

## Growing Climate Change Activism November - 2020



The Abdullah Bin Hamad Al-Attiyah International Foundation for Energy & Sustainable Development









### **INTRODUCTION**



Environmental activism, in general, and focus on climate change, in particular, has witnessed a shift from traditional street movements to political, institutional, corporate, and online forms, facing the energy industry with bottom-up, top-down, and internal pressures. How has climate change activism succeeded in changing the energy landscape, attitudes and perceptions of investors, and expectations from shareholders? How is climate change activism adapting to new challenges and taking up novel tools?

What role is climate change activism playing globally and in what way is this likely to shape the energy and climate change policies of the new US administration?



### Sustainability Report

This research paper is part of a 12-month series published by the Al-Attiyah Foundation every year. Each in-depth research paper focuses on a prevalent sustainable development topic that is of interest to the Foundation's members and partners. The 12 technical papers are distributed to members, partners, and universities, as well as made available online to all Foundation members.



### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

- Climate activism has developed from earlier environmental movements dating back to the 1960s and sometimes even earlier but has gained shape during the 1980s. It has worked alongside and in synergy (and sometimes competition) with international climate diplomacy.
- The global landscape of climate activism is becoming densely populated, with most recent manifestations, such as Greta Thunberg, Fridays for Future, and Extinction Rebellion pressuring government policymakers and stakeholders to be accountable and reform climate policy to limit future climate exposure.
- In 2019, growing attention on oil and gas companies' greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions— mostly carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane, and nitrous oxides—resulted in high-profile opposition to fossil fuels through climate strikes the world over from activist groups.
- Divestment campaigners are relatively new entrants to climate activism. Still, they have already made important contributions through the strategy of directly targeting financial actors responsible for the funding of fossil fuel projects.
- Various jurisdictions, led by the EU, are now imposing carbon border taxes or considering restricting the import of highcarbon energy and other products or both.
- Other jurisdictions in developing countries such as non-OECD Asia and Africa may fall in line as pressure rises from localised climate justice movements, putting stress on oil and gas producers to meet these standards and maintain market access.

 The current coronavirus pandemic comes at a crucial time for the climate crisis, forcing activists and campaigners to change tactics and adopt a large, online presence. This adoption has, in turn, led to a rise in media activism and a social media culture of stigmatisation, forcing large corporate stakeholders and businesses in the energy sector to respond to and initiate climate activism programmes of their own.



### CLIMATE ACTIVISM IS TRANSFORMATIVE, AND HAS SEVERAL FORMS

The global landscape of climate activism is becoming densely populated. Over the last half-decade, climate activism has become closely linked to the broader climate movement, a product of the early twentieth-century conservation and preservation movements that sought to protect the outdoor environment and wildlife. And also, educate world populations on the effects of human activity on environmental degradation, resulting in specific, material climate outcomes.

Traditional forms of environmentalism typically featured a strong anti-war/anti-nuclear rhetoric from the 1960s. Pollution and overpopulation were also concerns, with resource depletion featuring heavily from the 1970s because of the oil price shock. Specific climate activism took off only in the 1980s when climate change was identified as a major threat to the environment and human society. Protecting the climate became synonymous with the development of public policy in democratic political regimes that articulated and represented the interests and visions of different social sectors and actors. It was mainly achieved through three primary forms of direct civic action activism:

- **1.**Group (sometimes individual) activism, including demonstrations, rallies, and vigils;
- **2.** Print media activism, including publications, journals, books, and pamphlets for mass awareness: and
- **3.**TV media activism (post-1950), including news coverage of ecological disasters due to human activity, eco-documentaries, shows, and interviews with influential individuals/groups.

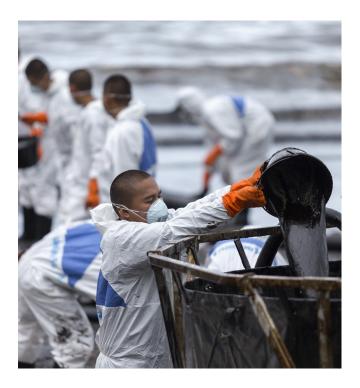


### CLIMATE ACTIVISM IS TRANSFORMATIVE, AND HAS SEVERAL FORMS

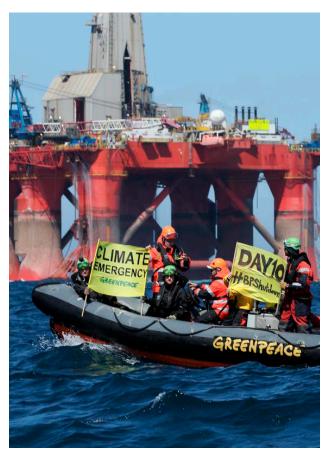
Table 1 Evolution of climate/environmental campaigns in selected Western countries

Country	Form	Activism	Influential	Climate/Environmental Action
			Groups/Individuals	
	Publication/Print Media	<ul> <li>1958: Charles Keeling's         'Keeling Curve' depicts a         steady rise in CO2 levels that         could lead to climate change</li> <li>1962: Rachel Carson's book         'Silent Spring' published,         warning of the danger of         pesticides</li> </ul>	SANE (now Peace Action)     Senator Gaylord Nelson	1970: US establishes the US     Environmental Protection Agency     1970: Clean Air Act passed     1975: The US establishes the     Nuclear Regulatory Commission     under the Energy Reorganisation     Act of 1974
	Demonstrations/Rallies	<ul> <li>1961: Women Strike for Peace</li> <li>1969: Santa Barbara Oil Spill Protests</li> <li>1976: Clamshell Alliance Protests (Seabrook Nuclear Station)</li> <li>1977: Abalone Alliance Protests (Diablo Canyon Nuclear Station)</li> <li>1980: Nuclear Freeze Campaign</li> <li>1983: International Day of Nuclear Disarmament protests</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>1969: Friends of the Earth</li> <li>1969: Union of Concerned Scientists</li> <li>1975: Greenpeace USA</li> <li>Clamshell Alliance</li> <li>Abalone Alliance</li> <li>Nevada Desert Experience</li> </ul>	Act passed  1978: Energy Tax Act passed to facilitate uptake of renewables during the oil crisis and to answer to demands for appropriate renewable energy use for self-sufficiency <sup>1</sup> .  1978: National Energy Conservation Policy Act  1980: Carter's Superfund (federal programme to clean up sites contaminated with hazardous materials)  1982: Nuclear Waste Policy Act
NS .	Vigil	1993: Proposition One Campaign for Nuclear-Free Future	William Thomas     Hallenback Jr.     Eleanor Holmes     Norton	1993: Voter initiative which led to a bill introduced into the House of Representatives every session by Eleanor Holmes Norton to abolish nuclear weapons, convert arms industries to non-lethal enterprises, and transform current polluting energy systems to carbon-free, nuclear-free energy
Germany	Demonstrations/Rallies	<ul> <li>1975: Wyhl Nuclear Power Plant Protests</li> <li>1987: Chernobyl disaster protests</li> <li>1983-1989: East German Environmental Movement</li> </ul>	May 1993: Green Party founded	1979: Energiewende (energy transition) term coined to introduce a phase-out from nuclear energy and energy imports, particularly oil, for energy self-reliance and to combat the "CO2 problem", but not made part of government policy till 2010
	Demonstrations/Rallies	<ul> <li>1958 onwards (annual): Banthe-Bomb Protests (Aldermaston Marches)</li> <li>1991: Dungeness Nuclear Power Station Protests</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>1981: Greenham         Common Women's         Peace Camp         1957: Campaign for         Nuclear         Disarmament</li> <li>1971: Friends of the</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>1974: Environment Protection Act</li> <li>1974: Control of Pollution Act</li> <li>1978: Nuclear Safeguards and Electricity (Finance) Act</li> <li>1995: Environment Agency established</li> </ul>
ň	TV Environmentalism	<ul> <li>Torrey Canyon oil tanker         (1967) spilling more than         100,000 tonnes of crude off         the Cornish coast, affecting         bird and water life</li> <li>Eco-disaster scenarios and         documentaries (Downwatch,         Look, Zoo Quest)</li> </ul>	Earth, UK  1990: Greenpeace, UK  1990: People (now Green Party)  Earth First!	

Climate concerns grew in importance during the 1990s, along with increasing scientific findings and the beginning of international climate diplomacy (see below). Oil companies came into focus as targets following the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska, the execution of Nigerian activist Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1995, and the campaign against Shell's plan to dispose of the Brent Spar oil platform in the North Atlantic, also in 1995 ii. This focus saw Greenpeace's use of direct action as part of making a compelling case via the media.



Current climate change activism has evolved rapidly since the late 1990s. Indirect activism has been facilitated by the advent of online and internet technologies, globalisation, and high-profile scientific and academic research forums. Means of indirect activism now include online campaigns and petitions, media activism, electronic advocacy, green reporting, green consumerism, corporate activism, shareholder activism, political campaigning, and hashtag activism.



Direct action has become increasingly mediasavvy and daring, such as the arrest in Russia in 2013 of 30 Greenpeace activists on the 'Arctic Sunrise' vessel protesting against offshore drilling, or Greenpeace's blocking of access to BP's offices in London in 2019. 'Lawfare', or the use of legal and regulatory measures to pressure fossil fuel companies and block projects, has been effective in stopping or delaying oil and gas pipelines in North America in particular, such as Keystone XL.

However, there are concerns about 'slacktivism' or 'clicktivism', where individuals only 'like' or share a social media post, instead of engaging in more active methods such as campaigning, influencing politicians, donating or direct action.

### GLOBAL CLIMATE POLICY HAS DEVELOPED RAPIDLY, SYMBIOTICALLY WITH ACTIVISM

Major international climate change agreements have attempted to create awareness on climate protection, play an active role in legislation, and push for the adoption of alternative forms of energy to curtail the build-up of GHGs. Climate activists, leading and shaping public opinion, and at times electing climate-friendly politicians, have played a major role in the political momentum to negotiate these agreements. The climate conferences, from the Rio Earth Summit of 1992 and COP1 in Berlin in 1995 onwards, have been a venue for climate and other environmental and social activists to meet, engage, lobby, and protest.

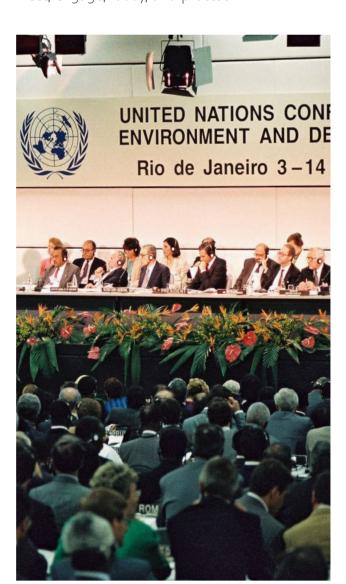


Table 2 Timeline of major climate change agreements achieved on the sidelines of growing climate activism

Year	Development			
1988	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) established			
1990	Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change (INCFCCC) established			
1992	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) text adopted; Rio Earth Summit			
1994	UNFCCC enters into force			
1995	UNFCCC COP1 Berlin Mandate			
1997	Kyoto Protocol adopted at COP3			
2001	Kyoto Protocol ratified, formalising agreements on rules for International Emissions Trading, the Clean Development Mechanism, and Joint Implementation			
2005	EU Emissions Trading Scheme (EUETS) launched, Kyoto Protocol enters into force			
2006	Clean Development Mechanisms of the Kyoto Protocol opened CER Registry			
2009	Copenhagen Accord adopted at COP15			
2010	Cancun Agreement adopted at COP16			
2012	Doha Amendment adopted at COP18; second commitment period of Kyoto Protocol launched			
2015	Historical COP21 Paris Agreement adopted by 195 countries			
2018	IPCC confirms importance of 1.5°C goal			
2020	End of the initial five-year commitment period of the Paris Agreement; countries expected to submit updated Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)			

Up till 2015, international climate policy under the UNFCCC framework, including the Kyoto Protocol, attempted to reach agreement on binding targets and actions. But it proved impossible to make this work, because of the unwieldy nature of the negotiations; the presence of major actors not prepared to concede to serious action; the lack of enforceability; and the exclusion from binding emissions cuts of major emerging economies, notably China. This failure led to growing disillusionment, culminating in COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009, with a chaotic summit and weak final agreement iii.

It was at COP21 in Paris that new ground in international climate policy was broken by acknowledging the primacy of domestic politics in climate change, allowing countries to set their own level of ambition for climate change mitigation (in their Nationally Determined Contributions, or NDCs). This acknowledgement was in contrast to over 20 years of UN negotiations focused on top-down mandatory emissions-reduction approach.

The framework created by the Agreement enabled international and public review of every country's climate change policy, in the hope that global ambition could be increased through the process of stigmatisation, or "naming and shaming", much like the rhetoric of the Fossil Fuel Divestment Movement, and online climate campaigns against governments, policymakers, and companies.

The election of Joe Biden as US president in November 2020 is a further important development. He has named former presidential candidate and long-time climate diplomat John Kerry as his international climate envoy. As secretary of state under the Obama administration, John Kerry led the US negotiation of the Paris Agreement.



### CURRENT-DAY CLIMATE CHANGE ACTIVISM HAS VARIOUS ACTORS

The actors involved in current-day climate change activism have broadened to include civil society, media, political parties, and business corporations. The inclusion of these other pillars of the economy (government,

media, and business) into the activist sphere emerged from the realisation that there is need to identify like-minded actors from different sectors of society to work together for the common goal of saving the planet from the ravages of climate change.

Table 3 Major actors in modern climate change activism and their aims and methods

Actor	Type	Aims	Major form of Activism	Main Actors
Civil Society	Non-profit Organisations Non- governmental Organisations Individuals Civil Society Movements	Advocating and pushing for new laws, programmes, policies, and strategies on climate change, in holding governments, businesses, and corporations accountable to their role in enabling climate change, and ensuring preventive action to mitigate their carbon footprints and eliminate emissions	Direct action: protests/rallies/marches/strikes Indirect action: social media campaigns, online petitions Shareholder stigmatisation Boycotts of consumer products	Civil Society Coalition on Climate Change (CSCCC) Greenpeace Earth5R Friends of the Earth Ende Gelände Shell Must Fall Alliance People's Climate March Fossil Fuel Divestment Extinction Rebellion Fridays for Future
Government	Political Parties	Influence and control climate policy by winning elections Use electoral campaigns as a springboard to promote their cause and pressure other parties to address environmental issues	Political /electoral campaigns	Green Party (Germany, Australia, UK, USA, Canada, Kenya and many others)
	Municipal/District Governments	Formulating and authorising district, state, and national-level climate change laws in line with the Paris Agreement (2015), Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), and in case of non-signatories like the US, that mitigate current pollution levels; invoke legislation for climate grievances raised by civil society, and R&D into effects of climate change and remedial action, ecomodernism	Climate legislation Reform/implementation of climate change policies Bans on high-carbon products Carbon pricing and tariffs on carbon- intensive industries Green financing tools Subsidies and FIT schemes for clean energy uptake Regulation and market design for clean energy implementation	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Kyoto Protocol CDMs Paris Agreement C40 ICLEI Under 2 Coalition We Mean Business New York Declaration on Forests Climate & Clean Air
	State Governments			
	National/Federal Governments			
	Government Cooperative Initiatives			Coalition
Media	Print	Coverage of climate change activism and ecological disasters, educating masses on main perceived perpetrators of global climate change; environmental journalism	Publications Op-eds Interviews with major individuals/civil society groups linked to climate change activism	
	Television		Eco-documentaries Coverage of ecological disasters	

Media	Social Media  Advertising	Direct engagement with influential climate change activists, and perceived perpetrators of violence to the environment to take action  Advocating sustainable consumption and the rise of green consumerism by advertising ecofriendly processes of manufacture/production	Shareholder stigmatisation Online petitions Social media campaigns Forums, workshops, webinars to organise direct action activism	
	'Climate-friendly' businesses	Gain positive business impact from promoting / exploiting 'green' credentials	Mobilise supportive government policies, e.g. subsidies Attract consumers with a positive environmental message	
Businesses	'Climate-neutral' businesses	Comply with environmental goals and societal aspirations	Green Reporting Positive PR on social media about environmental milestones/decisions Environmental Performance Assessments (EPAs) Corporate disclosure: communication of firm environmental performance and governance to outside investors and the public Corporate social responsibility: Initiatives and corporate policies to improve and promote business ethics, addressing environmental impacts of business operations and new investment projects	United Nations Global Compact
	'Climate- unfriendly' businesses	Avoid major negative climate activism or government regulation	Shareholder activism: willingness to hold directors and high-ranking executives to account on environmental issues or decisions pertaining to or impacting the environment Direct accountability Climate litigation	

ADVENT OF ONLINE ACTIVISM HAS RESULTED IN THE CREATION OF 'ECHO CHAMBERS'

The advent of online climate activism has resulted in the creation of various new actors that directly and indirectly contribute to the climate change discourse.

These include climate change celebrities (typically celebrated individuals in other spheres, such as film, music, literature, science, and politics, with a keen interest in climate change), influencers, influencer groups, climate activist

communities, online forums, and climate rights' petition groups.

Social media is a relatively new, but already widely used, source of information and opinion about climate change, with a significant portion of the world's population receiving its daily news via high-engagement platforms like Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and LinkedIn. These have facilitated attitudes of consensus within groups and polarisation between them around climate change, especially in the US, where lack of consensus has inhibited the implementation of cohesive, far-reaching climate change policies. 'Echo

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chambers' prevent social media users from seeing a diverse range of opinions. Social media engagement tends to reward more extreme and strident material.

On an international scale, the creation of socalled 'climate change celebrities' has given high-profile climate change events 'global star power' to navigate the intersections between media, politics, and science. For example, speeches at the UN from actors Leonardo DiCaprio (UN Climate Summit 2014 in the leadup to the COP21 Paris Accord), Alec Baldwin (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2019), and former celebrity politician and actor, Arnold Schwarzenegger (COP24, Poland 2018) have fed into increasing online discourse surrounding climate change activism, inspiring mass climate change rallies, demonstrations, and vigils by other celebrities, such as James Fonda, Mark Ruffalo, and Shawn Mendes. Celebrity scientists, such as James Hansen, Neil DeGrasse Tyson, Michael E. Mann, Katharine Hayhoe, and journalists including George Monbiot, have become trusted sources to many to explain the complexities and implications of climate science.

Conversely, some 'climate deniers' and 'contrarians' have also achieved large social media followings, spreading a variety of disinformation or misleading arguments about the existence, scale, or importance of climate change, whether it should be tackled at all, and the appropriate methods to do so.

Climate activism in developing countries is connected to the wider international movement. But it also has strong local elements, often connected to specific projects and issues. Climate adaptation and environmental justice have a high profile, not

just emissions mitigation. For instance, in Brazil, former environment minister and presidential candidate Marina Silva, a native Amazonian, has been strongly concerned in the protection of the rainforest.

## CLIMATE ACTIVISM HAS HAD SOME NOTE-WORTHY PRACTICAL SUCCESSES

A well-known example is the Netherlands' Supreme Court upholding last December a 2015 ruling "that the government must reduce emissions by 25% over 1990 levels by 2020 \*. The original judgement in 2015 was seen as a landmark in the then-nascent field of climate litigation, brought to court by the non-profit activist Urgenda Foundation. Similar cases could follow in other European countries and have already inspired similar litigation in North America and New Zealand, as well as in developing non-OECD like Pakistan.

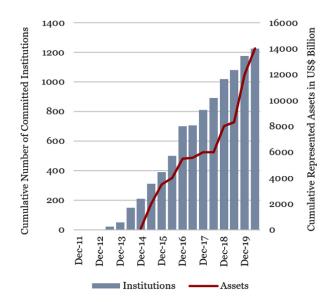
In both the Netherlands and New York, climate activists in the form of environmental groups have brought cases against oil companies over lack of action on climate change or alleged attempts to mislead investors on the risks they face. US firm ExxonMobil has been on the receiving end of at least six separate lawsuits since 2018 for misleading investors and consumers about the central role its hydrocarbon activity plays in causing climate change.

The New York suit was recently ruled in favour of ExxonMobil, but subsequent litigation has continued against it and counterparts Shell, BP, and Chevron. In Pakistan, a legal challenge brought to the Supreme Court by supporters of climate activist and pro bono environmental attorney Qazi Ali Athar against the Federation

of Pakistan and the Province of Sindh for continued exploitation and promotion of fossil fuels violating citizens' human rights, is well-documented evidence of climate litigation rising outside the traditional jurisdictions of Europe and North America.

Investors and financiers are increasingly eliminating funding for coal and oil as they come under pressure for supporting fossil fuel projects. The European Investment Bank (EIB) has decided that from 2021, it will cease funding for unabated fossil fuel projects. Some international banks, such as DNB, are also reluctant to finance fossil-fuel projects. For now, such moves will affect debt more than equity funding and power projects more than upstream production.

Figure 1 Growth of the Fossil Fuel Divestment Movement vi



Indirect activism has also had some measured successes. On the sidelines of rising environmental discontent against the oil industry, a modern Fossil Fuel Divestment Movement was created by climate activist and social media "climate influencer" Bill McKibben

through his website, 350.org, in an attempt to reduce climate change by exerting social, political, and economic pressure for the institutional divestment of assets including stocks, bonds, and other financial instruments connected to companies involved in extracting fossil fuels.

As of April 2020, a total of 1,192 institutions and over 58,000 individuals representing US\$ 14 trillion in assets worldwide had begun or committed to divestment from fossil fuels vii.



### HOW ARE ENERGY COMPANIES RESPONDING?

Businesses are under increasing pressure from climate change activism. Corporate disclosure and environmental performance assessment (EPA) targets are becoming more stringent. High-profile energy companies are under unprecedented pressure to demonstrate good performance not only in terms of competitiveness, market growth, and financial results but also increasingly in their environmental performance.

The oil and gas sector has been among the industries that have championed environmental CSR practices, mostly because of the high level of exposure and visibility of its global investments. Recent CSR initiatives have shifted from typical initiatives like the provision of electricity, water, roads, education, training, employment, and empowerment programmes, to environmental ones, such as reducing flaring and methane leaks, clearing up oil spills, and reducing overall carbon footprints.

Oil companies have increasingly made commitments to reduce not only the emissions arising directly from their operations (Scope 1 Emissions), but also emissions from the generation of energy (electricity, heat or steam) purchased for its own operations (Scope 2 Emissions), as well as emissions from its full value chain, including the life-cycle use of its products viii (Scope 3 Emissions).

Repsol has gone furthest, promising to eliminate Scope 3 emissions by 2050 ix. BP plans to be carbon-neutral by 2050 (with some caveats) x, while Shell will cut its emissions in half by 2050 xi. Baker Hughes has committed to reducing its Scope 1 emissions by 50% by 2030 (so far it is down 34%), and to be carbon-neutral by 2050 xii. Occidental Petroleum has committed to netzero emissions for all the oil and gas it produces by mid-century. In contrast, ConocoPhillips has

announced a goal of zeroing out its direct GHG emissions.

In a wider sense, 40% of North Sea oil operators and contractors are concerned about energy transition and diversification, and 49% are working to reduce their carbon footprint xiii.

Oil & Gas UK, an industry body, has produced a blueprint for 'net-zero' by 2035, while the Netherlands Oil and Gas Exploration and Production Association has signed an agreement with the government to cut methane emissions by half between 2017 and 2020 xiv.

Such corporate aims represent an internalisation of the Paris Agreement targets and commitment to respond to demand from climate campaigners.

The Oil & Gas Climate Initiative (OGCI) \*\*, an international industry-led organisation which includes 13 major oil companies from the oil and gas industry, representing about 30% of global oil and gas production, has committed to ambitious goals to reduce industrial GHG emissions, including limiting upstream methane emissions to below 0.25% by 2025 (from 0.32% in 2017) and reach zero routine flaring by 2030.



## THE CHANGING NARRATIVES WITHIN THE CLIMATE MOVEMENT DUE TO THE PARIS AGREEMENT

The major recent successes in advancing the Paris goals and seeing net-zero commitments in major economies from the EU, UK, Japan, South Korea, China, and (likely) the US mean climate activism has to move on to new goals.

Key parts of the debate cover urgency; stringency; wider aims; and tactics. Groups such as Extinction Rebellion find the Paris targets too slow to prevent dangerous, possibly catastrophic climate change, and want a much faster move to phase out fossil fuels and move to net-zero emissions. They also pay attention to ensuring governments and corporations remain committed to targets and do not delay or backslide.

The discussion over tactics covers what approaches are considered acceptable. For example, while many environmentalists target 100% renewable energy \*vi, and are anti-nuclear because of their roots in the environmental movements of the 1970s, 'Eco-modernists' \*vii, such as the Breakthrough Institute, argue strongly for nuclear power, carbon capture and storage, and negative emissions technologies.





### **CONCLUSIONS**

Oil and gas companies have internalised the goals of climate campaigners by setting zero-carbon/carbon-neutral goals. Nevertheless, they are increasingly exposed to lack of investor interest, divestment, and direct campaigns against their projects. Policies such as border carbon taxes are increasingly likely and will required oil- and gas-producing states to adjust to international norms.

Climate activism, having achieved some very notable successes, has, to a large extent, become mainstream in politics and corporations, especially in Europe and North America. It could increasingly become entrenched under the Biden administration (though this is far from certain). But more ideological, radical or concerned groups will likely take the climate movement forward in different ways. This could have increasing importance as climate action and disasters open up international tensions, as debates surface over the wider aims and socioeconomic impacts of climate policy, and as the difficulty of zero-carbon targets becomes increasingly clear.



#### **APPENDIX**

- i. http://www.martinot.info/Martinot et al CRS.pdf
- iii. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/dec/20/leader-copenhagen-accord
- iv. <a href="https://www.mcgill.ca/mjsdl/files/mjsdl/6">https://www.mcgill.ca/mjsdl/files/mjsdl/6</a> stein web.pdf
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