The Future Green Coalition: Building for the Next Generation of Energy Policy

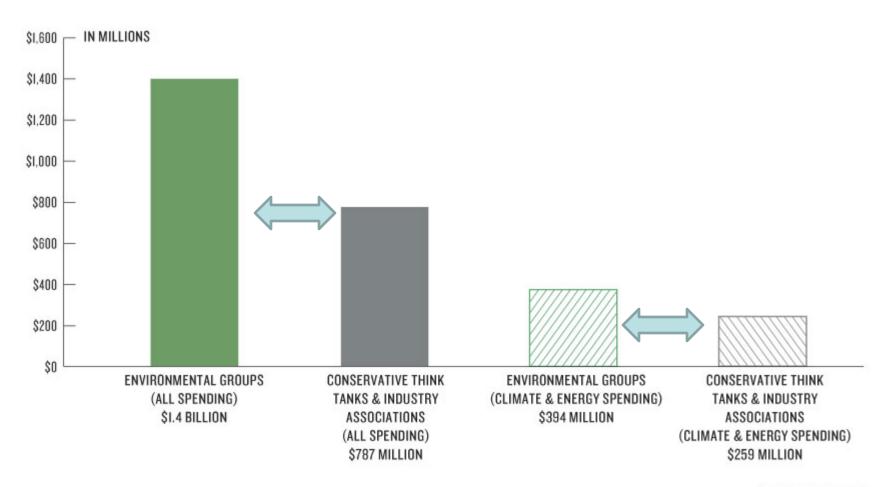
Matthew C. Nisbet, Ph.D. Associate Professor School of Communication American University Washington D.C.



Climate Shift Report: Research to Inform Decision Making

- www.ClimateShiftProject.org
- Key Dimensions Examined:
 - Financial resources of environmental groups and their opponents.
 - Planning efforts and investment strategies of major foundations.
 - News attention and media portrayals of climate change.
 - Factors shaping public concern and belief in climate change.
 - Factors influencing how scientists and environmentalists interpret the policy debate.

FIGURE 1.1
SPENDING BY CLIMATE ACTION ADVOCATES AND OPPONENTS



CLIMATESHIFT

TABLE 1.8
TOTALS SPENT LOBBYING ON ALL ISSUES BY MAJOR ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, 2009

ORGANIZATION	SPENTALL LOBBYING (\$)	ORGA NIZATION	SPENT ALL LOBBYING (\$)
NATURE CONSERVANCY	2,230,000	DEFENDERS OF WILDLIFE	419,903
ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND	2,171,000	ENVIRONMENT A MERICA	299,200
WORLD WILDLIFE FUND	1,600,000	GREEN TECH ACTION FUND	298,000
U.S. CLIMATE ACTION PARTNERSHIP	1,000,000	CLIMATE POLICY GROUP	240,000
CLEAN ECONOMY NETWORK	849,070	PEW CENTER ON GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE	146,462
NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL	692,616	DEFENDERS OF WILDLIFE ACTION FUND	126,532
NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION	590,000	FRIENDS OF THE EARTH	92,011
SIERRA CLUB	480,000	LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS	90,000
UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS	467,500	NATIONAL AUDURON SOCIETY	80,000
EARTHJUSTICE LEGAL DEFENSE FUND	453,139	ENVIRONMENTAL LAW & POLICY CENTER	40,000
NATIONAL PARKS CONSERVATION A SSOC.	442,326	TOTALS	12,807,759

SOURCE: CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS.

TABLE 1.10
TOTALS SPENT LOBBYING ON ALL ISSUES BY OTHER
ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING CAP AND TRADE, 2009

ORGANIZATION	SPENT ALL LOBBYING (\$)	ORGANIZATION	SPENTALL LOBBYING (\$)
EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE	10,500,000	NUCLEAR ENERGY INSTITUTE	2,070,000
WALMART	7,290,000	EBAY	1,841,400
AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER	7,297,245	SOLAR ENERGY INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION	1,643,000
JP MORGAN CHASE	6,170,000	CLEAN ENERGY GROUP	1,623,750
ENTERGY CORP.	5,035,000	TARGET	1,490,000
AMERICAN WIND ENERGY ASSOCIATION	4,366,620	CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS	975,133
BIPARTISAN ADVOCACY NETWORK & CENTE	R 3,649,500	BEST BUY	900,000
BANK OF AMERICA	3,570,000	STARBUCKS COFFEE	520,000
CONSTELLATION ENERGY	2,500,000	NIKE INC.	480,000
NATIONAL GRID PLC	2,100,000	TOTALS	64,111,648

SOURCE: CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS.

TABLE 1.9
TOTALS SPENT LOBBYING ON ALL ISSUES BY MEMBERS OF USCAP, 2009

ORGANIZATION	SPENTALL LOBBYING (\$)	ORGA NIZATION	SPENT ALL LOBBYING (&)
GENERAL ELECTRIC	26,400,000	WEYERHA EUSER CO.	3,140,000
CONOCOPHILLIPS *	18,069,858	CATERPILLAR *	2,602,660
BRITISH PETROLEUM *	15,990,000	CHRYSLER	2,543,304
SHELL	10,090,000	ALSTOM	2,030,000
PEPSICO	9,453,000	DEERE & CO. *	1,900,000
FORD MOTOR CO.	7,230,000	BOSTON SCIENTIFIC CORP.	1,890,000
HONEYWELL	7,092,000	ALCOA	1,600,000
DOW CHEMICAL	6,640,000	RIO TINTO	1,169,873
JOHNSON & JOHNSON	6,560,000	NRG ENERGY	910,000
PG&E CORP.	6,290,000	PNM RESOURCES INC.	470,000
DUKE ENERGY	5,880,516	AES CORP.	290,000
SIEMENSAG	5,122,000	NEXTERA ENERGY	N/A
DUPONT CO.	4,682,110		
EXCELON CORP.	4,573,000	TOTAL	152,708,321

THESE COMPANIES LEFT USCAP IN FEBRUARY 2010.
 SOURCE: CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS.

TABLE 1.11
TOTALS SPENT LOBBYING ON ALL ISSUES BY PROMINENT
OPPONENTS OF CAP AND TRADE, 2009

ORGANIZATION SF	PENT ALL LOBBYING (\$)	ORGANIZATION	SPENTALL LOBBYING (\$)
U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	144,366,000	AMEREN CORP.	4,610,000
EXXON MOBIL	27,430,000	ENERGY FUTURE HOLDINGS CORPORATIO	N 3,974,014
CHEVRON CORP.	20,815,000	CONSOL ENERGY	3,440,000
KOCH INDUSTRIES	12,450,000	NATIONAL MINING ASSOCIATION	2,839,899
MARATHON OIL	9,950,000	ANADARKO PETROLEUM	2,813,370
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS	9,250,000	BERKSHIRE HATHAWAY	2,656,105
AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE	7,320,000	ARCH COAL	2,320,000
PEABODY ENERGY	5,835,000	AMERICAN COALITION FOR CLEAN COAL	1,557,557
NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCI	CIATION 5,516,000		
AMERICAN FARM BUREAU	5,194,042	TOTALS	272,336,987

SOURCE: CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS.

FIGURE 23: Philanthropy Has Multiple Entry Points

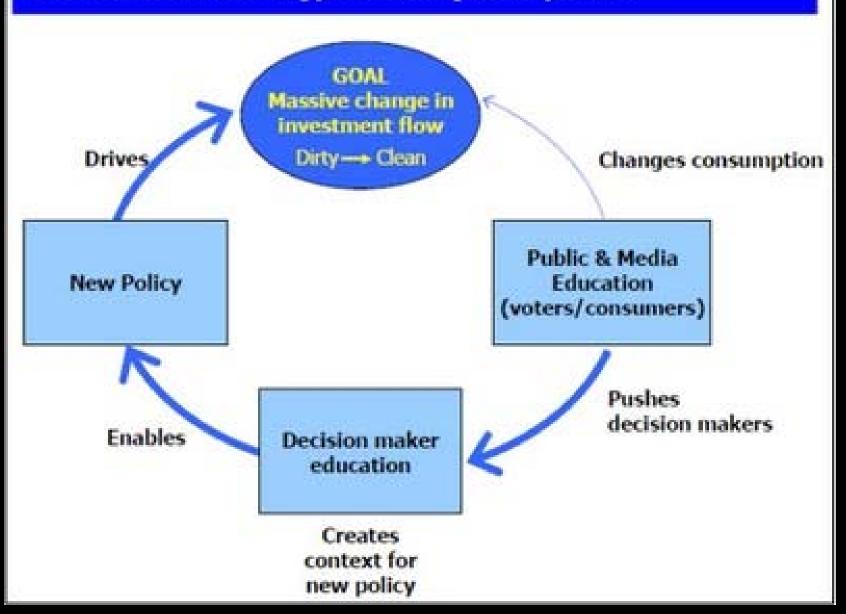


TABLE 2.3
AMOUNT AND NUMBER OF GRANTS DISTRIBUTED
BY FOUNDATION, 2008 TO 2010

	AMOUNT (\$)	NUMBER OF GRANTS
ENERGY FOUNDATION	III,87I,644	766
CLIMATEWORKS	63,898,794	63
HEWLETT	45,307,700	99
SEA CHANGE	40,630,802	62
PACKARD	39,876,095	113
OAK	29,896,534	49
KRESGE	24,432,660	71
DORIS DUKE	9,383,890	21
MCKNIGHT	3,000,000	2
TOTAL	368,298,119+	1248+

FUNDING ASSOCIATED WITH SPECIFIC POLICY FOCUS, 2008 TO 2010

	AMOUNT OF GRANTS INCLUDING FOCUS/GOAL (\$)	NUMBER OF GRANTS Including Focus/Goal
GENERAL PROGRAM SUPPORT		
SUPPORT GENERAL PROGRAM	45,275,068	48
FUND STAFF, FELLOW, CONSULTANT	1,418,500	9
ACTION TO LIMIT/CAP EMISSIONS		
PROMOTE CLIMATE POLICY, UNSPECIFIC	69,399,255	140
PROMOTE CLEAN ENERGY POLICY, UNSPECIFIC	55,209,091	115
PROMOTE U.S. EMISSIONS CAP, CREDITS, OFFSETS, TRANSFERS	39,603,623	
OPPOSE, LIMIT COAL POWER PLANTS	18,754,915	IIO
PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE, LIMIT EMISSIONS	16,542,441	48
OPPOSE TAR SANDS	2,700,000	2
INTERNATIONAL A GREEMENT, NON-US DECISION MAKING		
SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, SHAPE NON-U.S. DECISION MAKIN	IG 32,497,552	60
PROMOTE EMISSION ACCOUNTING, REPORTING, VERIFICATION	4,124,304	13
SUPPORT FOR COPENHAGEN-RELATED ACTIVITY	915,264	6
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN DIMENSIONS		
CREATE JOBS, JOB TRAINING	9,631,379	23
PROMOTE ECONOMIC GROWTH, GREEN ECONOMY, UNSPECIFIC	3,365,240	
ADAPTATION / LIMIT VULNERABILITY (UNSPECIFIC)	3,999,397	15
PROTECT PUBLIC HEALTH, WELL-BEING	1,901,400	12
PROTECT NATIONAL SECURITY, STRENGTHEN MILITARY	1,875,000	7
PROMOTE GOVERNMENT ROLE IN INNOVATION, R&D	1,210,000	5
PROMOTE JUSTICE, EQUITY	450,000	3

TABLE 2.6
FUNDING ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNICATION
FOCUS OR ACTIVITY, 2008 TO 2010

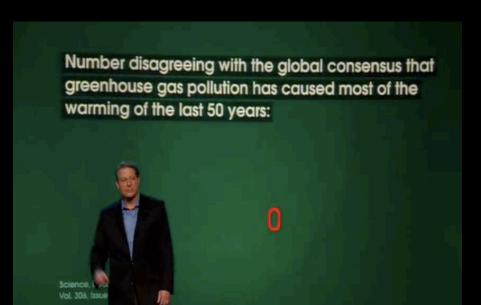
	AMOUNT OF BRANTS Including Focus/GGA L (\$)	NUMBER OF GRANTS Including Focus/Boal	
FOCUS OF COMMUNICATION, GENERAL REFERENCE			
POLICYMAKERS, DECISION MAKERS	43,414,895	106	
PUBLIC, MOBILIZATION, PUBLIC EDUCATION	32,825,500	80	
STAKEHOLDERS, INFLUENTIALS, OPINION-LEADERS	14,088,376	38	
ADVOCATES, ENVIRONMENTA LISTS	5,377,527	10	
SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED SOCIAL GROUP, STAKEHOLDER			
BUSINESS LEADERS	5,395,594	25	
PHILANTHROPIC COMMUNITY, GRANTMAKERS	5,198,578	9	
FAITH COMMUNITY, RELIGIOUS ORBANIZATIONS	4,223,743	20	

SUPPORT FOR MEETING, SUMMIT, WORKSHOP, CONFERENCE SUPPORT FOR MEDIA ORBANIZATION, PRODUCTION SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC OPINION, AUDIENCE RESEARCH	3,932,656 1,784,011 1,418,500	40 12 < 8
SUPPORT FOR BRIEF, REPORT, JOURNAL, BOOK	4,114,860	22
COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGN, OUTREACH, MEDIA RELATIONS	23,525,868	54
TYPE OF COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES, INITIATIVE		

TABLE 2.7

ORGANIZATIONS RECEIVING THE MOST FUNDING, 2008 TO 2010

	AMDUNT OF GRANTS (\$)	NUMBER OF GRANTS
BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER ▲	34,688,000	9
EUROPEAN CLIMATE FOUNDATION	17,074,985	10
NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL A	14,117,450	45
ALLIANCE FOR CLIMATE PROTECTION A	10,000,000	1
SIERRA CLUB ▲	9,268,100	9
ROCKEFELLER FAMILY FUND	8,975,000	9
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON CLEAN TRANSPORTATION	9,355,000	II.
NEW VENTURE FUND	8,191,310	6
ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND ▲	7,543,155	27
UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS ▲	7,427,802	21
DUKE UNIVERSITY	7,124,905	9
THE PARTNERSHIP PROJECT ▲	5,115,752	5
LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS A	4,736,200	9
NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION ▲	4,311,481	15
ENVIRONMENTAL LAW AND POLICY CENTER	4,137,000	21
WESTERN RESOURCES ADVOCATES	3,739,100	14
ENVIRONMENT AMERICA AND STATE AFFILIATES ▲	3,692,700	22
A MERICA N COUNCIL ON ENERGY EFFICIENCY	3,452,000	17
CLEAN AIR TASK FORCE	3,306,903	II.
TIDES FOUNDATION & CENTER	3,300,000	5
W ORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE A	2,976,000	11
CERES INC. ▲	2,975,700	12
W ORLD WILDLIFE FUND ▲	2,918,276	4
CENTER FOR CLIMATE STRATEGIES ▲	2,435,000	12
W DODS HOLE INSTITUTE	2,250,000	2
TOTAL	182,111,719	317



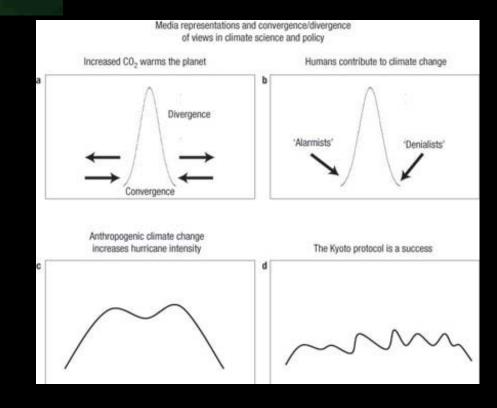
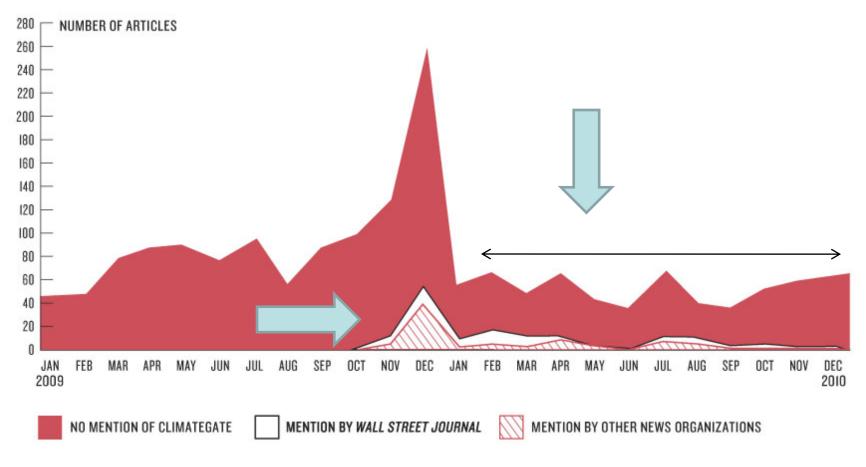


FIGURE 3.2

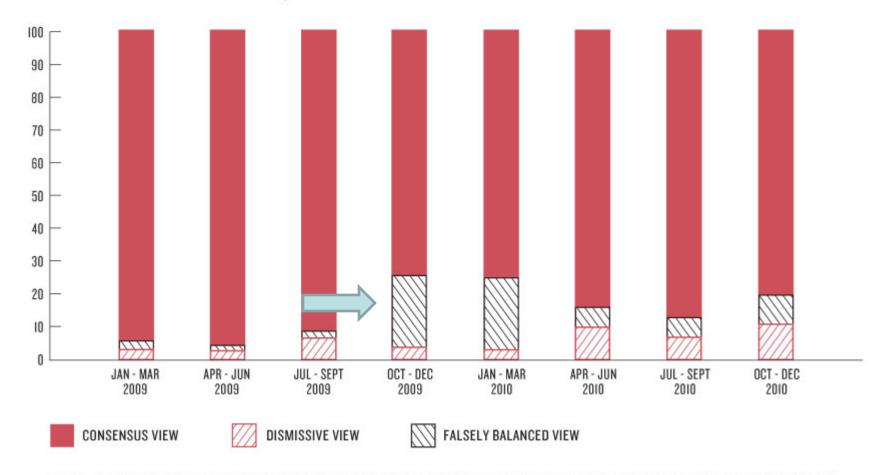
NEWS ATTENTION TO CLIMATEGATE AT WALL STREET JOURNAL VS. FOUR OTHER OUTLETS



NOTE: ARTICLES MENTIONING "CLIMATEGATE," "STOLEN E-MAILS," "LEAKED E-MAILS," "HACKED E-MAILS" OR "EAST ANGLIA" WERE IDENTIFIED AND CHECKED FOR RELEVANCY BEFORE BEING INCLUDED IN THE FINAL TOTAL. "OTHER OUTLETS" INCLUDE COMBINED COVERAGE AT THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE WASHINGTON POST, CNN.COM AND POLITICO.



FIGURE 3.3
PORTRAYAL OF REALITY AND CAUSES
OF CLIMATE CHANGE, 2009 TO 2010

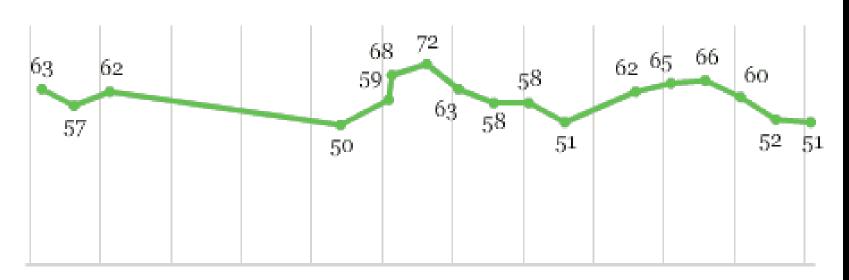


NOTE: ANALYSIS BASED ON REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF 413 ARTICLES APPEARING AT THE FIVE NEWS OUTLETS BETWEEN JAN. 1, 2009, AND DEC. 31, 2010. DATA IS AGGREGATED AND DISPLAYED BY THREE MONTH INTERVAL.



How much do you personally worry about global warming?

% Worry a great deal/a fair amount



1989 1991 1993 1995 1997 1999 2001 2003 2005 2007 2009 2011

GALLUP'

Degree to Which Americans Worry About Environmental Problems, 2011 vs. 2001 % Great deal/Fair amount

	March 2001	March 2011	Change
	%	%	Pct. pts.
Pollution of drinking water	88	77	-11
Pollution of rivers/lakes/reservoirs	87	79	-8
Contamination of soil/water from toxic waste	85	79	-6
Air pollution	82	72	-10
Loss of tropical rain forests	76	63	-13
Species extinction	73	64	-9
Urban sprawl and loss of open space	69	57	-12
Global warming^	63	51	-12

^{^ 2001} wording: "the greenhouse effect or global warming"

GALLUP'

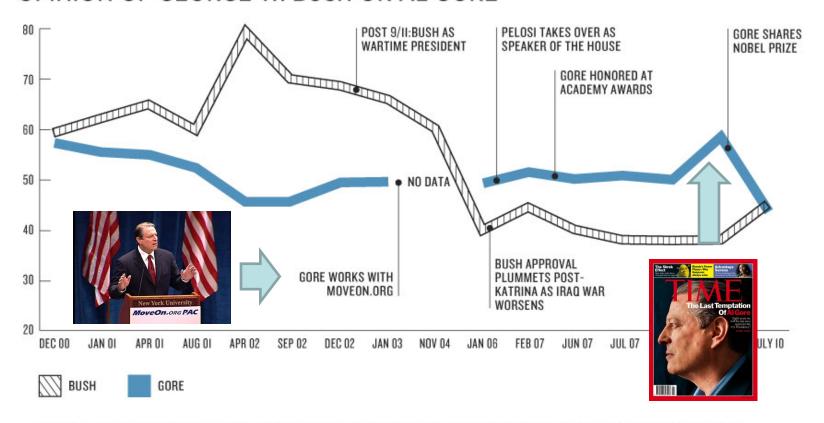
CORRESPONDING TO THE TIME OF THE ADMINISTERED SURVEY.

SOURCE: PEW CENTER FOR PEOPLE AND THE PRESS.



FIGURE 4.2

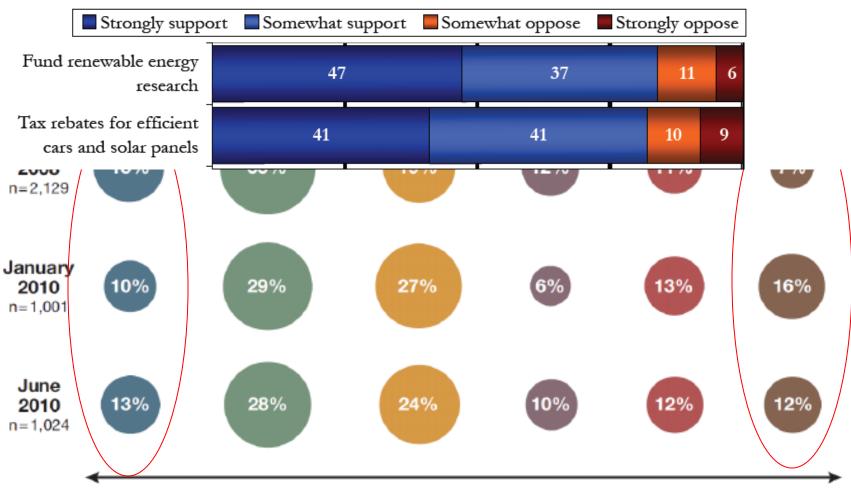
PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC WITH "FAVORABLE" OPINION OF GEORGE W. BUSH OR AL GORE



NOTE: RESPONDENTS WERE ASKED: "WE'D LIKE TO GET YOUR OVERALL OPINION OF SOME PEOPLE IN THE NEWS. AS I READ EACH NAME, PLEASE SAY IF YOU HAVE A FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF THESE PEOPLE -- OR IF YOU HAVE NEVER HEARD OF THEM. HOW ABOUT?" DATA IS DISPLAYED ONLY FOR YEARS AND MONTHS WHERE QUESTION WAS ASKED BOTH FOR BUSH AND FOR GORE.

SOURCE: GALLUP ORGANIZATION.

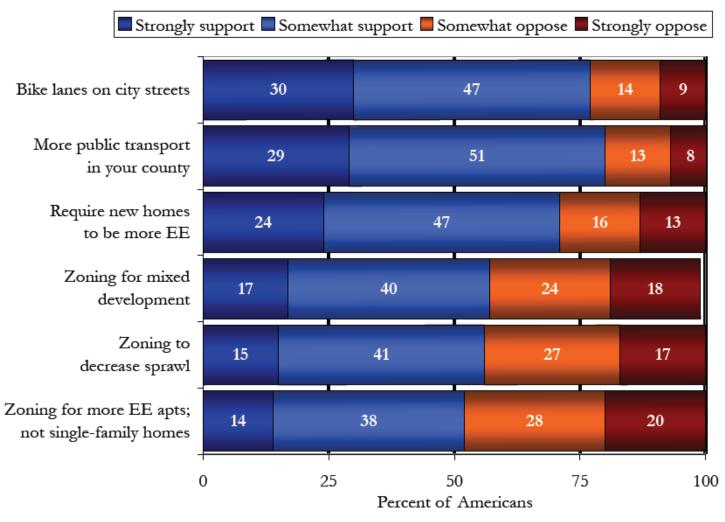
National Policy Support



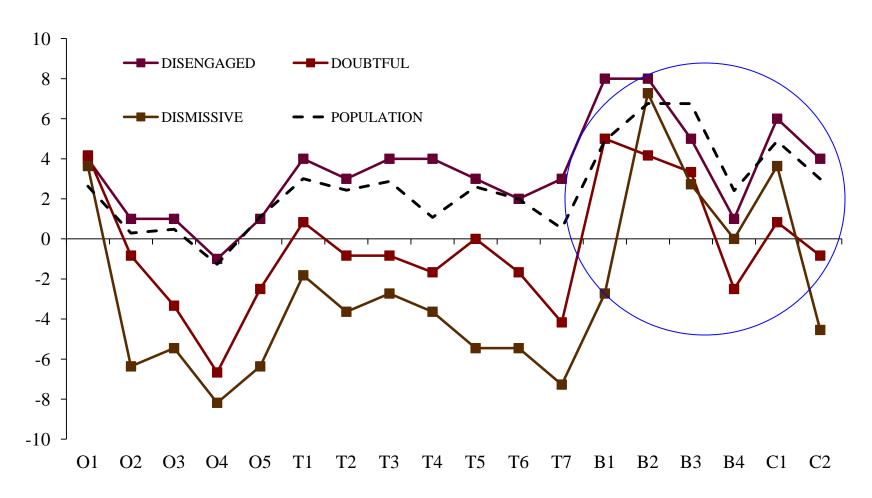
Highest Belief in Global Warming Most Concerned Most Motivated Lowest Belief in Global Warming Least Concerned Least Motivated

Localizing the Issue





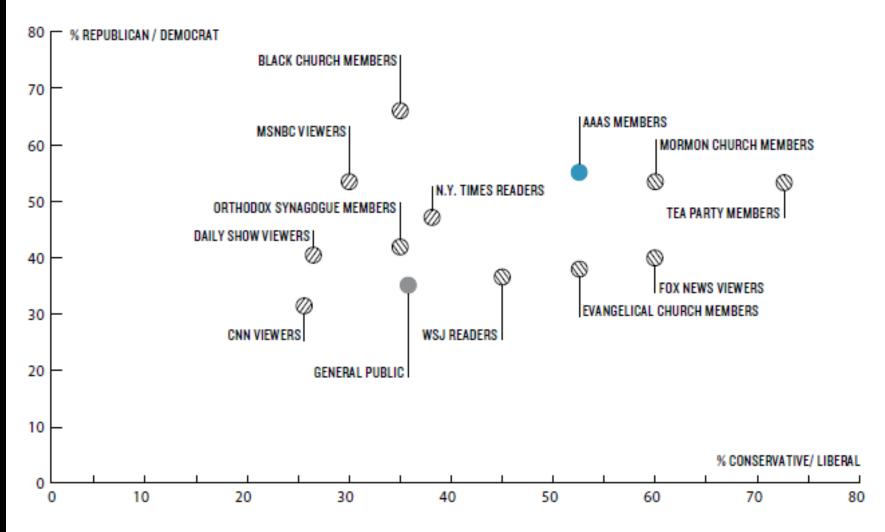
Segments 4-6: Sentence Specific Reaction To Public Health Essay



Scores reflect respondent average values by segment for the difference between the number of times each of 18 sentences were marked "especially clear or helpful" and "especially confusing or unhelpful."

FIGURE 4.5

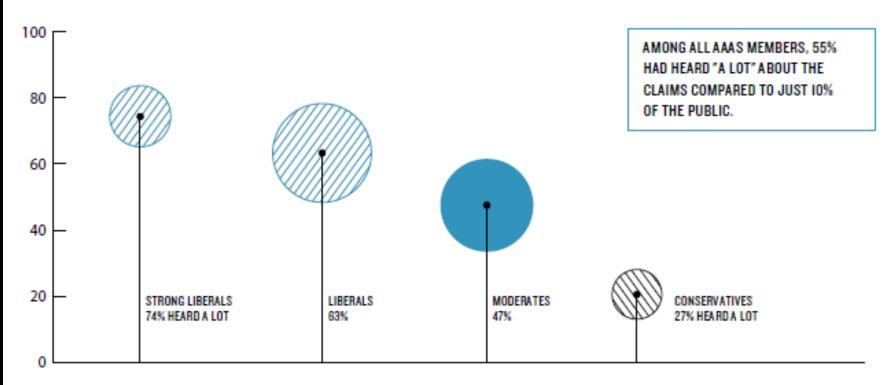
IDEOLOGICAL AND PARTISAN LIKE-MINDEDNESS ACROSS SOCIAL GROUPS



SOURCE: PEW CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS; PEW RELIGION AND PUBLIC LIFE PROJECT.

FIGURE 4.8

PERCENTAGE OF AAAS MEMBERS HEARING "A LOT" ABOUT BUSH ADMINISTRATION INTERFERENCE WITH GOVERNMENT SCIENTISTS



NOTE: BUBBLE SIZE IS PROPORTIONATE TO PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SELF-IDENTIFYING BY EACH IDEOLOGICAL CATEGORY.
RESPONDENTS WERE ASKED: "HOW MUCH, IF ANYTHING, HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT CLAIMS THAT GOVERNMENT SCIENTISTS WERE
NOT ALLOWED TO REPORT RESEARCH FINDINGS THAT CONFLICTED WITH THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S POINT OF VIEW?"

SOURCE: 2009 SURVEYS CONDUCTED BY PEW CENTER FOR PEOPLE AND THE PRESS. SAMPLE SIZE= 2,535.

Climate Shift Project Team

- Research, translation and projects:
 - Understanding news system and journalistic choices relative to coverage of energy.
 - New methods and understanding of structured public dialogue and involvement.
 - Mental models, risk perceptions and views on role of government.
 - New forms and strategies for telling the energy challenge story.

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