

Turning Back the Republican Reversal: A Search for Environmental Protection Support Within
the Republican Party

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The 1960s and 1970s marked an important time for environmentalism throughout the United States. Between 1964 and 1980, Congress passed 22 major environmental laws dealing with pollution as well as the management of land and wildlife. These laws, including major statutes like the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the Endangered Species Act passed on a bipartisan basis. Richard Nixon signed the National Environmental piece of legislation, along with many other major laws and the Environmental Protection Agency. The GOP was once a major player in environmental protection and the building of the green state. The bipartisan history of environmental policy, however, soon faded into the polarization that is so clearly present in the twenty-first century.

The Democratic and Republican Parties diverged on environmental positions beginning in the 1980s with the Reagan administration. This administration began to attack environmental agencies and regulations that were put in place the decade prior – leading to a culture of environmental protection resistance by Republicans in the 1990s and 2000s. The Trump administration is the most recent example of anti-environmentalism in the Republican Party. In his first three years in office, Trump has been making large rollbacks on environmental regulation.¹ As of mid-September 2019, Trump had rolled back nearly 53 environmental regulations during his presidency.² In June 2017, Trump announced that the U.S. would be withdrawing from the monumental 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change. These actions mark a notable shift from the environmentalism seen from the Republican Party in the 1970s. The

¹ Matthew Yglesias, “What Trump has actually done in his first 3 years,” Vox, December 2, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/12/2/20970521/trump-administration-achievements>

² Nadja Popovich, Livia Albeack-Ripka, and Kendra Pierre-Louis, “85 Environmental Rules Being Rolled Back Under Trump,” New York Times, September 12, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/climate/trump-environment-rollbacks.html>

contrast is clear as former EPA administrators under the Reagan and both Bush administrations expressed concerns with Trump's environmental policy.³ The movement away from bipartisanship has manifested itself in a variety of ways. First, Republicans have dismissed the urgency of environmental issues. Second, Republicans drifted away from scientific expertise and consensus while downplaying the need for government regulations to protect public health and the environment.⁴

James Morton Turner and Andrew C. Isenberg argue that part of this reversal of Republican environmental advocacy began with the Reagan administration. The reason for the "Republican reversal" on environmental protection is three-fold. First, conservative ideology has promoted the rollback of the expanding regulatory state, which works against policies that attempt to protect the environment. This conservative ideology has worked in tandem with a growing suspicion of scientific research and technical expertise, especially when conflicting with free-market economics. This suspicion of scientific research has also been amplified by mass misinformation campaigns that attempt to shift the environmental debate in favor of more conservative ideology, as conservatism was increasingly tied up to a deregulatory, anti-big government agenda for the environment. Second, conservative interest groups have been shaping the Republican Party's agenda for the past few decades. This has become a particular issue due to the role of money in the election processes – thus creating more space for anti-environmental special interests to play a role in the policymaking process. Finally, the nature of environmental problems and the scope of environmental governance has changed since the 1970s. At the

³ Ellen Knick Meyer, "Former Bush, Reagan EPA heads warn on Trump rollbacks," AP News, June 11, 2019, <https://apnews.com/492f1497b04e4113af8f0b2b955a6671>

⁴ James Morton Turner and Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Republican Reversal: Conservatives and the Environment from Nixon to Trump* (Harvard University: Cambridge, 2018).

beginning of the environmental movement, the issues of climate change were framed as being clear and simple, as well as the call to action. Beginning in the 1980s, the issue became more complex and the novelty of environmentalism began to wear off. By the 2000s, climate change as a political issue was fairly abstract and complicated, meaning that Republicans could call out the supposedly far reaching nature of the environmental regulatory state, especially in regard to what they considered to be non-critical issues. Ultimately, the Republican opposition to environmental action today stands in stark contrast between the Republican environmental advocacy witnessed in the 1970s.

Republican support of environmental policy remains a critical part of expanding and improving the green state – or the series of environmental legislation and regulation – that exists today. This research attempts to understand what opportunities exist within the Republican Party for environmental protections. First, this paper will perform a statistical analysis to understand what factors affect environmental protection opposition or support among Republicans. Next, this paper will look for patterns among Republicans in Congress that tend to support environmental protection. This paper will then look for opportunities for environmental protection support within the business community. Finally, this paper will outline conservative environmental groups and opportunities for partnership between the organizations and environmental activists. Ultimately, this paper seeks to turn back the Republican reversal and expand environmental protections in the United States through bipartisanship.

Statistical Analysis

LITERATURE REVIEW

The evolution of the Republican Party's position on environmental issues is concerning considering the threat of global warming and other environmental disasters. However, it is important to note that the Republican Party is not a simple monolith, and there remains some variation in voting behavior on environmental issues. It is important to understand voting behavior because it can give insight into which Republicans are persuadable to support environmental protections in the United States.

Discussions of variation in voting behaviors in Congress have been taking place in the academic community. The majority of studies investigating have found that ideology plays a major role in roll-call voting.⁵ There is also evidence that Democrats and Republicans are being sorted ideologically between liberals and conservatives.⁶ It is clear that Republicans have grown more hostile to the cause of environmental protection, ideologically, and GOP legislators have been far more hostile to environmentalism than they were in the 1970s. However, there is some variation in voting behavior – as demonstrated by the variation in League of Conservation Voter Scores in the 115th Congress.⁷

Scholars have researched the influence of partisanship, ideology, and Presidential support on legislators' voting behavior. Patrick Hickey finds that a combination of electoral vulnerability

⁵ James B. Kau and Paul H. Rubin, "Self-Interest, Ideology, and Logrolling in Congressional Voting," *The Journal of Law & Economics* 22, no. 2 (1979); Jon P. Nelson, "'Green' Voting and Ideology: LCV Scores and Roll-Call Voting in the U.S. Senate, 1988-1998," *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 84, no. 3 (2002): 518-529, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3211568>; Shannon Jenkins, "The Impact of Party and Ideology on Roll-Call Voting in State Legislatures," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2006): 235-257.

⁶ Alan Abramowitz, "Ideological Realignment Among Voters," in *New Directions in American Political Parties*, ed. Jeffrey M. Stonecash (New York: Routledge, 2010) 126-145.

⁷ "2018 National Environmental LCV Scorecard," *League of Conservation Voters*, 2018.

and the current president's standing in districts can have an influence on voting across party lines.⁸ Additionally, Lindgren and Southwell find that the more competitive the race and the more heterogeneous the partisan balance in the district, the more moderate the voting record of the winning candidate in the next session of Congress.⁹ Similarly, Griffin found that elected officials who represent more competitive districts are more responsive to their constituents.¹⁰ Ultimately, these studies show that members of Congress take a more moderate stance when their districts are moderate and heterogeneous.

Moreover, there has also been an academic discussion on the effect of campaign contributions on voting behavior. Campaign contributions are understood to correlate to behavior in Congress that aligns with donors beliefs and values.¹¹ Ard, Garcia, and Kelly look at the relationship between PAC contributions from industries that are tied to climate change denial and Congressional voting behavior.¹² They find that taking an additional \$10,000 from climate countermovement industries significantly decreased the odds of the members of Congress taking a pro-environmental stance. Additionally, environmental action or inaction has been correlated to a district's per-capita carbon dioxide footprint. Cragg, Zhou, Gurney, and Kahn, find that

⁸ Patrick T. Hickey, "Electoral Vulnerability and Presidential support in the House of Representatives," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (2019): 75-96.

⁹ Eric Lindgren and Priscilla Southwell, "The Effect of Electoral Competitiveness on Ideological Voting Patterns in the U.S. House, 2002-10," *Politics & Policy* 42, no. 6 (2014): 905-918.

¹⁰ John D. Griffin, "Electoral Competition and Democratic Responsiveness: A Defense of the Marginality Hypothesis," *The Journal of Politics* 68, no. 4 (2006): 911-921.

¹¹ Thomas Stratmann, "What Do Campaign Contributions Buy? Deciphering Causal Effects of Money and Votes," *Southern Economic Journal* 57, no. 3 (1991): 606-620; Matthew C. Fellowes and Patrick J. Wolf, "Funding Mechanisms and Policy Instruments: How Business Campaign Contributions Influence Congressional Votes," *Political Research Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2004): 315-324.

¹² Kelly Ard, Nick Garcia, and Paige Kelly, "Another avenue of action: an examination of climate change countermovement industries' use of PAC donations and their relationship to Congressional voting over time," *Environmental Politics* 26, no. 6 (2017): 1107-1131.

districts with lower per-capita carbon dioxide footprints are more likely to vote in favor of climate change mitigation legislation and the opposite is true in districts where industrial emissions represent a larger share of greenhouse gases emissions.¹³

Overall, there is an absence of analysis on what causes the moderate amount of variation in political behavior in the Republican Party on environmental protections specifically. It is important to account for this variation because of the need for bipartisan support of legislation that protects the environment. Protecting the environment and curbing climate change is one of the most, if not the most important challenges of century. Greenhouse gas emissions have increased by 50 percent from 1990 and are causing long-lasting and irreversible changes to the planet.¹⁴ Climate related disasters have incredible economic, social, and health impacts. Environmental protections and action are necessary to keep this planet functioning as it has throughout its history. Moreover, considering the polarization of the U.S. Congress, it is unlikely that environmental action can make substantial gains without bipartisan support. Therefore, it is critical to have an understanding of where there is room for compromise on environmental legislation. This research attempts to identify room for bipartisanship and fill in the existing gap of understanding political behavior among Republican members of congress on environmental protections.

¹³ Michael I. Cragg, et al., "Carbon Geography: The Political Economy of Congressional Support for Legislation Intended to Mitigate Greenhouse Gas Production," *Economic Inquiry* 51, no. 2 (2013): 1640-1650.

¹⁴ United National Development Programme, "Goal 13: Climate action," *United Nations*, accessed December 1, 2019, <https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals/goal-13-climate-action.html>

DATA AND METHODS

The state of the environment in the twenty-first century highlights a need to unpack variations in Republican rollcall voting on environmental issues. In order to fill in the gap of knowledge on the understanding on variation in political behavior in the Republican Party on environmental protections, an analysis is in order. This section attempts to test a variety of determinants of environmental policy behavior including political competitiveness, urban vs. rural areas, female vs. male members of Congress, southern vs. non-southern states, campaign contributions from oil and energy interests, CO₂ emissions of states, employment of congressional districts and states in extractive industries, and median house hold income. The following sections showcase a multivariate regression to test these hypothesized determinates because it will begin to show a potential causal link between the dependent and independent variables to help account for differences political action on environmental issues.

Dependent Variable

League of Conservation Voter Scores. The nonprofit League of Conservation Voters has published a National Environmental Scorecard every congress since 1970. The National Environmental Scorecard gives scores to every member of Congress to showcase support of the most important environmental-related legislation of that session. This Scorecard is often used to demonstrate members of Congress' friendliness towards a variety of environmental policies. The most recent Scorecard from the League of Conservation Voters looked at the second session of the 115th Congress. This 2018 Scorecard uses a variety of legislation in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Senate Legislation:

- Border Wall funding and anti-immigration policy of H.R. 2579
- EPA Deputy Administrator confirmation of Andrew Wheeler
- Coast Guard Reauthorization Act
- NASA Administrator confirmation of Jim Birdenstine
- Secretary of State confirmation of Mike Pompeo
- Recession package of H.R. 3
- Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals confirmation of Andrew Oldham
- Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals confirmation of Britt Grant
- Supreme Court confirmation of Brett Kavanaugh
- Ninth Circuit Assistant Attorney General for the Environmental and Natural Resources Division confirmation of Jeffrey Bossert Clark
- Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals confirmation of Ryan Nelson
- Federal Energy Regulatory Commission confirmation of Bernard McNamee
- 2018 Farm Bill

House Legislation:

- Blocking Regulatory Interference from Closing Kilns (BRICK) Act of 2019
- Satisfying Energy Needs and Saving the Environment (SENSE) Act
- Salmon Extinction Act,
- Nuclear Waste Policy Amendments Act of 2017
- Nuclear Waste Policy Amendments Act of 2017
- Amendments to the Agriculture and Nutrition Act of 2018
- John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019
- Spending Cuts to Expired and Unnecessary Programs Act
- Energy and Water, Legislative Branch
- Military Construction and Veterans Affairs Appropriations Act and its amendments
- Securing America's Future Act
- Strengthening Fishing Communities and Increasing Flexibility in Fisheries Management Act
- Reclamation Title Transfer and Non-Federal Infrastructure Incentivation Act
- Unfunded Mandates Information and Transparency Act of 2017
- Department of the Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act and its amendments
- H.Con. Res. 119
- Ensuring Small Scale LNG Certainty and Access Act and its amendment
- Manage Our Wolves Act
- Amendment to border wall funding of H.R. 695

The scores from the Senate and the House are used as the dependent variable to test the influences of environmental protection support among Republican members of Congress. Higher scores indicate more environmental support and lower scores indicate less environmental support. The Senate scores range from 0 to 21 and House scores range from 0 to 83. The average score in both the Senate and the House is 8. The median score in the Senate is 7 and the median score in the House is 3. Comparatively, the Senate averaged a score of 95 and the House

averaged a score of 90. Members of Congress who served only a portion of their term in the 115th Congress were not included in this study. Figure 1 shows the distribution of LCV scores in the Senate while figure 2 shows the distribution of LCV scores in the House.

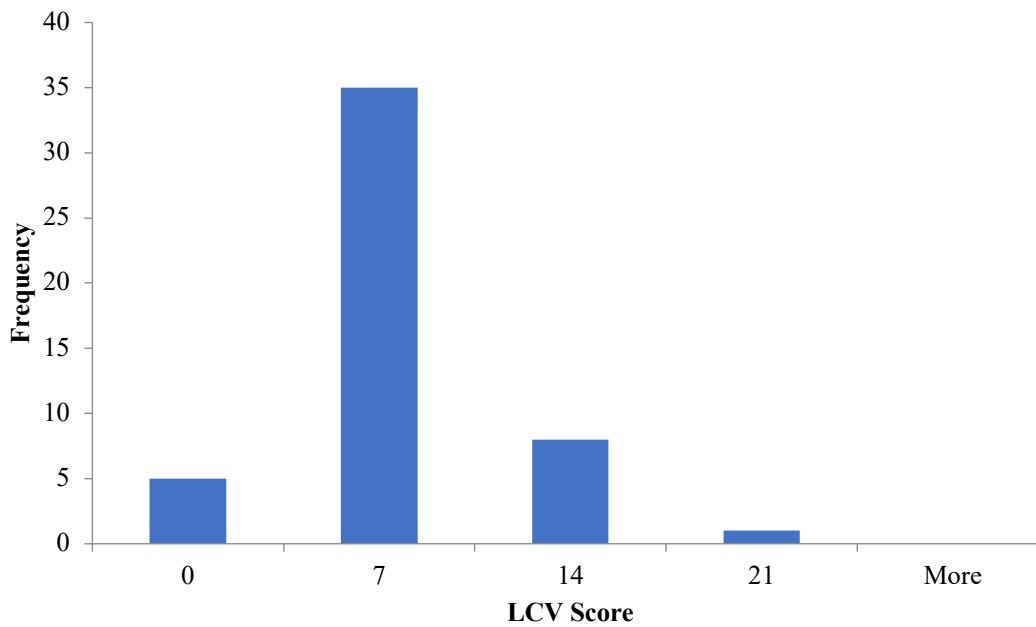


Figure 1. Frequency Distribution of LCV Scores in the Senate.

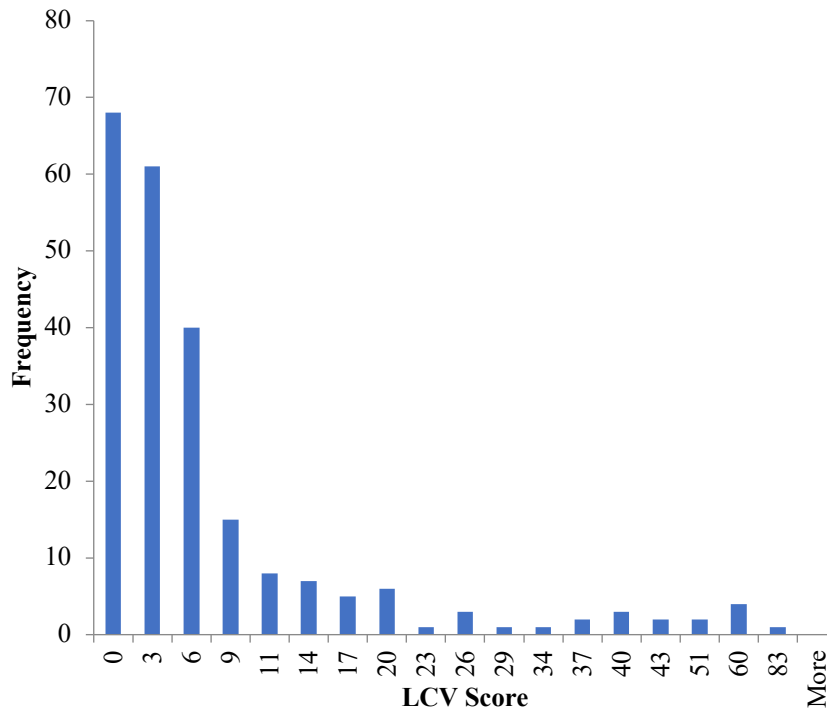


Figure 2. Frequency Distribution of LCV Scores in the House.

Independent Variables

Political Competitiveness. Political competitiveness may be an important predictor because politically competitive districts may encourage more moderate members of Congress. The political competitiveness of states and congressional districts is measured by the Cook Partisan Voting Index (PVI).¹⁵ This index measures the strength of congressional districts' lean towards the Democratic or Republican Party compared to the nation as a whole. A high score indicates a pull towards one political party over the other while a low score indicates a more competitive district. For the sake of this study, positive values are associated with a tendency to lean towards the Republican Party while negative values are associated with a tendency to lean

¹⁵ "2017 Cook Political Report Partisan Voter Index," Cook Political Report, 2017, <https://cookpolitical.com/introducing-2017-cook-political-report-partisan-voter-index>

towards the Democratic Party. Values of zero indicate an evenly competitive district. The PVI only measures congressional districts but does not measure states. To provide a value for entire states, this study takes the average of PVI scores of each district throughout the state to provide one comprehensive state score. Scores ranges from -3 to 25 in the Senate and -6 to 33 in the House. The average score in the Senate is 11 while the average score in the House is 12. The median scores in the Senate and the House are both 11.

Urban v. Rural. The extent to which of states and congressional districts are urban or rural is reflected in the percentage of populations living in urban areas.¹⁶ This may be an important predictor because more urban districts may encourage more environmentally conscious voting behaviors while rural districts may encourage less environmentally conscious voting behaviors. This measure comes from 2010 Census data. This measure of populations living in urban areas range from 40.2 to 91.5 percent in the Senate and from 34.62 to 99.99 percent in the House. The Senate has a mean percentage of 71.57 and a median of 70.97. The House had a mean percentage of 66.64 and a median of 65.6.

Female v. Male. The gender of a member of Congress may be an important predictor because women may be more likely to support environmental legislation while men may be more hesitant.¹⁷ A dummy variable was used to indicate whether a member of Congress is female or male identifying. A vale of zero indicates that the member of Congress is male while a value of 1 indicates that the member of Congress is female. Five of the 49 Republican Senators counted in this study were female, while 20 of the 230 Representatives were female.

¹⁶ “State & Congressional District Urban-Rural Population,” *Proximity One*, 2019, <http://proximityone.com/urban-rural.htm>

¹⁷ Sacit Kose, et. al, “Investigation of Undergraduate Students’ Environmental Attitudes,” *International Electronic Journal of Environmental Education* 1, no. 2 (2011): 85-96.

South v. Non-South. Southern v. non-southern states may be an important predictor because southern states may be less supportive of environmentally friendly legislation than non-southern states. A dummy variable was used to indicate whether a member of Congress represents a southern or non-southern state. A value of zero indicates a member of Congress residing from a non-southern state while a value of 1 indicates a member of Congress residing from a state in the south. States are considered southern if over 50 percent of voters in a Vox poll of 40,000 readers from 2016 consider that state southern.¹⁸ Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, Florida, Virginia, Texas, and Kentucky are all considered to be southern states for the purpose of this study. 31 of the 49 Republican Senators used in this study represent southern states and 102 of the 230 Republican Representatives represent southern districts.

Campaign Contributions from Oil & Energy Interests. Contributions to campaigns from oil and energy interests may be a predictor of members of Congress' voting behavior because campaign donors tend to have correlated interests with the members of Congress that they donate to.¹⁹ Campaign contributions from oil and energy interests are compiled from Open Secrets data from the 2018 election cycle. Campaign contributions range from \$0 to \$757,428 in the Senate and from \$0 to \$469,063 in the House. The Senate Republicans had a mean value of \$75,407 and a median value of \$28,900. The House Republicans had a mean value of \$64,763 and a median value of \$38,362.

¹⁸ Soo Oh, "Which states count as the South, according to more than 40,000 readers," *Vox*, September 30, 2016, <https://www.vox.com/2016/9/30/12992066/south-analysis>.

¹⁹ Kelly Ard, Nick Garcia, and Paige Kelly, "Another avenue of action: an examination of climate change countermovement industries' use of PAC donations and their relationship to Congressional voting over time," *Environmental Politics* 26, no. 6 (2017): 1107-1131.

CO₂ Emissions. Carbon dioxide emissions may be a good predictor of legislative voting because it shows a state's reliance on carbon in members of congress' state. Carbon dioxide emissions are compiled from Arizona State University's Vulcan Project, which aims to quantify all fossil fuel CO₂ emissions from high space- and time-resolution.²⁰ The most recent Vulcan Project data is provided from 2002 and looks at per capita emissions in million tons of carbon in all sectors. The CO₂ emissions range from 4.5 to 16.43 from states represented by Republicans in the Senate and 2.6 to 16.7 from states represented in the House. The mean value in the Senate is 8.1 and is 6.32 in the House. The median value is 6.8 in the Senate and 5.9 in the House.

Extractive Industry Employment. The amount of people employed in extractive industries may be a good predictor of environmental voting because members of congress may be less likely to support environmental legislation if they believe it will affect jobs in their districts and states. Employment in extractive industries are compiled from the 2017 American Community Survey.²¹ The values in the regression are represented as percentages of the population of state or district represented that are employed in agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining. The average value in the Senate is 1.9 percent and the median is 1.5 percent. The average and median value in the House is both 0.06 percent.

Median Household Income. Household income may be a predictor of environmental protection support because higher incomes may translate to more environmental concern due to the prioritization of issues. Median household incomes are compiled from the 2018 American Community Survey.²² The average median household income in the Senate is \$56,954 and the

²⁰ "Vulcan Data," *Northern Arizona University*, 2002, <http://vulcan.rc.nau.edu/Data.html>.

²¹ "Congressional District Economic Data Analytics," *Proximity One*, October 2018, <http://proximityone.com/cd171dp3.htm>.

²² "U.S. & State Median Household Income; 2005-2018," *Proximity One*, 2018, <http://proximityone.com/mhitrends.htm>.

median is \$56,193. The average median household income in the House is \$78,267 and the median is \$72,901.

RESULTS

Cross tabulations were carried out to investigate the statistical relationship between LCV scores and hypothesized determinates (Tables 1-8) as well as scatterplots to show the distribution of LCV scores (Appendix). Chi-square tests were used to measure the relationship between LCV scores and hypothesized determinates.

Table 1. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and PVI Scores.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low PVI Scores	87.5	6.3	6.3	16
Med PVI Scores	81	19	0	21
High PVI Scores	83.3	16.7	0	12

The cross tabulation of Senate LCV scores and PVI scores (Table 1) has a chi-square p-value of 0.525. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are independent of PVI scores.

Table 2. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and Urban Density.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Urban	75	16.7	8.3	12
Medium Urban	84	16	0	25
High Urban	91.7	8.3	0	12

The cross tabulation of Senate LCV scores and urban density (Table 2) has a chi-square p-value of 0.149. The p-value is great than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are independent of urban density.

Table 3. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and Gender.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Male	86.4	13.6	0	44
Female	60	20	20	5

The cross tabulation of Senate LCV scores and gender (Table 3) has a chi-square p-value of 0.009. The p-value is less than 0.05, meaning we can reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are not independent of gender.

Table 4. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and Southern States.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Non-South	67.7	16	3.2	31
South	88.9	11.1	0	18

The cross tabulation of Senate LCV scores and southern states (Table 4) has a chi-square p-value of 0.58. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are independent of whether or not a state is southern.

Table 5. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and Oil & Gas Campaign Contributions.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Contribution	84.2	15.8	0	19
Med Contribution	82.6	21.7	4.3	23
High Contribution	85.7	14.3	0	7

The cross tabulation of Senate LCV scores and oil and gas campaign contributions (Table 5) has a chi-square p-value of 0.412. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are independent of oil and gas campaign contributions.

Table 6. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and CO₂ Emissions.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Emissions	94.4	0	5.6	18
Med Emissions	71.4	28.6	0	21
High Emissions	90	10	0	10

The cross tabulation of Senate LCV scores and CO₂ emissions (Table 6) has a chi-square p-value of 0.0782. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are independent of CO₂ emissions.

Table 7. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and Extractive Industry Employment.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Employment	87.9	9.1	3	33
Med Employment	84.6	15.4	0	13
High Employment	100	0	0	3

The cross-tabulation of Senate LCV scores and extractive industry employment (Table 7) has a chi-square p-value of 0.403. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are independent of extractive industry employment.

Table 8. Cross Tabulation of Senate LCV Scores and Household Income.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Income	100	0	0	7
Med Income	80.6	16.1	3.2	31
High Income	83.3	16.7	0	12

The cross-tabulation of Senate LCV scores and household income (Table 8) has a chi-square p-value of 0.621. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that Senate LCV scores are independent of household income.

Table 9. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and PVI Scores.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low PVI Scores	52.8	33.3	13.9	72
Med PVI Scores	89.9	8.5	1.6	129
High PVI Scores	100	0	0	29

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and PVI scores (Table 9) has a chi-square p-value of 1.185×10^{-9} . The p-value is less than 0.05, meaning we can reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are not independent of PVI scores.

Table 10. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and Urban Density.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Urban	82.7	13.8	3.4	29
Medium Urban	88.6	9.5	1.9	105
High Urban	68.8	21.9	9.4	96

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and urban density (Table 10) has a chi-square p-value of 0.0078. The p-value is less than 0.05, meaning we can reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are not independent of urban density.

Table 11. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and Gender.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Male	80	15.7	5.2	210
Female	75	10	5	20

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and gender (Table 11) has a chi-square p-value of 0.769. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are independent of gender.

Table 12. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and Southern States.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Non-South	87.2	8.9	3.9	102
South	73.4	20.3	6.3	128

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and southern states (Table 12) has a chi-square p-value of 0.0378. The p-value is less than 0.05, meaning we can reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are not independent of southern states.

Table 13. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and Oil & Gas Campaign Contributions.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Contribution	82	15.4	2.6	39
Med Contribution	79	15.5	5.4	148
High Contribution	79.1	14	7	43

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and oil and gas campaign contributions (Table 13) has a chi-square p-value of 0.896. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are independent of oil and gas campaign contributions.

Table 14. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and CO₂ Emissions.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Emissions	80.5	19.5	9.3	118
Med Emissions	74.7	10.1	1.3	79
High Emissions	87.9	12.1	0	33

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and CO₂ emissions (Table 14) has a chi-square p-value of 0.0129. The p-value is less than 0.05, meaning we can reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are not independent of CO₂ emissions.

Table 15. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and Extractive Industry Employment.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Employment	74.1	17.3	4.9	81
Med Employment	82.6	13.9	5.6	144
High Employment	80	20	0	5

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and extractive industry employment (Table 15) has a chi-square p-value of 0.893. The p-value is greater than 0.05, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are independent of extractive industry employment.

Table 16. Cross Tabulation of House LCV Scores and Household Income.

	Low LCV Scores (%)	Med LCV Scores (%)	High LCV Scores (%)	N
Low Income	76.9	7.7	0	52
Med Income	84.5	15.5	5.4	148
High Income	60	26.7	13.3	30

The cross tabulation of House LCV scores and household income (Table 16) has a chi-square p-value of 0.011. The p-value is less than 0.05, meaning we can reject the null hypothesis, thus concluding that House LCV scores are not independent of household income.

A multivariate regression is used to provide a fuller picture of the relationship between LCV scores in the Senate and the House with the hypothesized determinates (Table 17 and Table 18). The results show that political competitiveness of districts or states, southernness of states, CO₂ emissions of states, extractive industry employment of district or states, and median household income of district or state are not statistically significant determinants of environmental legislation in the Senate or the House of Representatives.

However, the urban density of a state had a negative relationship to environmental protection support in the Senate when existing in a model without accounting for gender. Urban density in Model 7 had a regression coefficient of -0.170. Additionally, the gender of a Senator

had a statistically significant relationship to environmental protection support when existing in a model not accounting for the urban density of a state, indicating that female senators tend to have higher LCV scores compared to male senators. Model 8 shows that gender has a regression coefficient of 4.386. Moreover, median household income had a slight positive relationship to support for environmental protection in the House of Representatives.

Table 17. Regression of Influence of Variables on Republican Environmental Protection Support in the 115th U.S. Senate

Regression of Influence of Variables on Republican Environmental Protection Support in the 115th Senate									
Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Political Competativeness	0.091132	0.059689	0.079342	0.070851	0.063522	0.092196	0.071783	0.082812	
Urban	-0.130523	-0.084546	-0.115775	-0.132974	-0.078000	-0.127862	*-0.170268		-0.127655
Female Member of Congress	2.756817	3.158918	2.967110	2.570614	3.265248	2.870443		*4.386243	2.483407
Southern State	-0.274892	-0.737886	0.044838	-0.474663	0.646322		-0.918955	0.343433	-0.360135
Campaign Contributions	0.000009	0.000008	0.000008	0.000008		0.000008	0.000010	0.000005	0.000008
CO2 emissions	-0.081232	-0.066440	-0.110639		-0.059907	-0.085513	-0.058611	-0.093442	-0.046418
Extractive Industry Employment	-31.321361	-10.512174		-54.218680	4.778244	-25.985901	-51.212705	25.866691	-15.563889
Median Household Income	0.000131		0.000118	0.000124	0.000109	0.000136	0.000156	0.000015	0.000104
Adj R Square	0.025054	0.020848	0.044480	0.040043	-0.020269	0.048195	0.012594	-0.021507	0.031905
N	49	49	49	49	49	49	49.000	49	49

*p<0.5; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 18. Regression of Influence of Variables on Republican Environmental Protection Support in the 115th U.S. House

Regression of Influence of Variables on Republican Environmental Protection Support in the 115th House									
Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Political Competativeness	-0.58608	-0.60937	-0.56238	-0.64058	-0.58372	-0.60563	-0.58689	-0.56917	
Urban	-0.03110	0.03237	-0.03011	-0.02701	-0.03232	-0.03460	-0.03121		0.03879
Female Member of Congress	0.59580	0.55522	0.28607	0.70680	0.55141	0.62950		0.60758	0.97208
Southern State	-1.08719	-1.24736	-0.74024	-1.10697	-1.07413		-1.09389	-1.16549	-2.89651
Campaign Contributions	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	-0.00001		0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
CO2 emissions	-0.43239	-0.46810	-0.46460		-0.45248	-0.43421	-0.43442	-0.42397	-0.89661
Extractive Industry Employment	74.38913	66.40124		81.93784	72.73167	66.90597	73.05968	73.91164	27.10730
Median Household Income	0.00011		0.00010	0.00011	0.00011	0.00011	0.00011	0.00009	*0.00013
Adj R Square	0.21768	0.18056	0.18783	0.18595	0.19267	0.19138	0.19283	0.19196	0.11147
N	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230	230

*p<0.5; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

DISCUSSION

The regressions and cross tabulations demonstrate that there is not a considerably significant relationship between any of the hypothesized predictors on support for environmental

legislation. Further research will be required to account for variation in support for environmental legislation in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The chi-square test shows that there is a relationship between some of the hypothesized determinates and LCV scores for Senators and Representatives, including political competitiveness, urban density, gender, southern states, CO₂ emissions, and household income. It is important to note, however, that the chi-square p-value results of the Senate differed from the House for all of the independent variables. However, Senators and Representatives may simply behave differently based on their respective roles and legislation that they voted on in the 115th Congressional session.

The reason for these results may be due to a couple of factors. First, the dependent variable of League of Conservation Voter scores may not have enough variation in values to be able to accurately measure the effects of the hypothesized determinates. Second, the hypothesized determinates may not accurately account for variation in League of Conservation Voter scores because there are other independent variables that are better determinates of the score variations. Future research should continue to hypothesize potential determinates of support for environmental legislation to better understand variation in Republican members of Congress.

The scatterplots of LCV scores and each of the hypothesized determinates (Figures 3-14) showcase a limitation to this study, as there tends to be a concentration of points in one graphical location. Visually, it is difficult to determine if there is a relationship between hypothesized determinates for Senate LCV scores because of the limited variation in LCV scores. Some of the scatterplots for the House LCV score distribution give hints to visual relationships between independent and dependent variables. For example, the PVI scores are distributed in a downward

formation, suggesting that there is negative relationship between PVI and LCV scores. The same pattern is visible in campaign contribution and CO₂ emissions scatterplots. There appears to be a positive relationship between LCV Scores and urban density with the distribution of values being upward sloping. Extractive industry employment and household income do not suggest any visual relationship with LCV scores.

The purpose of this study is to find Republican members of Congress that may be persuadable on environmental issues when considering their variation in environmental voting. The results of this study show that there is no clear statistically significant correlation between the hypothesized determinates and support for environmental protection. Therefore, this study does not show any clear area where Republicans can be persuaded on environmental issues. However, this does not mean that bipartisan support on environmental protections is impossible, as there remains some variation in Republican voting on the environment. Future research would benefit from pursuing this research again, but perhaps with different measures of the independent and dependent variables. Finally, a series of case studies may be helpful to further investigate voting behavior of U.S. members of Congress on environmental issues. Ultimately, future research is critical so that the United States plays its role in protecting the environment and addressing climate change.

Members of Congress

Republican voting for environmental protection policy in the past twenty years has been grim. The average League of Conservation Voter scores of Republicans in the Senate and House of Representatives in 2018 averaged only 8 percent, compared to 95 and 90 percent for Democrats in the Senate and House, respectively. The lack of results from the statistical analysis in the previous section are yet another example that Republicans are moving further to the right on environmental issues. However, there have been some Republicans that have worked across party lines in the past couple of decades, demonstrating that there may be hope for some sort of bipartisan legislation in the future. This section seeks to continue the hunt for conservatives who may be sympathetic to environmental protections – providing insight on who climate activists can work with and what kind of legislation may be most likely to pass with these Republicans' support.

Rep. Chris Smith, District 4 – New Jersey

Republican Representative Chris Smith has been serving the fourth district of New Jersey for twenty two-year terms since 1981. In an increasingly blue state, District 4 is the most Republican-leaning district in New Jersey and is considered one of the most conservative congressional districts in the Northeast. Smith's most recent victory was in November 2018, where he secured 56 percent of the vote against his Democratic challenger.²³ During that election, four of New Jersey's House seats switched from Republican to Democrat – leaving Smith to be the sole Republican in New Jersey's congressional delegation. In 2017, Smith was ranked the twenty-fourth most bipartisan member of Congress and the fifth biggest dissenter

²³“Rep. Christopher H. Smith wins New Jersey's 4th Congressional District seat,” *Washington Post*, April 8, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/election-results/new-jersey-4th-congressional-district/>.

from the Republican Party line. In an article released shortly after the 2018 midterm, Smith commented that his independence in Congress might have allowed him to avoid being swept away by the blue wave.²⁴ He kept his seat after a session filled with votes in opposition to President Trump: in the 155th Congress, Smith's votes aligned with Trump's position only fifty percent of the time.²⁵ In the following Congressional session after the 2018 midterm, Smith aligned with Trump on 80 percent of his votes, with only three House Republicans agreeing with Trump less. Smith's independent nature is highlighted in his stances on variety of environmental policy issues. The League of Conservation Voters gives Smith a lifetime score of sixty percent and a score of sixty-one percent in the 115th Congress.²⁶ Comparatively, the Republicans in the House averaged a score of only eight percent in the 115th Congress.

Considering New Jersey's 4th District's coastal location, Representative Smith has been fairly vocal in Congress in regard to keeping the coasts clean. In particular, Smith spoke up against the Trump administration's attempts to make dramatic changes to Obama era restrictions on offshore leasing for oil and gas. In January 2018, the Trump administration proposed The National Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Program. This program would allow offshore drilling in the Pacific, Arctic and Atlantic, thus impacting the Jersey shore – an area that the state of New Jersey is heavily reliant on for a variety of economic activities. Smith released

²⁴“The Last Republican. Chris Smith is the lone survivor of N.J.’s blue wave in Washington,” *NJ.com*, January 29, 2019, https://www.nj.com/politics/2018/11/the_last_republican_chris_smith_is_the_lone_survivor_of_new_jerseys_blue_wave.html

²⁵ “Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump,” FiveThirtyEight, last modified March 25, 2020, <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/house/>.

²⁶ League of Conservation Voters, “2018 National Environmental LCV Scorecard: Second Session of the 115th Congress,” 2018, https://scorecard.lcv.org/sites/scorecard.lcv.org/files/2018_LCV_Scorecard.pdf.

an official statement explaining his adamant opposition to the program: “I am unalterably opposed to this proposal [...] opening the Atlantic Coast to oil and gas exploration poses serious risks to the local marine wildlife, the fish populations which our commercial fishermen rely upon for their livelihood, and seriously threatens our pristine state beaches that we enjoy and rely upon for economic activity.”²⁷ Additionally, Smith cited a need for energy independence. In the same statement, Smith criticized the Obama administration on its proposal to open areas of the Atlantic Coast to seismic testing for gas drillings, which was later denied after opposition from members of Congress. Several other lawmakers along the country’s coast stood in opposition to Trump’s proposed program.²⁸ After opposition from Florida’s governor, the Trump administration allowed an exception to the program to not take place on Florida’s coast, because of Florida’s heavy reliance on tourism in its economy. Smith attempted to make the same argument for New Jersey in hopes of another program exception. Ultimately, a federal judge in Alaska overturned the proposal to oil and gas leasing, halting the program from going any further – saving and preserving New Jersey’s coasts.

In 2009, Smith made a monumental vote for a notable piece of environmental legislation that would help shift the economy away from carbon and towards more sustainable sources of energy through the use of a cap and trade system. The passage of the American Clean Energy and Security Act through the House of Representatives was made possible by eight Republican Representatives voting across party lines, including Representative Smith. In a press release from

²⁷ Matt Hadro, “Here We Go Again: Just Like Under Obama, Offshore Oil Drilling Once Again On the Table,” U.S. Congressman Chris Smith, January 8, 2018, <https://chrissmith.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=400823>

²⁸ Dan Merica, “Nearly every governor with ocean coastline opposes Trump’s drilling proposal,” CNN, January 12, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/11/politics/governors-ocean-coastline-offshore-drilling-trump/index.html>

his office, Smith pledged his support for the legislation, although noting that the decision was not an easy one.²⁹ Smith discussed his work with families combating various diseases and noted how this made him “acutely” aware of concerns of environmental pollutants that may be pathways to diseases and disability. Additionally, Smith noted that this bill, on balance was a step forward in decreasing America’s dependence on oil from the Middle East, citing the necessity of energy independence for the sake of the nation’s “future security and prosperity.” In addition to Smith, two of the eight Republican supporters of the American Clean Energy and Security Act were from New Jersey. Representative LoBiondo, a New Jersey Republican who often voted for more progressive environmental policies, noted that the state had little to lose with the bill because of its preexisting high clean air standards.³⁰ Representative Lance, another Republican from New Jersey in support of the bill made clear that the state would reap big benefits from the bill, ranking third behind California and Washington in possible allowances, potentially totaling \$104 million. Despite this support from the New Jersey delegation in the House, the bill never reached the floor of the Senate.

In addition to protecting the New Jersey coastline and instituting a comprehensive energy package to address climate change, Smith has taken action on other environmental policy issues. For example, Smith introduced the Regional Ocean Partnership Bill to address ocean and coastal concerns.³¹ The bill would formally authorize Regional Ocean Partnerships as partners with the

²⁹ "On Global Warming - Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ) News Release," *Government Press Releases (USA)*, July 10, 2009, <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/129607E3C456A438>.

³⁰ Bob Braun, "N.J. Republicans give energy bill a boost," *Star-Ledger*, July 6, 2009, <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/12948D98DC591868>.

³¹ "Rep. Crist Introduces Regional Ocean Partnership Bill, Addresses Ocean and Coastal Concerns," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, December 13, 2019,

federal government to take action on ocean issues. These partnerships are regional organizations to address regional ocean and coastal concerns. While supporting this bill, Smith mentioned the importance of these Regional Ocean Partnerships for shore-based tourism economies, including New Jersey's. In 2019, similar legislation was introduced to provide these Regional Ocean Partnerships with more consistent funding to help them perform their missions. In addition, Smith worked again to protect the landscape of his district by helping to secure funding that would assist with the dredging of state channels impacted by Hurricane Sandy.³²

Overall, Chris Smith shows unique concern for the environment in his position as Representative. In particular, Smith has taken action on issues that impact the New Jersey coast, such as offshore drilling and securing funding for natural disaster recovery projects. This concern for local issues goes hand in hand with concerns for the economic interests of his district. Economic impacts are a common motivator behind the majority of actions taken by Smith, rather than an intrinsic need because of the general dangers of climate change and environmental degradation. In addition, Smith justifies his environmental advocacy by intersecting them with other issues that he champions. For example, Smith takes a considerable amount of action in Congress in regard to public health issues and makes it a point to tie the impacts of a changing climate on the health of his district. Ultimately, Smith's moderation on a wide range of policy issues demonstrate his independent nature, and it should be no surprise that he has moderate views on environmental policy issues in particular.

<https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/177D3B27B646CA68>.

³² "Smith: \$28M in Federal Funding to Dredge State Channels Impacted by Sandy; Shark River Will Be Among the Projects Funded by FEMA," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, October 9, 2015. <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/1585E329709F5788>.

Rep. Brian Fitzpatrick, District 1 – Pennsylvania

Brian Fitzpatrick was elected as the Representative of Pennsylvania’s fifth district in 2016 and was elected to Pennsylvania’s first district following state redistricting in 2018. Fitzpatrick’s seat has a history of supporting moderate Republicans, as its constituency is considered to be pro-business, but environmentally conscious and socially openminded.³³ Additionally, Fitzpatrick’s district has a partisan voting index leaning towards the Republican Party by only two points. The 2018 midterm election proved to be competitive between Fitzpatrick and his Democratic challenger and was Pennsylvania’s most expensive U.S. House race that year. While in office, Fitzpatrick has made a name for himself as a centrist Republican who is not hesitant to vote in opposition to the party. In his two terms, Fitzpatrick has voted in line with President Trump’s position only 65.6 percent of the time.³⁴ His moderation is showcased in his involvement in his committee and caucus memberships, as Fitzpatrick is a member of the No Labels ‘Problem Solvers Caucus’, a bipartisan group dedicated to finding co-operation on key policy issues.

Fitzpatrick has also broken across party lines in his support for a range of environmental policies. The League of Conservation Voters gives Fitzpatrick a lifetime score of 77 percent – well above the average score for House Republicans.³⁵ Fitzpatrick is a member of the Climate Solutions Caucus and was the 2017 recipient of the Climate Leadership Award for “extraordinary leadership and bold commitment to environmental stewardship, awarded by the

³³ Mark K., Matthews, “Meet the other Republican who wants a carbon tax,” *E&E News*, July 27, 2018, <https://www.eenews.net/stories/1060091355>.

³⁴ “Tracking Congress In The Age Of Trump: Brian Fitzpatrick,” *FiveThirtyEight*, March 25, 2020, <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/brian-fitzpatrick/>.

³⁵ League of Conservation Voters, “National Environmental Scorecard: Representative Brian Fitzpatrick,” accessed March 1, 2020, <https://scorecard.lcv.org/moc/brian-fitzpatrick>.

bipartisan Citizen's Climate Lobby. Environmental stewardship is an important issue for Pennsylvania's first district, as 70,000 local residents were said to have contaminated drinking water linked to firefighting foam used at military bases.³⁶ During his first few months in office, Fitzpatrick and sixteen other Republican lawmakers signed a resolutions warning that "the consequences of a changing climate have the potential to adversely impact all Americans."³⁷ The resolution came about at a time when President Trump began working to dismantle environmental policies put in place by the Obama administration. The resolution sought to tackle climate change in an innovative way while addressing in the importance of protecting and creating American jobs. Ultimately, Fitzpatrick has continuously reiterated a need for independent voices when it comes to the environment. In a 2017 Earth Day statement, Fitzpatrick explained that "while there is room for debate and discussion on the issue, it is vital that we never politicize protecting our environment or let partisanship prevent Washington from accomplishing common goals."³⁸

In 2019, Fitzpatrick introduced a bipartisan bill to combat climate change through the implementation of a fee on carbon. The Modernizing America with Rebuilding to Kick-Start the Economy of the Twenty-First Century (MARKET CHOICE) Act would provide funding for infrastructure development and enhancement with a tax of \$35 per metric ton of carbon dioxide

³⁶ Matthews, "Meet the other Republican,"

³⁷ Clare Foran, "The House Republicans Calling for Climate Action in the Trump Era," *Atlantic*, March 15, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/03/house-republicans-climate-change-global-warming-trump/518430/>.

³⁸ "Fitzpatrick Statement on Earth Day 2017," United States Representative Brian Fitzpatrick, April 22, 2017, <https://fitzpatrick.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/fitzpatrick-statement-earth-day-2017>.

emissions starting in 2021.³⁹ In a press release, Fitzpatrick noted that the country is “at a crossroads with regard to infrastructure and climate change.” The previous year, Fitzpatrick sponsored the Energy Innovation and Carbon Dividend Act, a similar bill that would give net revenue back to households as a rebate instead of towards infrastructure projects.⁴⁰ Both attempts at a carbon tax failed to move forward in the House.

Fitzpatrick has been involved with other various environmental legislation during his time in office. In particular, Fitzpatrick introduced a bipartisan piece of legislation to protect the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in the Udall-Eisenhower Arctic Wilderness Act of 2017. The bill would designate a 1.5 million-acre coastal plain as wilderness to protect the area from damaging activities, such as oil and gas drillings.⁴¹ Later that same year, Fitzpatrick and five other House Republicans sent a letter to Budget Committee leaders to reject language in the fiscal 2018 budget that supports opening up the Arctic National Wildlife Center to drilling. In addition, Fitzpatrick has advocated for increasing funding for the protection of the Delaware River Basin – an issue impacting his own state to support continuing recovery from pollution and degradation.⁴² Moreover, Fitzpatrick supported a resolution to reaffirm that Congress remains

³⁹Miranda Green, “GOP congressman introduces bipartisan carbon tax bill,” *The Hill*, September 26, 2019, <https://thehill.com/policy/energy-environment/463269-gop-congressman-introduces-bi-partisan-carbon-tax-bill>.

⁴⁰Nick Sobczyk, “Lawmakers roll out landmark bipartisan carbon bill,” *E&E News*, November 28, 2018, <https://www.eenews.net/stories/1060107547>.

⁴¹“Reps. Huffman, Fitzpatrick, Gallego, & LoBiondo Introduce Bipartisan Legislation to Protect the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge,” United States Representative Brian Fitzpatrick, April 4, 2017, <https://fitzpatrick.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/rep-huffman-fitzpatrick-gallego-lobiondo-introduce-bipartisan>.

⁴²“Fitzpatrick, Watson Coleman, Boyle Announce Increase in Funding for Protection of the Delaware River Basin,” United States Representative Brian Fitzpatrick, May 21, 2019, <https://fitzpatrick.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/fitzpatrick-watson-coleman-boyle-announce-increase-funding-protection>.

committed to the Paris Agreement to combat climate change.⁴³ Fitzpatrick noted in a press release that climate change requires global solutions and the United States should play an “indispensable role in providing the global leadership and clarity needed by making a firm promise to stay in the historic Paris Agreement.

Brian Fitzpatrick has an incredibly robust career of environmental advocacy when considering his membership to the Republican Party. Overall, Fitzpatrick has been outspoken in his disapproval of Trump administration environmental policy repeals and this has been made possible by his district’s history of supporting moderate candidates. Fitzpatrick’s environmental record demonstrates what type of policies he typically advocates for. In particular, Fitzpatrick has an approach to address environmental concerns by associating policies with issues that both parties care about, such as utilizing a carbon tax to help support the funding of infrastructure projects around the country. Additionally, Fitzpatrick is an advocate for issues that affect his region and state specifically – allowing him to bring clear environmental improvements to his district. Finally, Fitzpatrick supports global solutions to climate change and believes in the United States potential to play a leadership role in global environmental issues. Ultimately, Fitzpatrick is a moderate Republican that has demonstrated his concern for a range of environmental issues and his actions are aided specifically by his moderation.

Rep. Elise Stefanik, District 21 – New York

Elise Stefanik has served as the U.S. Representative for New York’s 21st district since 2015 and is the youngest Republican women ever elected to Congress in the history of the United States. New York’s 21st district is primarily rural and includes most of the Adirondack

⁴³ “Fitzpatrick, Huffman, Beyer, 56 Lawmakers Introduce Still-In Paris Resolution,” United States Representative Brian Fitzpatrick, February 12, 2019, <https://fitzpatrick.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/fitzpatrick-huffman-beyer-56-lawmakers-introduce-still-paris-resolution>.

Mountains. The district has a Cook's partisan voting index leaning Republican by only four points.⁴⁴ Stefanik flipped the House seat in 2014 after it was held by three Democrats since 1993. Currently, Stefanik is a member of the Armed Services Committee, the Committee on Education and Labor, and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Stefanik has attempted to demonstrate her bipartisanship and make it a part of her political brand.⁴⁵ Her voting record aligns with Trump's position 77.4 percent of the time – 89.6 percent in the 115th Congress and 60.3 percent in the 116th Congress. Stefanik's attempts at bipartisanship extend into some environmental policies. Stefanik has a League of Conservation Voter lifetime score of 33 and a 2018 score of 51.⁴⁶ Her district has had a history of environmental concern given its location in the Adirondack Mountains and its economic reliance on tourism. Stefanik has demonstrated this environmental concern through her service on the bipartisan Climate Solution Caucus.

President Trump announced that he would be pulling the United States out of the Paris Climate Agreement in June of 2017. Shortly after President Trump's announcement, there was disagreement within the bipartisan Climate Solutions Caucus on condemnation of the withdraw. Initially, Elise Stefanik made was reluctant to make a statement on the matter aside from explaining that Obama "should not have entered into [the] agreement without consulting Congress."⁴⁷ Later, Stefanik released a formal statement that called the Paris Agreement

⁴⁴ "2017 Cook Political Report Partisan Voter Index."

⁴⁵ Pete DeMola, "For Stefanik, bipartisanship is a choice — and so is crafting solutions to gridlock - Lawmaker touts proactive record as she heads into fourth year in office," *Sun, The (Elizabethtown, NY)*, February 19, 2018, <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/16A2DDA4AE007D40>.

⁴⁶ League of Conservation Voters, "2018 Scorecard."

⁴⁷ Emily Atkin, "Congress' Bipartisan Climate Club Doesn't Agree on Much - A handful of Democrats and Republicans in Congress have joined forces to find political solutions to climate change. But if they can't even agree on Trump's Paris withdrawal, how can they accomplish anything?." *New Republic, The: Web Edition Articles*, June 7, 2017,

withdraw “misguided” and expressed that it “harms the ongoing effort to fight climate change while also isolating [the United States] from its allies.”⁴⁸ Stefanik emphasized that her district knows that protecting the environment goes hand in hand with strengthening the economy.⁴⁹ In May 2019, Stefanik supported the Climate Action Now Act, an act that directs the President to develop a plan to meet the U.S. obligations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions under the Paris Climate Agreement and seeks to block the Trump administration from exiting the agreement. Stefanik was one of three Republicans crossing party lines for the measure. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell said that the act would not move through the Senate.

Stefanik emphasizes the way in which the United States should increase its energy independence and support renewable energy projects. In 2015, Stefanik cosponsored the Power Efficiency and Resiliency Act or the POWER Act, which would amend the tax code to provide twenty percent increase in tax relief to consumers who purchase renewable energy producing items.⁵⁰ In 2019, Stefanik introduced the Renewable Electricity Tax Credit Equalization Act. The bill is a bipartisan attempt to incentivize renewable energy through the extension of a tax credit for investment in certain qualified investment credit facilities and production of electricity for

<https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/16AF3F6C160C0EE8>.

⁴⁸ "Rep. Stefanik continues balancing act on climate change," *Post-Star, The (Glens Falls, NY)*, June 3, 2017, <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/164CBD187A9C9F98>.

⁴⁹ "Rep. Stefanik: President Trump's Paris Decision a 'Mistake'," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, June 2, 2017, <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/164C84C86BE4FBF8>.

⁵⁰ "Congresswoman Stefanik Cosponsors the POWER Act," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, October 23, 2015, <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/158A7A8868E81390>.

certain renewable resources.⁵¹ The bill has been praised by industry trade groups.⁵² Additionally, Stefanik believes that the government places unnecessary mandates and regulations on energy suppliers that hinder the production and innovation of sustainable, renewable energy. Later in 2019, Stefanik cosponsored the Biomass Thermal Utilization Act.⁵³ The legislation is another attempt to renewable energy technology tax credits to include high efficiency biomass thermal technologies. Overall, Stefanik has demonstrated an emphasis on promoting renewable technology use through amendments to the tax code.

Several common themes emerge from Elise Stefanik's action on environmental policy in Congress. First, a significant amount of Stefanik's environmental policies are associated with renewable energy, and in particular, biomass energy. With this renewable energy, Stefanik believes in the utilization of entrepreneurial approaches rather than restrictive ones. For example, Stefanik has a history of supporting legislation that integrates the use of tax code revisions to provide incentives for individuals and companies to use renewable energy and receive tax breaks. Other approaches, such as putting government-imposed restrictions are not as favorable to Stefanik. Overall, we can see that Stefanik's recognition of environmental issues and climate change make her more willing to take more progressive environmental policy approaches. However, her conservative approach to tackling environmental concerns limit her ability to support a more comprehensive range of environmental policies.

⁵¹ "Stefanik Introduces Renewable Electricity Tax Credit Equalization Act," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, August 14, 2019, <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/17555649D019D768>.

⁵² <https://www.eenews.net/greenwire/stories/1060960735/search?keyword=renewable+electricity+tax+credit+equalization+act>

⁵³ "Rep. Stefanik Cosponsors Bill to Provide Tax Credits for Biomass Heating Appliances," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, December 6, 2019, <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/177AEC58E759AF48>.

Sen. Susan Collins – Maine

Susan Collins has served Maine in the United States senate since 1997. Collins is a moderate standout leader in the Senate, where she is the chair of the Senate Aging Committee and the Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee. The state of Maine leans Democrat, with a Democratic governor and Representative delegation in 2020. Collins is moderate on a variety of issues, including abortion, healthcare, and gun regulation and has been ranked the most bipartisan member of Congress for the sixth consecutive year. Two-thirds of the bills Collins has sponsored were introduced by members of the opposite party. Collins has also led bipartisan Senate groups in the past and has voted in line with President Trump's position only 66.9 percent of the time throughout his presidency.⁵⁴ This moderateness is a large part of Collins' political brand and is particularly notable during this political climate. The 2020 election is expected to be a difficult race for Collins considering recent votes to acquit President Trump on impeachment charges and to confirm Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court.⁵⁵

Senator Collins is a prominent leader in the Senate with environmental issues and is often considered the most liberal Senate Republican on environmental policy.⁵⁶ Collins has a 2018 League of Conservation Voters score of 21 percent – the highest in the Senate that year – and a lifetime score of 61 percent. The League of Conservation and the Environmental Defense Fund have endorsed Collins in the past for her environmental leadership, including her involvement with attempting to protect the Clean Power Plan and her commitment to the Paris Climate

⁵⁴ Ella Nilsen, "The bipartisan group behind Se. Susan Collins's 'talking stick,' explained," *Vox*, January 23, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/1/23/16920060/susan-collins-talking-stick-senate-bipartisan-government-shutdown>.

⁵⁵ Timothy Cama, "Kavanaugh vote overshadows Susan Collins' path to 5th term," *E&E News*, May 24, 2019, <https://www.eenews.net/stories/1060387859>.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Agreement.⁵⁷ In addition, Collins has also received the Congressional Champion Award from ConservAmerica, a conservative environmental advocacy group, for her leadership in conservation and clean energy initiatives as well as the Nature Conservancy Leadership Award in 2015.⁵⁸ Collins' moderate stance on environmental policy reflects the political climate of Maine and its residents, as Collins has stressed the extent to which Maine's economy is linked to the environment and how the majority of Maine's homes are reliant on oil, leaving Mainers vulnerable to high oil prices.⁵⁹ Collins' leadership on environmental protection is demonstrated from a variety of her actions in the Senate.

Senator Collins has crossed partisan lines countless times throughout her Senate career. In the past several years, Collins has been critical of President Trump's picks for EPA Administrator. In 2017, Collins voted against Scott Pruitt's nomination, as she explained that "it was clear that he did not support the EPA's mission."⁶⁰ The next year, Collins supported Pruitt's resignation from his role in EPA, calling the resignation "long overdue." After Pruitt's resignation, Collins opposed President Trump's nomination of Andrew Wheeler to EPA Administrator, explaining that even though he may be qualified for the position, his policies are not in the interest of the environment or public health, citing his opposition to the Clean Power

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ "Senator Collins Receives Congressional Champion Award from ConservAmerica for Leadership in Conservation & Clean Energy Initiatives," United States Senator Susan Collins, November 11, 2014, <https://www.collins.senate.gov/newsroom/senator-collins-receives-congressional-champion-award-conservamerica-leadership>; "The Nature Conservancy in Maine Presents Senator Collins with Leadership Award," United States Senator Susan Collins, October 7, 2015, <https://www.collins.senate.gov/newsroom/nature-conservancy-maine-presents-senator-collins-leadership-award>.

⁵⁹ "Issues: Energy and Environment," United States Senator Susan Collins, accessed March 15, 2020, <https://www.collins.senate.gov/issues/environment>.

⁶⁰ "Senator Collins' Statement on Resignation of EPA Administrator Pruitt," United States Senator Susan Collins, July 5, 2018, <https://www.collins.senate.gov/newsroom/senator-collins%E2%80%99-statement-resignation-epa-administrator-pruitt>.

Plan, a plan rolled out by the Obama administration and the EPA to reduce carbon pollution from power plants.⁶¹ Collins has been a long-time supporter of the Clean Power Plan and rejected President Trump's attempt to repeal the plan beginning in 2017. Collins was one of only three Senators who crossed party lines to vote against the repeal, calling the it "a repeal in the wrong direction" to reduce air pollution. In 2019, Senate democrats forced a vote of Trump's Clean Power Plan replacement, the Affordable Clean Energy Rule, which would focus on technological improvements to reduce emissions at individual power plants instead of statewide greenhouse gas emission caps.⁶² Although the Senate voted to keep President Trump's Affordable Clean Energy Rule, Collins stood with Democrats, showing disapproval of the proposed rule, calling it "a step in the wrong direction."⁶³ In addition to crossing party lines on legislation surrounding the Clean Power Plan, Collins was the only Republican to sign a Democrat resolution to acknowledge that Congress has a responsibility to act on climate change.⁶⁴ The resolution was developed to show unity among Democrats following the Green New Deal debates.

Senator Collins has also showed leadership on additional environmental legislation. In 2016, the Senate passed its first broad energy bill since the George W. Bush administration, passing 85 to 12. The bill was an attempt to align the nation's oil, gas, and electricity systems

⁶¹ "Senator Collins to Oppose EPA Administrator Nominee's Confirmation," United States Senator Susan Collins, February 27, 2019, <https://www.collins.senate.gov/newsroom/senator-collins-oppose-epa-administrator-nominee%E2%80%99s-confirmation-0>.

⁶² Nick Sobczyk, "Senate Democrats prep Clean Power Plan Vote," *E&E News*, October 15, 2019, <https://www.eenews.net/eedaily/2019/10/15/stories/1061280305>.

⁶³ Nick Sobczyk, "Groups pounce on climate vote as lawmakers move on," *E&E News*, October 18, 2019, <https://www.eenews.net/eedaily/2019/10/18/stories/1061307835>.

⁶⁴ Nick Sobczyk, "All Senate Dems to co-sponsor unity resolution," *E&E News*, February 28, 2019, <https://www.eenews.net/greenwire/stories/1060122687?t=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.eenews.net%2Fstories%2F1060122687>.

with the United States' changing power production.⁶⁵ The legislation was said to pass in large part because it avoided topics of climate change and oil and gas exploration. Collins and Senator Amy Klobuchar, a Democrat, led the passage of an amendment stating that biomass is carbon-neutral, thus reaffirming the role of biomass as a renewable energy – something that has angered some environmental groups. Collins supported her action by claiming that Maine has experienced a collapse of the biomass industry, which supports hundreds of jobs throughout the state. Collins says that biomass energy “is sustainable, responsible, renewable, and economically significant as an energy source, and many states, including Maine, are already relying on biomass to meet their renewable energy goals.”⁶⁶ In addition to this amendment, Collins has crossed party lines and voted in support of the Interior Department's stream protection rule under the Congressional Review Act, a key coal mining regulation.⁶⁷

Overall, Senator Collins is an incredibly clear example of a member of Congress that is in support of a wide range of progressive environmental policies. Collins tends to support policies that impact Maine and that will mobilize moderate voters in her favor. Additionally, Collins supports clean energy policies and shows leadership on policies that are favorable to both the right and the left. Her liberal approach to environmental protections extends into other policy areas as well, showing that she is not afraid to cross party lines. Collins is respected by environmental groups on both the Left and the Right but has recently been supported less by these liberal groups in the past couple of years, as she has failed to show leadership against

⁶⁵ Coral Davenport, “Senate Passes Legislation Tailored to a Modern Energy Landscape,” *E&E News*, April 20, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/21/us/politics/senate-passes-broad-bill-to-modernize-energy-infrastructure.html>.

⁶⁶ Brittany Patterson, “Congress tells EPA biomass is carbon neutral. Now what?” *E&E News*, April 21, 2016, <https://www.eenews.net/stories/1060036007>.

⁶⁷ Alex Guillen, “Senate seals fate of Interior stream rule,” *Politico*, February 2, 2017, <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/02/coal-mining-regulation-stream-protection-rule-234554>.

Trump. This may prove to be a breaking point for her and her supporters, who may be more inclined to vote for a Democrat or Republican with a more moderate voting record across the board, playing to an overall shift to the left in Maine.

Sen. Lamar Alexander – Tennessee

Senator Lamar Alexander has served Tennessee in the Senate since 2003. Prior to serving in the Senate, Alexander was Governor of Tennessee from 1979 to 1987 and the Secretary of Education from 1991 to 1993. Throughout his political career, Alexander has been a prominent Republican figure in the United States, as he tends to lean to the center despite the current political climate. Alexander is often seen by his colleagues as a moderate voice in Congress, as he is close to both Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and Minority Leader Chuck Schumer.⁶⁸ In 2011, Alexander left Republican party leadership so that he would be able to pursue more bipartisan legislation. In a press comment, he noted that he still thinks it is possible to get a lot done in this political climate, he just wishes it would be easier. Alexander's frustration with the partisan politics taking place in the United States Congress led to his announcement to retire after the completion of his term in 2021. After his announcement to retire, Alexander expressed how he was not trying to "change [his] tune" and shift further to the left or right for the remainder of his time in Congress.

Senator Alexander's ability to work with both sides of the political aisle is evident in his environmental record, with a moderately high Republican lifetime League of Conservation score of twenty-one. Alexander has spoken out in the past on his belief in human-caused climate change and the need to take action to address it, as he often discusses his times hiking in the

⁶⁸ Burgess Everett, "Lamar Alexander to exit polarized Senate: 'I just wish it were easier,'" Politico, December 17, 2018, <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/12/17/sen-lamar-alexander-will-not-run-for-reelection-1067254>.

Great Smokey Mountains as kid and wanting future generations to be able to do the same.⁶⁹

Alexander has received some recognition from some environmental groups, including the Environmental Defense Action Fund in 2013, who created a TV ad campaign to thank the Senator for his leadership on protecting mercury and air toxic standards.⁷⁰ In 2019, the governor of Tennessee renamed a state park after Alexander – the renaming was supported by a range of environmental groups for Alexander’s environmental leadership.⁷¹

In 2019, Senator Alexander released a proposal for a five-year project with ten challenges to put the United States on a path towards cleaner cheaper energy. Alexander’s “New Manhattan Project for Clean Energy” came about as a response to the Left’s Green New Deal, which Alexander called a “bizarre proposal,” despite agreeing with some of its major components.⁷² Overall, Alexander believes that the Green New Deal is the start of a conversation but is headed in the wrong direction. The New Manhattan Project for Clean Energy centers around the idea of America’s “extraordinary capacity for research,” working to make America a fundamental global leader in clean, green technology.⁷³ The project addresses major challenges and research

⁶⁹ “GOP Sen. Lamar Alexander Wants To Address Climate Change Without The Green New Deal,” *NPR*, March 26, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/03/26/706969356/gop-sen-lamar-alexander-wants-to-address-climate-change-without-the-green-new-de>.

⁷⁰ “Environmental Defense Action Fund Launches Major TV Ad Campaign to Thank Senator Lamar Alexander for Clean Air Fight,” *Targeted News Service (USA)*, February 22, 2013, <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/144A6B7746D2BFF8>.

⁷¹ Brittany, Crocker, “Rocky Fork State Park renamed to honor Sen. Lamar Alexander,” *Knoxville News Sentinel: Web Edition Articles (TN)*, January 7, 2019, <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/170D1F4EFA28AC00>.

⁷² “GOP Sen. Lamar Alexander...”

⁷³ “Hearing Statement: A New Manhattan Project for Clean Energy: 10 Grand Challenges for the Next Five Years,” United States Senator Lamar Alexander, March 25, 2019, <https://www.alexander.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2019/3/one-republican-s-response-to-climate-change-a-new-manhattan-project-for-clean-energy-10-grand-challenges-for-the-next-five-years>.

opportunities, including advanced nuclear reactors, natural gas, carbon capture, better batteries, greener buildings, electric vehicles, cheaper solar, and fusion. Alexander considers this plan an opportunity for bipartisanship. Similar to the New Manhattan Project for Clean Energy, Alexander helped author the Vehicle Innovation Act in 2016, a bill that would promote investments into research and development of clean vehicle and safety technologies in hopes of producing more fuel-efficient vehicles. When discussing the bill, Alexander cited Tennessee's growing automobile industry. A wide range of environmental groups and manufacturers have come out in support of this bill.

With Tennessee as the home to the Great Smoky Mountains and Senator Alexander's long-time interest in exploring the outdoors, Alexander is a big advocate for public parks. Alexander often cites the need and "responsibility to address the growing maintenance needs in our national parks and on our public lands."⁷⁴ In 2018, Alexander introduced the National Park Restoration Act that would work to address the \$11.6 billion National Park Service maintenance backlog.⁷⁵ The bill would use revenues from energy production on federal lands to maintain national parks across the country and would potentially eliminate the maintenance backlog in a little over ten years, which would help reduce the Great Smokey Mountain National Park backlog of \$215 million. Similarly, in 2019, Alexander sponsored a similar bill, entitled the

⁷⁴ "Sen. Alexander Praises Interior Secretary for Working to Solve National Park Maintenance Problem," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, August 25, 2017, <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/1668340947D226C8>.

⁷⁵Rachel, Totten. "Sen. Alexander introduces bill to restore national parks," *Daily Times, The (Maryville, TN)*, March 8, 2018: 01. *NewsBank: Access World News*. <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/16A8578467281BE0>.

Restore Our Parks Act, that would also attempt to reduce the maintenance backlog of America's national parks.⁷⁶ As of February 2020, the bill was placed on the Senate legislative calendar.

While Senator Alexander does have a history of introducing a range of pro-environmental legislation, he has been vocal about his belief in limiting the regulations and restrictions from the EPA. Alexander has stated that he believes in putting "limits on the EPA's efforts to add to the big, wet blanket or burdensome regulations [that may] mean higher costs for Tennessee's families, farmers, and businesses."⁷⁷ In addition to calling the Clean Power Plan "costly and unfair," Alexander cosponsored legislation with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell in 2014 that would prohibit the EPA from regulating carbon dioxide emissions on new power plants unless certified by multiple agencies that the regulation would not harm the economy.⁷⁸ Alexander said that "it's the job of Congress, not unelected bureaucrats, to determine whether and how to regulate carbon dioxide emissions."

Senator Alexander's environmental leadership within the Republican Party makes him an example of an ally to those wanting to pass bipartisan legislation in Congress. There are some key takeaways from Alexander's behavior as a Senator. Specifically, Alexander prioritizes and focuses his attention on policies that promote innovation and technological advancement through

⁷⁶ "Alexander: Senate Committee Approves 'Restore Our Parks Act' – the Biggest Boost to National Parks in 50 Years," United States Senator Lamar Alexander, November 19, 2019, <https://www.alexander.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2019/11/alexander-senate-committee-approves-restore-our-parks-act-the-biggest-boost-to-national-parks-in-50-years>.

⁷⁷ "Alexander Votes to Support Tennessee Outdoors, Put Limits on EPA Overregulation," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, June 19, 2015, *NewsBank: Access World News*. <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/1561036A0715B0B0>.

⁷⁸ "Alexander Cosponsors Legislation to Protect Jobs and Economy from 'Harmful' EPA Carbon Regulations," *Targeted News Service (USA)*, June 4, 2014, *NewsBank: Access World News*. <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&docref=news/14E415B6609D8878>.

research and development, rather than through the regulatory process. In addition, Alexander favors policies that protect national parks and public spaces, emphasizing the benefit that they have on human experiences. This suggests that legislation that wishes to gain bipartisan approval from legislators like Alexander should highlight the research promoted by the government, not particularly enforced policies and regulations. Although Alexander will be retiring after 2020, his bipartisan sentiment is hopeful for the future of bipartisan legislation.

Conclusion

The Republicans outlined in this section are just a few of the increasingly limited conservatives left in Congress that have moderate stances on policies related to climate change and other environmental concerns. There are several key takeaways from this research that will attract conservative members of Congress to support environmental protections. Future legislation should associate environmental issues with other issues throughout the country, particularly with issues local to a legislator's district. Additionally, future legislation should invoke innovative approaches to governing, such as subsidized research and tax-credits, instead of merely having government restrictions and mandates. There is also an opportunity to get Republicans on board by promoting renewable energy development and creating new markets. Unfortunately, the future of having environmental support from Republicans in Congress is becoming bleak, as moderates are becoming less common in the House and Senate. Republicans in more conservative leaning districts may find it more challenging to be politically viable if they were to adopt more progressive environmental stances. Ultimately, finding common ground among Democrats and Republicans in regard to the environment will prove to be increasingly difficult as the Republican Party drifts further to the right.

Business Community

The American Clean Energy & Security Act of 2009 was one of the most significant pieces of environmental legislation introduced to Congress in recent history. This bill, often referred to as the Waxman-Markey Bill, was a piece of energy legislation that would establish a cap and trade system and encourage clean, renewable energy. The bill passed in the House but was never brought to the floor of the Senate. Interestingly, analysis of this bill shows that there was both support and opposition from business interests.⁷⁹ Although lobbying by firms expecting losses from the bill were more effective than lobbying by firms expecting gains, there is still evidence that there is a story to be told about the potential for businesses to promote environmental protection policies, rather than oppose them. Considering the large role that businesses play in the functioning of the United States' law-making and governing processes, as they lobby, generate ideas through think tanks, and care a lot about regulatory policy, this section seeks to interrogate what opportunities exist within the business community to develop more progressive environmental policies.⁸⁰ This section will first look at environmental protection support among different business sectors, then move to environmental protection support within individual firms, then look at some policies that may be favored by these business sectors, and finally outline some environmental corporate environmental partnerships and lessons that can be learned from them.

⁷⁹ Magali Delmas, Jinghui Lim, and Nicholas Narin-Birch, "Corporate Environmental Performance and Lobbying," *Academy of Management Discoveries* 2, no. 2 (2016): 175-197; Kyle C. Meng and Ashwin Rode, "The social cost of lobbying over climate policy," *Nature Climate Change* 9 (2019): 472-476.

⁸⁰ Michael E. Kraft and Sheldon Kamienicki, *Business and Environmental Policy: Corporate Interests in the American Political System* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2007).

Although some businesses and sectors work hard to prevent progressive environmental policy from being enacted, there is another part of the business community that is integrating environmental protections into their own firm practices beyond what is legally required of them. Taking the environment into account within a business is becoming incredibly relevant in almost all aspects of a firms' strategy. Hoffman takes note of this integration of environmental issues into corporate practice in that it has the potential to affect nearly all parts of the supply chain.⁸¹ For example, environmental pressures influence the buyers and sellers, thus influencing resource acquisition, processing, and sales. Banks, shareholders, and investors are beginning to see environmentally risky options to be associated with financial risks, thus affecting capital acquisition. Consumers and competitors are exerting environmental pressures, thus impacting issues of market demand and competitive strategy, respectively. Trade associations are also becoming more environmentally minded, thus making environmental issues an issue of industry reputation. Overall, environmental pressures have powerfully shaped business' strategic decision-making. Thus, environmental issues are becoming less of a limitation and more of an all-encompassing strategic issue. Taking this into consideration, it is important to investigate these opportunities for businesses to play a more positive role in protecting the environment.

Understanding what sectors might be persuadable to climate activists requires unpacking environmental attitudes at a sector level. As previously mentioned, lobbying intensified during debates and deliberations on the American Clean Energy & Security Act in 2009, and lobbying was not completely concentrated against the passage of the bill.⁸² Looking at the lobbying for this bill at a sectoral level provides some insight into what industries may be more persuadable to

⁸¹ Andrew J. Hoffman, "The Next Phase of Business Sustainability," *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Spring 2018: 35-39.

⁸² Meng and Rode, "The Social Cost of Lobbying over Climate Policy."

support future environmental legislation. Some of the major spenders during on the Waxman-Markey bill included those in the utility industry and those in the renewable energy industry. These industries would be in favor of investing into a bill like Waxman-Markey because of how they would gain from the bill, which would include more investments in clean, cheap energy. Additionally, Falke finds that consumer and technology companies are also entering the lobbying field as advocates for more progressive climate policy.⁸³ Electric transportation associations and financial service industries are also beginning to become more involved in climate lobbying due to an increased interest in low-carbon fuel standards and organizing the market of trading emissions permits.

One of the ways that the business community is engaging with environmentally sound practices at the firm level is through embracing corporate social responsibility (CSR). This concept has been around since the 1960s and 1970s, but has grown considerably since the early 1990s.⁸⁴ Corporate social responsibility has been defined as firms' efforts to address a wide variety of global problems, including environmental issues, that go above and beyond of what companies are legally required to do.⁸⁵ Companies choose to participate in socially responsible practices for a variety of reasons, including as a response to market forces, such as the demand to behave responsibly. Additionally, non-governmental organizations and other activist groups can put considerable pressure on corporations to act responsibly. Finally, investors can also pressure firms to act responsibly and embrace corporate social responsibility. Some argue that corporate social responsibility has its own limitations, as companies do not typically exhibit moral or social

⁸³ Andreas Falke, "Business Lobbying and the Prospects for American Climate Change Legislation," *GAI* – *Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society* 20, no. 1 (2011): 20-25.

⁸⁴ David Vogel, *The Market for Virtue* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press), 6

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 3.

behavior and the idea is a “niche” rather than a generic strategy.⁸⁶ Moreover, corporate social responsibility typically shapes firms’ environmental practices by having more efficient use of resources, such as energy, or creating new products because of its association to reducing firm costs and creating new markets.⁸⁷

Evidence shows that there is a correlation between political attitudes and corporate social responsibility ratings of firms.⁸⁸ Rubin’s empirical analysis shows that businesses with high corporate social responsibility ratings tend to be located in more Democratic leaning states and counties, while businesses with low corporate social responsibility ratings tend to be located in more Republicans leaning states and counties. An analysis from Giuli and Kostovestsky expand on Rubin’s findings, showing that businesses have higher corporate social responsibility ratings when they are headquartered Democratic-leaning states.⁸⁹ Additionally, the analysis finds that firms score higher corporate social responsibility ratings when they have Democratic, rather than Republican founders, CEOs, and directors. Moreover, Newsweek has published a series of annual environmental performance assessment that ranks the largest 500 companies in the United States on their sustainability performance.⁹⁰ The ranking is based on a scoring system that uses a variety of key environmental performance indicators, such as energy and water productivity, green revenue, and the presence of sustainability board committees.⁹¹ Some of the top companies

⁸⁶ Ibid, 3.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 110.

⁸⁸ Amir Rubin, “Political views and Corporate Decision Making: The Case of Corporate Social Responsibility,” *Financial Review* 43 (2008): 337-360.

⁸⁹ Alberta Di Giuli and Leonard Kostovestsky, “Are red or blue companies more likely to go green? Politics and corporate social responsibility,” *Journal of Financial Economics* 111 (2014): 158-180.

⁹⁰ “Green Ranking 2017,” *Newsweek*, accessed February 27, 2020, <https://www.newsweek.com/green-rankings-2017-18>.

⁹¹ “Newsweek Green Rankings 2017 Methodology,” *Newsweek*, December 7, 2017, <https://www.newsweek.com/newsweek-green-rankings-2017-methodology-739761>.

include Cisco Systems Inc., Ecolab Inc., Hasboro Inc., and PG&E Corp, while XPO Logistics Inc., World Fuel Services Corp, Windstream Holdings Inc. WestRock Co, and WellCare Health Plans Inc. rank at the bottom. Understanding the positionality of these businesses can help activists and legislators identify actors that may be wanting to improve their brand image through supporting environmental protection legislation.

If green activists wish to recruit businesses to support environmental protection policies, the policies need to embrace approaches that are reasonable from a business perspective. Eisner suggests a multi-instrument approach to regulation that allows for a win-win situation for both firms and the government.⁹² Eisner first suggests having market rewards be the primary motivator for environmental policies, while still retaining the traditional regulations.⁹³ Next, environmental policy should rely on trade and business associations to act as the central implementors. Additionally, there should be an increased focus on disclosure and sunshine provisions, rather than government prescribed environmental techniques of regulation. Finally, sectoral associations should serve as intermediary entities to help implement policy and to assure that the policy will be carried out as intended. These suggestions will be critical to take note of when considering what kind of policies both businesses and the environment can get behind. The companies and sectors already ranking high in their corporate social responsibility rankings and sectors that are more responsive to environmental protection will be good allies to partner with for the kind of win-win environmental policy that Eisner suggests. Reachable business sectors on environmental protections are also organizing and expressing their policy preferences. The

⁹² Marc Allen Eisner, "Corporate Environmentalism, Regulatory Reform, and Industry Self-Regulation: Toward Genuine Regulator Reinvention in the United States," *Governance* 17(2): 145-167.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Business for Innovative Climate and Energy Policy is an emerging coalition of publicly owned utilities, renewable energy sector, and consumer and technology companies that call on the U.S. government to pass bipartisan climate legislation. Some of their guiding principles include increased adaptation of renewable energy and energy efficiency, increased investment in a clean energy economy, and increased support for climate change resilience. The coalition's top priorities for 2020 include carbon pricing, phasing out of super-pollutants, tax credits for manufacturing electric vehicles, improved research, increased access to House and Senate Climate Solutions Caucuses, and supporting businesses in Florida who face costly impacts from climate change.⁹⁴ These pro-business preferences will be important to consider when creating environmental policy legislation, as it would promote financial support from the sectors that are more open to environmental protections.

In addition to companies creating more progressive environmental policy, it will be important to ensure that those companies continuously are held accountable not only for their direct actions in regard to their production and sales, but also with their political activity. Lyon et. al argues that corporate social responsibility needs to evolve to include corporate political responsibility.⁹⁵ This idea of corporate political responsibility addresses the need for transparency of political activity within businesses to go above and beyond what they are doing to promote sustainability within their organization. There are several ways to embrace this corporate political responsibility, beginning with full disclosures of corporate political activity. It should be noted, however, that this disclosure of political activity is increasingly difficult given

⁹⁴ "Policy Outlook 2020," *Ceres*, accessed March 30, 2020, https://www.ceres.org/sites/default/files/2020%20Policy-Outlook-2020_WebFinal_12page_WEB.pdf.

⁹⁵ Thomas P. Lyon et. al, "CSR Needs CPR: Corporate Sustainability and Politics," *California Management Review* (2018): 1-20.

the status of campaign finance in the United States today. Next, businesses can align their political activity with the way in which they talk about environmental issues and the way that they participate in sustainable practices. This means that businesses who say that they are want to cut greenhouse gas emissions actually take the actions to reduce their emissions. Finally, businesses need to align those actions within their firm with support of public policies that enable the private sector to better pursue sustainability efforts and commitments. From this point, the businesses and government can embrace strategies previously mentioned to find common ground between pursuing business interests and protecting the environment. An additional element that is critical to maintaining the success of these endeavors is pressure from the consumers and activist groups to promote this political responsibility in the same way that corporate social responsibility is embraced.

Overall, there is some hope within the business community to make environmental change. First, we see opportunities within the renewable energy, utility, technology, and financial industries for environmental protection support in Congress. In addition, we see opportunities for environmental protection support at the firm level through corporate social responsibility. Considering the current political-financial climate, business support will be critical to passing any kind of environmental legislation, so it will be important to integrate pro-business approaches into the policies to ensure that sectors and firms are on board with. Although there is hope for parts of the business community to step up on environmental issues, the power of special interests opposed to environmental protection support still remains substantial. In order for a real paradigm shift to occur, there will need to be pressure from the public and government officials, well as substantial political accountability and policy innovation.

Conservative Environmental Groups

Although environmental groups are primarily concentrated on the Left, there are a great deal of environmental groups on the Right. Understanding conservative environmental groups is critical to promoting partnerships with environmental activists in order to enact bipartisan environmental policy. These partnerships provide insight into what kind of policies will be most likely to gain support from conservatives. Hulburt, Burd, and Souris find that conservative environmental organizations use three different approaches to further their cause.⁹⁶ One example is the libertarian approach, which focuses on appealing to limited government leanings of individuals. Another approach is through associations, in which these groups mobilize around a previously existing identity. Finally, some organizations use an innovative approach, where they prioritize investments in new science and technologies to address climate challenges. Hulburt, Burd, and Souris find that the innovative approach is the strongest because of its ability to address economic concerns of climate change policy. The following three foundations fit nicely into these three approaches and each of their strengths and weaknesses provide insight on environmental activist partnerships to promote bipartisan environmental protection policy.

ConservAmerica

ConservAmerica is a nonprofit formerly known as Republicans for Environmental Protection. This organization falls under the libertarian approach and works towards promoting environmental protection, economic growth, prosperity, and progress through their vales of

⁹⁶ Heather Hulburt, Kahlil Byrd, and Elena Souris, “Prospects for Climate Change Policy Reform: A Landscape of the Conservative Environmental Movement,” *New America*, April 2019, <https://www.newamerica.org/political-reform/reports/prospects-climate-change-policy-reform/>.

private property rights, market-based solutions, and competition.⁹⁷ The organization was founded in 1995 to educate the public and elected officials on conservative approaches to environmental challenge with priorities centered around conservation; public land access; clean, reliable, and affordable energy; and environmental stewardship.⁹⁸ ConservAmerica sees its values embodied in the Roosevelt Conservation Caucus, a caucus devoted to right-of-center solutions to a range of environmental issues.⁹⁹ The Caucus is led by Senator Graham of South Carolina, Senator Gardner of Colorado, Representative Stefanik of New York, and Representative Mast of Florida. The policies put forward by the Roosevelt Conservation Caucus stress the libertarian ideals of ConservAmerica, allowing the two groups to work with one another. Moreover, ConservAmerica's leadership has prioritized changing the face of Republicans on environmental issues by attempting to stress the long history of environmental stewardship. In an opinion piece for *The Hill*, Trammell Crow, director of ConservAmerica argues that conservatives need to “fully engage in the public debate over environmental and conservation concerns with free-market solutions, or the command-and control policies of the left will remain the de facto ‘solution’ undermining our energy security, competitiveness and economic prosperity as a nation.”¹⁰⁰ The organization's rhetoric echoes concerns of bipartisan progress on environmental protections in that their conservative approaches stand in contrast with liberal approaches,

⁹⁷ “Values,” *ConservAmerica*, Accessed March 15, 2020, <https://www.conservamerica.org/values>.

⁹⁸ “Priorities,” *ConservAmerica*, accessed March 15, 2020, <https://www.conservamerica.org/priorities>.

⁹⁹ “Congressional Caucus,” *ConservAmerica*, accessed March 15, 2020, <https://www.conservamerica.org/caucus>.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Sabin and Trammell Crow, “Conservation remains a core conservative principle,” *The Hill*, March 25, 2019, <https://thehill.com/opinion/energy-environment/435615-conservation-remains-a-core-conservative-principle>.

potentially making it more difficult to come to a compromise on legislation with Democrats and Democratic groups.

Catholic Climate Covenant

Religious organizations provide an interesting facet of conservative environmentalism. One of the major religious groups advocating for environmental protection support is the Catholic Climate Covenant, falling under the associations approach. The Catholic Climate Covenant is an American nonprofit created by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops in 2006 to help American Catholics respond to the Church's call to "care for creation and care for the poor."¹⁰¹ The organization gained significance within the Catholic community after Pope Francis delivered his encyclical letter, *Laudato si'* in 2015. The encyclical critiques irresponsible consumerism and development and calls for action on environmental degradation and climate change. In 2019, Pope Francis gave a Vatican speech explaining that it was a "duty" to add the "ecological sin against the common home" to the church catechism.¹⁰² The Pope's sentiments reiterate the sentiments of the Catholic Climate Covenants values and teachings, as they help guide the American Church's response to climate change by "educating, giving public witness, and offering resources." The organization uses Catholic teachings as a source of strength to solve environmental issues. The group has had moderate support for their advocacy work. One hundred and twenty-five Catholic leaders and over 15,000 Catholics signed a letter to President Trump supporting the Clean Power Plan.¹⁰³ In 2018, the organization collected signatures from

¹⁰¹ "Our Story," *Catholic Climate Covenant*, accessed March 17, 2020, <https://catholicclimatecovenant.org/about/story>.

¹⁰² Maya Earls, "Pope might make environmental destruction a sin," *E&E News*, November 21, 2019, <https://www.eenews.net/stories/1061604543>.

¹⁰³ "We're proud of the Church's legacy on climate change," *Catholic Climate Covenant*, accessed March 17, 2020, <https://catholicclimatecovenant.org/about/work>.

600 Catholic leaders and executives for the Catholic Climate Declaration, reiterating their support for controlling greenhouse gas emissions despite President Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement.¹⁰⁴ Earlier in 2018, the Catholic Climate Covenant urged EPA administrator Scott Pruitt – a Southern Baptist – to stop gutting environmental protections. An article by Maxine Joselow notes that there has been a historical divide in the Judeo-Christian tradition, as some believe in the idea of creation care while others highlight human domination over the Earth. This marks a limitation for the Catholic organization to gain momentum within the American political environment, as Christians in the United States have not been notably more friendly towards environmentalism in the past two decades.¹⁰⁵

ClearPath

The final group is the ClearPath Foundation, a nonprofit focused on clean energy, utilizing the innovation approach with a mission to develop and advance conservative policies that accelerate clean energy without expanding the size of the government.¹⁰⁶ The group has several clean energy pillars, including nuclear, energy storage, natural gas, carbon capture, hydropower, and geothermal. In 2020, ClearPath pledged \$2 million to vulnerable Republicans that align with their values.¹⁰⁷ \$500,000 of this was committed to Senator Susan Collins from Maine, who ClearPath calls a champion for clean energy innovation. In addition to their campaign contributions, ClearPath supports various clean energy legislation, including the

¹⁰⁴ Niina H. Farah, "Catholics declare they're 'still in' Paris accord," *E&E News*, June 19, 2018, <https://www.eenews.net/climatewire/stories/1060085011/search?keyword=catholic+climate+declaration>.

¹⁰⁵ David M. Konisky, "The greening of Christianity? A study of environmental attitudes over time," *Environmental Politics* 27, no. 2 (2018): 267-291.

¹⁰⁶ <https://clearpath.org/about-us/>

¹⁰⁷ Timothy Cama, "Energy advocacy group pledges \$2M for vulnerable Republicans," *E&E News*, January 28, 2020, <https://www.eenews.net/greenwire/stories/1062202023/feed>.

Democrat supported Energy Sector Innovation Act, which would create credits for technologies in energy innovation.¹⁰⁸ In an opinion piece for Fox News, Rich Powell, executive director for ClearPath, emphasized that the United States needed to act intentionally with its climate legislation to prevent economic leakage, which involves industries moving to places with less strict environmental emission controls if too expensive regulations are put into place.¹⁰⁹ Powell says that the way to avoid this environmental leakage is through developing affordable clean technologies. Another opinion piece for Fox News by Jay Faison, founder of ClearPath, argues against the Green New Deal, calling it politically and technologically infeasible, while noting that China and rapidly-developing countries are the greatest emitters.¹¹⁰ Despite ClearPath's apprehension to support Green New Deal legislation, they still support some elements of the bill.¹¹¹ Overall, ClearPath is a clear example of the innovative approach to environmental protections, which emphasizes an approach that supports increasing technology innovation. This type of approach seems to be the most promising to support bipartisanship for environmental concerns because technological innovation is something that both Democrats and Republicans can feasibly get behind due to the fact that it seeks to stimulate the economy through new approaches, rather than cause what conservatives would see as destroying economic sectors.

¹⁰⁸ Nick Sobczyk, "Democrats unveil plans for major climate legislation," *E&E News*, January 8, 2020, <https://www.eenews.net/eenewspm/2020/01/08/stories/1062029207>.

¹⁰⁹ Rich Powell, "Rich Powell: Dems want to fight climate change in all the wrong ways – Here's what they should support," *Fox News*, September 4, 2019, <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/rich-powell-dems-want-to-fight-climate-change-in-all-the-wrong-ways-heres-what-they-should-be-saying>.

¹¹⁰ Jay Faison, "Climate change is real but the Green New Deal isn't the solution," *Fox News*, March 19, 2019, <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/climate-change-is-real-but-the-green-new-deal-isnt-the-solution>.

¹¹¹ Justin Worland, "The Green New Deal Could Launch Republican Climate Solutions," *Time*, February 15, 2019, <https://time.com/5529135/green-new-deal-republicans-carbon-tax/>.

Conclusion

Conservative environmental groups provide an opportunity for improving the dialogue around moderate and potentially bipartisan environmental protection policy in the United States. The descriptions of some different types of conservative environmental groups provide some insight into what kinds of groups can be most effective at creating and facilitating a dialogue around bipartisan environmental policy. The libertarian approach that we saw with ConservAmerica has shortcomings in its ability to market its free-market, limited government, libertarian approaches to a Democratic audience. On the other hand, the associations approach that we saw with the Catholic Climate Covenant has limitations in its ability to reach a broader audience of Christians in the United States. The innovations approach is the most promising of the three approaches in that it builds on ideas that are favorable both on the Right and the Left. Moving forward, more general climate activists and climate groups should work to engage with these innovation groups to help create, market, and enact solutions to environmental problems facing the world today. Overall, these environmental groups show strength in their ability to start a dialogue with the Left on critical issues and to provide a framework to promote bipartisan policies. Additionally, these groups are a launching point for conservatives to get involved in environmental causes – making these issues more accessible to voters and policymakers on the Right. However, these groups do have some weaknesses, particularly in their ability to gain momentum or acceptance on the Left because of the way in which they are hostile to Democratic ideas and policies. In order for these groups to be more effective and palatable on the Left, these groups will need to change their rhetoric in order to have Democrats want to engage with them. Ultimately, despite their limitations, these groups are a step in the right direction towards

bipartisan environmental protection policies. Expanding these groups and treating them as legitimate stakeholders in environmental policy will be critical.

Conclusion

Considering the current political climate in the United States and the state of the Republican Party, the future of expanding and protecting the green state is uncertain. Bipartisan action is needed in order to make any substantial changes to the status quo. This research provides some insight into how climate activists can work with Republicans to enact effective environmental policy changes. On one hand, the results are bleak: Republicans who support environmental protection are dying off and it is becoming increasingly difficult to have a dialogue across the political aisle. There is a dire need for political willpower to work together and end divisiveness – which is a daunting task. On the other hand, this research shows some hopeful results. Specifically, there are areas where Republicans tend to be more favorable on environmental protections, especially with localized issues, renewable energy, and market-based approaches. There are also industries that are open to environmental policy innovation and companies that are willing to start a dialogue on business-friendly approaches to environmental governing. Moreover, there are conservative organizations devoted to continuing a conversation on environmental protections. Ultimately, the opportunities are out there to substantially protect the environment, it will just be a matter of actually getting it done and working together.

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Appendix

Scatterplots of LCV Scores and Hypothesized Determinates

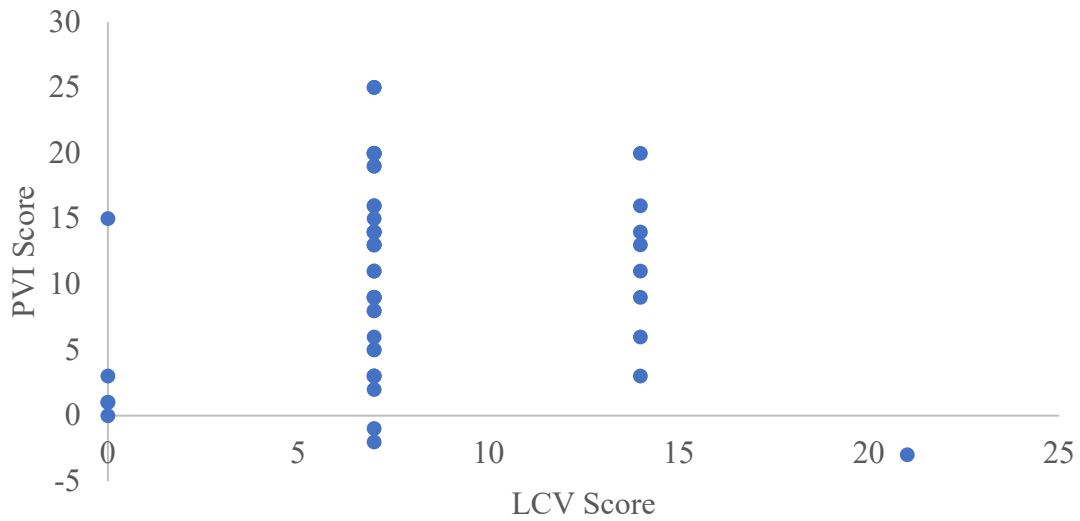


Figure 3. Scatterplot of Senate LCV Scores and PVI Scores.

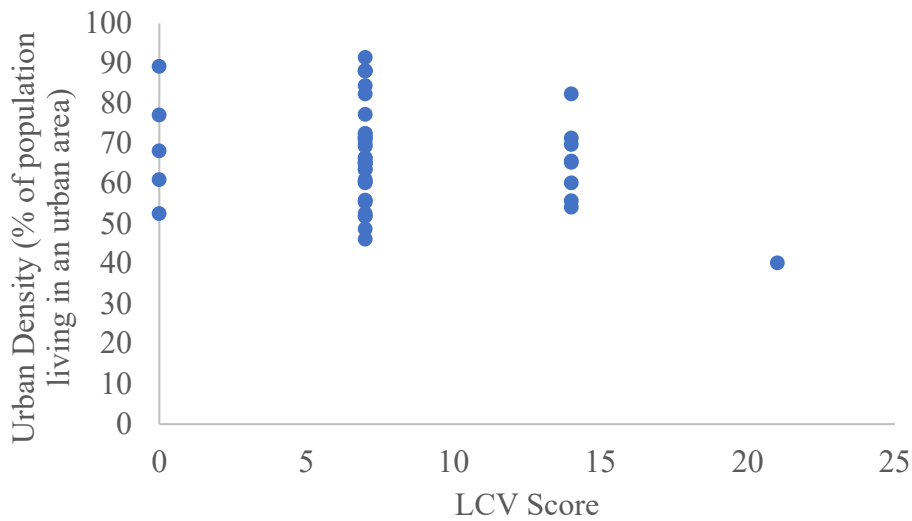


Figure 4. Scatterplot of Senate LCV Scores and Urban Density.

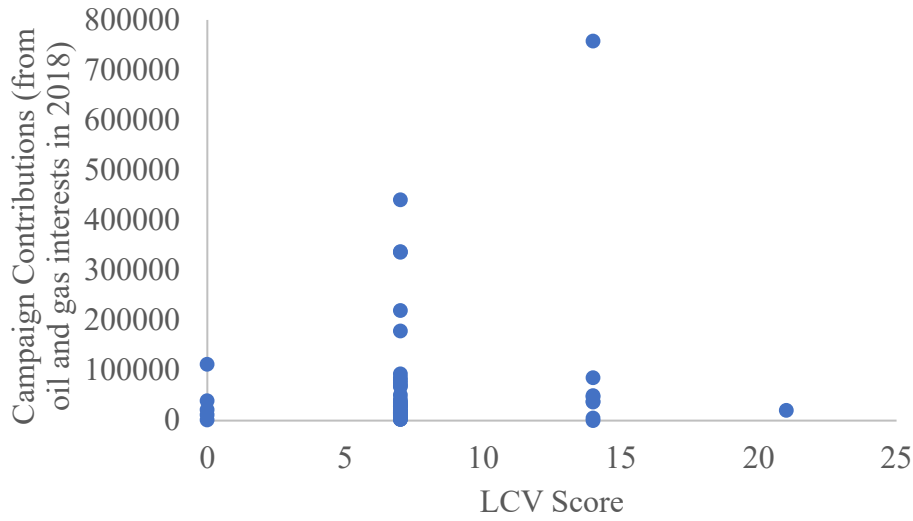


Figure 5. Scatterplot of Senate LCV Scores and Campaign Contributions from Oil and Gas Interests.

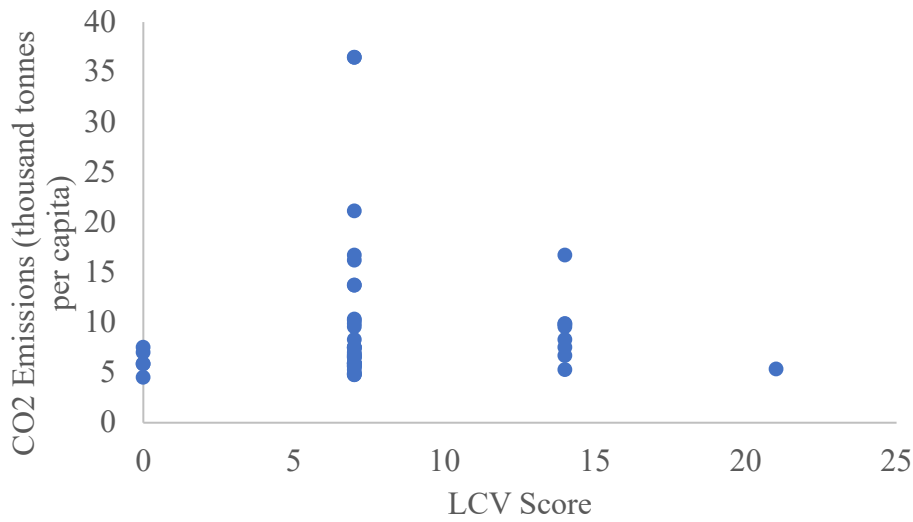


Figure 6. Scatterplot of Senate LCV Scores and CO₂ Emissions.

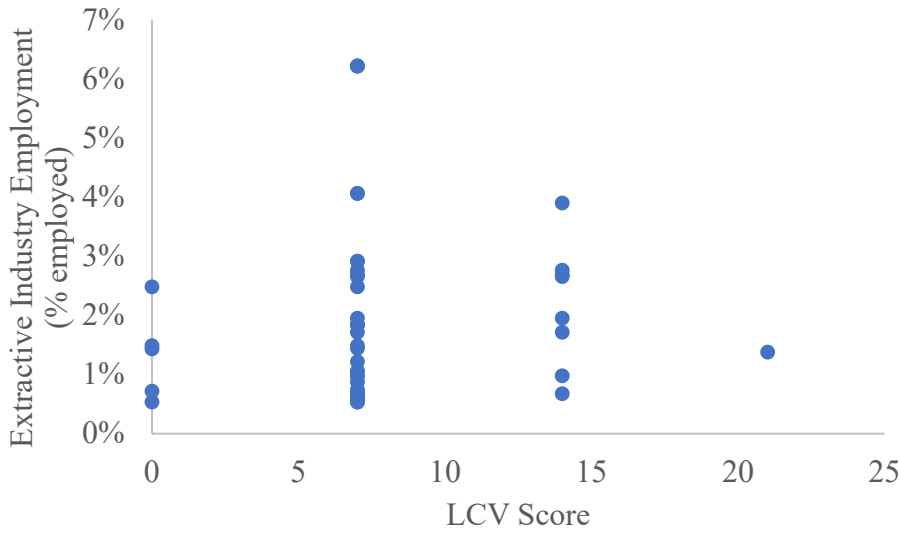


Figure 7. Scatterplot of Senate LCV Scores and Extractive Industry Employment.

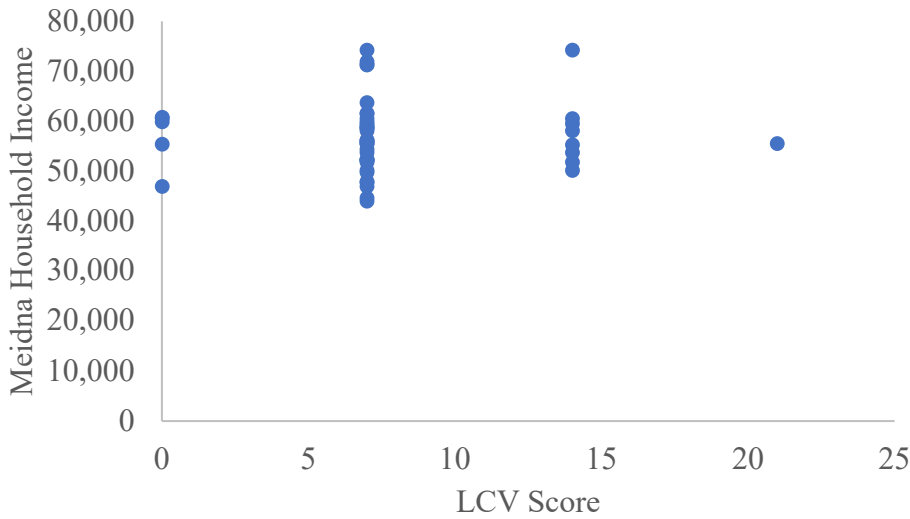


Figure 8. Scatterplot of Senate LCV Scores and Median Household Income.

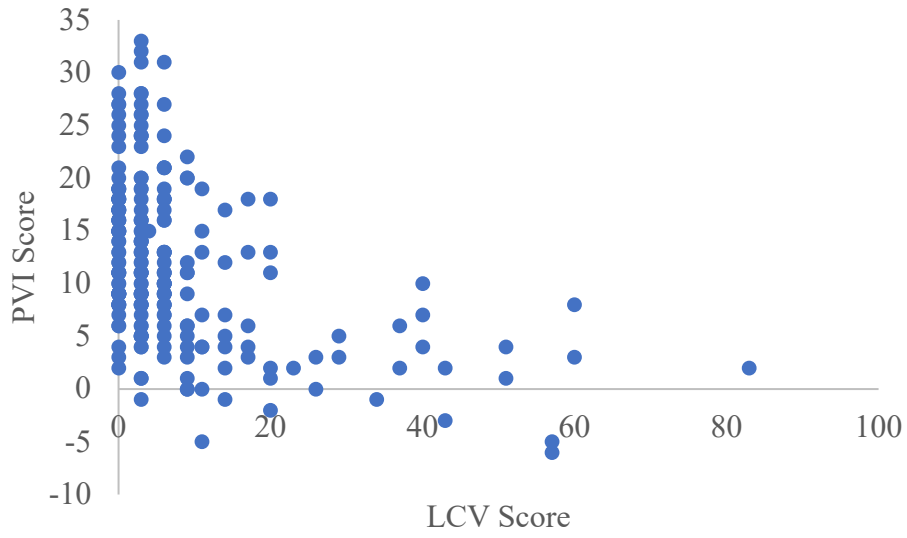


Figure 9. Scatterplot of House LCV Scores and PVI Scores.

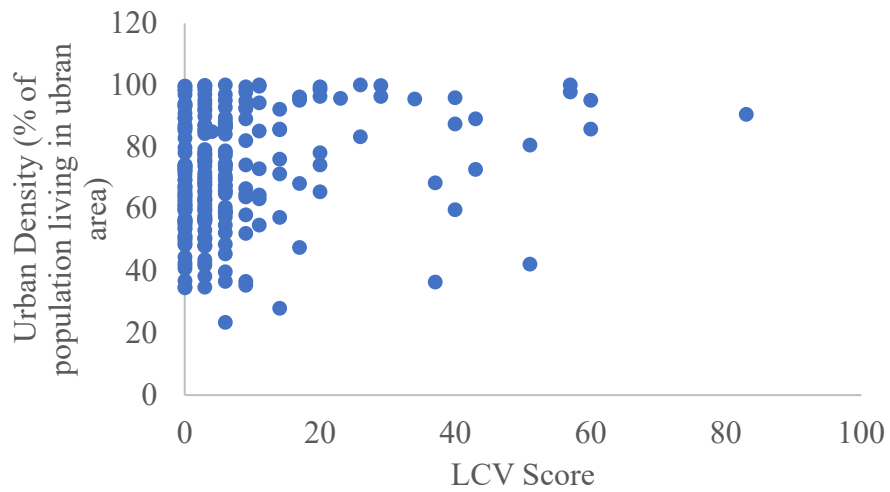


Figure 10. Scatterplot of House LCV Scores and Urban Density.

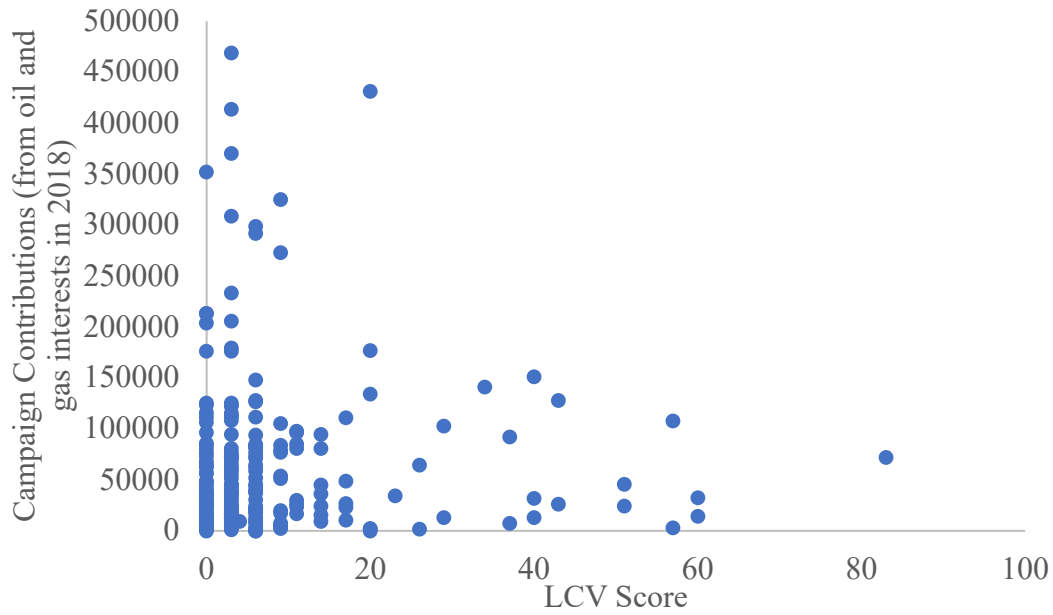


Figure 11. Scatterplot of LCV Scores and Campaign Contributions from Oil and Gas Industries.

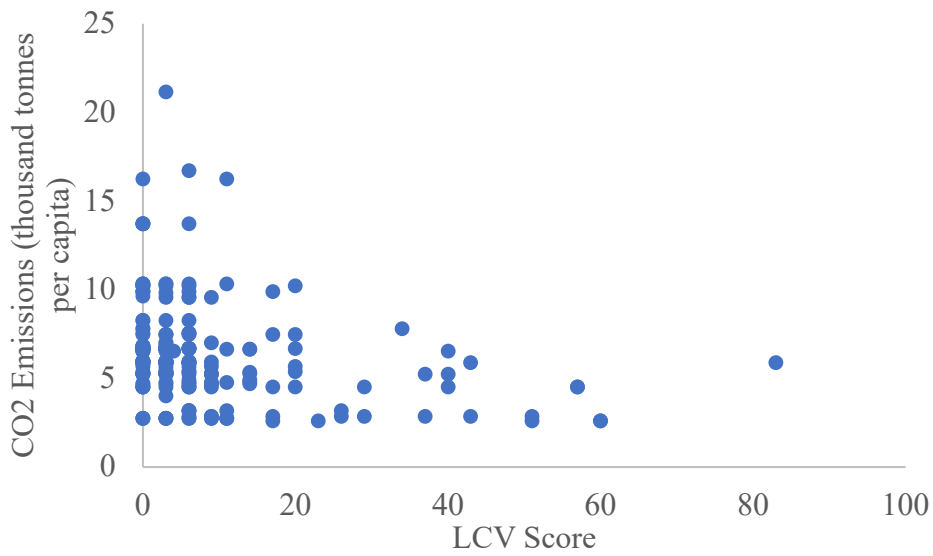


Figure 12. Scatterplot of House LCV Scores and CO₂ Emissions.

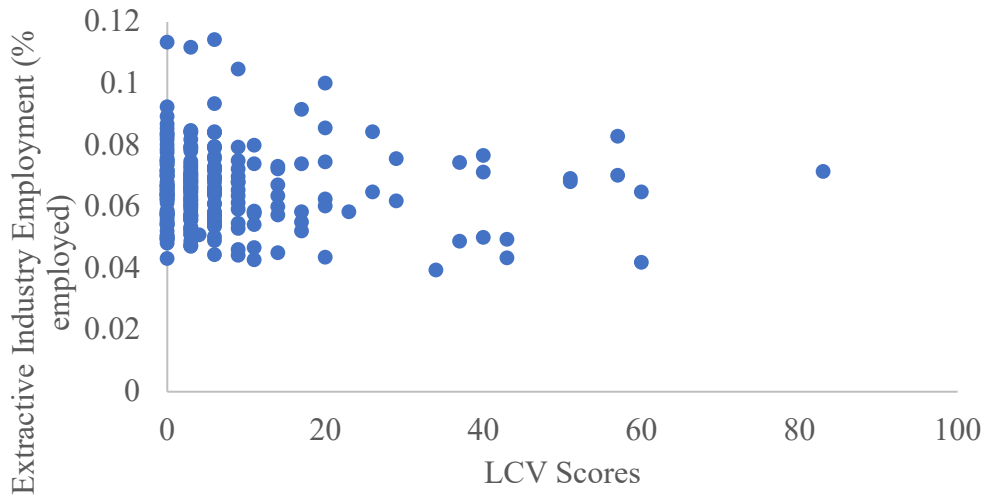


Figure 13. Scatterplot of House LCV Scores and Extractive Industry Employment.

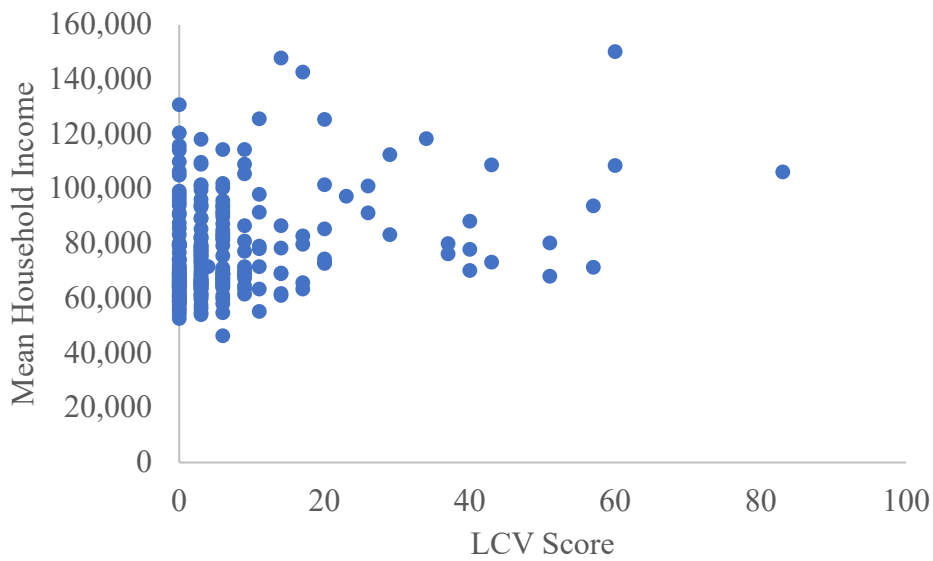


Figure 14. House LCV Scores and Household Income.