

*“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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 CO<sub>2</sub> a pollutant and set cap on CO<sub>2</sub> 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

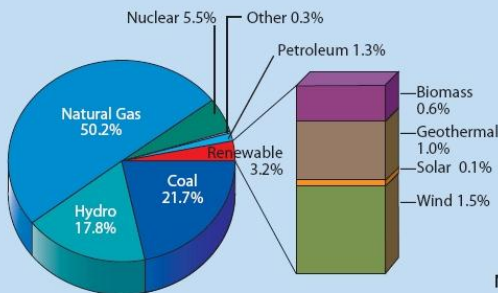


## Western Governor's Association Clean and Diversified Energy Initiative (CDEI)

- Initiated in 2004 by govts. 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

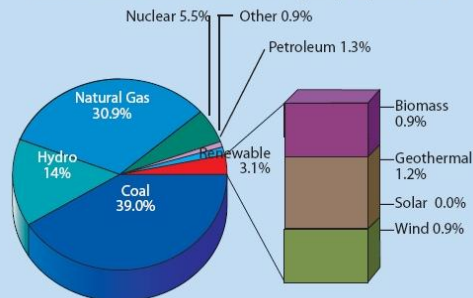
### Generating Capacity by Fuel Source - 2004

Nameplate Generating Capacity in WGA States- 319,500 MW



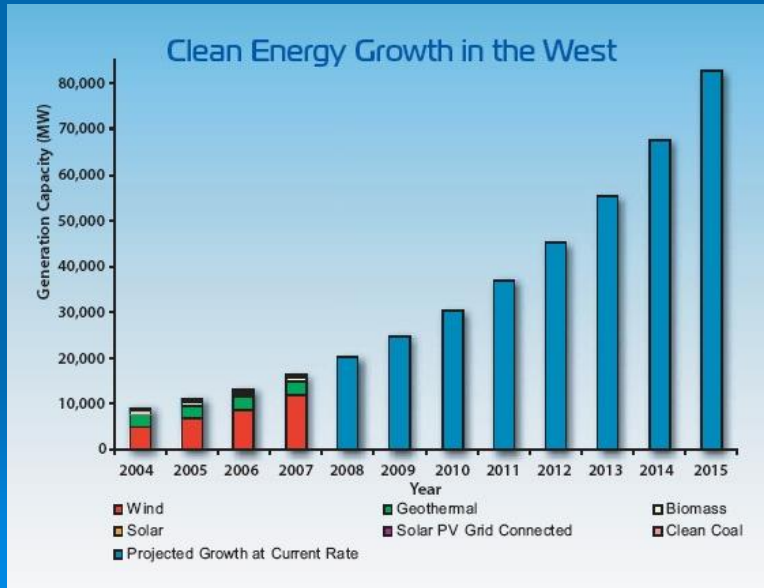
### Generation - 2004

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

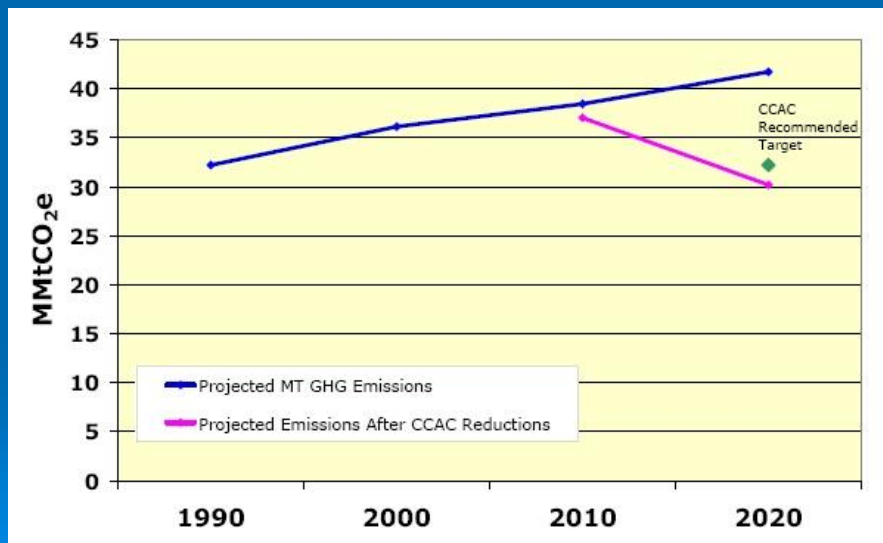


Source: 2004 EIA Annual Power Plant Report, excerpted for WGA member states

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

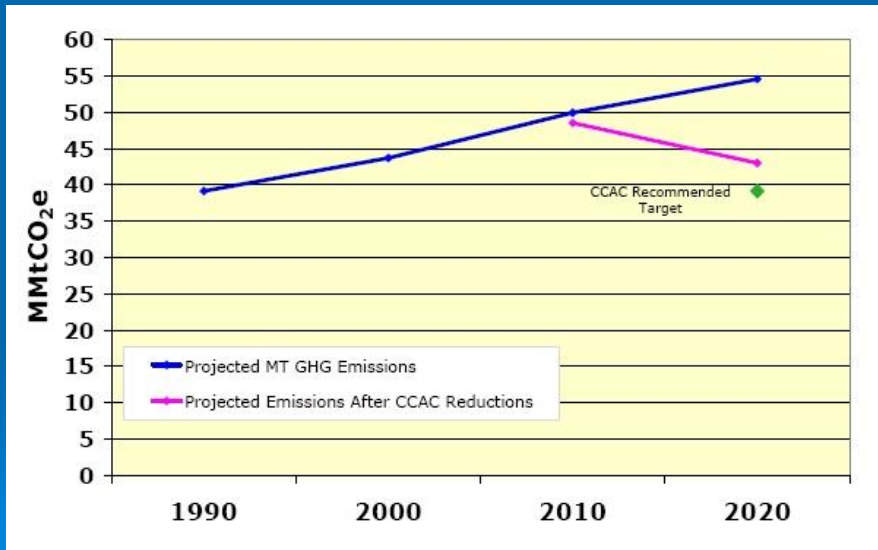


## Montana Governor's Climate Action Plan



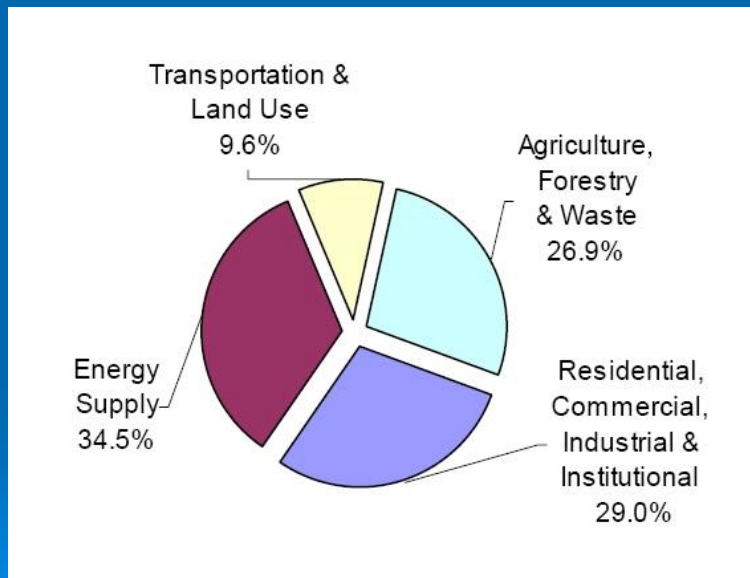
Consumption based gross GHG emission – Figure EX-1

## 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