

The Challenge of Climate Justice: Can we make a just transition from fossil capitalism?

William K. Carroll
Conversations for a One Planet Region Lecture
Victoria
May, 2019



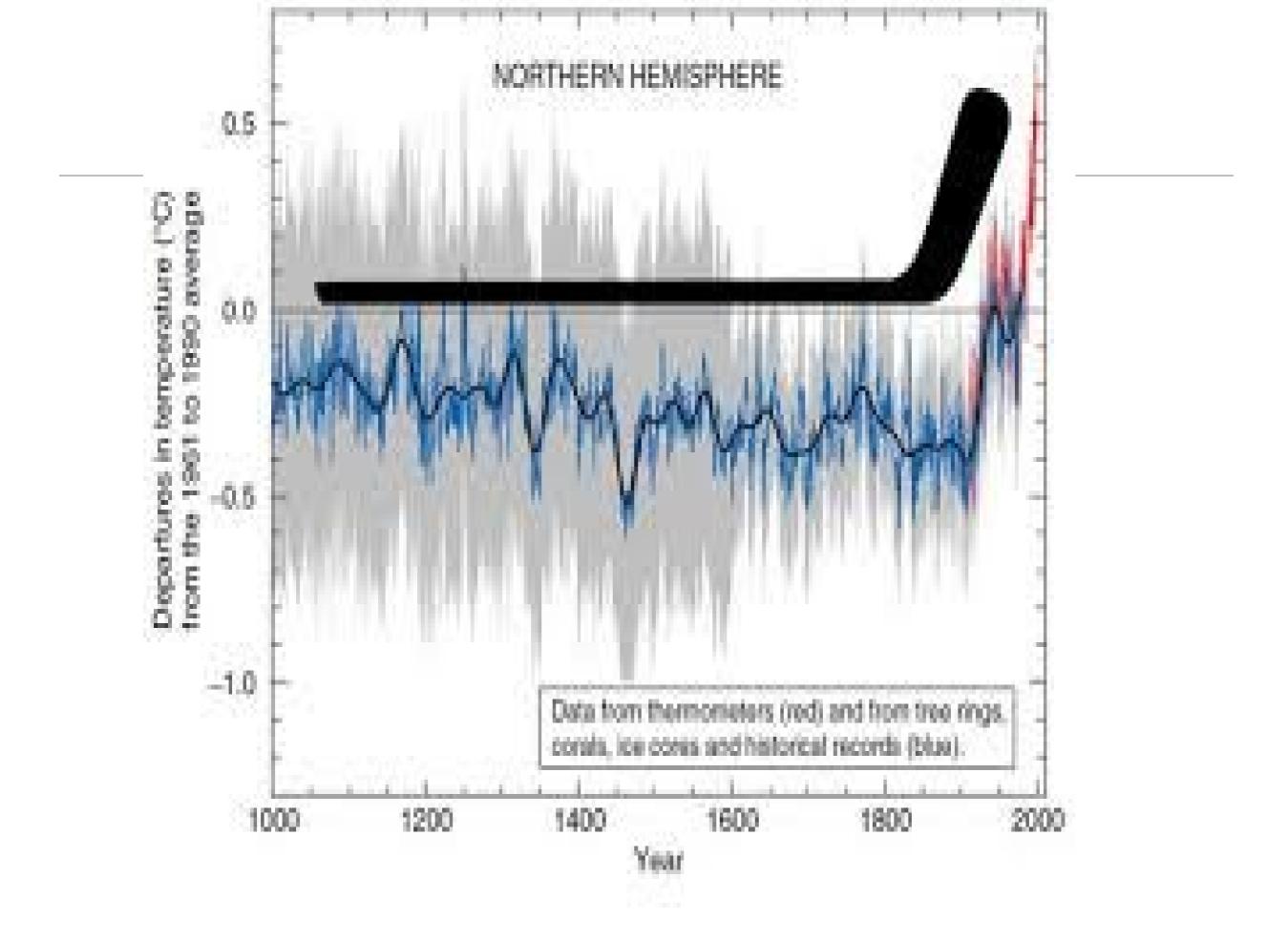
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Sea-level rise Dawn chorus decline

Sea-level rise Dawn chorus decline

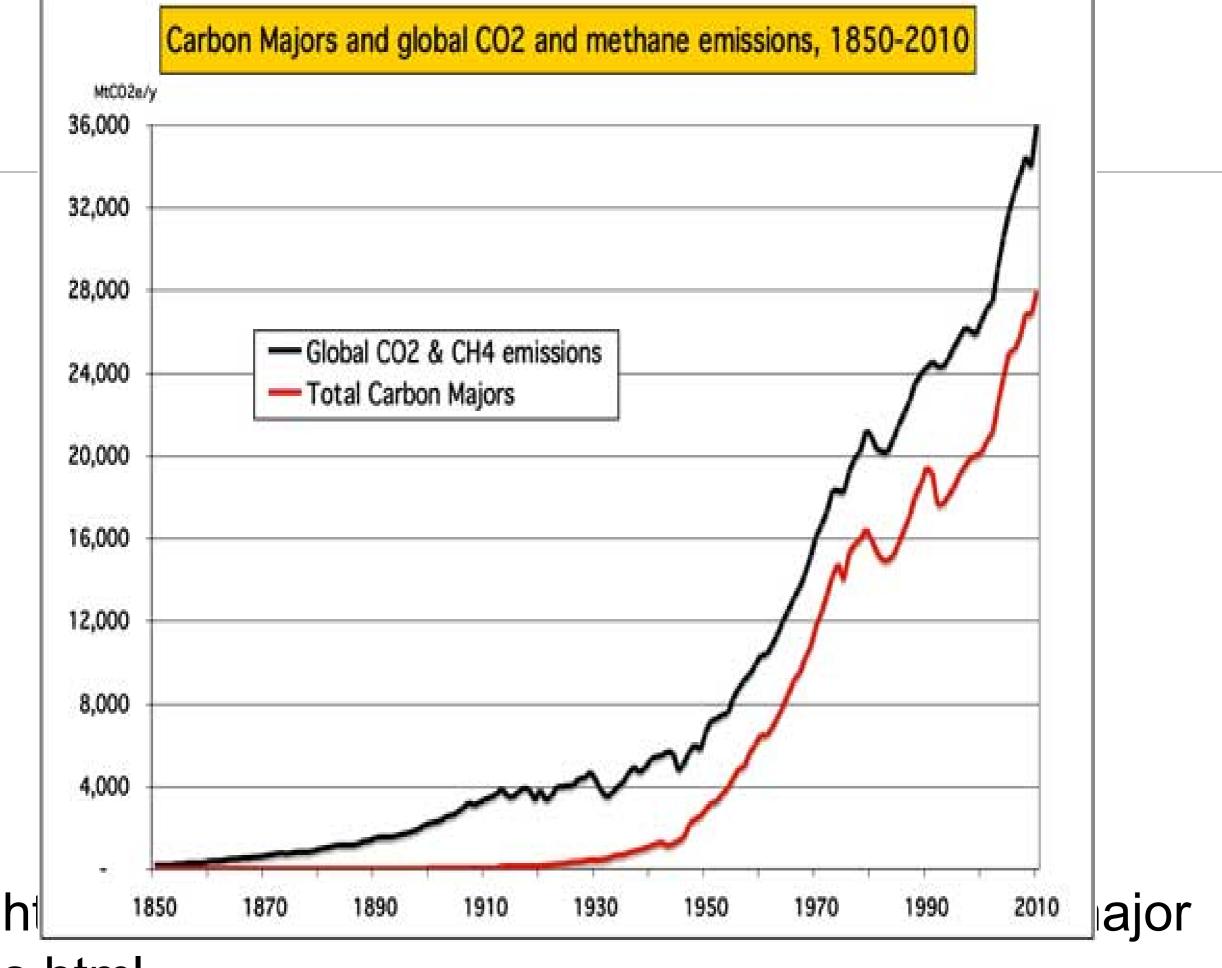
Sea-level rise Dawn chorus decline

Sea-level rise Dawn chorus decline laticam kills rive



https://bluemarbleearth.wordpress.com/2015/03/11/the-hockey-stick-in-context/

THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING CAPITALISM vs THE CLIMATE



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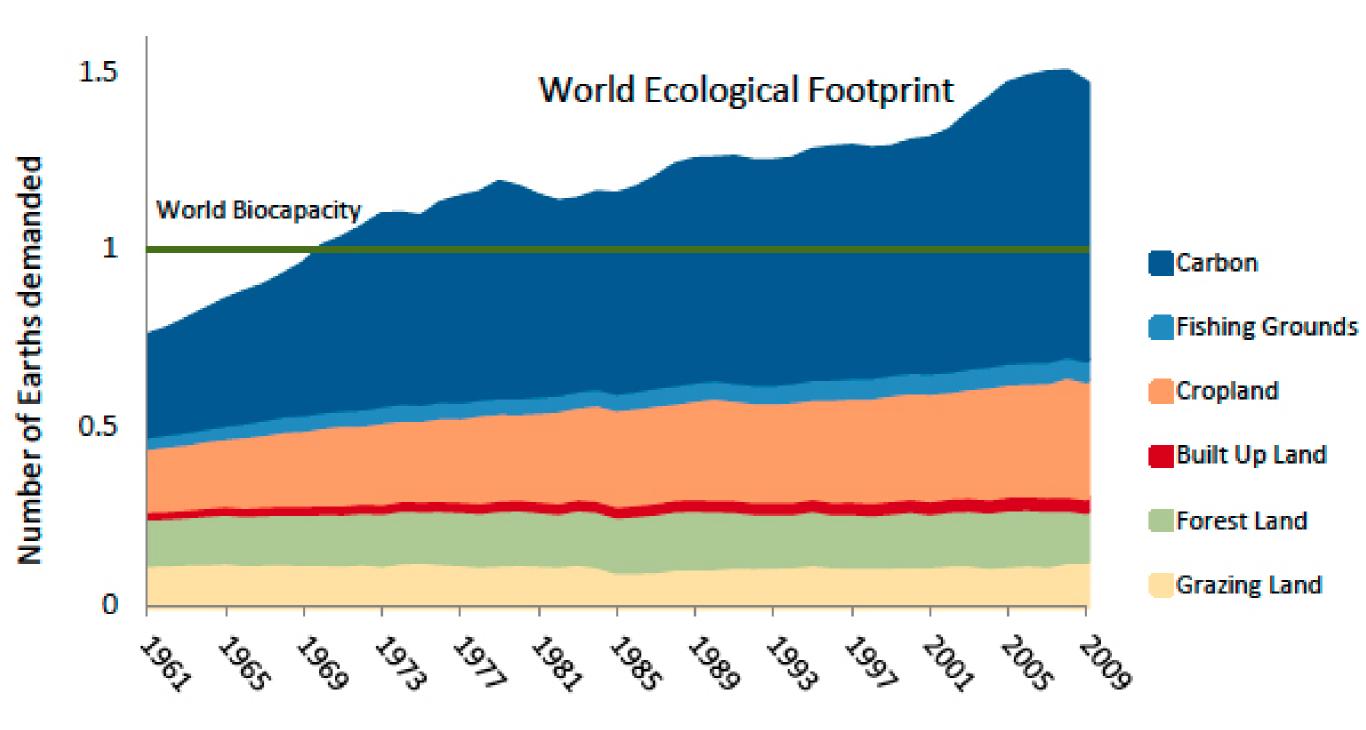
THE THE END OF CAPITALISM OR THE END OF THE WORLD?

- resource depletion
- habitat destruction
- mass extinction and decline of living systems
- global warming









http://gudda.org/becoming-ecocivilised.html

CATASTROPHS

The APOCALYPTIC POLITIC of COLLAPSE and REBIRTH



SASHA LILLEY | DAVID MCNALLY | EDDIE YUEN | JAMES |

SPECTRE

FOREWORD BY DOUG HENWOOD

Plan for the lecture

- How capitalism is implicated in ever-increasing carbon emissions and thus climate change?
- A framework for understanding how corporate power works, particularly in Canada, to protect the revenue streams of big business.
- An alternative to our form of oligarchic corporate power and fossil capitalism: energy democracy.

Fossil capitalism

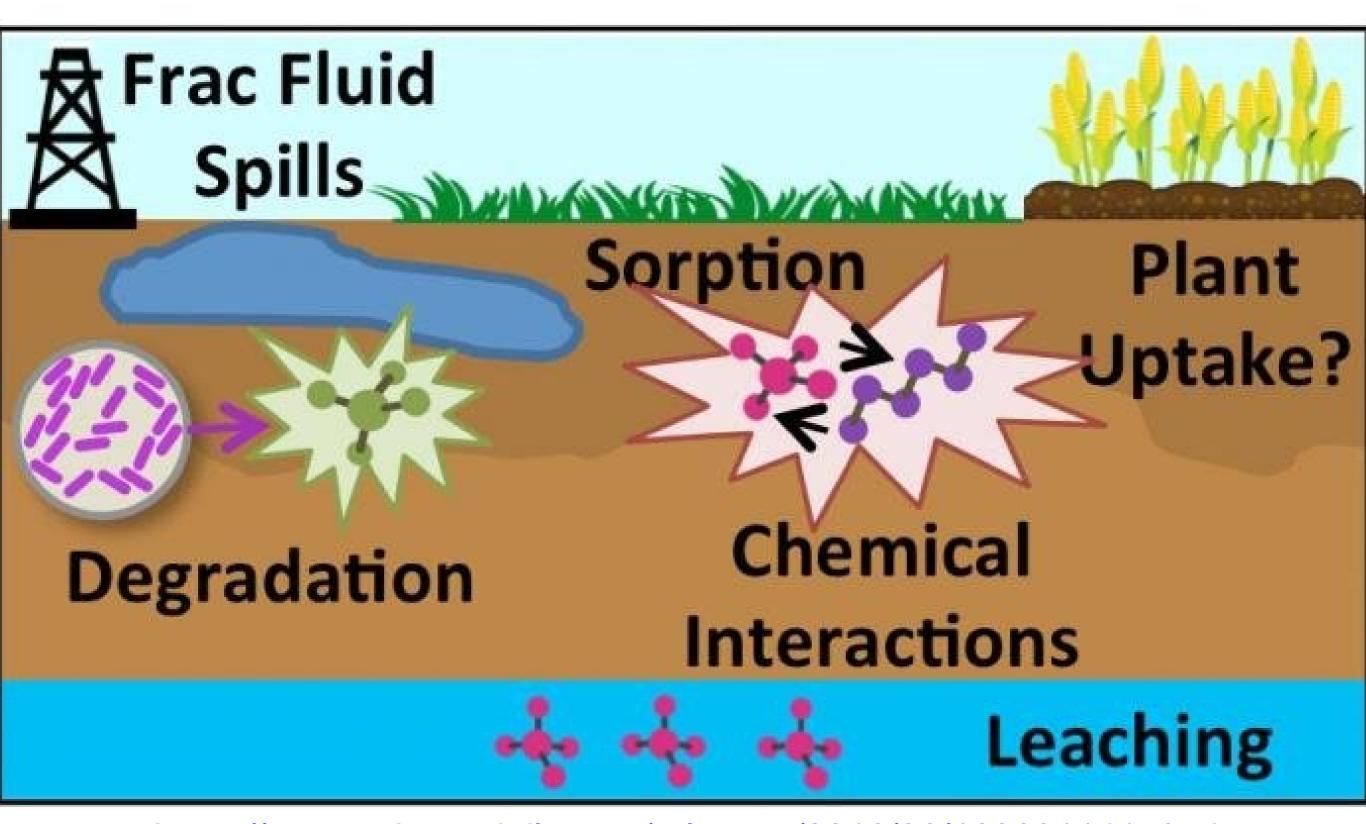
FOSSIL CAPITAL



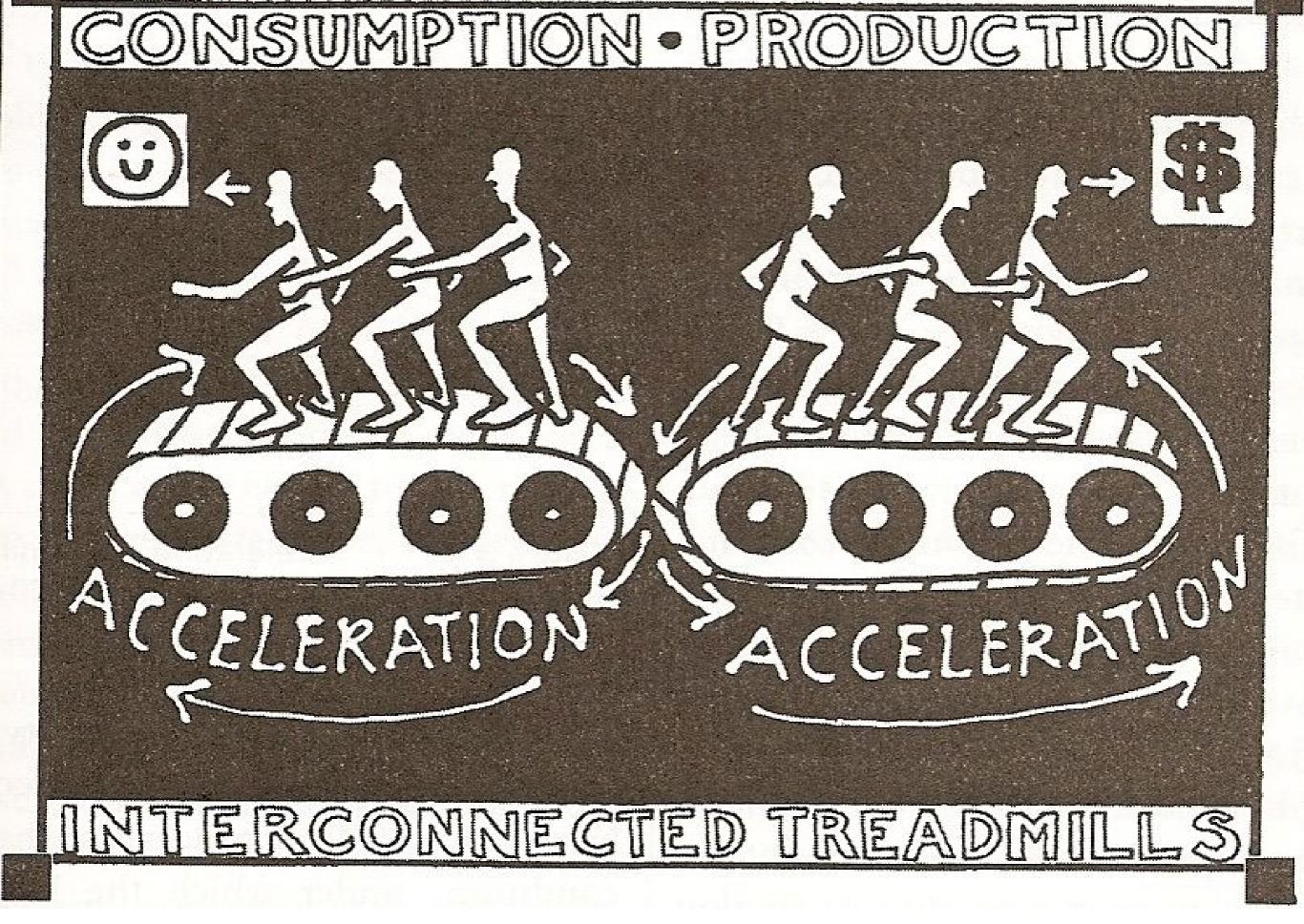
The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming ANDREAS MALM

⊑େ©ਿਤਾ, and the Accumulation of Capital

Some local ecological impacts of fracking







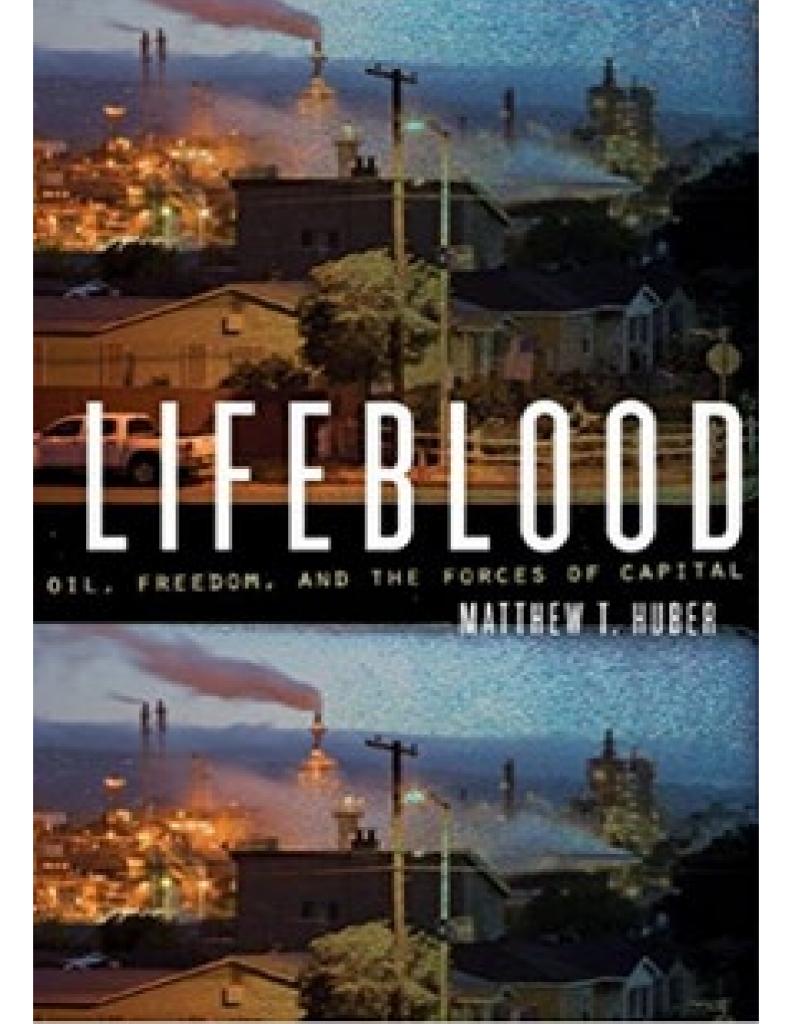
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STREET, TENANT

CARBON DEMOCRACY

POLITICAL POWER IN THE LOE OF DIL









HOME / ABOUT US / LIFE TAKES ENERGY

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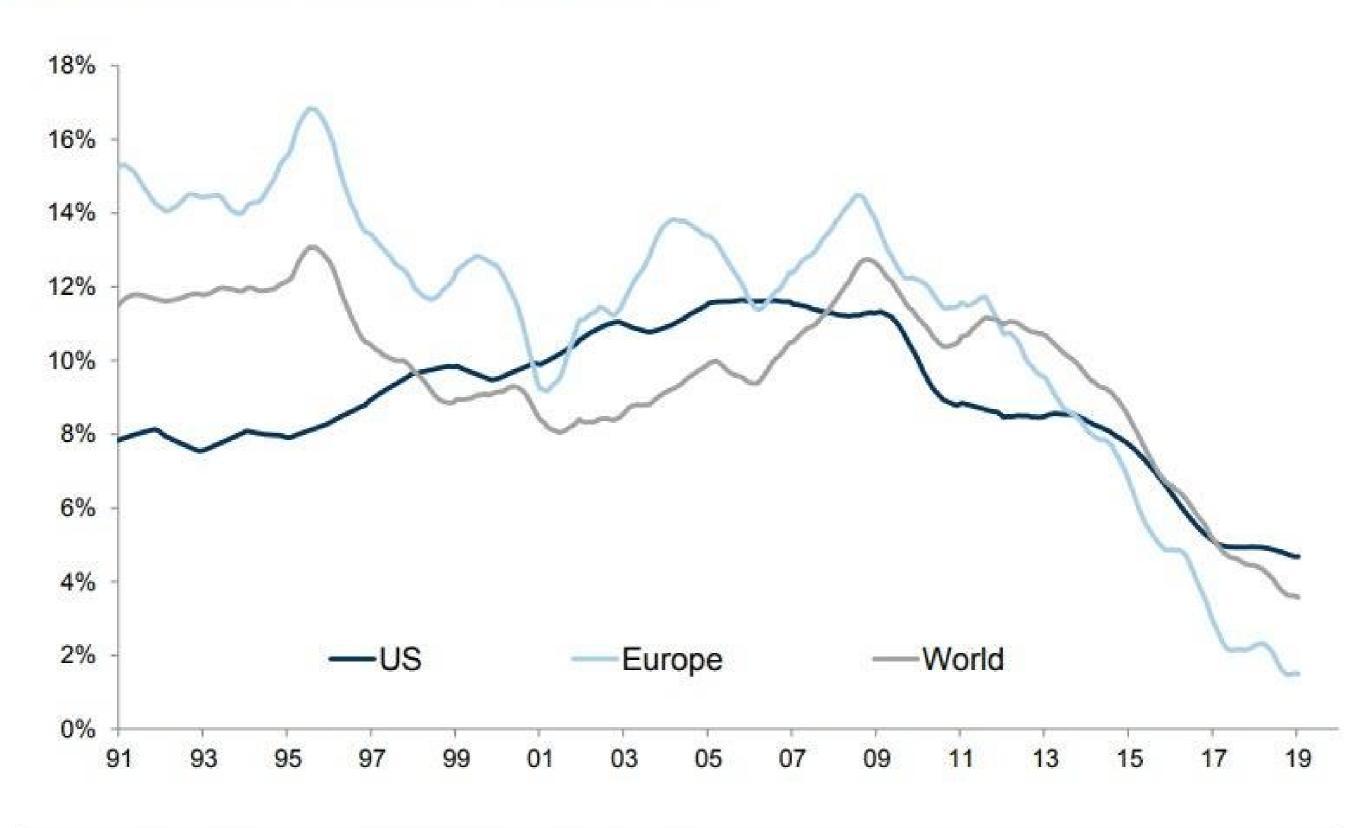
Life takes energy

When the energy you invest in life meets the energy we fuel it with, beautiful things happen.

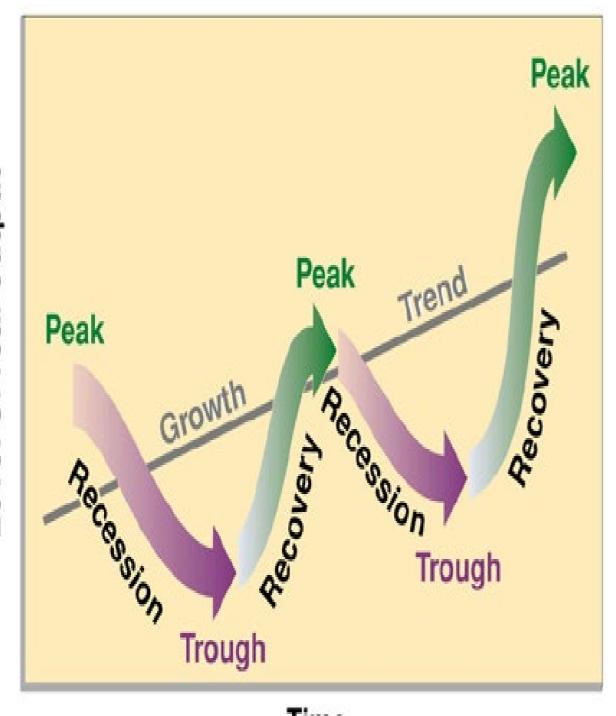
That's because our energy fuels yours in hundreds of meaningful ways – and in ways you might never have imagined. We don't cook your holiday dinners. Or drive the kids to skating practice. But we do help provide the energy that makes all these things possible. Enbridge brings you more than just energy. The products we deliver are part of everyone's quality of life. Ours is the energy that makes a house a home. The energy that moves our economy. The energy that makes life more convenient and more connected. We understand that your life takes energy. And we are proud to bring it to you.



Exhibit 13: Top-line growth has been falling along with declining nominal GDP yoy sales growth (10y rolling average), Market ex Financials

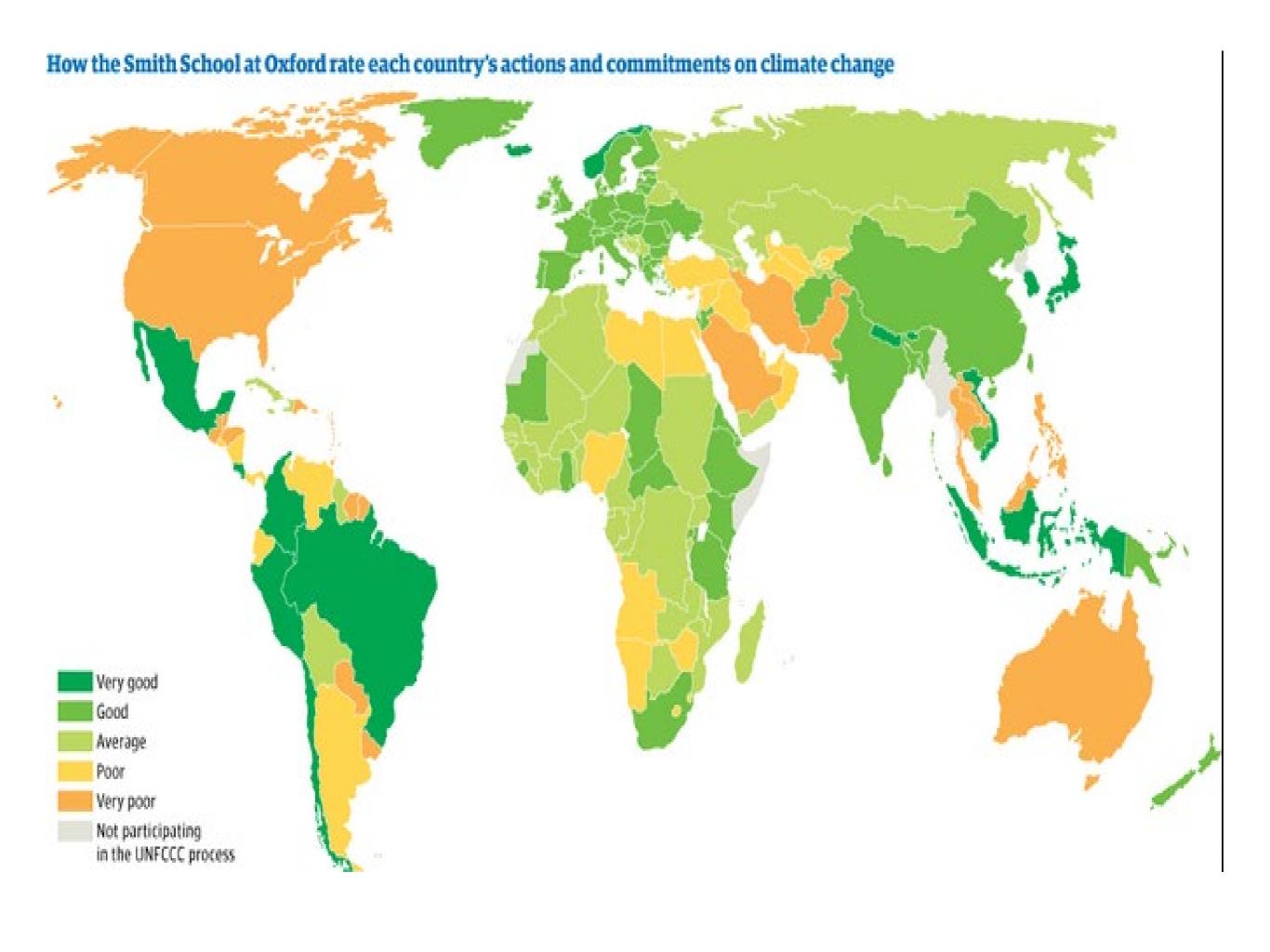


A dual crisis





Time



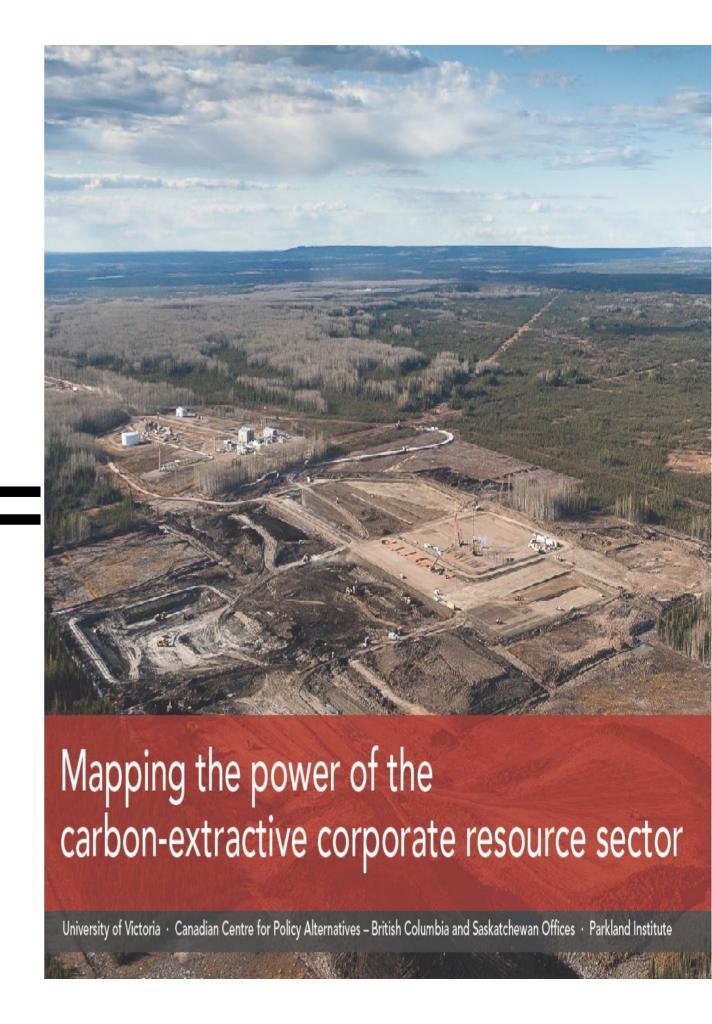
Canada as climate laggard



A regime of obstruction, with a distinctive political-economic architecture

- The regime is constituted through modalities of power that protect fossil-capital revenue streams while bolstering popular support for massive additional investment.
- The regime incorporates a panoply of hegemonic practices at different scales and reaches into civil and political society, and into Indigenous communities







"The oil and gas industry shapes much of the public discussion about energy and climate change. We need to make that influence visible, so we can have a more democratic conversation about making the transition away from fossil fuels."

- Shannon Daub, Associate Director, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives BC Office &

Co-Director, Corporate Mapping Project

About The Project

The tremendous concentration of power and influence we see in the fossil fuel industry today places sharp limits on our democracy.

And as oil, gas and coal corporations pursue their relatively narrow, short-term profit goals, crafting effective responses to the climate crisis becomes more difficult.

The Corporate Mapping Project shines a bright light on the fossil fuel industry by investigating the ways corporate power is organized and exercisesd.

Learn More



https://www.corporatemapping.ca/

Partners























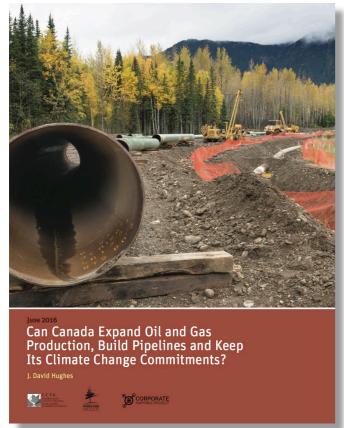
https://www.corporatemapping.ca/

Four research questions

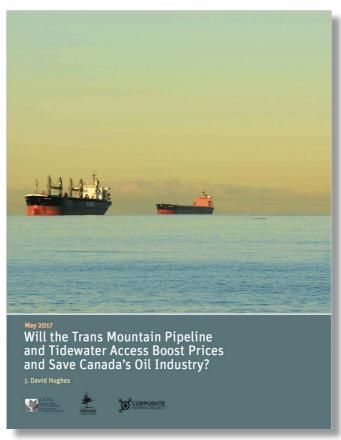


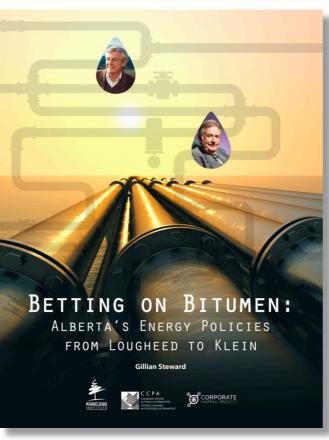
- How is corporate power organized in and around the fossil-fuel sector?
- How does that power reach into political and cultural life?
- How is corporate power wielded at ground level, from carbon extraction and transport right through to final consumption?
- How can we build capacity for citizen monitoring of corporate power and influence, while expanding the space for democratic discussion?

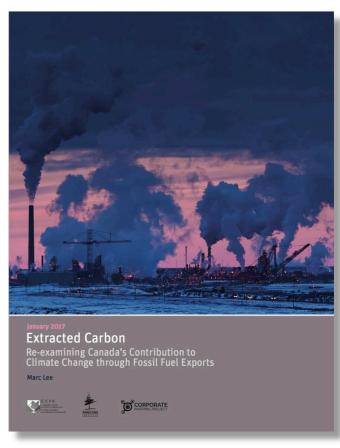
Public facing reports & studies

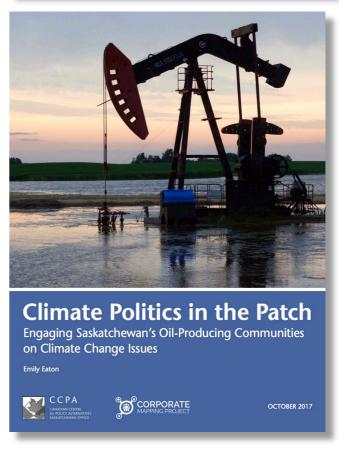












Blog posts & popular resources



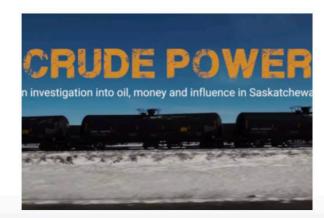




https://www.corporatemapping.ca/



8 Articles



Crude Power: 'Oil is king in a province where resistance is small'

"Oil is king in a province where resistance is small." - University of Regina journalism students who researched and produced this documentary on Saskatchewan's oil and gas industry.

The Price of Oil

By National Observer in News, Energy, Politics | October 6th 2017





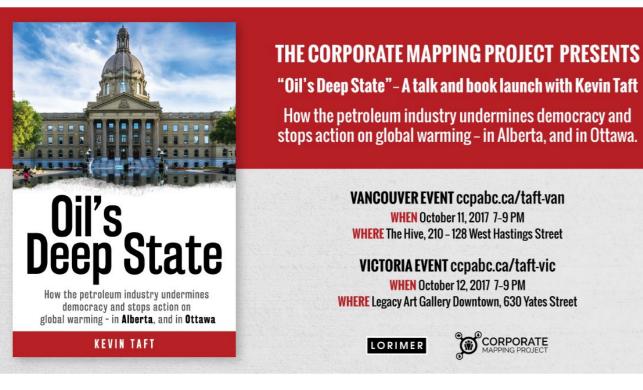














https://www.corporatemapping.ca/

What sort of transition? How Quickly?

Manifestations of corporate power

elite networks: corporate interlocking, corporate community

networks of capital ownership & capital allocation

power at the point of production and in chains of command

commodity chains across space: corridors of power

power woven into everyday life: quiescence, ambivalence

contested power: flashpoints

corporate influence through reach into civil society: policy-planning processes, business leadership/advocacy, funding parties and not-for-profits

mass media influence, e.g. corporate social responsibility advertising, news frames

political influence through lobbying, revolving doors and regulatory capture that create a state-capital nexus

state

Political influence

- Lobbying Regulatory capture
- Revolving doors Co-managing dissent & surveillance • Institutional corruption

Economic power

- Strategic control of corp's
- Allocative power (capital)
 - Operational power, commodity chains

Cultural influence

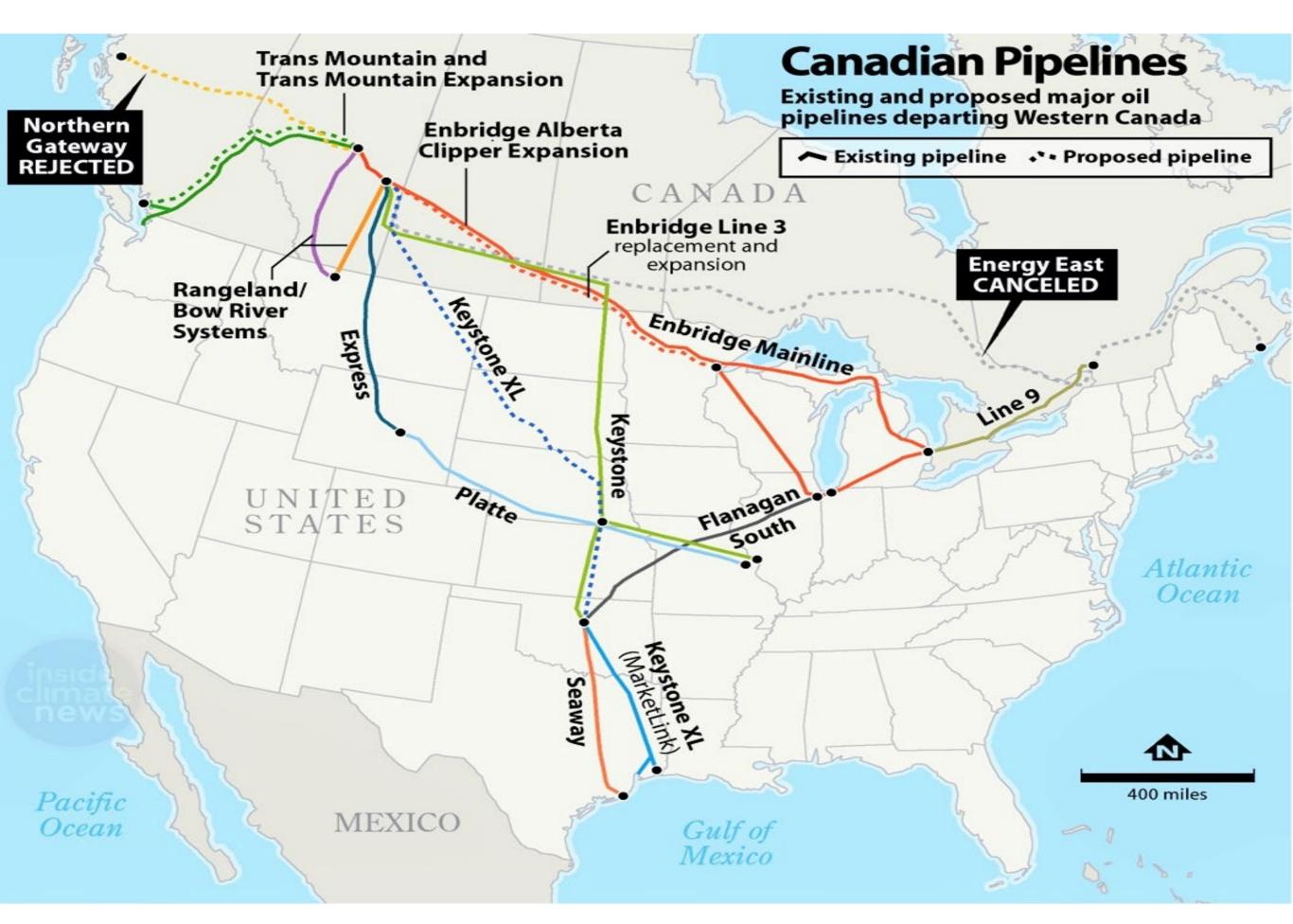
 Corp involvement in think tanks, advocacy groups • Leadership in universities, research • Media: CSR & PR to secure social license, discursive framing

civil society

Modalities of corporate power

Economic

- Operational power over labour processes within corporations and across commodity chains
- Strategic control of corporations by owners and top executives
- Allocation of capital, control of capital flows



Map Source: Inside Climate News (2019)

The Big 5











The Big 5 + 2















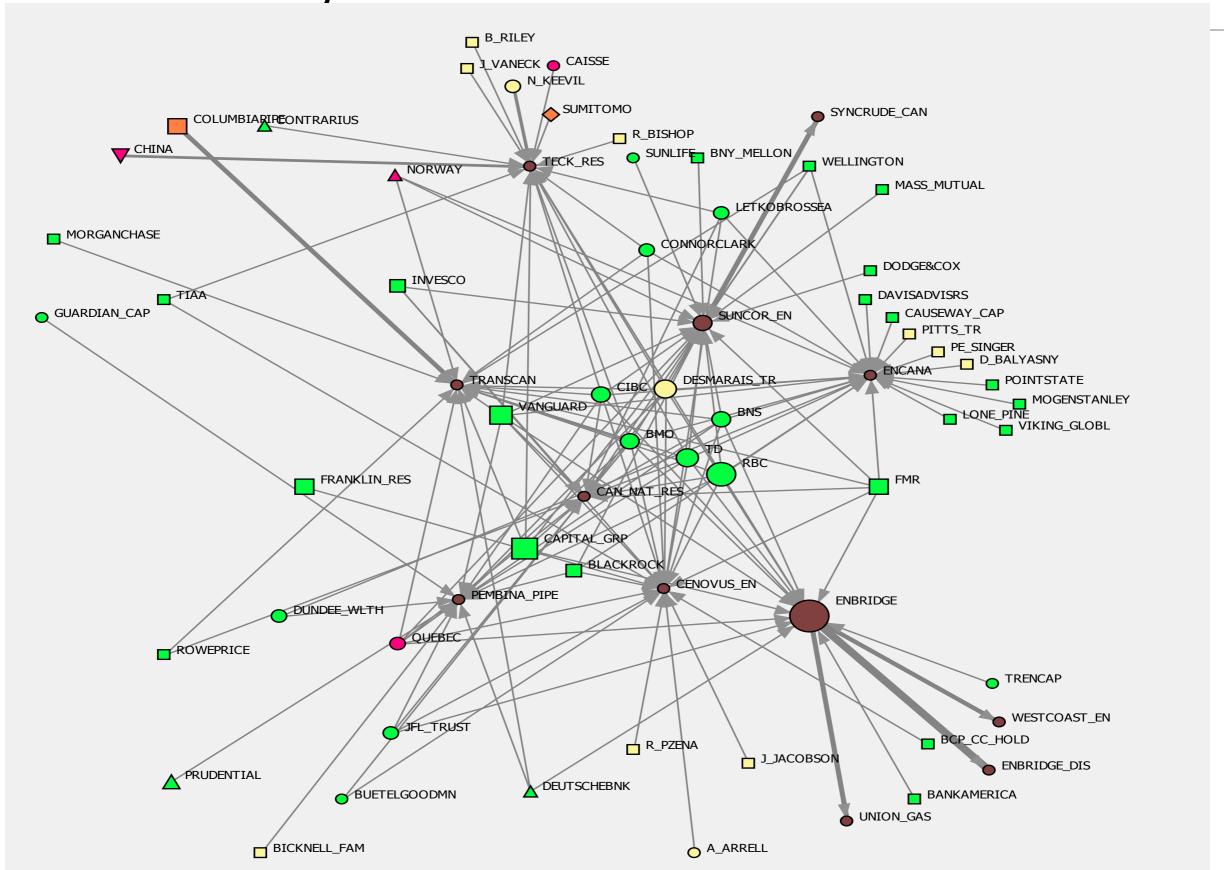
https://www.corporatemapping.ca/boom-bust-and-consolidation/

Modalities of corporate power

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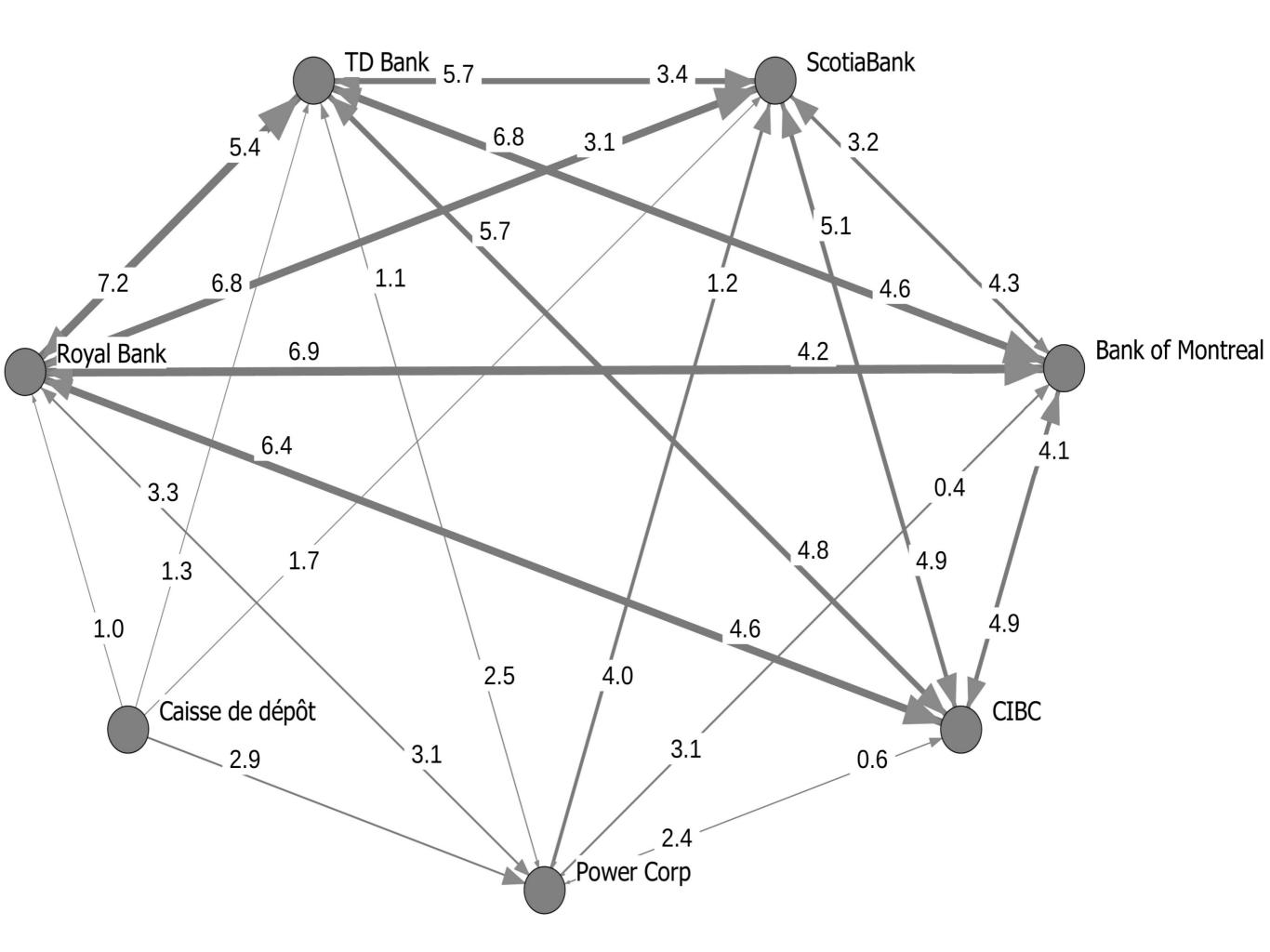
Eight Canadian-controlled Carbon Majors and their Owners, 2017



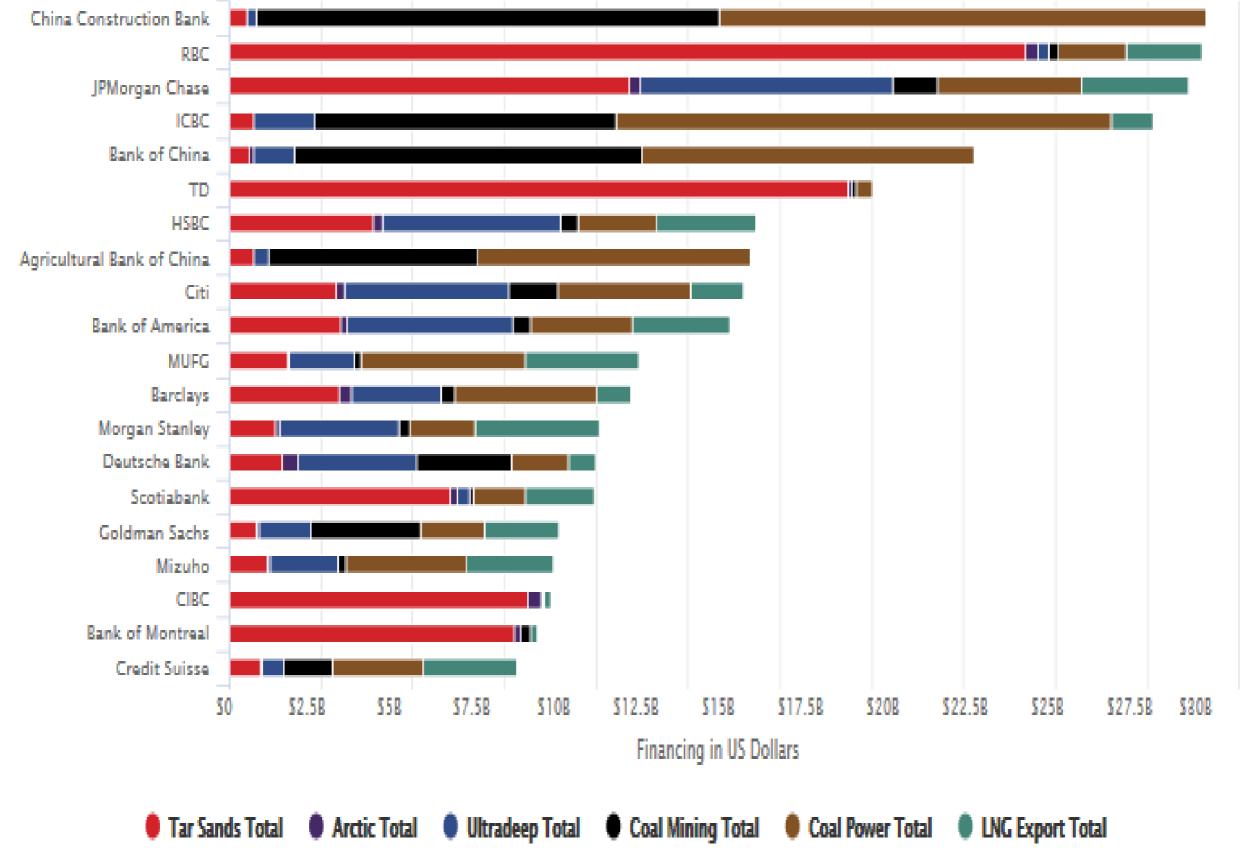
Modalities of corporate power

Economic

- Operational control of workplaces and of labour processes within commodity chains
- Strategic control of corporations by owners and top executives
- Allocation of capital, control of capital flows, credit.



Total worldwide financing of fossil fuels by sector, 2015-2017, Top20



state

Political influence

- Lobbying Regulatory capture
- Revolving doors Co-managing dissent & surveillance • Institutional corruption

Economic power

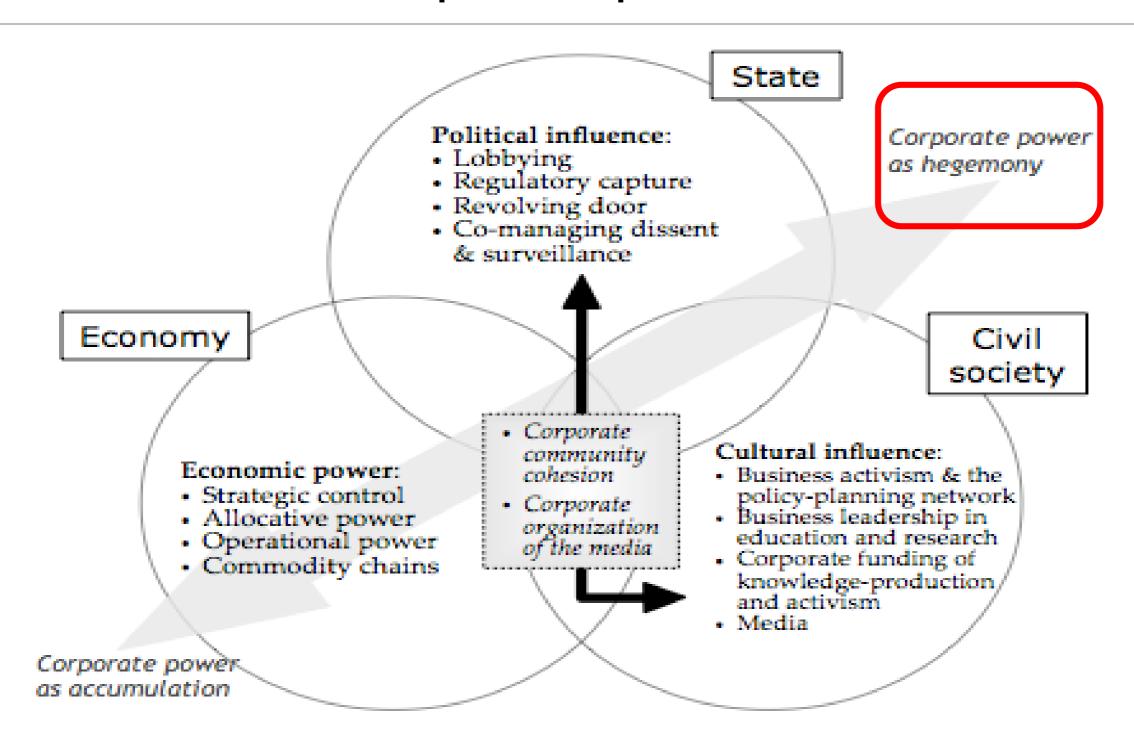
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Cultural influence

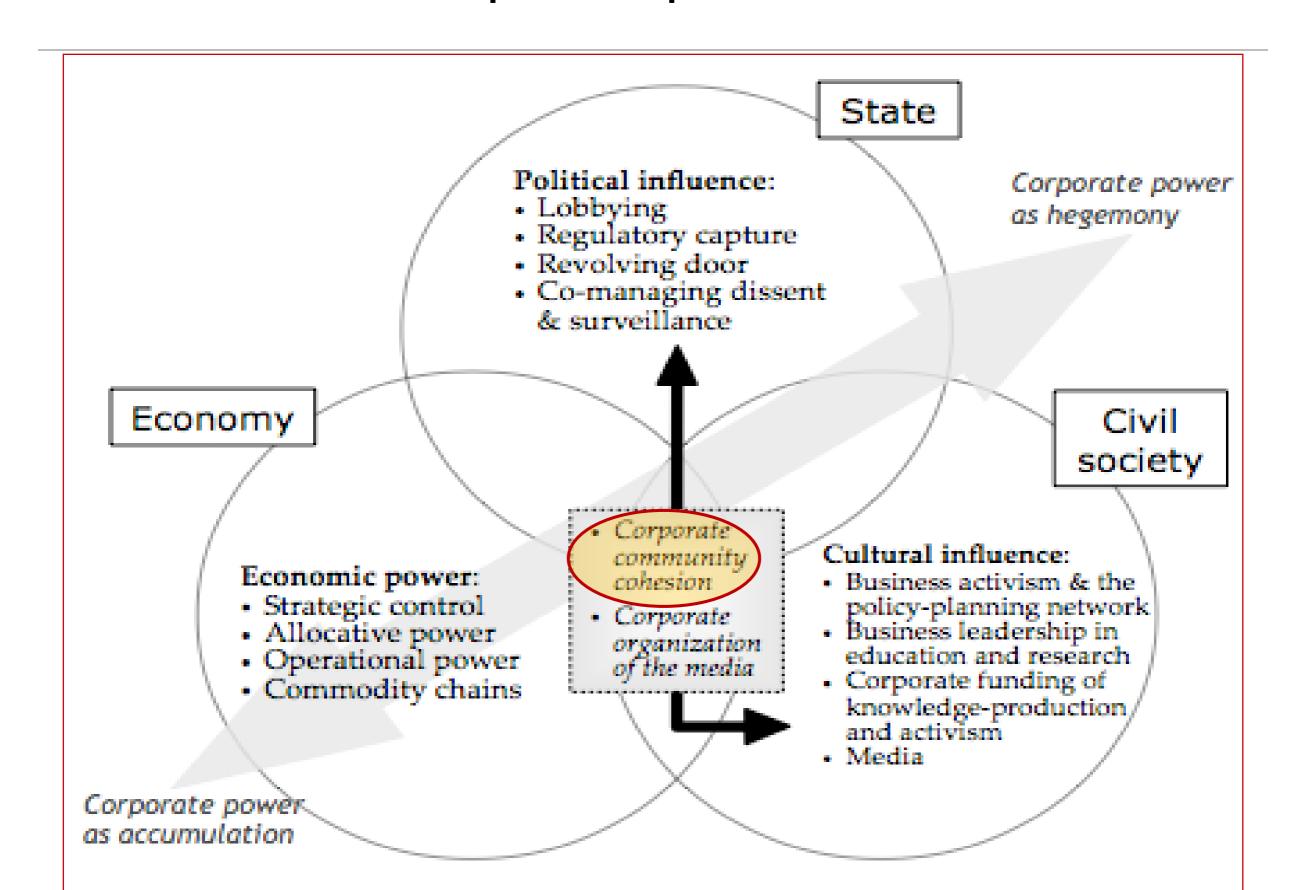
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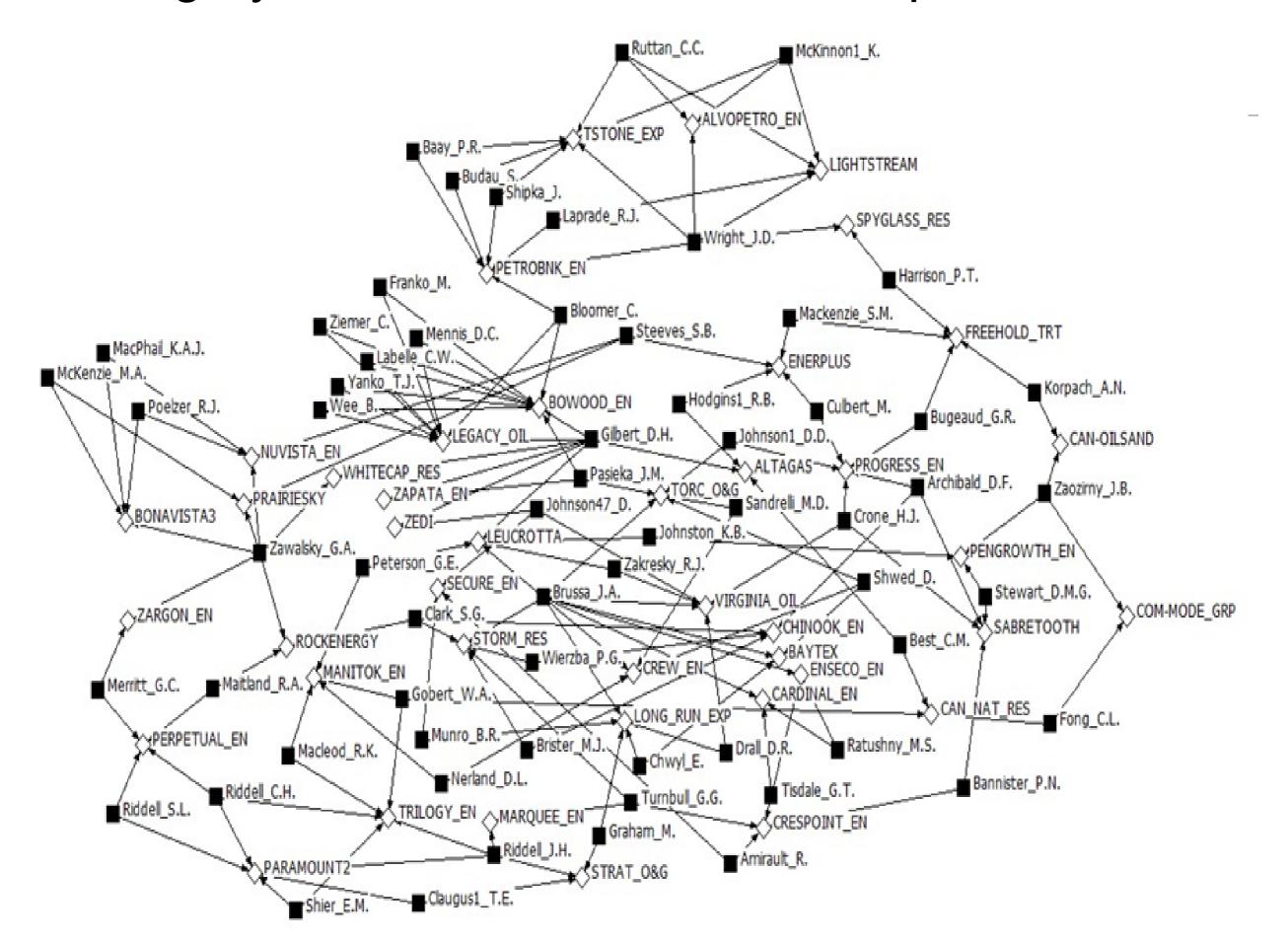
Modalities of corporate power



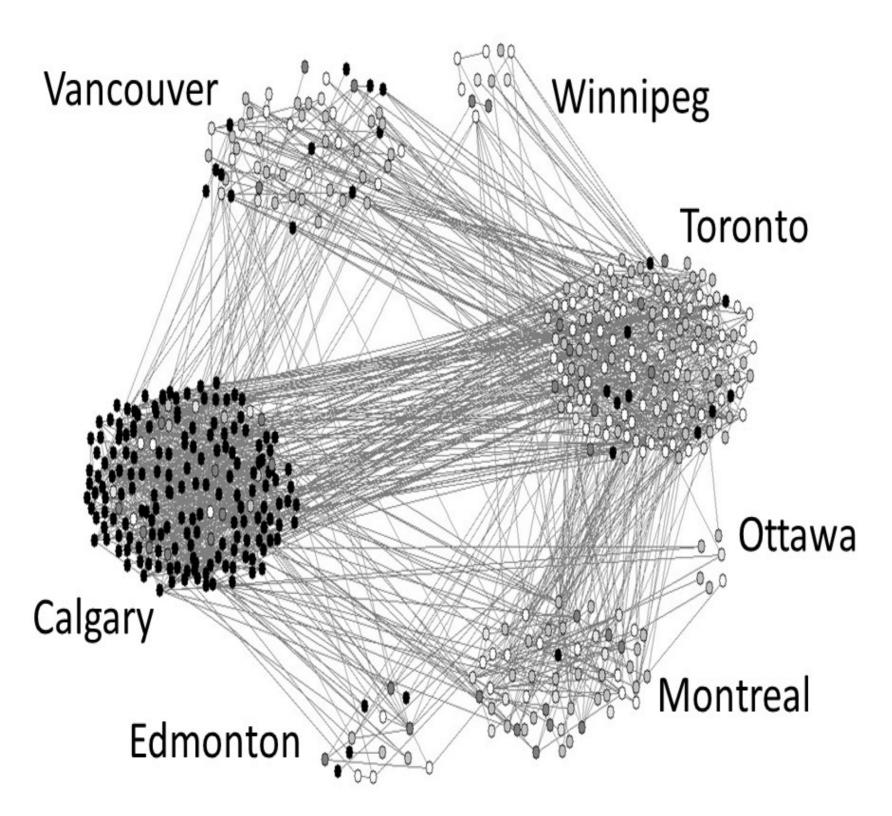
Modalities of corporate power



The Calgary-based core of the fossil-capital elite network

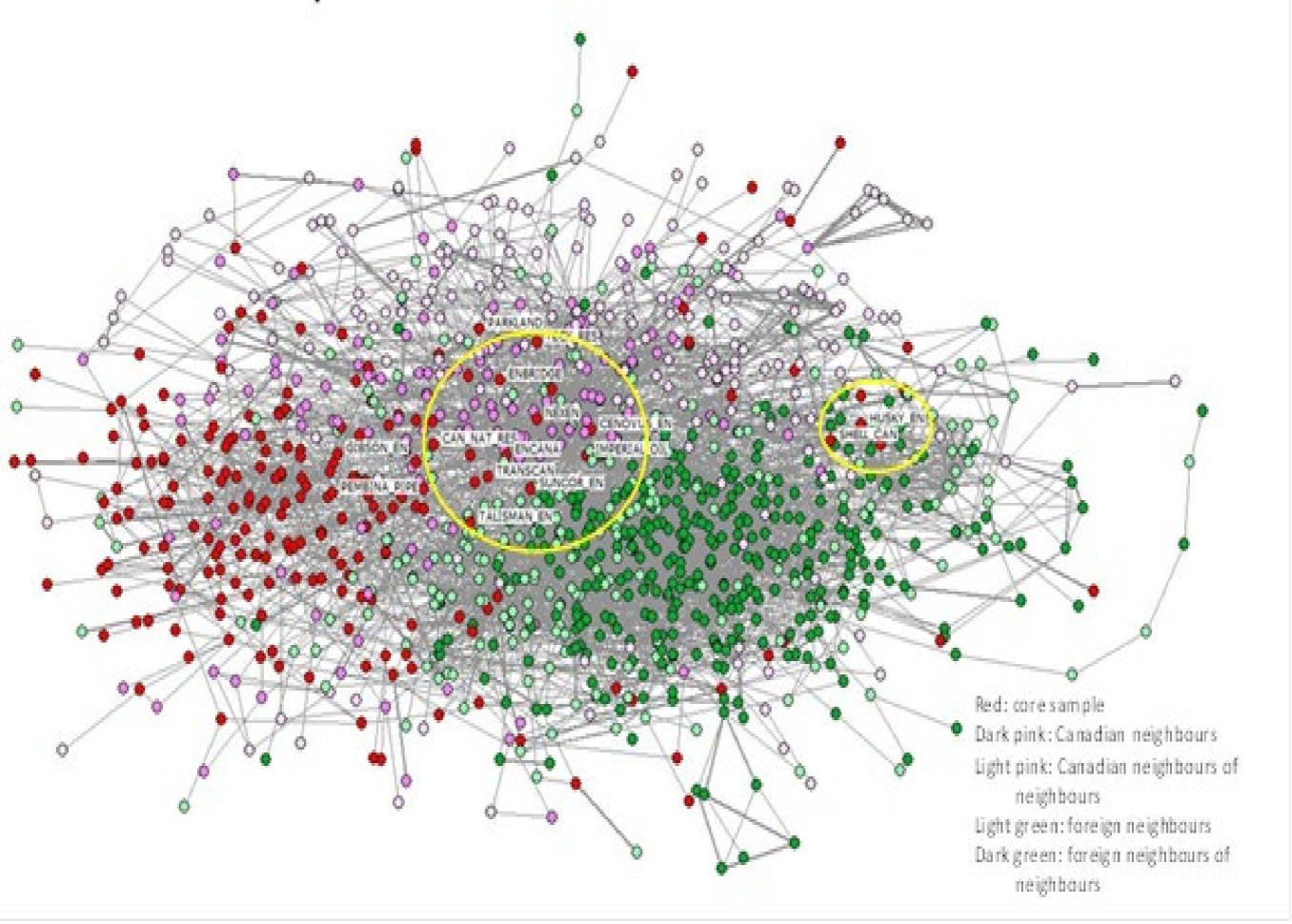


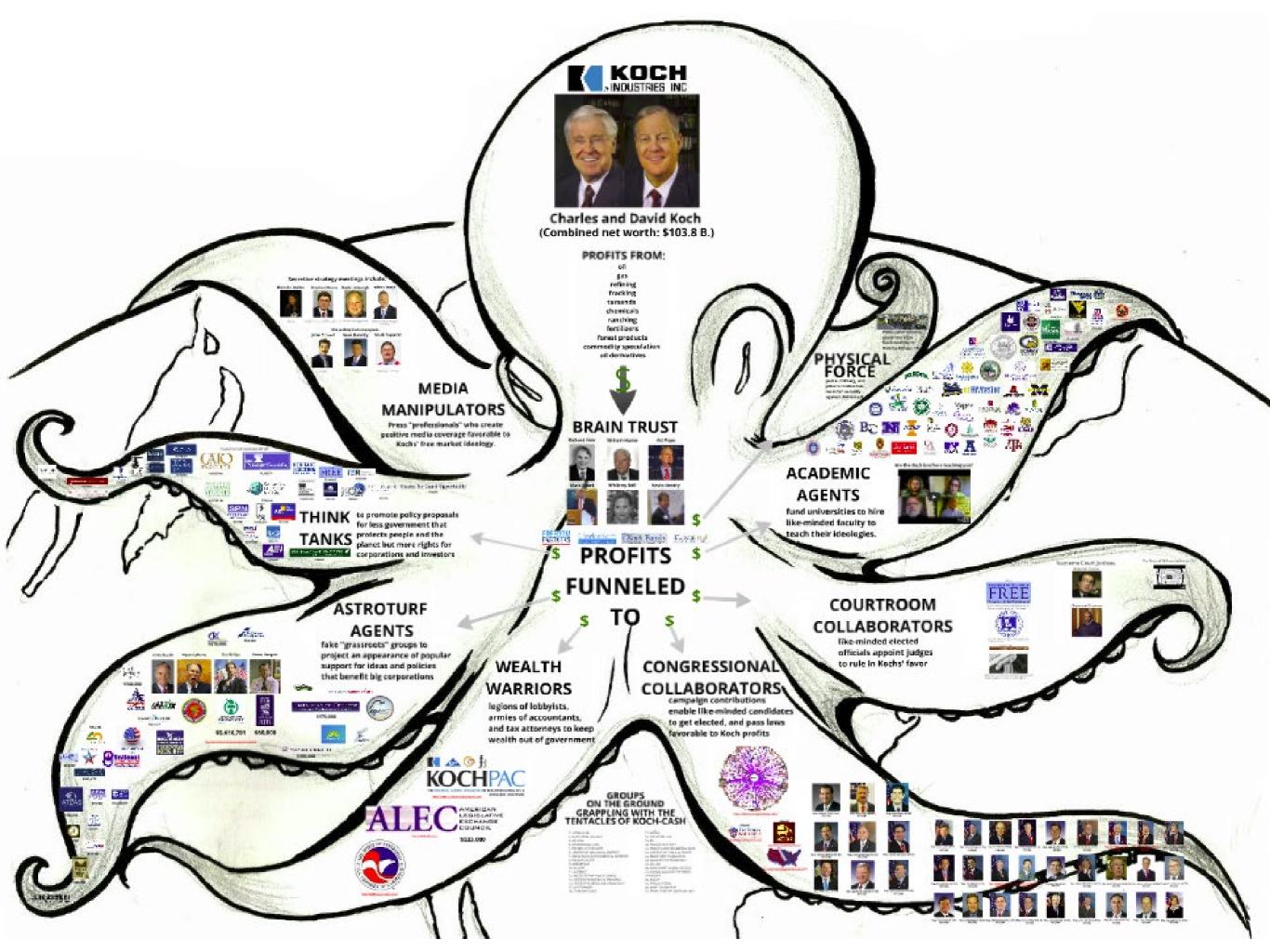
The Canadian corporate network, clustered by seven cities, showing five economic sectors



Black: carbon; Dark grey: carbon-related industrial; Grey: other industrial; Light grey: commerce; White: finance.

Core sample as embedded in the entire transnational network





1. organizations whose purpose is to define and advance corporate interests

- industry associations, which advance the interests of specific industries (e.g. Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers)
- intersectoral business advocacy organizations which construct and advocate broad corporate perspectives, regardless of sector (e.g. Business Council of Canada)

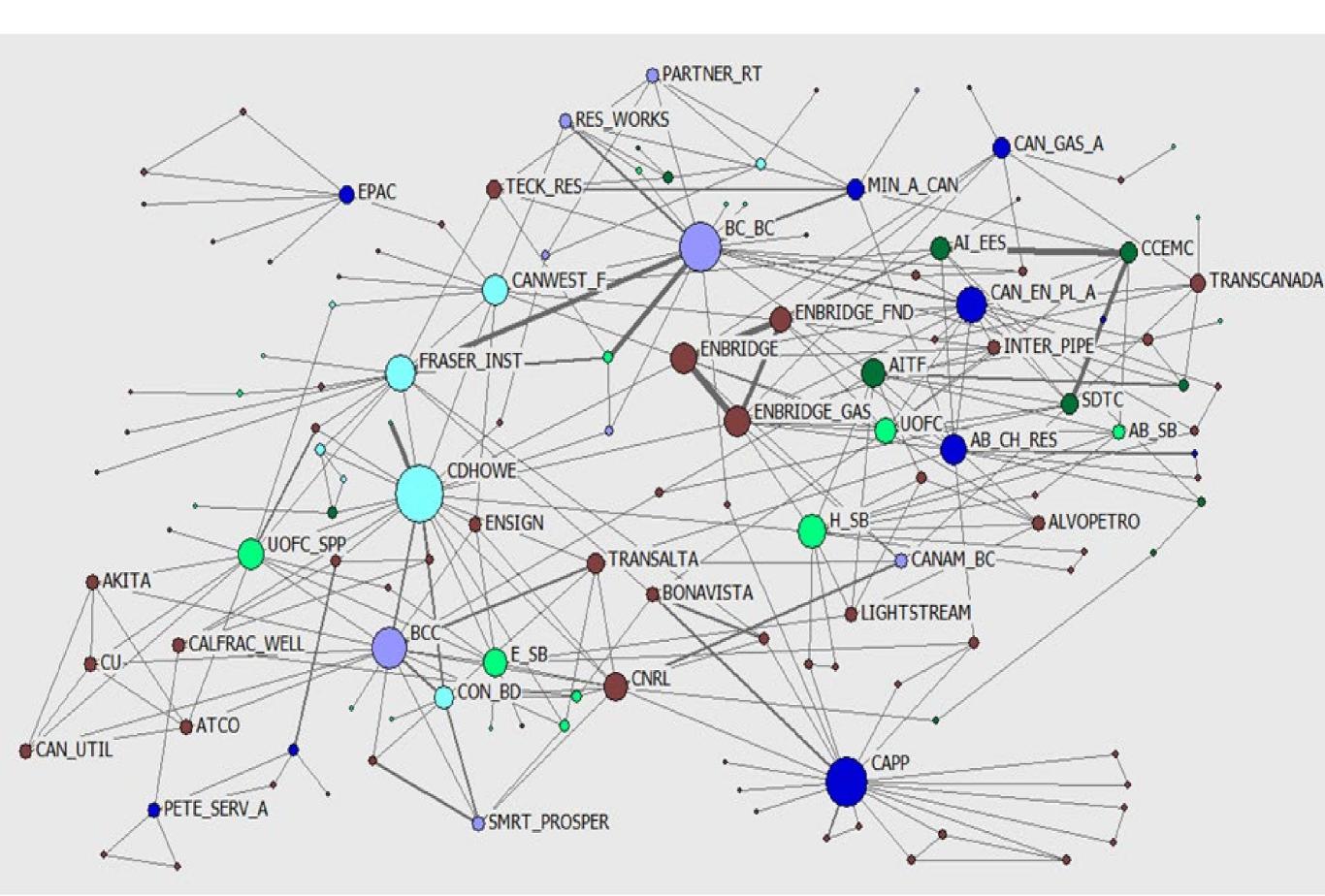
2. business-sponsored think tanks

 Such groups are not singularly focused on defining and defending business interests but on producing evidencebased commentary and analysis from a standpoint compatible with business interests.

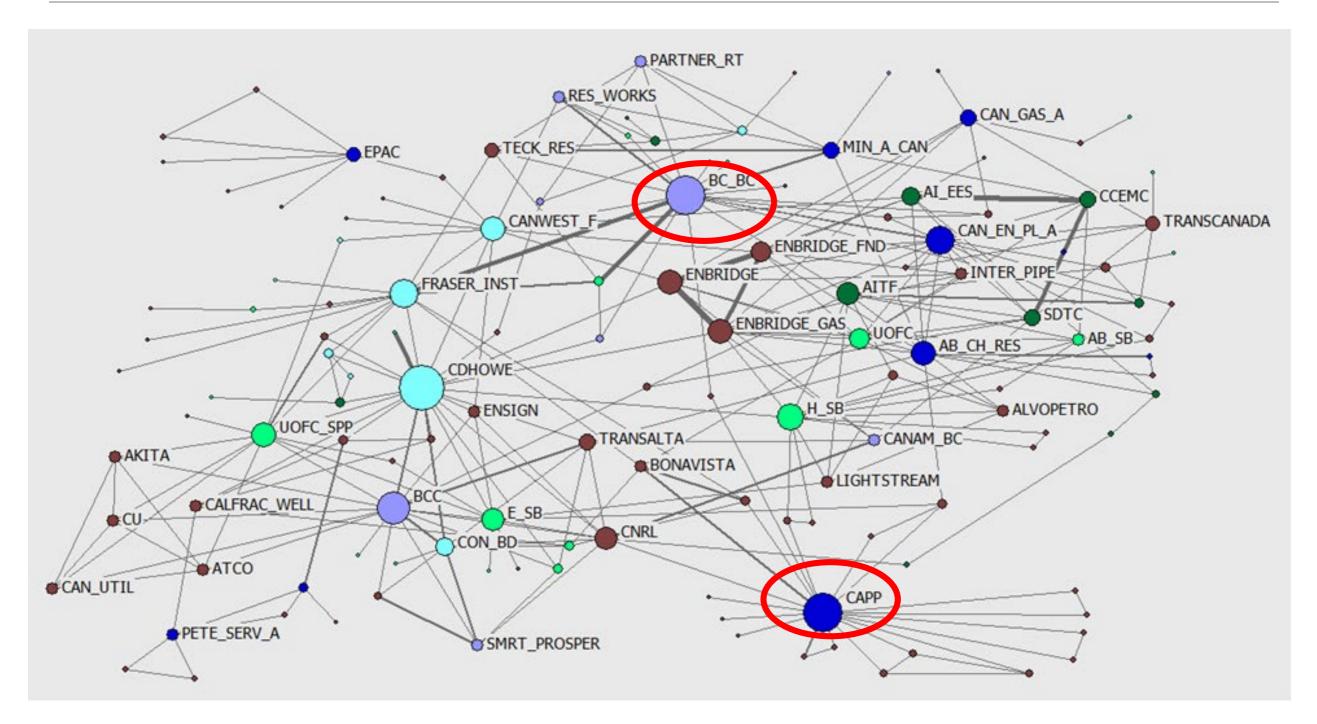
3. universities and research institutes

- These produce both knowledge and knowledgeable people.
- They help maintain and renew a liberal political culture and produce a technically proficient workforce (including managers and engineers trained at professional schools) while contributing scientific/technical advances of relevance to corporations, government and other interests.

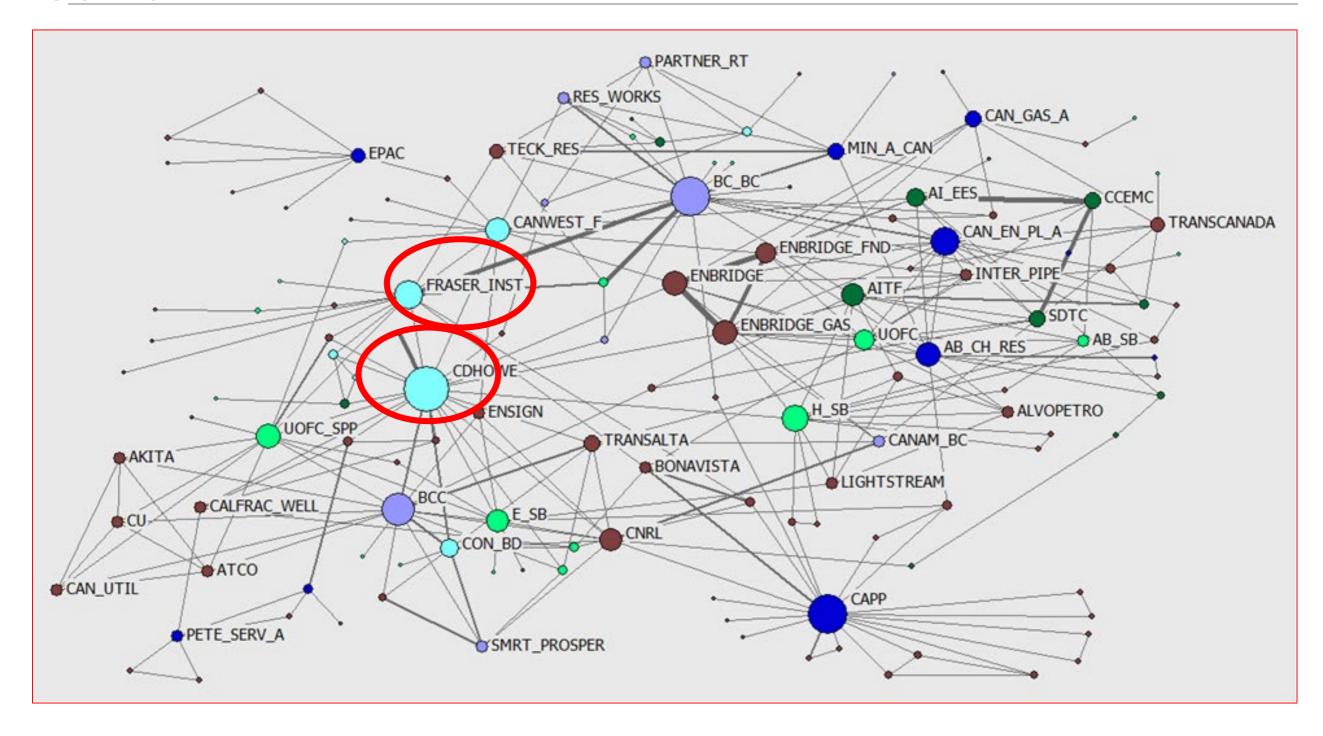
Canada's fossil capital-civil society network as a whole



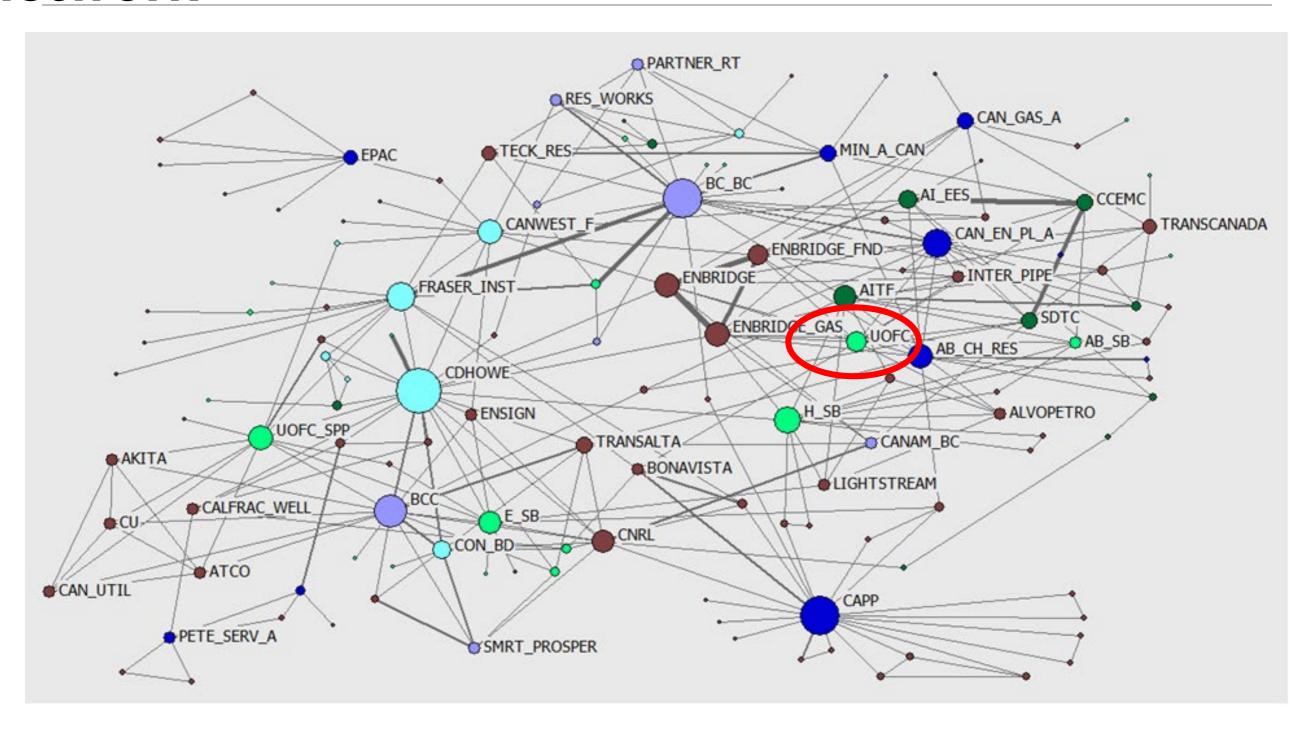
CAPP and the Business Council of BC in the network



CD Howe Institute and Fraser Institute in the network



University of Calgary Board of Governors in the network



Elite cohesion paired with exclusion of voices from other social sectors

- The many threads of communication and collaboration in civil society afforded by the elite network enable fossil capital to define, defend and advance its profit-driven concerns as 'common sense', in the 'public interest'.
- A 'soft' denial regime that acknowledges climate change while protecting the continued flow of profit to fossil-fuel and related companies.





Fossil Nation: Extractivism, Supporter Engagement and Facebook

SHANE GUNSTER, BOB NEUBAUER, JOHN BERMINGHAM, ALLI MASSIE SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY AND CORPORATE MAPPING PROJECT NOVEMBER 2017

Slide by Shane Gunster et al.

Canadian Oil and Natural Gas

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Canada's Energy Citizens



Energy Citizens are advocates for Canada's Oil and Natural Gas industry. They play a role in spreading the word about the positive role energy plays in our lives every day. Get involved by sharing with your networks and spreading the word. Sign up today and start making a difference.

CANADA'S ENERGY CITIZENS

Canada's Oil Sands

Canada's Natural Gas

Economic Competitiveness

Energy Citizens are advocates for Canada's Oil and Natural Gas industry. They play a role in spreading the word about the positive role energy plays in our lives every day. Are you:

Comments or Concerns?

JOIN



FIGHT FOR OUR FUTURE

Join the 521,108 Canadians fighting for our country's energy future.

First name

Last name

Email

Postal code

JOIN



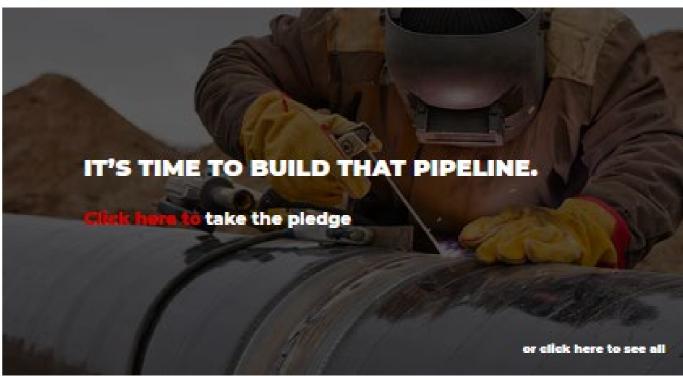
THE ENERGY INDUSTRY KEEPS CANADA STRONG

From powering our lives to improving our quality of life.

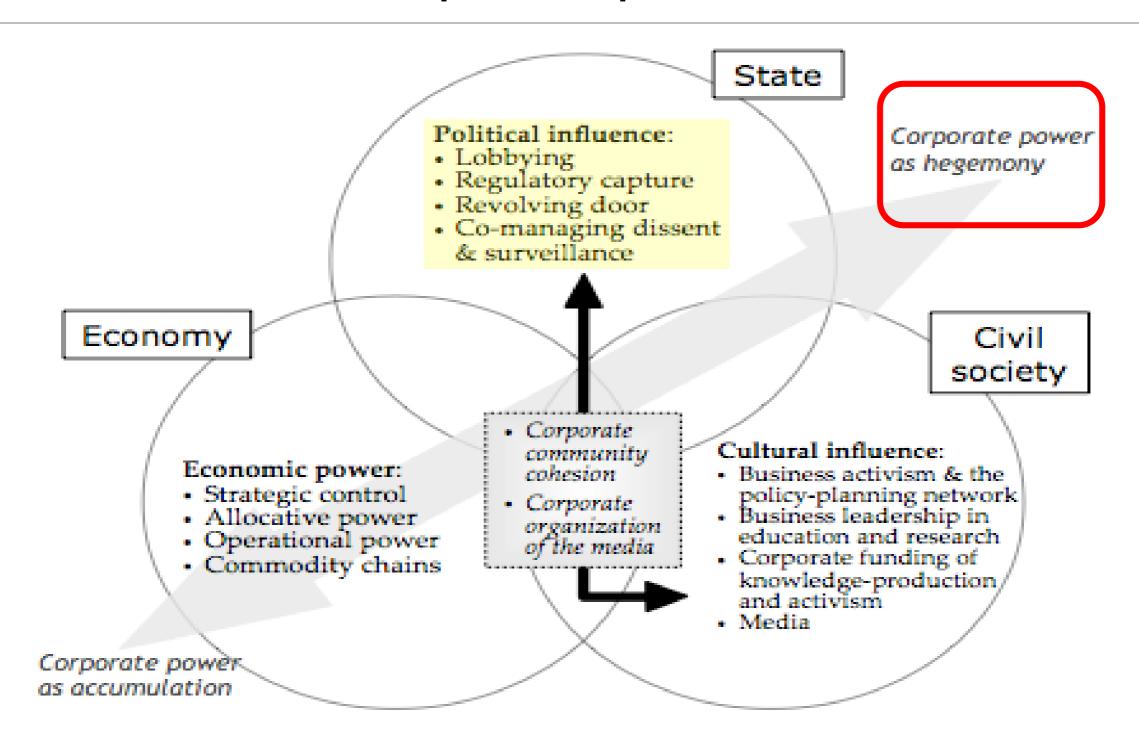








Modalities of corporate power





Newly uncovered documents obtained through Freedom of Information requests reveal the cozy relationship between the fossil fuel industry and the last BC government went even further than suspected — all the way to inviting industry to directly craft the province's climate "leadership" plan.

Institutional Corruption

Let's rewind for a second: back in the spring of 2015, then-premier Christy Clark announced the provincial government would create a new climate plan.

A 17-member climate leadership team was appointed and tasked with developing recommendations to meet BC's greenhouse gas reduction targets. The government released the team's recommendations in the fall of 2015 — allowing then-Premier Christy Clark to head off to Paris for the December 2015 UN climate talks cloaked in the mantle of climate "leadership," after four years of near-total inaction by her government.

That's where things got interesting.



Sign up for the latest news and updates on corporate power at the climate crossroads.

First name

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Email

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Corporate reach into political and civil society also includes....

- intensive and sustained lobbying. According to Canada's Federal Lobbying Registry, in 2017 alone, CAPP logged 162 lobbying events with the federal government, averaging more than three meetings each week with top officials.
- regulatory capture. Canada's National Energy Board (NEB) rubberstamped industry proposals for years, leading an investigative panel to observe in 2017 that 'Canadians have serious concerns that the NEB has been "captured" by the oil and gas industry, with many Board members who come from the industry that the NEB regulates, and who — at the very least appear to — have an innate bias toward that industry.'
- revolving doors, through which capital's business leaders and their advisors become political leaders, and vice versa.
- corporate philanthropy in industry towns, combining with corporatesocial-responsibility campaigns that persuade communities to see their fate and industry's fate as inextricably linked.

When hegemony fails....



LEAKED: Internal RCMP Document Names "Violent AntiPetroleum Extremists" Threat to Government and Industry



Carol Linnitt • Feb 17, 2015

(9 8 min read

An internal Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) document (provided in full below) warns "violent anti-petroleum extremists" driven by an "anti-petroleum ideology" pose a criminal threat to Canada's oil and gas industry. The document, reported on today by the Globe and Mail, reveals growing concern within the RCMP about opponents of pipelines or fracking and "violent aboriginal extremists," suggesting they have the ability to incite criminal activity across the country.

Emitters, Enablers and Legitimators

LittleSis* is a free database of who-knows-who at the heights of business and government.

* opposite of Big Brother

LittleSis 😂

We're a grassroots watchdog network connecting the dots between the world's most powerful people and organizations.

Your email

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2 7 1 6 2 9 dots connected:

- ✓ Paid for politicians
- ✓ Corporate fat cats
- Revolving door lobbyists
- ✓ Secretive Super PACs
- Elite think tanks

Search for a name

Q

ExxonMobil

Oil and gas exploration, production, and marketing

Key people

American Legislative Exchange Council National Black Chamber of Commerce American Enterprise Institute Eugene A Renna American Council for Capital Formation

Related orgs

Augusta National Golf Club JPMorgan Chase & Co. Council on Foreign Relations The Business Council XTO Energy Inc.







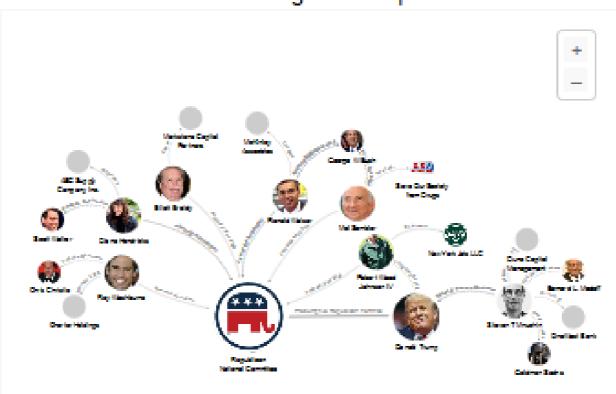
Map the power with Oligrapher

Oligrapher is a tool for visualizing networks of influence

Get started on a new map

or sign up for a LittleSis account

The RNC billionaires banking for Trump



The premier ranking of Corporate Canada



The FP Power List: 25 movers and shakers we're buzzing about



FP Magazine presents its second annual Power List: 25 of the biggest, buzziest and most influential movers and shakers in Canada and beyond



















Some major carbon emitters in the Top 50























Some major enablers in the Top 50

























Some major legitimators in the Top 50





About the database

The intent of the database is to engage Canadians in a conversation about the role of the fossil fuel sector in our democracy, by "mapping" how power and influence play out in the oil, gas and coal industries of BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan. We will also map the wider connections that link Western Canada's fossil fuel sector to other sectors of



Emitters are corporations based in western Canada that extract carbon (oil, gas, coal), transport carbon, and/or process it, or use large amounts;

Explore Emitters

Conclusion: toward energy democracy and climate justice

Resistance to fossil capital takes many forms:

- shop-floor struggles of workers against the lash of management,
- protests, boycotts and blockades at key junctures along commodity chains,
- local initiatives, such as municipal declarations of climate crisis (Vancouver, Halifax, Kingston...)
- shareholder activism and divestment campaigns, engaging the power of investors,
- calls for the private allocative power of finance to be brought under public control,
- critiques of the concentration of power within old boys clubs and corporate elites,
- demands to remove big money from politics and to end the institutional corruption that infects practices of business lobbying,
- media activism pushing to democratize public communication while fostering community-based media.

Energy democracy...

- Sums up the double power shift, from fossil-fuel power to renewables (decarbonization) and from corporate oligarchy to democratic control of economic decisions (democratization);
- has three overarching goals 'resisting the fossil-fuel-dominant energy agenda while reclaiming and democratically restructuring energy regimes' (Burke and Stephens 2017: 35);
- connects the dots between divestment initiatives, First Nations protectors, anti-fracking protests, community solar projects, renewable energy co-ops, remunicipalization efforts, etc. (ibid: 45).

Towards

Energy Democracy

Discussions and outcomes from an international workshop

Energy democracy is concerned with:

- shifting power over all aspects of the sector from production to distribution and supply, from finance to technology and knowledge to energy users and workers.
- a socially just energy system, meaning universal access, fair prices and secure, unionised and well-paid jobs.
- an energy system that works in the public interest, with the profit motive giving way to social and environmental goals.
- a transition from high to low carbon energy sources, ultimately meaning a world powered by 100 per cent renewable energy.

 https://www.tni.org/en/publication/towards-energy-

democracy

"...a Just Transition is possible, but it will have to be demanded and driven forward by a broad, democratic movement, with unions playing a key role. There will be no Just Transition without social and political transformation, and such a transformation will be contingent on a successful challenge of existing ownership relations and the expansion of economic democracy at all levels. And there will be no such transformation until unions and their allies fully grasp the fact that such a transformation is both possible and absolutely necessary (2018: 43).

11 ndf

Sweeney, Sean and John Treat. 2018. Trade Unions and Just Transition: The Search for a Transformative Politics. Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, April, http://unionsforenergydemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/TUED-Working-Paper-

Principles of Energy Democracy

The key elements we try to focus on..



UNIVERSAL ACCESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Everybody should be guaranteed access to sufficient and affordable energy. The energy system should prioritise the needs of communities, households and marginalised people.



RENEWABLE, SUSTAINABLE AND LOCAL ENERGY

Fossil fuel resources must be left in the ground. We want to make the energy mix as renewable as possible and, ultimately, a hundred per cent renewable



PUBLIC AND SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

New forms of municipal/public ownership and collective private ownership, often in the form of cooperatives, are emerging and have served the public interest. The means of production need to be socialised and democratised.



FAIR PAY AND CREATION OF GREEN JOBS

The transition is to be co-driven by workers in order to guarantee that the jobs in the renewable energy sector are created, unionised and fairly paid.

http://www.energy-democracy.net

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL AND PARTICIPATION

In order to put the needs of communities first, citizens and workers should be empowered to have greater participation in energy policy. Publicly and socially-owned energy systems have a great potential to introduce democratic mechanisms: for example, the board of directors of a municipal energy company can involve users and employees in making key decisions. Democratic mechanisms can be diverse: from open assemblies and spaces for citizen participation such as the Spanish 'mesa' roundtables to binding referendums. Absolute transparency and accountability in all operations is a precondition to democratic control.



http://www.energy-democracy.net

Energy democracy is a multi-scalar initiative, from everyday life up to global organization.

Energy Democracy as a multi-scalar project

Scale	Instances of fossil-capital hegemony	Practices of energy democracy
Everyday life	Fossil-fueled consumer capitalism as a way of life, automobility	Politically-inflected lifestyle changes; informal discussion and practices in local and online networks e.g., community gardening
Local community	Civic privatism/boosterism; Indigenous ambivalence	Free public transit, principled alliance politics of decolonization and democratization, subsidiarity e.g., Lifecycles, Divest Victoria, Community Mapping
Institutions	Entrenchment of fossil interests in institutions of knowledge production, etc.	Reclaiming public institutions, divestment, science and technology for the people e.g., CMP, UVic SJS, Divest UVic
Sub-national	Fossil boosterism in extractive and sacrifice zones	e.g., Reclaim Alberta
National	Contention over the 'national interest', through elite policy-planning and online extractivist populist networks	e.g., LEAP Manifesto
Transnational	Global governance and transnational policy-planning	e.g., Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, Indigenous Environmental Network

the leap manifesto

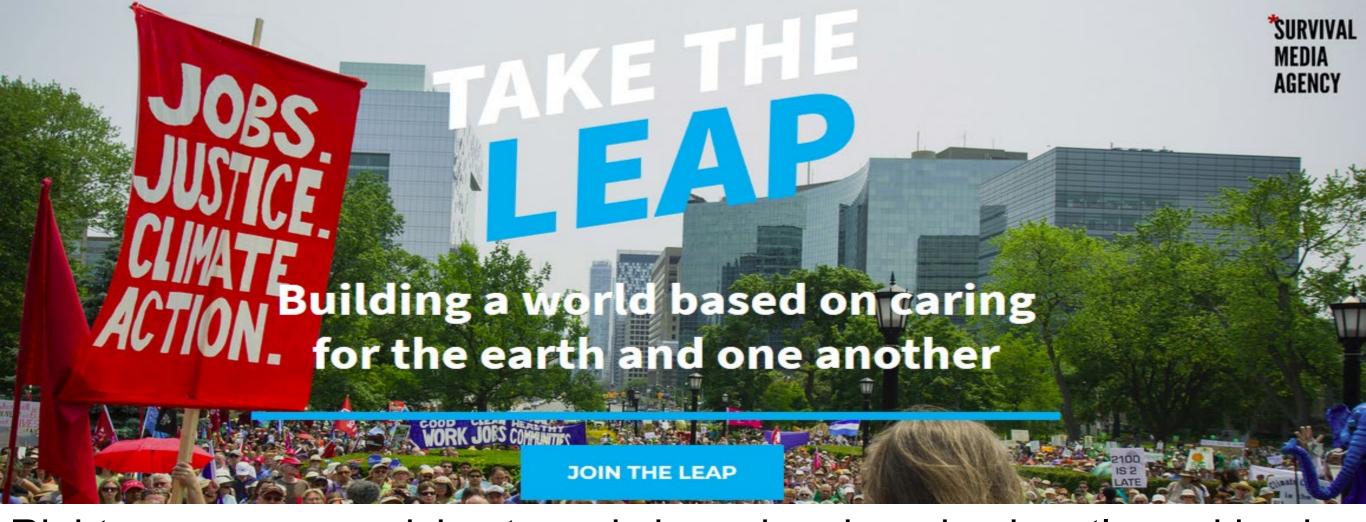
A Call for a Canada Based on Caring

for the Earth and One Another

We start from the premise that Canada is facing the deepest crisis in recent memory.

'The time for **energy democracy** has come: we believe not just in changes to our energy sources, but that wherever possible **communities should collectively control these new energy systems**.'

https://leapmanifesto.org/en/the-leap-manifesto/



Right now, our organizing team is based and predominantly working in Canada and the United States. However, we believe that the Leap's intersectional, non-incremental approach to addressing climate change can and should be adopted everywhere, and we have allies around the world. In 2015, more than 500 people gathered at a workshop at COP21 in Paris on taking The Leap global. The Leap has inspired the Scandinavian Green Manifesto for Europe, as well as sister Leap initiatives in Australia and the United Kingdom.

Some groups pushing for democratization and decolonization

















About us

Indigenous Climate Action (ICA) is an Indigenous-led organization, guided by Indigenous peoples from communities & regions across the country. Indigenous communities contribute the least to climate change yet are first to experience the effects of it. Therefore, Indigenous solutions need to be at the forefront. Our goal is to uplift Indigenous worldviews and experiences within climate discussions. Indigenous knowledge is key to finding sustainable and effective solutions. We are working towards true climate justice which guarantees real solutions and ensures that Indigenous rights will be upheld for generations to come.

350.org's operating principles



Principle #1:



We Believe in Climate Justice

Climate change isn't a distant, abstract problem — it's here now. People all over the world are feeling the impacts, from island nations that are going underwater, to indigenous land being exploited for fossil fuel extraction. The fight against climate change is a fight for justice.

That means listening to the communities who are getting hit the hardest, and following the leadership of those who are on the frontlines of the crisis.



Principle #2:



We're Stronger When We Collaborate

Climate change is not just an environmental issue, or a social justice issue, or an economic issue — it's all of those at once. It's one of the biggest challenges humanity has ever faced, and we are going to have to work together to solve it.

That means bringing people together — not just environmentalists, but students, business owners, faith groups, labor unions, universities and more — and building diverse coalitions that are strong enough to put pressure on governments and stand up to the fossil fuel industry.



Principle #3:



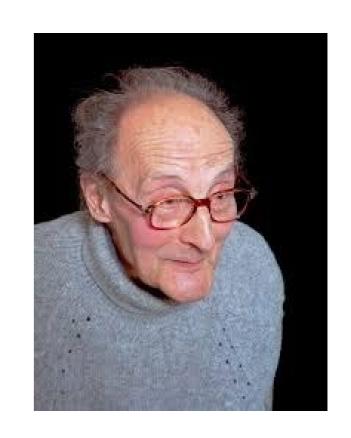
Mass Mobilizations Make Change

By now, it's obvious that world leaders are incapable of solving this problem on their own. We need to get out in the streets and make our voices heard — that is how we demonstrate our power as a movement, and that is how we force our governments to make the right decisions.

The challenge is to articulate these progressive forces into a coherent system of alliances and solidarities.

- Such formation requires dialogical engagement among all affected parties.
- The solidarities must extend very widely.
- Decarbonization and democratization must be conjoined with decolonization, enhancing capacities for Indigenous selfdetermination.
- A robust energy democracy must bring the financial sector itself under democratic control.
- Much the same can be said about the need to undo hegemonic corporate power within communications media, to 'remake media' along democratic lines (Hackett and Carroll 2006).

Energy democracy is a bundle of sectorally-targeted 'non-reformist reforms' (Gorz 1967) that push toward broader democratization and decolonization of economic, political and cultural life.



- In such a transformation, corporate power would give way to popular power and participatory planning in production, environmental stewardship, authentic reconciliation, public communication and inclusive community development.
- To address the modalities of corporate power that make up the regime of obstruction, energy democracy needs to be developed in concert with other non-reformist reforms to decolonize, and to democratize workplaces, finance and cultural production.

So, can we make a just transition from fossil capitalism?

- A definite maybe.
- Change on the scale and pace needed will not come from the top.
- Much depends on how effectively democratic movements for climate justice can slow down the rate of destruction, while speeding up the rate of creation – of a new world (Tom Hayden, Seattle 1999).









CORPORATE MAPPING PROJECT

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