

Index

- acid rain, California 3
- ACORE (The American Council for Renewable Energy) 163
- adaptation measures 155
 - developing countries 226
 - financing 226, 242(Table), 241–243, 292
 - monitoring 243
- adoption externalities 199
- aerosols, restrictions on (California) 141
- AFL-CIO 65
- age, and opinion on climate change issues 105
- agriculture 56
 - and biofuels subsidies 203
 - dairy industry 32
 - and drought 35
 - effect of high temperatures on 33
 - emissions 27
 - methane from 24
 - sequestration 27
 - and Waxman–Markey bill 158
- airline industry 246
- Alaska
 - climate change impacts 33, 155
 - per-capita emissions 43
 - sources and impacts conflict 34
- Alcoa company 56
- Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers 67
- alternative energy industry 76
 - lobbying by 73
 - see also* clean energy; renewable energy
- Alternative Fuels Act (1988) 220
- aluminum industry 56
- Amalgamated Transit Union 68
- American Clean Energy and Security Act, proposed (2009) 7, 183
- American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity 74
- American Council for an Energy Efficient Economy 58, 71
- American Electric Power (AEP) 67, 159, 163, 276
- American Federation of Teachers 68
- American Petroleum Industry, lobbying against BTU tax 151
- American Petroleum Institute (API)
 - challenges to 71, 163
 - lobby group 4
 - opposition to cap-and-trade 7
 - opposition to mitigation measures 70
- American Power Act (2009) 161–163
 - alternative bills 162, 184(Appendix)
 - discussion draft 184
- American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) 189, 221
 - budget 212(Figure), 213(Table), 210–214
 - comparison with other countries 213(Table)
 - funding levels 202
 - home insulation subsidy 203
- American Wind Energy Association 73
 - analytic framework 23(Figure), 16–23
 - issue clusters 21, 22(Figure), 22(Table)
- Arrhenius, Svante August 46
- Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP) 216, 252
- asymmetric distribution, of mitigation costs and benefits 17, 19(Figure), 20, 270
- auto industry 30(Map)
 - and Californian restrictions on tailpipe emissions 136
 - and electric automobiles 97
 - emissions 27
 - and GCC 70
 - unions 67
 - USA lagging behind foreign rivals 58, 76
 - and Waxman–Markey bill 158
 - see also* motor vehicles
- Bachmann, Michelle, Tea Party Caucus 172
- Balanced Energy Coalition, George W. Bush and 137
- Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary General 81
- Bangladesh 35, 227
- Barton, Representative Joe 172
- battery technologies 97
- Biden, Joe, Vice President 168
- Bingaman, Senator 183
- biofuels, for motor vehicles 125, 141, 175, 288
- biofuels industry, subsidies 203
- black carbon 265n3
- Bloomberg, Michael 117
- Blue Green Alliance 67
- Boehner, John, Speaker of the House 172
- Boucher, Representative, special sector provisions in Waxman–Markey bill 158, 158n7

- Boxer, Senator 153(Table), 183
 BP (British Petroleum) 58, 59, 59n5, 70
 Brazil
 commitment to emission reduction 259
 pledge on deforestation 254
 Brown, Gordon, UK Prime Minister 232
 Browne, Lord (John), CEO of BP 59
 Browner, Carol, “climate czar” 168
 BTU (British Thermal Unit)
 defined 151n3
 tax proposal (1993) 151
 budget process 207, 222–225(Appendix), 272
 annual budget cycle 200, 222
 budget authority 225
 congressional processes 223
 Continuing Resolutions 225
 executive agencies 222
 functional budgeting 222
 obligations 225(Appendix)
 outlays 225
 presentation format 222
 presidential and executive agency actions 224
 budgets, for technology programs 189, 212(Figure), 207–215
 for ARRA 212(Figure), 213(Table), 210–214
 earmarks 214, 215(Box), 224
 priorities 210
 total levels 207
 building sector
 energy efficiency measures 126, 214
 local government regulations 118
 Bush administration (George W. Bush)
 and API 70
 and Californian restrictions on tailpipe emissions 136
 and Clean Technology Fund (CTF) 241, 242
 and Climate Change Technology Program 206
 and EPA regulations 174
 refusal of domestic restrictions on emissions 93
 and technological solutions 75
 Bush, George H.W., President 3
 and UNFCCC 150, 228
 Bush, George W., President 189
 and 2000 presidential election 5, 137
 and Kyoto Protocol 6, 80, 229
 business 51–77
 adversarial relations with government 61
 disclosure of business practices 63–65
 diversity of interests 53, 55–62, 75–77
 and economic opportunities 54, 75
 further reading 77–78
 and incentives 291
 leaders and laggards 58(Table), 270
 and need for regulatory certainty 54
 partnerships with environmental organizations 65, 66(Table), 82(Appendix)
 relations with stakeholders 54, 63–68
 reputational benefits 54
 short-term and long-term effects 56
 splits within 53, 75, 163, 185(Appendix)
 USA lagging behind foreign rivals 58
 see also industry; insurance industry
 business associations
 and government policies 54, 68–69, 272
 umbrella organizations 69–70, 75, 79–81(Appendix)
 Business Roundtable 69, 75, 79
 RESOLVE program 75, 79
 Byrd–Hagel amendment (1997) 4, 152, 228
 C2ES (Center for Climate and Energy Solutions) 65
 Business Environmental Leadership Council 82
 California 3, 117, 126, 131
 Air Resources Board (ARB) 141
 cap-and-trade program 141
 and Clean Air Act 134, 175
 emissions restrictions on ships 127, 141
 Global Warming Solutions Act (2006) 6, 127
 impact of climate change 32
 international agreements 127
 law on automobile emissions 67, 126, 127
 oil industry 139
 Proposition 23 vote (2010) 128
 public support for policies 128, 143(Appendix), 143(Table)
 state policies 6, 126–128, 139, 141(Appendix)
 wildfires 33
 Callendar, Guy 46
 Cantwell, Senator 183
 cap-and-trade programs 273, 287
 111th Congress (2009–2010) 157–170, 205, 245
 business lobby views on 7, 69
 California (2012) 6, 141
 compared with taxes 218n3, 291
 design issues 152, 154(Box), 277, 295–296(Appendix)
 further reading 179
 House bills (2009–2010) 157–161
 industry opposition to 58, 75
 Northeastern states (2009) 6
 and nuclear power 204
 proposed bills (2009) 7
 public opinion on 97
 RGGI 129
 Senate (2003, 2005, and 2008) 152–157
 short-term benefits 99
 for sulfur dioxide (1989) 3
 car pooling 106
 carbon capture and sequestration (CCS) technologies 99, 268
 budgets for 210
 coal-fired plants 175
 proposed government funding for 153, 273

- carbon dioxide
 - estimates of effect of atmospheric (1979) 2
 - Hawaii measurements 1, 9
 - predominance as greenhouse gas 24
 - projected levels 265, 266(Figure), 291
 - ten largest-emitting US states 123, 124(Table)
 - in US power and transportation sectors 27(Table)
- carbon dioxide removal 197, 291
- carbon disclosure 54, 63–65
- Carbon Disclosure Project
 - oil industry 59, 60
 - patterns and trends 55, 64
- Carbon Limits and Energy for America's Renewal (CLEAR) Act (2009) 183
- carbon tax, as alternative to cap-and-trade 264, 276, 287
- Carter administration 2
- Carter, Jimmy, President 220
- Caterpillar 58
- cement industry 56
- CERES (Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economics) 64, 65, 82
- Chafee, Senator 152
- Chamber of Commerce 76, 80
 - lobbying 69, 163
 - opposition to cap-and-trade 7, 75, 80
- chemicals industry 57
- Chevron 59
- Chicago 121
 - heat-related deaths (1988) 150
- China
 - annual GHG emissions 25, 227
 - cooperative agreements with 9
 - commitment to emission reduction 259
 - commitments in Copenhagen Accord 235, 236(Box)
 - competitive threat from 76
 - at Copenhagen (COP-15) (2009) 231
 - as free rider 245
 - share of cumulative GHG emissions 227
 - US complaints against 246
- chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) 3
- Chu, Steven, Secretary of Energy 168, 189
- Citigroup 57
- Clean Air Act 133, 173
 - 1990 amendment 3
 - special provisions for California 134, 175
 - "tailoring rule" 174
- clean energy
 - American Manufacturing 162
 - definitions 190, 191(Box)
 - national standard 96
- Clean Energy Ministerial (CEM) 237n4
- Clean Technology Fund (CTF), World Bank 241, 242
- climate
 - regional variations 31
 - see also* extreme weather events
- Climate Action Plans
 - Obama's measures (2013) 8
 - state government 8, 124, 125(Table)
- climate change
 - adaptation measures 155
 - as anthropogenic 48
 - chronology of US responses to 1–10
 - costs of inaction 100–101, 273
 - and energy policy issues 153
 - estimate of costs 35, 273
 - impacts 34, 155
 - politicization 48
 - problem of "scale" 190
 - regional impact variations 31, 31(Table)
 - scientific conference (Villach 1985) 250
- Climate Change Technology Initiative (1999) 205
- Climate Change Technology Program 189, 200, 205–207
 - management structure 206, 211(Box)
 - Strategic Plan 206
 - Strategy for American Innovation 206, 208(Box)
- Climate Disclosure Project surveys, insurance companies 63
- Climate Savers Program (Ecofys) 65
- climate science
 - further reading 36–40
 - "guidance for decision makers" 277, 290–292(Appendix)
 - history of 45–49(Appendix)
 - projections 265
- Climate Security Act, proposed (2008) 6
- climate solutions
 - criteria for 274
 - economic opportunities 54, 75
 - incipient transformational trends 278–279
- Climate Stewardship Act, proposed (2003) 6, 152, 153(Table)
- Clinton administration
 - carbon emissions tax 4
 - Climate Change Technology Initiative 205
 - and Kyoto Protocol 4
 - proposed BTU tax (1993) 151
- Clinton, Bill, President
 - election campaign (1992) 4
 - and Kyoto Protocol 4, 228
- Clinton, Hillary, Secretary of State 168
- coal
 - for electricity production 17, 26, 74, 132, 288
 - subsidies for alternative technologies 138
- coal industry 28(Map), 56
 - lobbying 74
 - special sector provisions in Waxman–Markey bill 158
- coastal zones, and rising sea levels 34
- Collins, Senator 183
- Communications Workers of America 68
- competitiveness
 - American Manufacturing 162
 - international 76, 164, 164(Box), 245
 - renewable energy 195

- compliance costs 56
 Conference Board 69n7
 Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Agreement 120(Box), 121
 geographic distribution 121, 122(Map)
 Congress
 112th, and new political context 171, 172(Box), 264
 Bicameral Task Force on Climate Change 264
 budgeting processes 207, 222–225(Appendix), 272
 climate change legislation 149–179
 1988–2008 150–157
 distortions of representation 138, 149, 160, 165, 167(Figure), 176, 271
 further reading 179
 influence of interests and ideologies 176–179
 and international funding pledges 243
 role of committees 217, 223–224
 shifts in costs and benefits of legislation 163, 163(Figure)
 see also House of Representatives; Senate
 ConocoPhillips 58, 65
 Conrad, Kevin, Papua New Guinea 263
 ConservAmerica (Republicans for Environmental Protection), policy recommendations 264, 277, 287(Appendix)
 conservatives
 self-identified 86
 and view of problem 102
 consumers
 attitudes and behavior 106
 purchasing behavior 106
 and subsidies 203
 corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard 221
 court cases 271, 276
 EPA and 174
 states versus national government 132–136, 139

 da Silva, Lula, Brazilian President 233
 DaimlerChrysler 70
 dairy industry, and temperature changes 32
 Democrats
 and 2012 presidential election 284(Appendix)
 and American Power Act (2009) 162n10
 and view of problem 102, 111(Table), 271
 denial and deniers 272
 correlates of variation 87(Box), 101
 House Committee on Energy and Commerce 175n17
 House of Representatives 171, 172(Box)
 and impact of climate change 155
 social profiles of 86
 Department of Agriculture 211
 and Waxman–Markey bill 158
 Department of Commerce 211
 Department of Defense 211
 Department of Energy 2, 211
 policy legislation 200
 Department of Energy Organization Act (1977) 220
 Department of Health and Human Services 211
 Department of the Interior 211
 Department of State 211
 Department of Transportation 211
 developing countries
 annual GHG emissions 227
 financing of adaptation and mitigation projects 226, 242(Table), 241–243, 292
 Marrakesh Accords to support adaptation 252
 share of cumulative GHG emissions 227
 Dillard, Kirk 117
 Dingell, Representative John 149, 158
 Doerr, John 128
 drought 35, 100
 Duke Energy 159
 DuPont company 57

 E-55 international industry organization 71
 Ecofys 65
 economic geography 35–36
 and distortions of representation in Senate 165
 regional differences in support for government action 104
 economic growth
 and environmental protection 97, 98, 273
 links with mitigation measures and technology changes 97–99
 and opportunities 54, 75
 and renewable energy programs 207, 208(Box)
 economic incentives, to discourage free riding 245
 economic interests 21
 Edison Electric Institute (EEI), and Waxman–Markey bill 159, 163
 Einstein, Albert 279
 election campaigns
 2000 5, 137, 138
 2004 137
 2012, positions on climate change 264, 277, 284(Appendix)
 business contributions 54, 73, 74, 74(Figure)
 and public support for government action 93, 94(Table), 95(Table)
 role of swing states 136–138
 elections, 2010 congressional 171
 electoral college, role in presidential election system 138
 electricity production
 and cap-and-trade legislation 67
 carbon capture and storage by coal-fired plants 175
 coal-based 17, 26, 74, 132
 effect of sub-national programs 131, 132
 from natural gas 132, 288
 from renewable resources 288
 low-carbon sources 17
 state regulations 124
 subsidies 202
 see also nuclear power
 electricity utilities, support for mandatory CO₂ emissions caps 71
 employment, jobs in renewable energy industries 273

- energy efficiency measures
 - ARRA funding 213, 213(Table), 214
 - buildings 126, 214
 - consumer adoption of 106
 - homes 106, 203
 - public support for 202
 - state policies 126, 288
 - Waxman–Markey bill 157
- Energy Independence and Security Act (2007) 175, 221
- energy policy 153, 201–205
 - implications 217–218
 - legislation 200, 220–221(Appendix)
 - nuclear power 204–205, 288
 - policy instruments 201
 - subsidies 201–204
 - variations in industry interests 204
- Energy Policy Act (1992) 221
- Energy Policy Act (2005) 153(Table), 155, 175, 206, 221
- Energy Policy and Conservation Act (1975) 220
- Energy Tax Prevention Act 175n17
- Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) 65, 82
- environmental NGOs 54
 - business partnerships with 65, 66(Table), 82(Appendix)
- environmental protection, and economic growth 97, 98, 273
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) 149, 173–175, 179, 212
 - and changes in administration 174
 - creation (1970) 2
 - “endangerment” finding 80, 133, 134(Table), 174
 - failure to use Clean Air Act to regulate emissions 133
 - and GHG emissions regulations 174
 - GHG standards for power plants and refineries 174
 - jurisdiction of 6, 271
 - legal challenges to regulations 173
 - and legislation passed by Congress 173
 - limits on emissions by new electric power plants 174
 - mandatory GHG reporting program 174
 - state court cases 133–134
 - and Texas 134, 135(Box)
- ethical issues 227
 - responsibility to future generations 273
- Europe
 - business–government relations 61
 - insurance industry 62
 - public opinion in 113
- European Union
 - commitment to emissions reduction 258
 - Emissions Trading System 245
 - and monitoring technologies 244
 - share of cumulative GHG emissions 227
 - total emissions 25
- Evans, Donald 137
- Exelon utility 159
- ExportImport Bank (ExIm) 216
- externalities 16, 18(Box), 21
- extreme weather events 32, 47
 - effect on public opinion 86, 100
 - insurance losses 62
 - US cities 119(Figure)
- ExxonMobil 59, 70
- Federal Energy Administration (1974) 220
- Federal Energy Office 220
- federal-level court system 139, 271, 276, 276(Box)
- financial services industry 76
- fishing industry 56
- Food, Conservation, and Energy Act (2008) 221
- Ford 70
- Ford, Gerald, President 220
- forestry
 - emissions 27
 - sequestration 27, 29(Table)
 - and UN REDD program 244
- Fourier, Joseph 45
- fracking *see* hydraulic fracturing
- France, and monitoring technologies 244
- Franklin, Benjamin 45n4
- free-rider problems 17, 18(Box), 21, 34
 - cultural constraints 274
 - economic incentives to discourage 245
 - international 226
- Friedman, Milton 16
- fuels
 - biofuels 125, 141, 175, 288
 - petroleum-based 26
- Fukushima nuclear power plant crisis (2011) 205
- future options 263–279
 - further reading 279
 - pathways 265, 274–277
 - and political economy 269–272
 - realities 264, 265–272
 - technology 268–269
 - visions 265, 272–274
- FutureGen project 206
- Gates, Bill 128
- gender, and opinion on climate change issues 105
- General Electric (GE) 57, 163
- General Motors 67, 70
- Generation IV project 206
- geo-engineering 195, 197(Box), 268, 290–292(Appendix)
- Global Change Research Program (1989) 3
- Global Climate Coalition (GCC), opposition to Kyoto 70
- Global Environment Facility (GEF) 251
- global warming
 - consensus on 47
 - perception of relative importance 85
 - public perception of problem 84–91
 - “tipping points” 49

- Global Warming Potential (GWP) 50(Appendix), 50(Table)
methane 194
- Global Warming Solutions Act (2006) (AB32), California 6, 127
- Goldwater, Barry 289
- Gore, Al 150n2
and 2000 presidential election 5, 137, 138
- government policies
business associations' responses to 54, 68–69
and ideology 271
and market mix 293(Appendix)
public preferences for 91–97
range of business responses 54
to address market failures 17, 270
- Graham, Senator Lindsay 80, 149, 161n8, 170, 183
- grants, compared with tax credits 203
- Gray, Senator Boyden 152n6
- Greenhouse Gas Protocol (2010), World Resources Institute 82
- greenhouse effect, early detection of 3
- greenhouse gas emissions
annual 227
concentration levels 50, 50(Table), 265
cumulative 227
and definition of pollution 133
emissions levels and concentration levels distinction 227
international comparisons 25(Table)
key economic sectors 25, 26(Figure)
nitrous oxide 24
per capita, states and regions 41(Map), 42(Table), 41–44(Appendix)
projections 265, 266(Figure)
rates 50(Appendix), 50(Table)
and sequestration 27, 29(Table)
simulation of gap between goals and projections 235, 256(Figure), 256–257(Appendix)
sources of 24–28, 131
time lags 50
types of gases 24(Table)
see also carbon dioxide; methane
- Gulf of Mexico oil spill (2010) 169
- Hansen, James, director at NASA, on greenhouse effect 3, 150
- Hawaii, carbon dioxide measurements 1, 9, 46
- He Yafei, Chinese negotiator at Copenhagen 231, 232, 233
- heating, residential and commercial, impact of
sub-national programs 131
- Holdren, John, White House Science Advisor 168, 282
- Honda 58
- House of Representatives
BTU tax proposal (1993) 151, 151(Table)
cap-and-trade bills (2009–2010) 157–161
clean energy definition 191(Box)
climate change amendments (2011) 171
distortions of representation 138, 149, 160, 176
partisan votes 160, 160(Table), 176
regional votes for Waxman–Markey bill 160
- Hurricane Katrina (2005), insurance industry and 62
- hurricanes 32
effect on public opinion 100
insurance losses 62
- hydraulic fracturing (fracking) 65, 132, 192–195, 268
methane capture 175
methane during extraction 194
pricing 269
- hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs) 9
- Idaho 34
- ideology
and government intervention 21, 270, 293(Appendix)
and public opinion 101–103, 107
- Illinois 34
- Immelt, Jeffrey 53, 57
- incentives
for business 291
for consumers 292
in international treaties 247, 248(Box)
to discourage free riding 245
- India
commitment to emission reduction 259
and Copenhagen (COP-15) (2009) 231, 233
and monitoring technologies 244
share of cumulative GHG emissions 227
- Indiana 34, 137
- Industrial Revolution 268
- industry (manufacturing)
and carbon capture and sequestration (CCS) 99
costs and benefits of legislation 164, 166(Table), 270
emissions 27
impact of sub-national programs 131
individual changes to production processes 76
and interests in Congress 176
regional variations 27, 28(Maps)
subsidy funding 202
variations of response within 56
see also auto industry; business; business associations; coal industry; oil and gas
- Inhofe, Senator 150n2
- institution building, international 226, 227, 228–241, 250–255(Appendix)
core design issues 245–247
further reading 258
proposals for new monitoring agency 244
reforms 275, 277, 297–299(Appendix)
see also UN Framework (UNFCCC)
- Institutional Investors Group on Climate Change 60
- institutions, US federal 21, 271
- insurance industry 53, 62–63
as investors 62
losses from extreme weather events 62
slow response to climate change 62, 63, 76
and state regulations 128–129

- Insurer Climate Risk Disclosure Survey (NAIC) 129, 145(Appendix)
- Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility 64
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)
- Copenhagen conference (2009) 48
 - errors in 2007 review of research 48
 - establishment (1988) 3, 47, 250
 - reform of procedures 48
 - Second Assessment Report (1995) 4
 - Third Assessment Report (2001) 70
 - see also* UN Framework Convention (UNFCCC)
- international agreements 200, 250–255(Appendix)
- alternative approaches 253
 - industry-specific 246
 - see also* UN Framework Convention; World Trade Organization
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) 67
- International Civil Aviation Organization 246
- International Geophysical Year (1957) 1, 47
- International Maritime Organization 247
- international technology issues 215–217
- potential for collaboration 216
- international trade
- climate change issues 246(Box)
 - implications of “border measures” 69, 245
 - regional organizations 247
 - shale gas and 196(Box)
 - and US constitutional provisions 271
 - WTO conflicts 216, 246
- international treaties on climate change 226–248
- implications 247–248
 - importance of incentives 247, 248(Box)
 - and pledges of “fast track” financial assistance 237, 238(Box), 242
 - public opinion on 97
 - public support for new 93
 - see also* UN Framework (UNFCCC)
- International Union of North American Laborers 68
- investment banks, and disclosure of business practices 64
- Investor Group on Climate Change 60
- Investor Network on Climate Change 60, 64
- Iron and Steel Institute (ISI) 67
- islands, and rising sea levels 34
- Jackson, Lisa, EPA 168
- Japan
- business–government relations 61
 - commitment to emissions reduction 258
 - and monitoring technologies 244
 - and reduction of GHG emissions 254
- Keeling, Charles 1, 46(Appendix)
- Keeling curve 1, 2(Figure)
- Kerry–Lieberman bill 161–163
- alternative bills 162, 183(Appendix)
 - costs and benefits to industries 165, 166(Table)
 - failure of 168
- Kerry, Senator John 80, 137, 161, 184
- knowledge spillovers 199
- Kyoto Protocol (1997) 4, 6, 228, 251
- agreement on extension (2012) 8
 - business opposition to 69, 79
 - goals 230, 253
 - Joint Implementation and Clean Development Mechanism 230, 251
 - Marrakesh Accords on rules and guidelines 252
 - partisanship in debate on 101, 102(Table)
 - ratification 252
 - USA and 229–230
- labor unions 54
- attitude to climate change issues 65–68
- Lander, Eric, Broad Institute 282
- Langley, Samuel 45
- learning-by-doing 199
- learning-by-using 199
- liberals, and view of problem 102
- Lieberman, Senator 6, 73, 80, 152n5, 161, 169, 184
- and 2008 cap-and-trade proposal 157
 - and Kerry–Lieberman bill 161–163
 - McCain–Lieberman cap-and-trade proposal 152, 153(Table), 155
- light bulbs, energy-saving 106
- lobbying 54, 71–75
- against BTU tax 151
 - by alternative energy industry 73
 - and campaign contributions 73
 - distribution by sector 73
 - expenditure on 73
 - increased numbers of organizations 72, 72(Figure)
 - influence of business 149
 - issue-specific and industry-specific organizations 70–71
 - Senate alternative bills (2009–2010) 163, 183(Appendix), 185(Appendix)
 - umbrella organizations 69–70
- local governments
- city policies 118–123
 - collective impact of programs 131–132
 - and Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Agreement 120(Box), 121
 - and emissions reductions 118
 - further reading 140
 - initiatives 117–132
 - variations 122
- Lugar, Senator 183
- Lutz, Robert 59n3
- McCain, Senator John 6, 7, 73, 74, 289
- McCain–Lieberman cap-and-trade proposal 152, 153(Table)
- revised bill (2005) 155
- Major Economies Forum (MEF) 237
- Major Economies Meetings (MEM) 253
- maple syrup industry 32
- maritime shipping industry 247

- market failures 16–17, 18(Box)
 government responses 17, 270, 275, 277, 293(Appendix)
 and incomplete information 199
 negative externalities 16, 21, 198
 positive externalities 16, 21
 in technological innovation and diffusion 199(Box), 198–201
 Waxman–Markey bill 157
 see also externalities
- Markey, Representative 7
- Massachusetts v. EPA* (2007) 6, 133n6, 133–134
 regional alignments 133, 134(Table)
- Mauritius 227
- Merkel, Angela, German Chancellor 231
- methane
 “fugitive” release in shale gas extraction 132, 175, 194
 Global Warming Potential (GWP) 194
 as greenhouse gas 24
 landfill capture, California 141
- Mexico, and reduction of GHG emissions 254
- Middle Atlantic states, per-capita emissions 44
- Midwest 44
 and environmental concerns 139
 per-capita emissions 44
- Midwest Greenhouse Gas Reduction Accord (MGGRA) 129, 130(Box)
- minimum energy performance standards (MEPS) 220
- mitigation costs and benefits
 distributions 17, 99–100, 270, 273
 over time 99, 100(Figure)
- mitigation measures
 links with economic growth 97–99
 underinvestment in 290
- mobile air conditioning 141
- monitoring, reporting, and verifying
 adaptation and mitigation measures 243
 emissions 226, 243–244
- Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer (1987) 3, 250
 and HFCs 9
- motor vehicles
 emissions limits 126, 175
 mandatory fuel consumption 175, 221
 renewable fuels for 125, 141, 175, 288
- Mountain states, per-capita emissions 43
- multinational companies
 diversity of interests 55
 foreign-based 69
 and international regulatory environment 69
- Murkowski, Senator 183
- NAFTA regional trade agreements 247
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) 212
- National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC) 129
- National Association of Manufacturers 76, 79
 lobby group 4, 69, 163
 lobbying against BTU tax 151
 opposition to cap-and-trade 7, 75
 opposition to Kyoto 79
- national clean energy standard (NCES), public support for 96
- National Commission on Energy Policy (2004) 152
- National Energy Conservation Policy Act (1978) 220
- National Science Foundation 212
- natural gas 288
 international trade policies 195, 196(Box)
 price decrease 195
 to produce electricity 132
 see also hydraulic fracturing (fracking); shale gas
- Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) 65, 68, 82
- negative externalities 198
 market failures 16, 21
- neighborhood effects, global 16
- network externalities 199
- New England states, per capita emissions 44
- nitrous oxide, as greenhouse gas 24
- Nixon administration 2
- Nixon, Richard, President 220
- north-south comparisons 226, 227
 see also developing countries
- Northeastern states
 climate and energy programs 139
 impact of climate change 31
 and RGGI 129
 social capital 105
 support for government action 104
- nuclear power industry
 and cap-and-trade regulations 204
 Congress support for 155
 and energy policy 204–205, 288
 public opinion on new power stations 93
 safety concerns 205
 subsidies 157, 203, 205
- Obama administration
 and ARRA funding 214
 and Climate Change Technology Program 206
 and EPA regulations 174
 and subsidies for nuclear and fossil-fuel industries 205
- Obama, Barack, President 7, 189
 on climate change 8, 10, 85, 263
 and Copenhagen Accord (COP-15) 230, 232, 233
 election campaign 74, 284(Table)
 and international agreements on energy measures 9
 and international cooperation 226
 political dilemmas 169
 support for cap-and-trade 168, 169
 tactical judgments 170
- oceans, effect of warming on hurricane activity 32
- Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy 214
- Office of Management and Budget (OMB) 222
- Office of Nuclear Energy 214

- offsetting border measures 69, 164, 164(Box), 245
Europe 245
- Ohio, swing state 137
- oil (and gas) industry 29(Map)
and Californian policies 128
carbon disclosures 60(Table)
and GCC 70
intra-firm greenhouse gas emissions trading 59
political influence of 71, 73
support for offshore exploitation 205
USA lagging behind foreign rivals 58, 59–60, 76
- O'Neill, Paul 57n2
- Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) 216
- Pacific Coast, per-capita emissions 43
- Partnership for a Secure America 278
- party politics
and Kyoto debate 101, 102(Table)
and opinion on issues 103(Table), 101–103, 111(Table)
and partisan voting 152, 153(Table), 155, 156(Box), 160, 160(Table), 176
- Pennsylvania 137
insurers' climate risk disclosure 129
- Peterson, Representative 158
- Pew Center on Global Climate Change *see* C2ES
- polymaking
government processes 200
influence of public opinion on 83
institutional context 217
- political economy
and ethical issues 274
and future options 269–272
see also government policies; ideology
- political geography, implications of federal system 138–140
- political leaders
and opinions on issues 85
and perceptions of party members 92, 107
- pollution
definition 133
early concerns about 2
as negative externality 198
- Porter hypothesis 56n1
- Portland, Oregon, emissions reductions 122
- positive externalities, market failures 16, 21
- Practical Energy and Climate Plan (2010) 183
- premature deaths, economic value 35n2
- president
role in legislative process 168–170
submission of budget 222, 224
- President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology 195, 263, 277
recommendations 281–283(Appendix)
- Prickett, Glenn 83
- Project Independence (1973) 220
- public goods 18(Box)
measures to reduce emissions as 17
- public opinion 83–108
categories of population segments 88, 89(Box), 89(Figure)
on climate change 61
compared with politicians 92, 107, 149
consensus and differences 107–108
correlates of variations in perceptions and preferences 87(Box), 101–106, 107
“directive” or “permissive” opinions 103
on domestic restrictions on emissions 93
further reading 108
influence on government policymaking 83
level of concern 84(Figure), 88
perceptions of the problem 84–91
realities about 270
shifts in trends 86(Table), 88, 107
support for government action 91–97, 271
support for increased taxes to reduce global warming 96
- public opinion surveys
California (2010) 128
comparisons of USA and other countries 113(Appendix), 114(Table), 115(Table), 116(Table)
on environmental protection or economic growth 97, 98
on “global warming” (1988) 3
on “global warming” (1992) 4
on “global warming” (1998) 4
on “global warming” (2000) 5
on “global warming” (2004) 5
on “global warming” (2008) 7
methodological issues 101n5, 111(Table), 110–112(Appendix)
on priorities for global warming or clean energy 98, 99(Table)
on tax options (2002–2003) 96
wording of questions 110, 111(Table)
- public transportation 97, 106
- race, and opinion on climate change issues 106
- rail networks, high-speed 97
- Rasmussen, Lars, Prime Minister of Denmark 231, 233
- Raymond, Lee, CEO of ExxonMobil 60
- Reagan administration, and Montreal Protocol 3
- Reagan, Ronald 289
- realities, of future options 264, 265–272
- recycled materials, use of 106
- Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI) 6, 129, 130(Box), 131
- regional programs on climate change 129–131
collective impact 131–132
- regional variations
Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Agreement 121, 122(Map)
conflicting interests 34
manufacturing industry variations 27, 28(Maps)
in *Massachusetts v. EPA* 133
in public opinion on climate change 103–105, 107
in “social capital” 104

- socio-economic impacts 30–34
- state policies 126, 139
- regulatory agencies, and proposed legislation (2009–2010) 173–176
- regulatory certainty 54
- regulatory regimes
 - business opposition to 75
 - state-level 69
- Reid, Senator Harry 165, 170n15
- renewable energy
 - competitiveness 195
 - and economic growth 207, 208(Box)
 - public support for 93
 - R&D funding 214
 - state policies on 126, 288
 - subsidies 204, 204(Figure)
 - tax credits for 221
- Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency (RE&EE) Export Initiative 217
- renewable energy industries 20, 273
 - subsidies 202
- Renewable Fuels Standard (RFS) 175, 221
- Renewable Portfolio Standards (RPS) 124
- reporting *see* monitoring, reporting, and verifying
- Republican Party
 - and 2012 presidential election 284(Appendix)
 - and opinion on government measures 92
 - and support for mandatory emissions reductions 96
- Republicans, and view of problem 102, 111(Table), 271
- Republicans for Environmental Protection (ConservAmerica) 264, 277, 287(Appendix)
- research and development 268, 272, 287
 - cap-and-trade revenues to fund 157
 - for carbon dioxide removal 291
 - direct government participation 198
 - and funding for projects 198
 - subsidies for 99, 155, 203, 270
- Revelle, Roger 1, 47
- Rio de Janeiro
 - 1992 conference 3, 150, 250
 - see also* UN Framework (UNFCCC)
- Rogers, James 53
- Romney, Mitt 71, 284(Table)
- Roosevelt, Theodore 289
- Royal Society, UK 197
- Russia, per capita emissions 25
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, French President 232
- satellites, for monitoring emissions 244
- Schelling, Tom 290
- Schwarzenegger, Arnold 117
- sea levels, rising 33, 227
 - and coastal zones 34
 - impact on small islands 34
- Seattle, Washington 131
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) 149, 176, 179
 - firms' reporting requirements 176, 177(Box)
- Senate
 - agenda on climate change (1988–1992) 150–157
 - Byrd–Hagel amendment (1997) 4, 228
 - cap-and-trade proposals (2003, 2005, and 2008) 152–157
 - clean energy definition 191(Box)
 - climate change bills (2009–2010) 161–168, 183(Appendix)
 - Democrats in 169n12
 - distortions of representation 138, 149, 165, 167(Figure), 176
 - partisan votes 152, 153(Table), 155, 156(Box), 176
 - and proposed BTU tax 151
 - and super-majority procedure 165
 - voting rules (cloture) 165–168
- Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, 1988 hearings 3, 150
- sequestration 27, 29(Table), 99
 - see also* carbon capture and sequestration (CCS) technologies
- Service Employees International Union 68
- service sector, emissions 27
- shale gas
 - emissions during extraction 194
 - emissions from consumption 194
 - hydraulic fracturing (fracking) 65, 132, 192–195, 288
 - as international trade issue 196(Box)
 - pricing 269
- Shanghai 35
- shareholders, resolutions on climate change disclosure 64
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Association 68
- Shell (Royal Dutch Shell) 59, 70
- Shultz, George 128, 279
- Sierra Club 68
- Singh, Manmohan, Indian Prime Minister 233
- skiing 32
- Snowe, Senator 152
- “social cost of carbon”, working group on 10
- socio-economic impacts, regional variations 30–34
- Solar Energy Industries Association 73
- solar installations, residential 97, 122
- solar radiation management 197
- South Africa, emissions 25
- South Atlantic states, per-capita emissions 44
- South Korea, business–government relations 61
- Southern Company utility 159
- Southern states
 - and environmental concerns 139
 - opposition to government action 104
 - per-capita emissions 44
 - social capital 105
- Stabenow, Senator Debbie 149

- states (US)
- Climate Action Plans 124
 - climate change policies 123–126, 271
 - collective impact of programs 131–132
 - court cases against national government 132–136
 - direct regulation of producers 123
 - emission levels 28, 41(Map), 41–44(Appendix)
 - insurance regulations 128–129
 - local initiatives 117–132
 - Renewable Portfolio Standards (RPS) 124
 - role of swing states in elections 136–138
 - support for mitigation measures 123
 - support for national government action on climate change 91
 - ten highest emissions 123, 124(Table)
 - under-representation of populous states in elections 138
 - variety of responses to climate change 138
- Statoil 59
- steel industry, and cap-and-trade legislation 67
- Stern Review (2007) 100
- Stevens, Senator 155
- Steyer, Tom 128
- Stoltenberg, Jens, Norwegian Prime Minister 232
- Strategy for American Innovation 206, 208(Box)
- subsidies 204(Figure), 201–204
- compared with tax credits 203, 218
 - compensation for costs 273
 - costs of 202
 - forms of 202
 - for investment in technological innovation 17, 20, 107
 - liability insurance, for nuclear power industry 201
 - for nuclear power 157
 - political economy of 205
 - for research and development 99, 155
- Suess, Hans 1, 47
- Super Storm Sandy 86
- swing states
- and role of electoral college 138
 - and role in presidential elections 136–138
- tax credits
- compared with grants 203, 218
 - for hybrid automobiles and renewable energy 221
 - for technological innovation and diffusion 200
- taxes
- on carbon emissions 4, 264, 291(Appendix)
 - compared with cap-and-trade 218n3
 - policy revisions 272
 - public opinion on 96, 151n4
 - revenue-neutral 273, 295–296(Appendix)
- Tea Party caucus, opposition to climate change negotiations 8, 172
- technological solutions 75, 189–218, 268–269
- changes in progress 268
 - costs and benefits 193(Box), 192–195
 - further reading 218
 - geo-engineering 195, 197(Box)
 - imaginable changes 268
 - international 275
 - links with economic growth 97–99
 - market failures 199(Box), 198–201
 - public support for 93
 - recent 268
 - relative marginal GHG abatement 192, 194(Figure)
 - see also* carbon capture and sequestration (CCS); research and development; shale gas
- technology transfer, international 216, 217, 246
- temperatures
- changes and CO₂ concentration 266(Figure), 267
 - effect on dairy industry 32
 - effect on grain crops 33
 - regional extreme heat variations 119(Figure)
 - rise from eleventh to twentieth centuries 5, 5(Figure), 268
 - urban areas 118, 119(Figure)
- Texaco 70
- Texas
- emissions 123
 - and Environmental Protection Agency 134, 135(Box)
 - sources and impacts conflict 34
- Thailand, floods 35
- Tillerson, Rex, CEO of ExxonMobil 60
- “tipping points” 49(Appendix), 85
- Toronto, international climate science conference (1988) 150n1, 250
- Total 59
- Toyota 58
- transportation
- airlines 27
 - CO₂ in 27(Table)
 - effect of sub-national programs 131
 - local government regulations 118
 - maritime shipping 27
 - public 97, 106
 - road 26
 - state regulations 125
- Trewartha, Glen Thomas 46
- Tyndall, John 45
- UN, Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (REDD program) 244
- UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (1992) 3, 81, 150, 250
- Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action (AWG-LCA) 230, 253
 - Annex I parties 228, 250, 258
 - Buenos Aires Plan of Action 251
 - Conference of Parties (COP) Montreal (2005) 6
 - COP-1 Berlin Mandate 251
 - COP-6 *bis* flexibility mechanisms 252
 - COP-6 Hague 252
 - COP-7 Marrakesh Accords 252
 - COP-8 Delhi Declaration 252

- COP-9 credits for carbon absorption 252
 COP-10 Buenos Aires Program of Work 252
 COP-11 Montreal 253
 COP-12 Nairobi 253
 COP-13 “Bali Action Plan” 6, 230, 253
 COP-14 Poznan 254
 COP-15 Copenhagen Accord (2009) 7, 230–237, 254
 Chinese commitments 236(Box)
 provisions for monitoring 244
 summary 233, 234(Box)
 transcript of meeting 231–233
 US commitments 236(Box)
 COP-16 Cancun Agreements (2010) 237, 238(Box), 254
 “Fast Start” pledges 237, 242
 COP-17 Durban Platform (2011) 237–240, 254
 COP-18 Doha (2012) 8, 240–241, 255
 Global Environment Facility (GEF) 251
 non-Annex I parties 228, 259
 parallel negotiating process 230, 240, 253
see also Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change; Kyoto Protocol
 UNEP Finance Initiative 63
 United Auto Workers union 67
 United Kingdom, and monitoring technologies 244
 United States 61, 227
 business–government relations 61
 and Cancun Agreements (2010) 237
 climate change issues in 269
 commitment to emissions reduction 258
 constraints of domestic politics 228, 243, 247, 264
 and Copenhagen Accord 235, 236(Box)
 criteria for pathways to solutions 275
 and EU goals 235n2
 evolution of climate change diplomacy 235, 263
 federal political system 117, 138–140
 federal-level court system 139, 271
 as free rider 245, 247
 incipient transformational trends 278–279
 international comparisons 15, 25
 on perceptions and policies 113(Appendix), 114(Table), 115(Table), 116(Table)
 and Kyoto Protocol 229–230
 and Major Economies Meetings (MEM) 253
 multilateral budget for foreign assistance programs 242(Table)
 and pledges of financial aid for adaptation and mitigation 241–243
 and political economy 269–272
 ratification of UNFCCC 150, 251
 share of cumulative GHG emissions 227
 and UNFCCC parallel negotiations 230
 United Steel Workers union 67
 Upton, Representative Fred 172
 urban areas 118
 temperatures 118, 119(Figure)
 US Climate Action Partnership (USCAP) 71
 “Call for Action” 57
 support for cap-and-trade 163
 US Council for Energy Alternatives 71
 US Council for International Business 69, 75, 76
 US National Academy of Sciences 47, 70
 UTC heavy equipment manufacturers 57
 Utility Workers Union of America 68
 Vermont 34
 Villach, Austria, scientific conference (1985) 250
 visions for future options 265, 272–274
 do-nothing approach 272
 and imagination 274
 political economy trade-off issues 273
 Warner, Senator John 6, 73, 156
 Waxman–Markey bill (2009) 73, 74, 157–161, 181(Appendix)
 accommodations for sector interests 158
 cap-and-trade provisions 159
 partisan voting 160, 160(Table)
 regional voting 160
 Waxman, Representative 7
 Welch, Jack, GE 57
 Wells Fargo bank 65
 Wen Jiabao, premier of China 233
 West Coast states
 climate and energy programs 139
 per capita carbon footprint 121
 social capital 105
 West Virginia 137
 per capita emissions 44
 Western Climate Initiative 131
 wildfires 33
 wind power, subsidies 204, 204(Figure)
 wine industry, impact of climate change on 32
 Wirth, Senator 150n2
 World Bank, Clean Technology Fund (CTF) 241, 242
 World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) 81
 World Climate Change Conference, First (1979) 2, 250
 World Resources Institute (WRI) 65, 81, 132, 175
 Greenhouse Gas Protocol 82
 World Trade Organization 216, 246
 climate change agreements 246, 246(Box)
 Wyoming, per-capita emissions 43
 Zuma, Jacob, South African President 233