Gridlock: Consequences and Causes

Political Explanations
Environmental Implications
“Green State”
Passage of Major Environmental Legislation
“The one process ongoing in the 1980s that will take millions of years to correct is the loss of genetic and species diversity by the destruction of natural habitats. This is the folly that our descendants are least likely to forgive us.” E.O. Wilson

http://eowilsonfoundation.org/watch-e-o-wilson-on-the-colbert-report/
Unbeknownst to most ornithologists, the dodo was actually a very advanced species, living alone quite peacefully until, in the 17th century, it was annihilated by men, rats, and dogs. As usual.

The real reason dinosaurs became extinct
Endangered Species Act

Balancing Business Interests and Endangered Species Protection, By Andrew J. Hoffman, Max H. Bazerman and Steven L. Yaffee
October 15, 1997
Solutions

- “The Clean Water Act should aggressively address non-point source pollution from watersheds and also point source pollution from sanitary sewer overflows, combined sewer overflows, and storm sewer discharges.”
- “Water quality should be protected at the source through cooperative partnerships that utilize financial incentives or other market based mechanisms.“

- American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE)
Clean Air Act 1990 Amendments

Index: 1987 = 1.0

- U.S. Gross Domestic Product
- Total net electricity generation
- SO2 emissions from electric utilities

(Sources: DOC, DOE and EPA, respectively)

* ARP units only
New Report Projects Number, Cost and Nature of Contaminated Site Cleanups in the U.S. Over Next 30 Years
350,000 and $250 billion
* Endangered Species Act of 1973
  * Passes Senate on voice vote
  * House 355-4
  * Reauthorized in 1978 and 1982 on voice votes

* Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972
  * Passes Senate 74-0, House 336-11
It’s all my fault #menarenotangels
“A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, ..... an attachment to different leaders, ....... have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other, than to co-operate for their common good.”

#1 problem for Democracy is **Tyranny of the Majority**
Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. If men were angels, no govt would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on govt would be necessary.

In framing a govt which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the govt to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.
giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist encroachments of the others. Federalist #10
Personal Motives

* House of Representatives = every two years, districts
* Senate = every six years; selected by States
* President = selected by electoral college; no popular vote
* Judiciary = appointed by President, confirmed by Senate. Life-time appointment

* Electoral connection
Constitutional Means
aka Checks and Balances

* President can nominate judges; propose, veto laws, appeal to public
* Congress- approves budget, impeach president and judges, determine number and jurisdiction of courts, Senate confirms judges
* Courts- can declare executive actions and laws unconstitutional.

* Requires high level of societal consensus before government action
* 20134 Disaster Relief for Hurricane Sandy - Lands/Forests, Wildlife, Climate Change, Other
* 201341 Military Investments in Advanced Biofuels - Clean Energy, Dirty Energy
* 201346 Big Oil Budget - Other
* 201359 Pricing Carbon Pollution - Climate Change
* 201361 Keystone XL Tar Sands Pipeline (KXL) - Climate Change, Dirty Energy, Water
* 201372 Toxic Air Pollution from Power Plants - Air
* 201376 Climate Change Safeguards - Climate Change
* 201394 Jewell Confirmation (DOI) - Lands/Forests, Wildlife
* 2013116 National Endowment for the Oceans - Oceans
* 2013119 Clean Water Protections - Water
* 2013145 Advancing Conservation in the Farm Bill - Water, Lands/Forests, Wildlife
* 2013151 Border Fence - Lands/Forests, Water, Wildlife
* 2013180 McCarthy Confirmation (EPA) - Air, Water
U.S. House of Representatives
League of Conservation Voters Scorecard

2001
United States Senate - 2001
League of Conservation Voters Scorecard

![Bar Graph]

- **100%**
- **80%**
- **60%**
- **40%**
- **20%**
- **0%**

- **Republicans**
- **Democrats**
House Democrats had an average score of 82, while their Senate counterparts scored 89. House Republicans had a score of 10, while GOP Senators' average was 17.
House Republican Avg. Score **PRE-TEA PARTY:** 17

House GOP Avg. Score

2008 2013

House Republican Avg. Score **POST-TEA PARTY:** 5

LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL SCORECARD
SCORECARD.LCV.ORG
House Vote 477 - H.R.2454: On Passage American Clean Energy and Security Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>219</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|     |      | 211  Democrats | 8
|     | No   | 212  |
|     |      | 44  Democrats | 168  Republicans |
|     | Present | 0 |
|     | Didn't vote | 3 |

Result: Passed by 7 votes
Date of Vote: June 26, 2009
Roll Call Number: 477
Bill Details »

McCain’s LCV Lifetime Scores
Q: How much do you trust the things that scientists say about the environment: completely, a lot, a moderate amount, a little or not at all?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRUST</th>
<th>COMPLETELY</th>
<th>MODERATE</th>
<th>DO NOT TRUST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NET</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April '07</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOW</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By party:

- **REPUBLICANS**
  - April '07: 29%
  - NOW: 58%

- **INDEPENDENTS**
  - April '07: 24%
  - NOW: 40%

- **DEMOCRATS**
  - April '07: 19%
  - NOW: 23%

Q: Do you think most scientists agree with one another about whether or not global warming is happening, or do you think there is a lot of disagreement among scientists on this issue?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MOST AGREE</th>
<th>A LOT OF DISAGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPUBLICANS</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENTS</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMOCRATS</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The politics of global warming

Q: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Obama is handling global warming?

- **Approve**
  - April: 61%
  - June: 45%
  - NOW: 39%

- **Disapprove**
  - April: 30%
  - June: 54%
  - NOW: 61%

Q: Do you think the federal government should or should not regulate the release of greenhouse gases from sources like power plants, cars and factories in an effort to reduce global warming?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHOULD</th>
<th>SHOULD NOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **REPUBLICANS**
  - SHOULD: 50%
  - SHOULD NOT: 42%

- **INDEPENDENTS**
  - SHOULD: 64%
  - SHOULD NOT: 33%

- **DEMOCRATS**
  - SHOULD: 79%
  - SHOULD NOT: 15%

Q: What if that significantly lowered greenhouse gases but raised your monthly energy expenses by...

- **$10 a month**
  - SHOULD: 60%
  - SHOULD NOT: 37%

- **$25 a month**
  - SHOULD: 55%
  - SHOULD NOT: 42%

Q: It's been proposed that the U.S. and other developed countries contribute $10 billion a year to help developing countries pay for reducing the amount of greenhouse gases they release. Is this something you support or oppose?

- **Support**
  - 39%

- **Oppose**
  - 57%

Support by party:

- **DEMOCRATS**
  - 54%

- **INDEPENDENTS**
  - 40%

- **REPUBLICANS**
  - 21%
Increasing Partisan Divide on Environmental Protection

There needs to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment

People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment

Protecting the environment should be given priority even if it means slower economic growth
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent who favor...</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>D-R Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase gas taxes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>+18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending more on mass transit</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>+9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More funding for alternative energy</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting nuclear power use</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowing drilling in U.S. waters</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N  
765 189 222 308
### Huge Ideological Differences over Economy and Environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree:</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cons</td>
<td>Lib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need stricter laws &amp; regs to protect environment</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protecting environment a priority even if it causes slower growth/job losses</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should be willing to pay higher prices to protect environment</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### When it comes to developing new energy technology...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you think ...</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Ind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government investment is necessary</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businesses will produce the technology we need</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: 742, 188, 254, 260

Pew Research Center; Independents Take Center Stage in Obama Era; [http://people-press.org/report/?pageid=1524](http://people-press.org/report/?pageid=1524); May 21, 2009
A Widening Gap: Republican and Democratic Views on Climate Change, *Riley E. Dunlap and Aaron M. McCright*
Decline of Liberalism

always/most vs some/never

February 2014, 24% said they trust the government in Washington always or most of the time.

Progressive Values Dominant -- But Need to Rebuild Trust in Effectiveness of Government Action,
http://www.progressivestates.org/node/23897
Thinking about your own shopping and living habits over the last five years, would you say you have made major changes, minor changes, or no changes to help protect the environment?

- Made major changes
- Made minor changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Made major changes</th>
<th>Made minor changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apr 3-9, 2000</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 3-5, 2003</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 6-9, 2008</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GALLUP POLL®
"Which do you think should be a higher priority for the Obama administration right now: taking major steps to improve the U.S. economy, or taking major steps to reduce global warming?“

- Improve Economy 85%
- Reduce Global Warming 12%
- Unsure 3%

USA Today/Gallup Poll. Dec. 11-13, 2009
Center for Climate Strategies & States’ Global Warming Policy

International Conference on Climate Change
March 2-4, 2008
GREAT NEWS!

* Heartland Institute has created an outside management consulting nonprofit called “Climate Skeptics Inc.” (CSI)
GREAT NEWS!

* Heartland Institute has created an outside management consulting nonprofit called “Climate Skeptics Inc.” (CSI)
* CSI has already been hired by several governors to create their global warming policy
* CSI will manage several official “Governor’s Study Commissions on Climate Change”
* CSI has raised millions of dollars already from conservative foundations, big oil, and coal
And CSI will control:

- The commission processes, including voting procedures
- The list of policy options under consideration
- All meetings of the commissions & subgroups
- Writing of all presentations, reports, meeting minutes, and technical information
- The commission reports will inform future legislation and the governors’ plans for global warming policy via executive orders
* Heartland’s James Taylor has been hired as special cabinet-level adviser to a governor, but is also funded by a conservative foundation

* James will write the governor’s official plan to address global warming in his state
Who do business lobbyists see as their competition?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY OPPONENT</th>
<th>% of Issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other business</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Industry</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov’t Bureaucrats</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member(s) of Congress</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Public Interest Group</em> or Union</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting Visibility</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opponent</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Climate Change Lobby Explosion

**WILL THOUSANDS OF LOBBYISTS IMPERIL ACTION ON GLOBAL WARMING?**

By Marianne Lavelle | February 24, 2009
The Koch brothers plan to spend $889 million influencing the 2016 election.

The 2016 budget announced by Kochs' political operation is less than their net worth fluctuated on the Bloomberg Billionaires index today.
Political Explanations

* Constitution
* Ideological differences between parties
* Ideological differences between partisans
* Lack of public consensus (lukewarm public)
* Influence of organized interests
Contrasting Perspectives on Origins of Gridlock?
Rate of global surface warming per decade over time in degrees C.

Annual world greenhouse gas emissions, in 2005, by sector

- Electricity and heat: 24.9%
- Transportation: 14.3%
- Industry: 14.7%
- Agriculture: 13.8%
- Land use change: 12.2%
- Industrial processes: 4.3%
- Fugitive emissions: 4.0%
- Other fuel combustion: 8.6%
- Waste: 3.2%
http://www.epa.gov/climatechange/ghgemissions/global.html
CO₂ emissions per capita from fossil fuel use and cement production in top 5 emitters

Source: EDGAR 4.2; UNPD, 2010; Olivier et al., 2012
Global Carbon Dioxide (CO$_2$) emissions from fossil-fuels 1900-2008
“No nation will be immune to the impacts of climate change. However, the distribution of impacts is likely to be inherently unequal and tilted against many of the world’s poorest regions, which have the least economic, institutional, scientific and technical capacity to cope and adapt.”

World Bank, Turn Down the Heat

http://climatechange.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/Turn_Down_the_heat_Why_a_4_degree_centrigrade_warmer_world_must_beavoided.pdf
“Sea-level rise impacts are projected to be asymmetrical even within regions and countries. Of the impacts projected for 31 developing countries, only 10 cities account for two-thirds of the total exposure to extreme floods. Highly vulnerable cities are to be found in Mozambique, Madagascar, Mexico, Venezuela, India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam.”

XVI
The Inequality of Climate Change
By ANNIE LOWREY
The Green State as a Labyrinth
Layering of the Green State

- 3 waves of
- Liberalism- emphasis on economic development (Army Corps of Engineers, Bureau of Land Mgmt, Forest Service)
- Conservation- expertise, wise use, Fish and Wildlife Service, National Park Service, FERC, Bureau of Reclamation)
- Preservation- Endangered Species Act, Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, CERCLA, TSCA, Wilderness Act
US Forest Service- 171 million acres
Bark Beetle
So we need a plan...

CLIMATE CHANGE DEVASTATING WESTERN FORESTS

Forests nearly equal to the size of Colorado have perished due to bark beetle infestations brought on by warmer conditions, shorter winters, and drought.

ucsusa.org/forestsatrisk

Source: U.S. Forest Service
Competing Laws

* The Multiple Use Sustained Yield Act of 1960 – multiple use
* National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) 1969
* National Forest Management Act (NFMA) 1976
* The Endangered Species Act of 1973
* The Clean Water Act
* The Wilderness Act of 1964

Competing Uses

* Timber mgmt and sustainable forestry
* Recreation
* Fire prevention
* Biodiversity and Habitat Conservation
* Energy
* National-state-local goals

Competing Agencies
US Forest Service – Dep of Agric
Bureau of Land Management- DOI
US Fish and Wildlife
National Park Service
State parks, DECs, Agriculture
Pro-market liberalism held sway prior to 1890, favoring economic development interests over those concerned with environmental protection, as in the 1872 Mining Law.

Conservation gained ground from 1890 to 1920, stressing the wise management of natural resources – as in the establishment of the national forests and the U.S. Forest Service.

Preservationists and modern environmentalists took the initiative from 1964 to 1980, enacting major new laws preserving land and wildlife (as in the Endangered Species Act of 1973) and protecting human health (as in the Clean Air Act of 1970).
An Energy Independent Future

Offshore Wind Power

- close to major population centers
- wind speeds stronger and more consistent
- potential to meet 20% of US energy needs

Sheringham Shoal Offshore Wind Farm, UK
130 turbines, 468-megawatt, 75% of energy for Cape Cod, MV, NT
Layering of the Green State

* 3 waves of
  * Liberalism- emphasis on economic development (Army Corps of Engineers, Bureau of Land Mgmt, Forest Service)
  * Conservation- expertise, wise use, Fish and Wildlife Service, National Park Service, FERC, Bureau of Reclamation
  * Preservation- Endangered Species Act, Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, CERCLA, TSCA, Wilderness Act
“The layering of multiple orders without cleaning up past orders gives modern America’s green state a labyrinthine nature. New policies often conflict with old; past ideas are embedded in earlier policy regimes resistant to change. For all interested parties, **layering creates opportunities as well as constraints** – and the conjunction of Congressional gridlock with embedded institutional tensions encourages groups to use different levers and pathways to fight for their interests.”
17 federal and state approvals

**Laws**
- Rivers and Harbors Act (1899)
- Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (1953)
- Energy Policy Act 2005
- Natl Envm Protection Act 1969
- Endangered Species Act 1974
- Marine Mammal Protection Act, 1972, 1996
- Migratory Bird Treaty Act 1918
- Coastal Zone Mgmt Act 1972

**Agencies**
- Army Corps of Engineers (1802)
- Dept of Interior, Minerals Mgmt Service
- NOAA Fisheries (1970)
- US Fish and Wildlife Services (1903/1940)
- State Coastal Plan (1973)
- State and local permitting for transmission lines
State laws & agencies

- Massachusetts Environmental Policy Act
- Excise Tax Deduction for Solar or Wind-Powered Systems
- MA Energy Facilities Siting Board
- Massachusetts Natural Heritage and Endangered Species program and the Department of Environmental Protection
- Department of Energy Resources and Executive Office of Environmental Affairs

- Repr Delahunt
- Senators Kennedy and Kerry
- Nantucket Sound Alliance
- Save Our Sound
- William Koch #122
Environmental Impact Statement
for the Proposed
Cape Wind Energy Project
Nantucket Sound, Offshore of Massachusetts

Final Environmental Impact Statement
U.S. Department of the Interior, MMS EIS-EA, OCS Publication No. 2008-040,
OCS EIS/EA MMS 2010-11 and OCS EIS/EA BOEMRE 2011-024
Adopted as DOE/EIS-0470

U.S. Department of Energy

Mr. Salazar is also requiring the project to scale back to 130 turbines from 170 and clear more environmental reviews, including “additional seabed surveys to ensure that any submerged archaeological resources are protected.” That’s to protect those submerged tribal burial grounds; opponents had tried to get the Atlantic Ocean added to the National Register for Historic Places. Seriously
5 years - 4 billion kilowatt-hour

10+ years, 468-megawatt
Something’s windy in Denmark

Wind power capacity and wind power’s share of domestic electricity supply

10% in UK
- TransCanada Corporation’s Kibby Wind Power Project, Franklin County, ME
- Radar Ridge Project, WA
- Penascal Wind Farm, TX
- migratory birds, stormwater, energy
* ESA
* Clean Water Act
* Petroglyphs
the layering of multiple orders without cleaning up past orders gives modern America’s green state a labyrinthine nature. New policies often conflict with old; past ideas are embedded in earlier policy regimes resistant to change. For all interested parties, layering creates opportunities as well as constraints – and the conjunction of Congressional gridlock with embedded institutional tensions encourages groups to use different levers and pathways to fight for their interests
The Green State.... in Saratoga

$10 million, 480 parking

Mousan House- solar panels