

This article was downloaded by:[Oklahoma State University]
On: 27 May 2008
Access Details: [subscription number 784375628]
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954
Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Environmental Politics

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713635072>

The organisation of denial: Conservative think tanks and environmental scepticism

Peter J. Jacques^a; Riley E. Dunlap^b; Mark Freeman^a

^a Department of Political Science, University of Central Florida, Orlando, USA

^b Department of Sociology, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, USA

Online Publication Date: 01 June 2008

To cite this Article: Jacques, Peter J., Dunlap, Riley E. and Freeman, Mark (2008) 'The organisation of denial: Conservative think tanks and environmental scepticism', *Environmental Politics*, 17:3, 349 — 385

To link to this article: DOI: 10.1080/09644010802055576

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09644010802055576>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article maybe used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

The organisation of denial: Conservative think tanks and environmental scepticism

Peter J. Jacques^{a*}, Riley E. Dunlap^b and Mark Freeman^c

^a*Department of Political Science, University of Central Florida, Orlando, USA;*

^b*Department of Sociology, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, USA;* ^c*Department of Political Science, University of Central Florida, Orlando, USA*

Environmental scepticism denies the seriousness of environmental problems, and self-professed ‘sceptics’ claim to be unbiased analysts combating ‘junk science’. This study quantitatively analyses 141 English-language environmentally sceptical books published between 1972 and 2005. We find that over 92 per cent of these books, most published in the US since 1992, are linked to conservative think tanks (CTTs). Further, we analyse CTTs involved with environmental issues and find that 90 per cent of them espouse environmental scepticism. We conclude that scepticism is a tactic of an elite-driven counter-movement designed to combat environmentalism, and that the successful use of this tactic has contributed to the weakening of US commitment to environmental protection.

‘The days when the United States was an environmental pioneer ... are a distant memory’ (Dryzek *et al.* 2003, p. 174). After a burst of legislation in the 1960s and 1970s, US environmental protective policy efforts have been in decline (Vig and Faure 2004). The 1992 ‘Earth Summit’ in Rio, in particular, marked an important turning point. The US conservative movement began to see global environmentalism as a threat to US national sovereignty and economic power, and became aggressively anti-environmental. Further, ‘these anti-environmental interpretations ... were endorsed, albeit obliquely, by the [George H.W.] Bush administration as it felt the mounting pressures of the 1992 presidential primaries’ (Luke 2000, p. 54).

The elder Bush did not win the 1992 election, but the 1994 Republican takeover of the United States House of Representatives stimulated the continuing US ‘retreat from international environmental agreements’ (Sussman 2004, p. 358) during the 1992–2000 Clinton administration. In addition, the George W. Bush administration – aided by a Republican

*Corresponding author. Email: pjacques@mail.ucf.edu

Congress until 2006 – has taken opposition to environmental protection to unprecedented levels (Cohen 2004; Devine 2004; Kennedy 2004; Pope and Rauber 2004). Vig and Faure (2004, p. 1) suggest that the recent US resistance to environmental protection is a serious concern for transatlantic relations:

the United States and the European Union (EU) are following divergent paths in one of the most critical areas of contemporary policy and governance – protection of the natural environment. Particularly in the past decade, the United States has more often than not appeared reluctant to support new national and international initiatives to regulate human impacts on the environment. While the US led the world in establishing environmental policies and institutions for this purpose in the 1970s and 1980s, in the 1990s it appeared to become a laggard in international environmental politics.

While most visible in the case of climate change policy, US divergence from the EU in environmental matters is wide-ranging (Vig and Faure 2004).

Van Putten (2005, p. 468) has captured the enigma of US backtracking on environmental policy-making:

The most perplexing feature of current federal environmental policy is that public attitudes, compelling science, and pragmatic solutions matter so little. Poll after poll demonstrates that the American people embrace environmental values and support stronger environmental protections. The mobilization of competent scientific expertise to speak with overwhelming consistency about environmental threats, such as global warming and biodiversity loss, is extraordinary and unprecedented. . . . Yet the prospects for US government leadership on these and other environmental issues is grim. Gridlock appears to be the likely scenario, with the rollback of current environmental policies at least as plausible. How can this be?

In response, pluralist theory would suggest that environmental interest groups must have lost power compared to other interest groups. However, Bosso (2005) has shown that mature US environmental organisations have continued to grow in both memberships and revenues.¹ By these accounts, environmental groups should have at least maintained their relative influence over time as advocacy groups. Nonetheless, US commitments to domestic and international environmental protection have declined at the same time environmental organisations have prospered, indicating the limited utility of the pluralist explanation.

The decline of US environmental leadership undoubtedly has several sources, such as the inverse relationship between the US interest in fostering the globalisation of free markets and its commitment to environmental protection (Conca 2001). Further, Dunlap *et al.* (2001) show that US conservative elites have become increasingly opposed to environmental protection policies. Pro-environment voting by Republicans in Congress has been declining consistently since 1990, creating a huge and growing gap between congressional Republicans and Democrats that greatly exceeds partisan differences in support for environmental protection among the

general public. Finally, the public salience of environmental issues declined dramatically after 9/11, allowing the George W. Bush administration freedom to roll back environmental protection without generating a backlash comparable to that encountered by the Reagan administration (Brechin and Freeman 2004; Dunlap 2006).

We argue that interwoven with and complementing the above factors is an even more crucial issue: the growing power of the US conservative movement since the 1970s and its increasing opposition to environmentalism, environmental science and environmental policy-making. Conservative opposition began in earnest in the early 1990s, when environmentalism clearly became a global phenomenon as symbolised by the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio. Conservative think tanks (hereafter CTTs) – the key organisational component of the conservative movement – and their backers launched a full-scale counter-movement in response to the perceived success of the environmental movement and its supporters (Austin 2002). We suggest that this counter-movement has been central to the reversal of US support for environmental protection, both domestically and internationally. Its major tactic has been disputing the seriousness of environmental problems and undermining environmental science by promoting what we term ‘environmental scepticism’.

After discussing the counter-movement concept, we will explicate our notion of environmental scepticism, and then highlight the significance of CTTs in US politics in general and their impact on environmental policy in particular. Then we will turn to our primary contribution, an empirical examination of the links between CTTs and environmental scepticism – first by analysing the links between think tanks and books espousing scepticism, and next by examining the websites of think tanks interested in environmental issues for evidence of scepticism. (The relevant data are found in Appendices 1 and 2.) We will argue that environmental sceptics are not, as they portray themselves, independent and objective analysts. Rather, they are predominately agents of CTTs, and their success in promoting scepticism about environmental problems stems from their affiliation with these politically powerful institutions.

The conservative counter-movement

While it has a long history, the US conservative movement was energised by mobilising against the gains of the progressive movements of the 1960s and 1970s such as the civil rights, anti-war, consumer rights, women’s rights and environmental movements and the growth of the ‘welfare state’. From the 1970s onward, American conservatism has been both a general social movement and the source of several counter-movements aimed at combating various progressive causes (Stefancic and Delgado 1996). As Lo (1982, p. 128) puts it, ‘The new right is a general social movement whose leaders link single-issue campaigns with consistent conservative ideology – free markets, anti-communism, and social conservatism’.

Lo (1982, p. 118) argues that 'a counter-movement may be defined as a movement mobilised against another movement', and Meyer and Staggenborg (1996, p. 1631) describe a counter-movement as 'a movement that makes contrary claims simultaneously to those of the original movement' it is designed to oppose. While some counter-movements emerge and evolve in opposition to a specific movement (Zald and Useem 1987), as has the 'pro-life movement', the US conservative movement has been a generalised source of opposition to a range of progressive causes and 'liberal' social policies (social welfare, consumer rights, affirmative action etc.).

In their effort to account for the emergence of counter-movements, Meyer and Staggenborg (1996, p. 1635) highlight the importance of three conditions: '[F]irst, the [original] movement shows signs of success; second, the interests of some population are threatened by movement goals; and third, political allies are available to aid oppositional mobilization.' These conditions suggest why the conservative movement launched a major counter-movement against the environmental movement in the 1990s. First, environmentalism evolved into a strong global movement in the 1990s, highlighted by the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio. Second, the spread of global capitalism via market economies, the privatisation of common property and free trade was jeopardised by this global movement (Conca 2001). This threat, combined with the fall of the Soviet Union, prompted the conservative movement to substitute the 'green scare' for the 'red scare' (Buell 2003). Third, the growing power of the conservative movement and especially the Republican takeover of Congress in 1994 provided important 'allies' for anti-environmental activists (McCright and Dunlap 2003).

Meyer and Staggenborg (1996, p. 1639) provide additional insight into the emergence of conservative opposition to environmentalism when they suggest that 'The likelihood that opposition to a movement will take the form of a sustained counter-movement is directly related to the opposition's ability to portray the conflict as one that entails larger value cleavages in society'. As environmentalists began to argue that global problems such as loss of biodiversity and climate change indicated that the lifestyles and industrial practices of modern societies were not sustainable, conservative spokespersons responded that environmentalism was a growing threat to social and economic progress and the 'American way of life' (e.g., Ray and Guzzo 1993).

The perceived threat to American values and interests posed by environmentalism helped justify the creation of a sustained anti-environmental counter-movement, institutionalised in a network of influential CTTs funded by wealthy conservative foundations and corporations (Austin 2002). While these CTTs sometimes joined corporate America in directly lobbying against environmental policies, their primary tactic in combating environmentalism has been to challenge the need for protective environmental policy by questioning the seriousness of environmental problems and the validity of environmental science. In espousing what we term environmental scepticism, CTTs are promoting counter-claims that directly challenge the claims of the

environmental community – environmentalists, environmental scientists and environmentally friendly policy-makers – concerning the problematic state of environmental quality and consequent need for ameliorative action (McCright and Dunlap, 2000).

The conservative movement's growing use of environmental scepticism to combat environmentalism is understandable for two reasons. First, after the Reagan administration's efforts to weaken environmental regulations in the early 1980s provoked a significant backlash from the general public and environmental organisations (Kraft and Vig 1984; Dunlap 1995), conservatives learned that it was safer to question the seriousness of environmental problems and portray environmentalists as 'radicals' who distort evidence and exaggerate problems (Buell 2003). Second, several analysts have noted that counter-movements tend to adopt similar tactics to those of the movements they are opposing (Lo 1982, p. 119; Zald and Useem 1987, p. 259; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996, p. 1650). Since environmentalism is unique among social movements in its heavy reliance on scientific evidence to support its claims (Yearley 2005, ch. 8), it is not surprising that CTTs would launch a direct assault on environmental science by promoting environmental scepticism in their efforts to oppose the environmental movement (Austin 2002; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1996, p. 17).

Environmental scepticism

Environmental scepticism encompasses several themes, but denial of the authenticity of environmental problems, particularly problems such as biodiversity loss or climate change that threaten ecological sustainability, is its defining feature (Jacques 2006).

The first and most fundamental theme of environmental scepticism is a rejection of scientific literature on environmental problems, e.g. on global warming, stratospheric ozone depletion, natural resource exhaustion and biodiversity loss. Sceptics allege that environmental science has become corrupted by political agendas that lead it to unintentionally or maliciously fabricate or grossly exaggerate these global problems. For example, Patrick Michaels, senior fellow in environmental studies at the Cato Institute, in the foreword to *Meltdown* (Michaels 2004, p. 5), writes: 'Global warming is an exaggerated issue, predictably blown out of proportion by the political and professional climate in which it evolved. ... [T]his book chants a litany of questionable science, over-stated science, poorly reported science, and unwarranted statements by scientists themselves, all on the subject of climate change.' Michaels is directly contesting climate change *science* and the acceptance of global warming as problematic.

A second theme of environmental scepticism follows from the rejection of environmental science: the prioritisation of economic, social and environmental problems. Since sceptics see few, if any, environmental problems as serious, they view most environmental protection efforts as illegitimate. Bjørn

Lomborg (2001) is the best-known example of a dismissive sceptic who first denies the seriousness of environmental problems, then challenges their priority for public action. After arguing that the 'litany' of global environmental concerns is based on myths and exaggerations, he warns: 'When we are told that something is a problem we need to ask how important it is in relation to other problems. We are forced to constantly prioritize our resources, and there will always be good projects we have to reject' (p. 9). While Lomborg's major impact has been in his native Denmark, he has been welcomed and promoted by North American conservatives (CEI 2001; Jamison 2004).

A third theme of anti-regulation and anti-corporate liability follows from the low priority sceptics assign to environmental problems and protection. This fits nicely with the goals of the conservative movement to reduce government regulation and corporate liability in environmental matters (Mooney 2005a). While anti-regulation and anti-liability do not define scepticism, they result directly from the first and second themes. In their content analysis of 1995–2000 online news media using the term 'junk science', Herrick and Jamieson (2001, p. 14) report that 'The most striking finding of our content analysis is that an overwhelming majority (84%) of the articles contained an anti-regulatory message or admonition, asserting that a particular policy or regulatory perspective or program should be reversed or opposed because it is based on junk science'. Thus scepticism is focused on potential threats to capitalist accumulation, including scientific support for the precautionary principle.²

A fourth and final theme is the claim that environmentalism and environmental protection threaten the progress and development embedded in Western modernity. Sceptics see a 'fantastic story of mankind' where 'In the course of the last 40 years, everyone – in the developed as well as the developing world – has become more than three times richer' (Lomborg 2001, p. 328). Consequently, sceptics strive to defend modernity from environmentalists, who are portrayed as waging a 'war against progress' (Meyer 1979). Defending 'progress' implies a commitment to the current international distribution of wealth and power centred in the global North (Jacques 2006), as well as the possessive individualism characterising capitalist societies (Jacques 2008).

In summary, environmental scepticism consists of four key themes. First, environmental scepticism is defined by its denial of the seriousness of environmental problems and dismissal of scientific evidence documenting these problems. This primary theme sets environmental scepticism apart from earlier environmental opposition movements like the US 'wise use movement' and 'sage brush rebellion' (Switzer 1997). Second, environmental scepticism draws upon the first theme to question the importance of environmentally protective policies. Third, environmental scepticism endorses an anti-regulatory/anti-corporate liability position that flows from the first two claims. Lastly, environmental sceptics often cast environmental protection as threatening Western progress.

Conservative think tanks and environmental scepticism

CTTs are non-profit, public policy research and advocacy organisations that promote core conservative ideals such as ‘free enterprise’, ‘private property rights’, ‘limited government’ and ‘national defense’ (Schumaker *et al.* 1997). Unlike traditional think tanks that aimed to provide reasonably ‘objective’ policy analyses, CTTs are ‘advocacy’ organisations that unabashedly promote conservative goals (Weaver 1988; Fischer 1991). Launched in the 1970s in reaction to social activism and an expanding federal government, CTTs were an institutional answer from American business leaders who during this time ‘voiced fears of “creeping socialism”’ (Austin 2002, p. 79). The strategy was to create an activist counter-intelligentsia to conduct an effective ‘war of ideas’ against proponents of government programmes designed to ameliorate presumed social problems such as poverty (Blumenthal 1986; Fischer 1991). As Allen (1992, p. 90) puts it, CTTs ‘are professional social movement organisations that have been sponsored by economic elites as a means of influencing public opinion and the agendas of political elites’.

What began as an effort by conservatives to counteract the liberal underpinnings of governmental programmes and the progressive social movements of the 1960s and 1970s has been an enormous success, as CTTs have become exceptionally influential in US politics (Blumenthal 1986; Allen 1992; Stefancic and Delgado 1996; Callahan 1999; Krehely *et al.* 2004). Weaver (1988) suggests that think tanks have flourished in the US because of its relatively weak political parties, the ‘permeability’ of its bureaucratic elites and the division of power between the congressional and administrative branches, while Gellner (1995) argues that think tanks have become ‘party-like institutions’ that promote policy issues and provide personnel for governmental positions.

The central tactic employed by CTTs in the war of ideas is the production of an endless flow of printed material ranging from books to editorials designed for public consumption to policy briefs aimed at policy-makers and journalists, combined with frequent appearances by spokespersons on TV and radio. More than 15 years ago, Allen (1992, p. 104) observed that:

Over the past two decades, the volume of studies and analyses produced by the major conservative policy-research institutions is staggering. Judging from the content of political debate in recent years, there can be little doubt that the cumulative effects of all these books, periodicals, and articles has been to alter significantly both public opinion and the agendas of political elites.

Various analysts have documented the roles of CTTs in promoting crucial conservative policy goals such as supply-side economics, the Strategic Defense Initiative (‘Star Wars’), limits on social welfare and opposition to affirmative action (see e.g., Blumenthal 1986; Stefancic and Delgado 1996; Callahan 1999). Clearly, CTTs have played a major role in moving US politics rightward, both in terms of domestic and foreign policy (Covington 1997; Austin 2002;

Krehely *et al.* 2004). In the process they have become a vital component of the Republican Party's success since the Reagan era, overwhelming in numbers and influence the small number of liberal think tanks inclined to support the Democrats (Allen 1992, p. 105).

A key to the success of CTTs has been their ability to establish themselves as a true 'counter-intelligentsia' that has achieved equal legitimacy with mainstream science and academia – both of which have been effectively labelled as 'leftist' in order to legitimise CTT's as providing 'balance' (Austin 2002). Beder (2001, p. 129) highlights this, noting that even though 'think tanks have more in common with interest groups or pressure groups than academic institutions', their representatives 'are treated by the media as independent experts and ... are often preferred to representatives from universities and interest groups as a source of expert opinion'. This has been a particularly notable accomplishment in the realm of scientific and environmental issues because CTTs are populated primarily by economists, policy analysts and legal scholars rather than natural scientists (Fischer 1991); the George C. Marshall Institute is an exception (Lahsen 2005).

The lack of in-house scientific expertise helps explain why CTTs have been quick to form relationships with the small number of academic scientists who support their views, as in the case of 'climate sceptics' (Lahsen 2005; McCright and Dunlap 2003). Doing so helps shield the fact that the sceptical position is strongly aligned with conservatism and the economic interests it represents (Austin 2002; Mooney 2005b), thus hiding from the public the underlying source of what appears on the surface to be another 'policy debate' among equally qualified experts (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1996; Lahsen 2005).

As elite social movement organisations that – with the support of conservative foundations and corporations – provide leadership for the conservative movement (Allen 1992; Covington 1997), it is not surprising that CTTs have been in the forefront of the anti-environmental counter-movement. Their efforts are particularly apparent in the area of climate change. For example, Meyer and Staggenborg (1996, p. 1634) note that counter-movements can 'draw media attention that activates balancing norms in mainstream media', or the pressure on journalists to present both sides of an issue. As a result of their ready access to media (Dolny 2003), CTTs were able to create a situation in which major media outlets portrayed climate science as an evenly divided debate between sceptics and non-sceptics (Boykoff and Boykoff 2004) employing what McCright and Dunlap (2003, p. 366) term the 'duelling scientists' version of the balancing norm. The result is that US media have given disproportionate attention to the views of a small number of global warming sceptics (Antilla 2005; Boykoff 2007), and as a consequence have been significantly more likely than media in other industrial nations to portray global warming as a controversial issue characterised by scientific uncertainty (Dispensa and Brulle 2003; Gelbspan 2004; Grundmann 2007).

As is true of the movements they are opposing, counter-movements seek to influence state structures, capacity and policy (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996)

and, in the case of environmental issues in general and climate change in particular, CTTs have clearly been successful in affecting the US government (Armitage 2005).³ In the sympathetic George W. Bush administration, individuals affiliated with CTTs have been appointed to key governmental positions, most notably Gale Norton as Secretary of the Interior (Nerenberg 2001). In the area of climate change, the Competitive Enterprise Institute sued the federal government twice to suppress the release of the US National Assessment of Climate Change, a comprehensive report begun under the Clinton Administration (Mooney 2007), while the Bush Administration's rhetoric and policy on climate change have consistently echoed the sceptical themes promoted by CTTs (McCright and Dunlap 2003, p. 370; Armitage 2005). Similarly, representatives of CTTs and the sceptical scientists they promote have achieved virtual parity with mainstream scientists representing the IPCC in testifying at Congressional hearings on climate change (McCright and Dunlap 2003).

Austin (2002) documents the important role of CTTs in leading the anti-environmental counter-movement, and then highlights their tactic of promoting environmental scepticism when he argues that they manufacture anti-environmental propaganda to counter the claims of mainstream science regarding environmental problems. Austin and Phoenix (2005) subsequently argue that the George W. Bush administration's resistance to environmental protection indicates the success of this anti-environmental counter-movement (Devine 2004; Kennedy 2004; Pope and Rauber 2004).

Thus, existing literature suggests that the conservative movement, especially via CTTs, has organised a counter-movement to oppose the environmental movement and its supporters. A crucial tactic of CTTs is promoting environmental scepticism to counter scientific claims concerning environmental degradation, and thus the need for ameliorative action. McCright and Dunlap (2000; 2003) document the role of CTTs in contesting climate change, and this paper broadens their focus by examining the efforts of CTTs to challenge the seriousness of environmental problems in general.

Methods

We address two important questions: to what degree is environmental scepticism linked to think tanks within the conservative movement? and how pervasive is support for environmental scepticism in CTTs interested in environmental policy? To answer these questions we conduct two complementary empirical analyses: first, an analysis of the English-language literature espousing environmental scepticism based on our dataset of sceptical books published between 1972 and 2005; and, second, an analysis of generalised support for environmental scepticism by CTTs with an expressed interest in environmental issues, conducted via searches of their websites.

Selecting environmentally sceptical books

The first dataset is a list of the 141 English-language books published between 1972 (we found no earlier examples) and 2005 and assigned an International Standard Book Number (ISBN)⁴ that we identified as espousing environmental scepticism. Books were included if they expressed environmental scepticism by denying or downplaying the seriousness of problems such as climate change; stratospheric ozone depletion; biodiversity loss; resource shortages; chemicals and other pollutants in the air, water or soil; threats of trace chemical exposure to human health and the potential risks of genetic modification. Books were not included simply because their authors argued against environmental values. Thus, although Ron Arnold is an environmental sceptic, his *At the Eye of the Storm* (1982) does not focus on questioning environmental problems and therefore was not included.

We then searched for evidence of relationships between these 141 books and CTTs to examine support for scepticism by the conservative movement. Relationships were established in one of two ways: the author was affiliated with a CTT and/or the book was published by a CTT press. In both cases the information is found publicly and not inferred. Our focus on links between sceptics and CTTs *underestimates* the conservative ideological underpinnings of environmental scepticism. For example, despite having no discernible ties to a CTT, O'Leary (2003) reflects a strong conservative ideology.

We also noted the country of origin of each book, documented through the lead author's apparent place of residence. This information is inferred from the author's biographical notes.

Our list of sceptical books (reported in Appendix 1) is undoubtedly not exhaustive. Sceptical volumes are easy to overlook, particularly since some are issued by obscure presses, go out of print quickly or have limited circulation intended for a narrow audience. We searched for books via online bookstores, bibliographies of sceptical books and books analysing anti-environmentalism (Rowell 1996; Switzer 1997). We also searched bibliographies of online sceptical articles and looked for reviews of sceptical books. We believe our compilation includes the vast majority of English-language books espousing environmental scepticism.

Selecting conservative think tanks and environmental policy

The second part of our analysis examines CTT positions on environmental issues. In order to systematically select CTTs, we used the Heritage Foundation's website. Arguably the pre-eminent CTT (Allen 1992), the Heritage Foundation is committed to fostering the conservative cause. One way Heritage does this is via the Internet, where it posts lists of conservative policy experts and 561 organisations (www.policyexperts.org). The inclusion of a think tank on the Heritage Foundation's website establishes its conservative credentials and provides face validity for our study population. Content

validity of the database is indicated by the fact that all of the organisations identified by McCright and Dunlap (2000; 2003) were found on the Heritage list.

It is possible to locate both think tanks and individual policy experts on the Heritage Foundation's website by searching either by 'expert' or by 'issue'. We searched the 'organisations' category by 'policy issue' which searches all organisations in the database, including international think tanks. We searched for organisations listing an interest in 'environment', 'environmental policy', 'global warming' and/or 'climate change'. These searches were conducted in summer 2005, and produced a list of 60 think tanks. We then visited their websites between June and December 2005. At each we determined whether or not the organisation is indeed conservative according to the definition of Schumaker *et al.* (1997) and that it has at least some interest in environmental issues, or else it was dropped from the list.

Two organisations, the Constitutional Coalition and the Center for Policy and Legal Studies, did not have websites and had to be deleted. Of the remaining 58, only one – the Kansas Policy Research Institute – failed to express a conservative orientation. The KPRI appears to be an academic think tank with a plurality of ideological views, and it was therefore dropped. Finally, we found no evidence of interest in environmental issues on the websites of seven organisations, including four separately listed chapters of the Black Alliance for Educational Options and the F.A. Hayek Foundation in Bratislava, so they were also deleted from the list.

The remaining set of 50 think tanks, their national origin and whether or not they espouse environmental scepticism are shown in Appendix 2. The eight in bold have a specific interest in 'global warming' or 'climate change' according to their listing in the Heritage Foundation database.

Our population of 50 conservative think tanks interested in environmental issues includes only six outside the US, and no doubt the list is skewed toward Heritage's interest in the US. Nonetheless, the bulk of think tanks are, in fact, thought to be in the US (Abelson 2000). Also, some think tanks that would seem obvious, such as the Cato Institute, are not on the list because they were not coded by the key words used in our search of the database. However, for reproducibility of the study, we have limited our study to those CTTs produced by our search of the Heritage website using the key words noted above.

We then searched the websites of these 50 CTTs for evidence of support for environmental scepticism. We did this in one of two ways. If the website had an internal search, we used it to search for 'environment', 'climate change', 'global warming' and 'junk science'. Junk science was searched because it is a strong cue for scepticism (Herrick and Jamison. 2001). If there was no internal search capability at the website, we searched the organisation's publications, position papers, press releases and other web pages manually.

If any of the organisation's publications or web material was found to support environmental scepticism, it was coded as sceptical. If no evidence of scepticism was found on the website, the organisation was coded as not

sceptical. It is possible that we missed sceptical material for a few of the organisations we coded as 'not sceptical', thus generating false negative results; however, this is preferable to generating false positive results by erroneously assuming that these think tanks promoted environmental scepticism.

Findings

Books promoting environmental scepticism

Appendix 1 and Table 1 show that, of the 141 books which promote environmental scepticism, 130 (92.2 per cent) have a clear link to one or more CTTs – either via author affiliation (62 books) or because the book was published by a CTT (five books) or both (63 books). Furthermore, most of the remaining 11 books clearly reflect a conservative ideology, but are not connected to a CTT and are not coded as such here. Indeed, it appears that only one of the 141 books was written by a current self-professed liberal – Greg Easterbrook (1995).⁵

It is therefore evident that advocates of environmental scepticism are overwhelmingly conservative, and in a vast majority of cases their books are directly linked to one or more CTTs – whether in the US or abroad. The relationship between sceptic books and CTTs is especially pronounced for books written by non-US authors, as 29 of 31 are linked to CTTs. The fact that many of these books are linked to CTTs in the US suggests that the spread of scepticism internationally has been stimulated or at least assisted by these powerful agents of American conservatism. Of course, our focus on English-language books likely resulted in our missing sceptical volumes published in other languages that are not linked to US-based CTTs. Nonetheless, our

Table 1. Think tank affiliations of environmentally sceptical books.

Country	Books with Conservative think tank associations	No conservative think tank associations	Total books
USA	101	9	110
UK	19	1	20
Australia	2	0	2
Canada	1	1	2
Denmark	1	0	1
France	1	0	1
Germany	1	0	1
Netherlands	1	0	1
New Zealand	1	0	1
South Africa	1	0	1
Sweden	1	0	1
Totals	130	11	141

results imply that CTTs in the US have helped diffuse environmental scepticism internationally.⁶

The timing of sceptical books follows a noticeable trend, as illustrated in Table 2. There is a consistent increase in sceptical literature over time, starting with only six books in the 1970s and 14 in the 1980s. All save two of these 20 are by US authors. The 1990s saw a five-fold increase in sceptical literature over the preceding decade. Further, judging by the number of books published in its first six years, the current decade is on track to surpass the 1990s (see Table 2).

Four of the 11 volumes with no apparent links to CTTs were published in the 1970s, a decade in which only six sceptical books were published. The conservative movement had not yet adopted environmental scepticism. However, Julian Simon's *The Ultimate Resource* (1981) became a model (see Dryzek 1997) for cornucopian conservative environmental scepticism, and *all 14* of the sceptical books published in the 1980s were linked to CTTs. The conservative movement had clearly come to realise the potential of environmental scepticism, but environmental issues probably had lower salience than anti-Communism as the 'Cold War' still preoccupied conservatives (Buell 2003, p. 22).

As noted earlier, President Reagan's call for weaker environmental regulation spawned a backlash from the general public and environmental organisations in the early 1980s (Dunlap 1995; Kraft and Vig 1984). Consequently, anti-environmentalists learned that it was safer to question the seriousness of environmental problems and portray environmentalists (and environmental scientists) as 'radicals' who distort evidence in order to exaggerate problems (Buell 2003).

The conservative movement and its corporate sponsors had previously learned that industry scientists lack the credibility of government and university scientists in debates on issues such as pesticides and cigarette

Table 2. Trends in publication of environmentally sceptical books: 1970–2005.

Country	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000–2005
USA	5	13	56	36
UK	1	0	13	6
Australia	0	1	0	1
Canada	0	0	1	1
Denmark	0	0	0	1
France	0	0	0	1
Germany	0	0	1	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	1
New Zealand	0	0	0	1
South Africa	0	0	0	1
Sweden	0	0	1	0
Totals	6	14	72	49

smoking, so providing political insulation for industry has become an essential role for CTTs (Austin 2002). On climate change, several think tanks have performed this function for companies such as ExxonMobil (Gelbspan 2004; Mooney 2005a; Mooney 2005b). However, the strategy has shifted from defence of single companies or industries (such as tobacco or pesticides) to using sceptics to challenge environmental science in general (Buell 2003; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1998). A major tactic is to ‘manufacture uncertainty’, raising questions about the scientific basis for environmental problems and thereby undermining support for government regulations (Michaels and Monforton 2005).

Another key factor fuelling the growth of a fully-fledged anti-environmental counter-movement supported by the conservative movement was the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. The decline of the USSR made anti-Communism – foundational to US conservatism – increasingly irrelevant (Buell 2003, p. 22) just as environmentalism was emerging as a global force. Meyer and Staggenborg (1996) point out that ‘critical events’ can shape the structure of political opportunity for movements and counter-movements because they ‘focus attention on issues and provide an impetus for social movement mobilization’. The 1992 Rio Earth Summit was a watershed for popular *global* environmental concern and thus a critical event. It highlighted growing scientific evidence of global environmental degradation and built upon widespread citizen concern (Dunlap *et al.* 1993) to stimulate efforts to implement a raft of international environmental agreements. Rio reflected a heightened sense of urgency for environmental protection that was seen as a threat by conservative elites, stimulating them to replace anti-communism with anti-environmentalism (Luke 2000).

As reflected in an interview with sceptic Dixie Lee Ray by the Acton Institute (1992), the Earth Summit provided an opportunity to switch conservative attention from the ‘Red Scare’ to the emerging ‘Green Scare’:

R&L: *With the world-wide decline of socialism, many individuals think that the environmental movement may be the next great threat to freedom. Do you agree?*

Ray: Yes, I do, and I’ll tell you why. It became evident to me when I attended the worldwide Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro last June. The International Socialist Party, which is intent upon continuing to press countries into socialism, is now headed up by people within the United Nations. They are the ones in the UN environmental program, and they were the ones sponsoring the so-called Earth Summit that was attended by 178 nations.

R&L: *Did you have a specific purpose in attending the Earth Summit?*

Ray: I was sent there by the Free Congress Committee, headed by Paul Weyrich. Fred Smith and I were sent down as observers, with reporters’ credentials, so we could witness the events. One of the main organisers of the program, Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway was the assistant executive for the conference. She is also the vice-president of the World Socialist Party. When she was questioned by Brazilian reporters after her talk and asked if what they were proposing didn’t have a peculiar resemblance to the agenda of the

World Socialist Party she said, 'Well, of course.' That was reported in Brazil but not picked up by the American press.

R&L: *Did you see a big influence by the radical environmentalists there?*

Ray: Oh yes. No question about that, the radicals are in charge. One of the proposals that did indeed pass as part of Agenda 21 proposes that there be world government under the UN, that essentially all nations give up their sovereignty, and that the nations will be, as they said quite openly, frightened or coerced into doing that by threats of environmental damage.

Ray, a powerful conservative elite member in her own right as former director of the US Atomic Energy Commission and governor of the State of Washington, was not an isolated observer. She describes her support from and affiliation with powerful think tank elites in Paul Weyrich and Fred Smith. Weyrich served as the founding president of the Heritage Foundation in 1973–4 among other key positions, and Fred Smith is the founder and head of the Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI). Rio, therefore, very likely explains why 81 per cent of the sceptical books have been published since 1992.

Also, it is clear that the bulk of English-language environmental scepticism is produced in the US (110 volumes being authored or edited by Americans). As shown in Table 1, 20 books have been written by 11 authors from the UK, but only a trivial number come from other countries. Environmental scepticism, although it is diffusing abroad, thus appears to be primarily a US phenomenon. However, almost none of the books was published by authors outside the affluent industrialised world, indicating that scepticism is distinct to the affluent global North. Scepticism may be Northern because the conservative counter-movement sees itself as defending Northern lifestyles and Northern-dominated economic systems and Northern privileged identity (Jacques 2006; 2008).

Environmental scepticism and conservative think tank websites

We now turn to our analysis of the CTT website data. We find a similar pattern in the websites as in the books. A vast majority of the CTTs interested in environmental issues express support for environmental scepticism, as shown in Appendix 2. Out of the 50 think tanks examined, 45 (90 per cent) support scepticism on their websites and in their publications. Further, consistent with McCright and Dunlap's (2000; 2003) findings, all eight think tanks (highlighted in bold) that have global warming/climate change as a principal interest espouse scepticism and are based in the US.

Only five of the think tanks we studied are not disseminating environmentally sceptical positions. Interestingly, a few of the non-sceptical think tanks advocate conservative but pro-environment attitudes. For example, Environmental Probe, based in Canada, is a staunch supporter of free-market options, but favours environmental regulations when markets cannot provide adequate environmental protection. Nonetheless, our basic finding is that an

overwhelming majority of CTTs with an avowed interest in environmental issues support environmental scepticism as part of their broader anti-environmental positions. For example, the American Policy Center derides environmental initiatives on several levels, such as the comments made in John Meredith's (undated, online) article, 'Al Gore – You Can't Hide – We Charge You with Genocide': 'Vice President Al Gore wants to be God. Apparently, he will stop at nothing to advance his global warming agenda even though scientists in ever-increasing numbers are rejecting the unproven theory. One of the ways he intends to do it is by killing innocent Third World babies.' Another example is the CEI joining with other conservative groups and several conservative lawmakers to sue the Clinton administration over the use of purported 'junk science' in a national assessment of global warming impacts (Mooney 2007).

Of course, environmental scepticism encompasses much more than global warming. For example, 'junk science' is a favourite topic at the American Council on Science and Health, co-founded by sceptic Elizabeth Whelen who is one of the very few women authors found in the list of books. On the ACSH website Dunn (2004) criticises EPA-funded research used to justify reductions in air pollution published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*:

The *New England Journal of Medicine* now vacillates, becoming a propaganda rag on political issues but a scientific paragon when there are no political agendas to consider – lurching from outrageous dust and air pollution junk science to multivariate regression analysis of alternative causes of cerebral edema in diabetics with ketoacidosis. Which will it be?

Summary

Our analyses of the sceptical literature and CTTs indicate an unambiguous linkage between the two. Over 92 per cent of environmentally sceptical books are linked to conservative think tanks, and 90 per cent of conservative think tanks interested in environmental issues espouse scepticism. Environmental scepticism began in the US, is strongest in the US, and exploded after the end of the Cold War and the emergence of global environmental concern stimulated by the 1992 Earth Summit.

Environmental scepticism is an elite-driven reaction to global environmentalism, organised by core actors within the conservative movement. Promoting scepticism is a key tactic of the anti-environmental counter-movement coordinated by CTTs, designed specifically to undermine the environmental movement's efforts to legitimise its claims via science. Thus, the notion that environmental sceptics are unbiased analysts exposing the myths and scare tactics employed by those they label as practitioners of 'junk science' lacks credibility. Similarly, the self-portrayal of sceptics as marginalised 'Davids' battling the powerful 'Goliath' of environmentalists and environmental scientists is a charade, as sceptics are supported by politically powerful CTTs funded by wealthy foundations and corporations.

Given the success of CTTs in promoting environmental scepticism, particularly obvious in the case of climate change (Antilla 2005; Boykoff and Boykoff 2004; McCright and Dunlap 2003; Mooney 2007), it seems reasonable to conclude that the CTT-based countermovement has contributed to the decline of US support for environmental protection in recent decades. The ability of CTTs to influence environmental policy replicates their accomplishments in other policy domains (Covington 1997; Callahan 1999; Krehely *et al.* 2004; Stefancic and Delgado 1996), and thus should come as no surprise.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Chris Rootes and Bob Brulle for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

Notes

1. Despite the flourishing of organised environmentalism, a purported 'death of environmentalism' has been debated in recent years due to the failure of environmentalists to stem the anti-environmental orientation of the federal government – particularly on climate change (Dunlap 2006).
2. Michaels and Monforton (2005) give a history of 'junk science' in their explication of 'manufacturing uncertainty', a tactic that makes heavy use of environmental scepticism. Also see Freudenburg, Gramling and Davidson's (2008) analysis of 'scientific certainty argumentation methods' or 'SCAMs'.
3. It is admittedly difficult to disentangle the impact on US climate change policy of CTTs from that of the fossil fuel industry, as Exxon Mobil and other corporations have sought to undermine climate science via lobbying and participation in the Global Climate Coalition (GCC) as well as by directly funding CTTs and sceptical scientists. However, analysts such as Layzer (2007, p. 112) note that well after several oil companies stopped challenging climate science and withdrew from the GCC, CTTs not only continued their opposition but decried the 'fracturing' of the business community's opposition to climate science and policy. Similarly, comparative US-Canadian and US-German analyses of climate politics and policy also point to the unique role of climate sceptics and their CTT sponsors in helping account for the recalcitrant position of the US (Grundmann 2007; Harrison 2007). Such evidence suggests that CTT opposition to climate and other environmental policies has a firm ideological base that transcends the obvious desire for corporate funding.
4. ISBNs are used to define and control for what is considered a book. Bidinotto's *Green Machine* (1993); Kwong's *Protecting the Environment: Old Rhetoric, New Imperatives* (1990) and S. Fred Singer's *The Greenhouse Debate Continued: An Analysis and Critique of the IPCC Climate Assessment* (1992) are examples of sceptical publications that might be considered books, and are tied to CTTs, but have no ISBN and are thus not included. This contributes to our underestimating the number of sceptical publications affiliated with CTTs.
5. Lomborg (2001, p. xix) writes: 'I'm an *old* left-wing Greenpeace member ...' (our emphasis). His use of past tense, in combination with Jamison's (2004) description, leads us to assume Lomborg may have been liberal but has since changed his orientation.
6. The role of US CTTs and American sceptics in assisting the spread of scepticism internationally is readily apparent in the realm of climate change. The 'Leipzig Declaration on Global Climate Change', a European manifesto denying the

seriousness of global warming, ‘emerged from a November 1995 conference, “The Greenhouse Controversy”, cosponsored by S. Fred Singer’s Science and Environmental Policy Project and the European Academy of Environmental Affairs in Leipzig, Germany’ (SourceWatch 2008). Singer is a leading US climate sceptic and his SEPP is a major promoter of environmental scepticism (McCright and Dunlap 2003). In addition, several prominent US climate sceptics besides Singer signed the Leipzig Declaration, including Robert Balling, Hugh Ellsaesser, David Legates, Richard Lindzen, Patrick Michaels and Frederick Seitz.

References

- Abelson, Donald, 2000. Do think tanks matter? Opportunities, constraints, and incentives for think tanks in Canada and the United States. *Global Society*, 14 (2), 213–236.
- Acton Institute, 1992. Science and the environment. *Religion and Liberty* (Fall special edition), available online at <http://www.acton.org/publicat/randl/interview.hp?id=52>, accessed 28 June 2006.
- Allen, Michael Patrick, 1992. Elite social movement organizations and the state: The rise of the conservative policy-planning network. *Research in Politics and Policy*, 4, 87–109.
- Antilla, Liisa, 2005. Climate of scepticism: US newspaper coverage of climate change. *Global Environmental Change*, 15, 338–352.
- Armitage, Kevin C., 2005. State of denial: The United States and the politics of global warming. *Globalizations*, 2, 417–427.
- Arnold, Ron, 1982. *At the eye of the storm: James watt and the environmentalists*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing.
- Austin, Andrew, 2002. Advancing accumulation and managing its discontents: The US anti-environmental movement. *Sociological Spectrum*, 22, 71–105.
- Austin, Andrew and Phoenix, Laurel, 2005. The neoconservative assault on the earth: The environmental imperialism of the Bush administration. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 16 (2), 25–44.
- Beder, Sharon, 2001. Neoliberal think tanks and free market environmentalism. *Environmental Politics*, 10 (2), 128–133.
- Bidinotto, Robert, 1993. *The green machine*. Poughkeepsie, NY: Institute for Objectivist Studies.
- Blumenthal, Sidney, 1986. *The rise of the counter-establishment*. New York: Times Books.
- Bosso, Christopher, 2005. *Environment, inc.: From grassroots to the beltway*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Boykoff, Maxwell T., 2007. ‘From convergence to contention: United States mass media representations of anthropogenic climate change science. *Transactions – Institute of British Geographers*, 32, 477–489.
- Boykoff, Maxwell and Boykoff, Jules, 2004. Balance as bias: Global warming and the US prestige press. *Global Environmental Change*, 14, 125–136.
- Brechin, Steven R. and Freeman, Daniel A., 2004. Public support for both the environment and an anti-environmental president: Possible explanations for the George W. Bush anomaly. *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, 2 (1), available online at <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol2/iss1/art6/>, accessed 25 Jan. 2008.
- Buell, Frederick, 2003. *From apocalypse to way of life: Environmental crisis in the American century*. New York: Routledge.
- Callahan, David, 1999. *\$1 billion for ideas: Conservative think tanks in the 1990s*. Washington, DC: National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy.

- CEI (Competitive Enterprise Institute), 2001. The skeptical environmentalists to discuss global warming and the Kyoto protocol at Capitol Hill briefing. Available online at <http://www.cei.org/gencon/003,02433.cfm>, accessed 25 Jan. 2008.
- Cohen, Maurie J., 2004. George W. Bush and the Environmental Protection Agency: A midterm appraisal. *Society and Natural Resources*, 176, 69–88.
- Conca, Ken, 2001. Green politics in the Bush era: Anti-environmentalism's second wave. *Dissent*, 48 (3), 29–33.
- Covington, Sally, 1997. *Moving a public policy agenda: The strategic philanthropy of conservative foundations*. Washington, DC: National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy.
- Devine, Robert, 2004. *Bush versus the environment*. New York: Random House.
- Dispensa, Jackie and Brulle, Robert, 2003. Media's social construction of environmental issues: Focus on global warming – a comparative study. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 23 (10), 74–105.
- Dolny, Micheal, 2003. 'Spectrum narrows further in 2002: Progressive, domestic think tanks see drop. *Extra! Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting*, July/Aug., available online at <http://www.fair.org/index.php?page=1149>, accessed 5 Feb. 2007.
- Dryzek, John, 1997. *The politics of the earth: Environmental discourses*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dryzek, John, et al., 2003. *Green states and social movements: Environmentalism in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dunlap, Riley E., 1995. Public opinion and environmental policy. In: James P. Lester, ed. *Environmental politics and policy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Dunlap, Riley E., 2006. Show us the data? An examination of the death of environmentalism's ambiguous empirical foundations. *Organization & Environment*, 35 (Nov), 7–15, 33–39.
- Dunlap, R., Gallup, G., and Gallup, A., 1993. Of global concern: Results of the health of the planet survey. *Environment*, 19, 88–102.
- Dunlap, Riley, Xiao, Chenyang, and McCright, Aaron, 2001. Politics and environment in America: Partisan and ideological cleavages in public support for environmentalism. *Environmental Politics*, 10 (4), 23–48.
- Dunn, John Dale, 2004. EPA junk science on air pollution deaths. Available online at http://www.acsh.org/factsfears/newsID.479/news_detail.asp. accessed 25 Jan. 2008.
- Easterbrook, Greg, 1995. *A moment on earth: The coming age of environmental optimism*. New York: Viking Press.
- Ehrlich, Paul and Ehrlich, Anne, 1996. *The betrayal of science and reason: How anti-environmental rhetoric threatens our future*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Fischer, Frank, 1991. American think tanks: Policy elites and the politicization of expertise. *Governance*, 4, 332–353.
- Freudenburg, William R., Gramling, Robert, and Davidson, Debra J., 2008. Scientific certainty argumentation methods (scams): Science and the politics of doubt. *Sociological Inquiry*, 78, 2–38.
- Gelbspan, Ross, 2004. *Boiling point: How politicians, big oil and coal, journalists, and activists are fueling the climate crisis-and what we can do to avert disaster*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gellner, Winand, 1995. The politics of policy: 'Political think tanks' and their markets in the us institutional environment. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 25, 497–510.
- Grundmann, Reiner, 2007. Climate change and knowledge politics. *Environmental Politics*, 16, 414–432.
- Harrison, Kathryn, 2007. The road not taken: Climate change policy in Canada and the United States. *Global Environmental Politics*, 7, 92–117.

- Herrick, Charles and Jamison, Dale, 2001. Junk science and environmental policy: Obscuring public debate with misleading discourse. *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly*, 21, 11–16.
- Jacques, Peter, 2006. The rearguard of modernity: Environmental skepticism as a struggle of citizenship. *Global Environmental Politics*, 6, 76–101.
- Jacques, Peter J., 2008. Ecology, distribution and identity in the world politics of environmental skepticism. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, forthcoming.
- Jamison, Dale, 2004. Learning from Lomborg: Or where do anti-environmentalists come from? *Science as Culture*, 13, 173–195.
- Kennedy, Robert, 2004. *Crimes against nature*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Kraft, Michael and Vig, Norman, 1984. Environmental policy in the Reagan presidency. *Political Studies Quarterly*, 99, 415–443.
- Krehely, Jeff, House, Meaghan, and Kernan, Emily, 2004. *Axis of ideology: Conservative foundations and public policy*. Washington, DC: National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy.
- Kwong, Jo, 1990. *Protecting the environment: Old rhetoric, new imperatives*. Washington, DC: Capital Research Center.
- Lahsen, Myanna, 2005. Technocracy, democracy, and US climate politics: The need for demarcations. *Science, Technology, and Human Values*, 30, 137–169.
- Layzer, Judith A., 2007. ‘Deep freeze’: How business has shaped the global warming debate in Congress. In: Michael E. Kraft and Sheldon Kamieniecki, eds. *Business and environmental policy: Corporate interests in the American political system*. MIT Press, 93–125.
- Lo, Clarence Y.H., 1982. Countermovements and conservative movements in the contemporary US. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 8, 107–134.
- Lomborg, Bjorn, 2001. *The skeptical environmentalist: Measuring the real state of the world*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Luke, Timothy, 2000. A rough road out of Rio: The right-wing reaction against global environmentalism. In: Nicholas Low, ed. *Consuming cities: The urban environment in the global economy after the Rio declaration*. New York: Routledge.
- McCright, Aaron and Dunlap, Riley, 2000. Challenging global warming as a social problem: An analysis of the conservative movement’s counter claims. *Social Problems*, 47, 499–522.
- McCright, Aaron and Dunlap, Riley E., 2003. Defeating Kyoto: The conservative movement’s impact on US climate change policy. *Social Problems*, 50, 348–373.
- Meredith, John. Undated. Al Gore – you can’t hide – we charge you with genocide, available online at <http://www.americanpolicy.org/more/algore.htm>, accessed 25 Jan. 2008.
- Meyer, David S. and Staggenborg, Suzanne, 1996. Movements, countermovements, and the structure of political opportunity. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101, 1628–1660.
- Meyer, Herbert, 1979. *The war against progress*. Friday Harbor, WA: Storm King Publishers.
- Michaels, David and Monforton, Celeste, 2005. Manufacturing uncertainty: Contested science and the protection of the public’s health and environment. *Public Health Matters*, 95 (1), s39–s48.
- Michaels, Patrick, 2004. *Meltdown: The predictable distortion of global warming by scientists, politicians, and the media*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.
- Mooney, Chris, 2005a. *The Republican war on science*. New York: Basic Books.
- Mooney, Chris, 2005b. Some like it hot. *Mother Jones*, 30 (May/June), 36–94.
- Mooney, Chris, 2007. An inconvenient assessment. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 63 (Nov/Dec), 40–47.
- Nerenberg, Michael, 2001. Undue influence: Conservative think tanks and the Bush transition team. *Responsive Philanthropy: The NCRP Quarterly* (Spring), 13–16.

- O'Leary, Richard, 2003. *Environmental mafia: The enemy is us*. New York: Algora Publishing.
- Pope, Carl and Rauber, Paul, 2004. *Strategic ignorance: Why the Bush administration is recklessly destroying a century of environmental progress*. Washington, DC: Sierra Club Books.
- Ray, Dixie Lee and Guzzo, Louis, 1993. *Environmental overkill: Whatever happened to common sense?* Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway.
- Rowell, Andrew, 1996. *Greenbacklash: Global subversion of the environmental movement*. New York: Routledge.
- Schumaker, Paul, Kiel, Dwight, and Heilke, Thomas W., 1997. *Ideological voices: An anthology in modern idea*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Simon, Julian, 1981. *The ultimate resource*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Singer, S.Fred, 1992. *The greenhouse debate continued: An analysis and critique of the IPCC climate assessment*. Oakland, CA: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press.
- SourceWatch, 2008. Leipzig declaration on global climate change, available online at http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Leipzig_Declaration_on_Global_Climate_Change, accessed 22 Feb. 2008.
- Stefancic, Jean and Delgado, Richard, 1996. *No mercy: How conservative think tanks and foundations changed America's social agenda*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Sussman, Glen, 2004. The USA and global environmental policy: Domestic constraints on effective leadership. *International Political Science Review*, 25, 349–369.
- Switzer, Jacqueline, 1997. *Green backlash: The history and politics of environmental opposition in the US*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Van Putten, Mark, 2005. Rebuilding a mainstream consensus for environmentalism. *Bioscience*, 55 (6), 468–469.
- Vig, Norman and Faure, Michael, 2004. *Green giants? Environmental policies of the United States and the European Union*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Weaver, R. Kent, 1988. The changing world of think tanks. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 22, 563–578.
- Yearley, Steven, 2005. *Cultures of environmentalism: Empirical studies in environmental sociology*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zald, Mayer N. and Useem, Bert, 1987. Movement and countermovement interaction: Mobilisation, tactics, and state involvement. In: Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy, eds. *Social movements in an organisational society: Collected essays*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press.

Appendix 1. Books Espousing Environmental Scepticism and Links to Conservative Think Tanks.

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
<i>A. United States</i> Adler, Cy A.	Ecological Fantasies; Death from Falling Watermelons: A Defense of Innovation, Science, and Rational Approaches to Environmental Problems ¹	Dell Publishing and also Green Eagle Press	None apparent	1973
Adler, Jonathan H.	Environmentalism at the Crossroads: Green Activism in America	<i>Capital Research Center</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Political Economy Research Center</i>	1995
Adler, Jonathan H.	The Costs of Kyoto: Climate Change Policy and its Implications	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Political Economy Research Center</i>	1997
Adler, Jonathan H.	Ecology, Liberty and Property: A Free Market Environmental Reader	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Research Center</i>	2000
Anderson, Terry L.	You Have to Admit It's Getting Better: From Economic Prosperity to Environmental Quality	<i>Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University</i>	<i>Property and Environment Research Center (PERC); Hoover Institution; Pacific Research Institute</i>	2004
Arnold, Andrea with J. Jarrette Sandlin	Fear of Food: Environmental Scams, Media Mendacity, and the Law of Disparagement	<i>Free Enterprise Press/Merril</i>	Arnold: <i>Free Enterprise Press</i> (Center for Defense of <i>Free Enterprise</i>)	1990, 1998
Arnold, Ron and Alan Gottlieb	Trashing the Economy: How Runaway Environmentalism is Wrecking America	<i>Free Enterprise Press/Merril Press</i>	Sandlin: None apparent	1994
Avery, Dennis T. Avery, Dennis T.	Global Food Progress Saving the Planet through Pesticides and Plastics	<i>Hudson Institute Hudson Institute</i>	Arnold and Gottlieb: <i>Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise</i> <i>Hudson Institute</i> <i>Hudson Institute</i>	1991 1995, 2000
Baden, John A.	Environmental Gore: A Constructive Response to the Earth in Balance	<i>Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy</i>	<i>Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment; Reason Foundation</i>	1994
Bailey, Ronald	Eco-Scam: The False Prophets of the Ecological Apocalypse	St Martin's Press	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute</i>	1993
Bailey, Ronald Bailey, Ronald	The True State of the Planet Earth Report 2000: Revisiting the True State of the Planet	Free Press McGraw Hill	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute Competitive Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute</i>	1995 2000
Bailey, Ronald	Global Warming and Other Eco-Myths	Prima Publishing/Forum/ <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute</i>	2002

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Balling, Robert C., Jr.	The Heated Debate: Greenhouse Predictions Versus Climate Reality	<i>Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy</i>	<i>Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow;</i> Teachmeansthe.com ; ² <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i>	1992
Barrett, Stephen J. and Ronald E. Gots	Chemical Sensitivity: The Truth About Environmental Illness	Prometheus Books	Both: <i>American Council on Science and Health</i>	1998
Bast, Joseph L., Peter J. Hill and Richard C. Rue	Eco-Sanity: A Common-Sense Guide to Environmentalism	Madison Books	Hill: <i>Property and Environmental Research Center</i> Rue: <i>Hearland Institute</i>	1994
Bennett, Michael J.	The Asbestos Racket: An Environmental Parable	<i>Free Enterprise Press;</i> <i>Merril Press</i>	<i>Science and Environmental Policy Project (SEPP)</i>	1991
Bethell, Tom	The Politically Incorrect Guide to Science	Regnery	<i>Hoover Institution; The Independent Institute</i>	2005
Bolch, Ben W. and Harold Lyons	Apocalypse Not: Science, Economics, and Environmentalism	<i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Bolch: Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow (C-FACT); Independent Institute</i>	1993
Bradley, Jr., Robert L.	Climate Alarmism Reconsidered	<i>Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA)</i>	Lyons: None apparent <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute;</i> <i>Institute for Energy Research</i>	2003
Caruba, Alan Coffman, Michael S.	Warning Signs Environmentalism! The Dawn of Aquarius or the Twilight of a New Dark Age	Merril Press <i>Environmental Perspectives, Inc.</i>	<i>American Policy Center; Sovereignty International Environmental Perspectives, Inc.; Sovereignty International; National Council for Air and Stream Improvement, Inc.</i>	2003 1992
Coffman, Michael S.	Saviors of the Earth? The Politics and Religion of the Environmental Movement	Northfield (evangelical publishers)	<i>Environmental Perspectives, Inc.; Sovereignty International</i>	1994
Cohen, Bonner R., Steven J. Milloy, and Steven Zrake	American Values: An Environmental Vision	<i>Environmental Policy Analysis Network</i>	Cohen: <i>Consumer Alert; Lexington Institute; National Center for Public Policy Research</i> Milloy: <i>Cato Institute</i> Zrake: None apparent	1996
DeGregori, Thomas R.	Agriculture and Modern Technology: A Defense	Iowa State University Press	<i>American Council on Science and Health</i>	2001
DeGregori, Thomas R.	Bountiful Harvest: Technology, Food Safety, and the Environment	<i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>American Council on Science and Health</i>	2002

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
DeGregori, Thomas R.	Environment, Our Natural Resources, and Modern Technology	Iowa State University Press	<i>American Council on Science and Health</i>	2002
Dmi, Jack W.	Challenging Environmental Mythology: Wrestling Zeus: Uncover the Truths Environmental Extremists Don't Want You to Know	SciTech Publishing, Inc.	<i>Heartland Institute</i>	2003
Driessen, Paul	Eco-Imperialism: Green Power, Black Death.	<i>Free Enterprise Press/Merril Press</i>	<i>Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise; Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow; Congress of Racial Equality</i>	2003
Duesterberg, Thomas J. and Herbert I. London	Riding the Next Wave: Why This Century Will Be a Golden Age for Workers, the Environment, and Developing Countries	<i>Hudson Institute Press</i>	Both: <i>Hudson Institute</i>	2001
Duesterberg, Thomas J. and Herbert I. London	Beyond the Year 2000: Perspectives on the World to Come	<i>Hudson Institute Press</i>	Both: <i>Hudson Institute</i>	2002
Dunn, James R. and John E. Kinney	Conservative Environmentalism: Reassessing the Means, Redefining the Ends	Quorum Books	Both: <i>National Council for Environmental Balance (Defunct Kentucky CTT); Dunn: Property and Environment Research Center (PERC)</i>	1996
Easterbrook, Greg	A Moment on Earth: The Coming Age of Environmental Optimism	Viking	Self-declared conservatives Brookings Institution (not conservative)	1995
Efron, Edith	The Apocalypites: How Environmental Politics Controls What We Know About Cancer	Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, Inc.	Reason Magazine contributing editor; <i>Reason Foundation; Consumer Alert</i> ; Self-declared conservative	1984
Foster, Kenneth R., David E. Bernstein, Peter W. Huber	Phantom Risk: Scientific Inference and the Law	The Manhattan Institute/ MIT Press	Foster: <i>Manhattan Institute; Fraser Institute</i> Bernstein: <i>Manhattan Institute</i> Huber: <i>Manhattan Institute</i>	1994
Foster, Kenneth R. and Peter W. Huber	Judging Science: Scientific Knowledge and the Federal Courts	MIT Press	Foster: <i>Manhattan Institute; Fraser Institute</i> Huber: <i>Manhattan Institute</i>	1997/1999

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Fumento, Michael	Science Under Siege: How the Environmental Misinformation Campaign is Affecting our Laws, Taxes, and Our Daily Lives	Quill/William Morrow	<i>Hudson Institute; Competitive Enterprise Institute; Consumer Alert</i>	1993
Fumento, Michael	Polluted Science: The EPA's Campaign to Expand Clean Air Regulations	<i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	<i>Hudson Institute; Competitive Enterprise Institute; Consumer Alert</i>	1997
Fumento, Michael	BioEvolution: How Biotechnology is Changing Our World	Encounter Books	<i>Hudson Institute; Competitive Enterprise Institute; Consumer Alert</i>	2003
Gots, Ronald E.	Toxic Risks: Science, Risks, and Perception	CRC Press	<i>American Council on Science and Health</i>	1993
Gough, Michael	Dioxin, Agent Orange: The Facts	Plenum Press	<i>Cato Institute</i>	1986
Gough, Michael	Policizing Science: The Alchemy of Policymaking	<i>Hoover Institution</i>	<i>Cato Institute</i>	2005
Grayson, Melvin J. and Thomas R. Shepard	The Disaster Lobby: Prophets of Ecological Doom and other Absurdities	Follett Publishing	None apparent	1973
Green, Kenneth P.	Global Warming: Understanding the Debate	Enslow Publishers, Inc.	<i>The Environmental Literacy Council; Fraser Institute; Reason Public Policy Institute; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	2002
Greve, Michael S. and Fred L. Smith, Jr.	Environmental Politics: Public Costs, Private Rewards	Praeger Publishers	<i>Greve; Competitive Enterprise Institute; American Enterprise Institute</i>	1992
Greve, Michael S.	The Demise of Environmentalism in American Law	<i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	<i>Greve; Competitive Enterprise Institute; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	1996
Hayward, Stephen F.	The Index of Leading Environmental Indicators, 9th edn	<i>Pacific Research Institute of Public Policy/American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	<i>Pacific Research Institute of Public Policy; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Hoover Institution</i>	2004
Hayward, Stephen F.	The Index of Leading Environmental Indicators 2005	<i>Pacific Research Institute of Public Policy/American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	<i>Pacific Research Institute of Public Policy; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Hoover Institution</i>	2005

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Hollander, Jack M.	The Real Environmental Crisis: Why Poverty, Not Affluence, Is the Environment's Number One Enemy	University of California Press	None apparent	2003
Huber, Peter W.	Liability: The Legal Revolution and its Consequences	Perseus Books	<i>Manhattan Institute</i>	1990
Huber, Peter W.	Galileo's Revenge: Junk Science in the Courtroom	Basic Books	<i>Manhattan Institute</i>	1991
Huber, Peter W.	Hard Green: Saving the Environment from the Environmentalists – A Conservative Manifesto	Basic Books	<i>Manhattan Institute</i>	1999
Huber, Peter W. and Mark Mills	The Bottomless Well: The Twilight of Fuel, the Virtue of Waste, and Why We Will Never Run Out of Energy	Basic Books	Huber: <i>Manhattan Institute</i> Mills: <i>Digital Power Capital & Digital Power Group</i>	2005
Idso, Sherwood B.	Carbon Dioxide: Friend or Foe?	<i>IBR Books (Division of the Institute for Biospheric Research, Inc.; directed by IDSO)</i> <i>IBR Books</i>	<i>George C. Marshall Institute; Center for the Study of C02</i>	1982
Idso, Sherwood B.	Carbon Dioxide and Global Change: Earth in Transition	<i>George C. Marshall Institute</i>	<i>George C. Marshall Institute; Center for the Study of C02</i>	1989
Jastrow, Robert, William A. Nierenberg and Frederick Seitz	Scientific Perspectives on the Greenhouse Problem	<i>Jameson Books</i>	Jastrow: <i>George C. Marshall Institute</i> Nierenberg: <i>George C. Marshall Institute; Science and Environmental Policy Project (SEPP)</i> Seitz: <i>George C. Marshall Institute, Science and Environmental Policy Project (SEPP)</i>	1989 via Marshall; 1990 via Jameson
Kahn, Herman, William Brown, and Leon Martel	The Next 200 Years: A Scenario for America and the World	Wm. Morrow	Kahn: <i>Hudson Institute</i> Brown: None apparent Martel: <i>Hudson Institute</i>	1976
Kaufman, Wallace	No Turning Back: Dismantling the Fantasies of Environmental Thinking	Basic Books/Universe	<i>The Property and Research Center (PERC)</i>	1994, 2000
Lehr, Jay H.	Rational Readings on Environmental Concerns	John Wiley & Sons, Inc.	<i>Heartland Institute</i>	1992, 1997

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Lichter, S. Robert and Stanley Rothman	Environmental Cancer – A Political Disease?	Yale University Press	Lichter: <i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i> ; Center for Media and Public Affairs Rothman: Center for the Study of Social and Political Change at Smith College	1999
Logomasini, Angela and David Riggs	The Environmental Source	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i>	Logomasini: <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i> ; <i>Heartland Institute</i> Riggs: <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i> <i>Hudson Institute</i>	2002
London, Herbert I.	Why are they Lying to our Children?	Stein and Day Publishers		1984
Maduro, Rogelio A. and Ralf Schauerhammer	The Holes in the Ozone Scare: The Scientific Evidence That the Sky Isn't Falling	<i>21st Century Science Associates</i>	Both: <i>21st Century Science Associates</i>	1992
Mathieson, M. Mihkel	Global Warming in a Politically Correct Climate: How Truth Became Controversial	Writers Club Press (2000); iUniverse (2004)	<i>The Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change</i>	2000, 2004
Maurice, Charles and Charles W. Smithson	The Doomsday Myth: 10,000 Years of Economic Crisis	<i>Hoover Institution Press</i>	None apparent	1984/1987
Mendelsohn, Robert O.	The Greening of Global Warming	<i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	None apparent	1999
Meyer, Herbert E. Michaels, Patrick J.	The War Against Progress Sound and Fury: The Science and Politics of Global Warming	Storm King Publishers <i>Cato Institute</i>	None apparent <i>Cato Institute</i> ; <i>Consumer Alert</i>	1979 1994
Michaels, Patrick J.	Meltdown: The Predictable Distortion of Global Warming by Scientists, Politicians, and the Media	<i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Cato Institute</i> ; <i>Consumer Alert</i>	2004
Michaels, Patrick J.	Shattered Consensus: The True State Of Global Warming	Rowman and Littlefield	<i>Cato Institute</i> ; <i>Consumer Alert</i>	2005
Michaels, Patrick J. and Robert C. Balling Jr.	The Satanic Gases: Clearing the Air About Global Warming	<i>Cato Institute</i>	Michaels: <i>Cato Institute</i> ; <i>Consumer Alert</i> Balling: <i>Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow</i> ; Techcentralstation.com; ² <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i>	2000

(continued)

Appendix I. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Miller, Henry I. and Gregory Conko	The Frankenfood Myth: How Protest and Politics Threaten the Biotech Revolution	Greenwood Publishing Group/Praeger	Miller: <i>Hoover Institution; Competitive Enterprise Institute; George C. Marshall Institute; American Council on Science and Health; Consumer Alert; National Center for Policy Analysis.</i> Conko: <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i>	2004
Milloy, Steven J.	Science without Sense: The Risky Business of Public Health Research	<i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Cato Institute</i>	1995
Milloy, Steven J.	Junk Science Judo: Self-Defense Against Health Scares and Scams	<i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Cato Institute</i>	2001
Milloy, Steven J. and Michael Gough	Silencing Science	<i>Cato Institute</i>	Both: <i>Cato Institute</i>	1999
Moore, Cassandra Chronos	Haunted Housing: How Toxic Scare Stories Are Spooking the Public Out of House and Home	<i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute</i>	1997
Moore, Stephen and Julian L. Simon	It's Getting Better All the Time: 100 Greatest Trends of the Last 100 Years	<i>Cato Institute</i>	Moore: <i>Cato Institute; Free Enterprise Fund</i> Simon: <i>Cato Institute; Heritage Foundation</i>	2000
Moore, Thomas Gale	Environmental Fundamentalism	<i>Hoover Institution Press</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; The Independent Institute; Hoover Institution; Cato Institute</i>	1992
Moore, Thomas Gale	Global Warming: A Boon to Humans and Other Animals	<i>Hoover Institution Press</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; The Independent Institute; Hoover Institution; Cato Institute</i>	1995
Moore, Thomas Gale	Climate of Fear: Why We Should Not Worry About Global Warming	<i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; The Independent Institute; Hoover Institution; Cato Institute</i>	1998
Moore, Thomas Gale	In Sickness or In Health: The Kyoto Protocol versus Global Warming	<i>Hoover Institution Press</i>	<i>Competitive Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute</i>	2000
Murray, David, Joel Schwartz, and Robert S. Lichter	It Ain't Necessarily So: How the Media Make and Unmake the Scientific Picture of Reality	Rowman and Littlefield	Murray: <i>Statistical Assessment Service (STATS) at George Mason Center for Media and Public Affairs</i> Schwartz: <i>Reason Public Policy Institute; Hudson Institute</i> Lichter: <i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Center for Media and Public Affairs; STATS</i>	2001

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
O'Leary, Richard O'Rourke, P.J.	Environmental Mafia: The Enemy is Us All the Trouble in the World: The Lighter Side of Overpopulation, Famine, Ecological Disaster, Ethnic Hatred, Plague, and Poverty	Algora Publishing The Atlantic Monthly Press	None apparent <i>Cato Institute</i>	2003 1994
Ottoboni, M. Alice	The Dose Makes the Poison: A Plain-Language Guide to Toxicology	Vincente Books, Incorporated/John Wiley & Sons, Inc. (2nd edn)	<i>American Council on Science and Health</i>	1984 via Vincente Books; 1997 via John Wiley and Sons 1995
Parsons, Michael L.	Global Warming: The Truth Behind the Myth	Da Capo Press and Insight Books/Plenum Press <i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	None apparent	1999
Rabkin, Jeremy A. and James M. Sheehan	Global Greens, Global Governance	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	Rabkin: <i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Cato Institute</i>	1999
Ray, Dixie Lee and Louis Guzzo	Trashing the Planet: How Science Can Help Us Deal with Acid Rain, Depletion of the Ozone, and Nuclear Waste (Among Other Things)	Regnery Gateway (self-proclaimed conservative publisher)/ HarperPerennial	Sheehan: <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i> Ray: <i>Free Congress Committee/ Foundation</i> ; self-declared conservative	1993 via Regnery; 1994 via Harper- Perennial
Ray, Dixie Lee and Louis Guzzo	Environmental Overkill: Whatever Happened to Common Sense?	Regnery Gateway (self-proclaimed conservative publisher)/ HarperPerennial	Ray: <i>Free Congress Committee/ Foundation</i> ; self-declared conservative	1993 via Regnery; 1994 via Harper- Perennial
Rubin, Charles T.	The Green Crusade: Rethinking the Roots of Environmentalism	The Free Press-MacMillan/ Rowan and Littlefield	<i>Marshall Institute; Ashbrook Center</i>	1994 via the Free Press; 1998 via Rowman and Littlefield 1999
Sanera, Michael and Jane Shaw	Facts, Not Fear: Teaching Children about the Environment	Regnery Publishing (self-proclaimed conservative publisher)	Sanera: <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i> Shaw: <i>The Property and Environment Research Center (PERC)</i> ; Association of Private Enterprise Education	1999

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Schwartz, Joel	No Way Back: Why Air Pollution Will Continue to Decline	AEI Press	<i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i>	2003
Seitz, Frederick	Global Warming and Ozone Hole Controversies: A Challenge to Scientific Judgment	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Science and Environmental Policy Project; the George C. Marshall Institute; Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow</i>	1994
Simon, Julian L. Simon, Julian L.	The Ultimate Resource Population Matters: People, Resources, Environment, and Immigration	Princeton University Press Transaction Publishers	<i>Cato Institute; Heritage Foundation Cato Institute; Heritage Foundation</i>	1981 1990
Simon, Julian L.	The State of Humanity	Blackwell Press and <i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Cato Institute; Heritage Foundation</i>	1995
Simon, Julian L. Simon, Julian L.	The Ultimate Resource 2 Hoodwinking the Nation	Princeton University Press Transaction Press and <i>Cato Institute</i>	<i>Cato Institute; Heritage Foundation Cato Institute; Heritage Foundation</i>	1996 1999
Simon, Julian L. and Herman Kahn	The Resourceful Earth: A Response to Global 2000	Blackwell Press	<i>Simon: Cato Institute; Heritage Foundation Kahn: Hudson Institute</i>	1984
Singer, S. Fred	Global Climate Change: Human and Natural Influences	Paragon House/ International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences (Founded by conservative Sun Myung Moon)	<i>Science and Environmental Policy Project; Independent Institute; American Council on Science and Health; Cato Institute; National Center for Policy Analysis; Natural Resource Stewardship Project; Hoover Institution; Heritage Foundation</i>	1989
Singer, S. Fred	Hot Talk, Cold Science: Global Warming's Unfinished Debate	<i>The Independent Institute</i>	<i>Science and Environmental Policy Project; Independent Institute; American Council on Science and Health; Cato Institute; National Center for Policy Analysis; Natural Resource Stewardship Project; Hoover Institution; Heritage Foundation</i>	1998
Singer, S. Fred	Climate Policy – From Rio to Kyoto: A Political Issue for 2000 and Beyond	<i>Hoover Institution Press</i>	<i>Science and Environmental Policy Project; Independent Institute; American Council on Science and Health; Cato Institute; National Center for Policy Analysis; Natural Resource Stewardship Project; Hoover Institution; Heritage Foundation</i>	2000

(continued)

Appendix I. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Soon, Willie, Sallie Baliunas, Arthur B. Robinson, Zachary Robinson, and Laura Jones	Global Warming: A Guide to the Science	<i>The Fraser Institute</i>	Soon: <i>Marshall Institute</i> Baliunas: <i>Marshall Institute</i> Robinson and Robinson: None apparent	2001
Staudenmayer, Herman Taylor, Paul Wattenberg, Ben J.	Environmental Illness: Myth and Reality Green Gone Wrong: Ecopolitics Exposed The Good News is the Bad News is Wrong	CRC Press Writers Club Press Simon & Schuster	None apparent None apparent <i>American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy</i>	1999 2001 1984
Whelen, Elizabeth M. and Fredrick J. Stare	Panic in the Pantry: Facts and Fallacies about the Food You Buy	Simon & Schuster/ Prometheus Books	Whelen: <i>American Council on Science and Health</i> ; <i>Consumer Alert</i> , <i>Hearland Institute</i> Stare: None apparent	1975 via Simon and Schuster/ 1992 via Prometheus 1985/1993
Whelen, Elizabeth M.	Toxic Terror: the Truth Behind the Cancer Scares	Prometheus Books	<i>American Council on Science and Health</i> ; <i>Consumer</i> <i>Alert</i> , <i>Hearland Institute</i>	1985/1993
Wildavsky, Aaron B.	But is it True? A Citizen's Guide to Environmental Health and Safety	Harvard University Press	<i>The Independent Institute</i> ; <i>Science and Environment</i> <i>Policy Project (SEPP)</i>	1995
<i>B. United Kingdom</i> Bate, Roger	What Risk? Science, Politics, and Public Health	<i>European Science and</i> <i>Environmental Forum/</i> Butterworth-Heinemann (Elsevier)	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i> ; <i>Competitive Enterprise</i> <i>Institute</i> ; <i>American Enterprise Institute for Public</i> <i>Policy Research</i> ; <i>Committee for a Constructive</i> <i>Tomorrow</i> ; <i>European Science and Environmental</i> <i>Forum</i> ; <i>Africa Fighting Malaria</i> <i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i> ; <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i> ; <i>American</i> <i>Enterprise Institute for</i> <i>Public Policy Research</i> ; <i>Committee</i> <i>for a Constructive Tomorrow</i> <i>European Science and Environmental</i> <i>Forum</i> ; <i>Africa Fighting Malaria</i>	1997
Bate, Roger	Life's Adventure: Virtual Risk in a Real World	Butterworth-Heinemann (Elsevier)	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i> ; <i>Competitive Enterprise Institute</i> ; <i>American</i> <i>Enterprise Institute for</i> <i>Public Policy Research</i> ; <i>Committee</i> <i>for a Constructive Tomorrow</i> <i>European Science and Environmental</i> <i>Forum</i> ; <i>Africa Fighting Malaria</i>	2000

(continued)

Appendix I. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Bate, Roger and Julian Morris	Global Warming: Apocalypse or Hot Air?	American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	Bate: <i>Institute for Economic Affairs; Competitive Enterprise Institute; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow; European Science and Environmental Forum; Africa Fighting Malaria</i> Morris: <i>Institute for Economic Affairs, International Policy Network</i>	2000
Beckerman, Wilfred	Small Is Stupid: Blowing the Whistle on the Green	Gerald Duckworth.	<i>The Independent Institute</i>	1995
Beckerman, Wilfred	Through Green Colored Glasses: Environmentalism Reconsidered	Cato Institute	<i>The Independent Institute</i>	1996
Beckerman, Wilfred	A Poverty of Reason: Sustainable Development and Economic Growth	<i>The Independent Institute</i>	<i>The Independent Institute</i>	2002
Boehmer- Christiansen, Sonja and Aynsley Kellow	International Environmental Policy: Interest and the Failure of the Kyoto Process	Edward Elgar	Boehmer-Christiansen: None apparent Kellow: <i>The Institute for Public Affairs</i> (*The leading Australian free market think tank*)	2002
Emsley, John	The Global Warming Debate: The Report of the European Science and Environment Forum	<i>European Science and Environmental Forum</i>	<i>European Science and Environmental Forum</i>	1996
Le Fanu, James	Environmental Alarms: A Medical Audit of Environmental Damage to Human Health	<i>Social Affairs Unit</i>	<i>Social Affairs Unit</i>	1994
Maddox, John	The Domesday Syndrome: An Attack on Pessimism	McGraw Hill	None apparent	1972

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
Mooney, Lorraine and Roger Bate	Environmental Health: Third World Problems – First World Preoccupations	<i>European Science and Environmental Forum</i> / Butterworth-Heinemann (Elsevier)	Mooney: <i>Africa Fighting Malaria; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research</i> Bate: <i>Institute for Economic Affairs; Competitive Enterprise Institute; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow European Science and Environmental Forum; Africa Fighting Malaria Institute for Economic Affairs; International Policy Network</i>	1999
Morris, Julian	Climate Change: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs; International Policy Network</i>	2000
Morris, Julian	Rethinking Risk and the Precautionary Principle	Butterworth-Heinemann (Elsevier)	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs; International Policy Network</i>	2002
Morris, Julian	Sustainable Development: Promoting Progress or Perpetuating Poverty	Profile Books Unlimited	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs; International Policy Network</i>	1999
Morris, Julian and Roger Bate	Fearing Food: Risk, Health, and Environment	Butterworth-Heinemann	Bate: <i>Institute for Economic Affairs; Competitive Enterprise Institute; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow European Science and Environmental Forum; Africa Fighting Malaria Policy Network</i>	1999
North, Richard D.	Life on a Modern Planet: A Manifesto for Progress	Manchester University Press/ St Martin's Press in the US	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	1995
O'Hear, Anthony	Nonsense about Nature	<i>Social Affairs Unit</i>	<i>Social Affairs Unit</i>	1997
Ridley, Matt	Down to Earth: A Contrarian View of Environmental Problems	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	None apparent	1995
Ridley, Matt	Down to Earth II: Combating Environmental Myths	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	None apparent	1996
Stott, Phillip	Tropical Rain Forest: A Political Ecology of Hegemonic Mythmaking	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	None apparent	1999

(continued)

Appendix I. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
<i>C. Australia</i> Daly, John L.	The Greenhouse Trap	Bantam Books	<i>The Greening Earth Society</i> (defunct CTT created by Western Fuels Association)	1989
Kinmonth, William	Climate Change: A Natural Hazard	Multi-Science Publishers	<i>The Lavoisier Group, Inc</i>	2004
<i>D. Canada</i> Baarschers, William H.	Eco-Facts and Eco-Fiction: Understanding the Environmental Debate	Routledge	None apparent	1996
Essex, Christopher and Ross McKittrick	Taken by Storm: The Troubled Science, Policy and Politics of Global Warming	Key Porter Books	McKittrick: <i>Fraser Institute; Cooler Heads Coalition</i> (formed by the Competitive Enterprise Institute) Essex: <i>Cooler Heads Coalition</i>	2002
<i>E. Denmark</i> Lomborg, Bjorn	The Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World	Cambridge University Press	Environmental Assessment Institute; ³ <i>Cooler Heads Coalition</i> (formed by the Competitive Enterprise Institute of the US Congress, funded his trip for briefing) <i>Fraser Institute</i>	2001
<i>F. France</i> Leroux, Marcel	Global Warming: Myth or Reality?	Springer-Praxis Books	<i>21st Century Associates</i> via French language magazine, <i>Fusion</i>	2005
<i>G. Germany</i> Weber, Gerd R.	Global Warming: the Rest of the Story	Bottiger Verlags-GmbH.	<i>Center For a Constructive Tomorrow (C-FACT)</i>	1991
<i>H. Netherlands</i> Labohm, Hans, Simon Rozendaal, and Dick Thoenes	Man-Made Global Warming: Unraveling a Dogma	Multi-Science Publishing Co., Ltd	Labohm: <i>Natural Resources Stewardship Council</i> (Canadian CTT) and <i>Techecentralstation.com?</i> Rozendaal: None apparent Thoenes: None apparent	2004

(continued)

Appendix 1. (Continued).

Author(s)/ editor(s)	Title	Publisher	Author/editor affiliation with conservative think tank or other overt conservatism	Date of publication
<i>J. New Zealand</i> Gray, Vincent	Greenhouse Delusion: A Critique of 'Climate Change 2001'	Multi-Science Publishing Co., Ltd	<i>Natural Resources Stewardship Council and Techeutralstation.com²</i>	2002
<i>J. South Africa</i> Tren, Richard and Roger Bate	Malaria and the DDT Story	<i>Institute for Economic Affairs</i>	Tren, <i>Free Market Foundation; Institute for Economic Affairs; Africa Fighting Malaria; Competitive Enterprise Institute</i> Bate, <i>Institute for Economic Affairs; Competitive Enterprise Institute; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research; Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow European Science and Environmental Forum</i>	2001
<i>K. Sweden</i> Gerholm, Tor Ragnar	Climate Policy After Kyoto	Multi-Science Publishing Co., Ltd.	<i>Science and Environmental Policy Project (SEPP)</i>	1999

Notes:

1. Entries in bold indicate no evidence found linking the books to conservative think tanks, while italicized entries for book publishers and author affiliations indicate conservative think tank presses and author/editor affiliations with conservative think tanks, respectively.
2. Techeutralstation.com is not a 'think tank' but is conservative.
3. EAI is a unit of the Danish Government.

Appendix 2. Conservative think tanks interested in environmental issues¹.

Conservative think tank	National location	Environmental scepticism espoused
Environmental Probe	Canada	No
Rio Grande Foundation	USA	No
Center for Public Justice	USA	No
Texas Conservative Coalition	USA	No
American Association of Small Property Owners	USA	No
American Policy Center	USA	Yes
Fraser Institute	Canada	Yes
Institute for Contemporary Studies ²	USA	Yes
National Legal Center for the Public Interest	USA	Yes
Weidenbaum Center	USA	Yes
American Council on Science and Health	USA	Yes
Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment	USA	Yes
Reason Foundation	USA	Yes
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy	USA	Yes
Project 21	USA	Yes
National Center for Policy Analysis	USA	Yes
Capital Research Center	USA	Yes
Competitive Enterprise Institute	USA	Yes
FreedomWorks Foundation	USA	Yes
George C. Marshall Institute	USA	Yes
Heartland Institute	USA	Yes
Junkscience.com³	USA	Yes
American Policy Center	USA	Yes
South Carolina Policy Council	USA	Yes
The Independent Institute	USA	Yes
National Wilderness Institute	USA	Yes
Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty	USA	Yes
Discovery Institute	USA	Yes
The Philanthropy Roundtable	USA	Yes
Ethan Allen Institute	USA	Yes
The Centre for the New Europe	Belgium	Yes
The Greening Earth Society⁴	USA	Yes
Statistical Assessment Service	USA	Yes
The Eudoxa Think Tank	Sweden	Yes
Alliance for America	USA	Yes
Alliance for America Foundation	USA	Yes
Frontiers of Freedom	USA	Yes
Frontiers of Freedom Institute	USA	Yes
The Molinari Economic Institute	France	Yes
Washington Policy Center	USA	Yes
Small Business and Entrepreneurship Council Foundation	USA	Yes
Small Business and Entrepreneurship Council	USA	Yes
International Policy Network	UK	Yes

(continued)

Appendix 2. (Continued).

	National location	Environmental scepticism espoused
Conservative think tank		
Mountain States Legal Foundation	USA	Yes
PERC – Property and Environment Research Center	USA	Yes
The Science and Environmental Policy Project	USA	Yes
Institute for Study of Economics and the Environment	USA	Yes
Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation	USA	Yes
The Centre for the New Europe	USA	Yes
Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT)	USA	Yes

Notes:

1. The eight think tanks shown in bold have a specific interest in ‘global warming’ or ‘climate change’ as indicated by their listing in the Heritage Foundation’s database.
2. Coded sceptical for the publication of Singer (1992), which has no apparent ISBN and is therefore not listed in Appendix 1.
3. The status of JunkScience.com as a non-profit think tank is unclear, so here we follow the Heritage Foundations categorization of ‘policy expert organization’ that implies it is a think tank.
4. The Greening Earth Society website notes that it ‘expired’ February 2007, but may continue at a later date.