

Governing to Save the Earth

An Analysis of How to Elect a Pro-Climate Congress in
the United States of America



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Abstract:

This thesis aims to provide a political strategy for building a lasting pro-climate governing majority in the House and Senate. It analyses the current state of the pro-climate coalition in Congress and lays out the top opportunities for and threats to climate governance in the US. Overall, passing robust climate legislation through the US Congress requires a clear understanding of how social identities drive voting behavior, not policy preferences or using votes to hold elected officials accountable. Using America's dominant regional and racial social group identities as an analytical frame, I argue that progress on climate change is possible only if climate advocates employ a region by region electoral political strategy that: 1. maximizes the number of pro-climate members of congress from Democratic regions 2. creates a workable majority by helping Democrats win seats in swing regions and the Far West; and 3. reforms the Senate rules concerning the filibuster in order to adapt to the new normal of highly competitive American politics. Even if this strategy is successful, I argue that passing the broad suite of climate legislation necessary to achieve net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 will likely require long-lasting partisan realignment that produces a clear majority from a large cross-section of America's thirteen ethnoregions. A major crisis will be required to make such a realignment possible.

Key words:

American climate politics; American Nations; partisan parity; asymmetrical polarization; filibuster.

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1. Introduction

Climate unfortunately, somewhat necessarily taps into all the deepest, most fundamental divisions in American politics (Interviewee 16).

1.1. Topic

It was noon on November 13, 2018 when she walked through the door. The protesters, gathered under the banner of the Sunrise Movement, had been sitting in Speaker Nancy Pelosi's office for several hours already when to their surprise newly elected freshman congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez strode in and joined them (Sunrise Movement 2018). She had given them a pep talk the night before, but no one had expected her to show up to the actual protest. Asked about it later, she told reporters that

I did not walk into congressional orientation planning to join a protest... they asked me to show up the night before [to speak to them]... And I showed up. And what I saw was hundreds of young people, some as young as fifteen, seventeen years old, one of them even said "I'm here but I told my mom I was going to be at a party" (Laughs). And they were preparing to surrender themselves for arrest and protest. And they needed a champion to amplify what was going on. We knew that, and I knew that if I didn't show up to support them, then it would have been just another protest and it would have gotten no media coverage, and it would have been just another normal news cycle of "Oh, the new members of congress got their pictures taken." And I knew that if these young people were willing to risk their lives, risk their college admission, put their schooling on the line so that we could get action on climate change, then the least I could do was show up for them.... I knew that it was worth it, I knew this needed amplification (Justice Democrats 2018).

Before the day was done, fifty-one protesters were arrested and Ocasio-Cortez' appearance had vaulted the protesters demands into the political stratosphere. Washington, DC was abuzz with a new term: "the Green New Deal," a set of goals Ocasio-Cortez had published on her campaign website in conjunction with the protest calling for "a detailed national, industrial, economic mobilization plan" that would guide the "transition of the United States economy to become carbon neutral" (Final Select Committee). It listed seven major goals that the plan needed to achieve, and set out a ten-year timeframe for achieving them:

- (1) 100% of national power generation from renewable sources;
- (2) Building a national, energy-efficient, "smart" grid;
- (3) Upgrading every residential and industrial building for state-of-the-art energy efficiency, comfort and safety;
- (4) Decarbonizing the manufacturing, agricultural and other industries;
- (5) Decarbonizing, repairing and improving transportation and other infrastructure;

- (6) Funding massive investment in the drawdown and capture of greenhouse gases;
- (7) Making “green” technology, industry, expertise, products and services a major export of the United States, with the aim of becoming the undisputed international leader in helping other countries transition to completely carbon neutral economies and bringing about a global Green New Deal (ibid).

But it didn’t stop there. Ocasio-Cortez’s draft text went on to argue that “a national, industrial, economic mobilization of this scope and scale is a historic opportunity to virtually eliminate poverty in the United States and to make prosperity, wealth and economic security available to everyone participating in the transformation” (ibid). Universal healthcare, a federal jobs guarantee, universal basic income, public banking and more were all counted as important components of the Green New Deal. The size, scope, and ambition of the proposal completely transformed the national dialogue on climate change practically overnight.

The Sunrise protesters were demanding that Nancy Pelosi create a Select Committee for a Green New Deal, which would be in charge of scoping out the plan and drafting legislation by the start of the next Congress in 2021. Their thinking was that if Democrats were able to retake control of the Presidency and the Senate, having draft legislation ready to pass as soon as the new Congress started would be a major boon.

The force with which the Green New Deal hit the scene was thanks in part to the release of a long-awaited IPCC report on the impact 1.5°C of warming would have on the planet. It said that the world was on track to reach 1.5°C of warming between 2030 and 2052, and that if that happened the world would experience “irreversible” consequences, from multi-meter sea level rise and ecosystem collapse to heightened incidents of water stress, crop failure, and heat-related mortality. Avoiding such outcomes would require “unprecedented” systemic transformations in the way society uses energy, land, and transportation in the next twelve years (IPCC 2018).

Ocasio-Cortez and her chief of staff Saikat Chakrabarti cited the IPCC report in their reasoning behind the Green New Deal. Four days after the Sunrise protest brought the Green New Deal into the spotlight, Sunrise’s partner organization Justice Democrats organized a public call during which Ocasio Cortez said

What we’ve seen with the IPCC report is we have 12 years to fix climate change, or else ourselves and future generations will experience cataclysmic disaster. As a result, we need to mobilize all sectors of our economy to a World War II level of mobilization to save our planet. That is just what is required at this moment. I wish it was different, I wish that it would be easier, I wish that more modest action would fix climate change, but

unfortunately previous generations – we have known climate change has been an issue for 40-50 years and previous generations did nothing or did very little. As a result, we need to really mobilize our economy very aggressively, very quickly, in order to fix our planet. For us, that World War II style of economic mobilization includes very ambitious policy like a federal job guarantee and switching to a 100% renewable energy economy within 10 years (Justice Democrats 2018).

Chakrabarti echoed his boss' perspective:

the current people we have in power right now, both Democrats and Republicans really, haven't been able to come up with solutions that are radical enough to tackle the radical problems that we face.... we've got 12 years to solve climate change and the Democrats come at you with a 50-year plan or a small carbon tax, that just doesn't make any sense.... we've got to go big. We've got to go all the way. We've got to mobilize our labor and resources... at the scale of World War II if we want to reverse climate change in time.... if we can't mobilize our economy fast enough to reverse climate change in time, to turn climate change around, if we can't do all those things then we're all doomed (Justice Democrats 2018).

He went on to describe their broader theory of change, saying that

The attacks, the counter to that, as it's always been in history whenever anyone tries to do anything big or change anything systemically is "That's impossible," "You can't do it," "You're crazy," "What are you even talking about? That's how the system is, let the experts handle it," ... [but] tactically we're going to be doing stuff a little bit different.... what we're trying to do is real inside-outside organizing, and that's a little taste of what you guys saw earlier this week when we did the sit-in in Nancy Pelosi's office. Justice Democrats, Sunrise Movement, and Alexandria Ocasio Cortez joined forces to bring the movement into the halls of power, to demand urgent action, demand these big ideas (Justice Democrats 2018).

While the Green New Deal has injected new life into the climate debate and the progressive left, it has also served as an organizing tool for Republicans. After Ocasio Cortez partnered with Sen. Ed Markey and released a Green New Deal Resolution on February 7, 2019, Republican operatives seized upon a fact sheet her office accidentally provided to several news outlets and began spreading wildly inaccurate information about the Green New Deal. For example:

- Kimberley Strassel, a columnist and member of the Wall Street Journal's editorial board wrote on Twitter that the plan would "tear down every building in the country (homes and businesses)", would ban airplanes, and outlaw cows and other livestock. "AOC is coming after [your] air miles and bacon," she warned. "This is honesty about how Ds [would] micromanage private life"

(Strassel, 2019). “If a bunch of GOPers plotted to forge a fake Democratic bill showing how bonkers the party is, they could not have done a better job. It is beautiful” (ibid).

- On February 25, a report from a Koch-funded conservative think tank, the American Action Forum, pegged the cost of the Green New deal at \$93 trillion dollars (Re 2019; Waldman 2019). Many republicans would repeat this spurious number over the next few months in their critiques of the Green New Deal, despite independent fact checkers rating it as false (Kertscher 2019).
- On February 27, House Republicans in the Congressional Western Caucus held a forum and press conference with leading climate deniers Myron Ebell and Marc Morano decrying the plan as socialist (Western Caucus 2019). Rep. Rob Bishop ate a hamburger claiming that “if this [plan] goes through, [hamburgers] will be outlawed” (Breitbart 2019). Sen. John Barrasso in a speech on the Senate floor said the Green New Deal would spell the end of ice cream (Barrasso 2019).
- On March 2, Donald Trump mocked the plan at the Conservative Political Action Conference, saying “they should stay with that argument. Never change. No planes. No energy, when the wind stops blowing, that’s the end of your electricity.... Darling is the wind blowing today? I’d like to watch television, darling” (USA Today 2019).

On March 26, Mitch McConnell brought the Green New Deal resolution up for a vote in an effort to divide Democrats (Friedman & Cochrane 2019). Before the vote, McConnell said

I could not be more glad that the American people can learn where their senators stand on this radical idea. Hard-working Americans will see if their senators want to suffocate their livelihoods. Families who have to budget will see which senators vote to increase their electricity bills by \$300 a month (Tillett & Segers 2019).

Democrats blasted the Majority Leader for cynically exploiting the conversation the Green New Deal had started and for not having a plan to address climate change (ibid). “The majority leader did not call this resolution up for a vote because he thinks climate change is an urgent threat to our country,” Sen. Mazie Hirono of Hawaii said shortly before the vote.

In fact, he has opposed nearly every congressional effort to confront the climate crisis... the Green New Deal is an aspirational plan to combat climate change, create high-paying jobs, and develop a more sustainable economy that allows communities, families, and individuals to thrive. This isn’t radical; this isn’t socialism; this is basic common sense (Nawaguna 2019).

Forty three of the forty-seven members caucusing with the Democrats voted “present” in order to avoid participating in the political stunt, including all the members who had cosponsored the resolution.

Overall, the Green New Deal has enflamed partisan tensions over climate change and thrown into stark contrast the stark partisan divide over the issue. As the clock ticks down towards irreversible climate chaos, the question of how to pass robust federal climate legislation becomes increasingly pressing. Passing any successful federal policy requires navigating the complicated regional, ideological, and social divisions in American politics and forging a durable coalition of like-minded national representatives in the House and Senate. It also means navigating the intricate institutional political structures that have developed as a means of binding this diverse country together. This thesis seeks to ascertain what hope there is for creating such a coalition around climate legislation in the years ahead, before the unrelenting physics of climate change become overwhelming.

1.2. Research questions

My research questions are as follows:

- How can a sufficiently large coalition of voters be courted to elect (and re-elect) a pro-climate majority to the House of Representatives?
- How can a sufficiently large coalition of American voters be courted to elect (and re-elect) a pro-climate majority to the Senate?
- How can the environmental community pressure party leadership and rank-and-file members in both chambers to pass strong climate legislation?

1.3. Key concepts developed and applied in the thesis

I interpret the term “pro-climate” to mean sponsoring or cosponsoring substantive climate mitigation policies aimed at keeping global temperatures from rising more than 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, in line with IPCC recommendations and the upper goal of the Paris Agreement.

What does this mean in practice? In 2016 Bill McKibben wrote in the New Republic that in order to have even a two-thirds chance of staying below 2°C of warming, “Scientists say... we can release 800 gigatons more CO₂ into the atmosphere” (McKibben 2016). If we try and go for the more ambitious 1.5°C target contained in the Paris Agreement, we can only burn 353 gigatons more CO₂ in order to have even a 50-50 chance at meeting it. According to data from the Norwegian energy consultants Rystad, “coal mines and oil and gas wells currently in operation worldwide contain 942 gigatons worth of CO₂” (ibid). What’s more, in 2011 Carbon Tracker calculated that “All of the proven reserves owned by private and public companies and governments are equivalent to 2,795 GtCO₂” (Carbon Tracker 2011). This means that not

only do the overwhelming majority of proven public and private carbon reserves need to be kept in the ground, but 15-60% of the capacity of wells currently in operation need to be kept in the ground too. McKibben puts it simply:

keeping fossil fuels in the ground is the *only* realistic approach... to convince the world's leaders to obey the math—to stop any new mines or wells or pipelines from being built—we will need a movement like the one that blocked the Keystone pipeline and fracking in New York and Arctic drilling. And we will need to pass the “Keep It in the Ground Act,” legislation that would end new mining and drilling for fossil fuels on public land (ibid, emphasis included).

Therefore, for the purposes of this analysis being pro-climate means acknowledging that we must begin an immediate phase-out of fossil fuels, ban new fossil fuel infrastructure (including for natural gas), and undertake massive public and private investment in renewables, battery storage, grid revitalization, and public transit. A market-based approach to climate change such as a carbon tax or cap and trade system, while not guaranteed to decarbonize the economy or keep proven fossil fuel reserves in the ground, could be an important part of the solution if the price of carbon is high enough and it is coupled with other legislation. As such, I have included proponents of this approach in my definition of pro-climate, albeit with a slight caveat.

Simply believing climate change is happening or acknowledging that steps should be taken to address it does not qualify as being pro-climate. These beliefs must be coupled with expressed support for policy solutions commensurate with the scale of the problem.

I concur with Carbon Tracker's assessment that banking on the development and widespread deployment of negative emissions technologies in the second half of the 21st century “is highly risky” and ought not be assumed (Sussams 2018). Any plan to combat climate change that leaves open the door of continued or expanded fossil fuel use in the mid or late 21st century is not to be taken seriously.

I use the term “pro-environment” to describe members of congress who have strong voting records upholding environmental regulation. Pro-environment voting records are measured using the League of Conservation Voters' annually published National Environmental Scorecard. Members are given a score between 0-100 based on their voting record on bills related to “energy, climate change, public health, public lands and wildlife conservation, and spending for environmental programs” (League of Conservation Voters 2019, 1). Being pro-climate generally means being pro-environment, although this is not always the case.

1.4. Aim/purpose of the study

This thesis aims to provide a political strategy for building a lasting pro-climate governing majority in the House and Senate. It analyses the current state of the pro-climate coalition in Congress and lays out the top opportunities for and threats to climate governance in the US.

Multiple theories attempting to describe how to pass legislation in the US federal government have been posited over time. This thesis seeks to add to that literature by analyzing how regional and racial social identities can be leveraged to elect pro-climate majorities to the House and Senate at a moment when climate change is a highly partisan issue and American politics is incredibly divided and both parties compete with one another at relative parity.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into six sections:

1. This introduction;
2. A presentation of my research methodology and instruments;
3. An analysis of my theoretical framework and the current characteristics of American politics;
4. An examination of the recent literature on American climate politics and description of how my analysis contributes to it;
5. An overview of my findings and discussion about their implications for a durable pro-climate politics in America. I also have attached two appendices which provide additional details of my findings.
6. A conclusion with definitive answers my research questions.

2. Research methodology

2.1. Methodological Framework

I conducted this study using the methodological framework of scholar-activism. Borrás defines practitioners of scholar activism as those who “explicitly aim not only to interpret the world in scholarly ways but who also aim to change it, and who are connected -- unapologetically -- to political projects or movements” (Borrás 2016, 5).

I deemed this framework appropriate because over the course of this research I was not only an academic researcher, but also deeply connected to the work of the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), a large environmental nonprofit organization with an office in Washington, DC. Specifically, I was employed as an intern and then a contract employee by the NRDC Action Fund, an affiliated but separate organization from NRDC that “build[s] political support for advancing the goals of [NRDC]”, including “averting dangerous climate change, supporting healthy people and thriving communities, and conserving and protecting nature and wildlife” (NRDC Action Fund, “About”). The Action Fund “supports candidates who stand up for these goals, and we mobilize the American public to lobby lawmakers and hold them accountable for their votes, both in office and at the ballot box” (ibid).

My research has benefited from my position with the NRDC Action Fund, as I have had access to a multitude of experts with whom I have had informal conversations, meetings, and briefings on the politics of climate change in the US. I was careful to abide by the confidentiality agreement I signed at the beginning of my internship while writing this thesis.

Hale describes scholar activism as best suited for moments when “an organized group in struggle is intensely concerned with the analytical question at hand” (Hale 2006, 108). I argue that the high-profile failure to pass climate legislation in 2008-2009 and Donald Trump’s election in 2016 have plunged the environmental community into an extended moment of crisis, one in which the analytical question at hand (i.e. how to pass federal climate legislation) needs to be re-evaluated. As of this writing, the community has yet to coalesce around a definitive answer to that analytical question.

In conducting my research, I aim to employ a dialectical approach that “values the importance of scholar-activists to help... movements overcome constraints and obstacles to extending the reach of their political struggles,” while at the same time valuing “the autonomy of... movements in the conduct of their movement building and collective actions” (Borras 2016, 9). I strived to be honest, open, and transparent in my interactions, and to be cognizant of my positionality and agenda as a researcher located in academia in relation to the positionality and agenda of my interviewees.

2.2. Research instruments developed and applied

My primary research method for this study was a quantitative analysis of the political positions of all five-hundred-and-thirty-five members of the 116th congress (2019-2020), including the political leanings of their districts/states, their membership in ideological and environmental caucuses, their cosponsorship

of climate bills, and whether they faced a challenger in the 2018 midterm elections endorsed by environmental groups.

I went back and identified all of the climate bills that had been proposed since 2017 and mapped the cosponsorship patterns of these bills against different indicators included party affiliation, ideological caucus membership, lifetime LCV score, and which regions representatives hail from.

I also relied heavily on semi-structured qualitative interviews. I used theoretical sampling to identify relevant people to interview (Bryman 2012, 419). Following Bryman’s outline for qualitative interviewing (Bryman 2012, Ch. 20), I developed interview guides that I could use to investigate the histories and professional insights of environmental professionals, staffers for members of Congress, and political science experts in academia. I designed my questions to address my research question, while also giving my interviewees space to describe their lived experience and cover topics which they wish to address (Bryman 2012, 471).

After finishing with each interview I wrote down my immediate thoughts and impressions so that I could refer back to them. In addition to Miles and Huberman’s ad hoc techniques of interview analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994, pp. 245–6, cited in Kvale 2011, 17), I used Kvale’s five steps for content analysis to code and analyze my interviews, breaking the interview into meaning units that I then restated as themes (Kvale 2011). Through constant comparison between my interviews I developed categories of thought that expanded on the concepts and themes I identified in the transcripts (Bryman 2012, 570). By exploring the relationships between these categories, I aim to propose a substantive theory to explain how a pro-climate majority can be created in the U.S. House and Senate that will pass strong climate and environmental policies.

I conducted nineteen semi-structured interviews between June-November 2018. Eleven were with thought-leaders and members of the environmental non-profit community; six were with staffers and/or members of Congress who have written or co-sponsored climate legislation; and two were academics in the realm of political science and environmental politics. I anonymized all of my interviewees responses in order to allow them to speak more freely:

Interview #	Date	Interviewee	Organization	Location	Duration
1	6/28/18 and 6/29/18	Republican former Congresswoman	House of Representatives	Phone	1:01:28 1:05:04
2	8/2/18	Legislative Advocate	Environmental non-profit	Starbucks Coffee	1:06:49

3	8/15/18	Democratic Environment & Energy Policy Advisor	House of Representatives	Longworth House Building	52:13
4	8/24/18	Former Democratic Environmental Policy Advisor	House of Representatives	Environmental non-profit office	50:55
5	8/30/18	Democratic Committee Staffer	House Natural Resources Committee	Ford House Office Building	51:46
6	9/12/18	Legislative Advocate	Environmental non-profit	Environmental non-profit office	1:08:21
7	9/13/18	Democratic Climate Legislative Assistant	Senate	Hart Senate Building	50:22
8	9/14/18	Manager	Environmental c4 organization	Environmental non-profit office	1:17:53
9	9/18/18	Program Director	Environmental non-profit	Phone	59:57
10	9/18/18	Senior Manager	Environmental c4 organization	Environmental non-profit office	56:29
11	9/19/18	Maryland Organizer	Environmental c4 organization	Coffee shop	1:11:11
12	9/21/18	Distributed Campaign Director	Environmental c4 organization	Phone	50:40
13	9/24/18	Republican Environmental Policy Advisor	House of Representatives	Longworth House Building	1:07:15
14	9/27/18	Democratic Environmental Policy Advisor	Senate	Hart Senate Office Building	Not recorded
15	10/11/18	Frances Lee, Professor of Political Science	University of Maryland	Tydings Hall, Department of Gov't & Politics	54:01
16	10/12/18	Former Director of Policy Advocacy	Environmental non-profit	Union Station	53:57
17	10/17/18	Director of Policy Advocacy	Environmental non-profit	Environmental non-profit office	50:49
18	11/5/18	Matt Huber, Professor of Critical Geography	Syracuse University	Phone	51:39
19	11/26/18	Senior Strategist	Progressive organizing non-profit	Blue Bottle Coffee	1:03:06

2.3. Limitations

One of the main limitations of my approach is that cosponsorship of climate bills is not a perfect proxy for pro-climate attitudes. Some pro-climate members may not have felt it beneficial to cosponsor legislation that they supported but which stood no chance of passing into law. On the flip side, some members may have felt pressure from activists and constituents to support climate bills that they had grave reservations about, knowing that they would never actually have to vote for them. If Congress had voted on each of the bills I consider, more members would have been forced to clarify whether they support robust climate action or not. In the absence of such votes, cosponsorship was the next best proxy to use.

Another limitation is that of scale. I prioritized a macro-analysis of voting patterns based on dominant regional and racial social identities across the country. This inevitably means that my analysis may not be specific enough to dictate the tactics climate advocates should employ to help pro-climate candidates win in a particular congressional district or state. However, I believe that by offering this macro-analysis, I can help advance a national strategy for climate advocates to elect a pro-climate Congress and pass robust climate legislation that can be built upon with district-specific strategies and paths to victory.

3. Theoretical Framework of the Study

3.1. Theoretical/analytic framework

I ground my analysis of climate politics in the broader realities and trends in American federal politics. These include: (1) the ways people decide which party to support based on their preferred social identities, (2) the existence of diverse regional cultures in the US each with an overarching political perspective, and (3) the ways in which these regional cultures ally or clash with one another via America's two dominant political parties in pursuit of control of the federal government.

3.1.1. Realist Theory of Politics

I ascribe to Achen and Bartel's realist theory of politics¹ (2016). The traditional "folk theory" of democracy describes a system where "Ordinary people have preferences about what their government

¹ Political scientist Frances Lee pointed me to this theory in our interview, describing her own position that "[most] people are part of a party because... 'People like me are Republicans,' or 'People like me are Democrats, and people I do not like are on the other team.' If it's group identity and group antagonism that drives your partisanship, then it's not grounded in [partisan positions on] issues... It's who you like and trust!... how did Trump excite the Republican base? It wasn't by being for small government. He said we're going to give everybody health insurance,

should do” and “They choose leaders who will do those things” (Achen & Bartel 2016, 1). Recent evidence has indicated however that this theory is flawed. In reality, “the great majority of citizens pay little attention to politics... most [are] poorly informed, and [are either] unwilling or unable to convey coherent policy preferences through ‘issue voting’”² (ibid, 1, 14). When elections roll around, most voters

are swayed by how they feel about ‘the nature of the times,’ especially the current state of the economy, and by *political loyalties typically acquired in childhood*. Those loyalties, not the facts of political life and government policy, are the primary drivers of political behavior (ibid, 1-2, emphasis added).

According to Achen and Bartel, voters’ political loyalties are a function of “*who they are—their social identities*” (Achen & Bartel 2016, 4, emphasis included). Voters are members of many social groups “with (no doubt numerous and complex) social identities and group attachments,” and it is these identities that drive political loyalties and behavior (16). Religious, racial, gender, regional, and many other identities rather than policy preferences and rational issue voting influence partisan voting patterns. Achen and Bartel term this the “group theory of politics”. Political parties work during campaigns to

remind voters of their partisan identities and mobilize them to go to the polls, aided by ‘formal communications by the [identity] groups and informal communication networks among group members’ to help citizens understand how their identity group connects to the candidates and parties (Schwennicke 2017, 149).

I argue that in order to pass climate legislation, climate advocates need to mobilize favorable social identity groups in blue (Democratic) or purple (swing) regions in order to craft a pro-climate governing supermajority. Given limited resources, it’s important to focus on top opportunities to build electoral power. But which blue and purple regions should climate advocates prioritize? And is it wise to write off unreceptive red (Republican) regions of the country as lost causes? I argue that it is, and I will explain why using Colin Woodard’s American Nations theory to demonstrate why certain regions are blue, purple or red.

we’re going to spend a lot on infrastructure, we don’t really care about the deficit anymore. That was all part of his campaign. And yet the hardest line of the Republican hardliners loved him! Why? He tapped into some identity issues that mattered to a lot of them.” (Lee interview).

² As Paris (2016) writes in her review of their work, Achen and Bartel don’t use this insight to advance “elitist notions about what constitutes good citizenship and who is truly qualified to make political decisions”. Instead, they seek to illustrate “the natural limitations of human cognition and the immense complexity of modern political life”.

3.1.2. American Nations Theory

The best analysis I have found of the origins of regional political and cultural identities in the US is Colin Woodard's "American Nations" theory³ (2012, 2016).

People like to talk about the United States as a single entity, but in reality

Americans have been deeply divided since the days of Jamestown and Plymouth. The original North American colonies were settled by people from distinct regions of the British Islands, and from France, the Netherlands, and Spain, each with their own religious, political, and ethnographic characteristics (Woodard 2012, 2).

Overall, "[There] *never has been one America, but rather several Americas*" (Woodard 2012, 2, emphasis added).

In total Woodard identifies thirteen "nations" that have "spread their people, ideas, and influence across mutually exclusive bands of the continent" (2012, 2) (see Figure 1). He defines a "nation" as "a group of people who share – or believe they share – a common culture, ethnic origin, language, historical experience, artifacts, and symbols" (2012, 3).

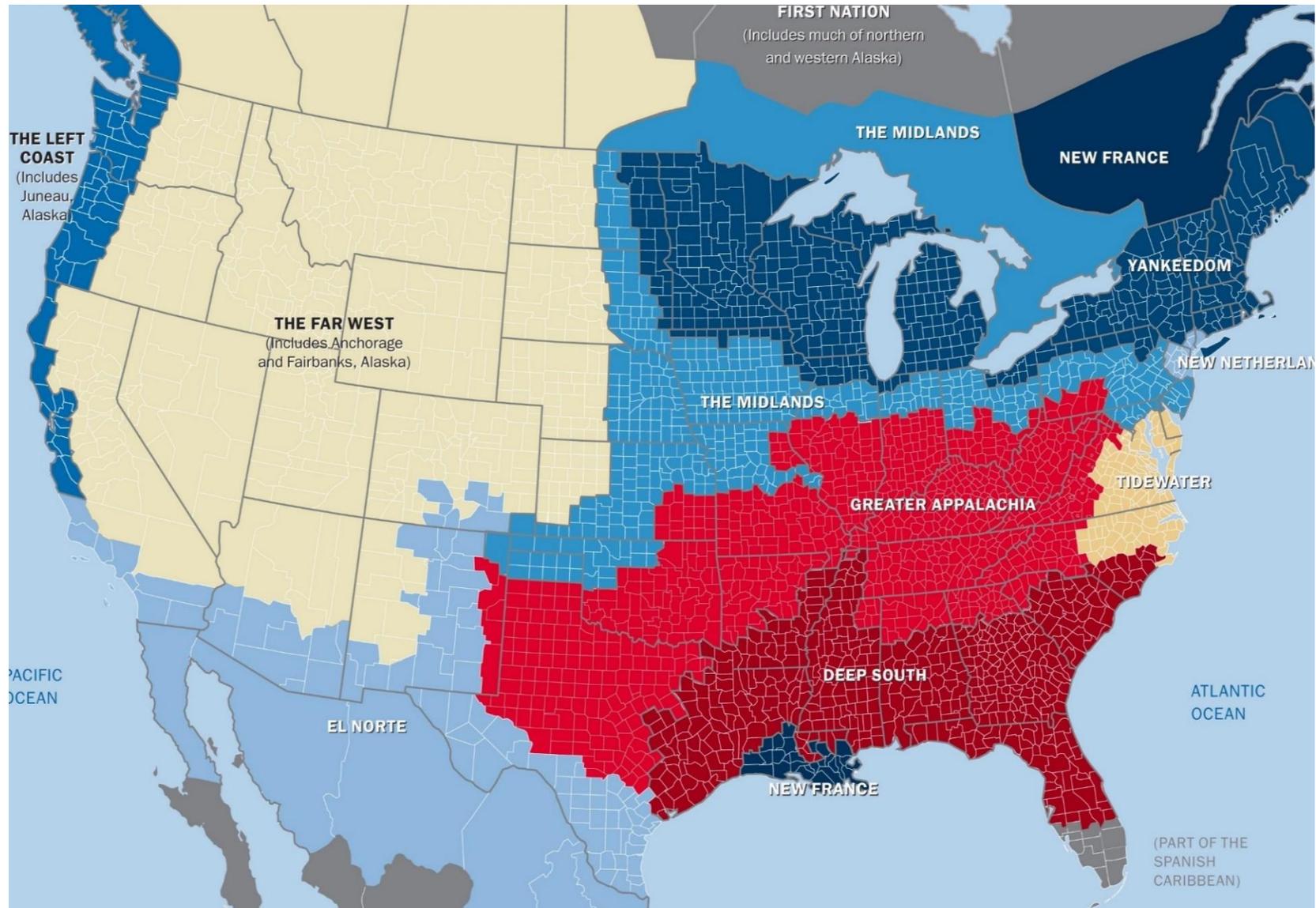
In order to make the map below, Woodard explained to me in an email that he used a multi-disciplinary approach:

I first looked to cultural geographer's work to trace early settlement flows, themselves based (when possible) on aggregating genealogies (usually themselves compiled at a local level by late 19c local historians, especially in Yankeedom), or the dissemination of material culture (especially residential building styles), or speech ways (via linguistics.) To fill in gaps or resolve ambiguities, I then turned to key factors that would clearly associate a given place with a particular regional culture at a particular historical moment: distribution of Congregational Churches in the Midwest in, say, 1850; slave ownership rates by county in Arkansas or Tennessee in 1860; concentration of German-born residents in a given census; certain culturally-defining votes in state elections; or, if available, contemporary narratives or descriptions of a particular town and its early origins (Woodard, email).

The boundaries of each nation are not as clear cut as they appear in the map below: their spheres of influence overlap with one another, but their core areas of influence are demarcated. Additionally, "[their] boundaries are not set in stone: they've shifted before and they'll undoubtedly shift again as each nation's influence waxes and wanes" (2012, 17). Most importantly, "*All of them continue to champion some version of their founding ideals in the present day.*" (Woodard 2012, 3, emphasis added).

³ Woodard's American Nations theory builds on the intellectual legacy of Joel Garreau's *Nine Nations of North America* (1981) and David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed* (1989).

Figure 1: Colin Woodard's American Nations



Source: Collin Woodard via Business Insider, "This map shows the US really has 11 separate 'nations' with entirely different cultures," (July 27, 2015)

The political loyalties of each of these American Nations can be ascertained by asking the question “When individual liberty and the common good come into conflict, with which principle will you side?” (Woodard 2016, 6). Some nations see the fulfilment of the common good as the ultimate freedom and tend to vote Democratic, while others espouse a belief that maximizing individual freedom is best and vote Republican.

I want to stress that the tendencies and characteristics Woodard identifies define the general tendencies and attitudes of the region’s population as a whole. They do not predict how any specific individual living there will necessarily think or see the world. Each individual is a complicated mix of social identities, and for the vast majority of people their political allegiances depend on which identities they emphasize the most. This caveat helps explain why even in the most liberal or conservative nations, 30-40% of the population consistently votes for the “wrong” party. That being said, for politically disengaged citizens, regional identity is often their default primary social identity.

Below are brief histories of the thirteen ethnoregional nations that dominate the United States, as well as how they tend to answer the individual freedom – common good question:

1. **Yankeedom:** Yankeedom “was founded on the shores of Massachusetts Bay by radical Calvinists as a new Zion, a religious utopia in the New England wilderness” (Woodard 2012, 5).

From the beginning, [the early Puritans] attempted to create a more perfect society here on earth] through collective institutions, with the common good invariably taking precedence over individual freedom when the two came into conflict. The point of the New England experiment was to maintain the freedom of the community, which to the region’s founders meant remaining ever vigilant against the formation of an aristocracy, which in turn demanded restraint on the avarice of individuals (Woodard 2016, 62-63).

It was a culture that put great emphasis on education, assimilation of outsiders, and local political control. Overall, “*Yankees have the greatest faith in the potential of government to improve people’s lives, tending to see it as an extension of the citizenry*” (idem, 5, emphasis added). Its religious zeal has waned over time, but not its underlying drive to improve the world through collective institutions.

2. **New Netherland:**

The seventeenth-century Dutch colony of New Netherland laid down the cultural DNA for what is now Greater New York City. Modeled on its Dutch namesake, New Amsterdam was from the start a global commercial trading society: multi-ethnic, multi-religious, speculative, materialistic, mercantile, and free trading, a raucous, not entirely democratic city-state where no one ethnic or religious group has ever truly been in charge. New Netherland also nurtured two Dutch innovations considered subversive by most other European states at the time: a profound tolerance of diversity and an unflinching commitment to the freedom of inquiry (Woodard 2012, 6).

As a center of global commerce, New Netherland has long been the front door for immigrants, who've made it the most densely populated part of North America.

Not particularly democratic or concerned with great moral questions – it tolerated slavery and defended the Deep South until the 1861 attack on federal troops at Fort Sumter – it nonetheless has found itself in alliance with Yankeedom in defense of a shared commitment to public-sector institutions and a rejection of evangelical prescriptions for individual behavior... New Netherlanders *have long recognized the need to have both an involved government tasked with looking out for the common good and clear protections for the freedom of the individuals living under it* (Woodard 2016, 65,67, emphasis added).

3. **The Midlands:**

The Midlands was founded by English Quakers who welcomed people of many nations and creeds to their utopian colonies on the shores of Delaware Bay. Pluralistic and organized around the middle class, the Midlands spawned the culture of Middle America and the Heartland, where ethnic and ideological purity have never been a priority, government has been seen as an unwelcome intrusion, and political opinion has been moderate, even apathetic. The only part of British North America to have a non-British majority in 1775, the Midlands has long been an ethnic mosaic, with people of German descent – not ‘Anglo-Saxons’ – comprising the largest group since the late 1600s. Like Yankees, the Midlanders believe society should be organized to benefit ordinary people, but they are extremely skeptical of top-down governmental intervention, as many of their ancestors fled from European tyrannies (Woodard 2012, 6).

It is at its core a community minded society, one in which people assume the best in individuals and therefore see strong government as unnecessary. *Midlanders prioritize the common good but pursue it largely independently of big government, helping to perhaps explain this region's affinity for unions. They embody the philosophy “Government, let our communities alone to get on with building a better place”* (Woodard 2016, 69, 262).

4. **Tidewater:** Tidewater was “founded by the younger sons of southern English gentry, who aimed to reproduce the semi feudal manorial society of the English countryside, where economic, political, and social affairs were run by and for landed aristocrats” (2012, 7-8). This society *embraced “an aristocratic collectivism... where the good of the community was foremost but the elite’s right to lead was supposed to go unquestioned”* (2016, 70, 72, emphasis added). It

“has always been fundamentally conservative, with a high value placed on respect for authority and tradition, and very little on equality or public participation in politics” (Woodard 2016, 69-70).

Tidewater elites such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson played a central role in the foundation of the United States and were responsible for many of the aristocratic inflections in the Constitution, including the electoral college. Over the last several decades it has been trending towards the Democratic party as the expanding halos of Washington D.C. and the military bases in Hampton Roads, Virginia have brought in large numbers of residents from other nations (Woodard 2016, 248).

5. **The Deep South:**

The Deep South was founded by Barbados slave lords as a West Indies-style slave society, [and f]or most of American history, the region has been the bastion of white supremacy, aristocratic privilege, and a version of classical Republicanism modeled on the slave states of the ancient world, where democracy was a privilege of the few and enslavement the natural lot of the many (Woodard 2012, 9).

The Deep South in the antebellum period was an extreme individualist’s dream. The purpose of the state was limited to the protection of private property through the provision of courts, circumscribed police functions, and military defense. Individuals at the top of the social pyramid were highly protective of their own liberties, uninterested in those of others, and hostile to the notion of human equality. Taxes were extremely low and were designed to spare those most able to pay them.... With scant taxes collected, there were very few public services [no public schools, just private tutors and academies].” (Woodard 2016, 47)

After successfully resisting a Yankee-led occupation [during the Reconstruction era], it became the center of the states' rights movement, racial segregation, and labor and environmental deregulation. (Woodard 2012, 9)

Many poor whites' in this nation have their social identities deeply rooted in evangelical Christian churches. Here, they have been taught that

Slavery, aristocratic rule, and the grinding poverty of most ordinary people in the southern nations weren't evils to be confronted but rather the reflection of a divinely sanctioned hierarchy to be maintained at all costs against the Yankee heretics (Woodard 2012, 264-265, emphasis added).

As a result, many Deep Southerners have historically

“rejected social reform, found biblical justification for slavery, and denounced secularism, feminism, environmentalism, and many key discoveries of modern sciences as contrary to God's will” (ibid, 303).

Today, the descendants of the nation's founding oligarchs fight to defend their freedom by exerting control over and maintaining

a one-party state with a colonial-style economy based on large-scale agriculture and the extraction of primary resources by a compliant, low-wage workforce with as few labor, workplace safety, health care, and environmental regulations as possible and a tax structure that pushes much of the financial burden onto those least able to afford it. In office, the Deep South's leaders focus on cutting taxes for the rich, funneling massive subsidies to agribusiness and oil companies, rolling back labor and environmental initiatives, and creating 'guest-worker' programs and 'right to work' laws to ensure a cheap, docile labor supply (2016, 247-248).

6. Greater Appalachia:

Greater Appalachia was founded in the early eighteenth century by wave upon wave of rough, bellicose settlers from the war-ravaged borderlands of Northern Ireland, northern England, and the Scottish Lowlands.... In the British Isles, this culture had formed in a state of near-constant war and upheaval, fostering *a warrior ethic and a deep commitment to individual liberty and personal sovereignty. Intensely suspicious of aristocrats and social reformers alike, these American Borderlanders despised Yankee teachers, Tidewater lords, and Deep Southern aristocrats* (Woodard 2012, 8, emphasis added).

Settlers in this region “embraced an extreme libertarian definition of freedom: the right to rule oneself with as little intrusion by law enforcement, courts, and other political institutions as possible” (Woodard 2016, 73). Individual freedom wins over collective good almost every time here.

7. **El Norte:** El Norte is

the oldest of the Euro-American nations, dating back to the late sixteenth century, when the Spanish empire founded Monterrey, Saltillo, and other northern outposts. Today, this resurgent nation spreads from the United States-Mexico border for a hundred miles or more in either direction.... Overwhelmingly Hispanic, it has long been a hybrid between Anglo- and Spanish America, with an economy oriented toward the United States rather than Mexico City.... Norteños (‘northerners’) have a well-earned reputation for being more independent, self-sufficient, adaptable, and work-centered than Mexicans from the more densely populated hierarchical society of the Mexican core (Woodard 2012, 10).

The region’s political heritage... as Chicano scholar Juan Gomez-Quinones once put it, is [one] of being ‘leery of government’ while also maintaining ‘the fairly continuous expectation that government should provide for the general welfare, combined with the practical awareness that it provides for a select number.’ *In El Norte, where family and church ties are strong, and the collectivist impulses of the Catholic Church remain influential, government is seen as an agent of the common good, even if there is little expectation that it will be able to perform its role without prejudice in favor of the region’s elites* (Woodard 2016, 77-78, emphasis added).

8. **The Left Coast:** The Left Coast

was originally colonized by two groups: merchants, missionaries, and woodsmen from New England (who arrived by sea and controlled the towns) and farmers, prospectors, and fur traders from Greater Appalachia (who arrived by wagon and dominated the countryside). Originally slated by Yankees to become a ‘New England on the Pacific’ – and the target of a dedicated Yankee missionary effort – *the Left Coast retained a strong strain of New England intellectualism and idealism even as it embraced a culture of individual fulfillment. Today it combines the Yankee faith in good government and social reform” with the “Appalachian commitment to individual self-expression and exploration”* (Woodard 2016, 79, emphasis added).

This combination has made the Left Coast

“the birthplace of the modern environmental movement and the global information revolution... and the cofounder (along with New Netherland) of the gay rights movement, the peace movement, and the cultural revolution of the 1960s” (2012, 11-12).

Overall, the Left Coast is “very much a communitarian culture, especially in regard to that ultimate common good, the environment” (2016, 79).

9. **The Far West:**

“The Far West, uniquely in North America, is a nation defined not by ethnoregional cultural forces but by the demands of external institutions. It is the one place where environment really did trump the cultural heritage of settlers...” (Woodard 2012, 244).

This was largely because it

couldn't be effectively colonized without the deployment of vast industrial resources: railroads, heavy mining equipment, ore smelters, dams, and irrigation systems. As a result, the colonization of much of the region was facilitated and directed by large corporations headquartered in distant New York, Boston, Chicago, or San Francisco, or by the federal government itself, which controlled much of the land (ibid, 12).

Immigrants and Greater Appalachians were recruited by these companies to settle narrow swaths of territory bordering the railroads, bringing with them a certain rugged individualism that has been a staple of frontier culture. It was and continues to be “treated as an internal colony, exploited and despoiled for the benefit of the seaboard nations,” which has “focused public resentment on the federal government” (Woodard 2012, 12; Woodard 2016, 80). However, its exploiters

have been private as well as public.... Anaconda Copper literally ran Montana [,] logging interests clear-cut the region's federally owned forests for next to nothing, while oil and gas companies prospected on federally administered Indian reservations, often without the required royalties ever being paid out to the tribes (Woodard 2016, 80-81).

As a result it has also been

“a hotbed of economic populism, labor unionism, and other ‘common good’ concerns,” lining up behind Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal in the early twentieth century and occasionally electing populist progressives (ibid).

Overall, the Far West is

a schizophrenic political culture shaped by colonial exploitation, one that values civil liberties and seeks a fair shake for individuals, but also a level playing field and an open public purse for spending that buttresses the economy. Egalitarian and individualistic – but not strenuously so – it is in many ways the analog of the Midlands, only with libertarian rather than communitarian leanings (2016, 81, emphasis added).

These nine nations make up the vast majority of the continent and hold the bulk of political power, but there are still four more nations that hold little or no sway in federal politics:

10. **New France:** Upon completion of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the United States incorporated “A New French enclave in the heart of the Deep South...” (203-204). Here “French-speaking Acadians practiced an idiosyncratic form of Catholicism in the swamps of the Mississippi’s delta” and sought to “*retain French legal and parish-based administrative norms.*” (2012, 165-166, 203-204). Additionally “a more lenient French and Spanish form of slavery and race relations had produced a far less rigid slave society (2012, 203-204). Since the Spanish had given all slaves the right to buy their freedom, “45 percent of [New Orleans’] black population was free” (2012, 203), setting New Orleans apart from the bulk of the Deep South culturally. Overall New France “resisted assimilation, remaining a land apart right into the twenty-first century” (2012, 204). *Although more collectively minded than their Deep Southern neighbors, this nation remains staunchly committed to individual liberty, particularly in the backcountry swamps of the Bayou.*

11. **Spanish Caribbean:** This nation is centered outside of the continental US in Cuba, but “Cuban-dominated South Florida is the financial and transportation hub of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean” (2012, 17). It also includes the US territory of Puerto Rico, which does not have voting privileges in Congress but is home to over three million American citizens.

The Spanish Caribbean nation emerged on the mainland relatively recently and grew largely thanks to two separate waves of Cuban exiles. The first consisted of upper-class Cubans fleeing Fidel Castro's Revolution in the 1960s. The second wave of over 125,000 Cubans arrived between April-October 1980 during the Mariel Boat Lift. Older Cubans tend to be intensely critical of the communist politics of their home country and historically have turned out in large numbers to vote for the Republican party. However, recent trends have shown a shift among the Cuban population towards the Democratic party, particularly among younger voters and more recent arrivals (Krogstad 2014).

Non-Cuban Latinos, mainly comprised of Puerto Rican and Dominican immigrants, are much more likely to vote Democratic and are growing their influence in this nation (Krogstad & Flores 2016; Flores, Lopez & Krogstad 2018). All in all *this nation is split between those that prioritize individual liberty and those that prioritize the common good, making this a swing nation.*

12. **First Nation:** The bulk of this nation is located in

the boreal forests, tundra, and glaciers of the far north, [where] indigenous inhabitants still occupy the area in force – most of them having never given up their land by treaty – and still retain cultural practices and knowledge that allow them to survive in the region on its own terms. Native Americans have recently begun reclaiming their sovereignty and have won both considerable autonomy in Alaska (2012, 13).

Large pockets of this nation also extend south, including the Navajo reservation in northeast Arizona and New Mexico and major reservations in South Dakota, Montana, and Oklahoma. This nation is highly common-good-oriented but has been relegated to the least economically productive parts of the country, leading to high unemployment. It also faces the ongoing effects of massive inter-generational trauma.

13. **Greater Polynesia:** “Hawaii is part of the greater Polynesian cultural nation and was once a nation-state of its own” (2012, 17). Its monarchy was overthrown by the US in 1893 before being formally annexed and occupied in 1898 and added as a state in 1959. Tensions exist between the indigenous Hawaiian population and “haole” non-natives, and an active sovereignty movement continues to push for native governance and political self-determination (Haunani-Kay 2000, Kai-Hwa Wang 2016). This nation is also highly common-good-oriented.

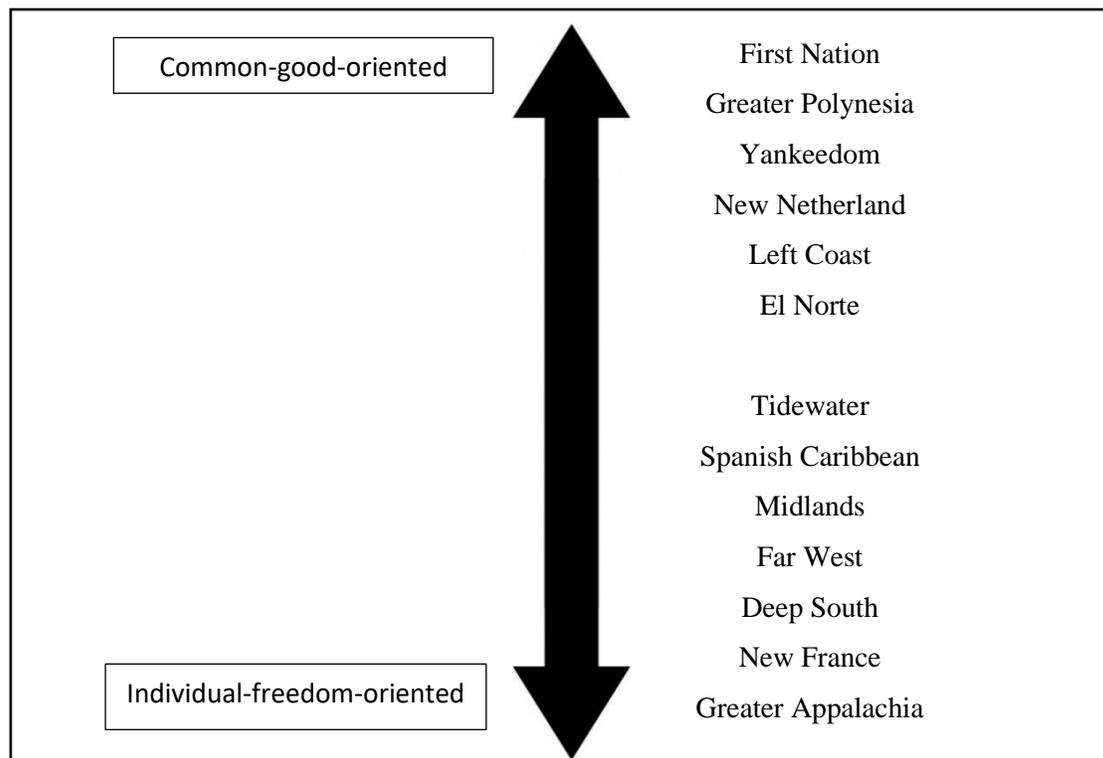
The sheer number of ethnoregional cultures present in the US differentiates it from just about every other major country on Earth. “Most of the other free societies that emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries each comprised a single dominant culture – the Netherlands or Denmark, for instance – or just two or three, as in Belgium, Switzerland, or the United Kingdom,” Woodard explains (2016, 82-83).

Reaching a common understanding of how to weigh individual and collective concerns was relatively easy in these less heterogeneous places. In America, the differences between our separate cultures [on this question] are enormous, which is why we ended up with such a complicated federal constitutional arrangement to begin with (ibid).

In addition, the US federation of nations was born out of “a revolution [where] the primary foe of liberty was a monarchical government” (Woodard 2016, 243). As a result, to this day even the most common-good oriented nations “remain vigilant against the rise of an overarching government that might deny us our individual potential” (ibid). All of America’s regional nations remain “more individualistic than, say, modern-day Scandinavians” (ibid, 23). The circumstances of the founding of the United States helps to explain why the US “in aggregate [is] one of the most individualistic political cultures on earth,” a “neoliberal... individualistic outlier among liberal democracies” worldwide (Woodard 2016, 22, 243).

Arranging the nations along a spectrum, we see how they differ in their definitions of freedom:

Figure 2: Spectrum of American Nations from Most Common-Good-Oriented to most Individual-Freedom-Oriented



Overall, the American Nations theory helps explain why different regions of the US are more liberal or conservative than others by pointing to their founding circumstances: different regions were founded by different groups of settlers with vastly different goals and values in mind. I chose to use the American Nations theory because it provides a finer grain analysis that rightly acknowledges the fundamental differences between America's many regional cultures. It also goes beyond a simple analysis of "red states" and "blue states", demonstrating how national cultural borders bisect state borders or compete with one another within states like Pennsylvania or Arizona.

The implications of the American Nations theory are far reaching. But one stands out: reaching an inter-national governing consensus on any particular issue is highly improbably, if not impossible, given the histories and different definitions of freedom of each nation.

Climate governance is no exception. "Climate change is essentially the common good action problem writ large," Woodard told me in our email exchange. Broad-based support for federal action to combat climate change exists in nations that prioritize the common good such as New Netherland, the Left Coast, and broad swaths of Yankeedom. But individual-freedom-prioritizing nation like the Deep South, Greater Appalachia, and the Far West are wary or downright hostile towards climate solutions, including carbon pricing, phasing out fossil fuels, increased public transit and reduced meat consumption, to name a few. They see these policies as unacceptable infringements on individual liberty and the American way of life (Huber 2013). Even though the science is clear, and experts agree fast, ambitious action must be taken, the tension between these two coalitions on this issue are hard to overstate.

3.1.2.1. Critiquing the American Nations Theory

Although a broad consensus exists that the American Nations theory is fundamentally sound and applicable to our current political situation (Rubenstein 2012; Loiacono 2012; King 2011; Kopper & Rohrer 2011; Barker 2018), there are several common critiques.

One revolves around whether the nations can really continue to promote versions of their founding visions given the length of time that has elapsed and the tremendous influx of immigrants from all corners of the globe in the 19th and 20th centuries (Loiacono 2012). Woodard acknowledges these as valid questions and answers them by pointing to the Doctrine of First Effective Settlement. The theory, formulated by cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky in 1973, states that

Whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial

significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been (Zelinsky, as quoted by Woodard 2012, 15-16).

In other words, the founding members of each of these nations laid down a cultural pattern that was replicated and spread by their successors, one which remains at the core of these nations to this day.

That isn't to say that the nations or their cultures are transhistorical artifacts, however. Woodard acknowledges that national cultures evolve over time, but that they generally tend to do so in ways that are self-reinforcing. In the case of immigration, the vast majority of the 36 million people who emigrated to the United States between 1830-1924 "lived in New Netherland, the Midlands, and Yankeedom and most of the rest on the Left Coast" (Woodard 2012, 256). This happened because new arrivals were wary of encountering similarly "repressive feudal systems controlled by enriched aristocracies" in the Deep South and Tidewater as they were fleeing from in their homelands. In addition, in these nations "strict adherence to local customs and practices remained key to being accepted as 'American,' which made them less attractive to foreigners" (ibid). Rather than settle in these unwelcoming nations, immigrants gravitated towards northern nations that shared their values and allowed them to maintain their customs. German immigrants fleeing civil war between 1830-1860 joined their like-minded countrymen in the Midlands; Scandinavian immigrants settled mostly in Yankee states like Minnesota and Wisconsin which "shared [their] commitment to frugality, [cultural] sobriety, and civic responsibility; a hostility to slavery; and an acceptance of a state-run church" (Woodard 2012, 178); and Irish and Italian Catholics generally avoided moralizing Puritans in Yankeedom and "chose to live in the more tolerant, multicultural Midlands or in individualistic Appalachia" (ibid). With the exception of Yankeedom, these nations were places where "it was viewed as normal for people of many languages, religions, and cultures to live side by side" (Woodard 2012, 256).

The same phenomenon has been occurring across American society writ large over the last several decades as internal mobility has increased.

As journalist Bill Bishop and sociologist Robert Cushing demonstrated in *The Big Sort* (2008), since 1976 Americans have been relocating to communities where people share their values and worldview. As a result, the proportion of voters living in counties that give landslide support to one party or another (defined as more than a 20 percent margin of victory) increased from 26.8 percent in 1976 to 48.3 percent in 2004.... virtually every one of their Democratic landslide counties is located in either Yankeedom, the Left Coast, or El Norte, while the Republican ones dominate Greater Appalachia and Tidewater and virtually monopolize the Far West and Deep South.... Our continent's famed mobility – and the transportation and communications

technology that foster that – has been reinforcing, not dissolving, the differences between the nations (16-17).

There is one major exception to the trend of human mobility reinforcing regional cultures, and that is in urban metropolises across the Far West. Since the Far West was the only nation not colonized by a particular ethnogroup and remains so sparsely populated, its political profile is much more vulnerable to change through internal migration than that of any other nation.

Over the last three decades, a large-scale influx of Latinos and college graduates from other nations flocking to metropolitan areas in Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Idaho, and Utah has shifted these Far Western states in the direction of the Democratic party. Ruy Teixeira explores this phenomenon in his book *America's New Swing Region* (2012). Calling these six states the “Mountain West,” he shows that after several decades of large-scale migration to cities like Denver, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, Phoenix, Boise, and Salt Lake, in “a region where no state voted Democratic in any presidential election between 1968 and 1988, a region supposedly imbued with an unshakable libertarian ethos and a reverence for Reagan-style politics” (1), surveys have shown that

strong majorities across the region... wanted more federal and state government involvement in areas like protecting the environment, promoting renewable energy sources, cracking down on crime and drugs, guaranteeing quality public education, and creating jobs... residents also supported the idea that government regulation of business is necessary [and] said that they did not mind paying federal taxes ‘because we each have a responsibility to contribute to the common good and to support those who can’t support themselves’ (Teixeira, 8-9).

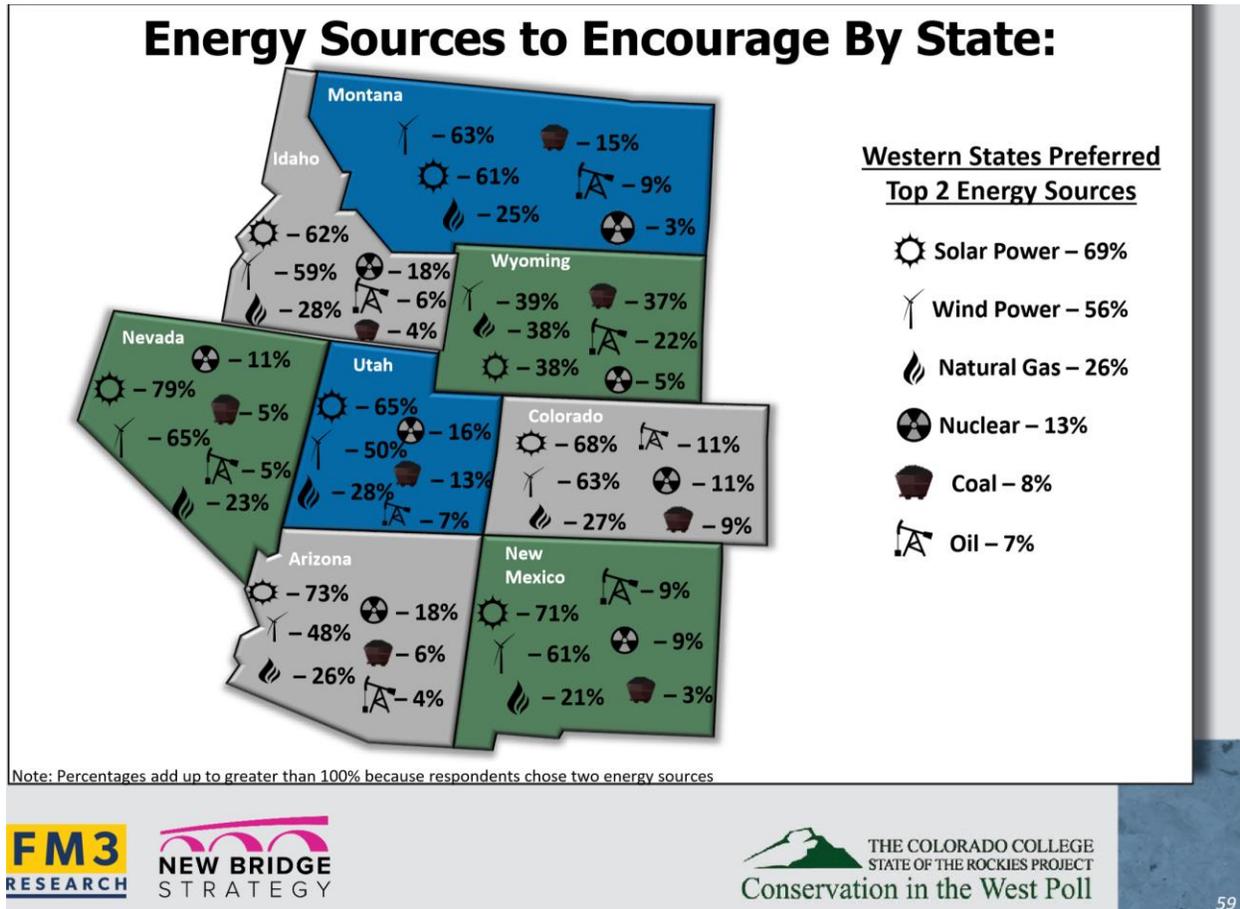
Teixeira shows that there are major differences in opinion “between the Millennials and older generations, between minorities and whites, and among whites, between college-educated and working-class residents,” making a strong case that internal migration has indeed affected the political leanings of these states (ibid, 9). Diving deeper into their views on the environment, the survey found that residents of these states feel strongly about improving conservation and, more surprisingly, prioritizing renewable energy production over new fossil fuels:

Mountain West residents felt—by more than a 2-to-1 majority regionwide and with strong majorities in every state—that their state was better off ‘investing in wind and solar energy solutions that will generate clean, renewable energy sources and jobs for years to come’ than ‘investing in proven technologies like clean coal and nuclear energy sources because they are guaranteed to produce jobs now’ (Teixeira, 8)

More recent polling confirms these findings. A 2019 survey conducted by Colorado College’s State of the Rockies Project of the six Mountain West states plus Montana and Wyoming found that a strong

majority of voters in every state saw themselves as outdoor recreation enthusiasts (p 36), supported increasing taxes to fund conservation efforts (p 18), viewed climate change as a serious threat (p 23), and in all but Wyoming supported solar and wind energy development over coal, oil, and natural gas (p 59) (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Preferred Energy Sources to Encourage by State



Source: Colorado College State of the Rockies Project 2019 Conservation in the West Poll

The more common-good oriented views of the ascendant demographic groups would suggest that these states will continue their shift towards favoring more “government involvement in areas like education, energy, and the environment” in the years ahead (Teixeira, 9). Although “the public opinion profile of the Mountain West will remain complex and contradictory, even in the relatively liberal states of Colorado, Nevada, and New Mexico... This is not, as it were, your father’s Mountain West... conventional stereotypes about the Mountain West should be treated very, very cautiously” (ibid, 9-10).

Another recurring critique of Woodard's theory is that it fails to consider the issue of race in American politics. Loiacono (2012) calls out Woodard's decision to just "fold [African Americans] into whatever European-founded nation they inhabit," while MacGillis (2011) laments the lack of treatment of the Great Migration of blacks Northward in the early to mid-20th century in Woodard's text. These are valid criticisms in my view. Woodard briefly alludes to the existence of a "Creole nation with its core in Haiti and a domain extending over much of the Caribbean basin and on to Brazil" that includes "African American culture" in its periphery (Woodard 2012, 17-18). But this observation does not consider the political and cultural influence African Americans have had in American society since at least the end of the Civil War, if not much earlier.

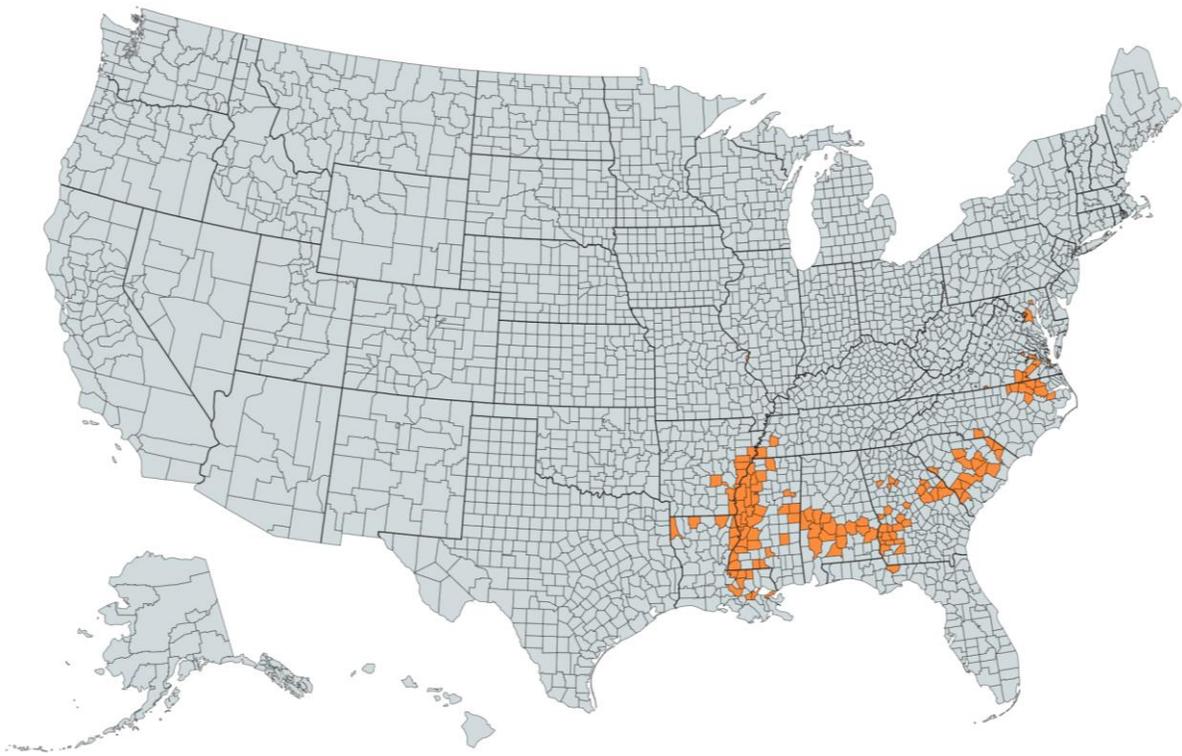
Therefore, for the purposes of my analysis I propose adding a racial social group identity layer of analysis on top of Woodard's American Nations theory to capture the distinct political and cultural attitudes of African Americans in the United States.

The African American social group identity is richly documented. Cribbed in the spiritual hearth of black churches (Mellowes 2010) and fostered by the Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro movement in early twentieth century New York City (Louis Gates Jr. 1988; National Humanities Center), the African American social group identity has been forged through the shared experience of centuries of systemic oppression under slavery and entrenched racism in the Jim Crow era, as well as the collective fight for civil rights from the early abolitionists through the present. With its modern main cultural hub in Atlanta, this social group identity is concentrated along the lower half of the Mississippi River and stretches east across Alabama and Georgia before curving up through South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, ending in the Washington, DC and Baltimore metro areas (Figure 4)⁴.

Pockets of this nation were carried northward into major cities in the Midlands (Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis), New Netherland (Newark, New York), and Yankeedom (Detroit, Cleveland) by millions of African Americans during the Great Migration (1916-1970). Racist housing policies included in the New Deal (Gross, 2017) and white flight during the post-war era (Semuels 2015) have produced distinct pockets of majority African American residents, turning these Northern cities into gathering points for the African American diaspora. This can be observed by looking at the distribution of majority African American congressional districts across the country in Figure 5.

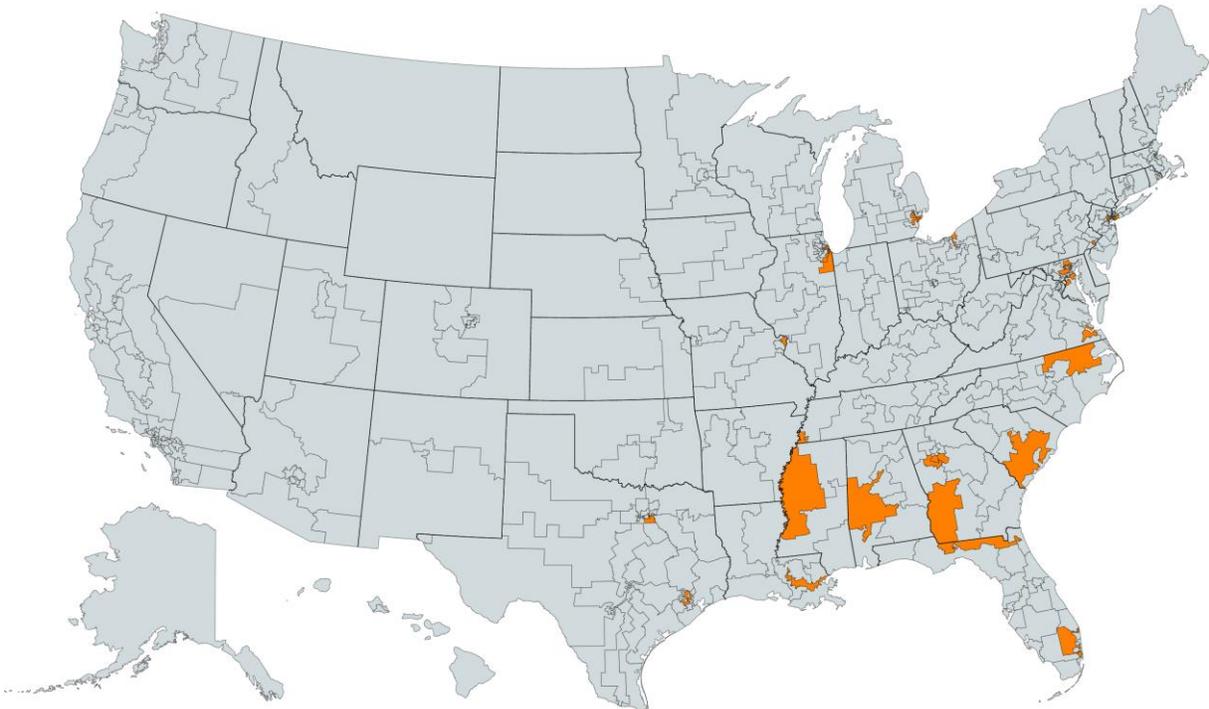
⁴ There are currently 137 counties in the US where African Americans make up 45% or more of the population. 108 are spread across in the Deep South, 21 are in Tidewater, 4 are in New France, 2 are in Greater Appalachia, 2 are in the Midlands, and 1 is Washington, DC. 30 are in Mississippi, 27 in Georgia, 15 in Alabama, 15 in South Carolina, 14 in Louisiana, 13 in Virginia, 9 in North Carolina, 7 in Arkansas, 2 in Maryland, 2 in Tennessee, 1 in Florida, 1 in Missouri, and 1 in the District of Columbia.

Figure 4: Counties with >45% African American population



Source: Census, “2013-2017 5-Year American Community Survey Estimate County Populations by Race”

Figure 5: Congressional Districts with >45% African American population



Source: Daily Kos, “116th Congress Members Guide with Elections and Demographic Data by District”

Any serious treatment of the American political landscape must acknowledge the important role that race and specifically the African American social group identity plays in American politics. By pairing this explicit treatment of race with Woodard's American Nations theory, I aim to paint a fuller picture of the obstacles to and opportunities for pro-climate governance in modern America.

3.1.3. Modern Inter-National Governing Alliances and Political Trends

According to the American Nations theory, no single nation is powerful enough to control the federal government on its own. As a result, like-minded nations have allied with each other in order to promote their shared notions of freedom through federal policy. The two most powerful social group alliances are led by the common-good-minded Yankees and the individual-freedom-loving oligarchs of the Deep South.

These common-good and individual freedom governing alliances have evolved over time, adding and dropping partner nations as economic and political circumstances changed. The modern configuration of the two coalitions has emerged since 1964, when Democrats passed civil rights legislation that pushed Deep Southern and Greater Appalachian voters towards the Republican party, and has remained remarkably stable up through the present day:

3.1.3.1. Northern Coalition

The Yankee-led Northern alliance currently comprises Yankeedom, New Netherland, the Left Coast, El Norte and the African American social identity group, with Greater Polynesia, and First Nation forming minor partners. It has operated through the Democratic party since the Great Depression and has been the coalition pushing for climate action in recent years. Yankeedom, with its "crusading utopian agenda" has set the tone for the alliance: it seeks to achieve the common good through

the creation of a frugal, competent, and effective government supported by a strong tax base and able to ensure the availability and prudent management of shared assets. The Left Coast's views are nearly identical, though it added environmental quality to the shared agenda during the twentieth century (Woodard 2012, 295).

New Netherland joined the alliance in the late nineteenth century after a falling out with its economic partner, the Deep South, during the Civil War. It has grown increasingly aware of its need "for

effective government and expensive public infrastructure. [It is] the nation with the fewest qualms about taxation and large-scale public institutions”⁵ (Woodard 2012, 296).

The African American social identity group joined in the early twentieth century, pushing for civil rights and an end to Jim Crow discrimination that ultimately resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

El Norte joined the coalition during the cultural emancipation of *norteños* in the 1960s. After decades of being treated as “second class citizens, especially in south Texas and southern California... young *norteños* [in the 1960s] began to assert their rights, organizing voter registration drives and citizens’ movements” that began to tilt these regions in the Democrats’ direction (Woodard 2012, 280).

Two swing nation, Tidewater and Spanish Caribbean, have grown increasingly tied to the Northern coalition in the last decade.

Together, the Northern alliance “has been the champion of collective action for the common good, consistently favoring the maintenance of a strong central government, federal checks on corporate power, and the conservation of natural resources” (Woodard 2016, 248).

3.1.3.2. Dixie Coalition

The Deep South-led Dixie coalition currently consists of the Deep South, Greater Appalachia, and the Far West, with New France as a minor partner. It has operated through the Republican party since the 1960s and has led the charge against climate action by peddling climate denial and denigrating environmentalists. This coalition pushes mainly for the Deep Southern oligarchy’s policy goals, namely

cutting taxes for the rich, funneling massive subsidies to agribusiness and oil companies, rolling back labor and environmental initiatives, and creating ‘guest-worker’ programs and ‘right to work’ laws to ensure a cheap, docile labor supply (Woodard 2016, 248).

In order to convince the other nations of the Dixie coalition – libertarian Greater Appalachia and the Far West – to support this agenda, elite intellectual and political actors in the 1950s and 60s⁶ led by William Buckley Jr, the son of a Deep Southern oil magnate, successfully led a fusionist movement to combine three major ideological strains into a coherent conservative ideology. They included:

- (1) the Deep Southern oligarchy’s economic libertarianism (“laissez-faire capitalism”);

⁵ Little surprise then that the Green New Deal and its emphasis on taxation and infrastructure would come out of a New Netherland borough (the Bronx) and Yankeedom (Massachusetts).

⁶ These Included cofounders of the *National Review* James Burnham, Frank Meyer, Russell Kirk, and L. Brent Bozell and founders of the libertarian *Mont Pelerin Society* Friedrich August von Hayek and Milton Friedman.

- (2) the evangelical traditionalism of poor whites in the Deep South and Greater Appalachia; and
- (3) the potent anti-Communist sentiments prevalent during the Cold War, particularly among residents of Greater Appalachia and the Far West who held strong anti-government and pro-military attitudes (Grossman and Hopkins 2016, 75-77).

After the collapse of the USSR in 1989, the conservative brain trust tagged the environmental movement as the new embodiment of socialist and communist ideals. Conservative think tanks and media organizations have routinely branded environmental policies as socialist, and they paint environmentalists and climate alarmists as the biggest clear and present danger to Dixie coalition's way of life.

The remaining swing nation - the Midlands - has recently tilted in the Dixie coalition's direction, in part thanks to conservative rhetoric arguing Democrats prioritize the needs of the African American social identity group over the grievances of white working-class voters in this region.

The conservative fusionist project successfully brought together the Deep South, Greater Appalachia, and vast swaths of the Far West into a viable governing coalition in the late 20th century.

3.1.3.3. Partisan Parity and Asymmetrical Polarization

Even though the Northern coalition easily claims the loyalty of more nations than the Dixie coalition, the US is currently caught in an extended moment of partisan parity. The genesis of this moment dates back to when Republicans retook the Senate in 1980, ending a twenty-six-year period of full Democratic control of Congress (Lee 2016, 23). For the last forty years the country has been governed by "narrow and alternative party majorities" (ibid, 21). Each party generally "receiv[es] between 47 and 53 percent of all the votes cast in congressional elections any given year" (Lee 2016, 1). Overall, this period "stand out as the longest sustained period of partisan parity over the whole period dating back to the Civil War [and] shows no sign of abating" (Lee 2016, 23).

Not only are the parties more competitive with each other than ever, but the success of the fusionist movement has also resulted in asymmetrical polarization of the Republican party since the 1970s. As the fusionist project took off, a cohort of young Republicans joined congress between 1972-1982 who espoused a markedly different theory of change than their colleagues. As Zelizer writes, they entered Congress "with a strong ideological mission [and] were simultaneously committed to playing hardball politics so that they were not relegated to the margins" (Zelizer, as quoted in Grossman and Hopkins, 284). These members

“ran against ‘Washington’ and the entire political system, portraying themselves as defending their [conservative] principles against threats in both parties” (Grossman and Hopkins, 285).

The institutional center of gravity for these conservative Republicans in the House of Representatives was the Republican Study Committee, founded in 1973 to serve as a bulwark against the leftward shift of the Nixon Administration (Grossman & Hopkins, 283). By 1976 it boasted a membership of over half of House Republicans and helped produce more than a hundred reports on pending bills from a conservative perspective (ibid).

One of the new conservative members elected in this period was future House Speaker Newt Gingrich. He promoted a more adversarial, uncompromising, combative type of partisanship when he arrived in the House in 1979 and quickly rose through the ranks of Republican leadership. He described his approach as wanting to

destroy the institution in order to save it, to so intensify public hatred of Congress that voters would buy into the notion of the need for sweeping change and throw the majority bums out (Grossman and Hopkins, 285-286).

Upon assuming the Speakership in 1995, Gingrich said he saw himself as a completely different type of speaker than his Democratic predecessors:

They had been essentially legislative leaders ... [while I] was essentially a political leader ... seeking to do nothing less than reshape the federal government along with the political culture of the nation (Grossman & Hopkins, 289).

Gingrich House Republicans adopted their leader’s ideological extremity and aggressive tactics, transforming the Republican party in the process. As they grew more senior, thirty-three of them were eventually elected to the Senate and brought their distinctive governing style into that chamber as well. Sean Theriault calls this group “the Gingrich Senators” (Theriault, 2010; Theriault & Rohde 2010), and they behaved very different than their more senior colleagues:

They often acted as a group to depose leaders and vote on amendments. They led the first partisan votes on debt limit extensions and opposed bipartisan budget agreements. They voted against previously uncontroversial unemployment benefit extensions and executive nominations. Under the Gingrich senators, filibuster use increased and cloture voting became more ideological. Gingrich senators demanded more roll calls on amendments and were more likely to appear on Sunday talk shows (Grossman & Hopkins 2016, 290-291).

Asymmetrical polarization has continued even after Gingrich resigned from the Speakership in 1999. Theriault argues that the Tea Party Republicans that were elected in 2010 represented the next version of the Gingrich Republicans, ideologically extreme Machiavellians willing to shred institutional norms and shut down the government in order to get their way (University of Texas, 2013). Their institutional center of gravity is the Freedom Caucus (Green 2019).

Overall, the forces of asymmetrical polarization at work in American politics since the early 1970s have turned the Republican party into an ideologically extreme “insurgent outlier” relative to the Democratic party (Mann & Ornstein 2012, xiii; Grossman & Hopkins 2016, 284-289; Fernholz & Kopf 2019). In Mann and Ornstein’s words the party has become

contemptuous of the inherited social and economic policy regime; scornful of compromise; unpersuaded by conventional understanding of facts, evidence, and science; and dismissive of the legitimacy of its political opposition (2012, xiii-xiv).

“When one party moves this far from the center of American politics,” they continue, “it is extremely difficult to enact policies responsive to the country’s most pressing challenges” (ibid). This has proven to be the case with climate change. As one of my interviewees who works for a large environmental nonprofit put it:

It wasn’t that long ago that these issues were at the very least seemingly and operatively bipartisan.

But I think a large part of our politics in this country has been hijacked by reactionary extremists. And they have been toeing a line that, at the very least with those that are currently in power, takes away from the gains that both parties have made for the environmental movement for the last 50 years.... the party that’s in power is extremely regressive and also reactionary and aligned with certain special interests whose only priority is profit motivation, versus what might be best for the public writ large... things are hyper-politicized, things are hyper-partisan in this environment, and money in politics further exacerbates this hyper-partisanship and that hyper-ideology (Interviewee 2).

Another environmental professional put it to me this way:

we do not yet have a bipartisan buy-in for action on climate by and large because republicans have moved right..... their position on climate change has been captured by the Koch brothers and has become kind of a litmus test issue... it’s seen as a wedge issue because it’s a convenient proxy issue for big government. If you believe in climate change you believe in big government... right now it feels like the right wing, the Tea Party, the Koch Brothers, special interests, plus Citizens United [have] really just thrown a block up against action on climate (Interviewee 10).

A republican staffer on the Hill that I spoke with said his boss lamented the degree to which climate change has fallen prey to partisan advantage-seeking, but he located the blame for this both on the Republicans but also a prominent Democrat:

[My boss] praises Al Gore for drawing attention to this issue, but he also faults him for not bringing in a Republican with him to talk and speak out against this issue. I think that because of that climate change has become a litmus test (Interviewee 13)

Whatever the reason, no one disputes the fact that climate change is now a deeply partisan issue. The only thing left to do is find a way of addressing it beginning from within the context of partisan parity and asymmetrical polarization.

4. Literature review

4.1. Learning from Cap-and-Trade

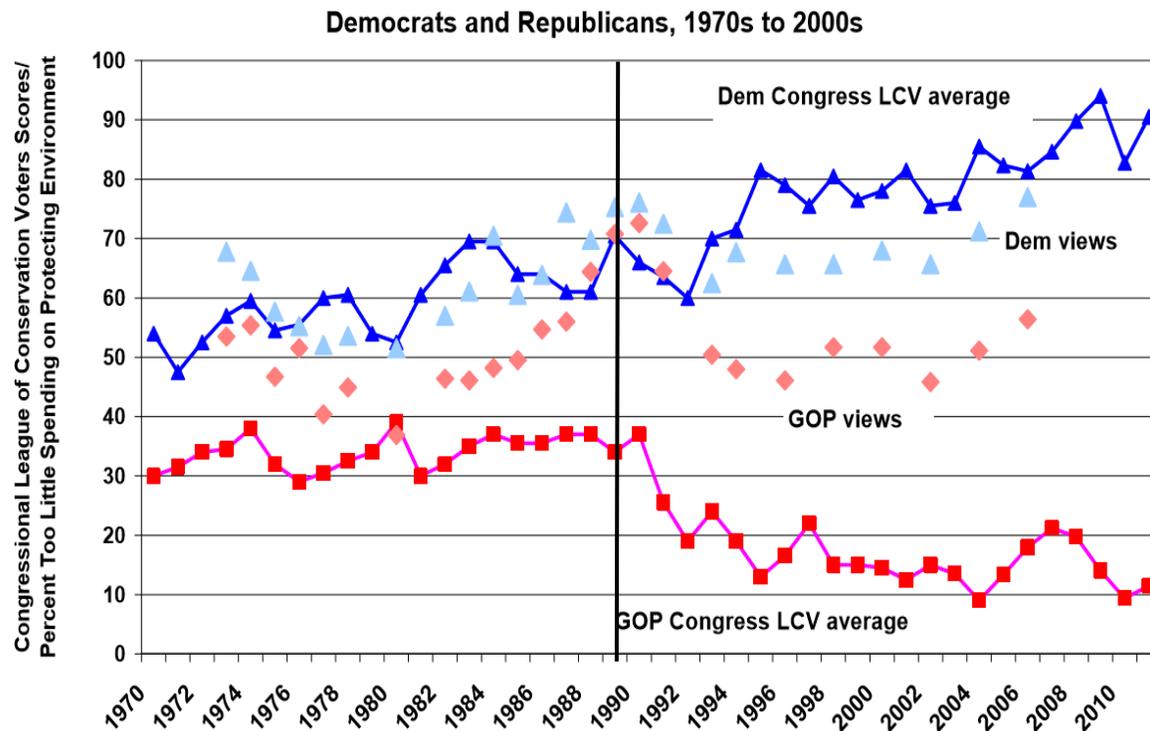
Several scholars have analyzed the prospects for a breakthrough in climate governance in the US. Perhaps the most prominent among them is Harvard's Theda Skocpol. In January of 2013 she published a detailed report titled *Naming the Problem – What it will take to counter extremism and engage Americans in the fight against climate change* examining why cap-and-trade legislation failed and what the environmental movement should do differently next time. She identifies three major barriers to climate action in the US

First, Skocpol argues that environmental groups overestimated the prospect for bipartisan bargaining to deliver the necessary votes for their bill.

Skocpol points to the widening divide between the LCV scores of Democratic and Republican (GOP) representatives as compared to the views of their base⁷, to make her case. As Figure 6 shows, “after 1990 the modest partisan gap [on environmental issues] in Congress quickly splayed into a veritable chasm” (Skocpol 2013, 61).

⁷ Measured by the percent of partisans who told Gallup that there's too little spent on protecting the environment.

Figure 6 - Congressional Pro-Environment Scores and Citizen Support for Increased Environmental Spending



Source: Skocpol 2013, 58

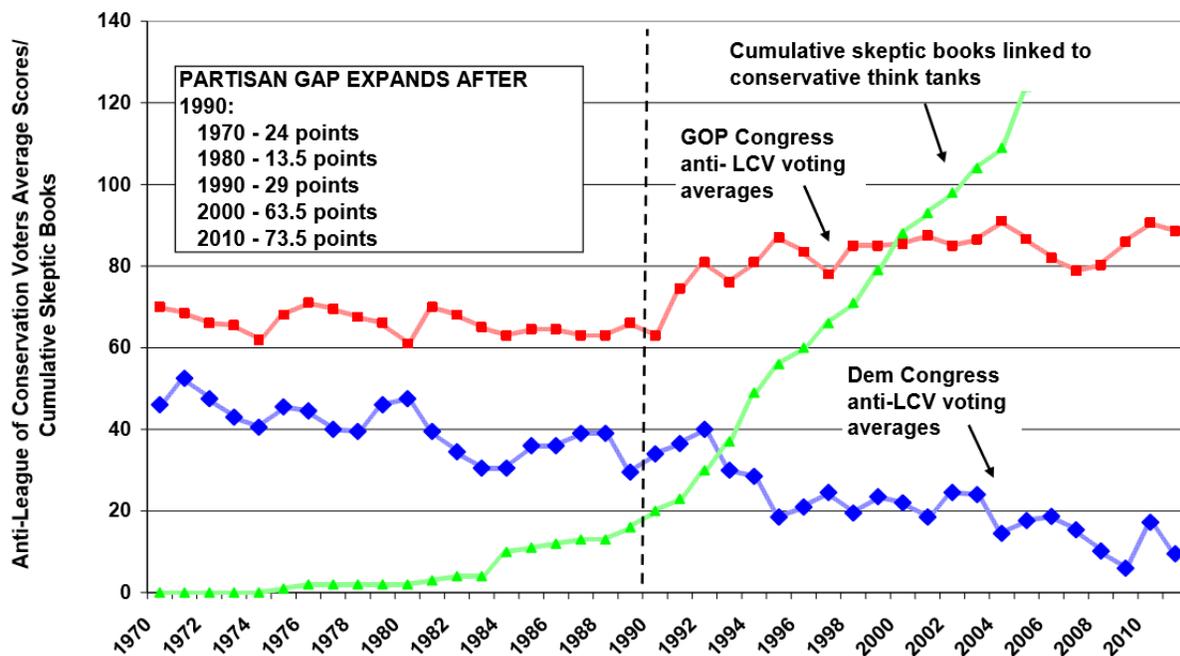
One explanation for this widening gap is the demonization of environmental issues after the collapse of the USSR in 1989 and in the lead up to the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. As Oreskes and Conway (2010) document, intellectual leaders of the conservative movement in the Deep South and Greater Appalachia increasingly began to identify the environmental and climate movements as a clear and present danger to their nations' economic and individual freedom. Anti-communist Cold War physicists like Fred Singer and Fred Seitz partnered with willing funders to cast doubt on climate science, seeing their efforts as a way to thwart eco-radicals that would lead the country down a slippery slope to communism. Others like televangelist Pat Robertson paint the movements as liberals trying to promote a secular religion (Tashman 2017).

An important trend in Figure 6 shows that “public opinion did not polarize anywhere near as much as Congressional voting did” (Skocpol 2013, 61-62). Skocpol explains this discrepancy by pointing to the flood of anti-environmental campaigns funded by carbon-intensive industries and ultra-free-market ideological groups in the 1990s. (ibid, 64). She references a study by Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman which traced the connections between 141 anti-environmental books published between 1972 and 2005 and conservative think tanks. Overall,

130 of the 141 books... were either directly sponsored by conservative think tanks, or had authors tied to one or more think tanks. Eight are major organizations – such as the Competitive Enterprise Institute, the Institute for the Study of Economics and the Environment, and the Weidenbaum Center -- that have led the charge against climate science and do extensive lobbying against environmentalist-supported policies (Skocpol 2013, 67-68).

Additionally, the pace at which these books were published accelerated after 1990, at the same times as Republican anti-environmental voting ticked upward (see Figure 7):

Figure 7 - Organized Climate Science Skepticism and the Growing Congressional Divide in Environmental Voting



Source: Skocpol 2013, 67

Skocpol does not say that these books themselves caused the shift in Republican voting patterns, but rather that they “are indicators of a broader, sustained, and well-funded set of efforts to challenge climate-change reformers intellectually” (Skocpol 2013, 67). Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman agree, saying that

“the production of an endless flow of printed material ranging from books to editorials designed for public consumption to policy briefs aimed at policy-makers and journalists, combined with frequent appearances

by spokespersons on TV and radio [demonstrate] the important role of [conservative think tanks] in leading the anti-environmental counter-movement” (Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman, 355-357).⁸

Based on these facts Skocpol says,

bipartisanship in today’s Washington DC on environmental policymaking is not going to emerge from additional efforts at insider bargaining – not given the stark polarization of the parties, with so many Republicans now wary of compromise or tilting off the edge of the far ideological right (Skocpol 2013, 129).

The Republican Party overall is

heavily tilted toward popular and elite forces who question whether human-induced climate-change is problem for government to deal with at all; and these forces have the capacity to prevent most elected Republicans from compromising... to reorient the U.S. economy. Recruiting a few sympathetic business leaders will not suffice to counter these radical right forces in and around the GOP (ibid, 115).

Given the influence these think tanks, climate deniers, and party leadership have over Republican elected officials and voters in the Deep South, Greater Appalachia, and the Far West,

“There is no reason... to believe that today’s radicalized Republicans will be willing to stand down any time soon from their fierce opposition to virtually all environmental regulations and their refusal to countenance legislation to deal with climate change.” (Skocpol 2013, 94, emphasis added).

The second barrier to climate action in the US, Skocpol argues, are the “intractable regional divisions of interest within the Democratic Party” that make it difficult to get all the members of that party on board (Skocpol 2013, 10). When the cap and trade bill was passed by the House in a narrow 219-212 vote, Democrats held the Presidency, a seventy-eight-seat majority in the House and a brief sixty vote supermajority in the Senate. However, their supermajority included conservative Democrats from Greater Appalachian Arkansas, Indiana, and West Virginia, Deep Southern Louisiana, Midland Nebraska and Far Western North Dakota (Klein 2009), and their House majority included fifty-seven Democrats came from Dixie coalition districts.

Forty-four House Democrats voted against the bill⁹ (House Clerk 2009). Twenty-seven of these forty-four (61%) were from Dixie coalition districts. Another five (9%) were in swingy Midland districts where energy-intensive manufacturing was prominent. It took eight republican votes to push it over the

⁸ Organizations like DeSmog Blog keep rigorous track of the personalities and think tanks fueling climate denial (Demelle 2016; DeSmog).

⁹ Two Democrats, Pete Stark (CA-13) and Dennis Kucinich (OH-10) voted against it for being too weak.

edge, none of which came from Dixie coalition nations (Two were Yankees, two Midlanders, one New Netherlander, one Left Coaster, one Norteño, and one Tidewaterite). Unless a pro-climate majority can be crafted that is more deeply rooted in the common-good minded nations, these regional divisions will stymie future climate legislation.

The third major barrier to climate legislation Skocpol identifies is the Senate filibuster. The cap-and-trade bill, watered down as it may have been, narrowly managed to pass out of the House of Representatives. Ultimately, the failure of the bill was due to the Senate “setting an insurmountable 60-vote bar” to enact it (Skocpol 2013, 10).

Senate Democrats considered getting around the filibuster using reconciliation, a procedure that allows votes on matters related to the budget to pass with only 51 votes. In a companion piece to Skocpol’s analysis, journalists Petra Bartosiewicz and Marissa Miley reported that Democratic Majority Leader Harry Reid considered using the filibuster to pass a cap-and-trade bill. However, Environmental Defense Fund president Fred Krupp and Duke Energy CEO Jim Rogers “managed to persuade him not to take the that route” (Pooley, as quoted in Bartosiewicz & Miley 2013). According to Bartosiewicz and Miley, “Many Senate staffers we spoke with said the climate bill was doomed from the start because it was not slated for reconciliation” (60).

Shortly after Reid’s meeting with Krupp and Rogers, Senator Mike Johanns (R-NE) passed an amendment explicitly prohibiting “the use of reconciliation in the Senate for climate change legislation involving a cap and trade system” (Sheppard 2009, Alarkon 2009). Over two dozen democrats voted for the amendment. A bipartisan group of Senators reaffirmed that position in a 2010 Budget Committee vote (Sheppard 2010).

Skocpol’s takeaway is clear: “If we are to pass climate legislation, Democrats will have to hold a Senate majority, and their majority will have to remove or weaken the 60-vote threshold” (Skocpol, Grist 2013).

4.2. Contribution to the Literature

Overall, I see four options to get the US political system to pass climate legislation:

1. First, asymmetrical polarization could be reversed, either on climate in particular or in general. The Republican party would have to return to being willing to compromise. Woodard, Lee, and Mann and Ornstein all agree that this is unlikely to happen as long as partisan parity remains and competition for control of the federal government is high. Compromise blurs the lines

- between the parties and erases any partisan advantage Republicans gain from obstructing the Democrats' agenda.
2. Second, partisan parity could break. Demographic shifts over the next few decades could tip the scales in favor of one coalition, or an exogenous event like an economic depression or a civil war could prompt a major realignment of the national coalitions and deliver a lasting supermajority capable of setting the economic and political agenda of the United States for an extended period of time. This has generally been how new government programs have come about. The last regional supermajority lasted from 1932-1965, when the Great Depression prompted nearly all the nations to elect a supermajority of Democrats who worked together to pass the New Deal (including social security), retrofit the economy to fight World War II, build the national highway network, and pass Medicare and Medicaid. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 shattered this regional supermajority, however, opening the door for the fusionist movement to build the Dixie coalition and reach partisan parity. Lee in our interview suggested that this sort of realignment is outside the ability of the parties or issue groups to control, and usually happens thanks to a terrible exogenous event like a financial crisis or a war. Until that happens, partisan parity is the new normal, and we must learn to live within it.
 3. Third, legislators and climate advocates could look for ways to work within the gridlock and pass small, incremental bills. This option is the most widely accepted by political types in Washington, DC. It is generally unacceptable, however, to activists and other engaged citizens around the country fully aware of the scale and the urgency of the climate crisis. Unless we completely decarbonize the economy by 2050, the Earth is heading for irreversible damage and a 2 degree or hotter future. Bold, economy-wide action at the federal level is essential for accomplishing that, and no amount of tinkering around the edges will suffice.
 4. The final option is perhaps the most heretical: the institutions of government must be reformed in order to function better under the new normal of partisan parity and asymmetrical polarization. Specifically, Senate rules regarding the filibuster could be amended through a simple majority vote, colloquially called "the nuclear option."

I argue that with option one off the table and option three woefully inadequate, a combination of options two and four will be required to pass durable climate legislation.

Working through the climate-friendly Northern Coalition and the shifting Far West, climate advocates need to build a lasting regional supermajority, possibly helped along by the next major economic or political crisis, that will be able to pass a wide-ranging suite of bills such as is being proposed in the Green New Deal. In the meantime, climate advocates must seriously consider pushing for institutional reforms in the Senate to be able to pass legislation within our gridlocked political system. This thesis examines how both of these things might be achieved, and it contributes to the literature by expanding the conversation on these two crucial topics as it relates to climate politics.

5. Findings

I undertook a quantitative analysis of the climate positions of all 535 members of the 116th congress (2019-2020). I started by mapping Woodard's American Nations onto all 435 House congressional districts and 50 states. I then analyze the existing pro-climate support in each chamber and nation. Finally, I offer some thoughts on how to build robust pro-climate majorities in both the House and the Senate.

5.1. House:

The U.S. House of Representatives, with its 435 voting members, requires 218 votes to secure a majority. All members are up for election every two years.

I determined the dominant nation of each district based on which nation contains the largest percentage of the population in each district. Several dozen congressional districts are made up of multiple nations and given that many also transect county lines I did not have access to exact population data for each nation. In these cases, I used population heat maps from the 2010 Census and identified the largest population centers before assigning it a dominant nation.

According to my analysis, the nations most represented in the House are Greater Appalachia (red, 75 seats), Yankeedom (dark blue, 71 seats), and the Deep South (grey, 57 seats) (Figure 8). First Nation is the only nation that does not hold any seats.

As expected, Democrats make up the vast majority of the Northern coalition nations: 96% in the Left Coast, 95% in New Netherland, 93% in El Norte, and 69% in Yankeedom, as well as 100% in congressional districts dominated by the African American social group identity.

Republicans dominate in Dixie coalition nations: 88% in Greater Appalachia, 82% in the Deep South, and 63% in the Far West. When Democrats took over the House in November, it came thanks to seat gains in nine of the twelve nations.

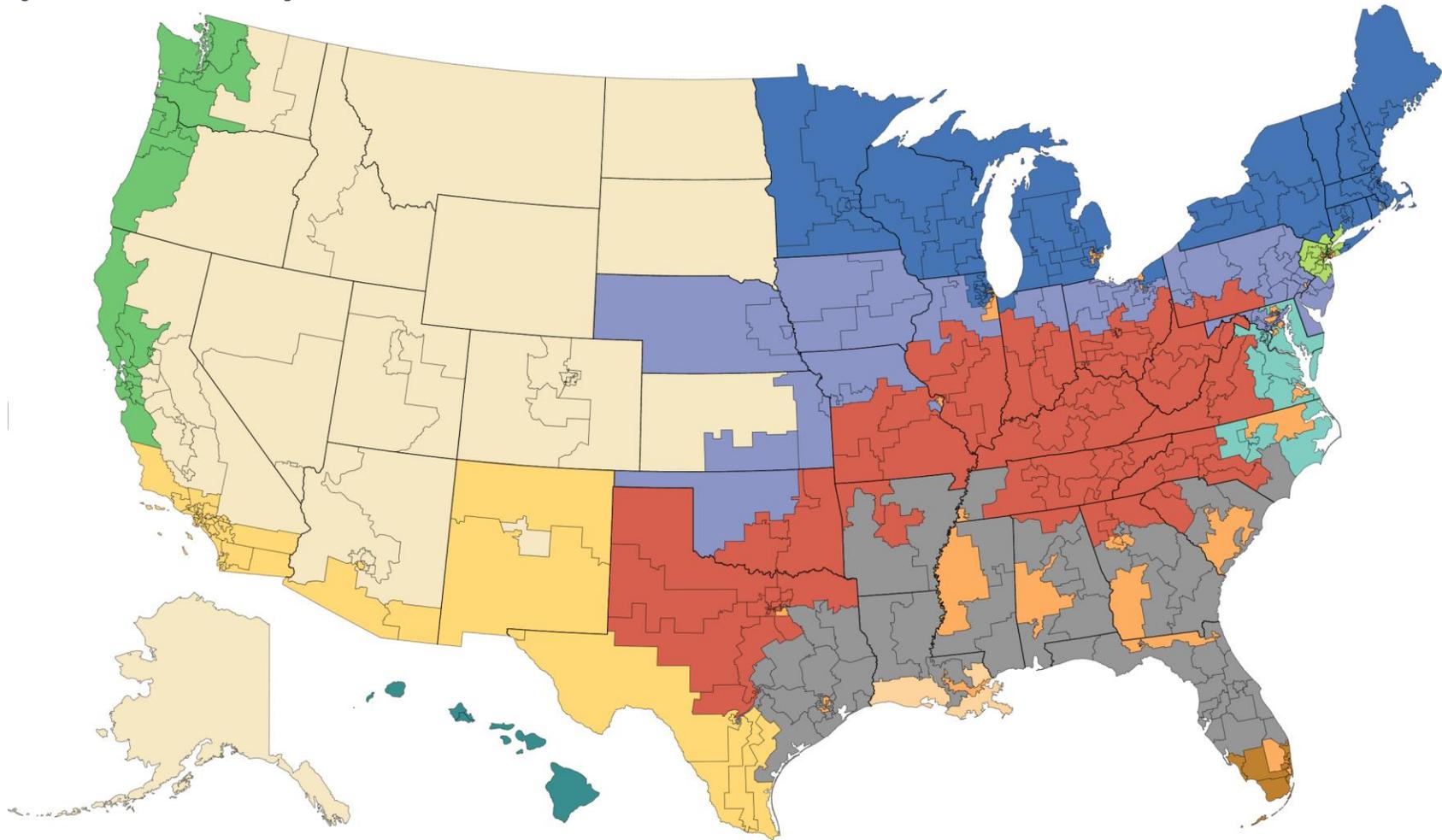
Not surprisingly, the nations that make up the Northern coalition (79%) score well above the national average LCV score (48%), while those in the Dixie coalition (16%) score far worse. The swing nations sit approximately at the national average (45%).

Table 1: Members of the House by Dominant American Nation

116th House (2019-2020)	Total Districts	Avg Lifetime LCV Score	# Dems	# Reps	% Dem	% Rep	2018 Midterm Results
Northern Coalition							
Yankeedom	71	63%	49	22	69%	31%	D+7
El Norte	41	83%	38	3	93%	7%	D+7
African American	31	87%	31	0	100%	0%	-
Left Coast	25	90%	24	1	96%	4%	D+1
New Netherland	21	92%	20	1	95%	5%	D+3
Greater Polynesia	2	96%	2	0	100%	0%	-
Subtotal	191	79%	164	27	86%	14%	D+18
Dixie Coalition							
Greater Appalachia	75	13%	8	66*	11%	88%	D+1
Deep South	57	15%	10	47	18%	82%	D+3
Far West	43	22%	16	27	37%	63%	D+4
New France	2	2%	0	2	0%	100%	-
Subtotal	177	16%	34	142	19%	80%	D+9
Swing Nations							
Midlands	47	42%	24	23	51%	49%	D+9
Spanish Caribbean	7	61%	5	2	71%	29%	D+2
Tidewater	13	49%	8	5	62%	38%	D+3
Subtotal	67	45%	37	30	55%	45%	D+14
TOTAL	435	48%	235	199	54%	46%	D+41

* There remains an unresolved election (NC-09) in this nation

Figure 8: House Districts According to Dominant American Nation



 Yankeedom	 Tidewater	 African American	 Far West
 New Netherland	 Deep South	 El Norte	 Spanish Caribbean
 Midlands	 Greater Appalachia	 Left Coast	 New France
 Greater Polynesia			

5.2. Senate:

The U.S. Senate has 100 members and requires 60 votes to pass most legislation. A third of the Senate is up for election every two years.

Using a similar process as the House, I mapped Woodard's American Nations onto the states. The nations most represented in the Senate are the Far West (tan, 20 seats), Yankeedom (dark blue, 20 seats), and the Deep South (grey, 16 seats) (Figure 9). The African American social identity group, Spanish Caribbean, New France, and First Nation do not hold any seats.

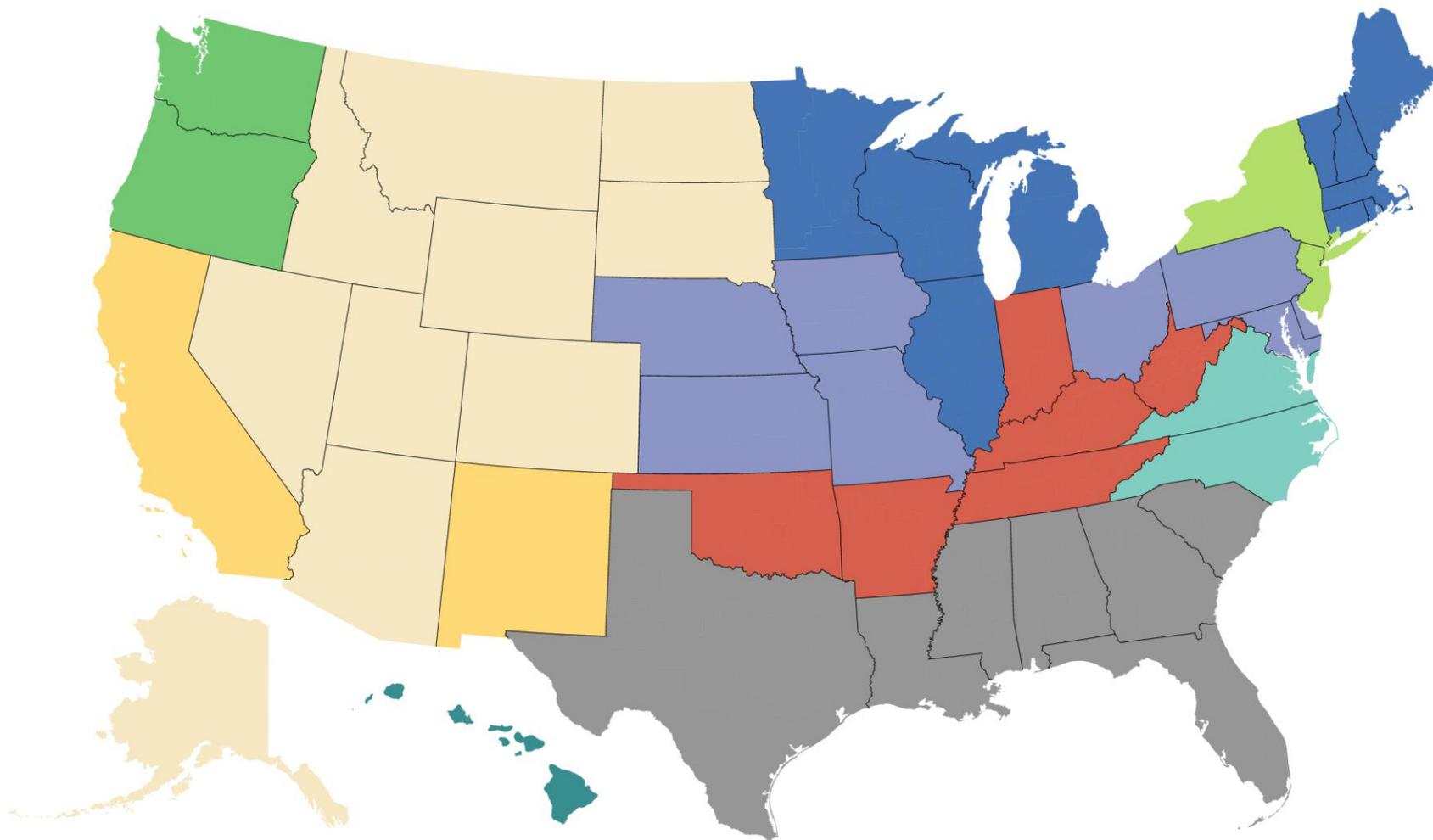
Like in the House, Democrats make up the vast majority of Northern coalition nations: 90% in Yankeedom, as well as 100% in the Left Coast, New Netherland, El Norte, and Greater Polynesia. Republicans dominate in the Dixie coalition: 94% in the Deep South, 90% in Greater Appalachia, and 75% in the Far West.

LCV scores are even more polarized than in the House: The Northern coalition averages over 90% while the Dixie coalition scores only 17%. The Swing Nations once again near the national average (43%).

Table 2: Members of the Senate by Dominant American Nation

116 th Senate (2019-2020)	Total Districts	Avg Lifetime LCV Score	# Dems	# Reps	% Dem	% Rep	2018 Midterm Results
Northern Coalition							
Yankeedom	20	88%	18	2	90%	10%	-
El Norte	4	95%	4	0	100%	0%	-
Left Coast	4	93%	4	0	100%	0%	-
New Netherland	4	95%	4	0	100%	0%	-
Greater Polynesia	2	96%	2	0	100%	0%	-
Subtotal	34	91%	32	2	94%	6%	-
Dixie Coalition							
Far West	20	24%	5	15	25%	75%	D+1
Greater Appalachia	16	14%	1	11	8%	92%	R+1
Deep South	14	11%	1	13	7%	93%	R+1
Subtotal	46	17%	7	39	15%	85%	R+1
Swing Nations							
Midlands	16	42%	6	10	38%	63%	R+1
Tidewater	4	49%	2	2	50%	50%	
Subtotal	20	43%	10	12	45%	55%	R+1
TOTAL	100	50%	47	53	47%	53%	R+2

Figure 9: Senate States According to Dominant American Nation



 Yankeedom	 Tidewater	 El Norte
 New Netherland	 Deep South	 Left Coast
 Midlands	 Greater Appalachia	 Far West
		 Greater Polynesia

Overall, this exercise confirmed that the Northern coalition mainly operated through the Democratic party and the Dixie coalition through the Republican party. It also confirmed that the giant LCV gap that Skocpol observes between the parties also applies to these two coalitions. A representative from the Northern coalition is more than five times as likely to vote in favor of environmental legislation than a colleague from the Dixie coalition, regardless of which chamber they are seated in.

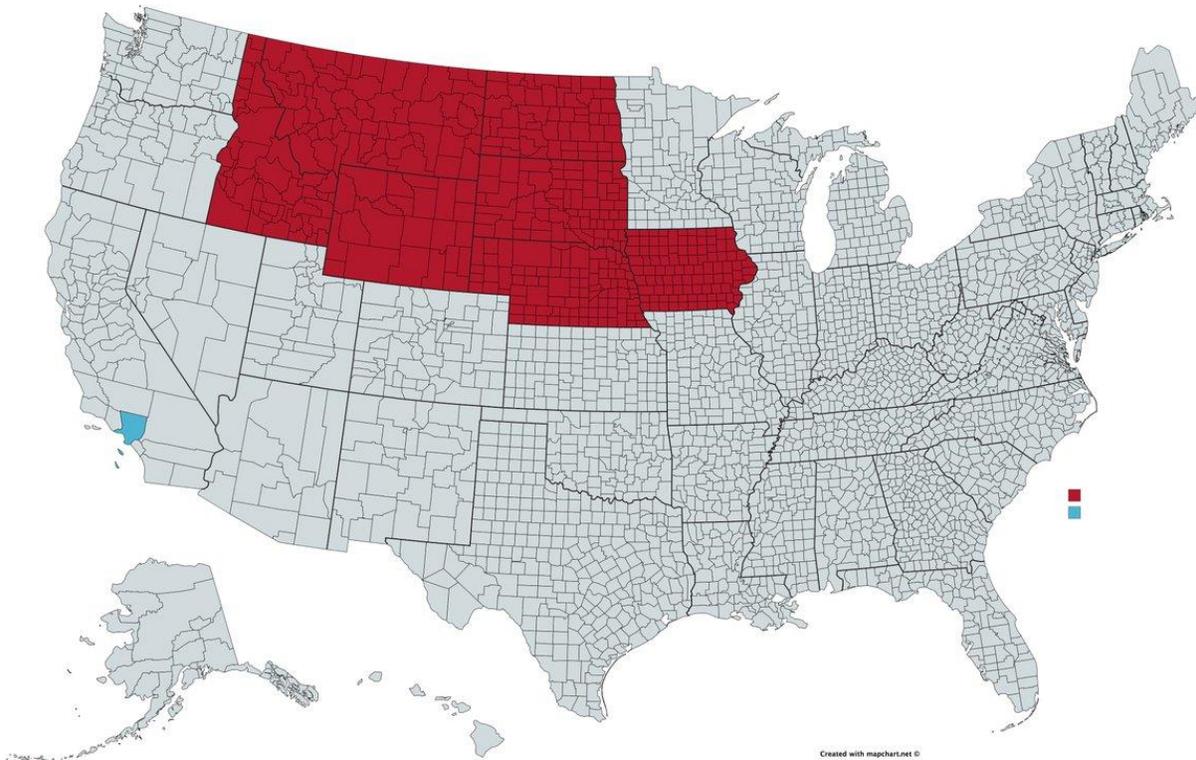
Another takeaway from this exercise is that the representation afforded to each nation in the House and the Senate varies wildly. Overall the Northern coalition nations have close to 10% less representation in the Senate than they do in the House. This is because the House, with its approximately equally populated congressional districts, is concentrated in densely populated regions like New Netherland's New York City and El Norte's Los Angeles. The Senate, meanwhile, which apportions two senators per state regardless of population, provides double the representation to the whiter, more sparsely populated Far West (particularly the northern half of this nation) at the expense of more diverse, concentrated nations like El Norte and nations without a majority in any state, like the African American social identity group.

Table 3: Representation of Each Nation in the House and Senate

116th Congress	% of total seats (Senate)	% of total seats (House)	Net Difference
Northern Coalition			
Yankeedom	20%	16%	4%
Greater Polynesia	2%	0%	2%
First Nation	0%	0%	0%
New Netherland	4%	5%	-1%
Left Coast	4%	6%	-2%
El Norte	4%	9%	-5%
African American	0%	7%	-7%
Sum	34%	43%	-9%
Dixie Coalition			
Far West	20%	10%	10%
Deep South	14%	13%	1%
New France	0%	0%	0%
Greater Appalachia	12%	17%	-5%
Sum	46%	40%	6%
Swing Nations			
Midlands	16%	11%	5%
Tidewater	4%	3%	1%
Spanish Caribbean	0%	2%	-2%
Sum	20%	14%	4%

A good way of visualizing this disparity is to compare the representation regions with equal populations have in the Senate. As Waleed Shahid, the communications director for Justice Democrats, points out, “the same amount of people live in Los Angeles [county] as these 7 rural, mostly white states. They have 14 Senators while LA shares 2 with the rest of California”¹⁰ (Shaheed 2019) (see Figure 10).

Figure 10 - Comparing the Population of Los Angeles County to That of Other States



Source: Shaheed 2019 via mapchart.net

5.3. Quantifying Existing Pro-Climate Support in Congress

The next step towards answering my research questions is to look at the existing levels of pro-climate support in each chamber.

Even though the Democratic party as a whole is more likely to support climate legislation than Republicans, there is a wide spectrum of attitudes towards it across the caucus. Some democrats are ardent climate advocates, while others do not see it as a top issue. Some Democrats can hardly be counted on to

¹⁰ L.A. County population (2017): 10,163,507

Idaho, Mont, Wyo, N.D., S.D., Neb, Iowa combined population (2018): 10,121,975

vote well on a climate bill at all. Democrat Henry Cuellar (D-TX), for example, has a 42% lifetime LCV score. Therefore, it is important to be able to quantify the number of votes a climate bill might have.

Support will vary widely based on the kind of climate legislation under consideration. Some Democrats believe in a regulatory approach to climate change that mandates a shift to a 100% carbon free economy over a set period of time. This approach is featured in legislation such as:

- Senator Jeff Merkley (D-OR) and Representative Jared Polis' (D, former CO-02) 100 by 50 Act of 2017 (S.987) (H.R.3314), which requires the nation to reach 100% renewable energy by 2050.
- Senator Jeff Merkley (D-OR) and Representative Jared Huffman's (D, CA-02) Keep It in the Ground Act of 2017 (S.750) (H.R.2242), which prohibits new oil and gas leasing on federal lands.
- Representative Tulsi Gabbard's (D, HI-02) Off Fossil Fuels Act of 2017 (H.R.3671), which requires the nation to be powered by 80% renewable energy by 2028 and 100% by 2035.
- Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's (D, NY-14) Select Committee on a Green New Deal proposal, which calls for the nation to reach 100% renewable energy by 2030 and provide universal healthcare and a federal jobs guarantee.
- Sen. Ed Markey (D-MA) and Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's (D, NY-14) Green New Deal Resolution of 2019 (S.Res.59) (H.Res.109), which calls for 10-year mobilizations to achieve net zero GHG emissions by retrofitting all buildings, building smart grids, creating millions of high-wage jobs through a federal jobs guarantee, and delivering universal healthcare.

Other Democrats and some Republicans espouse a more market-based approach to climate change, one which uses price mechanisms on carbon to incentivize innovation and shift to renewables. This logic is exemplified in legislative packages like:

- Sen. Chris Van Hollen (D-MD) and Rep. Don Beyer's (D, VA-08) Healthy Climate and Family Security Act of 2018 (H.R.4889) (S.2352), which uses a cap and trade mechanism to reduce emissions and returns the proceeds from permit sales to Americans in the form of a dividend.

- Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) and Rep. Earl Blumenauer's (D, OR-03) American Opportunity Fee Act of 2018 (H.R.4926) (S.2368) and 2019 (S.1168). The 2018 bill was a \$50/ton carbon tax increasing at 2% per year, and the 2019 bill is a \$52/ton carbon tax increasing at 6% per year plus inflation.
- Rep. Carlos Curbelo's (R, former FL-26) MARKET Choice Act of 2018 (H.R.6463), a \$24/ton carbon tax increasing at 2% per year that removes EPA's mandate to regulate greenhouse gases and invests the bulk of the proceeds into the Highway Trust Fund.
- Rep. Ted Deutch's (D, FL-22) Energy Innovation and Carbon Dividend Act of 2019 (H.R.763), a \$15/ton carbon tax that increases by \$10/year that removes the EPA's mandate to regulate greenhouse gases and returns the proceeds to Americans through a dividend.

I also consciously chose not to include several climate-related bills in my analysis:

- I did not include Rep. Matt Gaetz' (R, FL-01) Green Real Deal (H.Res.288) since it is not in line with the Paris Agreement goals.
- I also did I include Rep. Kathy Castor's (D, FL-14) Climate Action Now Act (H.R. 9), as it merely calls for the development of a plan to address climate change and does not espouse a preferred method.
- In the Senate, I did not include Sen. Tom Carper's (D, DE) joint climate resolution (S.J.Res.9) because it merely calls for Congress to take "immediate action" to address climate change and does not include a preferred method for doing so.

Based on my analysis, I have identified six major buckets of pro-climate attitudes in Congress. The six buckets are:

1. Regulatory Climate Champions

This bucket is for members of Congress who have been an original cosponsor on at least one piece of regulatory climate legislation and no market legislation since 2017. I do not count being an original cosponsor on the Green New Deal resolution in this tally since there were so many (66). Instead, I counted those who were among the first ten to call for a select committee on a Green New Deal.

2. Agnostic Climate Champions

This bucket is for members of Congress who have been original cosponsors on at least one regulatory and one market-based piece of climate legislation since 2017.

3. Market Climate Champions

This bucket is for members of Congress who have been an original cosponsor on at least one market-based climate legislation and no regulatory legislation since 2017.

4. Regulatory Climate Followers

This bucket is for members of Congress who have cosponsored at least one piece of regulatory climate legislation since 2017 and no market-based bills but did not originally cosponsor them. In other words, they signed on after the bill had been introduced and began to gain momentum.

5. Agnostic Climate Followers

This bucket is for members of Congress who have cosponsored at least one regulatory and one market-based piece of climate legislation since 2017 but did not originally cosponsor them.

6. Market Climate Followers

This bucket is for members of Congress who have signed on to cosponsor at least one piece of market-based climate legislation since 2017 and no regulatory legislation.

5.4. Existing Pro-Climate Support in the House

Overall, 127 members of the House fall into these six buckets, or 29% of all voting members. The biggest bucket by far is the regulatory climate followers group (51), followed by the agnostic climate followers group (29) and then the regulatory climate champions group (15) (See Appendix 1 for full tables).

Of the 127 pro-climate members of the House, the vast majority (104, 82%) are situated in Northern coalition nations. On the flip side, only 7% (9) of pro-climate members come from Dixie coalition nations, even though these districts make up more than 40% of the total seats in the House.

Figure 11: Pro-Climate Members of the House

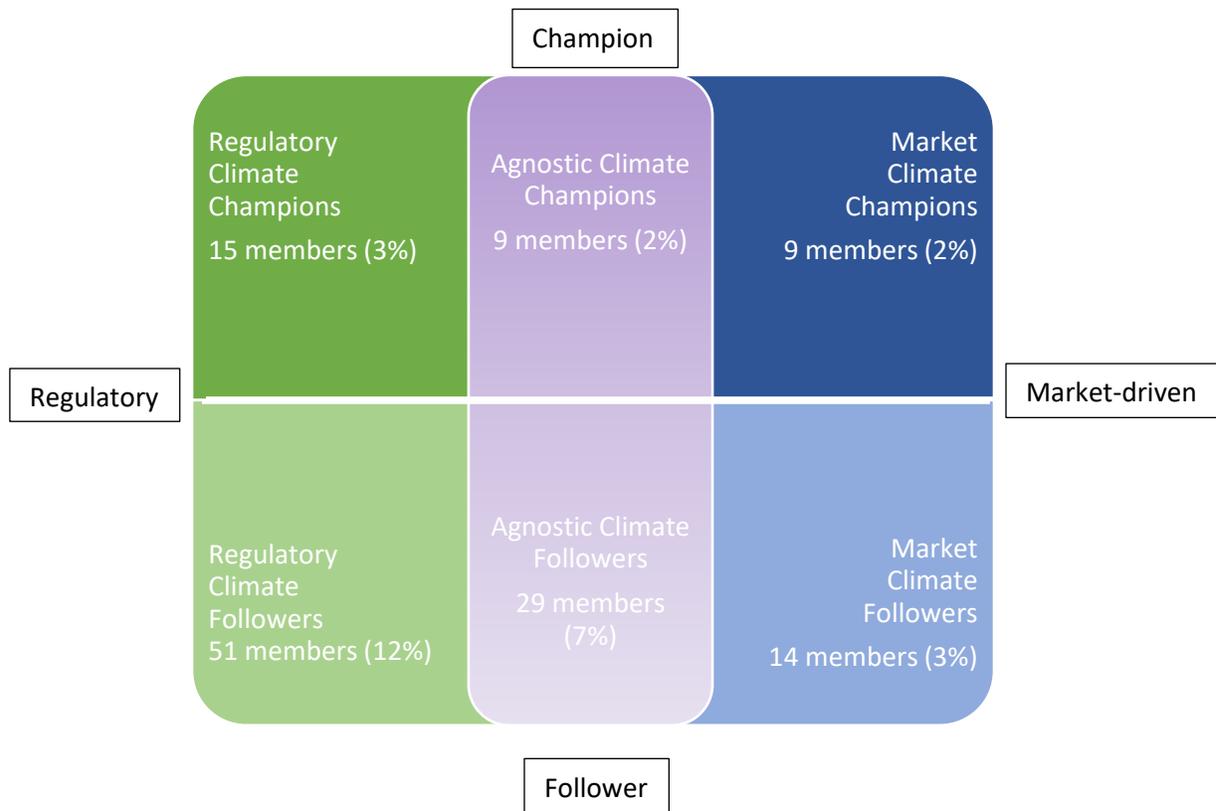


Table 4: Pro-Climate Support in the House

116 th House (2019-2020)	Total Districts	Regulatory Climate Champs (% of total bucket)	Agnostic Climate Champs (% of total bucket)	Market Climate Champs (% of total bucket)	Regulatory Climate Followers (% of total bucket)	Agnostic Climate Followers (% of total bucket)	Market Climate Followers (% of total bucket)	Pro-climate members (% of total bucket)
Northern Coalition								
Yankeedom	71	3 (20%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	14 (27%)	7 (24%)	2 (14%)	29 (23%)
El Norte	41	2 (13%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	9 (18%)	7 (24%)	3 (21%)	23 (18%)
African American	31	2 (13%)	-	-	7 (14%)	5 (17%)	3 (21%)	17 (13%)
Left Coast	25	1 (7%)	4 (44%)	-	7 (14%)	5 (17%)	1 (7%)	18 (14%)
New Netherland	21	4 (27%)	-	-	6 (12%)	3 (10%)	3 (21%)	16 (13%)
Greater Polynesia	2	1 (7%)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1%)
Subtotal	191	13 (87%)	7 (77%)	2 (22%)	43 (84%)	27 (93%)	12 (86%)	104 (82%)

116th House (2019-2020)	Total Districts	Regulatory Climate Champs (% of total bucket)	Agnostic Climate Champs (% of total bucket)	Market Climate Champs (% of total bucket)	Regulatory Climate Followers (% of total bucket)	Agnostic Climate Followers (% of total bucket)	Market Climate Followers (% of total bucket)	Pro-climate members (% of total bucket)
Dixie Coalition								
Greater Appalachia	75	-	-	-	1 (2%)	-	1 (7%)	2 (2%)
Deep South	57	-	-	1 (11%)	2 (4%)	1 (3%)	-	4 (3%)
Far West	43	2 (13%)	-	1 (11%)	-	-	-	3 (2%)
New France	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Subtotal	177	2 (13%)	-	2 (22%)	3 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (7%)	9 (7%)
Swing Nations								
Midlands	47	-	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	3 (6%)	-	1 (7%)	7 (6%)
Spanish Caribbean	7	-	-	2 (22%)	1 (2%)	-	-	3 (2%)
Tidewater	13	-	-	2 (22%)	1 (2%)	1 (3%)	0	4 (3%)
Subtotal	67	-	2 (22%)	5 (55%)	5 (10%)	1 (3%)	1 (7%)	14 (11%)
TOTAL	435	15	9	9	51	29	14	127

In order to better understand the prospects of expanding support for regulatory climate policies, I have summarized the salient characteristics of each category of pro-climate cosponsorship:

1. Regulatory Climate Champions (15 members, 3% of the House):

- Regulatory climate champions mostly cluster in the most Democratic districts. According to the Cook Political Report's Partisan Value Index (PVI), ten out of the fifteen House members in this category come from districts that are 20 points or greater more democratic than the national average, and the mean PVI for this bucket is D+26.
- Of the 15 members of this group, only two (Joe Neguse from CO-02 and Deb Haaland from NM-03) do not hail from a northern coalition nation. Both districts lean Democratic (D+9 and D+7 respectively), but much less so than the mean for this category.
- Fourteen of the fifteen members of this group are members of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, the most progressive caucus in Congress, and many of them hold leadership roles.
- Notably, five representatives in this group are freshmen members of Congress. Since these members were not able to cosponsor legislation in the previous congress, their membership

in this group is all the more remarkable. All of them were among the first ten to endorse a Select Committee for a Green New Deal.

2. Regulatory Climate Followers (51 members, 12% of the House)

- This is the largest of the pro-climate buckets in the House. The mean PVI for this group is D+17, but the range spans from D+41 to R+2.
- The bulk of these representatives come from Yankeedom (27%) and El Norte (18%). Overall, 84% of this group hails from Northern coalition nations.
- Twenty-one are members of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, fifteen are members of the New Democrat Coalition (four are members of both), and one is a Blue Dog. Fourteen do not have an ideological caucus affiliation.

3. Agnostic Climate Champions (9 members, 3% of the House)

- Seven of the nine members of this group come from districts with a PVI of D+14 or higher. The mean PVI in this bucket is D+18. However, there is one notable outlier: Midlander Matt Cartwright (PA-08) comes from a district that is rated R+1.
- Once again, the bulk of this bucket (7) come from Northern coalition nations, particularly the Left Coast (2) and Yankeedom (2).
- All of them belong to the Congressional Progressive caucus, and just over half have leadership roles in it.

4. Agnostic Climate Followers (29 members, 7% of the House)

- The mean PVI for this bucket is D+16, but like the regulatory climate followers bucket the range is very large: D+43 to R+1.
- 93% of the representatives in this group come from Northern coalition nations.
- Over 65% of this bucket (19) is made up of Congressional Progressive Caucus members. Another five belong to the New Democrat Coalition, and five more have no ideological caucus affiliation.

5. Market Climate Champions (9 members, 2% of the House)

- These nine members hail from districts that are closer to the national average based on their PVI score, with the mean for this bucket being D+6.
- Despite its small size, seven Nations are represented in this bucket.

- Those that belong to ideological caucuses are members of the New Democrat Coalition and the Blue Dog Caucus, both of which are more fiscally conservative.
- This is the only bucket that includes members of the Republican party (Spanish Caribbean's Francis Rooney and Midlander Brian Fitzpatrick).

6. Market Climate Followers (14 members, 3% of the House)

- The mean PVI for this bucket is D+3, the lowest PVI score of any of the buckets. All seven freshmen come from districts with a PVI of D+1 or less.
- The final bucket of pro-climate attitudes is Market Climate Followers. Interestingly, half of this bucket is made up of freshmen Democrats (7).
- 86% of these members come from Northern coalition nations.
- Nearly all (11) are members of the New Democrat Coalition.

5.5. Path to passing robust climate legislation through the House

In order to secure the two hundred and eighteen votes necessary to pass climate legislation through the House of Representatives, climate advocates need to pursue a three-pronged strategy:

- 1) Consolidate pro-climate support in environmentally-minded Northern coalition nations;
- 2) Build stable pockets of pro-climate support in the Swing nations and metropolitan areas in the Far West; and
- 3) Defend and possibly court marginal votes from the Dixie coalition.

There are two hundred and fifty eight seats in the seven environmentally-minded Northern nations and three Swing nations described above, two hundred and three of which are Democratic. However, less than half of these Democrats (100) fall into either the regulatory or agnostic pro-climate buckets. It is safe to assume that the vast majority of them believe in climate change and think that something ought to be done to address it. Bringing more of them into the pro-climate buckets above would go a long way towards ensuring a climate bill would get passed and defended once it was in place.

Pressuring these members of the House to cosponsor regulatory climate legislation is an essential part of galvanizing the party around the issue of climate change and beginning to develop a consensus around a scientifically adequate policy approach. Constituent visits, protests, sit-ins, and other organizing tactics are all useful tools for doing this. Each member of congress is receptive to different approaches, as several of my interviewees attested to:

there are individual members of congress who if you do something like someone chatting at them or even a slightly hostile member meeting on the hill, they just get really prickly, they get irritable and angry and it backfires. Whereas for another member they might actually feel the pressure. So unfortunately, it's all about understanding their different personalities and trying to work with and or around those personalities as you can (Interviewee 6).

We like to think that a person will do the right thing, but you've got to tell them what that right thing is, and you've got to make them recognize that it's the right thing. And that will differ and change, it changes and differs with each individual person. Everybody is their own individual with their own history and their own baggage. It's like almost being... not necessarily a psychiatrist, because you want to do more than just listen to them. But you also want to try and prescribe a diagnosis too, you know? (Interviewee 16)

If after employing these tactics members still refuse to pledge their support for climate legislation, it might be worth exploring recruiting a strong primary challenger that pledges to make addressing climate a priority.

Beyond this initial core of support, the success of a climate bill in the House will depend largely on the degree to which it elicits support across Tidewater, the Spanish Caribbean, the Midlands, and urban pockets of the Far West. If these nations are on board, even narrowly so, then there is little need to recruit major numbers of votes from the core Dixie coalition nations

An important tactic for building pro-climate support in these regions may be reintroducing earmarks, federal funds reserved for specific projects in particular districts, into the legislative process. In 2010 Republicans in the House banned the use of earmarks, after they became synonymous with bribery and corruption critiques in the mid-2000s. However,

Numerous congressional insiders — including lawmakers, staff and lobbyists — say that the GOP ban on earmarks has led to increased legislative gridlock on Capitol Hill because it took away pivotal incentives for vote wrangling.... ‘From a standpoint of making the House function better and getting votes for things that are unpopular, there is no better tool than an earmark,’ said lobbyist Sam Geduldig, a former House GOP leadership aide, now with the firm CGCN Group. ‘Republicans, by getting rid of them, injured their ability to move legislative proposals (Ackley, 2018).

Two interviewees brought up earmarks as a possible way to grease the wheels of climate legislation:

Part of me wants to give the usual plug among DC-ites for the return of pork [earmarks], as they sort of jokingly call it. For all the debate and silliness about it, personally I would argue, as I was mentioning carrots earlier, having leadership carrots and not just sticks or ways for politicians to concretely show they care about

[their constituents], bring home the bacon for their district, those things did help politicians become more, I guess you'd say invested in DC (Interviewee 6).

things used to be a lot easier I hear in terms of gaining bipartisan support on things like infrastructure in particular when we had these little things called earmarks back in the day. I mean, nobody likes pork-barrel politics as a generality, but it seemed to get a lot of things done in our congress for a long time (Interviewee 2).

A full list of the non-pro-climate members of the House by nation and initial reflections on tactics to employ to appeal to them is provided in Appendix 2. A detailed analysis of how to pressure non-pro-climate Democrats from specific regions and which seats in which nations can be flipped from Republican or conservative Democrat to progressive Democrat is beyond the scope of this paper. However, my hope is that by using the American Nations theory to breakdown where pro-climate attitudes are prominent or growing, climate advocates can greater focus their efforts on the nations that hold the prospect of unlocking lasting pro-climate governance.

The path to passing a robust climate bill through the House is challenging but plausible. While there remains a lot of work to be done in the various nations listed above, if all goes well the leadership in the House could likely muscle a relatively robust climate bill through. The real obstacle to progress, as we will see, is in the Senate.

5.6. Existing Pro-Climate Support in the Senate

Overall, twenty members of the Senate fall into one of the six buckets I've created (See Appendix 1 for full tables). The biggest bucket is the regulatory climate champions group (8), followed by the regulatory climate followers group (6) and then the market climate champions group (4).

Interestingly, two of the follower buckets (agnostic climate followers and market climate followers) are completely empty. This may be partially due to the perception that climate bills don't stand much of a chance of passing the Senate, and many Senators who would likely support bills don't feel the need to officially cosponsor them. As such, the amount of pro-climate support in the Senate is likely undercounted in this analysis.

Once again, the vast majority of pro-climate members (17, 85%) are situated in Northern coalition nations. The rest hail from Swing nations:

Figure 12: Pro-Climate Support in the Senate

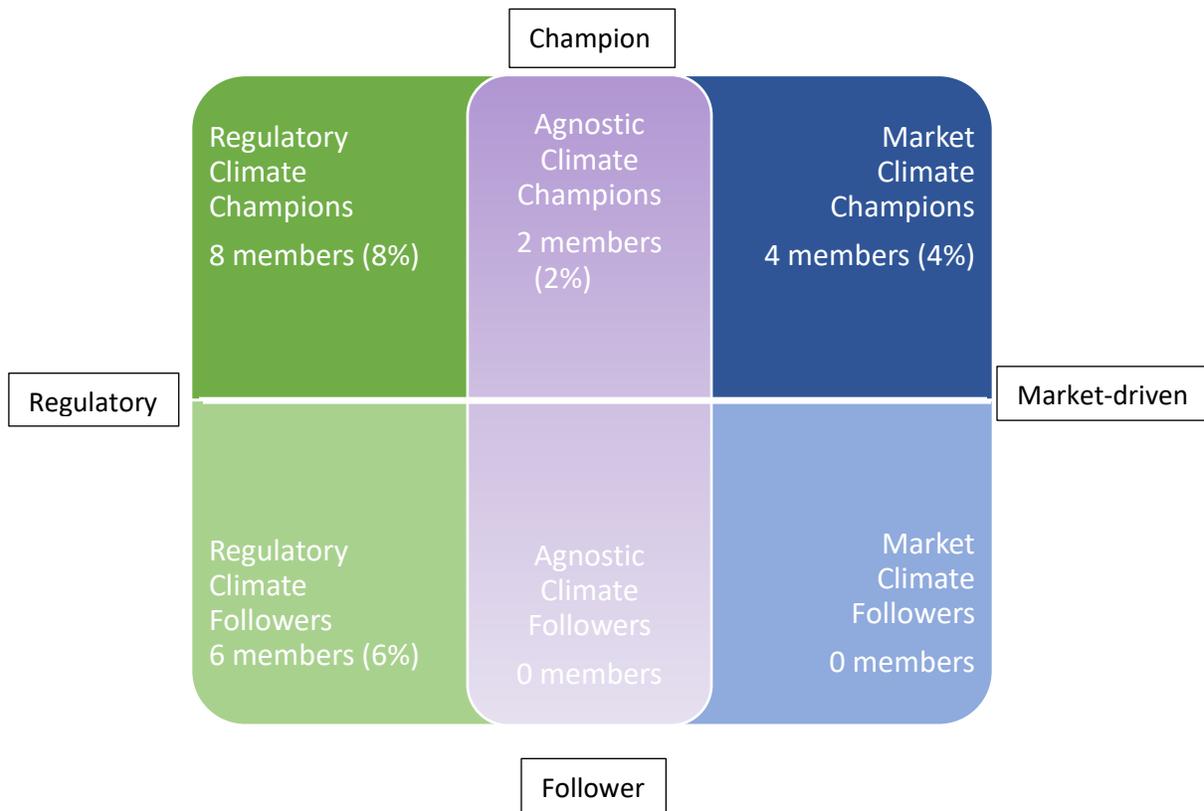


Table 5: Pro-Climate Support in the Senate

116 th Senate (2019-2020)	Total Districts	Regulatory Climate Champs (% of total)	Agnostic Climate Champs (% of total)	Market Climate Champs (% of total)	Regulatory Climate Followers (% of total)	Agnostic Climate Followers (% of total)	Market Climate Followers (% of total)	Pro-climate members (% of total)
Northern Coalition								
Yankeedom	20	4 (50%)	-	1 (25%)	3 (50%)	-	-	8 (40%)
El Norte	4	-	-	1 (25%)	1 (17%)	-	-	2 (10%)
Left Coast	4	1 (13%)	-	-	1 (17%)	-	-	2 (10%)
New Netherland	4	2 (25%)	1 (50%)	-	-	-	-	3 (15%)
Greater Polynesia	2	-	1 (50%)	-	1 (17%)	-	-	2 (10%)
Subtotal	34	7 (88%)	1 (100%)	2 (50%)	6 (100%)	-	-	17 (85%)

116th Senate (2019-2020)	Total Districts	Regulatory Climate Champs (% of total)	Agnostic Climate Champs (% of total)	Market Climate Champs (% of total)	Regulatory Climate Followers (% of total)	Agnostic Climate Followers (% of total)	Market Climate Followers (% of total)	Pro-climate members (% of total)
Dixie Coalition								
Far West	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Deep South	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Greater Appalachia	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Subtotal	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Swing Nations								
Midlands	16	1 (13%)	-	2 (50%)	-	-	-	3 (15%)
Tidewater	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Subtotal	20	1 (13%)	-	2 (50%)	-	-	-	3 (15%)
TOTAL	100	8	2	4	6	0	0	20

5.7. Path to passing robust climate legislation through the Senate

There are several prospective strategies for passing robust climate legislation in the Senate.

One option is to aim for a sixty seat Democratic supermajority by making significant inroads into swing and Dixie Coalition nations. As we've already seen with Skocpol and the 2009 cap and trade bill, the prospect of electing sixty Democrats, let alone unifying them behind regulatory climate legislation, is microscopically small.

Currently there are forty-seven Democrats in the Senate, three of whom (Joe Manchin (D-WV), Doug Jones (D-AL), Kirsten Sinema (D-AZ)) are moderates who are likely to oppose any sort of regulatory climate legislation. Only a third of Senate Democrats fall into either the regulatory or agnostic pro-climate buckets. It is safe to assume that the vast majority of them, like their Democratic counterparts in the House, believe in climate change and think that something ought to be done to address it. Pressuring these members to cosponsor regulatory climate legislation through constituent visits, protests, sit-ins, and other organizing tactics is an important step to building a pro-climate majority.

There are only ten stretch opportunities to replace anti-climate Republicans with pro-climate Democrats by 2022 (Table 6). Even if all of these races were successful and Democrats defended all of their existing seats, it would still only yield fifty-seven Democrats and at most fifty-four pro-climate votes. In sum, getting to sixty Democratic pro-climate votes is out of reach.

Table 6: Prospective Competitive Senate Races (2020-2022)

2020 Democratic Gain Possibilities	2020 Democratic Loss Possibilities	2022 Democratic Gain Possibilities	2022 Democratic Loss Possibilities
Arizona (McSally)	Alabama (Jones)	Florida (Rubio)	Nevada (Cortez Masto)
Colorado (Gardner)		Georgia (Isakson)	New Hampshire (Hassan)
Georgia (Purdue)		North Carolina (Burr)	
North Carolina (Tillis)		Pennsylvania (Toomey)	
Maine (Collins)		Wisconsin (Johnson)	

Another option is to get a Democratic majority and appeal to Republicans who may harbor slightly more pro-climate sentiments than their leadership, particularly those whose states stand to be hit the worst by the climate crisis. This was the strategy most frequently espoused by my interviewees:

[A]t some point it's going to be such a crisis that they have to act, regardless of political persuasion or where it fits with people's political screens. And I think we're getting closer to that than any of us appreciate. I think the reality of climate change is going to force action faster than any efforts by the environmental community or businesses or whatever.... And that's bad, because that means there's going to be a lot of different crises and a lot of people died and a lot of people got hurt and a really huge hit to the economy is what's going to force federal legislation (Interviewee 10).

As these issues become more pressing the general thought is that people become more concerned about it. As you see in Miami of course, parts of Virginia... a lot of the East Coast now is getting to where there are members of congress who traditionally wouldn't care about this but now it's affecting their district, so we'll see how that shakes out (Interviewee 6).

[T]he biggest selling points that I found for getting more Republicans to accept climate change was mortgage rates. Looking at all the areas that could be impacted by sea level rise and how high that level would be. In 2008 when we had the big financial crisis the homes were valued more than they were actually worth, so when the market collapsed, as horrible as that crash was, those homes still had some value to them, they were still worth what they were actually worth. When we're literally underwater, not figuratively underwater, who wants to live in a house that's 3 feet underwater? It loses all its value. And if that house has a home mortgage backed by Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac, that's the American taxpayer that's on the hook for that. It's going to make the 2008 financial crisis look like a picnic by comparison. So when we started presenting that to our Republican colleagues people were like yeah, you're right!' (Interviewee 13)

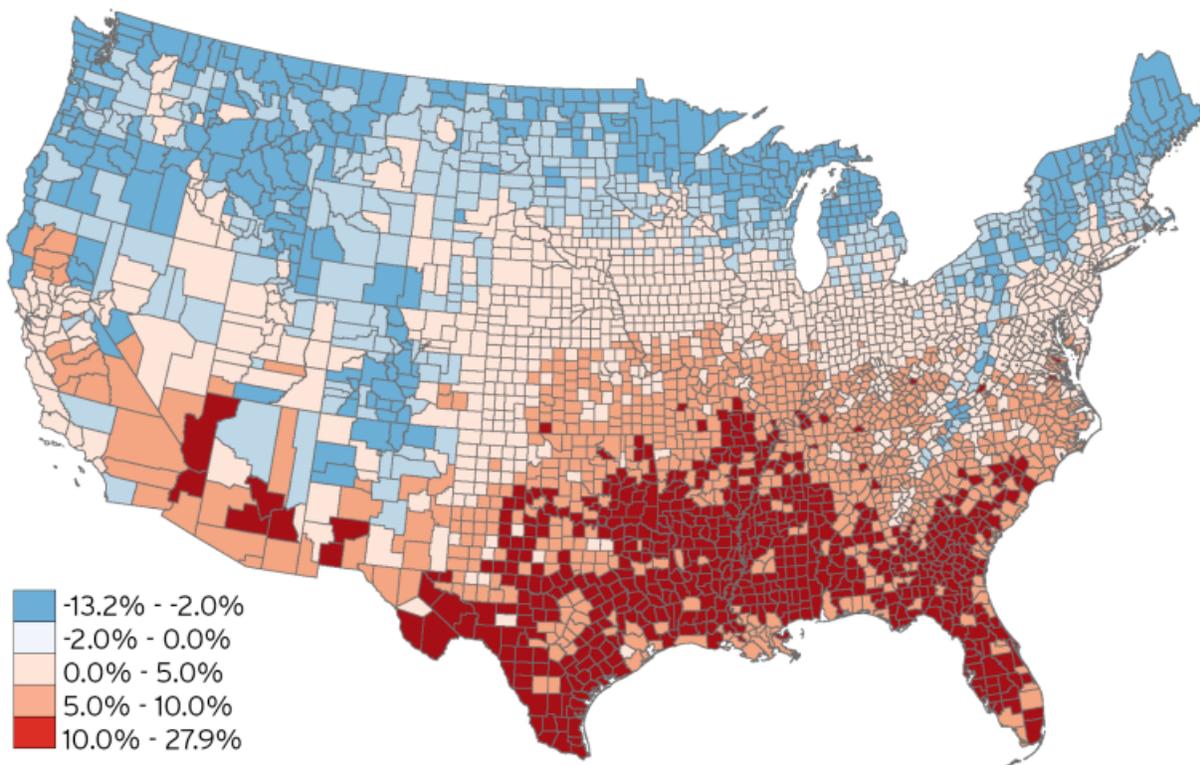
A recent Brookings Institute analysis showing that most of the individual-freedom-emphasizing Dixie nations, the Deep South and Greater Appalachia in particular, are primed to experience the highest

costs from climate change by the end of the century (Muro et al, 2019). The Brookings authors echoed the views voiced by my interviewees:

Activists who want to change the political equation can derive a clear strategy from the harm data: Work in the reddish swing states by focusing spotlights and cost accounting on the severe economic effect wrought by climate change. Party attitudes on climate change could shift quickly there as people are confronted with climate reality (ibid).

Figure 13 - Climate Related Costs by 2080-2099

Share of 2012 county income



Note: Emissions projections are based on a "business-as-usual" scenario (RCP8.5), which reflects the current global trajectory
Source: Hsiang and others, 2017

B Metropolitan Policy Program
at BROOKINGS

Source: Muro et al, 2019

However, I am highly skeptical of party attitudes changing. Given the concerted effort to turn climate change into highly partisan issues by conservative think tanks and media, and the forces driving asymmetrical polarization, there is little incentive for Republican members of congress to buck their party's official position and endorse regulatory climate solutions. Not only that but given the importance of social identity in determining voting behavior on the ground, it is unlikely that Republican voters in these nations

will be willing to ascribe severe weather events to climate change, let alone push their representatives to consider far-reaching climate legislation. It is more likely that they will simply explain away climate costs as the result of natural cycles, “acts of God,” or insist that any attempt to combat climate change is a thinly veiled attempt at inserting government into their lives. All of these explanations were on full display in Greater Appalachia after Hurricane Florence made landfall there in 2018.

- One resident of North Carolina’s 9th Congressional District interviewed in the aftermath of the storm noted

It’s cyclical. We may get two or three in a year, then go four or five years with nothing. There’s a group of people that want to control things, and they’re using climate change to control things, and they want to put a tax on things... And many other people I speak to think that, too (Gabbatt, 2018).

- Meanwhile Mark Harris, a Republican former evangelical Baptist minister who ran in North Carolina’s 9th Congressional district and denies the science of climate change

credited divine intervention... with altering the storm’s impact, noting that Florence’s winds dropped to 90 miles per hour from 140 before hitting land. ‘I see the power of prayer and see God’s hand in that,’ he said (Gabriel 2019).

A limited number of Republican Senators have made positive statements espousing climate solutions. Chief among them is Deep Southerner Lindsey Graham (R-SC), who has recently said "We owe it to the country to have an alternative to the Green New Deal... We're going to sit down with the president and see if we can unveil a bill for 2020 that would be good for the environment and good for business" (Lee 2019). When asked about his reason for prioritizing climate, he said he saw it as an existential threat for the Republican Party’s future: “If you want this party to grow — people from 18 to 35 believe in climate change whether you do or not" (ibid). He is reportedly working with fellow Deep Southerner John Cornyn (R-TX), retiring Greater Appalachian Lamar Alexander (R-TN) and Far Westerner Mitt Romney (R-UT) to introduce climate legislation centered on energy efficiency, natural gas, and clean coal technology (Lee 2019; Colman & Adragna 2019; Sobczyk 2019).

While it is impossible to judge the strength of a proposal that is yet to be published, it is quite likely that a bill such as the one Graham describes would be an incremental solution to an existential problem. In short, it would be woefully inadequate as a strategy to fight against climate change. It does nothing to keep the existing reserves McKibben describes in the ground, and it would actually encourage more fracking and fossil fuel development. This would almost certainly lock us into a 3-4°C world. Unless paired with a carbon tax (something Graham has supported in the past (Worland 2017) but which many of his colleagues have

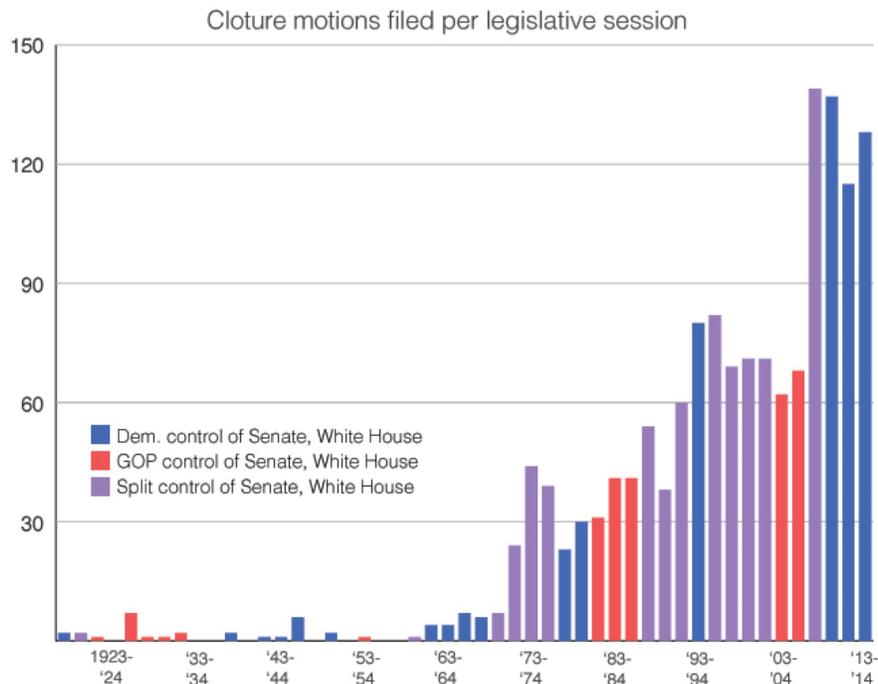
dismissed), a national renewable energy standard, and/or a ban on new fossil fuel infrastructure, a strategy of appealing to Republicans such as Graham appears unlikely to lead to climate-saving results.

The only remaining avenue for passing robust climate legislation would be to get a Democratic majority and reform the institution of the Senate to make it easier to pass legislation. There are two major institutional reforms that Democrats could undertake if they regain the majority:

1. Reform the filibuster rules to make it more difficult to weaponize, effectively returning the Senate to a de facto majority institution; or
2. Reduce the cloture threshold to a simple majority, returning the Senate to a de jure majority body.

Using the filibuster to block legislation is a relatively recent phenomenon, as Figure 14 shows. The practice only began to occur in earnest during the push for Civil Rights in the late 1960s. Rules changes making it easier to filibuster increased their use in the 1970s. In 1975 the Senate eliminated the requirement to hold the floor of the Senate to filibuster and reduced the number of votes required to invoke cloture from two-thirds to three fifths, bringing us to the sixty-vote majority required today (No Labels; United States Senate). The number of filibusters exploded in 2007 when Republicans lost control of the Senate and Mitch McConnell (R-KY) became Senate minority leader. His weaponization of the filibuster may well be regarded as one of his most enduring legacies.

Figure 14 - Rise of the Filibuster (1917-2014)



Source: The Week, "The rise of the filibuster, in one maddening chart," April 24, 2014

Currently the filibuster and the sixty-vote threshold for overcoming it are treated as integral parts of the Senate. As Sen. James Lankford (R-OK) put it in a Wall Street Journal opinion piece, “the Senate is the one entity in the federal government where the minority view is heard and deliberation is protected” (Lankford 2017). Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX) argues that thanks to the filibuster “we are forced to govern by consensus. That is, build sufficient votes in order to have some stability and durability of the laws we pass. Things like Medicare and Social Security, those were controversial in their day, but there was bipartisan consensus that supported them and that's why they remain today” (Barnett 2017). While Cornyn is technically correct that these bills garnered bipartisan support, they mostly did so because at both of these times “There were... progressive Republicans and liberal Republicans, some of whom supported [Franklin Delano Roosevelt] and [Lyndon B. Johnson]” (Richert 2009). Nowadays, thanks to the steady asymmetrical polarization of the party, progressive Republicans are an extinct breed and the idea that members of the party would support a president from the other party is outlandish.

The perception of the filibuster as an important part of the Senate is far from a partisan issue. Take for instance Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand’s recent comments on the popular liberal podcast “Pod Save America”:

I think it's useful to bring people together and I don't mind that you have to get 60 votes... if you are not able to get 60 votes on something it just means you haven't worked hard enough. It requires talking to enough people and trying to listen to their concerns and then coming up with the solution that they can support (Pod Save America 2019, 21:54).

On April 7, 2017, a bipartisan group of sixty-one Senators signed a letter to Mitch McConnell and Chuck Schumer asking them to protect the legislative filibuster. “We are mindful of the unique role the Senate plays in the legislative process,” they wrote, “and we are steadfastly committed to ensuring that this great American institution continues to serve as the world's greatest deliberative body” (Collins & Coons 2017).

Several of my interviewees echoed this view, arguing strongly in favor of keeping the filibuster as a way of preventing America from descending into partisan chaos:

everyone is playing for keeps now and playing to their base now. I think without the filibuster there’s nothing to keep people, both parties but Republicans especially from going off the rails (Interviewee 16).

Getting that 60 votes is a huge barrier, but without that huge barrier then there would be no reliability. You could have policies fundamentally and completely change every two years with an election, and that I don’t think would be effective for America (Interviewee 6).

However, with the rise of asymmetrical polarization, partisan parity, and an existential, time-sensitive problem like climate change in the last half century, the risks of keeping the filibuster in place feel just as big, if not bigger, than the risks if it were reformed or removed completely.

Mann and Ornstein argue that the solution to this problem is to have the burden of filibustering fall on the minority rather than the majority. One way to accomplish this would be to “force the minority to keep its members in or near the chamber when it conducts a full-fledged filibuster [by changing] the cloture bar to three-fifths of those present and voting” or “require forty-one votes to continue the debate, not sixty votes to end” (169). Such reforms would make it necessary for members of the minority party to essentially camp out on the Senate floor, sleeping and eating there to sustain their objection and block legislation.

Another more drastic approach would be to get rid of the filibuster entirely. David Roberts wrote about the need to eliminate the filibuster in the lead up to the cap-and-trade debate, concluding that

Until Democrats get it together and create a popular push to abolish this anachronistic, profoundly anti-democratic quirk of the U.S. Senate, [the best climate bill will never be very good], no matter how much willpower is deployed (Roberts 2009).

Skocpol’s conclusion was similar in 2013: “If we are to pass climate legislation, Democrats will have to hold a Senate majority, and their majority will have to remove or weaken the 60-vote threshold” (Skocpol, Grist 2013).

Calls for getting rid of the filibuster have been popularized by Ezra Levin, cofounder of the resistance group Indivisible, and Jon Favreau, President Obama’s former speechwriter and cohost of popular podcast *Pod Save America* (Levin 2019; Favreau 2019).

The idea of eliminating the filibuster has even been espoused by multiple presidential candidates. Gov. Jay Inslee (D-WA) was the first candidate to do so, saying in an interview on the day of his announcement that

I believe the filibuster is an artifact of history that no longer fits American democracy. It is such an impediment to our ability to respond to multiple challenges. We know how it would prevent climate change legislation of any dimension from moving through the Senate. In the short term, it’s very difficult to see how we move forward without elimination of the filibuster.... the filibuster means being chained to the past, because it’s a protection of the status quo. We cannot be chained to the past by a nondemocratic institution. The world is changing too fast (Roberts 2019).

Sitting senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) came out in favor of eliminating the filibuster several weeks later, arguing that

I'm not running for President just to talk about making real, structural change. I'm serious about getting it done. And part of getting it done means waking up to the reality of the United States Senate...And that means when Democrats have the White House again, if Mitch McConnell tries to do what he did to President Obama and puts small-minded partisanship ahead of solving the massive problems facing this country, then we should get rid of the filibuster....

We can't sit around for 100 years while climate change destroys our planet, while corruption pervades every nook and cranny of Washington, and while too much of a child's fate in life still rests on the color of their skin. Enough with that. When we win the election, we WILL make the change that we need in this country (Warren 2019).

By dropping the cloture vote down to 51, "we could potentially see major policy shifts, indeed revolutionary ones, akin to those that are frequent[ly seen] in parliamentary systems" (Mann and Ornstein, 199-200). However, there is also risk to this approach. These policy changes "would come to a country that is deeply divided politically, and more than half of whose citizens would likely strongly oppose these moves and be jolted by their implementation. The schisms created could be greater than any we have seen in more than a century" (Mann and Ornstein, 199-200).

Getting rid of the filibuster and governing according to the majority would reinforce the schisms between American Nations, quite possibly resulting in conflict or rebellion on the part of the out coalition. We have already seen an increase in the number of death threats and acts of violence perpetrated against members of the opposing party by deranged individuals (Goldberg 2018; Philipps 2019). Eliminating the filibuster might just tip the country into an all-out political and social crisis, but it may also be the only way for the US to pass climate legislation. The stakes are high, but the risks of inaction may be the highest of all.

5.8. Discussion or interpretation of findings and results

At this juncture, with a 17 seat Democratic majority in the House and Republicans in control of the Senate, it's unlikely that any robust climate bill or suite of bills would get passed out of this Congress.

The consensus in Washington, DC appears to be that a moderate, bipartisan bill stands the best chance at getting through the House and Senate under Democratic control. For example, the Republican staffer I spoke with told me

the only way we're going to get things done [is to] reach across the aisle and to find that common ground and build those coalitions.... the American people expect us to work together. You cannot alienate half of the population of this country and impose your will on them. You have to find some common ground, you have to find some middling of the policies (Interviewee 13).

However, the American Nations theory shows that there isn't an alternative to governing other than imposing your will on a sizeable minority of the population. And while it is true that the American people still want to see the two parties work together on solving big problems, the reality of living in a politically polarized, highly competitive partisan moment means that is practically impossible. In addition, pegging our hopes on Republicans waking up and suddenly supporting climate legislation ignores the forces in American politics driving asymmetrical polarization and partisan parity.

The best hope for addressing climate change is building a regional supermajority that breaks partisan parity. Lee argues at the conclusion of her book that

the US system of government functions better when competition for majority control is less fierce – when there is a 'sun party' and a 'moon party' (Lubell 1965).... [in addition Lowi] contends that a party system best suited 'to perform the functions we expect of our parties is not a competitive two-party system but a system in which the second party is very weak: that is, a 'modified one-party system' (Lee, 207).

When I asked Lee how we might return to a majority-minority structure in American politics, she shook her head and told me

I don't see a path out.... if you look at the period of Republican dominance in the early part of the 20th century that had a lot to do with the fallout of the Civil War. The Democratic party was the party of the South, so the party of treason, rebellion, secession.

The permanent Democratic majority of the twentieth century after 1932 was a product of the Great Depression... the Republican Party was discredited throughout the country [by its handling of the Great Depression] and it had no foothold in the South, a legacy of the Civil War....

We don't have either of those kinds of profoundly disruptive forces like a civil war or a great depression to upset what seems to be a pretty resilient even balance between the parties.... If the Great Recession of 2008 had been more than just a recession, a Great Depression, that might have made a difference (Interviewee 15).

Ultimately, the only way to break the logjam is for a massive political or economic event to rock the country and force partisan realignment between either the Yankee or Deep Southern coalition. Such a tectonic event could vault a lasting governing majority into Congress capable of delivering a strong climate and economic agenda.

6. Conclusion

The crisis we face from climate change is immense, and the clock is ticking to address it. The last time our country faced an existential crisis and effectively passed legislation to resolve it was with the New Deal in 1932. Following Franklin Delano Roosevelt's landslide election, a newly formed Democratic majority in the Senate partnered with a much-expanded Democratic majority in the House to pass a bevy of bills aimed at stemming the crisis, altering every facet of the nation's economy. These included

- the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, which separated commercial banking from investment banking, created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and formed the Securities and Exchange Commission to oversee the stock market,
- the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration to provide millions of federally funded jobs to the unemployed,
- the Home Owners Loan Corporation to help people refinance their homes, and
- the Social Security Act of 1935 to combat poverty among seniors.

Not only did the New Deal transform America, but

For decades after 1932, Democrats were, by all appearances, the nation's majority party. Democrats maintained majority control of both the House and the Senate for nearly a half century between 1933 and 1981, interrupted only by two brief Republican interludes (1947-48 and 1953-54). The Democrats controlled the presidency two-thirds of the time during this period. Divided government was atypical. The Democrats' margins usually seemed insurmountable. On average, Democrats held 60 percent of the seats and, with some frequency, majorities of 2:1 (Lee, 1-2).

Passing the broad suite of climate legislation necessary to achieve net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 will likely require a similar moment of single party control and long-lasting partisan realignment that produces a clear majority from a large cross-section of the American nations.

A major crisis will be required to make such a realignment possible. That crisis is sure to come; it's only a matter of time. The only question is whether Democrats and climate activists will be ready to seize the moment when it comes.

In the meantime, the best path towards passing robust climate legislation through the US Congress rests in a clear understanding of the diverse social identities that shape voting behavior, especially ethnoregional nation identity and racial social identity. Progress on climate change is possible if climate advocates employ a region by region electoral political strategy that:

1. maximizes the number of regulatory and agnostic climate leaders and followers in congressional districts in the Northern coalition;
2. creates a workable majority by helping Democrats win seats in swing nations (Midlands, Tidewater, and to some extent the Far West); and
3. reforms the filibuster in order to adapt to the new normal of partisan parity and asymmetrical polarization.

As Michael Kazin, a professor at Georgetown and co-editor of *Dissent* magazine, wrote in the *New York Times* in August 2018, Americans are caught in a never-ending culture war. One sees itself as a champion of the common good, giving shelter to immigrants, helping the poor, protecting the environment, empowering women and minorities, ending wars, and encouraging citizens to give back to society. The other America sees itself as the champion of individual freedom: promoting innovation and free enterprise, protecting the rights of the unborn, freeing workers from overbearing unions, rewarding hard-working, moral Americans rather than free-loading, criminal immigrants, and defending the right for Christians to freely practice their beliefs. Right now, both sides think that they're right, the other side is wrong, and that they represent a majority of Americans (Kazin 2018). The politics of addressing climate change are tied up in this war.

Kazin argues that “civil wars, even cultural ones, seldom end with settlements that please both sides. Until the left or the right wins a lasting victory, America will remain a society rent in two” (ibid). It is unclear whether America can ever bridge the divide between its major nations and find the sweet-spot between common good and individual freedom. But one thing is for certain: unless the common-good-emphasizing Northern coalition can build a lasting regional supermajority in the near future, the fossil fuel industry will continue to push humanity down the road towards irreversible climate chaos. A hopeful future is still possible. But only if we act now.

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8. Appendices

8.1. Appendix 1: Six buckets of Pro-Climate Members of Congress

Legend:

- LCV: Lifetime League of Conservation Voters environmental score (0-100) as of 2018
- PVI: Cook Political Report's Partisan Value Index
- TOC: Total Original Cosponsorships
- ROC: Total Regulatory Original Cosponsorships
- MOC: Total Market Original Cosponsorships
- TC: Total Cosponsorships
- RC: Total Regulatory Cosponsorships
- MC: Total Market Cosponsorships
- CPC: Congressional Progressive Caucus
- NDC: New Democrat Coalition
- BDC: Blue Dog Caucus

8.1.1. House:

1. House Regulatory Climate Champions (15 members, 3% of the House)

Sorted according to most ROCs, then most RCs, then alphabetical by last name

State & CD	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC	Primary Caucus	Affiliation
NY 14	New Netherland	<i>Ocasio Cortez, Alexandria</i>	(D)	N/A	D+29	2	0	2	0	CPC	Member
NY 12	New Netherland	Maloney, Carolyn	(D)	95	D+31	1	0	5	0	CPC	Member
WA 7	Left Coast	Jayapal, Pramila	(D)	96	D+33	1	0	4	0	CPC	Co-Chair
NY 10	New Netherland	Nadler, Jerrold	(D)	97	D+26	1	0	4	0	CPC	Member
IL 5	Yankeedom	Quigley, Mike	(D)	98	D+20	1	0	4	0	NDC	Member
CA 44	El Norte	Barragan, Nanette	(D)	96	D+35	1	0	3	0	CPC	Member
AZ 3	El Norte	Grijalva, Raul	(D)	96	D+13	1	0	3	1	CPC	Chairman Emeriti
MN 4	Yankeedom	McCollum, Betty	(D)	94	D+14	1	0	3	0		
NY 15	New Netherland	Serrano, Jose	(D)	92	D+44	1	0	3	0	CPC	Member
HI 2	Greater Polynesia	Gabbard, Tulsi	(D)	96	D+19	1	0	2	0	CPC	Member

NM 1	Far West	<i>Haaland, Deb</i>	(D)	N/A	D+7	1	0	2	0	CPC	Deputy Whip
CO 2	Far West	<i>Neguse, Joe</i>	(D)	N/A	D+9	1	0	2	0	CPC	Vice Chair
MI 13	African American	<i>Tlaib, Rashida</i>	(D)	N/A	D+32	1	0	2	0	CPC	Member
GA 5	African American	Lewis, John	(D)	93	D+34	1	0	1	0	CPC	Member
MN 5	Yankeedom	<i>Omar, Ilhan</i>	(D)		D+26	1	0	1	0	CPC	Whip

2. House Agnostic Climate Champions (9, 2%)

Sorted according to sum of ROC+MOC, then sum of RC+MC, then alphabetical by last name

State & CD	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC	Primary Caucus	Affiliation
CA 13	Left Coast	Lee, Barbara (D)	(D)	96	D+40	2	1	5	2	CPC	Chairman Emeriti
OR 3	Left Coast	Blumenauer, Earl (D)	(D)	96	D+24	1	2	4	2	CPC	Member
MD 8	Midlands	Raskin, Jamie (D)	(D)	99	D+14	2	1	5	1	CPC	PAC Co-Chair
CA 2	Left Coast	Huffman, Jared (D)	(D)	98	D+22	2	1	4	1	CPC	Member
MA 2	Yankeedom	McGovern, James (D)	(D)	99	D+9	1	1	5	2	CPC	Member
CA 33	El Norte	Lieu, Ted (D)	(D)	90	D+16	1	1	5	1	CPC	Member
IL 9	Yankeedom	Schakowsky, Janice (D)	(D)	98	D+18	1	1	4	2	CPC	Vice Chair
CA 17	Left Coast	Khanna, Ro (D)	(D)	99	D+25	1	1	4	1	CPC	First Vice Chair
PA 8	Midlands	Cartwright, Matthew (D)	(D)	96	R+1	1	1	2	1	CPC	Member

3. House Market Climate Champions (9, 2%)

Sorted according to most MOCs, then sum of RC+MC, then alphabetical by last name

State & CD	Primary American Nation	Member Name	Party	LCV	PVI	MOC	ROC	RC	MC	Primary Caucus	Affiliation
FL 19	Spanish Caribbean	Rooney, Francis	(R)	10	R+13	0	2	0	2	N/A	

FL 13	Deep South	Crist, Charlie	(D)	89	D+2	0	1	1	1	BDC	Member
FL 22	Spanish Caribbean	Deutch, Ted	(D)	91	D+6	0	1	1	1	N/A	
VA 8	Tidewater	Beyer, Donald	(D)	96	D+21	0	1	0	1	NDC	Member
PA 1	Midlands	Fitzpatrick, Brian	(R)	77	R+1	0	1	0	1	N/A	
IL 3	Yankeedom	Lipinski, Daniel	(D)	90	D+6	0	1	0	1	BDC	Member
VA 4	Tidewater	McEachin, A. Donald	(D)	87	D+10	0	1	0	1	NDC	Member
CA 9	Far West	McNerney, Jerry	(D)	94	D+8	0	1	0	1	N/A	
CA 52	El Norte	Peters, Scott	(D)	92	D+6	0	1	0	1	NDC	Vice Chair

4. House Regulatory Climate Followers (51, 12%):

Sorted according to most RCs, then alphabetical by last name

State & CD	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC	Primary Caucus	Affiliation
IL 7	African American	Davis, Danny (D)	(D)	92	D+38	0	0	4	0	CPC	Member
MA 5	Yankeedom	Clark, Katherine (D)	(D)	96	D+18	0	0	3	0	CPC	Vice Chair
CA 5	Left Coast	Thompson, Mike (D)	(D)	93	D+21	0	0	3	0	BDC	Member
CA 43	El Norte	Waters, Maxine (D)	(D)	91	D+29	0	0	3	0	CPC	Member
CA 37	El Norte	Bass, Karen (D)	(D)	87	D+37	0	0	2	0	CPC	Member
NY 16	New Netherland	Engel, Eliot (D)	(D)	93	D+24	0	0	2	0	NDC	Member
TX 16	El Norte	Escobar, Veronica	(D)		D+17	0	0	2	0	CPC	Vice Chair
PA 3	African American	Evans, Dwight (D)	(D)	94	D+41	0	0	2	0	CPC	Member
CA 34	El Norte	Gomez, Jimmy (D)	(D)	96	D+35	0	0	2	0	CPC	Member
NY 26	Yankeedom	Higgins, Brian (D)	(D)	95	D+11	0	0	2	0	N/A	
MA 9	Yankeedom	Keating, William (D)	(D)	96	D+4	0	0	2	0	NDC	Member
MA 4	Yankeedom	Kennedy, Joseph (D)	(D)	95	D+9	0	0	2	0	CPC	Member

NY 17	New Netherland	Lowey, Nita (D)	(D)	94	D+7	0	0	2	0	N/A	
NY 18	Yankeedom	Maloney, Sean Patrick (D)	(D)	88	R+1	0	0	2	0	NDC	Member
NY 5	African American	Meeks, Gregory (D)	(D)	89	D+37	0	0	2	0	NDC	Member
NY 6	New Netherland	Meng, Grace (D)	(D)	97	D+16	0	0	2	0	N/A	
MA 6	Yankeedom	Moulton, Seth (D)	(D)	97	D+6	0	0	2	0	NDC	Member
MA 7	Yankeedom	<i>Pressley, Ayanna</i>	(D)		D+34	0	0	2	0	CPC	Member
NY 4	New Netherland	Rice, Kathleen (D)	(D)	94	D+4	0	0	2	0	NDC	Leadership Member
MD 2	Midlands	Ruppersberger, C. A. Dutch (D)	(D)	88	D+11	0	0	2	0	N/A	
NY 3	New Netherland	Suozzi, Thomas (D)	(D)	97	D+1	0	0	2	0	NDC	Member
CA 41	El Norte	Takano, Mark (D)	(D)	99	D+12	0	0	2	0	CPC	Vice Chair
MA 3	Yankeedom	<i>Trahan, Lori</i>	(D)		D+9	0	0	2	0	NDC	Member
NC 12	Greater Appalachia	Adams, Alma (D)	(D)	98	D+18	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
PA 2	Midlands	Boyle, Brendan (D)	(D)	97	D+25	0	0	1	0	NDC	Member
FL 14	Deep South	Castor, Kathy (D)	(D)	93	D+7	0	0	1	0	N/A	
TX 20	El Norte	Castro, Joaquin (D)	(D)	96	D+10	0	0	1	0	NDC	Member
MO 1	African American	Clay, Lacy (D)	(D)	89	D+29	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
CT 2	Yankeedom	Courtney, Joe (D)	(D)	96	D+3	0	0	1	0	N/A	
MD 7	African American	Cummings, Elijah (D)	(D)	92	D+26	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
OR 4	Left Coast	DeFazio, Peter (D)	(D)	92	EVEN	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
TX 35	Deep South	Doggett, Lloyd (D)	(D)	97	D+15	0	0	1	0	CPC	Deputy Whip
CA 3	Left Coast	Garamendi, John (D)	(D)	90	D+5	0	0	1	0	N/A	
IL 4	Yankeedom	<i>Garcia, Jesus "Chuy"</i>	(D)		D+33	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member

CT 5	Yankeedom	<i>Hayes, Jahana</i>	(D)		D+2	0	0	1	0	N/A	
NY 8	African American	Jeffries, Hakeem (D)	(D)	95	D+36	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
TX 30	African American	Johnson, Eddie Bernice (D)	(D)	86	D+29	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
NH 2	Yankeedom	Kuster, Ann (D)	(D)	95	D+2	0	0	1	0	NDC	Vice Chair
CT 1	Yankeedom	Larson, John (D)	(D)	93	D+12	0	0	1	0	N/A	
CA 6	Left Coast	Matsui, Doris (D)	(D)	96	D+21	0	0	1	0	N/A	
FL 26	Spanish Caribbean	<i>Mucarsel-Powell, Debbie</i>	(D)		D+6	0	0	1	0	NDC	Member
CA 20	Left Coast	Panetta, Jimmy (D)	(D)	96	D+23	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
NH 1	Yankeedom	<i>Pappas, Chris</i>	(D)		R+2	0	0	1	0	NDC	Member
NJ 9	New Netherland	Pascrell, Bill (D)	(D)	93	D+16	0	0	1	0	N/A	
NC 4	Tidewater	Price, David (D)	(D)	91	D+17	0	0	1	0	N/A	
CA 38	El Norte	Sanchez, Linda (D)	(D)	93	D+17	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
MD 3	Midlands	Sarbanes, John (D)	(D)	96	D+13	0	0	1	0	N/A	
CA 30	El Norte	Sherman, Brad (D)	(D)	97	D+18	0	0	1	0	CPC	Member
WA 9	Left Coast	Smith, Adam (D)	(D)	91	D+21	0	0	1	0	NDC	Member
CA 15	Left Coast	Swalwell, Eric (D)	(D)	95	D+20	0	0	1	0	N/A	
CA 51	El Norte	Vargas, Juan (D)	(D)	96	D+22	0	0	1	0	NDC	Member

5. House Agnostic Climate Followers (29, 7%)

Sorted according to sum of RC+MC, then alphabetical by last name

State & CD	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC	Primary Caucus	Affiliation
CA 27	El Norte	Chu, Judy (D)	(D)	98	D+16	0	1	5	2	CPC	Member

NY 7	New Netherland	Velazquez, Nydia (D)	(D)	94	D+38	0	1	5	1	CPC	Member
NY 13	New Netherland	Espaillet, Adriano (D)	(D)	99	D+43	0	0	4	1	CPC	Deputy Whip
FL 20	African American	Hastings, Alcee (D)	(D)	84	D+31	0	1	3	2	N/A	
VT AL	Yankeedom	Welch, Peter (D)	(D)	94	D+15	0	1	4	1	CPC	Member
CA 24	El Norte	Carbajal, Salud (D)	(D)	91	D+7	0	0	3	1	NDC	Member
NY 9	African American	Clarke, Yvette (D)	(D)	95	D+34	0	0	3	1	CPC	Member
TN 9	African American	Cohen, Steve (D)	(D)	97	D+28	0	1	3	1	CPC	Member
VA 11	Tidewater	Connolly, Gerald (D)	(D)	97	D+15	0	1	2	2	NDC	Member
CA 11	Left Coast	DeSaulnier, Mark (D)	(D)	99	D+21	0	1	2	2	CPC	Deputy Whip
CA 19	Left Coast	Lofgren, Zoe (D)	(D)	91	D+24	0	1	3	1	CPC	Member
CA 32	El Norte	Napolitano, Grace (D)	(D)	90	D+17	0	1	3	1	CPC	Member
ME 1	Yankeedom	Pingree, Chellie (D)	(D)	96	D+8	0	0	2	2	CPC	Member
WI 2	Yankeedom	Pocan, Mark (D)	(D)	97	D+18	0	0	3	1	CPC	Co-Chair
RI 1	Yankeedom	Cicilline, David (D)	(D)	98	D+14	0	1	2	1	CPC	Vice Chair
CT 3	Yankeedom	DeLauro, Rosa (D)	(D)	94	D+9	0	1	2	1	CPC	Member
CA 18	Left Coast	Eshoo, Anna (D)	(D)	97	D+23	0	1	2	1	N/A	
CA 49	El Norte	<i>Levin, Mike</i>	(D)		R+1	0	0	2	1	CPC	Member
CA 47	El Norte	Lowenthal, Alan (D)	(D)	98	D+13	0	1	2	1	CPC	Member
CA 14	Left Coast	Speier, Jackie (D)	(D)	91	D+27	0	0	2	1	N/A	
NJ 12	New Netherland	Watson Coleman, Bonnie (D)	(D)	96	D+16	0	0	2	1	CPC	Member
CA 31	El Norte	Aguilar, Pete (D)	(D)	97	D+8	0	0	1	1	NDC	Whip
OR 1	Left Coast	Bonamici, Suzanne (D)	(D)	98	D+9	0	0	1	1	CPC	Member

GA 4	African American	Johnson, Henry (D)	(D)	96	D+24	0	0	1	1	CPC	Member
MI 9	Yankeedom	Levin, Andy	(D)		D+4	0	0	1	1	CPC	Deputy Whip
MA 8	Yankeedom	Lynch, Stephen (D)	(D)	95	D+10	0	0	1	1	N/A	
CA 28	El Norte	Schiff, Adam (D)	(D)	98	D+23	0	0	1	1	NDC	Member
VA 3	African American	Scott, Robert (D)	(D)	91	D+16	0	1	1	1	N/A	
FL 9	Deep South	Soto, Darren (D)	(D)	100	D+5	0	0	1	1	NDC	Member

6. House Market Climate Followers (14, 3%)

Sorted according to most MCs, then alphabetical by last name.

State & CD	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC	Primary Caucus	Affiliation
MD 4	African American	Brown, Anthony (D)	(D)	91	D+28	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
IN 7	Greater Appalachia	Carson, Andre (D)	(D)	93	D+11	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
CA 39	El Norte	Cisneros, Gil	(D)		EVEN	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
MN 2	Yankeedom	Craig, Angie	(D)		R+2	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
WA10	Left Coast	Heck, Denny (D)	(D)	97	D+5	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
CT 4	New Netherland	Himes, Jim (D)	(D)	95	D+7	0	0	0	1	NDC	Chair Emeritus
IL 2	African American	Kelly, Robin (D)	(D)	94	D+29	0	0	0	1	N/A	
FL 5	African American	Lawson, Al (D)	(D)	79	D+12	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
NJ 7	New Netherland	Malinowski, Tom	(D)		R+3	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
MN 3	Yankeedom	Philips, Dean	(D)		D+1	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
CA 45	El Norte	Porter, Katie	(D)		R+3	0	0	0	1	CPC	Member
CA 48	El Norte	Rouda, Harley	(D)		R+4	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member
NJ 8	New Netherland	Sires, Albio (D)	(D)	91	D+27	0	0	0	1	N/A	
PA 7	Midlands	Wild, Susan	(D)		D+1	0	0	0	1	NDC	Member

8.1.2. Senate:

1. Senate Regulatory Climate Champions (8, 8%)

Sorted according to most ROCs, then sum of RC+MC, then alphabetical by last name.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
OR	Left Coast	Merkley, Jeff	(D)	99	D+5	2	0	3	0
VT	Yankeedom	Sanders, Bernard	(D)	92	D+15	2	0	3	0
MA	Yankeedom	Markey, Edward J.	(D)	94	D+12	2	0	2	0
NJ	New Netherland	Booker, Cory A.	(D)	99	D+7	1	0	2	0
MA	Yankeedom	Warren, Elizabeth	(D)	99	D+12	1	0	2	0
MD	Midlands	Cardin, Benjamin L.	(D)	92	D+12	1	0	1	0
VT	Yankeedom	Leahy, Patrick J.	(D)	94	D+15	1	0	1	0
NJ	New Netherland	Menendez, Bob	(D)	95	D+7	1	0	1	0

2. Senate Agnostic Climate Champions (2, 2%)

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
NY	New Netherland	Gillibrand, Kirsten E.	(D)	95	D+12	1	1	2	1
HI	Greater Polynesia	Schatz, Brian	(D)	97	D+18	1	1	2	1

3. Senate Market Climate Champions (4, 4%)

Sorted according to sum of RC+MC, then alphabetical by last name.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
RI	Yankeedom	Whitehouse, Sheldon	(D)	98	D+10	0	2	0	2
MD	Midlands	Van Hollen, Chris	(D)	98	D+12	0	1	1	1

DE	Tidewater	Coons, Christopher A.	(D)	93	D+6	0	1	0	1
NM	El Norte	Heinrich, Martin	(D)	94	D+3	0	1	0	1

4. Regulatory Climate Followers (6, 6%)

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
CT	Yankeedom	Blumenthal, Richard	(D)	97	D+6	0	0	1	0
CA	El Norte	Harris, Kamala D.	(D)	100	D+12	0	0	1	0
HI	Greater Polynesia	Hirono, Mazie K.	(D)	95	D+18	0	0	1	0
MN	Yankeedom	Klobuchar, Amy	(D)	96	D+1	0	0	1	0
CT	Yankeedom	Murphy, Christopher	(D)	96	D+6	0	0	1	0
OR	Left Coast	Wyden, Ron	(D)	91	D+5	0	0	1	0

5. Market Climate Followers

None.

6. Agnostic Climate Followers

None.

8.2. Appendix 2: Non-Pro-Climate Members By Nation

8.2.1. Environmentally-Minded Northern Nations:

Left Coast

House:

#total seats: 25

democrats: 24

#market pro-climate: 1

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 17 (68%)

Senate:

#total seats: 4

democrats: 4

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 2 (50%)

Building a united front for regulatory action on climate is possible on the Left Coast.

On the House side, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi has shown willingness to push for climate action in the past and would do so again if the political conditions aligned properly.

Kurt Schrader is being challenged by a pro-climate mayor, Mark Gamba, which may pose an opportunity.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
CA 12	Left Coast	Pelosi, Nancy (D)	(D)	94	D+37		
WA 2	Left Coast	Larsen, Rick (D)	(D)	91	D+10	NDC	Member
WA 6	Left Coast	Kilmer, Derek (D)	(D)	94	D+6	NDC	Chair
WA 1	Left Coast	DelBene, Suzan (D)	(D)	95	D+6	NDC	Vicechair
OR 5	Left Coast	Schrader, Kurt (D)	(D)	70	EVEN	BDC	Member
WA 8	Left Coast	Schrier, Kim	(D)		EVEN	NDC	Member

Meanwhile in the Senate, all four senators have shown an openness to regulatory climate legislation in the past. The key is showing that any such bill would have a chance of passing the Senate.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
WA	Left Coast	Cantwell, Maria	(D)	92	D+7	0	0	0	0
WA	Left Coast	Murray, Patty	(D)	91	D+7	0	0	0	0

New Netherland

House:

#total seats: 21

democrats: 20

#market pro-climate: 3

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 13 (62%)

Senate:

#total seats: 4

democrats: 4

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 3 (75%)

Of the five non-pro-climate members of New Netherland, four are from districts that voted for Trump, limiting the possibility of expanding the coalition here. The other one (Pallone) chairs a committee committed to acting on climate. Although he has shown hostility towards the Green New Deal, he would likely vote in favor of a strong climate package if it were politically expedient for him to do so.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
NJ 6	New Netherland	Pallone, Frank (D)	(D)	96	D+9	CPC	Member
NJ 5	New Netherland	Gottheimer, Joshua (D)	(D)	81	R+3	BDC	Member
NY 11	New Netherland	<i>Rose, Max</i>	(D)		R+3	BDC	Chair
NJ 11	New Netherland	<i>Sherrill, Mikie</i>	(D)		R+3	NDC	Freshman Whip
NJ 4	New Netherland	SMITH, CHRISTOPHER (R)	(R)	61	R+8		

Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer has recently shown willingness to push for climate action and would do so if the political conditions aligned properly.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
NY	New Netherland	Schumer, Charles	(D)	92	D+12	0	0	0	0

El Norte

House:

#total seats: 41

democrats: 38

#market pro-climate: 4

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 21 (49%)

Senate:

#total seats: 4

democrats: 4

#market pro-climate: 1

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 1 (25%)

There are 18 non-pro-climate members of El Norte in the House, including three Republicans. Working through the Congressional Hispanic Caucus would be an effective way to reach many of these members. In addition, supporting the candidacy of upstarts against blue dogs such as Lou Correa and Henry Cuellar could add more regulatory pro-climate democrats to the ranks.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
CA 40	El Norte	Roybal-Allard, Lucille (D)	(D)	95	D+33	CPC	Member
CA 29	El Norte	Cardenas, Tony (D)	(D)	84	D+29	NDC	Member
AZ 7	El Norte	Gallego, Ruben (D)	(D)	97	D+23	CPC	Vice Chair
CA 35	El Norte	Torres, Norma (D)	(D)	96	D+19	NDC	Member

CA 46	El Norte	Correa, Lou (D)	(D)	91	D+15	BDC	Chair
CA 53	El Norte	Davis, Susan (D)	(D)	97	D+14	NDC	Member
TX 34	El Norte	Vela, Filemon (D)	(D)	74	D+10	BDC	Member
TX 28	El Norte	Cuellar, Henry (D)	(D)	42	D+9	BDC	Member
NM 3	El Norte	Lujan, Ben Ray (D)	(D)	96	D+8		
CA 26	El Norte	Brownley, Julia (D)	(D)	96	D+7	NDC	Member
TX 15	El Norte	Gonzalez, Vicente (D)	(D)	73	D+7	BDC	Member
CA 36	El Norte	Ruiz, Raul (D)	(D)	94	D+2	NDC	Member
CA 25	El Norte	<i>Hill, Katie</i>	(D)		EVEN	NDC	Member
AZ 2	El Norte	<i>Kirkpatrick, Ann</i>	(D)		R+1	NDC	Member
TX 23	El Norte	HURD, WILL (R)	(R)	6	R+1		
NM 2	El Norte	<i>Torres Small, Xochitl</i>	(D)		R+6	BDC	Member
CA 42	El Norte	CALVERT, KEN (R)	(R)	6	R+9		
CA 50	El Norte	HUNTER, DUNCAN (R)	(R)	2	R+11		

It may also be necessary to defend four pro-climate members in tough seats:

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	RC	MC
CA 49	El Norte	<i>Levin, Mike</i>	(D)		R+1	2	1
CA 39	El Norte	<i>Cisneros, Gil</i>	(D)		EVEN	0	1
CA 45	El Norte	<i>Porter, Katie</i>	(D)		R+3	0	1
CA 48	El Norte	<i>Rouda, Harley</i>	(D)		R+4	0	1

On the Senate side, Tom Udall is retiring after 2020, so it may be wiser to focus on pressuring his heir apparent, Ben Ray Lujan, to support strong climate policies. Feinstein faced a strongly pro-climate challenger (Kevin de Leon) in 2018 and saw her victory as a vote of confidence in her more moderate climate politics. She was close to introducing a counter resolution to the Green New Deal which she said could appeal to republicans, so she is likely going to be difficult to convince to support strong climate legislation.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
CA	El Norte	Feinstein, Dianne	(D)	90	D+12	0	0	0	0
NM	El Norte	Udall, Tom	(D)	96	D+3	0	0	0	0

African American Social Identity Group

House:

#total seats: 31

democrats: 31
 #market pro-climate: 3
 #regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 14 (45%)

There are fourteen non-pro-climate democrats that come from congressional districts dominated by the African American social identity group. Nearly all of them are in safely Democratic districts. Working through the Congressional Black Caucus to get these members to throw their weight behind climate action would be a highly effective use of time and resources for the climate community.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus
NJ 10	African American	Payne, Donald (D)	(D)	91	D+36	
FL 24	African American	Wilson, Frederica (D)	(D)	91	D+34	CPC
OH 11	African American	Fudge, Marcia (D)	(D)	93	D+32	CPC
MI 14	African American	Lawrence, Brenda (D)	(D)	97	D+30	CPC
TX 9	African American	Green, Al (D)	(D)	85	D+29	
IL 1	African American	Rush, Bobby (D)	(D)	79	D+27	
TX 18	African American	Jackson Lee, Sheila (D)	(D)	81	D+27	CPC
LA 2	African American	Richmond, Cedric (D)	(D)	74	D+25	NDC
AL 7	African American	Sewell, Terri (D)	(D)	79	D+20	NDC
GA 13	African American	Scott, David (D)	(D)	82	D+20	BDC
SC 6	African American	Clyburn, Jim (D)	(D)	85	D+19	
NC 1	African American	Butterfield, G.K. (D)	(D)	89	D+17	
MS 2	African American	Thompson, Bennie (D)	(D)	82	D+14	CPC
GA 2	African American	Bishop, Sanford (D)	(D)	51	D+6	BDC

Yankeedom

House:
 #total seats: 71
 # democrats: 49
 #market pro-climate: 3
 #regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 26 (37%)

Senate:
 #total seats: 20
 # democrats: 18
 #market pro-climate: 1
 #regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 7 (35%)

There are lots of opportunities to convert non-pro-climate members into pro-climate members in Yankeedom. Many of these members come from more competitive states than their pro-climate Yankee colleagues, but messaging around the common good and the benefits of clean, renewable energy should be good politics for them.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
WI 4	Yankeedom	Moore, Gwen (D)	(D)	94	D+25	CPC	Member
MI 12	Yankeedom	Dingell, Debbie (D)	(D)	97	D+14	CPC	Vice Chair
MA 1	Yankeedom	Neal, Richard (D)	(D)	92	D+12		
IL 10	Yankeedom	Schneider, Brad (D)	(D)	93	D+10	BDC	Member
IL 11	Yankeedom	Foster, Bill (D)	(D)	93	D+9	NDC	Member
IL 8	Yankeedom	Krishnamoorthi, Raja (D)	(D)	97	D+8	NDC	Member
IN 1	Yankeedom	Visclosky, Peter (D)	(D)	82	D+8		
NY 25	Yankeedom	Morelle, Joseph	(D)	100	D+8	CPC	Member
NY 20	Yankeedom	Tonko, Paul (D)	(D)	97	D+7		
RI 2	Yankeedom	Langevin, Jim (D)	(D)	96	D+6		
MI 5	Yankeedom	Kildee, Daniel (D)	(D)	96	D+5	CPC	Member
NY 24	Yankeedom	KATKO, JOHN (R)	(R)	27	D+3		
WI 3	Yankeedom	Kind, Ron (D)	(D)	89	EVEN	NDC	Member
NY 19	Yankeedom	<i>Delgado, Antonio</i>	(D)		R+2	CPC	Member
IL 6	Yankeedom	<i>Casten, Sean</i>	(D)		R+2	NDC	Member
ME 2	Yankeedom	<i>Golden, Jared</i>	(D)		R+2		
NY 2	Yankeedom	KING, PETER (R)	(R)	17	R+3		
NY 21	Yankeedom	STEFANIK, ELISE (R)	(R)	33	R+4		
MI 11	Yankeedom	<i>Stevens, Haley</i>	(D)		R+4	NDC	Member
MI 8	Yankeedom	<i>Slotkin, Elissa</i>	(D)		R+4	NDC	Member
MI 6	Yankeedom	UPTON, FRED (R)	(R)	26	R+4		
MN 8	Yankeedom	<i>STAUBER, PETE</i>	(R)		R+4		
NY 1	Yankeedom	ZELDIN, LEE [®]	(R)	10	R+5		
IL 14	Yankeedom	<i>Underwood, Lauren</i>	(D)		R+5		
MN 1	Yankeedom	<i>HAGEDORN, JIM</i>	(R)		R+5		
WI 1	Yankeedom	<i>STEIL, BRYAN</i>	(R)		R+5		
OH 14	Yankeedom	JOYCE, DAVID (R)	(R)	8	R+5		
NY 22	Yankeedom	<i>Brindisi, Anthony</i>	(D)		R+6	BDC	Chair
NY 23	Yankeedom	REED, THOMAS (R)	(R)	8	R+6		
MI 3	Yankeedom	AMASH, JUSTIN (R)	(R)	18	R+6		
MI 7	Yankeedom	WALBERG, TIM (R)	(R)	3	R+7		
WI 8	Yankeedom	GALLAGHER, MIKE (R)	(R)	1	R+7		
WI 7	Yankeedom	DUFFY, SEAN (R)	(R)	2	R+8		
WI 6	Yankeedom	GROTHMAN, GLENN (R)	(R)	1	R+8		
MI 1	Yankeedom	BERGMAN, JACK (R)	(R)	7	R+9		
MI 2	Yankeedom	HUIZENGA, BILL (R)	(R)	4	R+9		
MI 4	Yankeedom	MOOLENAAR, JOHN (R)	(R)	4	R+10		
NY 27	Yankeedom	COLLINS, CHRIS (R)	(R)	4	R+11		
MN 7	Yankeedom	Peterson, Collin (D)	(D)	31	R+12	BDC	Member

MN 6	Yankeedom	EMMER, TOM (R)	(R)	1	R+12		
WI 5	Yankeedom	SENSENBRENNER, F. JAMES (R)	(R)	25	R+13		
MI 10	Yankeedom	MITCHELL, PAUL (R)	(R)	3	R+13		

There are also 9 potentially vulnerable pro-climate seats that advocates need to defend:

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	RC	MC
MI 9	Yankeedom	Levin, Andy	(D)		D+4	1	1
MA 9	Yankeedom	Keating, William (D)	(D)	96	D+4	2	0
CT 2	Yankeedom	Courtney, Joe (D)	(D)	96	D+3	1	0
CT 5	Yankeedom	Hayes, Jahana	(D)		D+2	1	0
NH 2	Yankeedom	Kuster, Ann (D)	(D)	95	D+2	1	0
NY 18	Yankeedom	Maloney, Sean Patrick (D)	(D)	88	R+1	2	0
NH 1	Yankeedom	Pappas, Chris	(D)		R+2	1	0
MN 3	Yankeedom	Philips, Dean	(D)		D+1	0	1
MN 2	Yankeedom	Craig, Angie	(D)		R+2	0	1

In the Senate, there are 10 non-pro-climate Democrats that could be messaged to by climate advocates and two Republicans:

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
RI	Yankeedom	Reed, Jack	(D)	97	D+10	0	0	0	0
IL	Yankeedom	Duckworth, Tammy	(D)	89	D+7	0	0	0	0
IL	Yankeedom	Durbin, Richard	(D)	88	D+7	0	0	0	0
ME	Yankeedom	Collins, Susan	(R)	61	D+3	0	0	0	0
ME	Yankeedom	King, Angus S., Jr.	(I)	90	D+3	0	0	0	0
MI	Yankeedom	Peters, Gary	(D)	93	D+1	0	0	0	0
MN	Yankeedom	Smith, Tina	(D)	100	D+1	0	0	0	0
MI	Yankeedom	Stabenow, Debbie	(D)	89	D+1	0	0	0	0
WI	Yankeedom	Baldwin, Tammy	(D)	97	EVEN	0	0	0	0

NH	Yankeedom	Hassan, Margaret	(D)	100	EVEN	0	0	0	0
WI	Yankeedom	Johnson, Ron	(R)	3	EVEN	0	0	0	0
NH	Yankeedom	Shaheen, Jeanne	(D)	96	EVEN	0	0	0	0

Greater Polynesia and First Nation

House:

#total seats: 2

democrats: 2

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 1 (50%)

Senate:

#total seats: 2

democrats: 2

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 2 (100%)

The most important work in Greater Polynesia and First Nation may well be public mobilization to talk about the impacts of climate and fossil fuels on them. Both of Greater Polynesia's Senators support regulatory climate action, and Hawaii has also led the way in pushing for a 100% clean energy future in their state, which may serve as proof of concept for national legislation.

The First Nation showed considerable solidarity and moral clout in 2017 by standing up to the Dakota Access Pipeline at Standing Rock. Indeed, this event galvanized Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez' resolve to address climate and may well inspire others to do the same.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
HI 1	Greater Polynesia	Case, Ed	(D)		D+17	BDC	Member

8.2.2. Swing Nations:

Tidewater

House:

#total seats: 13

democrats: 8

#market pro-climate: 2

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 2 (15%)

Senate:

#total seats: 4

democrats: 2

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 0

Tidewater is a tricky nation to message. It is in flux, currently being subsumed by the expanding halo of Washington DC from the north and military bases in the south. It is a true toss-up. There are 9 non-pro-climate House members and all four Senate seats that need to be pressured. Many of these could be lobbied on the impact of sea level rise on their coastlines.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
MD 5	Tidewater	Hoyer, Steny (D)	(D)	81	D+16		
VA 10	Tidewater	<i>Wexton, Jennifer</i>	(D)		D+1	NDC	Member
VA 2	Tidewater	<i>Luria, Elaine</i>	(D)		R+3	NDC	Member
VA 7	Tidewater	<i>Spanberger, Abigail</i>	(D)		R+6	BDC	Member
NC 2	Tidewater	HOLDING, GEORGE (R)	(R)	1	R+7		
VA 1	Tidewater	WITTMAN, ROBERT (R)	(R)	11	R+8		
NC 6	Tidewater	WALKER, B. MARK (R)	(R)	0	R+9		
NC 3	Tidewater	JONES, WALTER (R)	(R)	22	R+12		
MD 1	Tidewater	HARRIS, ANDY [®]	(R)	3	R+14		

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
VA	Tidewater	Kaine, Tim	(D)	95	D+1	0	0	0	0
VA	Tidewater	Warner, Mark	(D)	87	D+1	0	0	0	0
NC	Tidewater	Tillis, Thom	(R)	7	R+3	0	0	0	0
NC	Tidewater	Burr, Richard	(R)	8	R+3	0	0	0	0

Spanish Caribbean:

#total seats: 7

democrats: 5

#market pro-climate: 2

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 1 (14%)

Spanish Caribbean is one of the most heavily impacted nations when it comes to climate change. Indeed, this has caused Republicans such as Carlos Curbelo to fight for re-election promising climate action. But increasing government control is anathema to many Cuban and Venezuelan exiles, and this might make pitching regulatory climate action a tougher sell.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
FL 23	Spanish Caribbean	Wasserman - Schultz, Debbie (D)	(D)	93	D+11	NDC	Member
FL 21	Spanish Caribbean	Frankel, Lois (D)	(D)	98	D+9	CPC	Member
FL 27	Spanish Caribbean	<i>Shalala, Donna</i>	(D)		D+5		
FL 25	Spanish Caribbean	DIAZ-BALART, MARIO (R)	(R)	11	R+4		

The Midlands

House:

#total seats: 45

democrats: 23

#market pro-climate: 2

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 5 (12%)

Senate:

#total seats: 16

democrats: 6

#market pro-climate: 2

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 1 (6%)

With 38 non-pro-climate seats in the Midlands, there is substantial prospect for recruiting members to support legislation.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
OH 9	Midlands	Kaptur, Marcy (D)	(D)	83	D+14		
PA 5	Midlands	<i>Scanlon, Mary Gay</i>	(D)		D+13	CPC	Member
PA 18	Midlands	Doyle, Michael (D)	(D)	78	D+13		
NJ 1	Midlands	Norcross, Donald (D)	(D)	92	D+13	CPC	Vice Chair
PA 4	Midlands	<i>Dean, Madeleine</i>	(D)		D+7	NDC	Member
MO 5	Midlands	Cleaver, Emanuel (D)	(D)	88	D+7		
OH 13	Midlands	Ryan, Tim (D)	(D)	92	D+7		

MD 6	Midlands	<i>Trone, David</i>	(D)		D+6	NDC	Member
IL 17	Midlands	Bustos, Cheri (D)	(D)	88	D+3	NDC	Member
PA 6	Midlands	<i>Houlahan, Chrissy</i>	(D)		D+2	NDC	Freshman Leadership Representative
IA 1	Midlands	<i>Finkenauer, Abby</i>	(D)		D+1		
IA 2	Midlands	Loeb sack, Dave (D)	(D)	90	D+1	CPC	Member
NJ 2	Midlands	<i>Van Drew, Jeff</i>	(D)		R+1	BDC	Member
IA 3	Midlands	<i>Axne, Cindy</i>	(D)		R+1	NDC	Member
NJ 3	Midlands	<i>Kim, Andy</i>	(D)		R+2	CPC	Member
PA 17	Midlands	Lamb, Conor (D)	(D)	82	R+3		
KS 3	Midlands	<i>Dauids, Sharice</i>	(D)		R+4	NDC	Member
NE 2	Midlands	BACON, DON ®	(R)	6	R+4		
PA 10	Midlands	PERRY, SCOTT (R)	(R)	2	R+6		
OH 16	Midlands	<i>GONZALEZ, ANTHONY</i>	(R)		R+8		
IL 16	Midlands	KINZINGER, ADAM (R)	(R)	6	R+8		
MO 2	Midlands	WAGNER, ANN (R)	(R)	2	R+8		
PA 16	Midlands	KELLY, MIKE (R)	(R)	4	R+8		
KS 2	Midlands	WATKINS, STEVE	(R)		R+10		
OH 5	Midlands	LATTA, BOB (R)	(R)	2	R+11		
IA 4	Midlands	KING, STEVE (R)	(R)	4	R+11		
IN 2	Midlands	WALORSKI, JACKIE (R)	(R)	1	R+11		
NE 1	Midlands	FORTENBERRY, JEFF (R)	(R)	18	R+11		
OH 7	Midlands	GIBBS, BOB (R)	(R)	3	R+12		
OH 4	Midlands	JORDAN, JIM (R)	(R)	4	R+14		
PA 9	Midlands	<i>MEUSER, DAN</i>	(R)		R+14		
PA 11	Midlands	SMUCKER, LLOYD (R)	(R)	3	R+14		
MO 6	Midlands	GRAVES, SAM (R)	(R)	4	R+16		
PA 12	Midlands	MARINO, THOMAS (R)	(R)	5	R+17		

IN 3	Midlands	BANKS, JAMES (R)	(R)	0	R+18		
PA 15	Midlands	THOMPSON, GLENN (R)	(R)	5	R+20		
NE 3	Midlands	SMITH, ADRIAN (R)	(R)	4	R+27		
OK 3	Midlands	LUCAS, FRANK (R)	(R)	5	R+27		

On the Senate side, the landscape looks less inviting given the preponderance of Republicans:

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
DE	Midlands	Carper, Thomas	(D)	83	D+6	0	0	0	0
PA	Midlands	Casey, Robert P., Jr. (D-PA)	(D)	92	EVEN	0	0	0	0
PA	Midlands	Toomey, Patrick J. (R-PA)	(R)	5	EVEN	0	0	0	0
OH	Midlands	Brown, Sherrod (D-OH)	(D)	94	R+3	0	0	0	0
IA	Midlands	Ernst, Joni (R-IA)	(R)	1	R+3	0	0	0	0
IA	Midlands	Grassley, Chuck (R-IA)	(R)	18	R+3	0	0	0	0
OH	Midlands	Portman, Rob (R-OH)	(R)	19	R+3	0	0	0	0
MO	Midlands	Blunt, Roy (R-MO)	(R)	5	R+9	0	0	0	0
MO	Midlands	<i>Hawley, Josh (R-MO)</i>	(R)		R+9	0	0	0	0
KS	Midlands	Moran, Jerry (R-KS)	(R)	8	R+13	0	0	0	0
KS	Midlands	Roberts, Pat (R-KS)	(R)	9	R+13	0	0	0	0
NE	Midlands	Sasse, Ben (R-NE)	(R)	3	R+14	0	0	0	0
NE	Midlands	Fischer, Deb (R-NE)	(R)	5	R+14	0	0	0	0

8.2.3. Dixie Coalition Nations:

The Far West

House:

#total seats: 42

democrats: 15

#market pro-climate: 1

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 1 (2%)

Senate:

#total seats: 20

democrats: 5

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 0

House:

Pressuring representatives from urban areas of the Far West may be an effective means of expanding the pro-climate buckets.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
CO 1	Far West	DeGette, Diana (D)	(D)	96	D+21		
NV 1	Far West	Titus, Dina (D)	(D)	95	D+15		
CA 16	Far West	Costa, Jim (D)	(D)	49	D+9	BDC	Member
CO 7	Far West	Perlmutter, Ed (D)	(D)	86	D+6	NDC	Member
CA 21	Far West	<i>Cox, TJ</i>	(D)		D+5		
AZ 9	Far West	<i>Stanton, Greg</i>	(D)		D+4	NDC	Member
CA 7	Far West	Bera, Ami (D)	(D)	93	D+3	NDC	Leadership Member
NV 4	Far West	<i>Horsford, Steven</i>	(D)		D+3	NDC	Member
CO 6	Far West	<i>Crow, Jason</i>	(D)		D+2	NDC	Member
CA 10	Far West	<i>Harder, Josh</i>	(D)		EVEN	NDC	Member
NV 3	Far West	<i>Lee, Susie</i>	(D)		R+2	NDC	Member
AZ 1	Far West	O'Halleran, Tom (D)	(D)	87	R+2	BDC	Chair
CO 3	Far West	TIPTON, SCOTT (R)	(R)	7	R+6		
NV 2	Far West	AMODEI, MARK (R)	(R)	5	R+7		
WA 5	Far West	MCMORRIS RODGERS, CATHY (R)	(R)	3	R+8		
CA 22	Far West	NUNES, DEVIN (R)	(R)	3	R+8		
CA 8	Far West	COOK, PAUL (R)	(R)	2	R+9		
AK AL	Far West	YOUNG, DON (R)	(R)	8	R+9		
AZ 6	Far West	SCHWEIKERT, DAVID (R)	(R)	4	R+9		
CA 4	Far West	MCCLINTOCK, TOM (R)	(R)	4	R+10		

MT AL	Far West	GIANFORTE, GREG (R)	(R)	5	R+11		
CA 1	Far West	LAMALFA, DOUG (R)	(R)	1	R+11		
OR 2	Far West	WALDEN, GREG (R)	(R)	9	R+11		
CO 4	Far West	BUCK, KEN (R)	(R)	3	R+13		
WA 4	Far West	NEWHOUSE, DAN (R)	(R)	2	R+13		
UT 4	Far West	<i>McAdams, Ben</i>	(D)		R+13	BDC	Member
AZ 8	Far West	LESKO, DEBBIE (R)	(R)	0	R+13		
CO 5	Far West	LAMBORN, DOUG (R)	(R)	3	R+14		
CA 23	Far West	MCCARTHY, KEVIN (R)	(R)	3	R+14		
SD AL	Far West	<i>JOHNSON, DUSTY</i>	(R)		R+14		
AZ 5	Far West	BIGGS, ANDY (R)	(R)	9	R+15		
UT 2	Far West	STEWART, CHRIS (R)	(R)	2	R+16		
ND AL	Far West	<i>ARMSTRONG, KELLY</i>	(R)		R+16		
ID 2	Far West	SIMPSON, MIKE (R)	(R)	8	R+17		
ID 1	Far West	<i>FULCHER, RUSS</i>	(R)		R+21		
AZ 4	Far West	GOSAR, PAUL (R)	(R)	5	R+21		
KS 1	Far West	MARSHALL, ROGER (R)	(R)	3	R+24		
WYAL	Far West	CHENEY, LIZ (R)	(R)	0	R+25		
UT 3	Far West	CURTIS, JOHN ®	(R)	0	R+25		
UT 1	Far West	BISHOP, ROB (R)	(R)	2	R+26		

Senate

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
CO	Far West	Gardner, Cory	(R)	10	D+1	0	0	0	0
CO	Far West	Bennet, Michael	(D)	90	D+1	0	0	0	0
NV	Far West	Cortez Masto, Catherine	(D)	94	D+1	0	0	0	0
NV	Far West	<i>Rosen, Jacky</i>	(D)		D+1	0	0	0	0
AZ	Far West	<i>McSally, Martha</i>	(R)		R+5	0	0	0	0

AZ	Far West	<i>Sinema, Kirsten</i>	(D)		R+5	0	0	0	0
AK	Far West	Sullivan, Dan	(R)	7	R+9	0	0	0	0
AK	Far West	Murkowski, Lisa	(R)	17	R+9	0	0	0	0
MT	Far West	Daines, Steve	(R)	4	R+11	0	0	0	0
MT	Far West	Tester, Jon	(D)	86	R+11	0	0	0	0
SD	Far West	Rounds, Mike	(R)	3	R+14	0	0	0	0
SD	Far West	Thune, John	(R)	10	R+14	0	0	0	0
ND	Far West	Hoeven, John	(R)	8	R+17	0	0	0	0
ND	Far West	<i>Cramer, Joe</i>	(R)		R+17	0	0	0	0
ID	Far West	Crapo, Mike	(R)	6	R+19	0	0	0	0
ID	Far West	Risch, James	(R)	7	R+19	0	0	0	0
UT	Far West	Lee, Mike	(R)	8	R+20	0	0	0	0
UT	Far West	<i>Romney, Mitt</i>	(R)		R+20	0	0	0	0
WY	Far West	Enzi, Michael	(R)	5	R+25	0	0	0	0
WY	Far West	Barrasso, John	(R)	8	R+25	0	0	0	0

Greater Appalachia:

House:

#total seats: 79

democrats: 8

#market pro-climate: 1

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 1 (1%)

Senate:

#total seats: 12

democrats: 1

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 0

House:

There are limited opportunities to appeal to members in these districts.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
TX 33	Greater Appalachia	Veasey, Marc (D)	(D)	88	D+23	NDC	Member

OH 3	Greater Appalachia	Beatty, Joyce (D)	(D)	95	D+19		
TN 5	Greater Appalachia	Cooper, Jim (D)	(D)	82	D+7	BDC	Member
KY 3	Greater Appalachia	Yarmuth, John (D)	(D)	94	D+6	CPC	Member
IL 13	Greater Appalachia	DAVIS, RODNEY (R)	(R)	6	R+3		
OH 10	Greater Appalachia	TURNER, MIKE (R)	(R)	9	R+4		
OH 1	Greater Appalachia	CHABOT, STEVE ®	(R)	12	R+5		
TX 32	Greater Appalachia	<i>Allred, Colin</i>	(D)		R+5	NDC	Member
IL 12	Greater Appalachia	BOST, MICHAEL (R)	(R)	3	R+5		
NC 13	Greater Appalachia	BUDD, TED (R)	(R)	1	R+6		
VA 5	Greater Appalachia	<i>RIGGLEMAN, DENVER</i>	(R)		R+6		
OH 15	Greater Appalachia	STIVERS, STEVE (R)	(R)	6	R+7		
OH 12	Greater Appalachia	BALDERSON, TROY	(R)		R+7		
AR 2	Greater Appalachia	HILL, FRENCH (R)	(R)	4	R+7		
NC 9	Greater Appalachia	<i>OPEN</i>			R+8		
NC 8	Greater Appalachia	HUDSON, RICHARD (R)	(R)	1	R+8		
OH 2	Greater Appalachia	WENSTRUP, BRAD (R)	(R)	1	R+9		
TX 24	Greater Appalachia	MARCHANT, KENNY (R)	(R)	3	R+9		
IN 5	Greater Appalachia	BROOKS, SUSAN (R)	(R)	4	R+9		
KY 6	Greater Appalachia	BARR, ANDY (R)	(R)	1	R+9		
TX 6	Greater Appalachia	<i>WRIGHT, RON</i>	(R)		R+9		
NC 5	Greater Appalachia	FOXX, VIRGINIA (R)	(R)	3	R+10		
TX 21	Greater Appalachia	<i>ROY, CHIP</i>	(R)		R+10		
OK 5	Greater Appalachia	<i>Horn, Kendra</i>	(D)		R+10	BDC	Member

TX 25	Greater Appalachia	WILLIAMS, ROGER (R)	(R)	1	R+11		
NC 10	Greater Appalachia	MCHEMRY, PATRICK (R)	(R)	3	R+12		
IN 9	Greater Appalachia	HOLLINGSWORTH, TREY (R)	(R)	9	R+13		
TX 3	Greater Appalachia	TAYLOR, VAN	(R)		R+13		
VA 6	Greater Appalachia	GOODLATTE, ROBERT (R)	(R)	6	R+13		
NC 11	Greater Appalachia	MEADOWS, MARK (R)	(R)	1	R+14		
PA 14	Greater Appalachia	RESCHENTHALER, GUY	(R)		R+14		
IL 18	Greater Appalachia	LAHOOD, DARIN (R)	(R)	0	R+15		
SC 4	Greater Appalachia	TIMMONS, WILLIAM	(R)		R+15		
IN 8	Greater Appalachia	BUCSHON, LARRY (R)	(R)	5	R+15		
OH 6	Greater Appalachia	JOHNSON, BILL (R)	(R)	3	R+16		
IN 4	Greater Appalachia	BAIRD, JIM	(R)		R+17		
WV 2	Greater Appalachia	MOONEY, ALEX (R)	(R)	1	R+17		
OH 8	Greater Appalachia	DAVIDSON, WARREN (R)	(R)	1	R+17		
OK 1	Greater Appalachia	HERN, KEVIN	(R)	0	R+17		
GA 11	Greater Appalachia	LOUDERMILK, BARRY (R)	(R)	0	R+17		
MO 4	Greater Appalachia	HARTZLER, VICKY (R)	(R)	2	R+17		
AL 5	Greater Appalachia	BROOKS, MO (R)	(R)	9	R+18		
TX 26	Greater Appalachia	BURGESS, MICHAEL (R)	(R)	3	R+18		
TN 3	Greater Appalachia	FLEISCHMANN, CHUCK (R)	(R)	3	R+18		
IN 6	Greater Appalachia	PENCE, GREG	(R)		R+18		
KY 4	Greater Appalachia	MASSIE, THOMAS (R)	(R)	12	R+18		
TX 12	Greater Appalachia	GRANGER, KAY (R)	(R)	5	R+18		

MO 3	Greater Appalachia	LUETKEMEYER, BLAINE (R)	(R)	3	R+18		
AR 3	Greater Appalachia	WOMACK, STEVE (R)	(R)	4	R+19		
KY 2	Greater Appalachia	GUTHRIE, S. BRETT (R)	(R)	4	R+19		
SC 3	Greater Appalachia	DUNCAN, JEFF (R)	(R)	3	R+19		
WV 1	Greater Appalachia	MCKINLEY, DAVID (R)	(R)	6	R+19		
VA 9	Greater Appalachia	GRIFFITH, H. MORGAN (R)	(R)	5	R+19		
OK 4	Greater Appalachia	COLE, TOM (R)	(R)	7	R+20		
TN 7	Greater Appalachia	<i>GREEN, MARK</i>	(R)		R+20		
TN 2	Greater Appalachia	<i>BURCHETT, TIM</i>	(R)		R+20		
TN 4	Greater Appalachia	DESJARLAIS, SCOTT (R)	(R)	2	R+20		
IL 15	Greater Appalachia	SHIMKUS, JOHN (R)	(R)	6	R+21		
PA 13	Greater Appalachia	<i>JOYCE, JOHN</i>	(R)		R+22		
WV 3	Greater Appalachia	<i>MILLER, CAROL</i>	(R)		R+23		
KY 1	Greater Appalachia	COMER, JAMES (R)	(R)	3	R+23		
MO 7	Greater Appalachia	LONG, BILLY (R)	(R)	2	R+23		
OK 2	Greater Appalachia	MULLIN, MARKWAYNE (R)	(R)	1	R+24		
MO 8	Greater Appalachia	SMITH, JASON (R)	(R)	1	R+24		
TN 6	Greater Appalachia	<i>ROSE, JOHN</i>	(R)		R+24		
TX 19	Greater Appalachia	ARRINGTON, JODEY (R)	(R)	0	R+27		
GA 14	Greater Appalachia	GRAVES, TOM (R)	(R)	2	R+27		
TX 4	Greater Appalachia	RATCLIFFE, JOHN ®	(R)	0	R+28		
TN 1	Greater Appalachia	ROE, PHIL (R)	(R)	2	R+28		
KY 5	Greater Appalachia	ROGERS, HAROLD (R)	(R)	8	R+31		

GA 9	Greater Appalachia	COLLINS, DOUG (R)	(R)	2	R+31		
TX 11	Greater Appalachia	CONAWAY, MIKE (R)	(R)	2	R+32		
TX 13	Greater Appalachia	THORBERRY, MAC (R)	(R)	2	R+33		

Senate:

None of these members offer opportunities to increase pro-climate support in the Senate.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
IN	Greater Appalachia	Young, Todd	(R)	3	R+9	0	0	0	0
IN	Greater Appalachia	<i>Braun, Mike</i>	(R)		R+9	0	0	0	0
TN	Greater Appalachia	Alexander, Lamar	(R)	20	R+14	0	0	0	0
TN	Greater Appalachia	<i>Blackburn, Marsha</i>	(R)		R+14	0	0	0	0
AR	Greater Appalachia	Cotton, Tom	(R)	2	R+15	0	0	0	0
AR	Greater Appalachia	Boozman, John	(R)	7	R+15	0	0	0	0
KY	Greater Appalachia	McConnell, Mitch	(R)	7	R+15	0	0	0	0
KY	Greater Appalachia	Paul, Rand	(R)	8	R+15	0	0	0	0
WV	Greater Appalachia	Capito, Shelley Moore	(R)	17	R+19	0	0	0	0
WV	Greater Appalachia	Manchin, Joe, III	(D)	45	R+19	0	0	0	0
OK	Greater Appalachia	Inhofe, James	(R)	5	R+20	0	0	0	0
OK	Greater Appalachia	Lankford, James	(R)	5	R+20	0	0	0	0

The Deep South:

House:

#total seats: 54

democrats: 9

#market pro-climate: 1

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 2 (4%)

Senate:

#total seats: 14

democrats: 1
 #market pro-climate: 0
 #regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 0

House:

As in Greater Appalachia, there are limited opportunities to expand pro-climate buckets in this Nation.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
TX 29	Deep South	<i>Garcia, Sylvia</i>	(D)		D+19	CPC	Member
FL 10	Deep South	Demings, Val (D)	(D)	96	D+11	NDC	Member
FL 7	Deep South	Murphy, Stephanie (D)	(D)	87	EVEN	BDC	Chair
FL 18	Deep South	MAST, BRIAN (R)	(R)	26	R+5		
FL 15	Deep South	SPANO, ROSS	(R)		R+6		
FL 16	Deep South	BUCHANAN, VERN (R)	(R)	22	R+7		
TX 7	Deep South	<i>Fletcher, Lizzie</i>	(D)		R+7	NDC	Member
FL 6	Deep South	WALTZ, MICHAEL	(R)		R+7		
GA 6	Deep South	<i>McBath, Lucy</i>	(D)		R+8	NDC	Member
FL 12	Deep South	BILIRAKIS, GUS (R)	(R)	8	R+8		
GA 12	Deep South	ALLEN, RICK (R)	(R)	0	R+9		
GA 7	Deep South	WOODALL, ROB (R)	(R)	4	R+9		
GA 1	Deep South	CARTER, EARL (R)	(R)	0	R+9		
SC 7	Deep South	RICE, TOM (R)	(R)	1	R+9		
TX 10	Deep South	MCCAUL, MICHAEL (R)	(R)	5	R+9		
SC 5	Deep South	NORMAN, RALPH (R)	(R)	0	R+9		
FL 3	Deep South	YOHO, TED (R)	(R)	2	R+9		
NC 7	Deep South	ROUZER, DAVID (R)	(R)	1	R+9		
SC 1	Deep South	<i>Cunningham, Joe</i>	(D)		R+10	BDC	Member
TX 22	Deep South	OLSON, PETE (R)	(R)	1	R+10		
TX 31	Deep South	CARTER, JOHN (R)	(R)	4	R+10		
FL 8	Deep South	POSEY, BILL (R)	(R)	5	R+11		

TX 2	Deep South	<i>CRENSHAW, DAN</i>	(R)		R+11		
TX 14	Deep South	WEBER, RANDY (R)	(R)	2	R+12		
SC 2	Deep South	WILSON, JOE (R)	(R)	2	R+12		
TX 17	Deep South	FLORES, BILL (R)	(R)	3	R+12		
LA 4	Deep South	JOHNSON, MIKE (R)	(R)	3	R+13		
FL 17	Deep South	<i>STEUBE, GREG</i>	(R)		R+13		
MS 3	Deep South	<i>PATRICK GUEST, MICHAEL</i>	(R)		R+13		
TX 27	Deep South	CLOUD, MICHAEL (R)	(R)	0	R+13		
GA 10	Deep South	HICE, JODY (R)	(R)	0	R+15		
FL 11	Deep South	WEBSTER, DANIEL (R)	(R)	5	R+15		
LA 5	Deep South	ABRAHAM, RALPH (R)	(R)	1	R+15		
GA 8	Deep South	SCOTT, AUSTIN (R)	(R)	3	R+15		
AL 1	Deep South	BYRNE, BRADLEY (R)	(R)	0	R+15		
MS 1	Deep South	KELLY, TRENT (R)	(R)	0	R+16		
AL 2	Deep South	ROBY, MARTHA (R)	(R)	4	R+16		
TX 5	Deep South	<i>GOODEN, LANCE</i>	(R)		R+16		
AL 3	Deep South	ROGERS, MIKE [®]	(R)	6	R+16		
AR 4	Deep South	WESTERMAN, BRUCE (R)	(R)	1	R+17		
AR 1	Deep South	CRAWFORD, RICK (R)	(R)	5	R+17		
FL 4	Deep South	RUTHERFORD, JOHN (R)	(R)	4	R+17		
GA 3	Deep South	FERGUSON, DREW (R)	(R)	3	R+18		
FL 2	Deep South	DUNN, NEAL (R)	(R)	1	R+18		
LA 6	Deep South	GRAVES, GARRET (R)	(R)	3	R+19		
TN 8	Deep South	KUSTOFF, DAVID (R)	(R)	0	R+19		
MS 4	Deep South	PALAZZO, STEVEN (R)	(R)	2	R+21		
FL 1	Deep South	GAETZ, MATT (R)	(R)	7	R+22		
TX 1	Deep South	GOHMERT, LOUIE (R)	(R)	4	R+25		
TX 36	Deep South	BABIN, BRIAN (R)	(R)	1	R+26		
AL 6	Deep South	PALMER, GARY (R)	(R)	1	R+26		

TX 8	Deep South	BRADY, KEVIN (R)	(R)	3	R+28		
AL 4	Deep South	ADERHOLT, ROBERT (R)	(R)	3	R+30		

Senate:

Here too, there are limited opportunities to expand pro-climate buckets in the Senate.

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	ROC	MOC	RC	MC
FL	Deep South	Rubio, Marco	(R)	4	R+2	0	0	0	0
FL	Deep South	Scott, Rick	(R)		R+2	0	0	0	0
GA	Deep South	Perdue, David	(R)	1	R+5	0	0	0	0
GA	Deep South	Isakson, Johnny	(R)	9	R+5	0	0	0	0
SC	Deep South	Scott, Tim	(R)	3	R+8	0	0	0	0
SC	Deep South	Graham, Lindsey	(R)	12	R+8	0	0	0	0
TX	Deep South	Cruz, Ted	(R)	3	R+8	0	0	0	0
TX	Deep South	Cornyn, John	(R)	5	R+8	0	0	0	0
MS	Deep South	Wicker, Roger	(R)	5	R+9	0	0	0	0
MS	Deep South	Hyde-Smith, Cindy	(R)	8	R+9	0	0	0	0
LA	Deep South	Kennedy, John	(R)	3	R+11	0	0	0	0
LA	Deep South	Cassidy, Bill	(R)	7	R+11	0	0	0	0
AL	Deep South	Shelby, Richard	(R)	13	R+14				
AL	Deep South	Jones, Doug	(D)	79	R+14				

New France:

House:

#total seats: 2

democrats: 0

#market pro-climate: 0

#regulatory and agnostic pro-climate: 0 (0%)

House:

State	Primary American Nation	Member Name (Freshman)	Party	LCV	PVI (2017)	Primary Caucus	Position
LA 3	New France	HIGGINS, CLAY (R)	(R)	0	R+20		
LA 1	New France	SCALISE, STEVE (R)	(R)	3	R+24		