

## The Climate Hawks Vote 2014 Senate Scorecard

**Welcome to Climate Hawks Vote's first scorecard covering Senate Democrats** (and selected Republicans). Unlike other scorecards tracking votes, we're tracking **leadership**, we're very excited about the work we've put into it over the last several months, and it deserves a bit of explanation. Our goal is to elect climate hawk leaders - those who prioritize and speak on the climate crisis - not just those who follow leaders' directions on the rare occasions that climate comes up for a vote and otherwise remain silent. Simply put, **climate change is the greatest challenge facing the next few generations of humanity, not just another Democratic issue**, but many politicians aren't leading on it.

We began by asking: how can one lead in today's polarized Congress? **Climate hawks lead by engaging the public on climate change.** They give floor speeches and hold press conferences. They headline community town halls and environmental rallies. They author and cosponsor bills because some good bills make it into budget bills and others will be revived when Dems retake the Senate. They caucus to coordinate their work. Their websites clearly state their position on climate change. They write op-eds for newspapers both national and local. When hurricanes and droughts affect their districts, they publicly connect the climate change dots. They write press releases on noteworthy events such as President Obama's June 2013 climate speech, EPA Clean Power Plan, and reports from IPCC and NCA. They do all this without detaching from other issues.

**Measuring leadership:** We've analyzed the public records of all current Senate Democrats (and a few voted out in 2014) beginning in 2011, scoring them on public engagement; bills authored; bills cosponsored; press releases (yes, Sherrod Brown staffers, we did read over 200 pages of press releases), working caucuses joined and led; and websites. We've ranked 100-plus introduced bills each session from core to peripheral and awarded more points to authors, less to cosponsors. **We've weighted public engagement far more** than any of our other factors. **Our focus is climate**, not traditional environmental issues; the only wilderness bills we're scoring are those that permanently lock away oil/gas reservoirs and the only fracking bills we're scoring are those affecting air quality. We're looking in particular for legislation **pricing carbon, strongly supporting wind and solar, phasing out coal, and farseeing adaptation.**

The **leadership score goes from +100 to -100**, with the highest leadership scores including Sheldon Whitehouse, Bernie Sanders, Jeff Merkley, Brian Schatz, Barbara Boxer, and Ed Markey. A leadership score close to zero means the Democrat is not engaged on climate and/or that mildly positive and negative items cancel each other out; a negative score means that the Democrat leads backward, e.g., speaks in favor of dirty projects such as Keystone XL. The average Senate score for the 112th Congress is +30; for the 113th Congress it's +37; and for the 114th Congress it's +22.5 so far

(scoring through March 31, which included flurries of activity around the Keystone and budget resolution vote-a-paloozas). Overall, Senators are more engaged than House members (where the average score was 23 over two sessions of Congress and where we found that nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the House members were “climate ducks,” as in, they ducked public statements on climate change).

**Why are so many Dems’ scores so low?** Simply put, most don’t lead... yet. Many Democrats want to do something on climate, but see it as just another issue on the back burner given so many urgent needs - immigration reform, Obamacare implementation, gun violence prevention, fighting budget shenanigans, foreign policy.

**What about Senate leadership?** The retirements of Harry Reid and Barbara Boxer have caused some concern. There is very little, if any, overlap between the people expected to be Senate leaders in 2017 and the people who lead on climate.

- **Chuck Schumer** (D-NY) refuses to connect the dots between Hurricane Sandy and climate changes. Dozens of post-Sandy recovery press releases are in Florida Department of Environmental Protection-style climate code, promising to make towns and seawalls safe from “recurrent storms,” “future storms,” and “heavy storms.” He ranks in the 4th out of 5 quintiles. We hope he’ll carry on Harry Reid’s legacy.
- **Dick Durbin** (D-IL) spends more time discussing energy drinks marketed to children than clean energy. He still pushes CCS and corn ethanol, both of which have been widely debunked as climate solutions. We hope he’ll put the public interest in preventing a growing global climate crisis above the interests of a small corner of his state.
- **Patty Murray** (D-WA) and **Elizabeth Warren** (D-MA) are solid liberals but they don’t focus on climate change, so their scores are middle-of-the-pack. Some Senate observers have expected Warren to discuss climate change more this year now that she is on the Energy & Natural Resources committee, but so far she’s only made one public statement, engaged in minimal press release work, not written any bills, and cosponsored very few bills. We hope that they’ll speak out more in 2015 and beyond.
- **Tom Carper** (D-DE), second in seniority at Environment & Public Works after Barbara Boxer, is a strong voice against air pollution, which overlaps with - but isn’t exactly the same as - climate change. And he’s for the Keystone XL pipeline, which may be a moot point by the time he ascends to the top spot on E&PW.
- **Maria Cantwell** (D-WA) has limited her words on climate action to ocean acidification - a very real concern, but we’re hoping that her focus will be broader now that she’s ranking member of the Energy & Natural Resources committee.

**What does “all of the above” mean, anyway?** While President Obama touts a balanced “all of the above” approach to energy supply, we found that some Democrats from fossil fueled states use that rhetoric to push for woefully unbalanced reliance on fossil fuels, with occasional lip service paid to renewables. The worst offenders are **Heidi Heitkamp** (D-ND) with a ratio of 10 pro-coal/Keystone XL press releases for every 1 pro-wind press release; and **Jon Tester** (D-MT), who acknowledges climate impacts on farming and who has written 2 positively scored press releases (both regarding one bill) vs 7 touting the Keystone pipeline alone. And then there’s the Janus act of **Michael Bennet** (D-CO): vocal supporter of wind, stealth supporter of oil shale and Keystone XL.

**What about the Republicans?** This time, we included three Republicans to test our scorecard. **Chuck Grassley** (R-IA) has a reputation for being both pro-wind and anti-climate action. After reviewing his public statements, we can confidently report that WYSIWYG: he is, in fact, both pro-wind and anti-climate action. We also scored both **Susan Collins** (R-ME), who has a reputation as a fairly outspoken pro-climate moderate Northeastern Republican, and **Kelly Ayotte** (R-NH), who is also a moderate Northeastern Republican but who doesn’t share Collin’s reputation. Their scores are similar but not high. Our database of bills scored and tracked includes Republican-written bills, both bad (“approve Keystone XL yesterday!”) and good (master limited partnership tax breaks for renewables, black carbon, energy efficiency).

**What about clean energy?** We’re climate hawks - shorthand for people who care about climate and clean energy. Clean energy is baked into the scorecard. The vast majority of the bills we’ve scored are piecemeal solutions bills; there have been very few grand carbon-pricing bills introduced since 2010. And they’re mostly tax policy bills: incentives for big renewable energy projects, bills to end fossil fuel subsidies, bills to aid drivers of electric vehicles, bills to train community college students, bills to innovate and adapt. We pay attention to whether a Senator advocates for wind, solar, or more generic “action on climate.”

**Why this scorecard?** We hope that it’ll encourage more politicians to be **proactive on climate - speak out and lead** on the greatest challenge facing the next few generations of humanity. The objective measurement backs up, and occasionally tests, general impressions of “Politician X is good on climate.” It will also keep politicians accountable. We’ve already identified California Democrats in the House whose rhetoric in office hasn’t matched their campaign rhetoric, and New York House Democrats representing Hurricane Sandy-ravaged districts whose leadership scores are 10 or below. And when we do our electoral work next year, we’ll prioritize endorsements of those who score well over those who don’t.

**About Climate Hawks Vote:** founded in 2014, a grassroots-funded SuperPAC to elect, and hold accountable, federal politicians on climate change. The group endorsed 17 candidates (3 primary elections, 14 general elections), backed up many of its endorsements with fieldwork, and won 11 races. Website: [www.climatehawksvote.com](http://www.climatehawksvote.com)

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# CLIMATE HAWKS VOTE




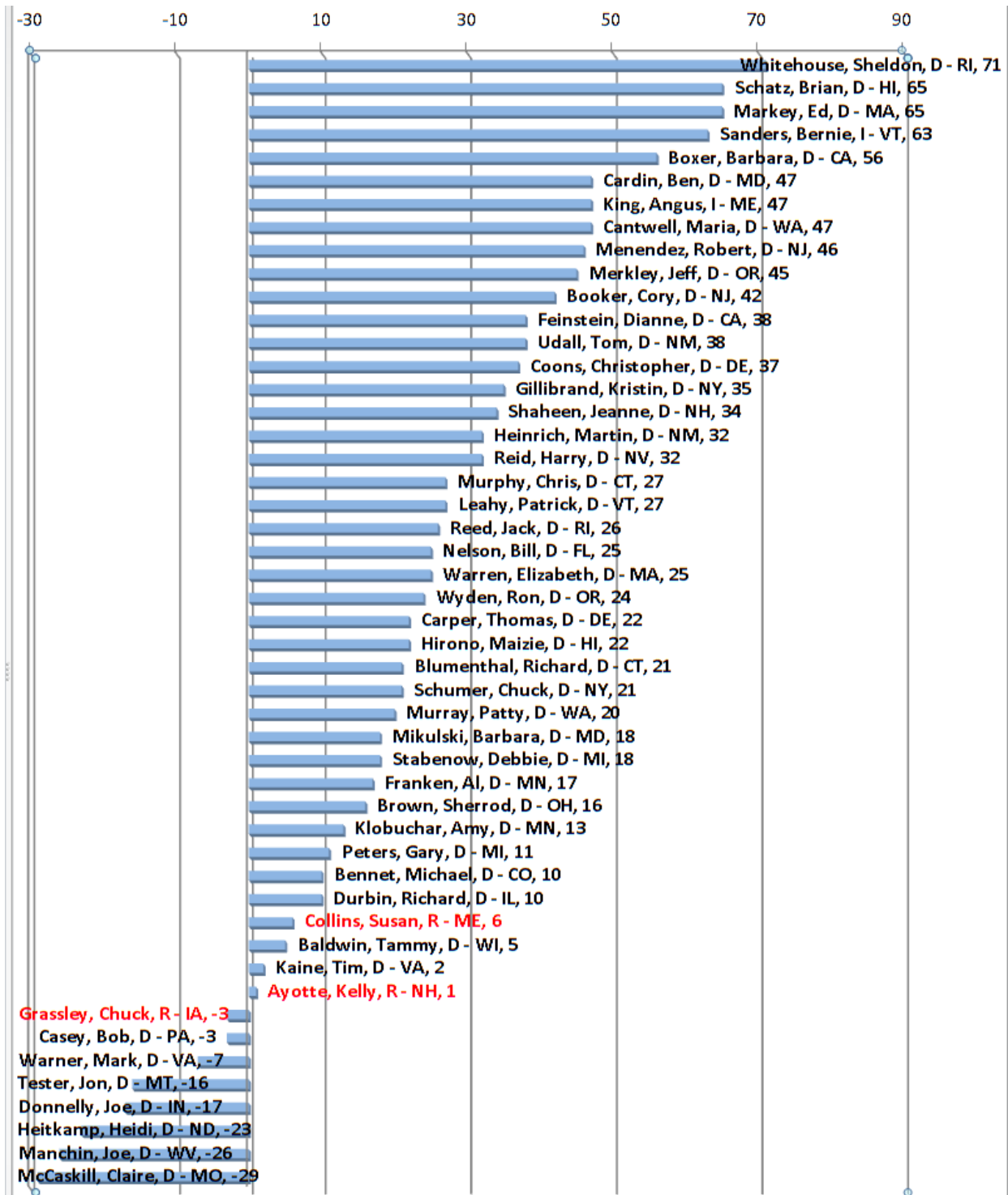
## 112<sup>th</sup> Congress

Last, First	Party	State	public engagement	press releases	bills sponsored	bills cosponsored	caucuses	website	leadership total
Whitehouse, Sheldon	D	RI	40	10	11	7	10	10	88
Merkley, Jeff	D	OR	27	10	16	7	10	10	80
Sanders, Bernie	I	VT	30	10	11	4	10	10	75
Boxer, Barbara	D	CA	30	3	12	5	10	10	70
Menendez, Robert	D	NJ	20	9	14	7	10	10	70
Shaheen, Jeanne	D	NH	32	7	3	5	10	10	67
Carper, Thomas	D	DE	31	10	7	4	0	10	62
Cantwell, Maria	D	WA	28	6	0	5	10	10	59
Reid, Harry	D	NV	29	9	6	4	0	10	58
Udall, Tom	D	NM	22	7	6	6	10	5	56
Gillibrand, Kristin	D	NY	22	5	4	5	10	10	56
Cardin, Ben	D	MD	18	8	0	6	10	10	52
Wyden, Ron	D	OR	26	6	9	5	0	5	51
Franken, Al	D	MN	22	3	4	5	10	5	49
Feinstein, Dianne	D	CA	18	6	8	6	0	10	48
Bennet, Michael	D	CO	26	6	3	6	0	5	46
Murray, Patty	D	WA	16	4	0	4	10	6	40
Klobuchar, Amy	D	MN	10	0	8	5	10	5	38
Reed, Jack	D	RI	16	4	0	4	0	10	34
Leahy, Patrick	D	VT	17	8	0	4	0	5	34
Durbin, Richard	D	IL	19	-1	0	5	0	10	33
Brown, Sherrod	D	OH	10	0	8	5	0	5	28
Coons, Christopher	D	DE	7	1	3	6	0	10	27
Harkin, Tom	D	IA	10	5	1	5	0	5	26
Blumenthal, Richard	D	CT	-4	4	3	6	10	5	24
Schumer, Chuck	D	NY	10	1	7	5	0		23
Stabenow, Debbie	D	MI	-10	4	8	6	0	5	13
Grassley, Chuck	R	IA	4	1	6	-4	0	5	12

Nelson, Bill	D	FL	7	0	0	3	0		10
Mikulski, Barbara	D	MD	0	3	0	4	0	0	7
Tester, Jon	D	MT	-10	-2	11	4	0	0	3
Pryor, Mark	D	AR	0	-4	4	-4	0	0	-4
Ayotte, Kelly	R	NH	3	-4	0	-5	0	0	-6
McCaskill, Claire	D	MO	-5	-4	0	-1	0	0	-10
Casey, Bob	D	PA	-17	5	0	2	0	0	-10
Warner, Mark	D	VA	-13	-4	0	-3	0	0	-20
Collins, Susan	R	ME	-14	0	-9	-4	0	5	-22
Begich, Mark	D	AK	-29	0	0	-3	0	0	-32
Manchin, Joe	D	WV	-26	-9	-8	-7	0	-5	-55

# CLIMATE HAWKS VOTE





**Senators 2015 Climate Scorecard - Leadership**

## 113<sup>th</sup> Congress

Last, First	Party	State	public engagement	press releases	bills sponsored	bills cosponsored	caucuses	website	leadership
Sanders, Bernie	I	VT	40	10	19	6	10	10	95
Whitehouse, Sheldon	D	RI	40	10	16	8	10	10	94
Markey, Ed	D	MA	40	10	12	6	10	10	88
Schatz, Brian	D	HI	40	10	8	8	10	10	86
Boxer, Barbara	D	CA	40	7	10	7	10	10	84
Murphy, Chris	D	CT	40	8	6	4	10	10	78
Merkley, Jeff	D	OR	36	7	4	8	10	10	75
Menendez, Robert	D	NJ	26	10	6	8	10	10	70
Reid, Harry	D	NV	40	8	6	4	0	10	68
Gillibrand, Kristin	D	NY	28	6	9	4	10	10	67
Cardin, Ben	D	MD	27	8	5	6	10	10	66
Cantwell, Maria	D	WA	29	7	6	4	10	10	66
Heinrich, Martin	D	NM	27	8	4	4	10	10	63
Shaheen, Jeanne	D	NH	24	10	3	5	10	10	62
Feinstein, Dianne	D	CA	29	6	6	6	0	10	57
Coons, Christopher	D	DE	26	9	6	5	0	10	56
Blumenthal, Richard	D	CT	24	5	3	6	10	5	53
Udall, Tom	D	NM	23	5	7	3	10	5	53
King, Angus	I	ME	27	8	0	2	10	5	52
Booker, Cory	D	NJ	24	4	0	4	10	10	52
Wyden, Ron	D	OR	26	6	9	6	0	5	52
Franken, Al	D	MN	22	3	4	5	10	5	49
Warren, Elizabeth	D	MA	25	6	1	6	10		48
Murray, Patty	D	WA	21	5	0	6	10	6	48
Carper, Thomas	D	DE	18	9	6	3	0	10	46
Klobuchar, Amy	D	MN	16	2	8	5	10	5	46
Hirono, Maizie	D	HI	25	4	4	0	3	5	41
Reed, Jack	D	RI	17	7	0	7	0	10	41
Bennet, Michael	D	CO	11	9	11	4	0	5	40



Baldwin, Tammy	D	WI	27	4	4	3	0		38
Leahy, Patrick	D	VT	19	7	3	3	0	5	37
Nelson, Bill	D	FL	30	2	1	3	0		36
Stabenow, Debbie	D	MI	17	4	4	6	0	5	36
Durbin, Richard	D	IL	14	3	0	5	0	10	32
Kaine, Tim	D	VA	20	7	0	-4	0	5	28
Harkin, Tom	D	IA	10	6	0	5	0	5	26
Schumer, Chuck	D	NY	23	0	0	3	0		26
Brown, Sherrod	D	OH	12	3	0	5	0	5	25
Tester, Jon	D	MT	15	-1	6	-4	0	0	16
Collins, Susan	R	ME	10	0	-1	0	0	5	14
Mikulski, Barbara	D	MD	5	4	0	4	0	0	13
Grassley, Chuck	R	IA	11	-3	0	-5	0	5	8
Casey, Bob	D	PA	0	3	1	0	0	0	4
Warner, Mark	D	VA	0	1	0	-2	0	0	-1
Ayotte, Kelly	R	NH	0	0	0	-4	0	0	-4
Begich, Mark	D	AK	-17	-5	6	-5	0	0	-21
McCaskill, Claire	D	MO	-17	-5	0	-2	0	0	-24
Pryor, Mark	D	AR	-14	-6	0	-5	0	0	-25
Donnelly, Joe	D	IN	-19	-7	-4	-4	0	-5	-39
Manchin, Joe	D	WV	-34	-10	-6	-6	0	-5	-61
Heitkamp, Heidi	D	ND	-39	-9	-7	-8	0	-5	-68

**114<sup>th</sup> Congress** – note that scores are cumulative, i.e., they're expected to increase over time. Cutoff was March 31, 2015.

Last, First	Party	State	public engagement	press releases	bills sponsored	bills cosponsored	caucuses	website	leadership
Whitehouse, Sheldon	D	RI	30	7	7	7	10	10	71
Schatz, Brian	D	HI	24	5	14	8	4	10	65
Markey, Ed	D	MA	20	8	11	6	10	10	65
Sanders, Bernie	I	VT	17	7	15	4	10	10	63
Boxer, Barbara	D	CA	22	4	6	4	10	10	56
Cardin, Ben	D	MD	20	6	0	1	10	10	47
King, Angus	I	ME	25	6	0	1	10	5	47
Cantwell, Maria	D	WA	19	5	0	3	10	10	47
Menendez, Robert	D	NJ	17	4	0	5	10	10	46
Merkley, Jeff	D	OR	10	4	6	5	10	10	45
Booker, Cory	D	NJ	18	4	0	0	10	10	42
Feinstein, Dianne	D	CA	15	4	6	3	0	10	38
Udall, Tom	D	NM	12	5	7	-1	10	5	38
Coons, Christopher	D	DE	14	4	3	6	0	10	37
Gillibrand, Kristin	D	NY	10	4	1	0	10	10	35
Shaheen, Jeanne	D	NH	7	5	0	2	10	10	34
Heinrich, Martin	D	NM	10	3	0	-1	10	10	32
Reid, Harry	D	NV	15	5	0	2	0	10	32
Murphy, Chris	D	CT	0	5	0	2	10	10	27
Leahy, Patrick	D	VT	14	4	0	4	0	5	27
Reed, Jack	D	RI	9	2	4	1	0	10	26
Nelson, Bill	D	FL	15	2	7	1	0		25
Warren, Elizabeth	D	MA	10	2	0	3	10		25
Wyden, Ron	D	OR	10	4	4	1	0	5	24
Carper, Thomas	D	DE	5	2	3	2	0	10	22
Hirono, Maizie	D	HI	12	4	0	1	0	5	22
Blumenthal, Richard	D	CT	3	2	1	0	10	5	21

Schumer, Chuck	D	NY	14	3	0	4	0		21
Murray, Patty	D	WA	0	2	0	2	10	6	20
Mikulski, Barbara	D	MD	14	4	0	0	0	0	18
Stabenow, Debbie	D	MI	7	4	0	2	0	5	18
Franken, Al	D	MN	7	3	0	2	0	5	17
Brown, Sherrod	D	OH	10	0	0	1	0	5	16
Klobuchar, Amy	D	MN	-5	2	1	0	10	5	13
Peters, Gary	D	MI	7	4	0	0	0		11
Bennet, Michael	D	CO	-6	4	4	3	0	5	10
Durbin, Richard	D	IL	-5	3	0	2	0	10	10
Collins, Susan	R	ME	0	1	1	-1	0	5	6
Baldwin, Tammy	D	WI	0	4	0	1	0		5
Kaine, Tim	D	VA	-4	-1	0	2	0	5	2
Ayotte, Kelly	R	NH	3	1	0	-3	0	0	1
Grassley, Chuck	R	IA	0	-4	0	-4	0	5	-3
Casey, Bob	D	PA	-7	0	0	4	0	0	-3
Warner, Mark	D	VA	-7	-3	4	-1	0	0	-7
Tester, Jon	D	MT	-10	-2	0	-4	0	0	-16
Donnelly, Joe	D	IN	-10	-2	0	0	0	-5	-17
Heitkamp, Heidi	D	ND	-20	-5	6	0	1	-5	-23
Manchin, Joe	D	WV	-17	-6	0	2	0	-5	-26
McCaskill, Claire	D	MO	-20	-3	-4	-2	0	0	-29