

# CSSN Research Report 2021:3

## Who's Influencing Connecticut Climate and Clean Energy Politics?

### Five Questions

Policy Briefing

The Climate and Development Lab

Institute at Brown for Environment and Society

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## About the authors

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## Produced by the Climate and Development Lab

The **Climate and Development Lab** is a think tank at Brown University informing a more just, equitable, and effective global climate change policy. It is housed at the Institute at Brown for Environment and Society (see IBES.Brown.edu). The **Institute at Brown for Environment and Society** (IBES) supports research to understand the interactions between natural, human and social systems. Our teaching programs prepare future leaders to envision and build a just and sustainable world.

## About CSSN

This report is being released through the **Climate Social Science Network** (CSSN.org), a global network of scholars headquartered at the Institute at Brown for Environment and Society, launched in October, 2020. CSSN seeks to coordinate, conduct and support peer-reviewed research into the institutional and cultural dynamics of the political conflict over climate change, and assist scholars in outreach to policymakers and the public.

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# Executive Summary

Who is testifying at the Connecticut Capitol on climate and clean energy? What arguments are those testifying against climate action using? What happens to clean energy bills? Who's lobbying? What economic sectors are most active among those opposing climate solutions legislation in Connecticut and what positions are they taking?

To address these questions, we analyzed publicly available written testimony on 48 bills that key organizations and coalitions working on climate policy in Connecticut<sup>1</sup> saw as priority legislation from 2013-2020. In total, we analyzed 2,940 pieces of testimony, comprising 3,958 positions on legislation. We carefully read and summarize 263 pieces of opposition testimony to capture dominant discourses against climate solutions as they've been proposed in the state.

Electric and gas utilities spent over \$24 million on lobbying over the eight years of this study, four times that of renewable energy firms, and over eight times that of environmental organizations.

We find strong support for climate action in written testimony: 91.7% of the positions taken on climate and clean energy bills supported priority climate legislation. This strong support spanned every year from 2013-2020 and nearly all issues. Large numbers of testifiers supported legislation to ban fracking waste in Connecticut, facilitate shared solar energy, encourage electric vehicles, institute carbon pricing, create a Green New Deal and limit new natural gas infrastructure. Individuals speaking on their own behalf made up the largest segment of testimony, submitting over 3,000 positions on these bills - almost all in support of climate solutions legislation.

Opposition to key environmental organizations' positions on climate legislation was most frequently heard from lobbyists and other staff from heating oil and alternative fuels companies, business associations, and electric and gas utilities. In addition, the majority of positions taken in testimony from the utilities, heating oils, business associations, auto, fossil fuel, and real estate sectors opposed key environmental organizations' positions on climate legislation. Eversource Energy and Avangrid/UII Holdings submitted over 20 positions each on a variety of issues. Two high-spending sectors identified in our lobbying analysis were nearly completely absent from testimony: power generators and natural gas pipeline companies.

Rather than attacking climate science, testimony in the Connecticut legislature sought to delay or stop the passage of individual climate and clean energy bills. We identified nine discourses frequently utilized in opposing priority climate legislation. The natural gas industry and supporters argued that its expansion is essential for the state economy. Climate bills were seen as disproportionately harmful to low-income

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<sup>1</sup> We selected these bills because key environmental organizations, primarily the Connecticut League of Conservation Voters and Save the Sound/Connecticut Fund for the Environment, saw these as priority climate and clean energy bills. These groups were selected in part because they consistently maintain publicly available lists of legislation related to climate and clean energy. Full bill list available in Appendix.

residents, and carbon pricing was dismissed as just another tax. Several industries expressed a strong aversion to regulation and a preference for market-based incentives. Fossil fuel supporters argued that renewables and EVs are being given unfair advantages. Connecticut was presented by representatives of oil and gas distributors and the business association CBIA as too small to matter for the climate, and that adoption of proposed policies would make the state appear anti-business. Finally, several industry representatives argued that they and the state are already leaders on climate change.

We conclude with several recommendations:

### **Recommendations for the Legislature:**

- 1:** Evaluate and address utilities' political influence.
- 2:** Understand the new climate discourses.
- 3:** Improve public voice and accountability at the Capitol.
- 4:** Improve transparency and accountability.

### **Recommendations for Proponents:**

- 1:** Identifying opportunities for business support can advance policy.
- 2:** Business lobbies may not be representing their members' interests.
- 3:** Broader coalitions can succeed.

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# Contents

Executive Summary	3
Contents	5
Introduction and Background	6
Methods	9
Question 1: Who's testifying at the capitol on climate change and clean energy?	11
Question 2: What issues do key groups support and oppose?	15
Question 3: Who's spending most on lobbying in Connecticut?	19
Question 4: What happens to climate and clean energy legislation?	22
Question 5: What arguments are those testifying against climate action using?	24
Recommendations	33
Recommendations for the Legislature	33
Recommendations for Proponents	34
Acknowledgements	35
Appendix	36

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# Introduction and Background

Gridlock in Washington over climate change and clean energy has now stretched over three decades. This is in spite of worsening climate disasters and the steady accumulation of scientific studies documenting that climate change is real, is urgent, and that humans are the cause. In this vacuum at the federal level, states have become key battlegrounds for how the U.S. addresses this problem.

In the early years, Connecticut showed the way.<sup>2</sup> Connecticut jumped out in front in 1990 on climate action, being the first state in the country to pass legislation requiring specific actions to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. In 2001 the state joined a regional compact<sup>3</sup> with the goal of reducing emissions by 2010 and 2020, and including a long-term goal to reduce emissions to a level that would “eliminat[e] the negative impacts of climate change”—a goal scientists suggested at the time would require 75 to 85 percent reductions by 2050. The state released a framework to meet those goals in 2002<sup>4</sup>, and published in 2003 the nation’s [first statewide greenhouse gas inventory](#). Nine months of consultations led to the [2004 Connecticut Stakeholder Recommendations](#), and that year Public Act 04-252 committed the state to doing its share of the regional efforts.<sup>5</sup> 2005 saw the release of the Connecticut [Climate Change Action Plan](#) and the state’s joining of the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI), which focused on power plant emissions.

In 2007 a bill required energy efficiency be the first choice in investments to meet electricity demand (called Least Cost Procurement) and increased the state’s Renewable Portfolio Standard.<sup>6</sup> The highest-profile step, however, was the drafting, passage, and signing of the Global Warming Solutions Act (Public Act 08-98) in 2008, which set mandatory targets for the state to reduce its emissions by 2020 and 2050.<sup>7</sup> That same year, Governor Jodi Rell joined Governors Schwarzenegger, Sebelius and Corzine and 14 other signatories at Yale University to broadcast their [Governors’ Declaration on Climate Change](#). The goal was fashioning a partnership between federal and state action on climate change. These early climate actions in Connecticut were followed by more initiatives, departments, and plans, many focused on coping with the rapidly increasing impacts of climate change on the state, including sea level rise, storm surges, heat waves and flooding. Recent examples among these are the Governor’s Council on Climate Change and the Comprehensive Energy Strategy issued by the Connecticut Department of Energy and Environmental Protection (DEEP).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The historical parts of this section draw heavily on “[History of Climate Action in Connecticut](#)” Yale Case #PH-16-01. Published November 04, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers (NEG/ECP) [Climate Change Action Plan 2001](#). This was the first international climate initiative aimed at collectively reducing GHG emissions.

<sup>4</sup> [Leading By Example Connecticut Collaborates to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions](#), which establishes a framework for CT to meet its GHG reduction goals.

<sup>5</sup> [An Act Concerning Climate Change](#) (Public Act 04-252).

<sup>6</sup> [An Act Concerning Electricity and Energy Efficiency](#) (Public Act 07-242).

<sup>7</sup> The [Global Warming Solutions Act](#) (Public Act 08-98) set mandatory GHG reduction targets of 10% below 1990 levels by 2020 and 80% below 2001 levels by 2050.

<sup>8</sup> See <https://portal.ct.gov/DEEP/Climate-Change/GC3/Governors-Council-on-Climate-Change>.

However the science of climate change has become far more dire, suggesting near complete phaseouts of fossil fuels will be needed by 2050, or even 2040.<sup>9</sup> Just in the last year, legislatures in neighboring states have passed a new generation of climate bills calling for the halving of emissions by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050. Connecticut has executive orders and bills calling for 45 percent reduction by 2030 but still has an overall 2050 target of 80 percent reductions.<sup>10</sup> Advocates for climate action and clean energy in the state have grown increasingly frustrated as bills have died in the legislature, and clean energy funds levied on utility customers' bills are sometimes diverted into the general fund to meet budget shortfalls.<sup>11</sup> Two recent examples are carbon pricing legislation and later initiatives inspired by the Green New Deal, which despite large numbers of testifiers in favor, did not move out of committee.

To understand who exerts influence on climate policy in Connecticut, the Climate and Development Lab at Brown University has systematically reviewed capitol lobbying and testimony records for and against climate and energy legislation. We collected lists of priority legislation from top statewide climate advocacy groups and then created databases of all testimony in legislative committees that were considering priority legislation on climate change and clean energy, and lobbying expenditures and visits to the Capitol and state agencies reported by industrial and environmental organizations on energy. This briefing is based on systematic collection and analysis of 2,940 pieces of testimony on environmental organizations' priority bills from 2013 to 2020, and records of lobbying on "Energy" issues as reported to the Connecticut Secretary of State over the period 2013-2020.<sup>12</sup> After initial research on campaign contributions, we concluded that systematic work in understanding this area was not possible.

Our review resulted in answers to five broad questions: Who's testifying at the Capitol on climate and clean energy? What issues do key groups support and oppose—who's lining up in opposition to priority climate legislation, and why? Who's spending most on lobbying? How many clean energy bills survived the legislative process? And finally, what arguments are those testifying against proposed climate solutions using? For three of these questions we offer numerical findings of broad patterns on testifying and lobbying. On two others, we carefully read and summarize opposition testimony to capture dominant discourses against climate action as it's been proposed in the state.

Electric and gas utilities spent over \$24 million on lobbying over the eight years of this study, four times that of renewable energy firms, and over eight times that of environmental organizations.

We found that 91.7% of testimony supported priority climate bills, across every year and nearly all issues. Individuals speaking on their own behalf made up the largest segment of testimony, submitting over 3,000 positions on these bills - almost all in support of climate solutions legislation. Large numbers of testifiers supported legislation to ban fracking waste in Connecticut, facilitate shared solar energy, encourage electric vehicles, institute carbon pricing, create a Green New Deal and limit new natural gas infrastructure.

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<sup>9</sup> Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2018. Special Report on 1.5C Degrees of Warming. IPCC; National Climate Assessment 2018. Washington, DC.

<sup>10</sup> SB7 was the 2018 [Act Concerning Climate Change Planning and Resiliency](#). Office of Governor Ned Lamont. 2019. [Governor Lamont Signs Executive Order Strengthening Connecticut's Efforts to Mitigate Climate Change](#). Press Release September 3, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> In 2018 \$145 million was swept from the state's clean energy fund to cover general budget shortfalls. Robert Walton, "[Connecticut Can Use Efficiency Funds to Cover Budget Shortfall, Court Rules](#)," Utility Dive, October 30, 2018.

<sup>12</sup> We acknowledge the importance of nuclear energy in Connecticut, but have excluded it from the study to focus on renewable energy and climate bills.

Opposition to key environmental organizations' positions on climate legislation was most frequently heard from lobbyists and other staff from heating oil and alternative fuels companies, business associations, and electric and gas utilities. In addition, the majority of positions taken in testimony from the utilities, heating oils, business associations, auto, fossil fuel, and real estate sectors opposed environmentalists' positions on key climate legislation. Eversource Energy and Avangrid/UIL Holdings submitted more positions than any other firms, and the Connecticut Business and Industry Council (CBIA) and the CT Petroleum Council were most frequently opposed. Two highly engaged sectors identified in our lobbying analysis were nearly completely absent from testimony: power generators and natural gas pipeline companies.

Rather than attacking climate science or denying the reality of the problem, opposition testimony in the Connecticut legislature sought to delay or stop the passage of individual climate and clean energy bills. We identified nine discourses frequently utilized in opposing priority climate legislation. The natural gas industry and supporters argued that its expansion is essential for the state economy. Climate bills were seen as disproportionately harmful to low-income residents, and carbon pricing was dismissed as just another tax. Several industries expressed a strong aversion to regulation and a preference for market-based incentives. Fossil fuel supporters argued that renewables and EVs are being given unfair advantages. Connecticut was presented by representatives of oil and gas distributors and the business association CBIA as too small to matter for the climate, and that adoption of proposed policies would make the state appear anti-business. Finally, several industry representatives argued that they and the state are already leaders on climate change. The report concludes with a series of recommendations.



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# Methods

The bulk of research for this study was conducted from July 2020 to June 2021. The Connecticut Capitol Complex was closed to visitors due to the COVID-19 pandemic for the entire research period and remains closed at this writing.<sup>13</sup> Therefore we scraped full sets of written testimony and lobbying data from state websites.<sup>14</sup> In the end we were able to remotely access all the information we needed, including systematic collections of information about the introduction and fate of climate and clean energy legislation in Connecticut, all lobbying records, and written testimony given on priority bills. To understand some of the political context, we also conducted a series of ten interviews with experts, activists, and former state officials, by video call. We describe each part of these methods, and then turn to our findings.

## Legislation

We created three databases. One sought to track the fate of all climate and clean energy bills introduced in the legislature from 2013 to 2020. For this stage, which informs our responses to Question 4, we used a keyword search<sup>15</sup> and identified 354 bills related to climate and clean energy introduced. We used this list of bills to chart the course of climate and clean energy legislation through the legislature, using [LegiScan's bill tracking site](#).

Our testimony analysis focused on climate and clean energy bills that major climate-focused organizations placed on their legislative priority lists. Focusing on these 48 bills allows us to capture the key debates and analyze which groups support and oppose the efforts of key environmental organizations. We collected lists online of bills these groups identified as priorities from 2013-2020<sup>16</sup> and focused on bills on which the groups held a clear position.

## Testimony Analysis

To collect testimony, we downloaded all pieces of written testimony available on the Connecticut legislature's website on 48 priority climate bills. From these, we removed comments and testimony from state legislators, supplemental materials, and duplicates, leaving us with a total of 2,940 pieces of public testimony on priority bills.

For each piece of testimony, we assessed who delivered it (and whether the testimony was given on behalf of an organization), the bills upon which they testified, and the positions they took on each.<sup>17</sup> Organization names were standardized and grouped with a parent organization if applicable (for example, AARP national and AARP Connecticut were both considered as testimony from "AARP"), and organizations

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<sup>13</sup> Connecticut General Assembly website. "Please Note: The Capitol Complex is Currently Closed." Accessed 27 June, 2020. <https://www.cga.ct.gov> Pazniokis, Mark. May 19, 2021. [Connecticut is now open for business, but the state Capitol remains closed to the public](#).

<sup>14</sup> We downloaded recordings and transcripts of committee hearings and floor debates, but did not include them in our analysis because we were not able to narrow testimony to priority climate bills.

<sup>15</sup> The list of keywords is included in the Appendix. Our keyword search returned a large number of bills, from these we manually excluded legislation not related to clean energy or climate change.

<sup>16</sup> We collected lists of bills from Connecticut League of Conservation Voters and Save the Sound from every year from 2013-2020. In addition, we collected priority bills as available from Sierra Club Connecticut, New England Clean Energy Council, Connecticut Citizen Action Group, and Citizens Campaign for the Environment. Full list included in the Appendix.

<sup>17</sup> Testimony that expressed concerns about legislation was categorized as opposition.

organized around a clear industry interest were categorized under that industry. For example the Coalition for Community Solar Access is organized largely by and for solar interests, so it was categorized as part of the solar sector, even though it includes some environmental organizations. If an organization focused on the environment, but emerged from a different kind of parent organization, they were coded with the parent organization or type. For example, the United Church of Christ Northeast Environmental Justice Center was categorized as a faith group, not an environmental group.<sup>18</sup> This grouping is intended to better reflect the sector's engagement with climate and energy issues.

## Lobbying

To address Question 3: "Who's spending most on lobbying in Connecticut?", we created a third database by downloading all publicly available lobbying records from the Connecticut State lobbying disclosure website<sup>19</sup> for the four legislative sessions between 2013 and 2020. These records show the amount each interest group spent on lobbying, who they paid to do the work of lobbying, and a set of "issues" on which they lobbied for each legislative session. There was no "Climate change" option among these issues, so we focused on those groups which recorded lobbying on "Energy" during at least one of the four sessions. Over 400 interest groups recorded lobbying on "Energy" issues at least once over the four sessions we studied. Some of these groups likely took at most a passing interest in climate legislation (e.g. Wine and Spirits Wholesalers of CT). We therefore analyzed only those interest groups that either lobbied on "Energy" during every session in which they were active, or testified on at least one environmental priority bill. This filter selects for groups which more consistently engage in energy politics in Connecticut, leaving us with 244 lobbying interest groups.

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<sup>18</sup> Faith leaders were not categorized as speaking on behalf of an organization, unless they were a director of a particular program and appeared to speak on that program's behalf.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.oseapps.ct.gov/NewLobbyist/PublicReports/PublicDashboard.aspx>

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# Question 1: Who's testifying at the capitol on climate change and clean energy?

Who supports and opposes climate action in Connecticut? Which economic sectors have representatives testify in support of climate and clean energy policies, and which sectors tend to oppose them? To address these questions, we analyzed publicly available written testimony on 48 bills that key climate-focused organizations<sup>20</sup> saw as climate and energy priorities from 2013-2020. In total, we analyzed 2,940 pieces of testimony on these 48 bills, comprising 3,958 positions on legislation.<sup>21</sup>

**Finding 1.1: There is strong support for climate action in written testimony.** 91.7% of the positions taken on climate and clean energy bills supported priority climate legislation. There was strong support every year from 2013-2020 and across different sub-issues. A majority of testifiers supported priority climate legislation on 45 of the 48 bills we examined.<sup>22</sup>

**Finding 1.2: Individuals speaking on their own behalf made up the largest segment of testimony, submitting over 3,000 positions on these bills - almost all in support of priority climate legislation** (Figure 1b). 97.5% of individuals' positions on bills supported priority climate legislation. Opposition to priority climate legislation from individuals was primarily limited to a carbon pricing bill (2018 HB-5363): 58 pieces of testimony were submitted against it, many of which were short emails arguing that carbon taxes would be economically damaging to Connecticut (see Question 5).<sup>23</sup> Testimony is the only formal process whereby the legislature invites public input on legislation, and this testimony demonstrates strong public support for climate and clean energy policies.

**Finding 1.3: Environmental organizations, government and planning groups, and renewable energy companies are the most frequent testifiers in support of priority climate legislation** (Figure 1a). Progressive and charitable organizations, environmental businesses, faith groups, and labor groups also give most of their testimony in favor of priority climate legislation, but do not appear frequently to support priority climate bills. A majority of faith group testimony was for the fracking waste ban bill (Figure 2).

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<sup>20</sup> We selected these bills because key climate-focused organizations, primarily the Connecticut League of Conservation Voters and Save the Sound/Connecticut Fund for the Environment, saw these as priority climate and clean energy bills. These groups consistently maintain publicly available lists of legislation related to climate and clean energy.

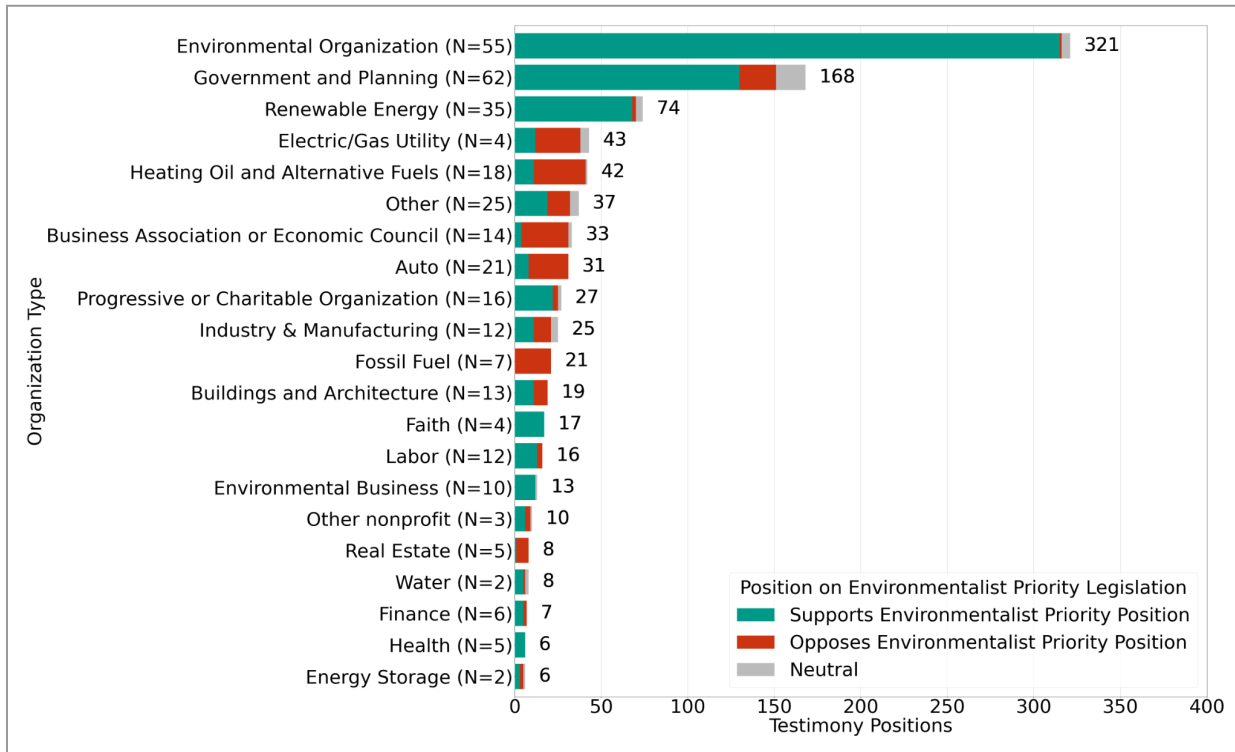
<sup>21</sup> 3,948 positions (99.7% of analyzed positions) were on bills key environmental groups supported, while 10 positions in testimony were on 2 bills that key environmental groups opposed.

<sup>22</sup> For the other three bills, each with five or fewer pieces of testimony, two had equal support and opposition, and one had more opposition than support (three positions opposing major climate-focused organizations, two supporting major climate-focused organizations).

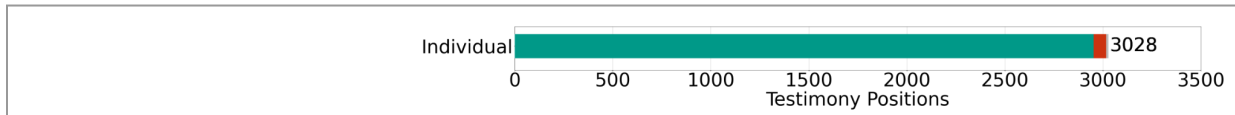
<sup>23</sup> Other than carbon pricing, only six pieces of written testimony were submitted against major climate-focused organizations by individuals on all other bills: four employees of car dealerships submitted testimony against direct sales of electric vehicles, one person submitted testimony against the Green New Deal, and one individual in support of natural gas pipelines.

## Testimony Positions For and Against Leading Environmental Organizations

### a) Organization Testimony (N=number of organizations)



### b) Individuals



**Figure 1:** Written testimony on key climate and energy bills 2013-2020, Connecticut.

**Finding 1.4: Opposition to key climate legislation is concentrated in several sectors: Electric/Gas Utilities, Heating Oil and Alternative Fuels, Business Association or Economic Councils, the Auto industry, Fossil Fuels, and Real Estate.** Of these, the utility, business association, and fossil fuel sectors had the most engaged individual organizations: AVANGRID/UII Holdings, CT Business and Industry Association, CT Petroleum Council, and Eversource Energy submitted more than 10 positions each in opposition to priority climate positions, more than double any other actor (Table 1b). In contrast, the auto and heating oils sectors were composed of many smaller companies and organizations, each of which submitted few pieces of testimony. Arguments made against climate action are outlined in Question 5. Two of the biggest lobbying spenders on Energy - Spectra Energy Transmission II LLC and MMCT Ventures LLC - did not submit any written testimony, and testimony from natural gas pipeline companies and power generators was rare.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Lobbying analysis is explained in Question 3.

**Finding 1.5: The main support for priority climate legislation comes from better-resourced environmental organizations and government/quasi-government agencies that focus on environmental issues** (Table 1a). Save the Sound and Sierra Club both testified over 30 times, while Environment Connecticut, CT League of Conservation Voters, CT Citizen Action Group and Acadia Center all testified over 15 times.

**Table 1: Top testifiers for and against priority climate legislation, Connecticut, 2013-2020.**

(a) Groups taking ten public positions or more in support of leading environmental organizations on climate bills.

Organization	Stance on Priority Climate Bills		
	Supports	Opposes	Neutral
Save the Sound	39		
Sierra Club	33	1	1
Environment CT	22		
CT League of Conservation Voters	21		
CT Citizen Action Group	19		
Acadia Center	16		
CT Dept. of Energy & Environmental Protection	14	3	3
CT Green Bank	14		
Citizens Campaign for the Environment	14		
Clean Water Action	14		
Ashford Clean Energy Task Force	12		
CT Roundtable on Climate and Jobs	10		
Environment and Human Health	10		
Office of Consumer Counsel	10	3	3

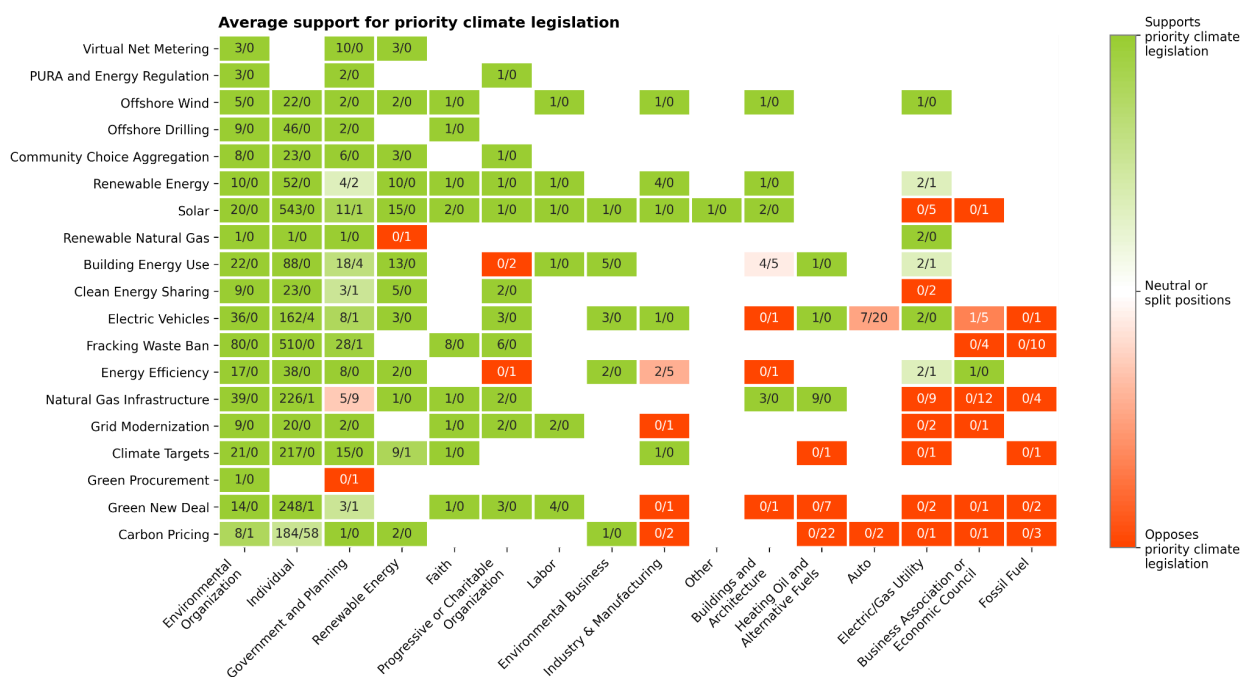
(b) Opposition groups taking three public positions or more in opposition to leading environmental organizations on climate bills.

Organization	Stance on Priority Climate Bills		
	Opposes	Supports	Neutral
AVANGRID/UII Holdings Corporation	14	5	1
CT Business and Industry Association	13	3	1
CT Petroleum Council	13		
Eversource Energy	12	5	4
CT Home Builders and Remodelers Assn.	5	1	
Daniels Energy	5		
CT Realtors	4		
CT Energy Marketers Association	4	5	
Santa Energy	3		
Office of Consumer Counsel	3	10	3
Middlesex County Chamber of Commerce	3		
CT Industrial Energy Consumers	3		
CT Dept. of Energy & Environmental Protection	3	14	3
CT Conference of Municipalities	3	4	4
AARP	3	4	

## Question 2: What issues do key groups support and oppose?

We identified 19 issues among the 48 priority climate bills, such as banning the dumping of waste from hydraulic fracturing, solar, wind, carbon pricing and the Green New Deal.

**Finding 2.1: A majority of testifiers supported priority climate legislation (Figure 2).** Bills related to natural gas infrastructure, specifically regulating fracking waste and natural gas pipelines, received the most testimony of the bills we examined, followed by bills related to solar energy, electric vehicles, and the Green New Deal. The most contested issue area was carbon pricing (see Question 5).



**Figure 2.** Summed testimony positions on bills in each issue space from organizations in each sector. The figure includes the top 15 sectors by total testimony given, sorted from the most favorable to leading environmental groups' positions on priority climate legislation (left) to the least favorable (right). Annotations in each cell show the amount of testimony in support on the left and the amount in opposition on the right. Where no organization in a sector testified in support or opposition to priority legislation on a given issue the cell is left blank.

**Finding 2.2: Solar legislation had strong advocate support and key utility opposition.** Solar policies, particularly policies to enable shared solar developments, saw strong support among environmental

groups and their allies. These bills were among the most testified upon bills in our study, with 597 individual testifiers in support.

Six pieces of testimony were against solar bills. The utility industry testified strongly against legislation to expand solar energy, particularly against two policies. The first, called net metering, allows home- and business-owners to sell extra electricity produced by their solar panels back to the grid, and only be billed for the net amount of extra energy needed from the grid. Second, utilities opposed shared clean energy programs, which would allow energy consumers to subscribe to a local shared renewable energy project and receive a credit on their utility bill for the power produced.<sup>25</sup> Eversource's Stephen Gibelli [testified](#) on 2015 SB-928 that "As such we applaud the goals of this bill to further the development of renewable resources within our state.[...] We are concerned that bills such as these will shift costs to non-participating customers, which may particularly impact our low income customers.." <sup>26</sup>

While environmental groups, labor, and many municipalities all supported solar energy and testified for solar energy policies, specific proposals related to the method of solar development were contested. Municipalities contested tax exemptions for certain new solar developments, some more conservation-focused environmental groups worked to ensure solar siting would not jeopardize land protections, and labor groups (along with environmental groups) called for prevailing wage standards for new solar developments. These efforts were contested by some members of the Connecticut solar industry, who see such attempts as barriers to their growth.<sup>27</sup>

**Finding 2.3: Offshore Wind bills had nearly universal support.** In contrast to solar legislation, the priority offshore wind bill included in our study, 2019 HB-7156, *An Act Concerning The Procurement Of Energy Derived From Offshore Wind*, saw nearly universal support in testimony. Environmental groups, along with labor, utility, faith, and renewable energy representatives all supported the project, although in relatively small numbers. There was no written opposition testimony from business councils, the fossil fuel industry, or most other sectors.

Eversource Energy, who is a leading developer of offshore wind energy in the Northeast, [wrote](#), "Eversource appreciates the leadership of Governor Lamont and the Connecticut legislature to take a critical step in achieving Connecticut's clean energy economy. We fully support the State's efforts to increase its offshore wind procurement authority. Offshore wind holds the promise to provide significant quantities of affordable, carbon-free energy while supporting hundreds of new jobs in Connecticut and throughout the Northeast."

The only group to submit testimony against the bill was the New England Power Generators' Association (NEPGA), whose members represent approximately 26,000 megawatts of generating capacity in New England. They [wrote](#) in testimony: "NEPGA opposes SB 875 and HB 7156 because both bills would increase out-of-market procurements of offshore wind resources, which would further displace

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<sup>25</sup> Environmental groups focused on the opportunities these programs would provide for solar energy developments in particular.

<sup>26</sup> This opposition is consistent with research on the utility industry's efforts in neighboring states, see our [recent report on Massachusetts](#) and see *Short Circuiting Policy: Interest Groups and the Battle Over Clean Energy and Climate Policy in the American States*, by Leah Stokes (2020).

<sup>27</sup> Authors' interview with solar industry representative.



cost-effective generation in the wholesale market place, and, over time, expose consumers to the risks of long-term contracts to support resources needed for reliability. Instead, if, as some proponents have stated, this is a proposal intended to help Connecticut meet its Global Warming Solutions Act mandates, NEPGA suggests the better, more competitive way would be to work with states in New England to set a meaningful price on carbon dioxide emissions for electricity and other sectors of the economy – particularly transportation.”

**Finding 2.4: Bills restricting natural gas were highly contested and created unusual alignments.** Bills requiring better methane leakage efforts and restricting natural gas infrastructure brought support from environmental organizations, the public, and delivered fuel companies. They were strongly resisted by utilities, business councils and some municipal groups.

Environmental groups and individuals testified in favor of restrictions on natural gas expansion and methane leaks, with 283 positions submitted in support of priority climate legislation out of 328 total positions on natural gas infrastructure bills. They were joined by several government groups, along with the heating oil and alternative fuels industry. In contrast, a broad array of groups, including business councils, utilities, the fossil fuel industry, and other municipal and government groups, all testified in favor of expanding natural gas infrastructure or insulating the industry from further regulation. Their arguments are explored further in Question 5. Natural gas was a key issue for utilities, with Eversource and Avangrid both testifying against bills to limit pipeline construction and reduce methane leaks in the state.<sup>28</sup>

While heating oil and alternative fuel companies often opposed climate advocates on other issues, the two sectors did align on natural gas infrastructure. Expanding natural gas infrastructure, particularly to rural areas that don't currently have it, would take customers away from heating oils and alternative fuels companies. Heating oil companies testified for stronger policies regulating natural gas pipeline leaks. Connecticut Energy Marketers Association (CEMA)'s President, Christian Herb, [stated](#) “The “no leak” policy that applies to the 600 local family owned home heating oil/Bioheat® dealers along with the 1,400 gasoline station owners does not apply to Yankee Gas/Eversource and Southern Connecticut Gas and Connecticut Natural Gas/Avangrid. This double standard is harmful to the environment and independently owned businesses” (2020 HB-5350). On the other side, Steve Guveyan of the Connecticut Petroleum Council [argued](#) on a major pipeline bill that “The bill [...] discriminates sharply against natural gas by eliminating interstate gas pipelines from the future energy mix. Barring pipeline expansion will inhibit future economic growth [...] An all-of-the-above approach to energy supply works best” (2018 SB-332).

**Finding 2.5: Carbon pricing was the most contested issue.** *An Act Establishing a Carbon Price for Fossil Fuels Sold in Connecticut* (2018 HB-5363), was the most contested bill in our study, with 97 positions from testimony in opposition and 197 positions in support. The bill saw significant support from environmental organizations and individuals, but little testimony from municipalities, renewable energy companies, and other sectors who tend to support other climate bills.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Eversource Energy is co-leader of the Consortium to Fight Electrification, whose mission is to “create effective, customizable marketing materials to fight the electrification/anti-natural gas movement.” See [Leaked docs: Gas industry secretly fights electrification](#), Benjamin Storrow, E&E News (2021).

<sup>29</sup> The Sierra Club [submitted testimony](#) that they would not support the bill unless it were amended, writing that, “to earn our support, the Sierra Club requests that HB-5363 be amended to: 1) Invest at least 50 percent of the revenues in opportunities to reduce pollution, increase access to the benefits of clean energy, and help workers and communities move beyond dirty energy, with a minimum level for overburdened and underserved communities. 2) Provide rebates only for residents in the

The 2018 hearing on carbon pricing legislation included 14 positions in written testimony from small heating oil delivery companies. David Sousa, who declared in his [written testimony on 2018 HB-5363](#) that his family ran a heating oil company, said "This tax is a street sign that says, turn around if you are thinking of moving to Connecticut. [...] Meanwhile certain fuels like coal and oil are being vilified" (2018 HB-5363). Jamie Lohr, President of Guardian Fuel and Energy [testified](#) that "In my company, and countless other family heating oil dealerships across the state, we work to help families make good decisions in budgeting for their fuel, and in making their homes energy efficient as possible."<sup>30</sup>

CT Petroleum Council [argued](#) that "In effect, this is an income-redistribution program." "[I]t clearly picks winners and losers." "Instead, let CAFÉ standards, appliance standards and Renewable Portfolio Standards (RPS) lead the way so there aren't overlapping regulatory requirements for greenhouse gas emissions" (2018 HB-5363).

**Finding 2.6: Opposition to electric vehicle bills focused on dealerships.** 33 pieces of testimony on priority climate legislation opposed legislation to promote electric vehicles, in contrast to 470 pieces of testimony in support. Most of the opposition came from the auto industry, whose testimony on priority climate legislation from 2013-2020 focused on opposing policies to allow the direct sale of electric vehicles, the sales model proposed by Tesla over several years. In this way, auto industry testimony was not explicitly against a climate solution, but against how it was to be marketed. Most of this testimony came from individual dealerships, who testified against the direct sales model used by Tesla, which drops cars off at purchasers' homes. Auto dealerships see the direct sales model as a threat to their industry, stating that allowing this model for electric vehicles would be a slippery slope towards eliminating the dealership business in Connecticut. A series of dealers elaborated about the benefits they bring to communities and customers. The Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers argued that "As drafted, the bill would seemingly only allow Tesla to sell outside the franchise system governing every other manufacturer. But what will the legislature do when the next company decides to enter the U.S. market to sell electric vehicles? There are 23 major automakers that sell around the world, but not in the U.S." (2019 HB-7142). A few dealers argued that their dealerships *do* sell electric vehicles, and that they would soon be selling more.

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lower income quintiles and small businesses, to ensure those who are most disadvantaged by our current energy and economic systems are better off."

<sup>30</sup> Erin Santa Mercedes [made](#) many of the same points that were made in the letters sent by other heating oil companies: "Half the homes in the state are heated with fuel oil. A 16.55 cents/gall tax on home heating oil would cost homeowners \$166 per year individually, or over \$72 million per year in aggregate. And that's just in year one [...] The tax is a "feel good" tax that won't affect climate change. According to a U.S. News & World Report article, even if the U.S. completely stopped emitting all CO<sub>2</sub>, it would reduce world temperatures by only 0.08 degrees C by the year 2050." (2018 HB-5363)

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## Question 3: Who's spending most on lobbying in Connecticut?

Lobbying disclosures give a sense of the resources that different interest groups draw upon in their attempts to influence climate legislation. Because lobbying disclosures in Connecticut only list interest groups' expenditures, the lobbyists they hired, and a set of "issues" on which they lobbied during each two-year session, we can say little about the details involved in lobbying activities in Connecticut.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, these records show important disparities in the amount of resources different interest groups can draw on to influence the legislature.

As mentioned in the methods section, we start with over 400 interest groups who recorded lobbying on "Energy" issues at least once over the four sessions we studied. Selecting only groups which engage consistently (all years) or publicly (through testimony) on energy or climate change leaves us with 244 lobbying interest groups.

### **Finding 3.1: Lobbying spending is highly unequal**

The distribution of lobbying budgets within this group skews heavily towards a set of high-spending interests (Table 2). As is often the case, nonprofits comprise a large fraction of climate and clean energy advocates in Connecticut, but they face a stiff spending imbalance in the arena of lobbying. The median environmental organization spent \$76,000 on lobbying over the eight-year period. At least 40 renewable energy firms also lobby actively in Connecticut, but most of them have small budgets — the median is \$39,608 over eight years. These figures compare to \$181,000 over the same period from the median power generation firm and \$320,000 from the median electric or gas utility. Based on these records, the median environmental organization or renewables firm has between one half and one fourth of the lobbying budget of the median fossil-powered generation firm or electric and gas utility company.

These differences are even more stark among the top-spending interest groups in each sector. Among environmental organizations, Consumers for Sensible Energy (an anti-pipeline advocacy group with undisclosed donors and a focus on elite lobbying<sup>32</sup>) spent \$1.1 million on lobbying over this period — almost double the next-highest environmental group, Save the Sound. NRG Energy, the top renewables firm, spent only slightly more (\$1.6 million). Conversely, the top utility, Eversource, spent nearly \$6.8 million on lobbying, and the Connecticut Business and Industry Association (CBIA) spent nearly \$4.6 million. Both were among the top five most consistent testifiers against priority climate legislation. Further, the top ten interest groups active in the climate and energy space in

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<sup>31</sup> We cannot identify all groups who lobbied on climate legislation; the closest this data allows is to find groups which registered having lobbied on "Energy". Unlike in Massachusetts, where lobbying data is far more detailed, we have to rely entirely on testimony to describe the detailed policy preferences of these interest groups.

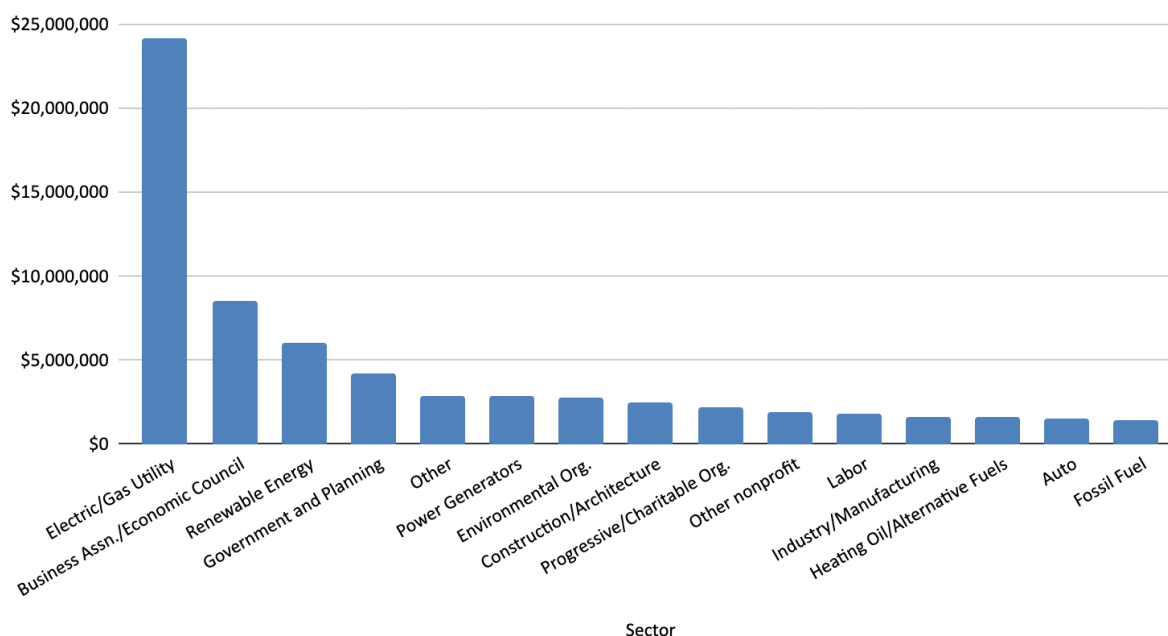
<sup>32</sup> Bruce Mohl, "[Who's behind Consumer Energy Group?](#)" *CommonWealth Magazine*, December 4, 2017.

Connecticut (Table 3) include utilities, generation companies, and other industrial interests, but no renewables or environmental groups.

**Table 2: Lobbying by sector.** The top 15 sectors by total lobbying spending over the period are shown. “Highest Spender” identifies the organization with the greatest total spending over the period in each sector. ([Source](#))

Sector	N	Lobbying spending, 2013-2020			Highest Spender
		Median	Total	Highest	
Electric/Gas Utility	25	\$291,872	\$24,206,899	\$6,776,686	Eversource
Business Assn./Council	17	\$153,533	\$8,556,964	\$4,575,350	CT Business & Industry Assn.
Renewable Energy	40	\$39,608	\$6,022,834	\$1,587,587	NRG Energy Inc.
Government and Planning	9	\$236,000	\$4,167,360	\$1,773,945	CT Conference of Municipalities
Other	12	\$17,998	\$2,915,432	\$2,666,296	MMCT Ventures Inc.
Power Generators	15	\$154,288	\$2,852,172	\$816,342	CPV Towantic Inc.
Environmental Org.	14	\$72,463	\$2,761,036	\$1,130,749	Consumers for Sensible Energy
Construction/Architecture	4	\$385,715	\$2,494,406	\$1,718,976	CT Construction Ind. Assn.
Progressive/Charitable Org.	14	\$133,093	\$2,244,458	\$519,851	CT Legal Services Inc.
Other nonprofit	1	\$1,884,814	\$1,884,814	\$1,884,814	AARP
Labor	6	\$227,994	\$1,818,069	\$858,236	Operating Engineers Union
Industry/Manufacturing	13	\$39,502	\$1,627,380	\$498,593	CT Ind. Energy Consumers
Heating Oil/Alt. Fuels	9	\$78,951	\$1,611,655	\$635,788	Covanta Energy LLC
Auto	4	\$292,676	\$1,547,219	\$961,648	Tesla Motors Inc.
Fossil Fuel	5	\$108,060	\$1,439,191	\$743,650	CT Petroleum Council

Total lobbying spending by sector



**Figure 3:** Total lobbying spending by sector from 2013-2020.

Lobbying budgets only convey one part of the strategic landscape surrounding energy policy. Many groups – especially environmental organizations – do more than just lobby; they run public education

and pressure campaigns, protests and acts of civil disobedience, mutual aid, and use other tactics to engage with the public as much as, or more than, they engage political elites. Nonetheless, in the arena of elite lobbying we have seen that interest groups advancing progressive climate policies likely face systemic disadvantages.

**Table 3: Top ten lobbying spending groups in Connecticut, 2013-2020.** Includes only interest groups which registered lobbying on energy during every active session. Organizations sorted by average yearly budget.

[\(Source\)](#)

Principal	2013-2014	2015-2016	2017-2018	2019-2020	Average	Total
Eversource	\$1,572,710	\$1,598,955	\$1,864,802	\$1,740,220	\$1,694,172	\$6,776,686
CT Business and Industry Association	\$1,091,215	\$1,280,196	\$1,407,271	\$796,669	\$1,143,838	\$4,575,350
Spectra Energy Transmission II LLC	\$612,857	\$2,399,006	\$722,216	\$244,605	\$994,671	\$3,978,685
Move CT Forward			\$973,651	\$986,126	\$979,889	\$1,959,778
Dominion Energy	\$919,104	\$878,241	\$946,401	\$875,370	\$904,779	\$3,619,116
MMCT Ventures LLC		\$421,091	\$1,271,748	\$973,458	\$888,765	\$2,666,296
Avangrid/UIIL Holdings Corp.	\$878,445	\$778,839	\$579,448	\$614,949	\$712,920	\$2,851,681
AARP	\$798,875	\$573,669	\$262,909	\$249,360	\$471,204	\$1,884,814
CT Conference of Municipalities	\$358,138	\$412,989	\$526,671	\$476,147	\$443,486	\$1,773,945
The CT Construction Industries Association	\$308,136	\$372,712	\$511,094	\$527,033	\$429,744	\$1,718,976
<b>Total</b>	\$6,539,481	\$8,715,698	\$9,066,212	\$7,483,937	\$8,663,468	\$31,805,328

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## Question 4: What happens to climate and clean energy legislation?

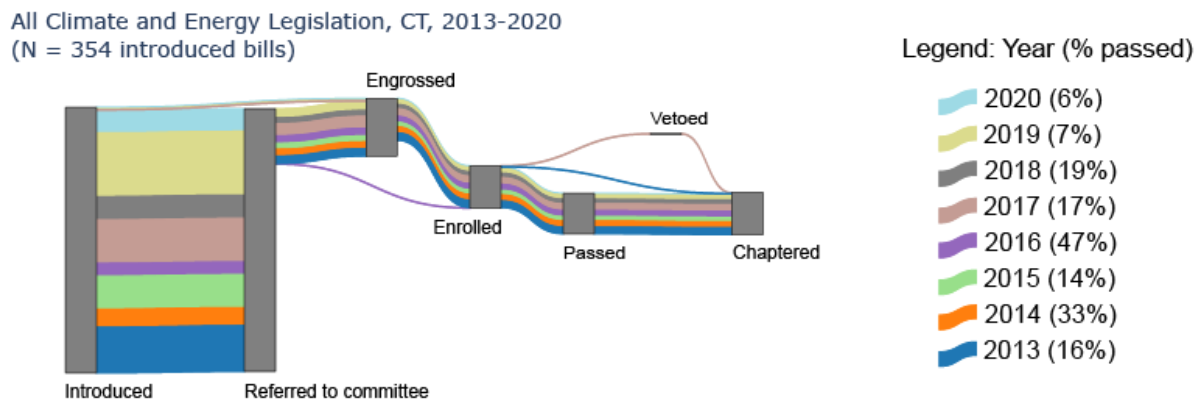
There are numerous steps a bill must go through to become a law in Connecticut.<sup>33</sup> At multiple stages throughout the process, a bill may be killed, amended, merged with other bills, or rewritten entirely. While we will not review the entire process for how a bill becomes a law here, there are several key decision points worth noting. First, the bill must be introduced, either by the governor, a committee, or an individual legislator (individual legislators are only able to introduce bills in odd-numbered years). Introduced bills are then referred to a committee; the committee then decides whether to hold a hearing for a bill, where public testimony can be heard. After a hearing, bills may be screened - sometimes several times - where the Legislative Commissioners Office writes the bill into a draft law. For bills introduced by individual legislators, the committee can “vote to draft” the bill - this step is necessary for the bill to move forward.

The committee will then pass the bill forward or hold the bill - effectively killing the bill. Bills may also be sent to other committees. If the bill makes it out of committee, it is studied by the Offices of Legislative Research and Fiscal Analysis, which creates a report about the bill’s impacts. If the bill will cost the state money, the bill may move to the Appropriations Committee. After negotiations, in which the bill can be amended or rewritten multiple times, the bill can move to a floor vote in either the House or the Senate (depending on where the bill originated). If the bill passes each chamber in identical form, it moves to the Governor’s Office. The governor can then sign the bill into law, or veto it - the legislature may override a governor’s veto with a two-thirds majority vote of both chambers.

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<sup>33</sup> Shaiken, Ben. “[HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW Connecticut Edition!](#)” Prepared by Ben Shaiken, Chair of Mansfield Democratic Town Committee. Accessed 28 June 2021.

**Figure 4: Sankey diagram of climate and clean energy legislation in the Connecticut legislature, 2013-2020.** All bills uncovered in keyword search (n = 354).



We find that most climate legislation dies in the original committee in which it was introduced. Of all 354 introduced climate and energy bills, only 78 actually made it out of committee and 56 were chaptered into law by the Governor (Fig. 4), a survival rate of 16 percent. These statistics emphasize the importance of influence over committee agendas: while introduced bills are unlikely to pass, the majority of bills that leave committee are signed into law. On the one hand, this means that when the full legislature gets to have input on climate bills, they pass those bills. The other way to look at it is that most legislators don't get to decide at all about the bulk of energy legislation—it's been decided for them before it reaches the floor.

Plotting by year, there are certain years where especially large numbers of bills were introduced, like 2019, when 85 climate and energy-related bills were introduced. But that year was no more productive in the end than other years; in fact, 2013, 2014 and 2017 each had eight or more bills signed into law (nine, eight and nine respectively). In terms of "yield" of introduced bills making it through the process, 2016 was an exceptional year, with nearly half making it through (47%). In six out of eight years, over 80% of bills were killed, nearly all in the committee where they were introduced. In 2020, just more than 1 in 20 climate and clean energy bills introduced survived (6%).

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## Question 5: What arguments are those testifying against climate action using?

We reviewed and summarized 263 pieces of written testimony submitted in opposition to 48 priority climate bills for the years 2013-2020. Not one directly disputed the reality of climate change, and many expressed their sector's great concern about environmental issues.<sup>34</sup> But the majority of opposition testimony downplayed climate change and the efforts being made in the state, and the particular bills being discussed.<sup>35</sup> Rather than attacking climate science, testimony in the Connecticut legislature sought to delay or stop the passage of individual climate and clean energy bills. We identified nine discourses frequently utilized in opposing priority climate legislation, as described below.

### **Argument 1: Natural gas is essential for Connecticut**

Fossil fuel, utility, and labor groups all argued that Connecticut needs a consistent or increasing supply of natural gas to meet its needs for emissions reduction, energy security, lower energy costs, and employment.

Over several legislative sessions, Steve Guveyan, local lobbyist for the American Petroleum Institute (whose national annual budget is over \$240 million<sup>36</sup>), [argued](#) that the state needs "natural gas---an abundant, low-carbon, low-greenhouse gas emitting, easily-transported, domestically-produced fuel" (2019 testimony against HB-6242). He and others pointed to emissions being lower thanks to the transition from coal and oil-generating power plants to gas, that methane leaks are being adequately addressed, and that pipelines create jobs. His 2014 testimony against SB-237 similarly [argued](#) that "Increased use of natural gas [...] is environmentally beneficial. It will reduce sulfur, PM and mercury emissions, and reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 30% compared to oil and 45% compared to coal. [...] the country needs an all-out, all-of-the-above energy strategy that develops every available source of American energy" (2014 SB-237). In response to a 2020 bill, HB-5350, designed to make expansion of natural gas service more difficult, Patrick McDonnell of Avangrid [argued](#) that "Without a comprehensive plan to decarbonize our electric grid in concert with switching to electrifying our transportation and heating sources, we run the risk of relying on even dirtier oil fired generation plants to meet our electricity need."

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<sup>34</sup> Three organizations testified against another bill in 2018 (SB-345) that would have included climate change education in state minimum standards. Remarkably, the Senior Counsel of the Connecticut Business and Industry Association Eric Brown testified against the use of the words "climate change education," pushing instead "(line 19) to replace "climate change" with "earth systems, including earth and human activity". The Connecticut Association of Schools and the Connecticut Conference of Municipalities argued that it was an unfunded mandate and would "only decrease the already minimal amount of time educators have to work with their students on the core curriculum" (Hamzy, Donna, Advocacy Manager).

<sup>35</sup> Several cited the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change to argue that the U.S. shouldn't act aggressively on climate change: The "(IPCC) Assessment Report claims that even if the U.S. as a whole stopped emitting all carbon dioxide emissions immediately, the ultimate impact on projected global temperature rise would be a reduction of only about 0.08°C by the year 2050. China and India will dominate global carbon dioxide emissions for the next century, and there's little the U.S., let alone Connecticut can do, to change this." This 2020 testimony, from Christian Herb of the Connecticut Energy Marketers Association (CEMA) against a Green New Deal bill SB-354, reflects the position they lay out on their website, asking member oil heat delivery companies to support "our lobbying, consumer outreach, and PR efforts" against the state's "diabolical" climate planning." From CEMA. 2021. [Industry Defense Fund](#). Accessed 9 June 2021.

<sup>36</sup> ProPublica. [IRS 990 Form for 2018, American Petroleum Institute](#). Accessed 9 June 2021.



Eric Brown, Senior Counsel of the powerful Connecticut Business and Industry Association, has been a frequent voice at the Capitol against climate and clean energy legislation. In 2019 he [argued](#) against limits on expanding pipelines to the region: "Connecticut and New England will be highly dependent on natural gas for decades to come. Expanding our access to plentiful, nearby quantities of natural gas would yield economic and environmental benefits for our state and our ratepayers. It is disconcerting to us that the state continues to make Connecticut a higher energy cost state to achieve greenhouse gas reduction goals, while at the same time considering legislation that would eliminate a significant opportunity to make Connecticut a more competitive, less expensive and cleaner energy state" (2019 HB-6242). In these ways, natural gas is presented as the bedrock of the Connecticut economy and way of life.

Opponents frequently cited the reliability of energy as a reason to not change the status quo. One bill, 2018's SB-332, included changes in the state's Department of Energy and Environmental Protection (DEEP)'s ability to override proposals on pipeline capacity. Gas and electricity utility Eversource's Vincent Pace [testified](#) against the change, citing a 2018 review of the 2016 cold snap and how gas shortages were averted (2018 SB-332). Robert Klee, Commissioner of the DEEP, argued that "it is short-sighted to eliminate this authority, as the underlying issues of natural gas infrastructure constraints, price volatility, and potential grid reliability impacts persist" (2018 SB-332). The legislation limiting new natural gas pipelines through the state was [opposed](#) by UIL Holdings, which became part of the Avangrid utility: "We are opposed to House Bill 6242 because it will negatively impact our ability to provide our customers reliable natural gas service" (2019 HB-6242).

Industry and some labor groups cited social and environmental reasons to support building pipelines. Ted Grabowski of the Connecticut Laborers District Council argued in 2018 against SB-332 [saying](#) that "Our working men and women who have worked on pipelines [...] take their work very seriously" and that limiting gas would hurt the state's economy.

## **Argument 2: Climate legislation will disproportionately hurt low-income residents**

One of the most frequent arguments being leveled against renewable energy, energy efficiency, and limits on fossil fuels is that they will exacerbate inequality. For example, the American Petroleum Institute in 2013 came out against HB-6360, [saying that](#) "Passing the bill...means you support moving needlessly from a lower priced fuel [heating oil] to a higher-priced fuel [ultra-low sulphur diesel], one that will impact every low-income and middle-class family that uses home heating oil." Eversource's Stephen Gibelli came out against distributed electricity generation bill SB-928 in 2015, [citing](#) "concerns about the cost impact that many of these new initiatives have on our customers." CBIA's Eric Brown made a similar argument on the same bill, [saying that](#) "virtually all the costs and risks associated with such projects on non-participating ratepayers – who would not even get the benefit of Class 1 energy generated under such a system being counted towards meeting Connecticut's highly aggressive and expensive Renewable Portfolio Standard". Avangrid's precursor UIL's Roddy Diotalevi saw the "virtual net metering" proposal in 2014 HB5412 as a "taking," "The EDC's system cannot and should not be commandeered, without compensation, for the benefit of the Class I renewable energy source."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> [2014 HB-05412 Roddy Diotalevi - UIL Holdings Corporation Testimony](#)

The Connecticut Chapter of the American Planning Association admits that climate action is needed, but raises the spectre of NIMBYism and elitism: "while calling it an "environmentally-friendly" decision, many municipalities will use this as a way to raise the barriers to entry for middle- and lower-income residents in already deeply unaffordable communities."<sup>38</sup> Sarah Faye Pierce, Government Relations Director for the Association of the Home Appliance Manufacturers, [argued](#) similarly against efficiency standards for consumer electronics (2019 HB-7151), "Although AHAM understands the bill's intent to save energy, HB 7151 has a number of problems relating to home appliances that need to be addressed, not the least of which are health concerns for those with asthma or allergies [...] and the products' availability to lower income and disadvantaged populations."

The argument is common in the real estate sector. In 2020 in response to the Green New Deal bill SB-354, Jim Perras of the Home Builders & Remodelers Association of Connecticut [argued](#) that the "Passage of this provision will only drive up housing costs further exacerbating the trend of outward migration that Connecticut is currently experiencing." He concluded "if passed, HB 354 would likely increase the cost of energy and its implementation would tax state agencies that are already overburden, causing further construction delays and bureaucratic inefficiencies thereby increasing the already high costs of housing in Connecticut." That same year, he [argued](#) against a bill requiring information about past energy use be available to home shoppers (SB-177). "As home builders, it is important to our members that prospective buyers of new construction can sell their existing homes with as few obstructions as possible. In addition, historical energy consumption data is not necessarily reflective of the energy efficiency of a home." Such home energy labeling, he argued, "unfairly disadvantage[s] larger families when selling their homes. In addition, owners of residential rental properties have no control over energy use by their tenants and could experience similar disadvantages." Similarly, the Connecticut Realtors association [opposed](#) requirements that condominiums have electric vehicle parking spaces and chargers. "The proposal is overly broad, highly restrictive and provides rights to one user over the rights of all in the Condominium Association ("Association"). It seeks to obstruct an Association's ability to determine how to allocate limited common and parking areas." (2020 HB-5226). Similar equity arguments arise in critiques of the carbon tax.

### **Argument 3: Carbon pricing is just another tax**

Carbon fee and dividend legislation was introduced in Connecticut multiple years in our study, and a different set of actors came out to oppose it than the usual professional lobbyists for business groups seen on other issues. Rather, 58 individuals sent one or two sentence emails that are included in state archives of written testimony; nearly all simply say the state is taxing too much and that spending should be cut instead. Many point to the pain falling on retired people and modest income residents, especially those who have to drive long distances for work.

"The unquenchable thirst of the Democratic leadership in Hartford to tax and spend every hard earned dollar the overtaxed people of Connecticut sends them has got to END!" [said](#) Mark Vaghi, an individual not claiming any affiliation. Suzanne Spinelli [expanded](#): "I understand the need for clean air. Yep, I sure do, however why are all these ideas funded on the backs of the few middle class individuals that are still in the state? I drive for a living. [...] How is any kind of a 'carbon' tax going to help me, one of the few that [are] left in this state that are pulling the wagon? That's right, it won't. This is just another ploy for a money-grab on the backs of people like me, the few, the proud, the five residents (it feels like) that have jobs and are

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<sup>38</sup> [2020 HB-05008 CT Chapter-American Planning Association Testimony](#)

paying taxes to fund your excessive programs. [...] Until then people like me will just get squashed until we decide to give up, and either leave, or become one of the welfare takers. Is that what you want?"

These brief and angry emails appear to be the result of mobilization by libertarian groups in the state, as was clear when one respondent included "Put Bill 5363 in the subject line" in their email.<sup>39</sup> Grover Norquist, founder and leader of Americans for Tax Reform, a national group opposed to tax increases, [submitted written testimony](#) of his own to attack the bill, saying that "Enactment of a carbon tax, a regressive tax that would disproportionately harm low and middle-income households, would exacerbate the exodus of individuals, families, and employers from the Nutmeg State." In other written testimony, the libertarian Yankee Institute for Public Policy [argued](#) against HB-5363 in 2018 that "From a jobs and economic perspective, imposing a tax on carbon emissions would be a terrible mistake. This proposal [...] burdens both Connecticut's economy overall, as well as disproportionately harming the poorest among us." "[S]imply put, no dividend paid out to either businesses or individuals can possibly offset the economic harm of this proposal." Lobbying materials still on the Energy Marketers group website consistently only discuss the fee side of the legislation, not the dividends that it called for to be distributed to each household and business in the state.<sup>40</sup>

## Argument 4: Connecticut is too small to matter

Twelve heating oil delivery companies sent modest adjustments of a form letter making a series of points about how much the carbon tax would cost residents and firms (and not mentioning the dividend). They also argued that Connecticut is small and other places are emitting more, even than the U.S.: "The tax is a 'feel good' tax that won't affect climate change. According to a U.S. News & World Report article, even if the U.S. completely stopped emitting all CO<sub>2</sub>, it would reduce world temperatures by only 0.08 degrees C by the year 2050." ([2018 HB-05363 Mercedes, Erin Testimony](#)). Shawn Driscoll of Global Partners LP, a large network of oil and gasoline distributors in the Northeast, simply [argued](#) that "[U]ntil the rest of the world changes its energy consumption and carbon dioxide emissions, there is little upside to putting the Connecticut economy at such as a disadvantage." (2018 HB-05363)

In criticizing the carbon pricing bill in 2018 (HB-5363), Senior Counsel Eric Brown of CBIA utilized a series of climate skeptics arguments. "To provide some context, the climate is changing. Human activity is may well be [sic] impacting the pace of that change. Even if one believes that impact is significant, Connecticut's contribution to such impact is indisputably negligible. DEEP's [the state's environment agency] own studies show that if we stopped generating and using electricity entirely; if every car, truck and bus were banned in Connecticut; if we shut down every manufacturing facility, every restaurant, every doctors office, hardware store and flower shop; if we stopped building helicopters, jet engines and submarines – in short – if we transported Connecticut (as well as Massachusetts and Rhode Island for that matter) back to a 15th century economy – Connecticut would still not meet EPA's current air pollution standards because of pollution we import from upwind states. It is surely even more true that doing so would have no measurable impact on global climate trends."<sup>41</sup> In short, we should not adopt the policy because Connecticut is too small to matter.

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<sup>39</sup> [2018 HB-05363 Dwyer, Jim Testimony](#)

<sup>40</sup> For example see CEEMA. n.d. A Problematic Truth. <https://www.ctema.com/a-problematic-truth/> Accessed 9 June 2021.

<sup>41</sup> [2018 HB-5363 Brown, Eric, Senior Counsel-Connecticut Business and Industry Association Testimony](#)

## Argument 5: Renewables and EV bills are unrealistic and unfair

Renewables were sometimes portrayed as fanciful and unrealistic. "While desirable in theory, an all-electric economy cannot be achieved in practice," [testified](#) Bill Chu, Vice President of the Connecticut Energy Marketers Association, in opposition to a 2020 Green New Deal bill. "The amount of land or sea area that solar or wind farms would consume would be too great. The materials such farms require are very carbon-intensive to produce, and the huge volume of solar panels and wind farm blades will result in a massive waste disposal problem." He continued that the state "would also be at a severe disadvantage at competing with the rest of the country, and the world, for electric vehicles to achieve the goal of an all-electric transportation sector, as such EVs will be in short supply due to the limitation on rare minerals and elements they require. And even when these are secured, the disposal of used EV batteries poses a hazardous waste risk."

Dozens of car dealers submitted written testimony against legislation to allow Tesla Corporation to sell its electric vehicles without a dealership in the state (2017 SB-973). Local dealers repeatedly said that dealerships support communities, create jobs, give to local charities, care for their customers, and that this bill would open the door for Chinese and Indian electric cars to be sold in the state. Further, they responded to a claim made by Tesla in previous sessions.<sup>42</sup> The Connecticut River Valley Chamber of Commerce's Ellen Dombrowski supported that position in 2017 [testimony](#) against HB-7097: "Among our members are several automobile retailers, significant taxpayers, who oppose this measure. The Chamber strongly opposes H.B. 7097 as its passage would seriously jeopardize the successful, long-standing franchise model. The passage of such a measure would impact over 14,000 Connecticut employees in the automobile sector as it currently exists."<sup>43</sup>

These efforts make changing the status quo a daunting task. A bill in 2015 sought to require EV chargers for any parking lots with more than 100 spaces (2015 HB-7009). The Connecticut Conference of Municipalities [argued](#) that doing so "could usurp local officials' critical feedback," and could have a fiscal impact on localities. Eric Brown again submitted [testimony](#) saying that "CBIA supports cost-effective incentives to encourage the expansion of electric vehicle charging stations. However, close attention must be paid to the cost of these measures and the extent to which they are incentives rather than mandates."

2019's HB-7156 and SB-875 pushed for wind energy "carve-outs," to force electrical utilities to meet a quota of wind energy in the state's mix. Daniel Collins of NEPGA, the New England Power Generators Association opposed the legislation "because both bills would increase out-of-market procurements of offshore wind resources, which would further displace cost-effective generation in the wholesale market place, and, over time, expose consumers to the risks of long-term contracts to support resources needed for reliability." Further, they argued that "existing resources will not be able to earn enough revenue to remain in the market, forcing them to seek retirement earlier."<sup>44</sup> In short, renewables are unrealistic and government programs supporting a transition to them and EVs are often unfair.

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<sup>42</sup> Leo Karl of the Karl Chevrolet Group [proclaimed](#) that "All Connecticut auto dealers are fully committed to selling EVs. We invite legislators to visit dealerships and see the many different kinds of vehicles we have on our lots. In fact, 44 electric vehicles are for sale in Connecticut." (2018 HB-5310). Quincy Smith [went farther](#): "It is insulting that Tesla states my co-workers, here and at other dealerships, cannot or will not sell EVs" (2016 SB-3).

<sup>43</sup> While not directly about climate change, this testimony defends the franchise model of car sales.

<sup>44</sup> [2019 HB-7156 Collins, Daniel-NEPGA Testimony](#)

## Argument 6: Connecticut will appear extreme and anti-business

Business organization lobbyists at the Connecticut statehouse commonly argued that the state has a bad business climate, with extremely high taxes and energy costs. Because doing business in the state was so expensive, they claimed to see the federal government as a better level at which to solve regulatory problems. Christian Herb of the fuel oil distributors group CEMA put it succinctly in their [testimony](#) on 2020 SB-10, a bill to implement the governor's budget recommendations on climate change: "Connecticut should not race ahead of the federal government and put local businesses at a disadvantage[...]"

Derek Phelps, Director of Market/Project Development at FuelCell Energy, Inc. [argued](#) that SB-7 in 2018, which set new greenhouse gas reduction standards, would upset markets and further "extreme" climate goals. "Several elements of this bill .. [seek] to significantly change or otherwise alter long-standing energy policy in Connecticut to further extreme climate goals. [...] [The bill is] focused on the reduction of carbon emissions and little else." He argued that they "would usher in an unexpected set of changes to how an enormous number of companies, some regulated and some unregulated, set business goals. In many cases, it would require financial markets to alter how they calculate risk. And it would greatly add to our state's reputation as an unsettled and unpredictable place relative to energy policy."

Eric Brown of CBIA also [attacked](#) SB-7 in 2018, calling the administration's concern over climate a 'quixotic obsession.' "The current administration does not weigh concerns of cost, economic competitiveness and reliability on an even par with its quixotic obsession over adopting policies it appears to seriously believe will have an impact on global climate trends." "[T]he last thing Connecticut, our citizens, and our economy need right now is DEEP doubling down on highly aggressive carbon reduction goals without regard to our struggling economy, based on the false premise that with enough pain, Connecticut can actually have an impact on global climate trends."

On a ban on disposing hydraulic fracking waste in Connecticut, a number of industry groups submitted testimony to attack it, including the Connecticut Petroleum Council (CPC) and the CBIA. CPC's Steve Guveyan argued that "Passage would make the state look disingenuous, in effect saying 'We want the natural gas but we don't want to treat or recycle wastes generated by that gas.'" (2017 HB-6329)<sup>45</sup>. Eric Brown of CBIA testified that "this proposal only serves to placate environmental extremists [...] in the hopes of that such strategy will help end the practice of hydraulic fracturing."<sup>46</sup> Three years earlier he argued against similar legislation saying "a 'knee jerk' action such as banning these wastewaters in Connecticut or simply classifying them as a hazardous waste would reflect poorly on our state - casting us as a haven for environmental extremism" (2014 SB-237).<sup>47</sup> The American Natural Gas Association argued in the bill's early years that they feared regulation of fracking wastes would spread across the country: "ANGA and its members would like to express our concern that enactment of this legislation could be utilized as an example of concern and provide regulatory pressure in other states by creating an air of suspicion that if states like Connecticut are banning the waste, then producing states should also consider similar legislative actions" (2014 SB-237).<sup>48</sup> These points show alignment between business

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<sup>45</sup> [Testimony of Steven Guveyan, Connecticut Petroleum Council Opposition to Hydraulic Fracturing Waste Ban Bill \(HB-6329\) March 13, 2017](#)

<sup>46</sup> [Testimony of Eric Brown, Senior Counsel, Connecticut Business & Industry Association before the Environment Committee March 13, 2017](#)

<sup>47</sup> [Testimony of Eric Brown Connecticut Business & Industry Association before the Environment Committee February 28, 2014](#)

<sup>48</sup> [ANGA Written Testimony February 28, 2014](#)

associations and petroleum industry lobbyists painting climate and anti-fossil fuel legislative efforts as harmful to Connecticut's businesses.

## **Argument 7: Voluntary efforts only, please**

Many groups argued that Connecticut should rely on existing voluntary systems for emission reduction rather than new mandatory regulations. Christina Fisher put it bluntly: "TechNet believes that Connecticut should rely on voluntary industry standards and existing international and national standards rather than impose state-specific regulations to improve energy efficiency."<sup>49</sup> Katie Reilly [testified](#) on HB-7151 in 2019 for Consumer Technology Association, a national group, arguing that she was "protecting consumer choice and industry innovation. [...] Consumer technology products are already an energy efficiency success story." She continued that "Regarding public policy, we advocate for approaches that are national, voluntary, market-oriented, globally harmonized, flexible to keep pace with technology, and friendly to innovation and economic growth." "[T]he major strides in energy efficiency," she testified, "are driven by competition, consumer demand, and voluntary, market-oriented programs." Together, these points reflect strong aversion to regulation by groups representing key business sectors.

Opposition testifiers argued that new regulations would create decision-authority that businesses don't know and don't trust. Some expressed concerns about handing power to the Department of Energy and Environmental Protection DEEP. John Keane of the Association of Home Appliance Manufacturers argued on one bill that "We oppose the bill's continuance and expansion of DEEP's authority to establish new standards for any new product."<sup>50</sup> That is, building codes shouldn't be decided by DEEP, we have boards/existing processes that can do this where we have input. Chris Nelson of the Home Builders & Remodelers Association of CT argued similarly that "Allowing DEEP [...] to require higher codes is an ideological pursuit that should be the decision of the owner." "Do we want to put our code process and home construction future in the hands of one or two DEEP managers who could guide and create a stretch code without Public Hearings and balanced voices from all sides?"<sup>51</sup>

## **Argument 8: We should not go first**

Policy opponents levelled multiple arguments that Connecticut should not or cannot undertake new climate policies because it lacked the state capacity to lead in this domain. State agencies showed up to testify against bills that would mandate Connecticut pioneer new directions in climate policy. DEEP's Robert Klee wished to avoid moving too quickly towards virtual net metering (in 2014): "Connecticut is not alone in exploring these issues and DEEP internal analysis and discussions are taking place within a broader regional and national discussion that involves utilities, clean energy advocates and providers, energy analysts, policy think tanks, academics, elected officials and public utility regulators."<sup>52</sup>

Much testimony along these lines followed a form of "policy perfectionism," described by Lamb et al. (2020) as the view that "We should only seek perfectly-crafted solutions that are supported by all affected parties; otherwise we will waste limited opportunities for adoption."<sup>53</sup> [Testimony](#) filed by Jonathan Shaer of

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<sup>49</sup> [2020 SB-178 Fisher, Christina, Executive Director, Northeast-TechNet Testimony](#)

<sup>50</sup> [2020 SB-178 Keane, John - Association of Home Appliance Manufacturers Testimony](#)

<sup>51</sup> [2020 HB-5008 Nelson, Chris, President and Chairman-Home Builders & Remodelers Association of CT Testimony](#)

<sup>52</sup> [2014 HB-5412 Robert Klee - Connecticut Department of Energy & Environmental Protection Testimony](#)

<sup>53</sup> Lamb, W.F., Mattioli, G., Levi, S., Roberts, J.T., Capstick, S., Creutzig, F., Minx, J.C., Müller-Hansen, F., Culhane, T. and Steinberger, J.K., 2020. [Discourses of climate delay](#). *Global Sustainability*, 3.



the NECSEMA on the 2020 Green New Deal legislation argued that it “is imperative we (1) identify what is indeed the best course of action among all options, and stakeholders, and (b) ensure that it is perfectly designed.” A similar rationale appears in the libertarian Yankee Institute’s [testimony](#) against HB-5363 in 2018, the carbon pricing bill: “Rather than being the state that imposes new burdens on its economy both first and to the greatest degree, why not instead be the state that allows others to make mistakes?”

## Argument 9: We are already leaders

Multiple industry organization lobbyists argued that the state, or their own industry, had already done enough to address climate change -- that instead of being regulated, they should be appreciated. The Northeast Gas Association [testified](#) in 2020 against HB-5350, a bill to limit expansion of natural gas service in new areas, arguing that “GHG emissions from the residential sector have declined in the last twenty years, due in great part to the increased share of natural gas.” Joe Sculley, President of the Motor Transport Association of Connecticut, argued against controls under 2018’s HB-5363: “The trucking industry is more than doing its part. Now is not the time for this bill, which would not improve upon the benefits that have already been realized and continue to be phased in. This bill will only result in higher prices for all businesses and residents in CT.” “These are not your father’s trucks.”<sup>54</sup> Similarly, Joseph Ritter of the Connecticut Realtors submitted written [testimony](#) in 2020 against HB-5008, which would allow high performance building standards to be voluntarily adopted by municipalities, asking for “predictability to our code process,” and stating that “As a result [of past efficiency improvements], new home construction has never been more resilient and energy efficient. In fact, homes built to current code standards can be more than twice as energy efficient than the average resale home.”

More specific pleas came from other segments of the fuel industry, including natural gas utilities, propane dealers and oil heat delivery companies. On a 2019 gas leak reporting bill SB232, Avangrid’s predecessor UIL Holdings’ Charles Goodwin [argued](#) that true gas leaks are “generally a de minimis portion of overall LUAF gas.” “PURA has furthered federal initiatives by approving accelerated investment in aging infrastructure via its Distribution Integrity Management Program.” “Connecticut’s replacement programs are among the most aggressive replacement programs in the industry.” “Most people do not realize that propane is a beneficial byproduct of natural gas processing,” [said](#) Leslie Anderson of the Propane Gas Association of New England. “Our industry is concerned about the environment and is actively working to reduce carbon emissions. The propane industry is reducing millions of tons of carbon emissions each year. Across the globe, propane is being used to solve the world’s greatest health threat, indoor air pollution caused primarily by burning wood for cooking and heating” (2020 SB-354). In each of these cases, Connecticut’s industry organizations argued that enough was being done on climate, that they had the problem under control.

A broader picture emerges from this testimony analysis. Rather than attacking climate science, testimony in the Connecticut legislature sought to delay or stop the passage of individual climate and clean energy bills. We identified nine discourses frequently utilized in opposing priority climate legislation. The natural gas industry and supporters argued that its expansion is essential for the state economy. Climate bills were seen as disproportionately harmful to low-income residents, and carbon pricing was dismissed as just another tax. Several industries expressed a strong aversion to regulation and a preference for market-based incentives. Fossil fuel supporters argued that renewables and EVs are being given unfair advantages. Connecticut was presented by representatives of oil and gas distributors and the business

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<sup>54</sup> [2018 HB-5363 Sculley, Joe, President-Motor Transport Association of Connecticut Testimony](#)

association CBIA as too small to matter for the climate, and that adoption of proposed policies would make the state appear anti-business. Finally, a number of industry representatives argued that they and the state are already leaders on climate change.



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# Recommendations

Based on our analysis of over 3,000 positions taken in the Connecticut legislature, all publicly-reported lobbying records, and our interviews with key experts, we offer a series of recommendations for political reforms which could improve progress on climate change in the state.

## Recommendations for the Legislature

### 1. Evaluate and address utilities' political influence.

While utilities support some pro-climate policies, as a government-backed monopoly with technical and legal capacity they are uniquely able to effectively block broadly popular policies on key issues such as solar energy and natural gas. Utilities are able to spend unlimited funds, which are ultimately collected from ratepayers, on lobbying and campaign donations. The state may consider reforms wherein utilities can be brought in as witnesses and technical experts, but restrictions are placed on private consultations with agencies and the legislature.

### 2. Understand the new climate discourses.

Opponents of climate legislation have moved on from arguing over the science of climate change; instead of denial, climate *delay* discourses are now common. It is important for the media, legislators, administration officials, and organizations and legislators to recognize these discourses.

### 3. Improve public voice and accountability at the Capitol.

There is very strong public support for climate action in CT testimony: people took the time to submit over 2,000 pieces of written testimony in favor of climate legislation over our study period. These numbers reflect public polling on the issue.<sup>55</sup> However, there is a disconnect between public opinion and input on the one hand and the corresponding legislative action on the other.

- a. **Legislators should pay better attention to testimony.** Testimony should be given more weight; the two chambers need better ways for public input that is more meaningful.
- b. **There need to be public hearings and a more open process late in the legislative session** as bills are revised and merged. Late sessions actions are frequently opaque to civil society groups, favoring professional lobbyists connected to legislators in leadership positions.
- c. **Options for remote testimony should remain after the pandemic.** Public facing engagement by legislators has been even more restricted under COVID-19, but online

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<sup>55</sup> Estimates from demographic downscaling by the Yale Project on Climate Change Communications' Climate Opinion Maps show strong majorities concerned about climate change and favoring more action. See: [Yale Climate Opinion Maps 2020](#)

hearings were one positive change, since travelling to the state house and sitting through long hearings is difficult for most people. These kinds of restrictions only increase already-disproportionate representation in public hearings.

#### **4. Improve transparency and accountability.**

Connecticut has substantial and easily accessible online archives of testimony, recordings and votes, but provides only limited lobbying data -- the state should follow Massachusetts and other leading states in requiring reporting on positions taken on each bill.<sup>56</sup>

### **Recommendations for Proponents**

#### **1. Identifying opportunities for business support can advance policy.**

Some sectors -- like fossil fuels, heating oil, natural gas, gas stations, and fossil fuel-based electricity generators -- may be unlikely to support any climate legislation, but the strength of their opposition varies with the policy issue at hand. Unlike fossil fuel producers and sellers, electric utilities -- as well as automobile manufacturers and sellers, and many retail and manufacturing firms -- have a business model which can in principle maintain or expand profits through a post-carbon transition. Because these interest groups often hold influence with legislators and administrative agencies, it is important to promote policies which either limit the expected opposition or could bring these industries to support greater climate action over time.

#### **2. Business lobbies may not be representing their members' interests.**

Business and real estate industry lobbies submitted most of their testimony against priority climate bills. Advocates and media organizations should work to highlight what these lobbies are arguing on their members' behalf. There are many businesses and realtors who support ambitious climate action, but their voices are far less represented by lobbyists at the legislature.

#### **3. Broader coalitions can succeed.**

Climate and clean energy advocates need to build broader coalitions: directly impacted industries and environmental organizations are important partners, but passing major reforms requires more labor support and that of community and social issue NGOs. Since climate action brings society-wide benefits, broader partners can help demonstrate that. Unions appeared but not frequently--they are potential partners, especially on larger-scale project development that will create union jobs. Alliances like the CT Roundtable on Climate and Jobs should be deepened, and more work of this type is needed. Solar and other renewables industries in Connecticut show only piecemeal support for transformative policies like a Green New Deal or a price on carbon, despite the obvious long-term advantages they would yield if enacted.

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<sup>56</sup> See our Massachusetts report, [Who's Delaying Climate Action in Massachusetts? Twelve Findings.](#)

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# Appendix

## Keywords used in bill search (Question 4)

Keywords used to find bills: "zero-emission" "power plant" "pipeline" "solar panels" "fossil fuel" "fossil fuels" "ratepayers" "carbon emissions" "energy storage" "greenhouse gases" "solar power" "net metering" "wind turbines" "natural gas" "energy efficiency" "global warming" "geothermal" "clean energy" "climate mitigation" "wind energy" "green energy" "solar energy" "renewable energy" "greenhouse gas" "climate change" "renewable portfolio standard" "public transit" "environmental justice" "carbon pricing" "coal" "fracking" "hydraulic fracturing" "wind turbine" "solar panel" "solar panels" "zero emission" "electric vehicle" "electric vehicles" "biomass" "waste to energy" "incineration" "waste-to-energy" "green new deal" "carbon pollution" "carbon capture"

We filtered bills for inclusion if:

- The title was directly relevant to climate, clean energy, renewable energy credits, natural gas (excluding safety), fossil fuels
- The text has a meaningful portion of policy that would change or impact energy usage in the state, education on climate change, or consideration of climate change in decision making.

## Priority bill list utilized for testimony analysis (Questions 1,2,5)

Year	Bill	Title
2013	HB 5335	An Act Prohibiting The Possession And Storage Of Fracking By-Products
2013	HB 5591	An Act Concerning On-Bill Financing For Energy-Related Technology Upgrades
2013	HB 6533	An Act Concerning Hydraulic Fracturing Waste
2013	SB 203	An Act Concerning Property Tax Exemptions For Renewable Energy Sources
2013	SB 839	An Act Concerning Statutory Changes To Advance Connecticut'S Energy Policies
2014	HB 5410	An Act Concerning Lost And Unaccounted For Gas
2014	HB 5412	An Act Concerning Shared Clean Energy Facilities.
2014	SB 237	An Act Prohibiting The Storage Or Disposal Of Fracking Waste In Connecticut
2014	SB 353	An Act Concerning The Development Of Class I Renewable Energy Source Projects.
2015	HB 6838	An Act Concerning The Encouragement Of Local Economic Development And Access To Residential Renewable Energy
2015	HB 7009	An Act Concerning Electric And Zero-Emission Vehicles
2015	SB 570	An Act Concerning Electric Fixed Bill Fees And Grid Modernization.
2015	SB 928	An Act Establishing A Shared Clean Energy Facility Pilot Program
2016	HB 5618	An Act Requiring The Development Of A Carbon Footprint Methodology To Analyze State Procurement Contracts
2016	SB 3	An Act Concerning The Licensing Of New And Used Car Dealers
2016	SB 344	An Act Requiring A Study Of The Adequacy Of Energy Supplies In The State
2016	SB 394	An Act Concerning Authorizations Relating To Virtual Net Metering
2017	HB 6329	An Act Concerning Hydraulic Fracturing Waste In Connecticut
2017	HB 7097	An Act Concerning The Licensing Of New And Used Car Dealers
2017	HB 7208	An Act Concerning The Commercial Property Assessed Clean Energy Program
2017	SB 630	An Act Concerning The Renewable Portfolio Standard
2017	SB 973	An Act Concerning A Residential Sustainable Energy Program
2018	HB 5310	An Act Concerning The Licensing Of New And Used Car Dealers
2018	HB 5363	An Act Establishing A Carbon Price For Fossil Fuels Sold In Connecticut
2018	SB 103	An Act Concerning Hydraulic Fracturing Waste In Connecticut.
2018	SB 332	An Act Concerning Solicitation For Natural Gas Transportation Capacity.
2018	SB 336	An Act Concerning Community Shared Solar.
2018	SB 337	An Act Requiring The Public Utilities Regulatory Authority To Initiate A Docket To Study Renewable Natural Gas And Concerning Contracts For Electricity Generated From A Biomass Facility
2018	SB 346	An Act Concerning The Threshold For Investigating The Lost And Unaccounted For Gas Of A Gas Company.
2018	SB 7	An Act Concerning Climate Change Planning And Resiliency
2019	HB 6242	An Act Prohibiting Surcharges From Being Levied On Utility Customers To Subsidize Interstate Natural Gas Pipeline Capacity.
2019	HB 7142	An Act Concerning The Licensing Of New And Used Car Dealers.
2019	HB 7151	An Act Concerning Energy Efficiency Standards
2019	HB 7156	An Act Concerning The Procurement Of Energy Derived From Offshore Wind
2019	HB 7205	An Act Concerning The Accessibility Of Electric Vehicles In Connecticut

Year	Bill	Title
2019	SB 232	An Act Concerning The Allowable Percentage Of Leakage From Gas Pipelines.
2019	SB 588	An Act Prohibiting Off-Shore Drilling For Oil And Gas In Connecticut
2019	SB 753	An Act Concerning The Statewide Ban On Fracking Waste
2020	HB 5008	An Act Concerning The Establishment Of High Performance Green Building Standards For Voluntary Adoption By Municipalities.
2020	HB 5226	An Act Concerning Electric Vehicle Charging Stations
2020	HB 5228	An Act Concerning The Commercial Property Assessed Clean Energy Program
2020	HB 5344	An Act Prohibiting Off-Shore Drilling For Oil And Gas In Connecticut
2020	HB 5348	An Act Concerning The Study Of Community Choice Aggregation
2020	HB 5350	An Act Concerning Natural Gas Infrastructure
2020	SB 10	An Act Concerning Certain Recommendations Regarding Climate Change
2020	SB 177	An Act Concerning Energy Consumption Data And Labeling
2020	SB 178	An Act Concerning Energy Efficiency Standards
2020	SB 354	An Act Establishing A Green New Deal For Connecticut