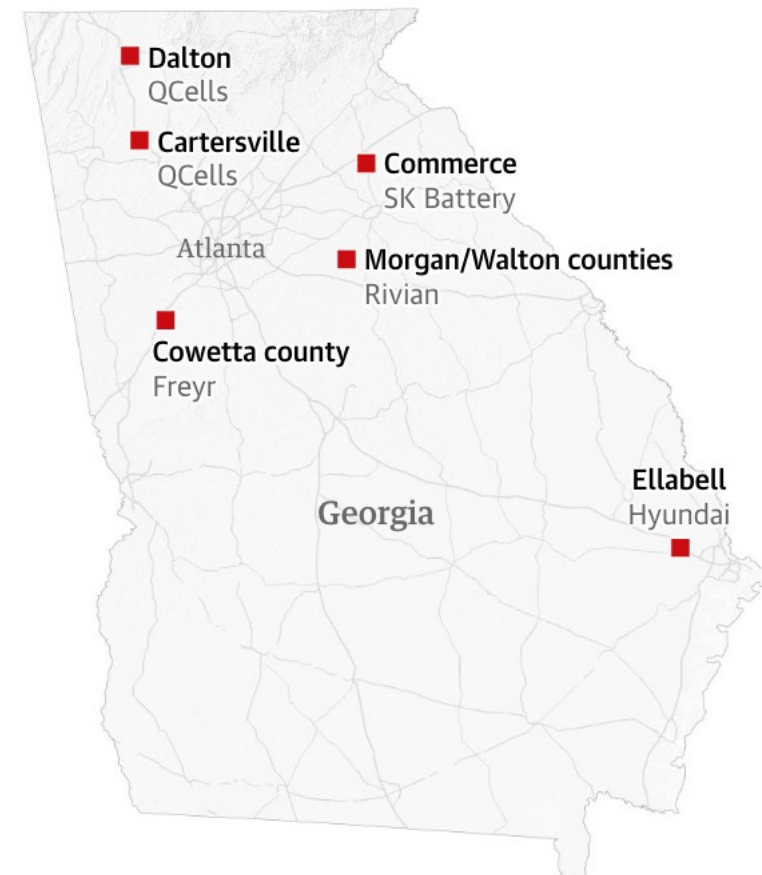
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Recently announced clean energy projects in Georgia



Guardian graphic. Source: News reports.

“That is federal money coming to Georgia and so therefore, we can go after prevailing wage, and also enter into project labor agreements with the utility companies on these and that will help even for the solar installations that are part of this program. It'll help lead them towards union contractors and union jobs. But if it doesn't have federal funding, you're dealing with day laborers pretty much” – *Interview, February 13, 2023*

“...high paying jobs, livable wage jobs, where people can, you know, own a house and a vehicle and get back and forth to work and have a budget where they can still enjoy the eight hours of recreation that that's what we all work for” –
Interview, February 13, 2023



STATE OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
ATLANTA 30334-0090

Brian P. Kemp
GOVERNOR

October 8, 2021

Members of Georgia's Congressional Delegation,

Thank you for your service in the 117th Congress. Following my predecessors as Governor, I have placed a priority on fiscal responsibility which allows our state to effectively meet both our long-term and immediate economic development goals. As part of this effort, I've made protecting Georgia jobs and standing up for our state's job creators one of my top priorities. I consistently hear from Georgians that cutting needless red tape and reducing other barriers to strengthen our competitive business environment remains a critical factor in continuing Georgia's economic success story.

As you consider the massive budget reconciliation bill currently before Congress, on behalf of the State of Georgia, I would like to echo the recent concerns shared by a coalition of international auto manufacturers in the attached letter. This group includes our flagship OEM (Original Equipment Manufacturer) in Georgia, Kia Motors.

As currently drafted, Section 136401 – Refundable New Qualified Plug-In Electric Drive Motor Vehicle Credit for Individuals – creates a discriminatory \$4,500 supplemental tax credit only for buyers of electric vehicles (EVs) assembled by organized labor. You are aware that Georgia prides itself on being a state where our quality workforce and below-national average unionization rates are key reasons why companies in the automotive industry choose Georgia. Our state employs over 55,000 auto workers and the Georgia Department of Economic Development reported an increase of 43 percent in automotive job creation from fiscal year 2021. Limiting the tax credit to union-built, U.S.-assembled vehicles, and applying these proposed limitations to the current EV market, puts Georgia job creators and workers in the automotive industry at a severe disadvantage – including when competing against our neighboring states.

As a member of Georgia's congressional delegation, you have a choice: jobs for hardworking Georgians or jobs for labor unions. Over the last five years alone, the state has seen more than 78 new automotive locations or expansions, representing thousands of jobs. With the transition to electrification, that number will continue to rise – unless Congress unwisely creates a barrier to job growth in our state. I join the Georgia Department of Economic Development and Georgia job creators in asking that you actively work toward removing these detrimental provisions from the final version of the bill. If these provisions are included in a final bill, I ask that you vote against the measure.

“As a member of Georgia’s congressional delegation, you have a choice: jobs for hardworking Georgians or jobs for labor unions” – Brian Kemp, October 8, 2021

“Have to pay attention to it, we got to make sure that there's accountability with that Just in general construction, [another union leader] is doing freedom of information requests on municipalities for affordable housing, or even some of their infrastructure projects that have federal money tied to it to where they're not even paying prevailing wage because one of the things that a state like Georgia does is the enforcement mechanism just isn't there. Even down to things like safety.... ” – *Interview, February 13, 2023*

Conclusion

1. Recent federal policy promises to create millions of jobs in clean energy, infrastructure, and manufacturing and uses tax credits, grants, and loans to impose labor standards.
2. Since 2009, cities and states have learned from numerous “green jobs” training efforts to establish more effective pathways to benefit workers.
3. Efforts to connect trainees to jobs and apprenticeships through recent federal funding including and beyond the Inflation Reduction Act requires enforcement.

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Questions?

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