



INDUSTRIES STORM STATES OVER CLIMATE CHANGE

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE POLITICS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Overview.....	1
Methodology	3
Coalition Members, 2003–2007.....	3
Coalition Contributions	5
Contributions to Candidates and Party Committees.....	7
Contributions to Ballot Measures	8
Coalition Lobbyists.....	10
Energy Industry, 2003–2007.....	12
Contributions to Candidates and Party Committees.....	13
Energy Industry Lobbyists	18
Pro-Environment and Alternative Energy, 2003–2007	20
Contributions to Candidates and Party Committees.....	20
Contributions to Ballot Measures	22
Pro-Environment and Alternative Energy Lobbyists	24
<i>Appendix A: Organizations Analyzed in This Report</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Appendix B: Energy, Pro-Environment, and Alternative Energy Contributions, 2003–2007</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Appendix C: Coalition Members’ Contributions to Candidates and Party Committees, 2003–2007</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Appendix D: Energy, Pro-Environment, and Alternative Energy Lobbyists, 2006 & 2007</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Appendix E: Coalition Member Lobbyists, 2006 & 2007</i>	<i>33</i>

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OVERVIEW

The debate over climate change remains a national issue, and the push to enact mitigating policy at the state level is growing ever stronger. State governments have taken an interest in climate change legislation, including California's tougher emission requirements for automobiles, and formed regional partnerships, such as the Western Climate Initiative.¹

Electric utilities, oil and gas companies, and mining companies would be strongly affected by mitigation legislation. Several industry groups, including the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG), the Consumer Energy Alliance (CEA), the American Council for Capital Formation (ACCF), and the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), have taken a stand against carbon caps or other strong climate change legislation. The coalitions to oppose carbon caps have a membership that extends far beyond the energy companies.²

From 2003 through 2007, members of the industry groups contributed \$241 million to state-level campaigns

From 2003 through 2007, companies in these industry groups contributed \$241 million to state-level political campaigns. Of that total, state candidates and party committees received \$143 million, while committees supporting or opposing energy-related ballot measures received \$98 million. During the same time period, pro-environmental organizations and alternative energy companies contributed \$26 million total: \$22 million to influence the outcome of ballot measures and \$3.8 million to state candidates and party committees.

The National Institute on Money in State Politics analyzed contributions given by players with a strong stance on climate change legislation. The Institute found that:

- Businesses within the energy industry gave 63 percent of the total contributions, contributing \$151 million between 2003 and 2007. Chambers of commerce, manufacturers, and pro-business organizations gave an additional \$31.4 million.
- Energy companies heavily favored incumbents, giving them \$35 million, or 80 percent of the money given to candidates. They risked only \$1.5 million, or 4 percent, on a challenger's campaign, while \$7 million was spent to influence the election in open races.
- Energy companies invested well. They gave \$33 million to campaigns of candidates who won in the primary and general elections — more than seven times the amount given to losers.

¹ 36 states have or are drafting plans to reduce greenhouse gases. Adrienne Appel, "Climate Change-US: Governors Unite to Cut Emissions," *Inter Press Alliance*, April 20, 2008, available from <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=42053>, accessed February 4, 2009.

² A company or organization's membership within these coalitions does not necessarily signify its position on climate change policy, only that they are a member of an organization which strongly opposes limits on carbon.

- Energy companies targeted lawmakers in key leadership positions. For example, in Illinois the governor and the four legislative leaders received 43 percent of all money given to Illinois lawmakers.
- Energy companies favored Republicans with 62 percent of their contributions. Oil & gas companies, railroads, and mining interests all favored Republicans by at least a 2-to-1 margin over Democrats.
- Six states — California, Illinois, Florida, Texas, Alabama, and Virginia — received 60 percent of the contributions by identified members.
- Coalition members gave \$98 million, or 41 percent of their total contributions, to support or oppose energy-related ballot measures. Most of the money given to influence the outcome of ballot measures was given to committees in California, which received \$91 million.
- Coalition members ensured they had a presence at the state capitals, hiring 7,538 lobbyists to represent them at the state level in 2006 and 2007. Energy and natural resource companies hired half of them: 3,794 lobbyists. Within the same period, pro-environment groups employed 1,675 lobbyists and alternative energy companies employed 615.
- Environmental organizations and alternative energy companies gave \$26 million. Of that, 85 percent or \$22 million went to ballot measure committees. Their \$3.8 million given to candidates and political parties was outspent 16-to-1 by the energy industry's \$59 million.
- Pro-environment groups were much less likely to donate to incumbents: 38 percent of their money went to incumbents, while 28 percent was given to challengers. Candidates seeking an open seat received 34 percent.
- Pro-environment groups similarly invested their money well, giving two-thirds of their money to winners, compared with only one-third given to losers.

Coalition members gave \$98 million, or 41 percent of their total contributions, to support or oppose energy-related ballot measures

METHODOLOGY

The National Institute on Money in State Politics analyzed the contributions made between 2003 and 2007 to state-level candidates, party committees, and ballot measure committees by more than 3,000 members of 13 industry associations that monitor and influence climate change legislation. The Institute only examined contributions from companies and their political action committees, not individuals who worked for those companies.

For its analysis, the Institute selected certain members of the American Council for Capital Formation, all members of the National Association of Manufacturers, as well as members of other prominent organizations that have spoken against carbon control, such as the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth, and the Consumer Energy Alliance. Appendix A provides more information about the organizations that were included.

The Institute also analyzed the 2003 to 2007 contributions of identified alternative energy companies and pro-environment groups.

This report examines state-provided lists of registered lobbyists in 2006 and 2007.³ Lobbyists representing any of the 3,000 companies were identified, as well as those lobbyists working for alternative energy or pro-environmental groups.

COALITION MEMBERS, 2003–2007

American Council for Capital Formation

The American Council for Capital Formation (ACCF) is a policy group acting as a "spokesman for American business" that promotes "well-thought-out economic, regulatory, and environmental policies to promote capital formation, [and] economic growth."⁴ Although the ACCF encompasses members from almost every economic sector, the Institute analyzed only the contributions of those members who are most likely to be impacted by climate change legislation. See Appendix A for a list of ACCF members that were included in this study.

Along with the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), ACCF provided strong opposition to national climate change legislation. The most recent, America's Climate Security Act of 2007 (also known as the Warner-Lieberman Act), called for a cap-and-trade system to reduce American carbon emissions by 63 percent by the year 2050. NAM and ACCF jointly released a study citing massive job losses and skyrocketing energy prices if such legislation would pass. Their study claimed that as a direct result of that legislation, the U.S. would lose up to 1.8 million jobs, \$210 billion of gross domestic product, and significant manufacturing capacity by 2020.⁵

³ The Institute has lobbyist data for 49 states. Michigan does not provide a list that connects registered lobbyists with their clients.

⁴ "About the American Council for Capital Formation," *ACCF*, available from <http://www.accf.org/about.php>, accessed February 3, 2009.

⁵ "Economic Impact from the Lieberman-Warner Proposed Legislation to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions," *NAM/ACCF*, published March 13, 2008, available from <http://www.accf.org/media/docs/nam/National.pdf>, accessed January 29, 2009.

National Association of Manufacturers

The most prominent member of ACCF to oppose climate change legislation, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) is the largest and oldest industrial trade association in the country "representing small and large manufacturers in every industrial sector and in all 50 states."⁶ NAM and ACCF jointly commissioned the study on the harms of the Warner-Lieberman bill from the Science Applications International Corp., which is itself a member of the National Petrochemical & Refiners Association whose donations are included in this analysis.

Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth

The Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth is "a broad-based coalition whose members develop, deliver, or consume energy from all sources."⁷ Its management committee is made up of CEOs and other executives from many of the same members as the ACCF, including the Edison Electric Institute, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The Alliance does not make its list of 1,200 members publicly available, so the Institute analyzed the contributions of the 93 members of its steering committee, whose membership list was publicly available.⁸

Consumer Energy Alliance

The Consumer Energy Alliance describes itself as a "nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that supports the thoughtful utilization of energy resources to help ensure improved domestic and global energy security and stable prices for consumers."⁹ The organization's goals may provide more indication of its stance: to achieve "responsible access to all domestic energy sources" by lifting moratoria on offshore and inland oil and natural gas development and on unconventional resource development, and encouraging the creation and expansion of petroleum refineries.¹⁰ The Alliance's prominent members include the Independent Petroleum Association Of America, National Petrochemical & Refiners Association, the U.S. Oil & Gas Association, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Its regional affiliate, the Southeast Energy Alliance, is active in six states in the Southeast.

⁶ "ACCF/NAM Study of the Economic Impact of the Lieberman-Warner Climate Security Act," *NAM/ACCF*, March 13, 2008, available from <http://www.accf.org/publications.php?pubID=109>, accessed March 17, 2009.

⁷ "Your Energy Future – About Us," *Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth*, available from <http://www.yourenergyfuture.org/aboutUs.htm>, accessed January 29, 2009.

⁸ Based on a brochure from their website published April 19, 2005, available from http://www.yourenergyfuture.org/brochure_4_19_05.pdf, accessed January 30, 2009

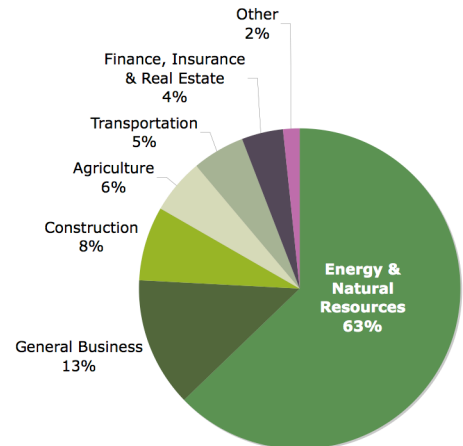
⁹ "About Us," *Consumer Energy Alliance*, available from <http://consumerenergyalliance.org/about/>, accessed February 2, 2008.

¹⁰ Brochure available from their website published October 1, 2008, available at http://consumerenergyalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/12/brochure_cea_01oct08.pdf, accessed March 17, 2009.

COALITION CONTRIBUTIONS

The companies within the coalitions that oppose climate change legislation gave \$241 million to state-level political campaigns. Candidates and political parties received \$143 million, while \$98 million was spent to directly influence ballot measures.

Energy interests far outspent donors from the other industries in the coalition, contributing \$151 million or 63 percent. Business & manufacturing was the next largest industry—\$24 million was given by business associations, including Chambers of Commerce, and \$6 million was given by manufacturing companies. Construction, general contractors, and engineering firms gave \$18 million. Agriculture, which includes timber companies and state affiliates of the American Farm Bureau¹¹, gave \$13 million. The transportation sector, dominated by airlines and auto manufacturers, gave slightly less than \$13 million.



CONTRIBUTIONS BY INDUSTRY AND RECIPIENT TYPE, 2003–2007

INDUSTRY	TO CANDIDATES	TO PARTY COMMITTEES	TO BALLOT MEASURES	TOTAL
Energy & Natural Resources	\$43,530,860	\$15,448,955	\$92,340,003	\$151,319,818
Business & Manufacturing	\$19,469,581	\$11,381,210	\$546,710	\$31,397,501
Construction	\$11,475,088	\$2,829,573	\$4,100,812	\$18,405,473
Agriculture	\$10,545,155	\$2,377,563	\$366,500	\$13,289,218
Transportation	\$9,325,594	\$3,006,840	\$423,000	\$12,755,434
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$6,775,201	\$3,214,462	\$252,500	\$10,242,163
Health	\$1,246,364	\$968,675	\$0	\$2,215,039
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$529,554	\$103,100	\$8,500	\$641,154
Labor	\$476,869	\$26,600	\$0	\$503,469
Defense	\$245,100	\$71,408	\$0	\$316,508
Communications & Electronics	\$137,564	\$15,900	\$5,000	\$158,464
Ideology/Single Issue	\$24,500	\$17,000	\$0	\$41,500
TOTAL	\$103,782,530	\$39,461,286	\$98,043,025	\$241,286,841

¹¹ The American Farm Bureau is on the steering committee for the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth.

The top ten contributors gave \$114 million, or 47 percent of all identified contributions. Chevron Corp.¹², the top contributor, disbursed \$42 million to political campaigns, mostly to ballot measures. Next was Aera Energy of California, a joint venture of Shell and ExxonMobil, which gave exclusively to ballot measures. Chevron & Aera far surpassed the other contributors, giving four and three times the amount of the number three contributor, Occidental. Other top contributors included major oil producers ConocoPhillips, BP, and ExxonMobil. Five oil companies made the top 10, giving nearly \$94 million.

TOP 10 CONTRIBUTORS, 2003-2007				
CONTRIBUTOR	TO CANDIDATES	TO PARTY COMMITTEES	TO BALLOT MEASURES	TOTAL
Chevron Corp.	\$1,364,853	\$2,170,150	\$38,500,000	\$42,035,003
Aera Energy	\$0	\$0	\$32,824,243	\$32,824,243
Occidental Petroleum ¹³	\$462,830	\$106,500	\$9,551,000	\$10,120,330
U.S. Chamber Of Commerce ¹⁴	\$413,750	\$6,981,000	\$0	\$7,394,750
ConocoPhillips ¹⁵	\$1,118,446	\$102,325	\$3,304,500	\$4,525,271
Business Council Of Alabama	\$4,441,250	\$9,000	\$0	\$4,450,250
BP North America ¹⁶	\$741,360	\$7,367	\$3,457,000	\$4,205,727
Farmers Insurance Group	\$2,242,770	\$752,900	\$50,000	\$3,045,670
UPS	\$2,363,638	\$609,177	\$5,000	\$2,977,815
Dominion ¹⁷	\$2,057,883	\$427,933	\$0	\$2,485,816
TOTAL	\$15,206,780	\$11,166,352	\$87,691,743	\$114,064,875

¹² In 2005, ChevronTexaco changed its name to Chevron Corp. In this analysis, Chevron Corp. will be used to refer to both companies.

¹³ Includes contributions from Occidental Chemical Corp. and Occidental Petroleum.

¹⁴ Includes contributions from the Institute of Legal Reform.

¹⁵ Includes 2006 and 2007 contributions from Burlington Resources, which was acquired by ConocoPhillips on March 31, 2006.

¹⁶ Includes contributions from BP Alaska and BP Cherry Point.

¹⁷ Includes contributions from subsidiary Dominion Resources Services.

COALITION CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES AND PARTY COMMITTEES, 2003–2007

State-level candidates received nearly \$104 million from the coalition members between 2003 and 2007. The money was targeted to winners, who received \$76 million or 74 percent of the total. In contrast, losers raised only \$16.5 million, while officials who were not up for election raised \$10 million. Coalition members also targeted incumbents, giving them \$75 million—eleven times the \$6.6 million given to challengers. Candidates for an open seat collected \$21.5 million, or 21 percent of the total.

The top 10 contributors to candidates gave almost \$20 million, or 19 percent of all the money given to candidates. Four energy companies were among these top 10, giving \$6 million to candidates. The Business Council of Alabama was the top contributor, giving \$4.4 million over the five-year period. (The council was formed by a merger of the Alabama Chamber of Commerce and the Associated Industries of Alabama.)¹⁸

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO CANDIDATES, 2003–2007		
CONTRIBUTOR	MEMBER OF	TOTAL
Business Council Of Alabama	Chamber of Commerce	\$4,441,250
UPS	Air Transport Association	\$2,363,638
Farmers Insurance Group ¹⁹	National Mining Association	\$2,242,770
Dominion	Edison Electric Institute	\$2,057,883
Union Pacific Railroad	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity	\$1,843,008
Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity National Mining Association	\$1,570,868
American Electric Power	American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity Edison Electric Institute National Mining Association	\$1,414,376
Alabama Farmers Federation ²⁰	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth	\$1,376,556
Chevron Corp.	American Petroleum Institute National Mining Association National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$1,365,353
Duke Energy	American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity Edison Electric Institute	\$1,202,241
TOTAL		\$19,877,943

¹⁸ "BCA: Forging the Future for Alabama Business and Industry," *Business Council of Alabama*, available from <http://www.bcatoday.org/inside.aspx?id=25>, accessed February 26, 2009.

¹⁹ A subsidiary of Zurich Financial Services.

²⁰ State affiliate of the American Farm Bureau.

Party committees received \$39.5 million from coalition members. The top donors gave more than \$16 million – 42 percent of the total given to party committees. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and its affiliate, the Institute for Legal Reform, topped the list at almost \$7 million. Chevron Corp. was the second highest donor to political parties, giving over \$2 million. Four electric utility companies – TECO Energy, Florida Power & Light, Progress Energy, and Pacific Gas & Electric – also appeared on the top donor list.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO PARTY COMMITTEES, 2003–2007		
CONTRIBUTOR	MEMBER OF	TOTAL
U.S. Chamber Of Commerce	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth Consumer Energy Alliance	\$6,981,000
Chevron Corp.	American Petroleum Institute National Mining Association National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$2,170,150
TECO Energy	Edison Electric Institute	\$1,241,883
Florida Power & Light	Edison Electric Institute	\$1,235,500
21st Century Insurance*	National Mining Association	\$1,010,000
PhRMA	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth	\$938,575
Progress Energy	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity Edison Electric Institute	\$797,788
Farmers Insurance Group**	National Mining Association	\$752,900
Pacific Gas & Electric	Edison Electric Institute	\$717,500
American International Group	National Mining Association	\$613,750
TOTAL		\$16,459,046

* a subsidiary of American International Group

**a subsidiary of Zurich Financial Services

COALITION CONTRIBUTIONS TO BALLOT MEASURES

From 2003 to 2007, companies included in this analysis gave \$98 million to 17 energy-related ballot measures in 11 states – 93 percent of this money was spent in California. The unsuccessful Proposition 87, on the 2006 ballot in California, attracted 88 cents of every dollar spent on all measures. This failed measure would have imposed a profit tax on energy companies and allotted \$4 billion for alternative energy research. 92 percent of the \$94.4 million raised to oppose to the measure came from energy companies. 80 percent of the \$62 million raised in favor of the measure came from Stephen L. Bing, a California film producer.

Other prominent measures in California included the failed Proposition 80, which would have regulated electric utility companies, and Proposition 1A, which passed and prevented the diversion of gas taxes from transportation projects. In Alaska, industry efforts to defeat Measure 2 paid off. Measure 2 would have levied a new state tax on certain oil and gas leases overlying large deposits of natural gas. Industry provided 99 percent of the funding to defeat the 2006 measure. Colorado's Amendment 37 passed despite the \$1.3 million raised to oppose it – \$1.2 million of which came from the energy industry. Amendment 37 required certain Colorado utilities to generate or purchase a portion of their electric power from renewable resources.

COALITION CONTRIBUTIONS TO BALLOT MEASURES, 2003-2007					
STATE	YEAR	MEASURE	FOR	AGAINST	TOTAL
California	2006	Proposition 87	\$0	\$86,541,493	\$86,541,493
California	2006	Proposition 1A	\$2,737,162	\$0	\$2,737,162
California	2005	Proposition 80	\$0	\$2,024,855	\$2,024,855
California	2003	Proposition 53	\$25,000	\$0	\$25,000
Alaska	2006	Measure 2	\$0	\$1,679,000	\$1,679,000
Alaska	2006	Measure 1	\$0	\$4,000	\$4,000
Colorado	2004	Amendment 37	\$65,000	\$1,174,027	\$1,239,027
Missouri	2004	Amendment 3	\$1,059,213	\$0	\$1,059,213
Minnesota	2006	Amendment 1	\$926,282	\$0	\$926,282
Washington	2005	Initiative 912	\$500	\$466,765	\$467,265
New York	2005	Proposal 2	\$429,000	\$0	\$429,000
Washington	2006	Measure 937	\$7,185	\$330,000	\$337,185
Florida	2004	Amendment 6	\$333,000	\$0	\$333,000
Oklahoma	2005	State Question 723	\$114,000	\$110,000	\$224,000
Montana	2004	I-147	\$14,442	\$0	\$14,442
Maine	2003	Question 6	\$3,100	\$0	\$3,100
Maine	2003	Question 3	\$0	\$3,000	\$3,000
TOTAL			\$5,713,884	\$92,329,140	\$98,043,024

The top ten contributors gave 94 percent of the contributions to energy-related ballot measures. Oil companies dominated the list, largely to defeat California's Proposition 87.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO BALLOT MEASURES, 2003-2007	
CONTRIBUTOR	TOTAL
Chevron Corp.	\$38,500,000
Aera Energy	\$32,824,243
Occidental Petroleum	\$9,551,000
BP North America	\$3,457,000
ConocoPhillips	\$3,304,500
California Alliance For Jobs	\$1,550,000
Constellation Energy	\$1,236,355
Associated General Contractors	\$646,673
Xcel Energy	\$520,000
Heavy Constructors Association	\$504,240
TOTAL	\$92,094,011

COALITION LOBBYISTS

Coalition members identified in this study had a significant lobbying presence in statehouses across the country. These corporations hired 7,538 lobbyists to represent them to state legislatures and executives.

Electric utilities had by far the largest lobbying presence of all the various industries represented by the companies in this analysis, averaging almost 2,000 lobbyists per year distributed across all 50 states. The electric utilities hired two and a half times as many lobbyists as all the Chambers of Commerce, which averaged 851 lobbyists per year. Other industries with a major lobbyist presence were oil & gas, manufacturing, and the automotive industry.²¹

INDUSTRIES REPRESENTED BY REGISTERED LOBBYISTS, 2006–2007			
INDUSTRY	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE²²
Electric Utilities	1,951	1,955	1,953
Chambers of Commerce	863	838	851
Oil & Gas	774	763	769
Manufacturing & Distributing	560	551	556
Automotive	383	422	403
Chemical & Related Manufacturing	348	293	321
Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	321	305	313
Air Transport	282	341	312
General Contractors	297	277	287
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	243	266	254

Illinois had the highest number of registered lobbyists. Texas, Florida and Pennsylvania also showed high numbers of registered lobbyists working for these coalitions.

LOBBYIST REGISTRATIONS BY STATE, 2006–2007			
STATE	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE
Illinois	450	326	388
Texas	303	425	364
Florida	292	308	300
Pennsylvania	248	290	269
New Jersey	254	271	263
New York ²³	471	23	247
Minnesota	217	236	227
Georgia	213	237	225
Arizona	188	241	215
Ohio	202	223	213

²¹ Actual numbers for the automotive industry may be higher, because Michigan does not provide a list that connects lobbyists with their clients.

²² Lobbyists representing more than one industry are counted in the total for both industries, and the total is rounded off to the highest number.

²³ New York has a two-year registration for lobbyists; 2006 lobbyists maintain status through 2007.

The Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) employed an average of 200 lobbyists per year. Accenture, which averaged 151 lobbyists, is a global management consulting, technology services and outsourcing company.²⁴ American International Group, the world's largest insurance provider, had the third largest lobbying presence. The Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers, representing 10 auto companies, employed 149 lobbyists, one-third of whom worked in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

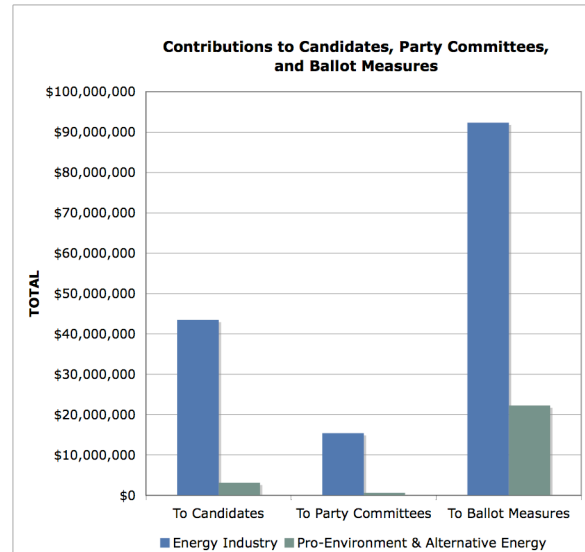
TOP COMPANIES EMPLOYING LOBBYISTS, 2006-2007				
COMPANY	MEMBER OF	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE
PhRMA	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth	216	184	200
Accenture	American Forest & Paper Association National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	162	139	151
American International Group	National Mining Association	142	159	151
Alliance Of Automobile Manufacturers	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth National Association of Manufacturers	139	158	149
General Electric	Aluminum Association American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity American Petroleum Institute National Mining Association	128	105	117
General Motors	Alliance Of Automobile Manufacturers	117	107	112
IBM	Air Transport Association	90	128	109
American Express	Air Transport Association	103	109	106
Distilled Spirits Council of the U.S.	National Association of Manufacturers	104	108	106
Ameren	Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity Edison Electric Institute	92	84	88

²⁴ "About Accenture," available from http://www.accenture.com/Global/About_Accenture/default.htm, accessed February 4, 2009.

ENERGY INDUSTRY

Energy and natural resource companies gave \$151 million, the largest amount from any industry opposing climate change legislation. Oil & gas companies contributed \$103 million, or 68 percent of the energy total. Electric utilities were the next largest contributor, giving \$32 million. Railroads were the third largest industry with \$5.8 million in contributions. The General energy category includes companies that fit more than one classification, such as Dominion and Duke Energy, electric utilities with large natural gas holdings; and TECO Energy, an electric utility involved in coal mining.²⁵ These companies contributed \$5.6 million.

Energy industry contributions flowed most heavily to ballot measure committees, which received \$92 million, or 61 percent of the total contributions which can be attributed to the fact that most states allow unlimited donations to ballot measure committees. The next largest portion of money, \$34.3 million or 23 percent, went to legislative candidates, while candidates for governor collected 4 percent or \$6 million. State party committees, which can receive more money from donors than candidates are allowed to accept, received \$15.4 million (10 percent). Just 2 percent of the contributions went to candidates for other statewide offices.



The money given to support or oppose ballot measures was almost exclusively directed at California, where voters decided several energy-related ballot measures. \$89 million, or 96 percent of the \$92 million spent on ballot measures by energy interests, was given to committees in California.

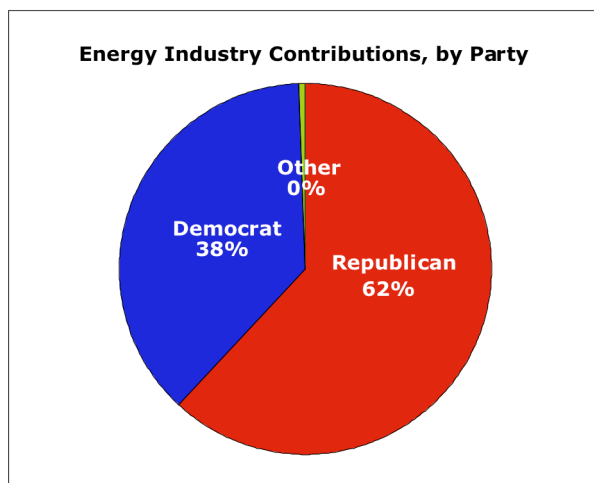
ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS, 2003-2007				
ENERGY INDUSTRY	TO CANDIDATES	TO PARTY COMMITTEES	TO BALLOT MEASURES	TOTAL
Oil & Gas	\$10,578,670	\$4,133,842	\$88,360,493	\$103,073,005
Electric Utilities	\$21,103,930	\$7,357,953	\$3,595,382	\$32,057,265
Railroads	\$4,570,608	\$1,029,268	\$230,000	\$5,829,876
General Energy	\$3,513,572	\$2,013,566	\$102,185	\$5,629,323
Mining	\$3,060,469	\$780,325	\$45,442	\$3,886,236
Steel	\$579,687	\$110,250	\$2,500	\$692,437
Environmental Services & Equipment	\$93,850	\$22,500	\$4,000	\$120,350
Other	\$30,074	\$1,250	\$0	\$31,324
TOTAL	\$43,530,860	\$15,448,954	\$92,340,002	\$151,319,816

²⁵ "TECO Energy," available from <http://www.tecoenergy.com/>, accessed February 4, 2009,

ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES AND PARTY COMMITTEES, 2003–2007

Between 2003 and 2007, the energy industry gave \$59 million to state-level candidates and political parties. When contributions to ballot measures are excluded, electric utilities become the top contributor to state campaigns, contributing \$28 million, almost double the nearly \$15 million given by oil & gas companies.

In general, contributions from the energy industry favored Republican candidates and committees. Republicans received \$36.6 million, 62 percent of the total. Democrats received \$22 million or 37 percent. Oil and gas companies showed the strongest party preference, giving \$10 million to Republican candidates (more than twice as much as to their Democratic counterparts). Railroads and mining interests favored Republicans by a 2-to-1 margin.



ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE PARTIES AND CANDIDATES, 2003–2007				
INDUSTRY	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	OTHER	TOTAL
Electric Utilities	\$16,413,633	\$11,942,619	\$105,632	\$28,461,884
Oil & Gas	\$10,158,526	\$4,537,765	\$16,221	\$14,712,512
Railroads	\$3,821,130	\$1,683,311	\$95,435	\$5,599,876
Miscellaneous Energy	\$3,220,787	\$2,294,227	\$12,125	\$5,527,139
Mining	\$2,525,864	\$1,299,181	\$15,750	\$3,840,795
Steel	\$416,400	\$272,237	\$1,300	\$689,937
Other Energy Interests	\$53,875	\$93,799	\$0	\$147,674
TOTAL	\$36,610,215	\$22,123,139	\$246,463	\$58,979,817

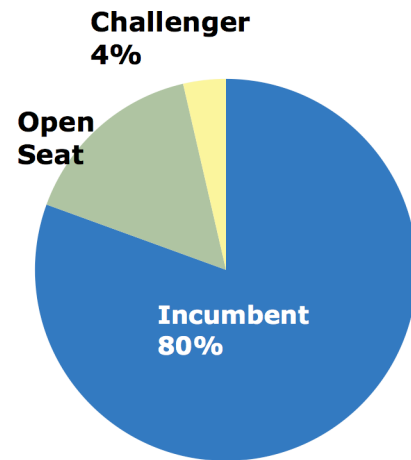
The top ten contributors together gave \$19.5 million, one-third of the energy money given to candidates and political parties. Chevron Corp. was the largest contributor, heavily favoring Republicans with 82 percent (\$2.9 million) of its donations, while only \$631,400 was contributed to Democrats. Six of the ten largest donors were electric utilities.

TOP ENERGY CONTRIBUTORS TO STATE PARTIES AND CANDIDATES, 2003-2007			
INDUSTRY	TO CANDIDATES	TO PARTY COMMITTEES	TOTAL
Chevron Corp.	\$1,365,353	\$2,170,150	\$3,535,503
Dominion	\$2,057,883	\$427,933	\$2,485,816
Union Pacific Railroad	\$1,843,008	\$274,010	\$2,117,018
Pacific Gas & Electric	\$1,106,050	\$717,500	\$1,823,550
Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway	\$1,570,868	\$233,625	\$1,804,493
Valero Energy	\$1,134,994	\$480,450	\$1,615,444
Progress Energy	\$766,400	\$797,788	\$1,564,188
Duke Energy	\$1,202,241	\$339,750	\$1,541,991
American Electric Power	\$1,414,376	\$115,358	\$1,529,734
Florida Power & Light	\$273,336	\$1,235,500	\$1,508,836
TOTAL	\$12,734,509	\$6,792,064	\$19,526,573

The energy industry favored Republican recipients. In general, Republican party committees received almost twice that given to Democratic party committees (\$10.6 million vs. \$4.9 million). Republican and Democratic party committees in California and Florida received the most money overall. Of the top ten party recipients, seven were Republican Party committees.

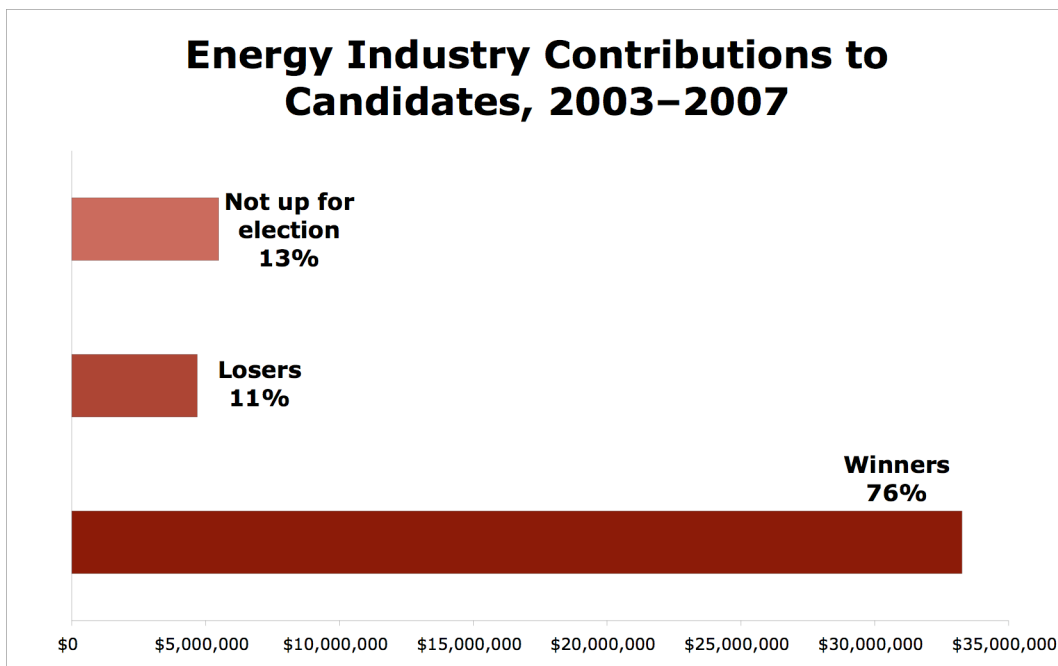
TOP PARTY RECIPIENTS OF ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS, 2003-2007	
RECIPIENT	TOTAL
California Republican Party	\$3,364,905
Florida Republican Party	\$2,510,568
Florida Democratic Party	\$962,945
California Democratic Party	\$880,348
Missouri Republican Party	\$368,916
Texas Republican Party	\$337,700
Commonwealth Victory Fund Of Virginia (Democrat)	\$283,000
Republican State Senate Campaign Committee Of Illinois	\$246,590
Virginia Republican Party	\$206,000
House Republican Campaign Committee Of Pennsylvania	\$205,400
TOTAL	\$9,366,372

The industry heavily supported incumbents: 80 percent (\$35 million) of the \$43.5 million given to candidates went to incumbents. Companies gave \$7 million, or 16 percent, to candidates vying for open seats, and only risked \$1.5 million on candidates attempting to unseat incumbents.



The industry also heavily supported winners, as well as officials not up for election. Companies gave winning candidates \$33 million, or 76 percent of total contributions. Those officials not up for election in a given year received the next largest portion: \$5.5 million or 13 percent. Losers in primary and general elections received \$4.7 million, only 11 percent of the total.

Among legislative candidates, incumbents and winners were favored even more. Of \$34 million given to legislative candidates, \$30 million (86 percent) went to incumbents seeking reelection, \$4 million was donated to legislators seeking an open seat, while only \$751,829 (2 percent) was given to a challenger's campaign. Candidates who won their election received \$28 million, or 81 percent; sitting legislators not up for election received \$3.7 million; \$2.6 million went to those who lost their campaigns.

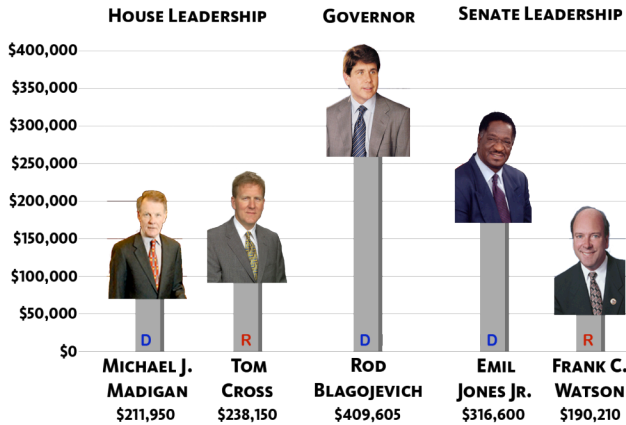


In addition to targeting winners and incumbents, the industry gave heavily to lawmakers in key positions. Although candidates for governor received only 14 percent of the energy contributions to candidates, they were more likely to receive large amounts. Other top recipients held leadership positions within their state legislatures. For example, three of the top ten recipients came from Texas; Texas Gov. Rick Perry, and Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst were the top two. Rep. Tom Craddick, who was recently voted out of his position as Speaker of the House (considered "one of the most powerful jobs in state government") was also on the list.²⁶

TOP CANDIDATE RECIPIENTS OF ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS, 2003-2007					
STATE	CANDIDATE	PARTY	OFFICE	ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS	% OF TOTAL
Texas	Perry, Rick	Republican	Governor	\$472,150	1.5%
Texas	Dewhurst, David	Republican	Lt. Governor	\$467,864	3.3%
Virginia	Kilgore, Jerry W.	Republican	Attorney General/Governor	\$434,680	2.0%
California	Schwarzenegger, Arnold	Republican	Governor	\$432,441	0.7%
Illinois	Blagojevich, Rod R.	Democrat	Governor	\$409,605	1.5%
Texas	Craddick, Tom	Republican	Speaker of the House	\$319,000	5.8%
Illinois	Jones Jr., Emil	Democrat	President of the Senate	\$316,600	5.0%
Pennsylvania	Rendell, Edward G.	Democrat	Governor	\$254,232	0.8%
Illinois	Cross, Tom	Republican	House Republican Leader	\$238,150	4.3%
Illinois	Madigan, Michael J.	Democrat	Speaker of the House	\$211,950	3.8%
TOTAL				\$3,556,672	1.7%

²⁶ "Texas House Speaker Tom Craddick Spent Funds Freely in Last Days in Office," *Associated Press*, February 5, 2009, available from http://www.kvue.com/news/local/stories/020509kvue_craddick-cb.21e0ea44.html, accessed March 17, 2009.

Energy Contributions to Leadership in Illinois 2003–2007



In Illinois, the energy industry targeted those in key lawmaking positions. These five leaders received 43% of the money the energy industry gave to Illinois lawmakers.

Illinois serves as an excellent example of targeted contributions to those lawmakers with the most power. In Illinois, the Senate President, the Speaker of the House, and the two minority leaders in both chambers are euphemistically referred to as the "Four Tops." These lawmakers control the Illinois lawmaking process, assigning committees, setting the agenda, and distributing campaign funds.²⁷ The "Four Tops" and then-Gov. Blagojevich received 43 percent of all the money given to 183 Illinois lawmakers, and four were among the top ten recipients of all energy funds. The fifth, Frank C. Watson, Senate Republican Leader, was 14th on the list, receiving \$190,210 from selected energy interests.

Energy industry contributions were focused in select states. 53 percent of all the energy money given across the nation went to campaigns in six states: California, Texas, Virginia, Florida, Illinois, and Pennsylvania.

In many of the top recipient states, the lack of contribution limits allowed large donations. Virginia and Illinois have no limit on the amount that can be given to candidates or party committees; Pennsylvania, Texas and Indiana have only minimal campaign limits.²⁸ California has contribution limits, but they are higher than many other states.

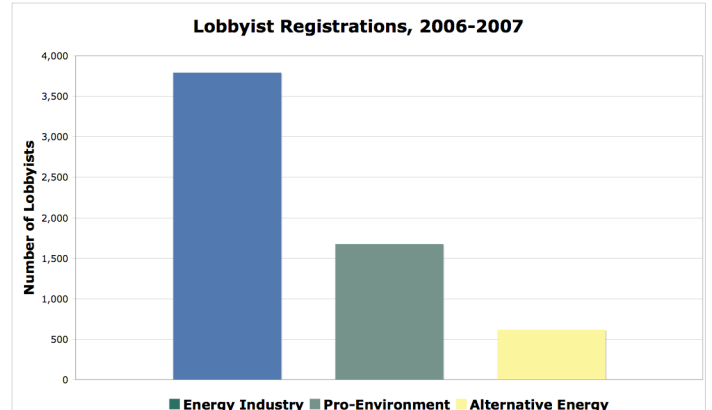
TOP RECIPIENT STATES OF ENERGY INDUSTRY FUNDS TO PARTY COMMITTEES & CANDIDATES, 2003–2007		
STATE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
California	\$8,974,293	15%
Texas	\$6,108,402	10%
Virginia	\$4,754,720	8%
Florida	\$4,516,908	8%
Illinois	\$4,165,886	7%
Pennsylvania	\$2,719,645	5%
Ohio	\$2,258,733	4%
Louisiana	\$1,910,239	3%
Indiana	\$1,728,047	3%
Oklahoma	\$1,577,402	3%
TOTAL	\$38,714,275	

²⁷ "In Illinois, Obama Proved Pragmatic And Shrewd," *New York Times*, July 30, 2007, available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/30/us/politics/30obama.html?pagewanted=2>, accessed March 17, 2009.

²⁸ "Campaign Contribution Limits," *National Conference of State Legislatures*, available from <http://www.ncsl.org/programs/legismgt/about/ContribLimits.htm>, accessed February 10, 2009.

ENERGY INDUSTRY LOBBYISTS, 2006-2007

The energy industry had a substantial lobbying presence at the state level. In total, energy companies hired 3,794 lobbyists, or over half of the lobbyists hired by companies in this analysis. The top employer was Ameren, an electric and gas utility operating in Missouri and Illinois. Five of the top ten employers were electric utilities; four were oil companies.



LOBBYISTS EMPLOYED BY THE ENERGY INDUSTRY, 2006-2007			
COMPANY	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE
Ameren	92	84	88
The Williams Companies	59	89	74
ExxonMobil	71	61	66
BP North America	61	68	65
Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway	58	71	65
Constellation Energy	68	61	65
ConocoPhillips	66	62	64
FirstEnergy Corp.	51	68	60
Midwest Generation	58	58	58
Georgia Power	53	51	52

Electric utilities were the largest employer of energy lobbyists, as discussed above. Oil & gas companies hired an average of 768 lobbyists in 2006 and 2007, spread across every state. The mining industry was the third-largest employer, with 252 lobbyists in 33 states.

ENERGY INDUSTRIES REPRESENTED BY LOBBYISTS, 2006-2007			
INDUSTRY	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE
Electric Utilities	1,951	1,955	1,953
Oil & Gas	774	763	769
Mining	197	306	252
Railroads	209	220	215
Miscellaneous Energy	157	158	158
Aluminum Mining & Processing	37	37	37
Environmental Services & Equipment	33	26	30
Other	63	53	58

Texas had the highest number of registered energy lobbyists. 63 percent of these represented electric utilities, while 30 percent represented the oil & gas industry. Five of the top states for lobbying activity—Texas, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Florida and Ohio—are also among the top states for energy contributions to candidates and party committees.

TOP STATES FOR ENERGY LOBBYISTS, 2006–2007			
STATE	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE
Texas	181	286	234
Illinois	236	181	209
New Jersey	150	165	158
Florida	130	143	137
Pennsylvania	117	151	134
Minnesota	127	133	130
Arizona	94	149	122
Georgia	116	123	120
New York ²⁹	208	23	116
Ohio	92	114	103

²⁹ New York has a two-year registration period for lobbyists, so the 2006 lobbyists maintain their status through 2007.

PRO-ENVIRONMENT & ALTERNATIVE ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS

Pro-environment organizations and alternative energy companies are often on the other side of the climate change debate. They gave \$26 million to political campaigns between 2003 and 2007, 11 percent of the amount given by energy interests. The vast majority, \$22 million or 85 percent, was spent to influence ballot measures. \$2.4 million or 9 percent, went toward legislative campaigns. Party committees received 3 percent or \$670,405, while candidates for governor and lieutenant governor received \$406,956. Candidates for other statewide office and judicial candidates received less than 1 percent each, collecting \$179,324 and \$108,359 respectively.

PRO-ENVIRONMENT AND ALTERNATIVE ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES AND PARTY COMMITTEES

In sharp contrast to energy companies, pro-environment groups were much less likely to donate to incumbents. Of the \$2.8 million given to candidates, \$1.1 million or 38 percent went to incumbents. Candidates running in an open race received \$974,371 or 34 percent, while \$780,135 or 28 percent was given to challengers. Winners received 66 percent of the money, double the 33 percent given to losers. Only \$33,934 was given to officials not up for election.

The top ten groups contributed \$2.1 million, or 62 percent of the money given to candidates and party committees. Five of the ten contributors were state chapters of the League of Conservation Voters. Overall, the League of Conservation Voters and its state affiliates gave \$1.4 million over the five-year period. Other major contributors included the Environmental Campaign Fund and the Arbor Committee, two pro-environment political action committees in Alabama. The Committee of Citizens to Protect Environmentally Sensitive Areas of Florida gave \$88,000. Other prominent contributors included the Sierra Club, whose state affiliates combined to give \$219,128.

The Californians for Clean Alternative Energy committee formed to support Proposition 87, a measure on the 2006 California ballot. Proposition 87 would have imposed a profit tax on energy companies and allotted \$4 billion for alternative energy research. Stephen L. Bing, a wealthy film producer, contributed 80 percent of the \$62 million it raised.

TOP PRO-ENVIRONMENT CONTRIBUTORS TO CANDIDATES AND PARTY COMMITTEES, 2003-2007

CONTRIBUTOR	TO CANDIDATES	TO PARTY COMMITTEES	TOTAL
Californians for Clean Alternative Energy	\$0	\$445,000	\$445,000
Virginia League of Conservation Voters	\$310,181	\$3,865	\$314,046
Oregon League of Conservation Voters	\$311,690	\$0	\$311,690
Environmental Campaign Fund	\$278,545	\$5,000	\$283,545
California League of Conservation Voters	\$247,350	\$0	\$247,350
Arbor Committee	\$183,953	\$0	\$183,953
Conservation Council of North Carolina	\$119,047	\$3,500	\$122,547
Committee of Citizens to Protect Environmentally Sensitive Areas	\$3,000	\$85,000	\$88,000
Texas League of Conservation Voters	\$80,274	\$400	\$80,674
Washington Conservation Voters	\$70,075	\$3,000	\$73,075
TOTAL	\$1,604,115	\$545,765	\$2,149,880

Party committees received \$617,205 from pro-environment groups. One organization, the Californians for Clean Alternative Energy, gave 72 percent of that money to the California Democratic Party committee. That committee formed around a failed ballot measure, Proposition 87, and is discussed in further detail below. The Florida Republican Party received \$90,425. In general, pro-environmental groups heavily supported Democratic Party committees over their Republican counterparts. Democratic Party committees received \$528,330, almost six times the \$88,875 given to Republicans.

The top candidates to receive pro-environment contributions were all Democrats. Democratic candidates received \$2.4 million or 87 percent of the \$2.8 million to candidates. Republican candidates received only \$372,137. Of the top ten candidates, six won their elections. Albert C. Pollard Jr., a Democratic candidate for the Virginia House, lost his bid for an open seat. Rob Brading and Jean Cowan lost their challenger campaigns in the Oregon House. Phil Angelides was the California state treasurer who ran unsuccessfully as the Democratic nomination for governor in 2006. He received \$20,000 while not up for election in 2004, and an additional \$28,300 for his gubernatorial bid.

TOP CANDIDATES TO RECEIVE PRO-ENVIRONMENT FUNDS, 2003-2007					
STATE	CANDIDATE	PARTY	OFFICE	PRO-ENVIRONMENT CONTRIBUTIONS	% OF TOTAL
Oregon	Kulongoski, Ted	Democrat	Governor	\$102,439	1.5%
Alabama	Bedford, Roger	Democrat	Senate	\$66,000	6.3%
Virginia	Pollard Jr., Albert C.	Democrat	House/Senate	\$48,420	4.0%
California	Angelides, Phil	Democrat	Treasurer/Governor	\$48,300	0.1%
Virginia	Kaine, Timothy M.	Democrat	Governor	\$41,003	0.2%
Oregon	Brading, Rob	Democrat	House	\$33,667	6.4%
Alabama	Cobb, Sue Bell	Democrat	Supreme Court	\$33,000	1.3%
Oregon	Bates, Alan C.	Democrat	Senate	\$32,205	22.3%
Oregon	Cowan, Jean	Democrat	House	\$31,509	4.5%
Oregon	Anderson, Laurie Monnes	Democrat	Senate	\$30,589	3.9%
TOTAL				\$467,132	0.7%

Spending in the top ten states accounted for 80 percent of contributions. Four of the top states to receive pro-environment and alternative energy contributions—California, Virginia, Texas, and Florida—were also among the top states receiving energy contributions. Candidates and committees in California received the most: \$794,009. Perhaps surprisingly, Alabama ranks second. The majority of these dollars came from PACs chaired by two individuals.

Environmental Campaign Fund and the Arbor Committee, both chaired by Joe Cottle, a lobbyist for the Alabama Education Association, gave \$467,498. Another four committees—Enviro PAC, Vision PAC, the 21st Century PAC, and Green PAC—are all chaired by lobbyist John Crawford and gave a combined total of \$194,300.

TOP STATES FOR PRO-ENVIRONMENT AND ALTERNATIVE ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS, 2003-2007

STATE	TO CANDIDATES	TO PARTY COMMITTEES	TOTAL
California	\$346,509	\$447,500	\$794,009
Alabama	\$714,248	\$8,000	\$722,248
Oregon	\$433,721	\$640	\$434,361
Virginia	\$327,681	\$3,865	\$331,546
North Carolina	\$161,247	\$9,500	\$170,747
Texas	\$143,074	\$400	\$143,474
Florida	\$29,150	\$105,425	\$134,575
Washington	\$89,006	\$14,875	\$103,881
Nevada	\$101,876	\$0	\$101,876
Michigan	\$88,325	\$2,500	\$90,825
TOTAL	\$2,434,837	\$592,705	\$3,027,542

PRO-ENVIRONMENT AND ALTERNATIVE ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS TO BALLOT MEASURES

Campaigns on 39 ballot measures in 16 states attracted \$22 million from pro-environment groups. 67 percent of the money donated to ballot measure committees came from the top ten contributors. The Nature Conservancy's national office was the top contributor to ballot measure campaigns, while three state TNC affiliates were also among the top 10. The Nature Conservancy and its affiliates contributed one-third of the money given to ballot measures, \$7.6 million.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO BALLOT MEASURES, 2003-2007

STATE	CONTRIBUTOR	TOTAL
Washington & California	The Nature Conservancy	\$4,300,086
California	California Conservation Action Fund	\$2,637,176
California	No on 90 Conservationists For Taxpayer Protection	\$1,625,000
Oregon	The Nature Conservancy Oregon	\$1,416,343
Utah	Utah Critical Land Alliance	\$1,110,745
California	The Nature Conservancy California	\$1,000,000
Arizona	The Nature Conservancy Arizona	\$699,829
Colorado	Environment Colorado	\$677,182
Washington	Heart Of America Northwest	\$616,731
Arizona	Arizona Conservation Campaign	\$601,300
	TOTAL	\$14,684,392

Two 2006 California measures, Propositions 84 and 90, raised the most money from pro-environment groups. Proposition 84 was a successful bond for water and natural resources preservation in California in 2006 that raised \$7.1 million. Committees against Proposition 90, which would have restricted eminent domain, raised \$3.1 million. In Arizona, Proposition 106 created a conservation reserve of state trust land, raising \$1.7 million. Oregon's successful Measure 49 in 2007, which limited the development rights granted in 2004 by Measure 37, raised \$1.7 million. A failed 2006 attempt in Washington to require compensation when government regulation damages property value, Measure 933, raised \$1.3 million.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES, BY STATE, 2003-2007		
STATE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
California	\$10,422,286	47%
Oregon	\$3,029,416	14%
Washington	\$2,572,441	12%
Arizona	\$2,002,852	9%
Utah	\$1,277,165	6%
Colorado	\$1,242,609	6%
Ohio	\$825,000	4%
Montana	\$422,735	2%
Idaho	\$176,979	<1%
Michigan	\$152,806	<1%
TOTAL	\$22,124,289	

Alternative energy companies contributed \$823,037 over the five-year period. The top contributor was PPM Energy, which owns wind projects across the United States³⁰, of Portland, Oregon, which gave \$85,000. Other top contributors included Horizon Wind Energy's \$80,000, and the Northwest Energy Efficiency Council's \$62,000. Seattle Biofuels, Inc. contributed \$50,000, the American Wind Energy Association gave \$42,185 and Covanta Energy gave \$33,400.

³⁰ PPM currently does business as Iberdrola Renewables. "View Iberdrola Renewables' North American assets," available from http://www.iberdrolarenewables.us/pdf/Assets_All_NA_08apr15.pdf, accessed March 17, 2009.

PRO-ENVIRONMENT AND ALTERNATIVE ENERGY LOBBYISTS

The imbalance between energy industry contributions and pro-environment contributions is not as prominent when examining the numbers of lobbyists who work for these organizations. Many pro-environment groups are 501(c)(3) nonprofits who are banned from supporting or opposing a candidate but are allowed to lobby³¹ on legislation. Pro-environment groups employed 1,675 lobbyists during 2006 and 2007, while alternative energy companies employed 615 lobbyists within the same period.

Covanta Energy was the largest employer of lobbyists (54). This New Jersey-based company generates energy from trash. The Nature Conservancy and its state affiliates registered 144 lobbyists. The Sierra Club's affiliates employed 122, while all the state chapters of the League of Conservation Voters were represented by 58 lobbyists.

TOP ENVIRONMENTAL AND ALTERNATIVE ENERGY LOBBYING ORGANIZATIONS, 2006-2007			
ORGANIZATION	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE
Covanta Energy Group	64	44	54
Natural Resources Defense Council	63	15	39
Western Pennsylvania Conservancy	22	36	29
Environmental Defense	27	27	27
Connecticut Fund For The Environment	14	26	20
Phipps Conservatory & Botanical Gardens	17	21	19
FuelCell Energy	14	19	17
Green Building Alliance	10	21	16
Chesapeake Bay Foundation	15	15	15
Sierra Club Atlantic Chapter (New York)	29	0	15

³¹ IRS Tax Code limits the amount of their total resources that nonprofits may spend on lobbying.

The largest number of registered lobbyists worked in New York, with 221 lobbyists. Only three of the top states—California, Florida, and Texas—were also top recipients of pro-environment contributions. Seven of the top environmental lobbying states were also among the top for energy lobbying activity.

**TOP STATES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL LOBBYING ACTIVITY,
2006–2007**

STATE	2006	2007	TWO-YEAR AVERAGE
New York ³²	221	0	110.5
Pennsylvania	90	114	102
Minnesota	93	92	92.5
New Jersey	92	92	92
Connecticut	72	77	74.5
Georgia	67	71	69
California	75	59	67
Florida	59	68	63.5
Arizona	50	66	58
Texas	47	67	57

³² New York has a two-year registration period for lobbyists, so the 2006 lobbyists maintain their status through 2007.

APPENDIX A

The following table lists the organizations studied in this report. All but two are 2007 members of the American Council for Capital Formation (ACCF). The Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth and the Consumer Energy Alliance were added for their stance on climate change legislation. A complete list of associations and their members is available for download on our Web site.

ORGANIZATIONS ANALYZED IN THIS REPORT	
ORGANIZATION	MEMBERS³³
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	1,083
National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	472
American Petroleum Institute	360
National Association of Manufacturers	335
National Mining Association	269
Edison Electric Institute	184
American Forest & Paper Association	173
Consumer Energy Alliance	98
Alliance for Energy & Economic Growth	93
The Aluminum Association	85
Air Transport Association	65
American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity	47
Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers	10
TOTAL*	3,274

*Some companies are members of more than one organization, so the total number of individual companies in this analysis is approximately 3,000.

³³ As of Fall 2008.

APPENDIX B

ENERGY INDUSTRY, PRO-ENVIRONMENT, AND ALTERNATIVE ENERGY CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES AND PARTY COMMITTEES, 2003–2007

STATE	ENERGY	PRO-ENVIRONMENT	ALTERNATIVE ENERGY	TOTAL
Alabama	\$1,236,030	\$718,748	\$3,500	\$1,958,278
Alaska	\$207,500	\$26,875	\$0	\$234,375
Arizona	\$100,379	\$4,338	\$0	\$104,717
Arkansas	\$770,678	\$2,250	\$0	\$772,928
California	\$8,974,293	\$754,309	\$39,700	\$9,768,302
Colorado	\$284,993	\$46,938	\$0	\$331,931
Connecticut	\$138,901	\$3,165	\$0	\$142,066
Delaware	\$108,360	\$0	\$0	\$108,360
Florida	\$4,516,908	\$108,575	\$26,000	\$4,651,483
Georgia	\$454,561	\$71,371	\$0	\$525,932
Hawaii	\$96,540	\$0	\$11,150	\$107,690
Idaho	\$482,935	\$21,815	\$0	\$504,750
Illinois	\$4,165,886	\$57,302	\$1,000	\$4,224,188
Indiana	\$1,728,047	\$2,000	\$0	\$1,730,047
Iowa	\$385,286	\$13,900	\$17,850	\$417,036
Kansas	\$783,594	\$10,350	\$42,507	\$836,451
Kentucky	\$362,048	\$0	\$0	\$362,048
Louisiana	\$1,910,239	\$1,750	\$0	\$1,911,989
Maine	\$104,994	\$11,550	\$7,450	\$123,994
Maryland	\$464,564	\$29,436	\$23,625	\$517,625
Massachusetts	\$13,800	\$275	\$0	\$14,075
Michigan	\$1,372,796	\$90,075	\$750	\$1,463,621
Minnesota	\$84,275	\$23,976	\$0	\$108,251
Mississippi	\$1,259,823	\$1,800	\$1,000	\$1,262,623
Missouri	\$1,313,865	\$13,650	\$1,000	\$1,328,515
Montana	\$74,921	\$11,216	\$0	\$86,137
Nebraska	\$258,851	\$0	\$20,700	\$279,551
Nevada	\$1,291,446	\$64,626	\$37,250	\$1,393,322
New Hampshire	\$35,150	\$12,764	\$10,000	\$57,914
New Jersey	\$801,719	\$34,700	\$0	\$836,419
New Mexico	\$866,298	\$23,292	\$8,000	\$897,590
New York	\$794,138	\$36,662	\$25,900	\$856,700
North Carolina	\$1,344,700	\$170,747	\$0	\$1,515,447
North Dakota	\$189,155	\$0	\$0	\$189,155
Ohio	\$2,258,733	\$22,250	\$0	\$2,280,983
Oklahoma	\$1,577,402	\$9,600	\$0	\$1,587,002
Oregon	\$1,014,962	\$417,861	\$16,500	\$1,449,323
Pennsylvania	\$2,719,645	\$20,025	\$0	\$2,739,670
Rhode Island	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
South Carolina	\$1,147,226	\$38,700	\$3,500	\$1,189,426

(APPENDIX B, CONTINUED):

STATE	ENERGY	PRO-ENVIRONMENT	ALTERNATIVE ENERGY	TOTAL
South Dakota	\$133,197	\$0	\$14,145	\$147,342
Tennessee	\$215,750	\$1,000	\$0	\$216,750
Texas	\$6,108,402	\$143,474	\$0	\$6,251,876
Utah	\$283,800	\$4,430	\$0	\$288,230
Vermont	\$18,650	\$1,200	\$2,850	\$22,700
Virginia	\$4,754,720	\$331,546	\$0	\$5,086,266
Washington	\$819,985	\$91,756	\$12,125	\$909,570
West Virginia	\$475,185	\$3,950	\$0	\$479,135
Wisconsin	\$192,468	\$1,757	\$50	\$194,275
Wyoming	\$282,015	\$1,254	\$0	\$283,269
TOTAL	\$58,979,815	\$3,457,258	\$326,552	\$62,763,625

APPENDIX C

COALITION MEMBERS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES AND PARTY COMMITTEES, 2003-2007	
STATE	TOTAL
Alabama	\$9,323,072
Alaska	\$345,076
Arizona	\$173,925
Arkansas	\$1,287,855
California	\$20,989,672
Colorado	\$377,373
Connecticut	\$359,086
Delaware	\$311,145
Florida	\$10,672,810
Georgia	\$4,155,989
Hawaii	\$191,353
Idaho	\$1,043,184
Illinois	\$12,483,709
Indiana	\$4,225,901
Iowa	\$2,169,985
Kansas	\$1,537,518
Kentucky	\$636,939
Louisiana	\$5,428,527
Maine	\$282,334
Maryland	\$996,149
Massachusetts	\$76,960
Michigan	\$3,408,421
Minnesota	\$345,770
Mississippi	\$2,448,618
Missouri	\$3,034,069
Montana	\$94,171
Nebraska	\$740,052
Nevada	\$2,803,414
New Hampshire	\$69,185
New Jersey	\$3,946,208
New Mexico	\$1,214,636
New York	\$3,858,819
North Carolina	\$1,727,155
North Dakota	\$267,030
Ohio	\$4,129,113
Oklahoma	\$2,262,818
Oregon	\$4,216,295
Pennsylvania	\$4,238,659
Rhode Island	\$63,895
South Carolina	\$2,452,588

(APPENDIX C, CONTINUED)	
STATE	TOTAL
South Dakota	\$209,717
Tennessee	\$1,219,850
Texas	\$10,607,713
Utah	\$726,638
Vermont	\$99,000
Virginia	\$7,426,074
Washington	\$2,941,852
West Virginia	\$802,865
Wisconsin	\$493,833
Wyoming	\$326,791
	\$143,243,811

APPENDIX D

ENERGY, PRO-ENVIRONMENT, AND ALTERNATIVE ENERGY LOBBYISTS, 2006 & 2007			
STATE	ENERGY	PRO-ENVIRONMENT	ALTERNATIVE ENERGY
Alabama	63	5	1
Alaska	59	3	0
Arizona	152	55	12
Arkansas	50	5	0
California	124	95	28
Colorado	49	20	10
Connecticut	126	84	29
Delaware	15	2	6
Florida	159	73	12
Georgia	138	66	12
Hawaii	30	4	11
Idaho	34	14	5
Illinois	278	45	41
Indiana	51	11	6
Iowa	61	23	25
Kansas	40	5	10
Kentucky	53	8	0
Louisiana	75	5	6
Maine	17	16	3
Maryland	95	27	18
Massachusetts	56	33	5
Michigan ³⁴	unknown	unknown	unknown
Minnesota	155	101	24
Mississippi	29	2	1
Missouri	117	26	4
Montana	69	39	14
Nebraska	27	6	2
Nevada	78	16	11
New Hampshire	24	17	22
New Jersey	181	65	36
New Mexico	85	47	4
New York	209	173	66
North Carolina	39	52	1
North Dakota	52	18	11
Ohio	123	32	7
Oklahoma	58	3	11
Oregon	22	38	17
Pennsylvania	201	134	59
Rhode Island	17	18	11

³⁴ Michigan does not provide a list that connects registered lobbyists with their clients.

(APPENDIX D, CONTINUED)			
STATE	ENERGY	PRO-ENVIRONMENT	ALTERNATIVE ENERGY
South Carolina	49	12	0
South Dakota	32	8	4
Tennessee	31	12	1
Texas	310	47	34
Utah	32	24	0
Vermont	35	31	14
Virginia	106	59	2
Washington	28	46	6
West Virginia	38	12	8
Wisconsin	72	32	9
Wyoming	37	17	1

APPENDIX E

COALITION MEMBER LOBBYISTS, 2006 & 2007	
STATE	LOBBYISTS
Alabama	140
Alaska	74
Arizona	250
Arkansas	144
California	287
Colorado	86
Connecticut	226
Delaware	34
Florida	367
Georgia	263
Hawaii	58
Idaho	80
Illinois	529
Indiana	111
Iowa	112
Kansas	103
Kentucky	123
Louisiana	168
Maine	36
Maryland	155
Massachusetts	137
Michigan	unknown
Minnesota	267
Mississippi	75
Missouri	213
Montana	101
Nebraska	60
Nevada	148
New Hampshire	65
New Jersey	298
New Mexico	128
New York	472
North Carolina	130
North Dakota	77
Ohio	250
Oklahoma	126
Oregon	82
Pennsylvania	376
Rhode Island	56
South Carolina	122

(APPENDIX E, CONTINUED)	
STATE	LOBBYISTS
South Dakota	65
Tennessee	103
Texas	463
Utah	78
Vermont	66
Virginia	189
Washington	121
West Virginia	116
Wisconsin	142
Wyoming	52