

“Politics is the art of the possible”

- Otto Von Bismark (1815-1898) Prussian Prime Minister
and Chancellor of the German Empire

Local and State Climate Politics

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The Plan

- Individual vs. collective or societal action
- Feature of the U.S. political system
- Policy tools or instruments
- Key policy actors and their strategies
- Rules of the game
- States role in climate policy
- Public opinion on climate and energy policy in MT
- Local climate initiatives

Huddle Up!

With your neighbor come up with 3 things you'd do to promote a student climate solutions fee at UM

Come up with 3 things you'd like to know to have a better chance at succeeding

Some Key Features of the U.S. Political System

1. Divided government due to:
 - A. Constitutional separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches
 - B. Federalism – nested systems of federal, state and local government resulting in dispersed (fragmented) authority and ever-contested power
2. Relatively open government
3. Right to associate with others and freedom of expression
4. Powerful organized interests
5. Primacy of individual (and corporate) freedom and private property rights
6. Short terms for elected officials
7. Campaign financing allowed
8. Enduring two-party system

Key Policy Actors

- Decision makers in three branches of government at federal, state and local levels
- Interest groups (e.g., NGOs, professional/trade associations, unions)
- Corporations
- Lobbyists
- The media
- Scientists, scientific bodies, think tanks
- General public, individual citizens

Some Montana Environmental Climate/Energy Policy Actors

- Montana Environmental Information Center (MEIC)
- Northern Plains Resources Council (NPRC)
- Montana Conservation Voters Education Fund (MCVEF)
- Alternative Energy Resource Organization (AERO)
- National Center for Appropriate Technology (NCAT)
- NCAT Affiliate: Sleeping Giant Citizens Council (Helena)
- Montana Audubon
- Sierra Club local chapters
- Clark Fork River Coalition
- PEW Environmental Group
- Climate Action Now (CAN)
- Student Advocates for Valuing the Environment (S.A.V.E.)

Strategies Policy Actors Use to Influence Decision Makers

- Electioneering
- Direct lobbying
- Grassroots lobbying (e.g., letters, phone calls, emails, etc.)
- Negotiation
- Coalition-building
- Citizen initiatives and referenda
- Petitioning / Administrative appeals
- Media advocacy and campaigns
- Conducting scientific studies
- Public education / public forums
- Litigation
- Non-violent direct action (protests) / civil disobedience
- Violence / terrorism

Rules of the Game (Got Know 'Em / Learn 'Em)

- Accepted processes and procedures for structuring the "moves" of the actors.
- Determine the type of opportunities to access decision makers
- "Rules" define what it is that actors may or may not do to influence decision makers
- Established by the Constitution, laws, and court interpretations as well as by formal procedures, customs, rules, and norms, as in Congress

“Instruments” of Public Policy

1. Regulation
Laws or decrees requiring citizens or corporations to do something or not
Sanctions imposed for non-compliance
2. Governmental Management
Direct provision of services or programs to the public, private industry, or other levels of government
Includes management of natural resources and environmental quality
3. Taxing and Spending
Mechanism to regulate and provide services
Also used to create incentives to encourage or discourage certain activities
4. Market Mechanisms
Involve decisions to intervene or not into the market place
Also used to create incentives or disincentives
5. Education, Information, and Persuasion
Attempts to persuade people or businesses to behave a certain way

Huddle Up!

Discuss changes you'd make to your
climate solutions student fee plan or things
you'd like to know

State Efforts

- States as policy innovators – bottom up policy making
 - 13 states would rank among top 40 countries in emissions
 - Texas would be 7th in the world (ahead of the U.K.)
- Most states have some sort of law or executive order
 - State see job opportunities with renewable energy
 - Economic benefits of reducing weather-related damage
- According to Rabe (2007):
 - 47 states have completed GHG inventories
 - 29 have action plans or blueprints for future policy
 - 23 states have Renewable Portfolio Standards (RPSs)
 - 22 states have carbon tax to support renewables or energy efficiency
 - 36 states have alternative fuels programs
 - 15 states have caps on carbon emissions from electric utilities
 - CA, CT, NJ, NM and NY are leaders
 - MA and NH have cap-and-trade for coal-burning electric plants

Source: Rabe, Barry (2007). "Taking It to the States." In *Ignition: What You Can Do to Fight Global Warming and Spark a Movement*. Jonathan Isham and Sissel Waage, eds. Washington DC: Island Press.

California – Policy Entrepreneur

- In 2002, declared CO₂ a pollutant and set cap on CO₂ from motor vehicles
- In 2005, Gov. Schwarzenegger issues executive order pledging to 2000 levels by 2010 and return to 1990 levels by 2020
- In Sept. 2006, CA enacted Global Warming Solutions Act (AB32)
 - Requires cuts to 1990 level by 2020 (including emission from out-of-state electricity) – a 25% reduction from present
 - Establish cap by Jan. 1, 2008; adopt reporting rules for significant sources and Scoping Plans by Jan. 1, 2009
 - Adopt regs for maximum technologically feasible and cost-effective reductions, including market and alternative compliance mechanisms by 2012
 - Implementation by CA Air Resource Board (CARB)
 - Among the 44 "early actions to achieve ¼ of reductions needed:
 - Low Carbon Fuel Standard (10% reduction in carbon intensity for transportation fuels by 2020)
 - Reduction of refrigerant losses from motor vehicle A/C systems
 - Increased methane capture from landfills

CA – Policy Entrepreneur (cont.)

- CA also set CO2 standards for vehicles, which auto industry challenged since CAFE falls under a federal law, the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 (passed after 1973 Arab Oil Embargo)
 - **12 states have adopted same standard & more may also do so**

Massachusetts vs. EPA

- MA, 11 other states, several local governments and enviros sued the EPA for not regulating the emissions GHGs, including CO2, from the transportation sector under the CAA
- Claimed that human-influenced global climate change was causing adverse effects, such as sea-level rise, to the state of Massachusetts.
- April 2007, U.S. Supreme Court 5-4 decision, in favor of MA et al - EPA has the authority to regulate CO2 and other greenhouse gases

Further Intrigue

- California request for CAA Section 209 waiver to regulate CO2 auto emissions denied by EPA
- CA has filed suit (with 15 states joining in)
- EPA Administrator Stephen Johnson hearing before the Sen. EPW Committee on Jan. 24, 2008 – implications of White House pressure
- Sen. Barbara Boxer introduces bill to reverse EPA global warming waiver decision

Regional Efforts – Interstate Compacts

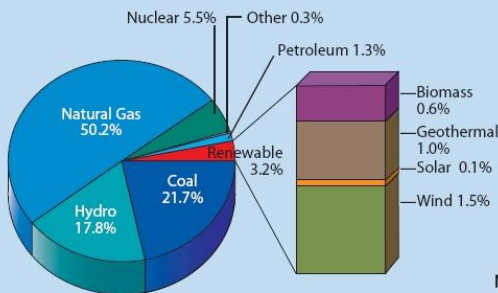
- Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI)
 - In Dec. 2005, NY, DE, ME, NH, NJ, and VT agreed to regional cap-and-trade program
 - MD, MA, and RI joined in 2007; PA, IL, DC may join too
 - RGGI will cap regional emissions at 2009 levels through 2014, then reduce 10% by 2018
- 8 Midwestern states to develop GHG registry
- 6 contiguous southwestern states have a common Renewable Portfolio Standard as do 4 Midwestern states
- West Coast Governors' Global Warming Initiative
 - Goals for efficiency standards for buildings and appliances, motor vehicles GHG emissions; electric transmission; research
- Western Regional Climate Action Initiative
 - Market-based cap and trade with AZ, CA, NM, OR, WA

Western Governor's Association Clean and Diversified Energy Initiative (CDEI)

- Initiated in 2004 by gov's. Of NM, CA, WY, UT, and ND (included "advance coal task force")
- Reported in 6/2006 and update released in 2007
 - No staff contributors from Montana
- 30,000 MW of new clean energy (wind, geothermal, biomass, solar) by 2015
- 20% increase in efficiency by 2020, as through water and energy conservation
- Increased transmission capacity
- Not a mandate – no MOU or requirement to participate - state legislatures must implement

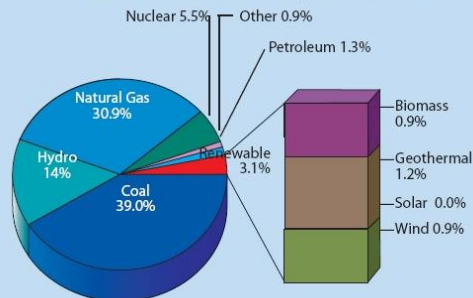
Generating Capacity by Fuel Source - 2004

Nameplate Generating Capacity in WGA States- 319,500 MW



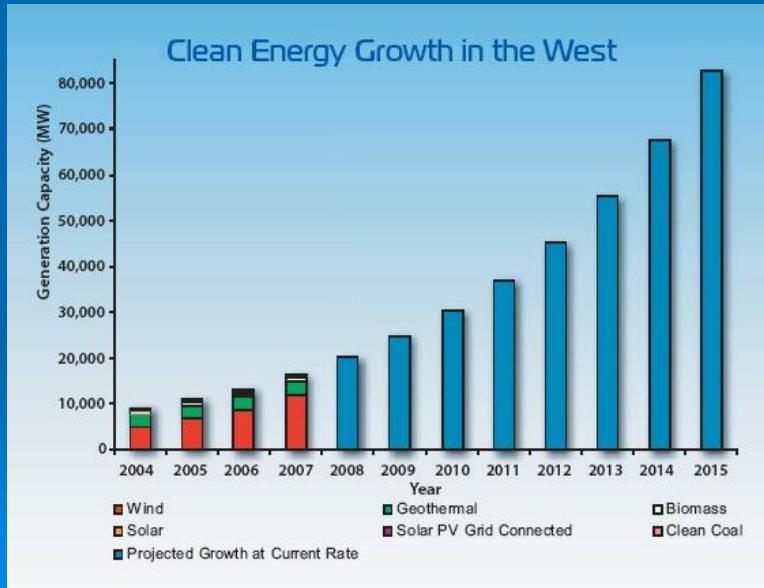
Generation - 2004

Net Generation in WGA States - 1,216,272,570 MWh

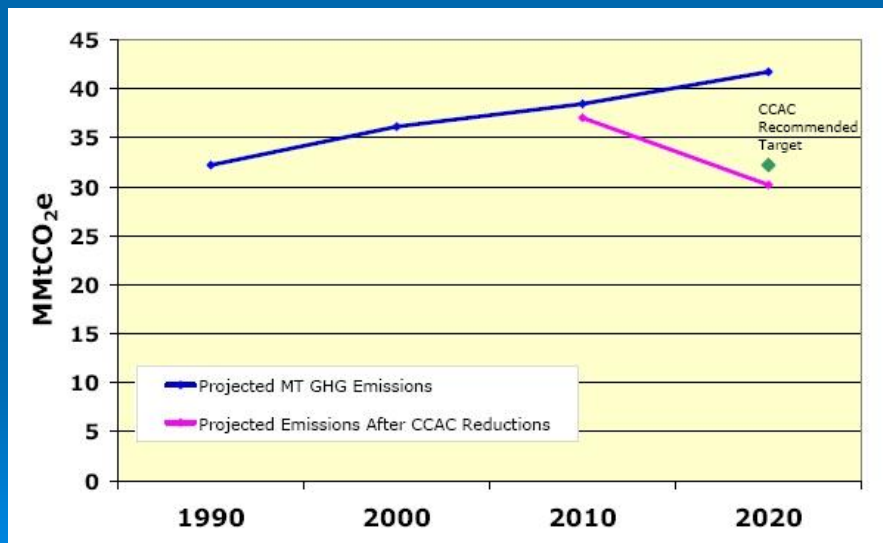


Source: 2004 EIA Annual Power Plant Report, excerpted for WGA member states

2007 WGA Clean Energy, A Strong Economy and a Healthy Environment Report

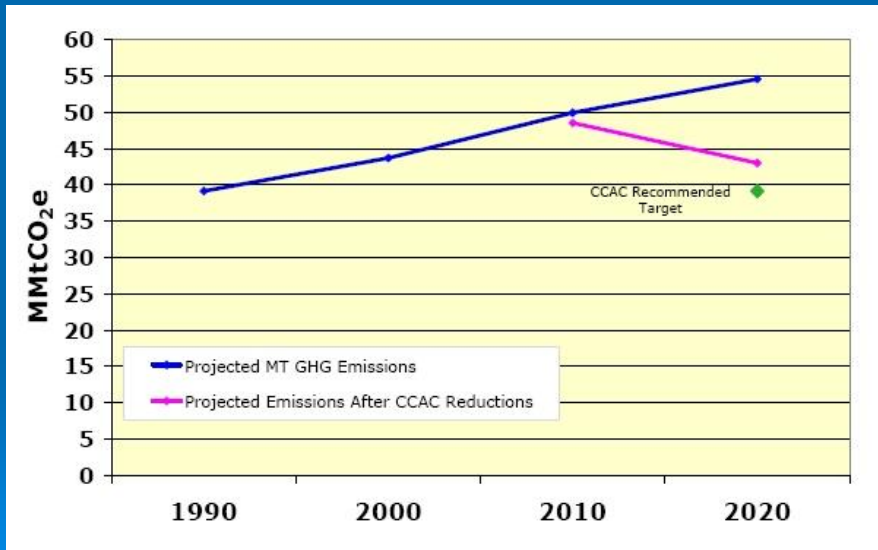


Montana Governor's Climate Action Plan



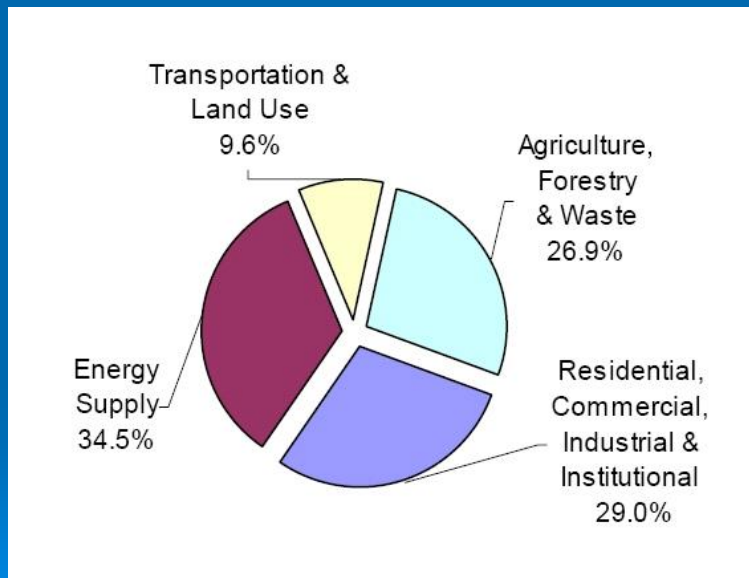
Consumption based gross GHG emission – Figure EX-1

Montana Governor's Climate Action Plan



Production based gross GHG emission – Figure EX-2

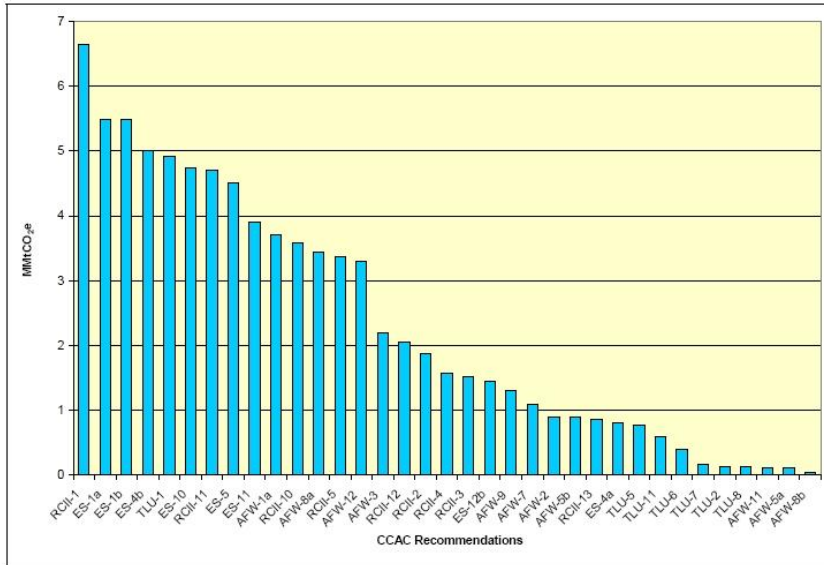
Montana Governor's Climate Action Plan



Sector shares of recommended GHG reductions– Figure EX-3

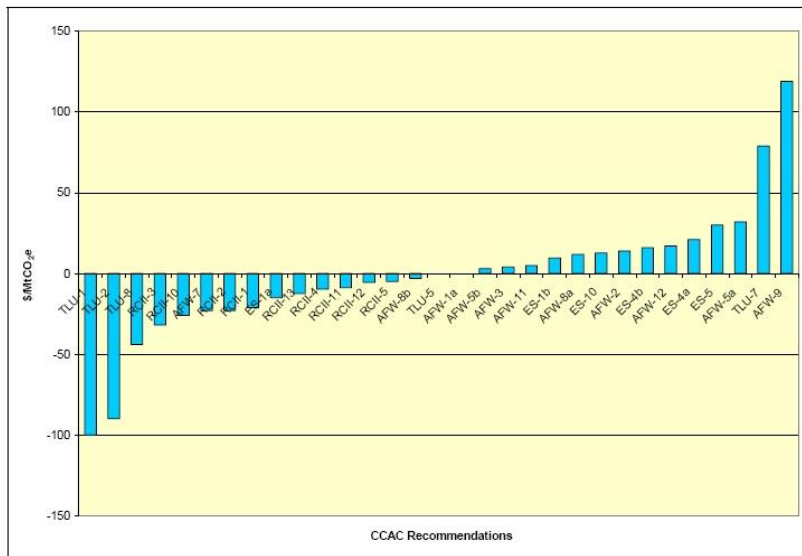
Montana Governor's Climate Action Plan

Figure EX-4. Policy recommendations ranked by GHG emission reductions



Montana Governor's Climate Action Plan

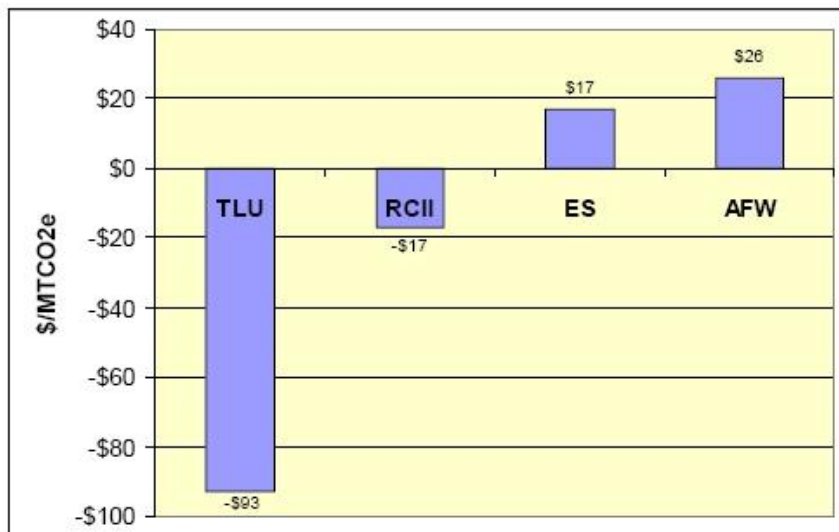
Figure EX-6. Policy recommendations ranked by cost-per-ton reduced



Greatest Reductions and Cost Effectiveness

- RCII-1 (-\$21) Demand-Side Management Program, Energy Efficiency Funds and Requirements (& Financial Incentives)
- ES-1 Environmental Portfolio Standards [Renewables (\$10) & Energy Efficiency (-\$15)]
- ES-4b (\$30) Incentives and Barrier Removal for Combined Heat and Power (CHP) and Clean Distributed Generation (DG)
- TLU-1 (-\$100) Light-Duty Vehicle Clean Car Standards
- ES-10 (\$13) Generation Performance Standards or GHG Mitigation for New (and/or Existing) Facilities, w/ or w/o GHG Offsets
- RCII-11 (-\$17) Low-Income and Rental Housing Energy Efficiency Programs

Montana Governor's Climate Action Plan



Overall cost per ton by sector— Figure EX-5

Low Hanging Fruit? (greatest cost saving)

- TLU-1 (-\$100) Light-Duty Vehicle Clean Car Standards
- TLU-2 (-\$90) Fuel Efficient Replacement Tire Program
- TLU-8 (-\$44) Heavy-Duty Vehicle and Locomotive Idle Reductions
- RCII-10 (-\$26) Industrial Energy Audits & Recommended Measures Implementation
- AFW-7 (-\$23) Expanded Use of Biomass Feedstocks for Energy Use

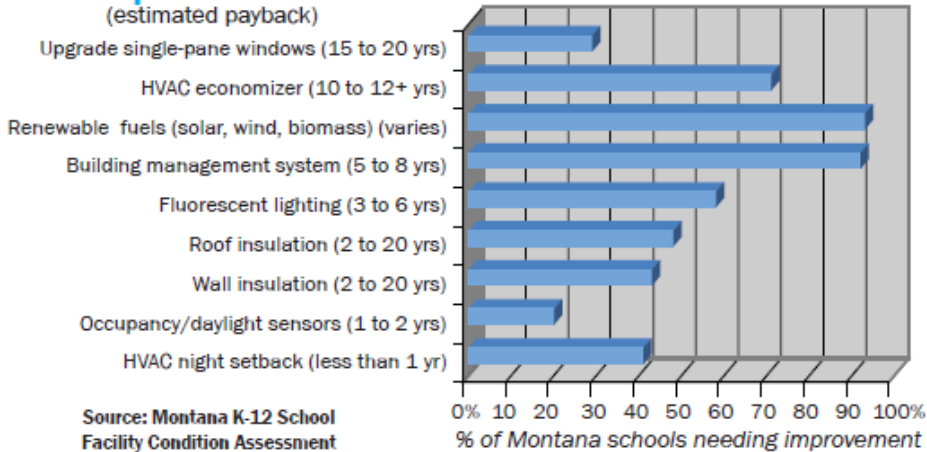


- Montana Governor Brian Schweitzer recently initiated a plan that mandates a 20% reduction in state building energy use by 2010. He also encouraged schools to meet these goals.
- President Dennison has followed suit
- The 2005 Montana legislative special session mandated the completion of an inspection of all school buildings in the state.
- This assessment, the Montana K-12 Facility Condition and Needs Assessment and Energy Audit, was completed in July 2008 and provides a snapshot of the current condition of Montana's K-12 school facilities

Energy Efficient Schools Campaign

Improvements

(estimated payback)



Recent Montana Polling Data

AMERICAN VIEWPOINT

Montana Conservation Voters Education Fund

MONTANA CONSERVATION VOTERS EDUCATION FUND

Montana Statewide
September 18-21, 2008

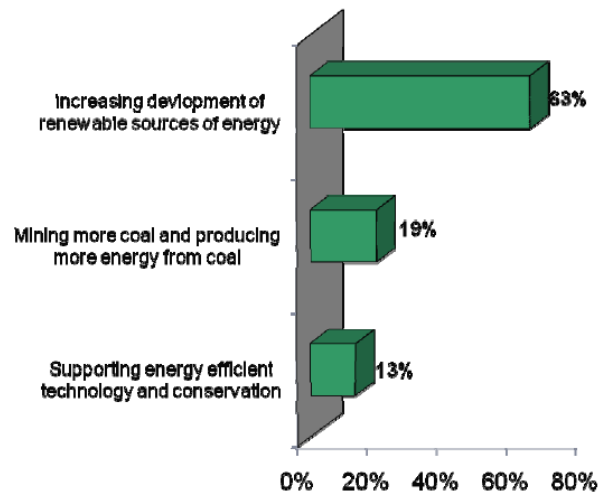
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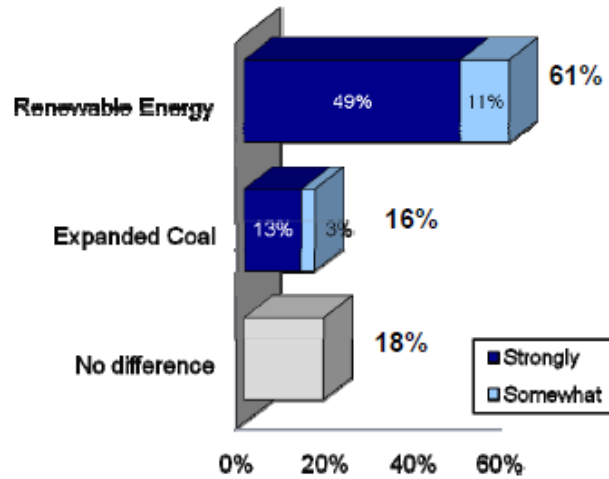
Methodology

- Telephone interviews conducted with 600 registered voters in Montana.
- Interviewing conducted from September 18-21, 2008.
- Respondents were randomly selected from a sample of registered voters.
- The sample was weighted by region, age, sex, race, and party to represent the Montana voter population.
- The margin of error for a random sample of N=600 interviews is ± 4.1 percentage points at 95% confidence.

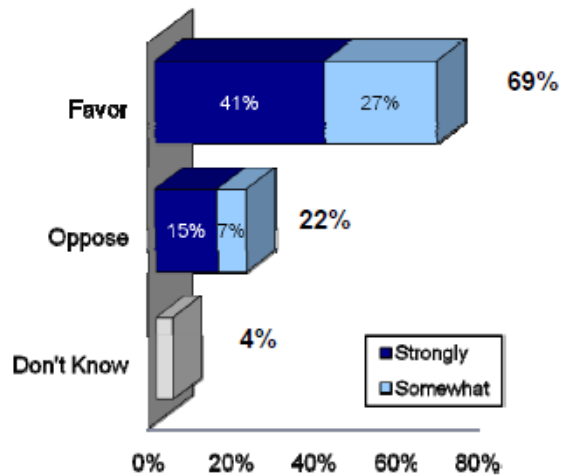
Regarding energy in Montana, which of the following three choices do you think should be the highest priority for state government?



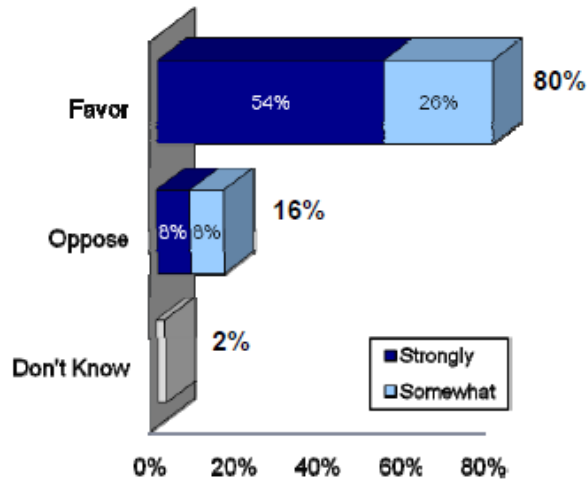
Still thinking about Montana's energy needs, in general, would you prefer that Montana rely more on developing renewable energy sources such as wind, solar, biodiesel and geothermal power OR expanding coal mining, or doesn't it make a difference?



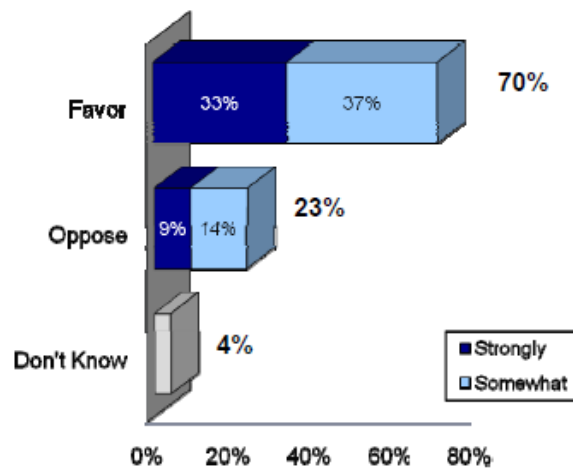
Many experts say the best way to break our oil addiction is to put a limit on the amount of greenhouse gases put into the air. That way companies will have to produce and use cleaner forms of energy such as wind and solar, produced right here in the United States. In general, do you favor or oppose this proposal?



Would you favor or oppose requiring utility companies to increase their use of renewable energy sources such as wind and solar?



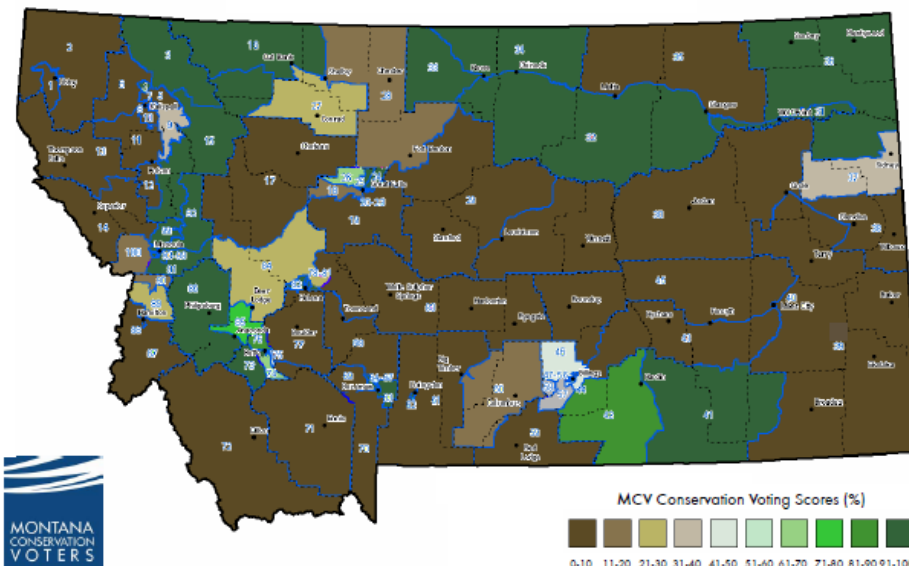
Would you favor or oppose a requirement that coal companies safely store all carbon dioxide from new coal plants to reach zero carbon emissions?



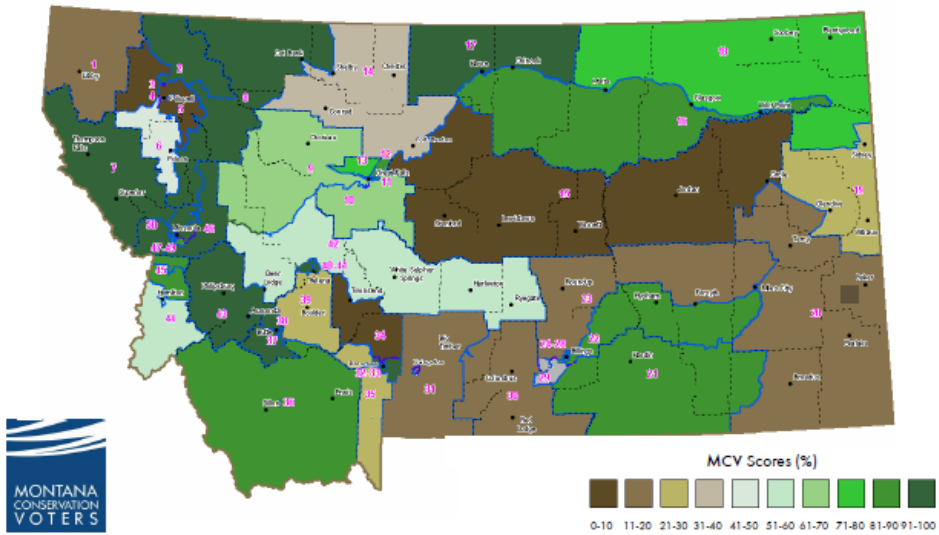
Renewables vs. Coal

	Renewable Energy	Expanded Coal	No Difference
Spok. Missoula	61%	16%	17%
Helena Bozeman	65%	16%	17%
Great Falls	64%	15%	16%
Billings East	53%	18%	22%
Western	62%	17%	17%
Central	58%	18%	20%
Eastern	60%	9%	20%
Men 18-34	69%	15%	16%
Men 35-59	57%	18%	18%
Men 60+	39%	30%	21%
Women 18-34	82%	0%	18%
Women 35-59	68%	15%	13%
Women 60+	50%	17%	23%
Always Voted	58%	18%	19%
Almost Always	54%	20%	18%
Most or Less	71%	10%	16%
Republican	52%	25%	18%
Democrat	74%	7%	15%
Independent	57%	16%	20%

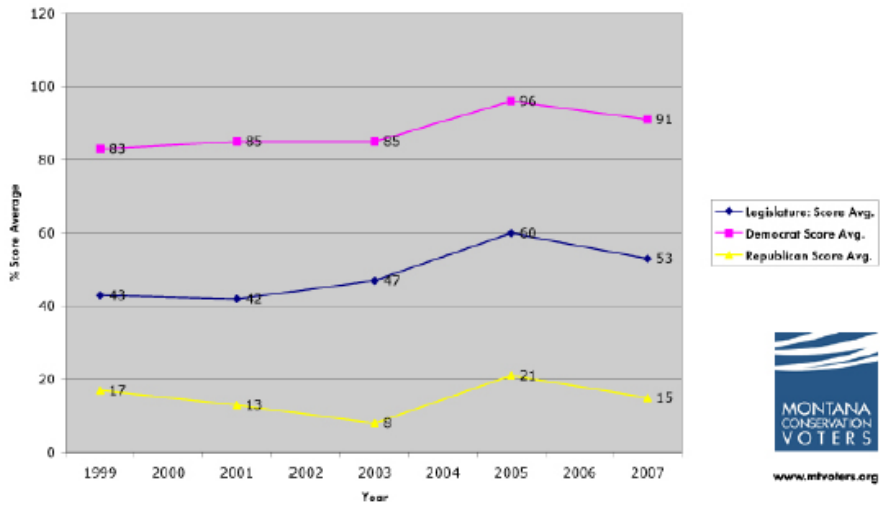
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SCORES



SENATE SCORES



MONTANA LEGISLATURE
Conservation Voting Score Averages



Local Efforts

- Cities emit GHG through sewage treatment plants, solid waste landfills, fleets of police cars, garbage trucks, fire engines, buildings – a lot of purchasing power
- PlaNYC -strategy to reduce the City's greenhouse gas footprint
- U.S. Mayors Climate Protection Agreement – some cities have reduced emissions to Kyoto levels
- Missoula Greenhouse Gas / Energy Conservation Team
 - Developed a strategy or plan
 - Missoula Building Efficiency Policy for New Municipal Buildings
 - On 11/3 City Council passed an energy conservation resolution
- University of Montana campus climate commitments under the Talloires Declaration and American College & University Presidents Climate Commitment
 - Greenhouse gas inventories
 - Campus sustainability committees and coordinator positions
- See readings on Stockton, CA.

We are all part of the problem... and the solutions

- Individuals
- Local, state, national governments
- Industry
- Business
- NGOs
- Achieving synergy together!

