

#THINKClimaConference

Lobbying for (in)action

Climate Emergence,
Interest Groups
and Denial

26-27 May 2021



What's next? Beyond the USA and European climate change counter movement"



Ruth McKie | De Montfort University

In 1956, several multinational and transnational corporations including ExxonMobil and Marathon Oil Corporation, NGO's including The Charles Koch Foundation and The American Petroleum Institute (API), and research institutions at Stanford Research Institute began to conduct and accumulate research that undermined evidence on the impact of fossil fuels on for instance air pollution.



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Challenging Global Warming as a Social Problem: An Analysis of the Conservative Movement's Counter-Claims

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The sociological literature on global environmental change emphasizes the processes by which the problem of global warming is socially constructed. However, the opposing efforts to construct the "non-problematicity" of global warming advanced by the conservative movement are largely ignored. Utilizing recent work on framing processes in the social movements literature and claims-making from the social problems literature, this paper analyzes the counter-claims promoted by the conservative movement between 1990 and 1997 as it mobilized to challenge the legitimacy of global warming as a social problem. A thematic content analysis of publications circulated on the web sites of prominent conservative think tanks reveals three major counter-claims. First, the movement criticized the evidentiary basis of global warming as weak, if not entirely wrong. Second, the movement argued that global warming will have substantial benefits if it occurs. Third, the movement warned that proposed action to ameliorate global warming would do more harm than good. In short, the conservative movement asserted that, while the science of global warming appears to be growing more and more uncertain, the harmful effects of global warming policy are becoming increasingly certain. In order to better understand the controversy over global warming, future research should pay attention to the influence of the conservative movement by identifying the crucial roles of conservative foundations, conservative think tanks, and sympathetic "skeptical" scientists in undermining the growing scientific consensus over the reality of global warming.

In the past decade, global climate change became a widely accepted social problem. Also referred to as global warming or the anthropogenic greenhouse effect, global climate change is the discernible increase in mean global temperature resulting from the release of greenhouse

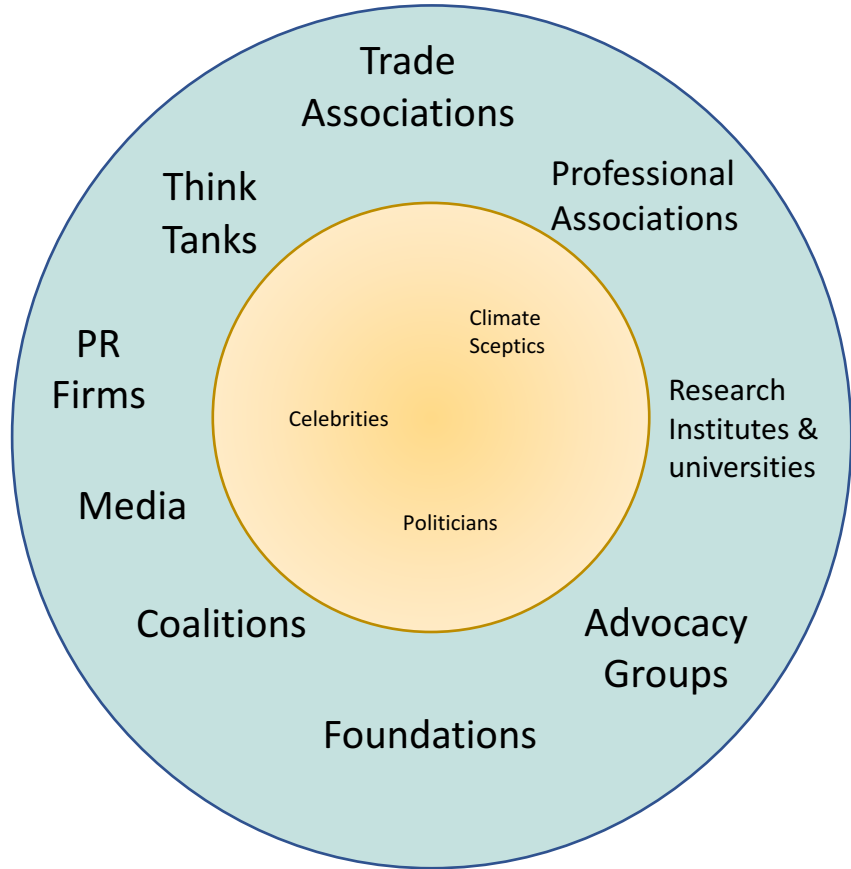
Three Counter Claims

- 1) The evidentiary basis of global warming is weak and even wrong,
- 2) global warming would be beneficial if it were to occur,
- 3) Global warming policies would do more harm than good. Each of these categories of counter claims

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Name	Background	Example Associated Organisations
James Inhofe	Chairman of the US Committee on Environment and Public Works (CEPW)	Heartland Institute
Mark Steyn	Mark Steyn has produced work on behalf of organisations including CO ₂ Coalition and was a Heartland Institute conference speaker and policy expert in 2010 (see YouTube , video Mark Steyn at the Heartland Institute on 12-June-2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OvEw4m-Q6JM)	Heartland Institute, CO ₂ Coalition, Bert Kelly Research Centre, IPA,
Frederick D. Palmer	Senior Fellow for Energy and Climate, Palmer joined Heartland in January, 2017 . Fred Palmer is Peabody Energy's Senior Vice President of Government Relations.	Heartland Institute, Greening Earth Society, Western Fuels Association, ICE,
Gerd-Rainer Weber	PhD in Meteorology	Heartland Institute, SEPP, CFACT
Ian Plimer	Professor of Mining Geology, The University of Adelaide. He has published several climate scientific books.	Heartland Institute, IPA, GWPF, CLEIXT
Kenneth Jaapala	President, SEPP	SEPP, heartland Institute, NIPCCC
James Taylor	senior research fellow on environmental and energy policy at the Heartland Institute. James Taylor Institute	Heartland Institute, James Madison Institute, Federalist Society Cato Institute, SEPP
Larry Bell	Endowed Professor - Space Architecture, University of Houston	CO ₂ Coalition, Heartland Institute.
Nigel Lawson	Lawson is a retired conservative politician and journalist who served under the Thatcher government. He has and continues to be associated as either a fellow or writing op-eds and research for other CCCM organisations including the GWPF, Heartland Institute, Centre for Policy Studies, Austrian Economics Centre.	Austrian Economics Centre, GWPF, Heartland Institute, CPS
Chris Horner	Senior Legal Fellow at the Energy and Environment Legal Institute (E&E Legal) Juris Doctorate (JD) from Washington State University, author of <i>Red Hot Lies: How Global Warming Alarmists Use Threats, Fraud and Deception to keep You Misinformed</i> (2008), and <i>The Politically Incorrect Guide to Global Warming and Environmentalism</i> (2007)	E&E Legal, Heartland Institute.
Bjorn Lomborg	Leader of the CCCM organisation the Copenhagen Consensus Centre a Danish CCCM organisation founded in 2003. He previously led the now defunct Environmental Assessment Institute, Denmark (2002-2007).	Heartland Institute, Copenhagen Consensus Centre, Fraser Institute, Cato Institute, CEI, Hoover Institute, Reason Foundation.
Myron Ebell	Holds an M.Sc. He is director of the Energy and Environment department at CEI. In 2018 he was appointed as a leader of the EPA transition team under the Trump administration. Overtime, he has consistently argued that climate change is real, although he disputes the extent of human causes, and policy developments to remedy climate change	Cato Institute, Heartland Institute, CEI, Cooler Heads Coalition

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Table D.2. Complete List Of Endorsers On Climate Scientist Register

(ICSC)	
Name of Endorser, Qualification and Base	
1.	Habibullo I. Abdussamatov , Dr. Sci., mathematician and astrophysicist. Head of the Russian-Ukrainian <i>Astronetta</i> project on the board of the Russian segment of the ISS, Head of Space Research Laboratory at the Eulikov Observatory of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia
2.	Sun-ichi Akasofu , PhD, Professor of Physics, Emeritus and Founding Director, International Arctic Research Centre of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska, USA
3.	J.R. Alexander , Professor Emeritus, Dept. of Civil Engineering, University of Pretoria, South Africa; Member, UN Scientific and Technical Committee on Natural Disasters, 1994-2000, Pretoria, South Africa
4.	Bjarne Andresen , Dr. Scientist, physicist, published and presents on the impossibility of a "global temperature", Professor, Niels Bohr Institute (areas of specialization, fundamental physics and chemistry, in particular thermodynamics), University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark
5.	Timothy F. Ball , PhD, environmental consultant and former climatology professor, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
6.	Romsald Bartnik , PhD (Organic Chemistry), Professor Emeritus, Former chairman of the Department of Organic and Applied Chemistry, climate work in cooperation with Department of Hydrology and Geological Museum, University of Lodz, Lodz, Poland
7.	Colin Barton , B.Sc., PhD (Earth Science), Principal research scientist (retd), Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), Melbourne, Victoria, Australia
8.	Franco Battaglia , PhD (Chemical Physics), Professor of Environmental Chemistry (climate specialist: environmental chemistry), University of Modena, Italy

Table D.3: Sample Of Historical Climate Change Counter Movement Events

Year	Name	Host	Co-sponsors	Source
2008	1 st International Conference on Climate Change	Heartland Institute	Alternate Solutions, Americans For Prosperity, Americans for Tax Reform, Asociación de Conservadores Libres , Association for Liberal Thinking, Business and Media Institute, Carbon Sense Coalition, Capital Research Centre, Cascade Policy Institute, Cathay Institute for Public Affairs, Centre for Defence of Free Enterprise, Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Congress for Racial Equality, Discovery Institute, Doctors for Disaster Preparedness, Economic Thinking, Austrian Economics Centre, Freedom Foundation of Minnesota, Free Enterprise Action Fund, Free Market Foundation, Frontiers of Freedom Institute, Centre for the Dissemination of Economic Knowledge, CO ₂ science, Citizens Alliance for Responsible Energy, Centro de Innovación Desarrollo Humano, Centro de Investigaciones de Instituciones y Mercados de Argentina, Citizens Alliance for Responsible Energy, Fundacion Atlas 1853, Idea Channel, Independent Institute, Institute for Public Affairs, Institute for Free Enterprise, Instituto de Libre Empresa, International Policy Network, Instituto Bruno León, junkscience.com, Liberty Institute, Lion Rock Institute, John Locke Foundation, George C Marshall Institute, Minimal Government Thinkers, National Centre for Policy Analysis, New Zealand Business Roundtable, Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine, Pacific Research Institute, Property and Environment Research Centre, Science and Environmental Policy Project, Science and Public Policy Institute, Sovereignty International	http://climateconferences.heartland.org/icc1/page3/
2009	2 nd International Conference on Climate Change	Heartland Institute	60 Plus Association, Accuracy in Academia, African Centre for Advocacy and Human Development, Alternate Solutions Institute, Americans for Prosperity, Americans for Tax Reform, American Policy Centre, Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Australian Libertarian Society, Ayn Rand Institute, Business and Media Institute, Carbon Sense Coalition, Citizens Alliance for Responsible Energy, Cascade Policy Institute, CO ₂ Science, Climate Science Party, Climate Strategies Watch, Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Congress for Racial Equality, Cornwall Alliance, Economic Thinking, Austrian Economics Centre, Freedom Foundation of Minnesota, Hayek Institute, Futures of Freedom, George Marshall Institute,	http://climateconferences.heartland.org/icc2/

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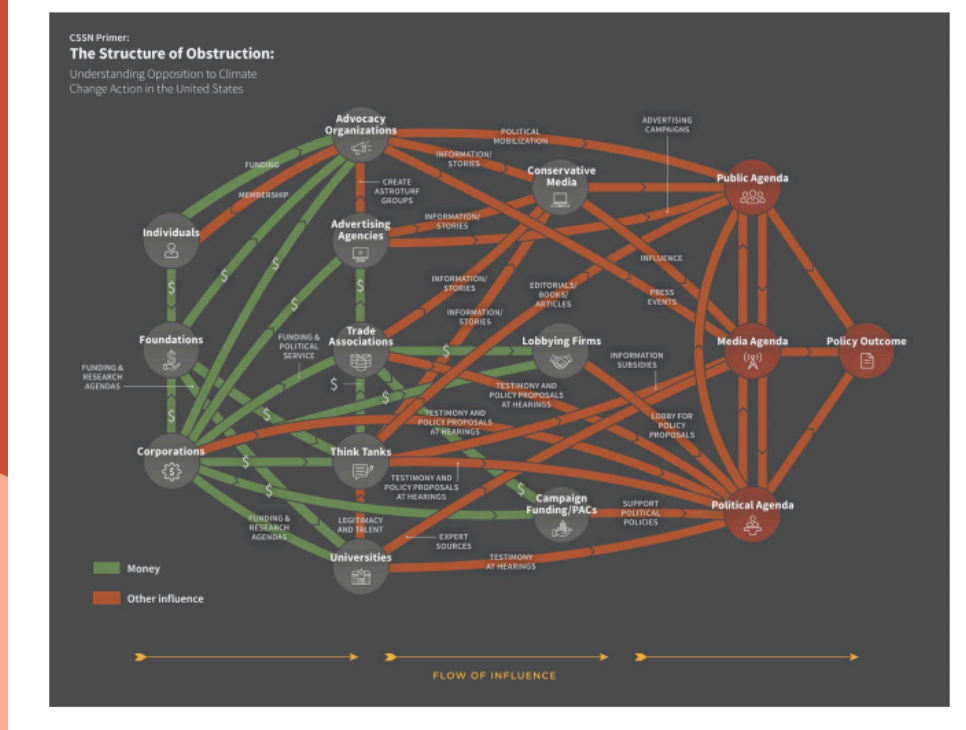
Who are the individuals and what are their activities?

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The Structure of Obstruction: Understanding Opposition to Climate Change Action in the United States (Brulle, 2021)



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Europe

- 1) Mirroring activity in the US and expansion of the CCCM
- 2) Connection to the neoliberal ideological stances
- 3) Ties to several USA based think tanks
- 4) Young set of counter movement organisations
- 5) Individuals network amongst different organisations (Protagonists)



Almirion et al (2020)



Key Points

- Oil, Coal, Gas, Minerals
- Flavours of Neoliberalism
- Historic Campaign aligned with the Tobacco Strategy in the USA (Suppran and Oreskes, 2021)
- Think Tank Model: Underpinned by Mothering Organisation Atlas: but not all think tanks have been identified as climate sceptic yet.
- Consolidation of individuals & organisations.
- Protecting Business as Usual
- Money



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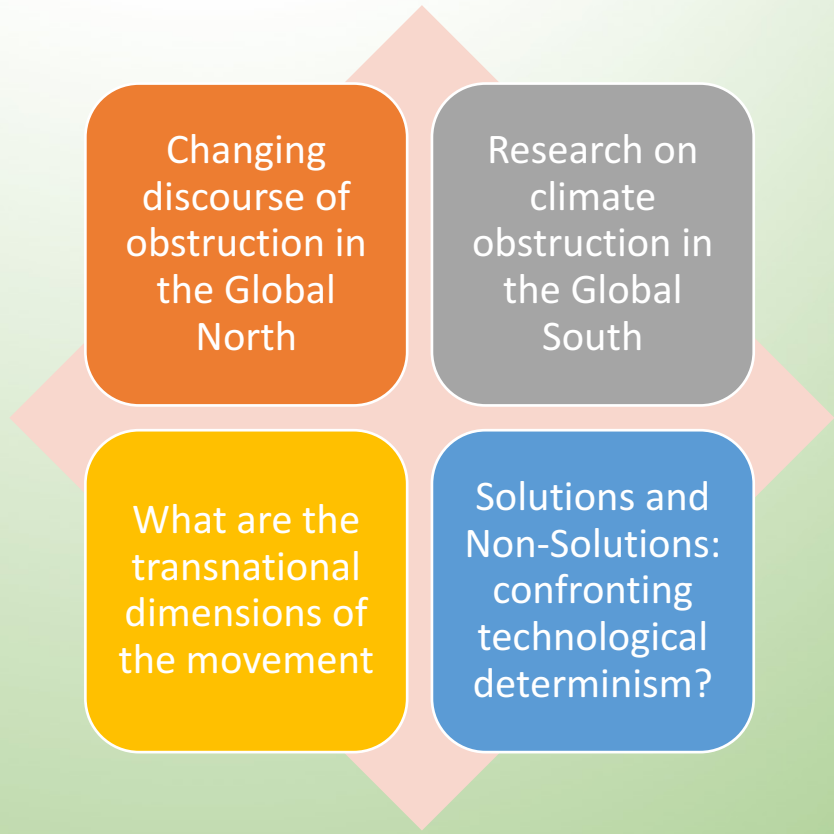
Climate Emergence, Interest Groups and Denial

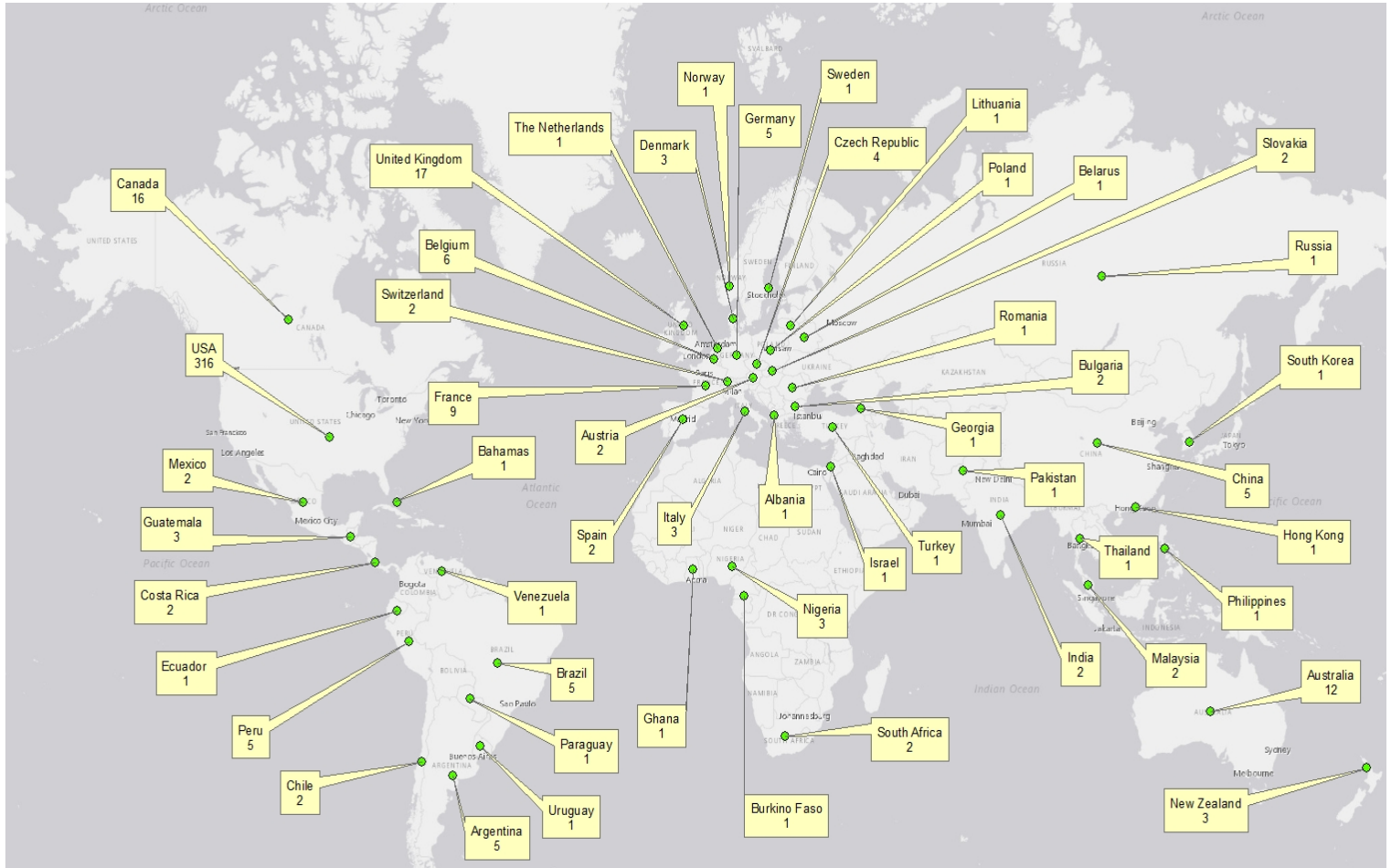
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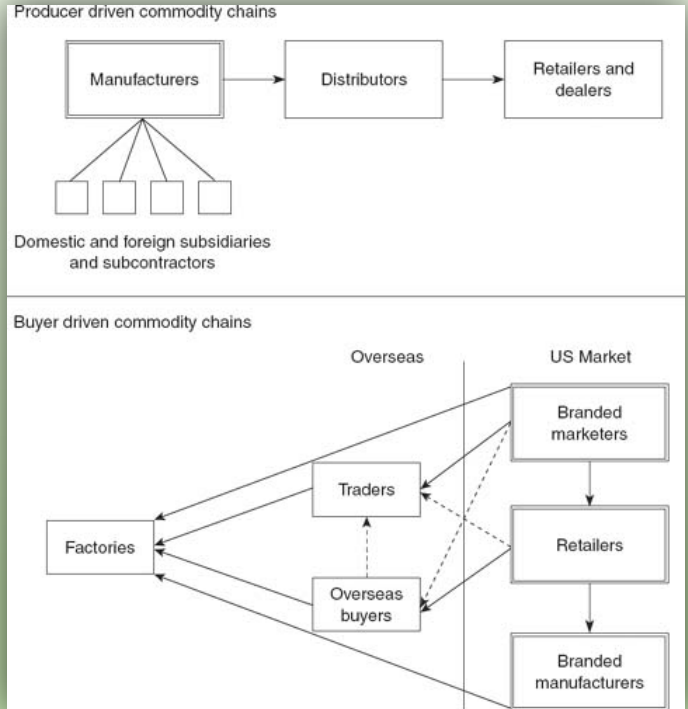
Discourses of Climate Delay

What is next?

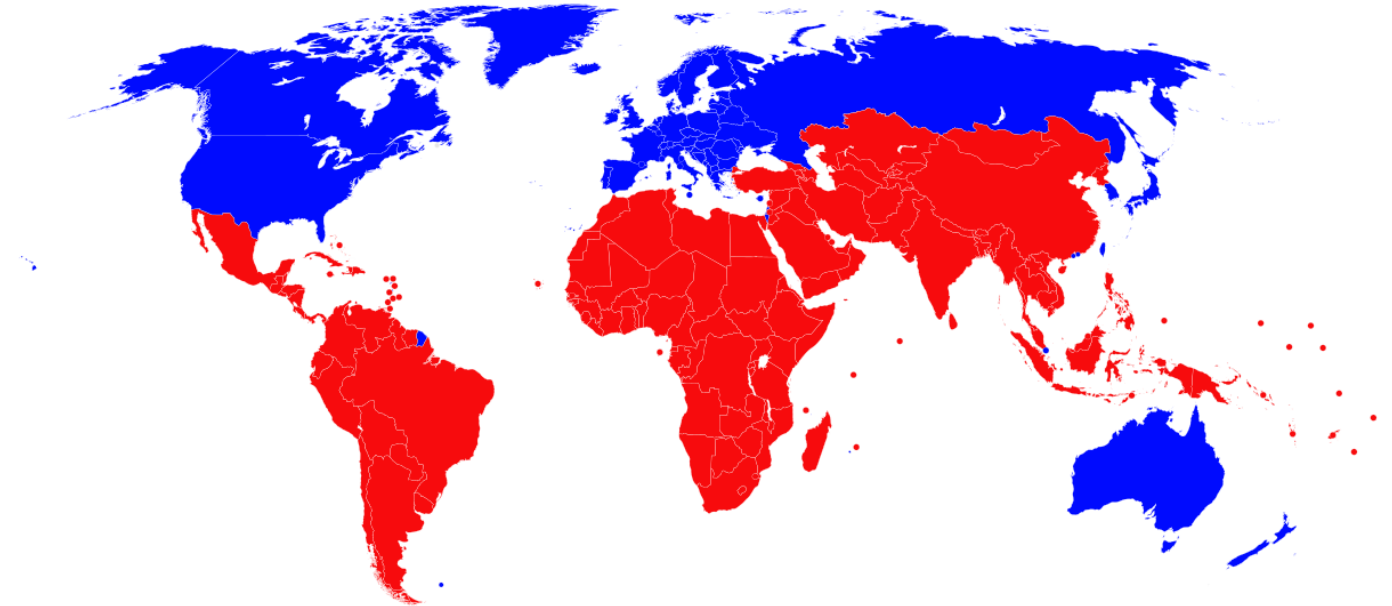




Think Tanks



Locations and Expanding our Research



Investment

Licencing &
Permits

Industries: Beyond Fossil Fuels

Banking & Investments

What are the industries promoted for investment?
Who are beyond this?
Are they already known to use?

NIGERIA: FOREIGN INVESTMENT

In this page: [FDI in Figures](#) | [What to consider if you invest in Nigeria](#) | [Procedures Relative to Foreign Investment](#) | [Investment Opportunities](#)

FDI in Figures

Nigeria is the third host economy for FDI in Africa, behind Egypt and Ethiopia. The country is among the most promising poles of growth in Africa and attracts numerous investors in the sector of hydrocarbon, energy, buildings etc. The country undergoes the effects of the oil counter-shock. According to the UNCTAD [2020 World Investment Report](#), FDI flows to Nigeria totalled to USD 3,3 billion in 2019, showing a 48,5% decrease compared to the previous year (USD 6,4 billion in 2018) under the effects of austerity measures. The total stock of FDI was estimated at USD 98,6 billion in 2019. Some of the main investing countries in Nigeria include the USA, China, United Kingdom, the Netherlands and France.

Nigeria intends to diversify its economy away from oil by building a competitive manufacturing sector, which should facilitate integration into global value chains and boost productivity. The recent merging of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment reflects Nigeria's intention to its trading and investment environment. Some of the country's main advantages are its strategic location, significant natural resources and a low cost of labor. On the other hand, the country's main weaknesses are its lack of transparency and poor quality of infrastructure are limiting the country's investment.

What to consider if you invest in Nigeria

Strong Points

Nigeria's strong points in terms of attracting FDI include :

- important size of its domestic market (Africa's most populous country)
- Africa's highest GDP;
- important hydrocarbon resources and high agricultural potential;
- relatively low public and external debt;
- the Nigerian Government's policy of economic liberalisation, promoting public-private partnerships and strategic alliances with foreign companies.

Weak Points

There are a number of obstacles to FDI in Nigeria:

- Poorly developed transport and energy infrastructure (lack of electricity), which result in high operating costs;
- An inefficient judicial system and unreliable dispute settlement mechanisms;
- A high tax burden;
- With oil and gas accounting for over 90% of export revenues, the economy is vulnerable to volatility on global markets and to large swings in energy prices;
- The federal government is hampered by the strength of state and tribal authorities. Deep ethnic, religious and regional divisions provide risks to political stability;
- An increasing lack of security, especially in connection with the extremist group Boko Haram operating in the north-east of the country.

Licencing and Permits: Dispossession

- Which political actors are operating and facilitating obstruction activities.
- What connections do they have to TNCs
- Changing land use policy
- Land Conflicts.
- Dispossession?

How is delaying discourse being used here?



I'm the Problem

GREENWASHING

[terminology]

When brands, corporations, organisations or governments co-opt sustainability narratives to portray an environmentally responsible image without sufficiently responsible action.

@fash_rev
@111earthgirl

entry
level
activist



BP 
@BP_plc

The first step to reducing your emissions is to know where you stand. Find out your [#carbonfootprint](#) with our new calculator & share your pledge today!



Andrew Henderson
@andrwhenderson

i pledge not to spill 4.9 million barrels of oil into the gulf of mexico

Decision Making & Energy Transitions



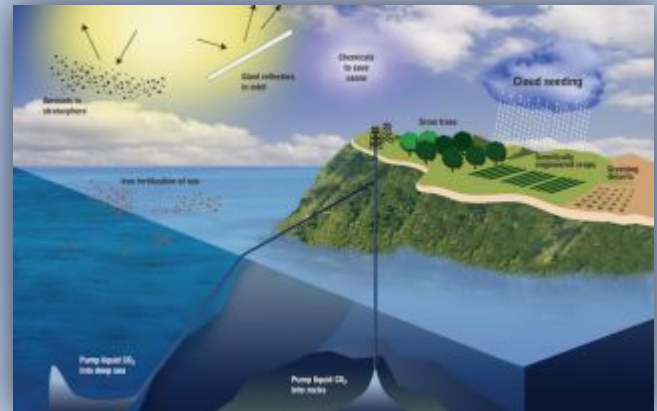
Obstruction narratives

- Where are they coming from?
- Who's voices are heard or not heard?
- Hegemonic Actors: What are their interests?
- Net Zero discourse?

What are alternative energy resources.

Who are promoting these technologies and why?

Does Carbon Offsetting really work?



Building Blocks

- Who

- What

- Where





Conclusion

Thanks!

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