

# Rumores Renovables

Analyzing the Online Ecosystem of Spanish-Speaking Communities Opposed to Renewable Energy Initiatives

By Cristina López G.  
and Santiago Lakatos



**Graphika**



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### Executive Summary

In our 2022 [report](#) on Spanish-language climate misinformation, Graphika explored how online Spanish-speaking communities engage with false and misleading information about climate change. Building on that research, we have now examined the specific dynamics of the online Spanish-language conversation that opposes renewable energy sources.

Working on behalf of a coalition of environmental organizations, including [GreenLatinos](#), [Friends of the Earth](#), and [Climate Action Against Disinformation](#), we aimed to understand how anti-renewable narratives spread through the online ecosystem of Spanish-speaking Internet users, the groups and individuals who seed and disseminate them, and the tactics these actors employ. Our analysis found that the Spanish-language anti-renewables conversation is characterized by a range of narratives, and driven by actors from Spain, Latin America, and other ideologically aligned communities. We also uncovered insights into the dynamics and tactics used to spread this discourse across platforms.

We first mapped the communities on X (formerly Twitter) most engaged with anti-renewables content, which revealed a network of majority right-leaning Spanish-speaking accounts, primarily focused on Spain, that consistently amplified anti-renewables narratives in the first six months of 2023. Mirroring some key findings from our first report, these accounts aren't exclusively focused on environmental topics – instead, they are connected by ideological affinity and shared language, focused on advancing right-wing narratives, some of which occasionally involve pushing back against renewable energies. Consistent with our previous findings, the volume of content produced by these communities correlates directly with extreme weather events or environmental policy updates featuring renewable energies. Using key terms extracted from our network analysis, we conducted a non-exhaustive cross-platform survey that uncovered the tactics, techniques, and procedures employed in spreading anti-renewables narratives to Spanish-speaking audiences.

Below is a summary of our key findings:

- Our X-based network analysis revealed an international network of ideologically aligned but distinct geographical communities across Latin America and Spain, intersecting with a multinational cluster of Spanish-language accounts united by their anti-vaxx, COVID-skeptic, and conspiratorial views. However, the anti-renewables conversation is predominantly driven by right-leaning accounts from Spain, with the largest group in the network comprising 34% of accounts and displaying explicit signifiers of right-wing ideology, conservatism, and support for the far-right Spanish political party VOX. The majority of these accounts focus on advancing right-wing discourse, a subsection of which includes misleading and false information about renewable energies.
- In a sample of posts from our network, anti-renewables narratives accounted for less than half of the posts but 66% of total engagement. This suggests anti-renewables narratives can have an outsized impact on the overall renewable energy conversation. The main narratives in the anti-renewables conversation include allegations that forest fires are intentionally set to clear land for renewable energy projects, that renewable energies cause harm to animals (specifically whales), that renewable technologies (especially solar power) pollute the environment, that renewable energies are unreliable, and that renewable energy projects only benefit the wealthy. Many of these narratives align with [broader](#) existing [conspiracy theories](#) about global elites and climate action.
- Our analysis of the online dynamics determining the spread of these narratives highlights that anti-renewables content, driven by actors spanning various communities, reaches diverse ideological groups. We found that translation of narratives plays a crucial role in disseminating anti-renewables content, with popular narratives often repurposed in Spanish to fit local contexts. We also observed actors reuse content across multiple platforms and assets to expand their reach, while Facebook groups initially created to oppose specific pro-renewables policies and projects sometimes evolve into hubs for general anti-renewables discourse.

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## Methodology & Network Analysis

### Methodology

To capture the communities involved in the anti-renewables Spanish-language conversation, Graphika created a map based on X accounts that authored the 20,000 most engaged-with posts containing anti-renewables content during the first six months of 2023.

We seeded the map on Spanish translations<sup>1</sup> of key terms linked to the most prominent anti-renewables narratives in English, controlling for false positives and avoiding idioms not related to climate discourse. We then sorted the resulting posts by engagement and mapped the follower network surrounding the accounts that authored them. This approach resulted in a map of 14,136 accounts distributed across nine distinct groups.

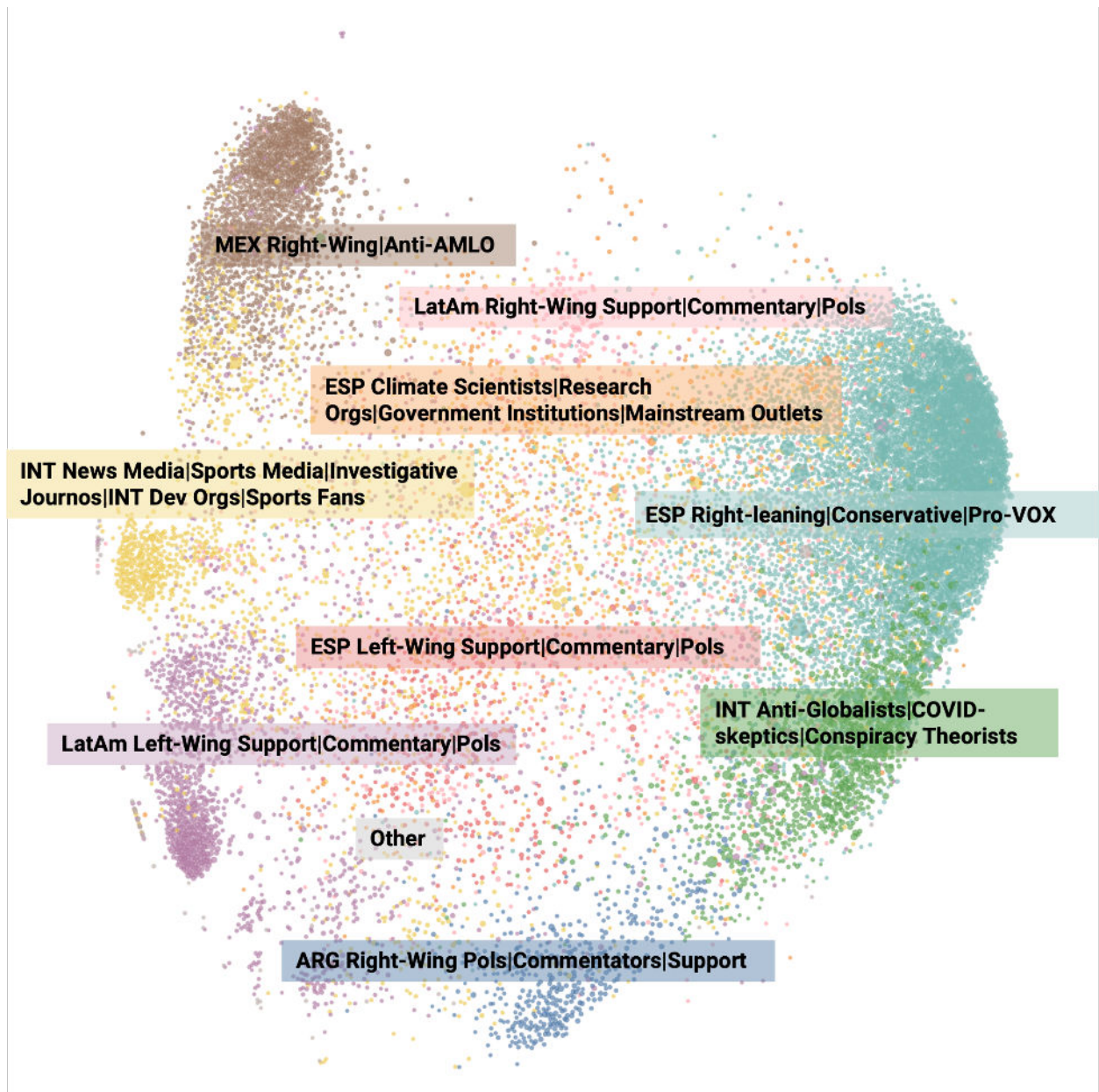
In the map, each dot (or “node”) represents one X account. The size of a node denotes the number of followers it has in the map, a proxy for influence. The accounts are computationally clustered into communities based on who they follow, and labeled according to shared behaviors and online interests, such as preferentially engaging with the same content or similar accounts. Nodes positioned closer together share a higher number of follower relationships and are more likely to engage in the same conversations; those situated further apart have fewer connections and are less likely to interact.

The map also provided insight into additional key terms used with specific anti-renewables narratives. Using these additional key terms and those we used to build the map, we surfaced related content on other platforms, including Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube to understand how these narratives and the actors who spread them manifest beyond X.

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<sup>1</sup> (((viento OR eolica) AND (pajaros OR ballenas)) AND (muertes OR matando OR destruyendo OR masacrando)) OR (RENOVABLE AND hipocresia) OR (RENOVABLE AND FRAUDE) OR (“tecnologia verde” OR “ENERGIA ALTERNA”) AND (hipocresia OR estafa OR fraude OR mentira OR farsa)) OR (“paneles solares” AND (toxico OR veneno OR polucion OR toxicidad)) OR (“autos electricos” OR “baterias de litio”) AND (hipocresia OR estafa OR fraude OR mentira OR farsa OR toxico OR toxicas OR impractico OR impracticas OR caro OR costoso OR negocio OR polucion OR toxicidad)) OR (“energia verde” OR “energia renovable” OR “energia alterna” OR “energia eolica” OR “autos electricos” OR “energia solar” OR “coches electricos” OR “vehiculos electricos” OR “carros electricos” OR “molinos de viento”) AND NOT (“molinos de viento”) AND (gigantes OR quijote OR pelean OR peleando))

## Map Overview



Graphika's Anti-Renewables Conversation map showing the 10 community groups engaged in the conversation in 2023. The map is multipolar, with a dominating, densely clustered group of right-wing accounts.

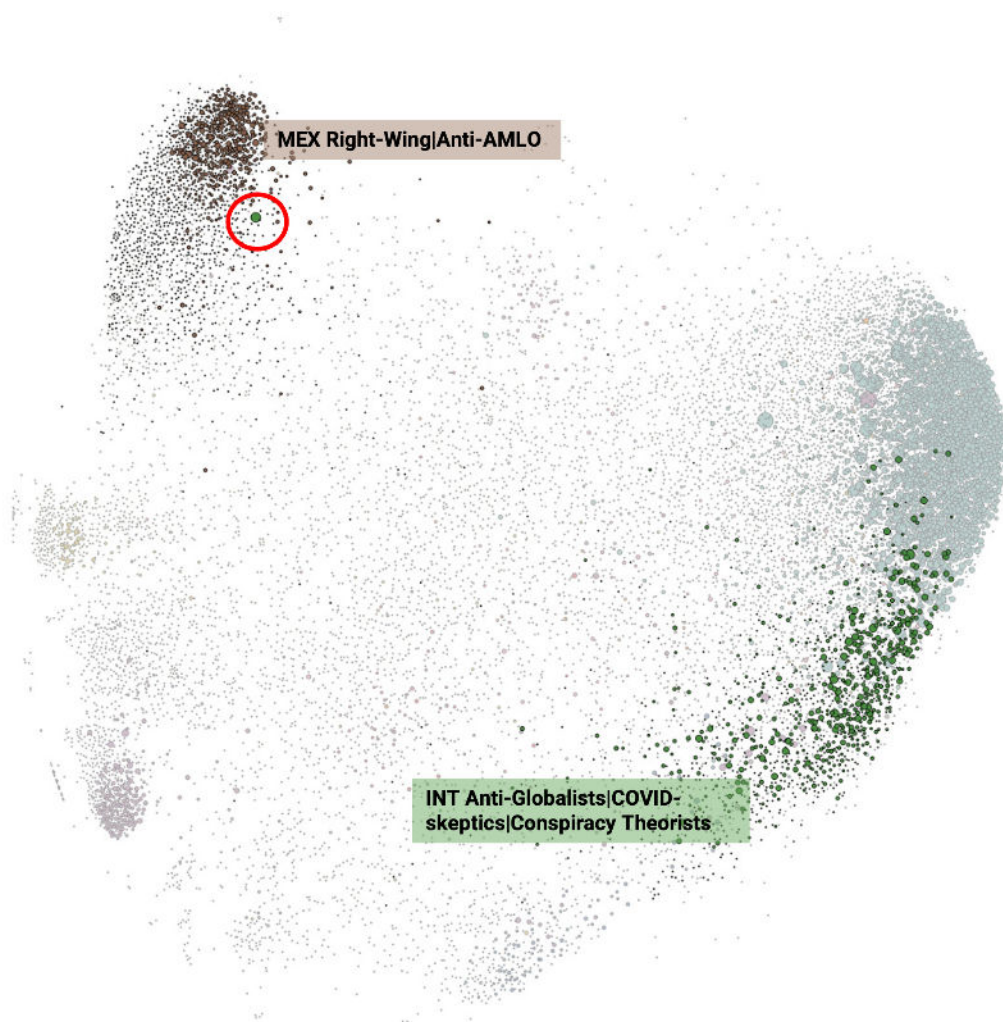
Table: Breakdown of groups in Graphika’s Anti-Renewables Spanish-Language Conversation Map		
Group	Number of nodes	Share of map (%)
<b>ESP Right-leaning Conservative Pro-VOX</b>	4,873	34%
<b>INT News Media Sports Media Investigative Journos INT Dev Orgs Sports Fans</b>	2,115	15%
<b>LatAm Left-Wing Support Commentary Pols</b>	1,731	12%
<b>MEX Right-Wing Anti-AMLO</b>	1,455	10%
<b>INT Anti-Globalists COVID-skeptics Conspiracy Theorists</b>	1,084	8%
<b>LatAm Right-Wing Support Commentary Pols</b>	990	7%
<b>ESP Climate Scientists Research Orgs Government Institutions Mainstream Outlets</b>	696	5%
<b>ARG Right-Wing Pols Commentators Support</b>	500	4%
<b>ESP Left-Wing Support Commentary Pols</b>	391	3%
<b>Other (Unclustered)</b>	301	2%

**Key Takeaways**

- **The anti-renewables conversation in Spanish is dominated by a cluster of ideologically driven, right-leaning accounts, most of which self identify as being located in Spain.**
  - The largest group in this cluster, **ESP Right-leaning|Conservative|Pro-VOX**, contains 34% of the accounts in the map and is made up of Spain-based accounts displaying signifiers related to right-wing ideology, conservatism, or support for the far-right Spanish political party VOX.
  - This cluster also contains the **INT Anti-Globalists|COVID-skeptics|Conspiracy Theorists** group, which is made up of accounts from several Spanish-speaking countries that share conspiratorial claims and reject the scientific consensus on renewable energy sources. It also contains Argentina-based accounts in the **ARG Right-Wing Pols|Commentators|Support** group.
  - These groups form a very dense, interconnected cluster with high rates of mutual followership between communities, which allows content and narratives to be easily shared. It also exemplifies how, in some cases, ideological affinity and

shared language can influence network formations more than geographical location.

- **Narrative bridge accounts can connect geographically separate communities with shared ideologies but little mutual followership.**
  - The high-density **MEX Right-Wing|Anti-AMLO** group, which contains accounts displaying signifiers in opposition to Mexican President Andres Manuel López Obrador – known as AMLO - sits in relative isolation to map communities of the same ideology but different geographic locations.
  - However, a highly followed, Mexico-based account belonging to the **INT Anti-Globalists|COVID-skeptics|Conspiracy Theorists** group that appears embedded within the Mexican cluster has the potential to act as a narrative bridge connecting communities with shared ideologies but little mutual followership.



Map highlighting a highly followed account in the INT Anti-Globalist|Covid-skeptics|Conspiracy Theorists group that appears embedded within the group of right-leaning Mexico-based accounts and can connect both communities.

- **The network includes smaller groups with a range of differing ideologies that have members scattered throughout the middle of the map and low levels of mutual followership. This is illustrative of communities that engage with the same content less often and have a limited capacity to influence the wider conversation.**
  - These groups are the **LatAm Right-Wing Support|Commentary|Pols** group, the **ESP Left-Wing Support|Commentary|Pols** group, and the **ESP Climate Scientists|Research Orgs|Government Institutions|Mainstream Outlets** group, which comprises Spain-based accounts that focus on a range of topical issues.
  - It is not uncommon for social media users to engage with content that opposes their ideology as part of efforts to argue with political opponents or debunk false narratives. This helps explain the presence of groups like **ESP Climate Scientists|Research Orgs|Government Institutions|Mainstream Outlets** in a followers network seeded on top engagement with key terms related to anti-renewables content. But its small size and low density are demonstrative of a limited capacity to influence a conversation dominated by large, dense clusters of accounts.

## Key Actors in the Network

This section briefly discusses the three most influential accounts in the network, all of which belong to the largest group in the map and have a history of participating in polarized online conversations, occasionally including opposition to renewable energies. In 2023, for example, all three accounts reposted or authored original posts in Spanish that promoted unverified claims related to the impact of wind farms on whales or advanced a conspiratorial narrative that several forest wildfires were the product of arson intended to free up land for future wind farms.

- **@CapitanBitcoin (213.6k followers, 4,562 in-map followers):** Pseudonymous account for a London-based Spanish writer who self-describes as a social media activist pushing for “cultural change in Spain.” Has authored two non-fiction volumes styled as how-to guides, one focused on “active dissidence” against the “progressive dictatorship” in culture, and the other on lifestyle advice from a libertarian point of view.
- **@HermannTertsch (333.9k followers, 3,719 in-map followers):** Account for Spanish politician Hermann Tertsch, a representative for Spain in the European Parliament and a member of far-right party VOX. Tertsch is also active on Facebook.
- **@esCesarVidal (183.5k followers, 3,264 in-map followers):** Account for media personality César Vidal, a Spanish conservative based in FL, U.S. Vidal hosts a widely available podcast and is a prolific opinion writer who approaches current events from a Christian-conservative perspective, and promotes views that include [opposing](#) Darwin’s evolution theory, climate denialism, or claiming that trans people are systemically violent.



Vidal has a multiplatform online presence, with accounts on Facebook, YouTube, Rumble, Twitch, and Odysee.

While all three of the above accounts have participated in the spread of anti-renewables narratives, none have made opposing renewable energies their exclusive focus. Rather, their opposition exists within efforts to promote broader right-wing narratives. One exception to this trend seen throughout the map is the parody account Agenda 2030 - another influential actor in the Spanish language anti-renewables conversation.

- **@Agenda2030\_ (277.5k followers, 2,884 in-map followers):** A parody account for the [United Nations' Sustainable Development 2030 Goals](#) and the map's 35th most followed account. Its content features satire, irony, and hyperbole on current events, perpetuating conspiratorial thinking that frames the UN 2030 Agenda's focus on environmental sustainability as a leftist plot to destroy nations. Reposts of this account's original content mocking renewable energies appeared across every group in our map.

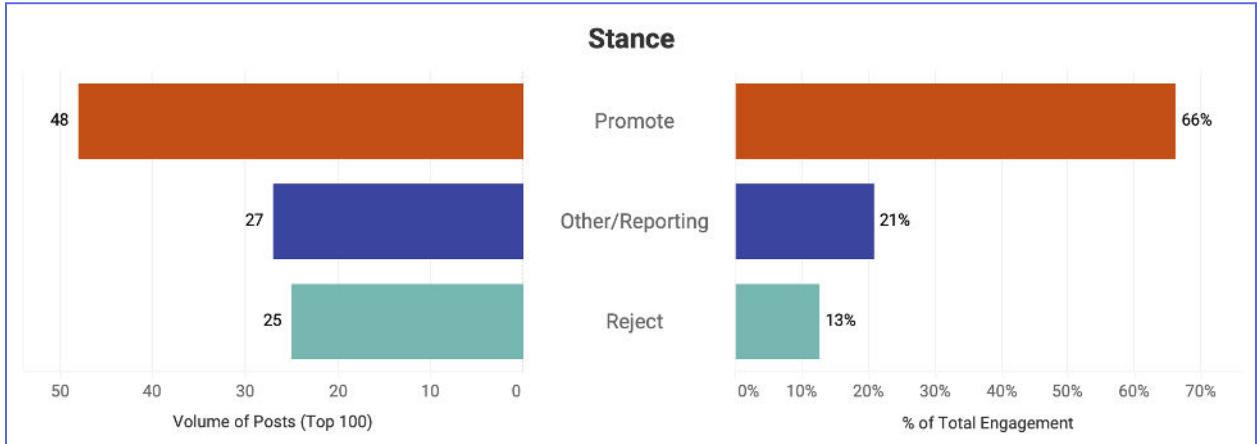
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## Key Narratives

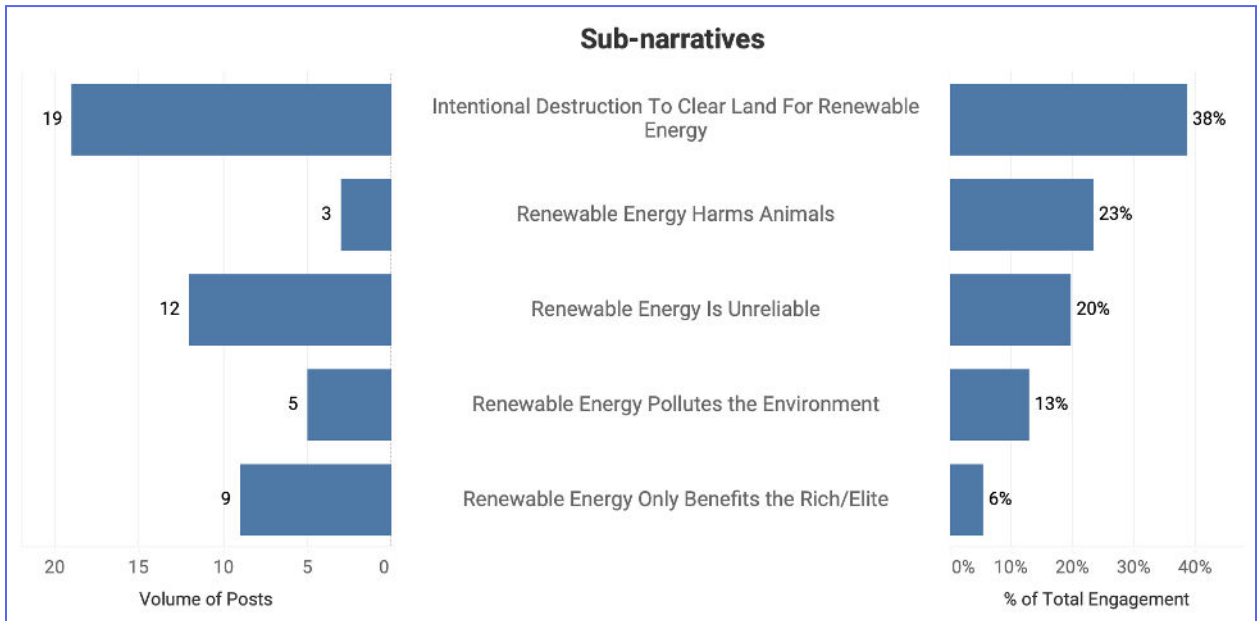
Accounts in the anti-renewables network advanced a core set of narratives undermining the efficacy of renewable energy, sharing conspiratorial thinking about its installation or operation, and promoting decontextualized claims about its environmental impact. Posts frequently featured content originally shared by English-language sources, translated or re-shared with Spanish commentary. However, at least one of the narratives we surfaced - the intentional destruction of the environment - appeared to originate in Greek before it was popularized among Spanish-speaking communities.

Graphika analyzed the 100 most popular posts on X that mentioned key terms within the anti-renewables conversation map to assess the prevalence and nature of these narratives. Posts promoting anti-renewable narratives accounted for 48% of the sample but 66% of the engagement. One-quarter of all posts rejected the anti-renewable narratives, and these posts only accounted for 12% of total engagement. Roughly another quarter (27%) of posts reported on or discussed renewables in the context of mainstream discussion of energy and news, as distinct from any pro/anti-renewable narratives.

Narratives referring to the intentional destruction of the environment received 38% of all total engagement among posts promoting anti-renewable narratives, suggesting that widespread focus on extreme climate events like wildfires from actors not traditionally centered on climate-related issues can offer a launching point for anti-renewable narratives. Narratives about destruction of the environment and animal deaths also offer validation to some audiences with existing suspicions of renewable energy and what they perceive as the "climate change agenda."



Breakdown of 100 most popular Spanish-language posts within our map that mentioned key terms associated with the online conversation about renewable energy. It shows that those promoting anti-renewable narratives accounted for less than half the posts but garnered two-thirds of total engagement.



Breakdown of sub-narratives contained in posts promoting anti-renewable narratives, including a breakdown of engagement vs. total posts.

## Intentional Destruction to Clear Land for Renewable Energy

One of the most prominent Spanish-language anti-renewable narratives claims forests, fertile farmland, and other areas are intentionally burned to make way for renewable energy projects. This narrative first appeared within Spanish-language communities during Spain's July 2022 wildfires and has also appeared in English, Portuguese, and Greek. It pushes an anti-renewable message alongside the broader unsubstantiated narrative that wildfires are not caused or exacerbated by climate change but primarily driven by arson.

Listado de proyectos para parques eólicos en Asturias. En naranja los municipios que tienen focos de incendios. Les llaman incendios porque llamarlo "estamos preparando los montes para plantar molinos de viento" quedaba muy largo.

#IglesiaDeLaCalentología

Translate post

PE	NOMBRE	EMPLAZAMIENTO	TITULAR
3	ESCORPIO	SAN MARTÍN DE OSCOS Y VILLANUEVA DE OSCOS	PROMOCIÓN INDUSTRIAL Y GESTIÓN, S.A.
15	PALANQUES	VILDES Y TINEO	COSTA EÓLICA, S.L.
22	AMPLIACIÓN PANDUTA	NDM	INTECIN NORTE PANDUTA, S.L. (1)
30	AMPLIACIÓN SIERRA DEL ACEÑO	GRANDESA DE SALAZAR	PARKS EÓLICOS DEL CANTÁBRICO, S.A.U.
32	OSORNO	TARAMUNDI Y VILLANUEVA DE TRINCO	IBERDROLA ENERGÍ CORP, S.A. (2)
36	ILLANO	ILLANO	EOLIS DESARROLLOS RENOVABLES, S.L.
38	POLOSUEBAS	VIGADO Y TARAMUNDI	EÓLICA DEL PRINCEADO, S.A.
39	CHAD GRAN	TARAMUNDI, VIGARÍN Y VILLANUEVA DE OSCOS	EÓLICA DEL PRINCEADO, S.A.
39	XIADUS	NDM	ENERGÍAS RENOVABLES ESPAÑOLAS 2008, S.L.
40	LEC	NDM E ILLANO	PARKS EÓLICO LEO, S.L.
43	CASSIOPEA	ILLANO	PARKS EÓLICO CASSIOPEA, S.L.
51	VILLANÓN AUTOCONSUMO	VILLAYÓN	AYUNTAMIENTO DE VILLAYÓN
53	VELLA	ILLANO	REP RENOVABLES ESPAÑA, S.L.
52	EDIO AGUDO TURK	TARAMUNDI	WIND OSCOS-ED, S.A.
58	SIERRA DE RIBES	TARAMUNDI	WIND OSCOS-ED, S.A.
58	CARBUQUEÑO I y II	NDM	ELECTRA NORTE ENERGÍA, S.A.U.
52	PICO URSUES	TINEO	ASTURIND, S.L.
78	POGADORO	CATROPOL Y VEGARÍN	WIND OSCOS-ED, S.A.

207	VIENTO DE SELLA	NDM	WIND EÓLICO HERRA, S.L.
208	VIENTO DE CASTIJO	CATROPOL Y VEGARÍN	ENERGÍA EÓLICA HERRA, S.L.
208	HERAS	NDM, CATROPOL Y EL PRANCO	ELECTRA NORTE ENERGÍA, S.A.U.
201	MIÑABUELA	NDM, CATROPOL	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
204	WIND DE TROCO Y CORRANCO	TARAMUNDI	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
206	LA ESPINA	VEGARÍN	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
207	PERA BOS	DESARROLLOS CATROPOL	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
208	VALSA	TINEO	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
209	HERRADURA	NDM	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
210	EL TRINCO	SANT TROCO DE ABRES	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
203	CASTIJO	ALLARDE	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
212	SANTIN	TINEO Y NDN	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
213	EL CORRAL	ALLARDE	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
214	HERAS	TARAMUNDI, ILLANO	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
214	VALSABIA	LA ESPINA	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
202	PENA MUDOP	TINEO	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
207	AGUIRREDA	ILLARDE, NDN, ILLANO, VILLAYÓN	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
208	PENA PALANCA	ILLARDE	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
209	ERREDO	TINEO	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
210	PROVINCIALIA	ILLARDE	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
215	WIND DE CHABA	TINEO	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
214	REPARANDINO	WIND, ILLANO, LA MARTIN	GREEN CAPITAL POWER, S.L.
216	SERRA DE LARA	NDN	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
217	REP PAVIA	PRANCO VALDE	WIND 3 ENERGÍAS RENOVABLES, S.L.
206	LA MARTIN	TINEO VALDE	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
207	SIERRA DE BUETO	NDN	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
208	LA ESCOCHA	TINEO	RENOVABLES DEL CANTÁBRICO, S.A.
206	MOLINEN	GRANDESA DE SALAZAR	IBERDROLA CONSTRUCCIONES Y CONTRATAS, S.L.
202	REBUSTILOC	TINEO	RENOVABLES DEL CANTÁBRICO, S.A.

A post from a user in the Spanish right-leaning group within our anti-renewable map sharing a misleading graphic claiming that wildfires in Spain's Asturias region were concentrated around locations of planned wind energy projects.

The first instance of this narrative, during July 2022, followed a change in the Spanish law that allowed the redevelopment of recently burned areas. Spanish-speaking users framed this revision as part of a deliberate attempt to clear land and construct new renewable energy projects. More recently, the narrative reappeared with much higher engagement during Spain's March-April 2023 Asturias wildfires when users in the Spanish right-leaning conservative map group made more specific conspiratorial claims suggesting that wildfire locations were planned to clear the way for certain solar and wind energy projects. Social media accounts affiliated with the Spanish far-right party Vox picked up the narrative some weeks later, further amplifying its spread. Since then, we have identified users claiming other wildfires in Spain and Hawaii are linked to planned renewable energy projects. Like its English-language counterparts, this narrative will likely recur in tandem with wildfires that receive significant media attention, especially in Spanish-speaking countries or places with a large Spanish-speaking population.

## Renewable Energy Harms Animals

Similar to their English-language counterparts, Spanish-language anti-renewable actors share disputed claims and decontextualized information suggesting renewable energy infrastructure - particularly wind turbines - kills or harms animals on a large scale. In the past year, Spanish-language accounts have reshared English content from climate skeptics who espouse this narrative and target major offshore wind projects. Spanish-language users based in Spain and Latin America shared clips and claims from the film “Thrown To The Wind” to suggest that over 60 whales have been killed in 2023 by noise from offshore wind farms in service of the “green agenda.” The U.S. Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (BOEM) and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration [dispute](#) claims that the construction and operation of wind energy projects causes higher numbers of whale deaths.



*Post from a user in the Spanish right-leaning conservative group in our map re-sharing a clip from the film “Thrown To The Wind,” which was subsequently re-shared by other Spanish-language anti-renewable users.*

## Renewable Energy Pollutes the Environment

Some members of the Spanish-language anti-renewable network pushed exaggerated and decontextualized narratives claiming that renewable energy projects, especially solar power, severely pollute the environment. Posts following this pattern often repackage and re-share similar English-language narratives.

For example, in July last year, English-language users shared decontextualized quotes from a Los Angeles Times [article](#) about solar waste disposal, pushing the claim that solar panels are dumped into landfills and pollute the groundwater supply. Spanish-language anti-renewable actors then shared the same claims about lead and cadmium pollution alongside unrelated stock [footage](#) of

solar panels on a Chinese mountainside that was first featured in English-language posts. Similarly, when a [hailstorm](#) in Nebraska damaged a solar farm, Spanish-language anti-renewable users shared misleading claims that the damaged solar panels were polluting the groundwater shortly after English-language users did the same.



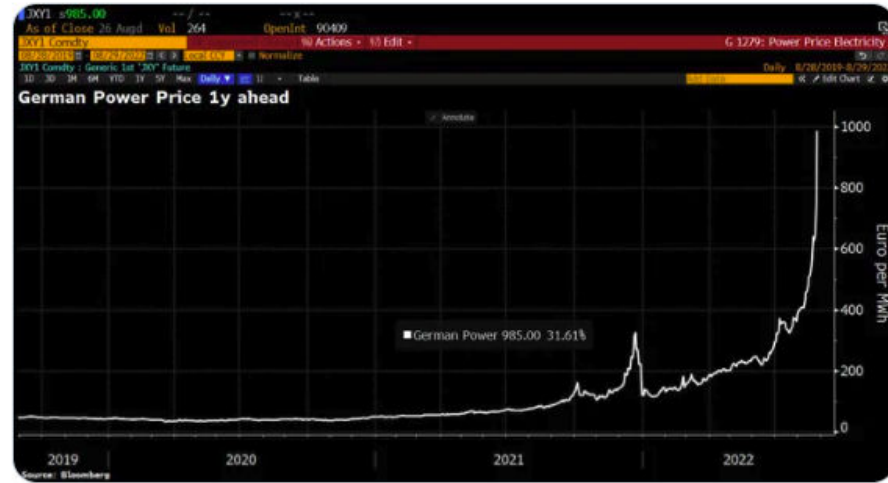
*TikTok of a Spanish anti-renewable user sharing decontextualized claims that solar panels are disposed of in landfills allowing toxic chemicals to seep into the water.*

## Renewable Energy is Unreliable

Spanish-language anti-renewable actors reiterate the perceived unreliability of renewable energy, highlighting occasions when they claim it failed to provide a dependable supply of electricity. Proponents of this narrative suggest it likely won't reduce the electrical grid's carbon dependency as it is incapable of providing sufficient energy. They also exclude the climate context in which renewable energy projects are planned. Right-wing anti-renewable actors exploited a rise in energy prices resulting from Russia's invasion of Ukraine to misleadingly claim that renewable energy is the reason for the increase in costs. This narrative also highlights instances where renewable energy is removed or [rolled back](#) to misleadingly claim that fossil fuels are replacing it because renewable energy doesn't work.

Los precios de la energía han aumentado en 720% en lo que va del año en Alemania. Este es el resultado de la "conversión a renovables" del gobierno alemán. Y nosotros? Copiando lo que no funciona...

[Translate post](#)



*Post from a Chilean right-wing user pushing the claim that the renewable energy transition is responsible for a massive increase in energy prices in Germany rather than the Russian invasion of Ukraine.*

## Renewable Energy Only Benefits the Rich/Elites

Actors in the network frequently combined the narratives outlined above with the claim that renewable energy projects are a “business” designed to benefit the wealthy, potentially in an effort to discredit proponents of such projects. This claim draws on pre-existing conspiracy theories around “elites” identified in our previous [report](#), suggesting that politicians and business people fabricated the concept of climate change as a part of a more sinister plot to enrich themselves or gain power.



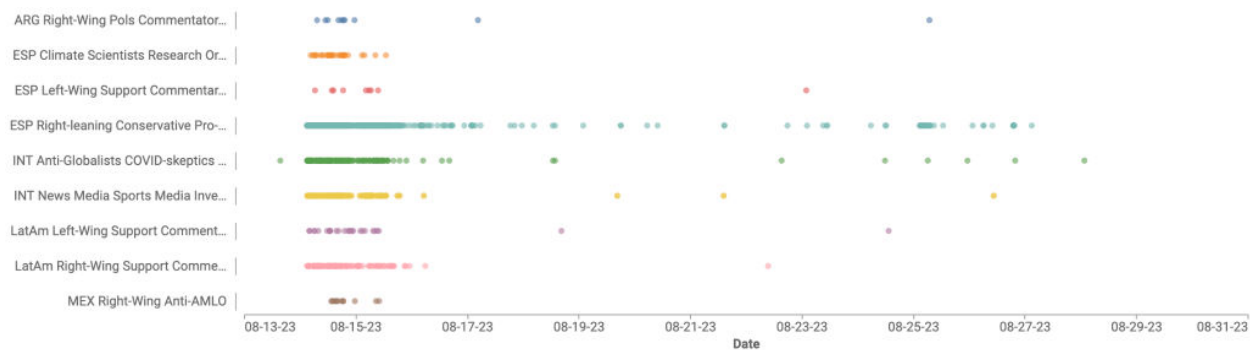
*A post claiming that people who call for climate action are only interested in generating profits for 'billionaire businesses'.*

This “rich global elites” narrative is interwoven with and used to reinforce other anti-renewable narratives, including intentional destruction of the environment, harming animals, and environmental pollution. It uses an us vs. them framing, discrediting climate activists and renewable energy policymakers by suggesting their interest is purely “business.” We identified repeated instances of anti-renewable actors describing the UN’s Agenda 2030, and its renewable energy goals, as part of the business of self-enriching elites. The UN’s wide-ranging Sustainable Development Goals feature repeatedly in climate misinformation, conspiracy theories about COVID-19, and narratives targeting vulnerable groups. Additionally, we identified several instances in which members of the anti-renewable network amplified criticism from climate change activists about the placement of renewable energy projects in poorer communities, potentially in an attempt to validate the claims of self-enrichment.

## Online Dynamics and Tactics

### Content Opposing Renewable Energies Travels Across Geographies and Ideologies

We observed content featuring prominent anti-renewables narratives reposted in every group in our network, thanks to the influence of key actors whose followers straddle multiple groups. For example, the [claim](#) that coastal wind farms caused the death of 60 whales was popularized in Spanish through August 2023 posts from key actors [Agenda 2030 \(parody\)](#) and [Capitán Bitcoin](#). The following graph, where each dot corresponds to a post in our map that featured the words “60 ballenas” [60 whales] during the month of August, demonstrates that audiences from every community in our map were exposed to the narrative.



*Reposts in August 2023 of two posts from key actors in the network containing the claim that wind farms killed 60 whales appeared in every group in the map.*

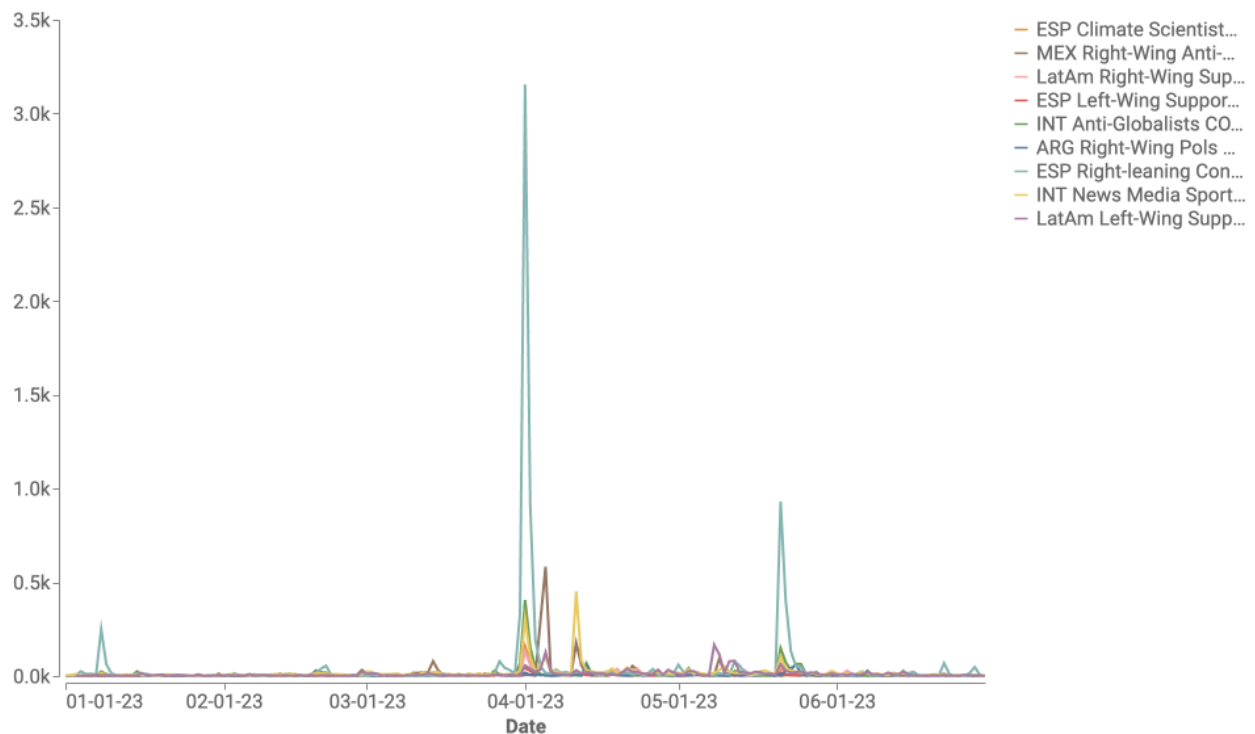
### Volume of Content Correlates with Extreme Weather Events or Policies Mentioning Renewable Energies

We analyzed the content output from every group in our map from Jan. 1 - June 30, 2023, for posts containing key terms related to anti-renewables narratives. We found that peaks in content correlated with extreme weather events or policy developments that mention renewable technologies. One of the largest content peaks for right-wing communities in Spain, Argentina, and Latin America corresponds to April 1, 2023, posts pushing conspiratorial narratives around the Asturias forest fires (see above) in the previous month. A second, lower peak for the same groups on May 21 corresponds to a rehashing of the same narrative, this time linked to coverage from a media outlet [reporting](#) the urgent approval of five wind farm projects in Spain.

On Jan. 8, a small content peak driven exclusively by posts from Spain-based right-wing accounts corresponded to a key actor [post](#) criticizing Spain’s reliance on wind energy, drawing a negative comparison with China’s [push](#) to build over 100 nuclear reactors in the next 15 years. For right-leaning Mexican communities, content featuring opposition to or criticism of renewable technologies peaked on April 5, 2023, matching an [announcement](#) by President López Obrador



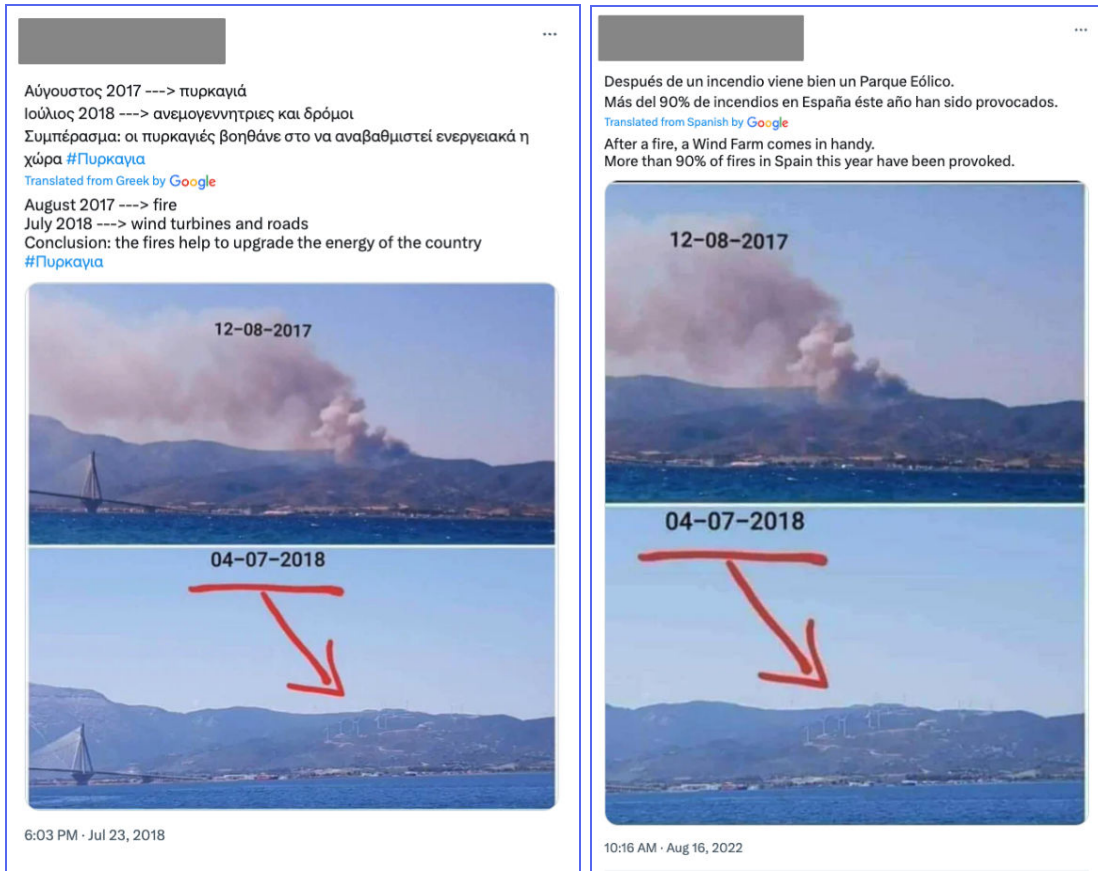
that the government had purchased 12 gas plants and one wind farm operating in Mexico and owned by Spanish company Iberdrola.



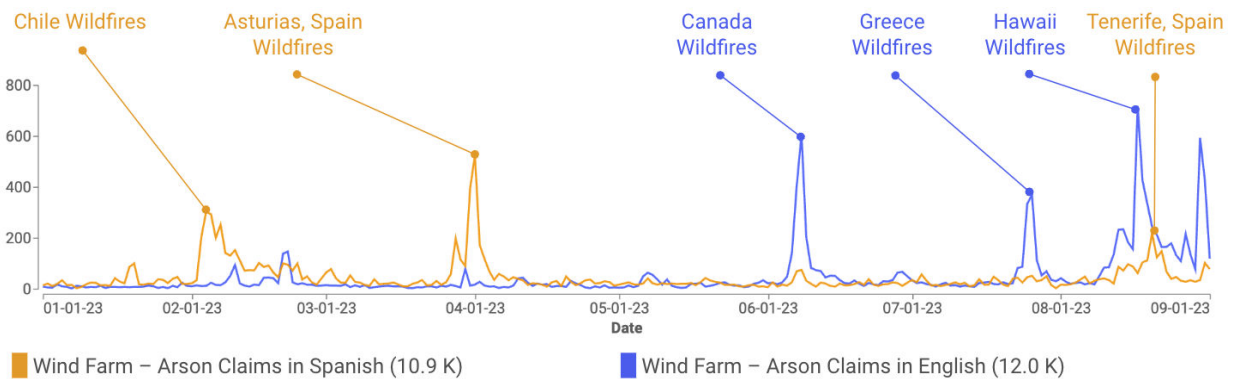
Line graph illustrating anti-renewables content volume peaks for every group in the network map, corresponding with extreme weather events or policy developments that mention renewable energies

### Translation: A Tool With a Conspiratorial Answer to Any Forest Fire Question

Our 2022 [study](#) of Spanish-language climate misinformation found that the most followed accounts in that network map routinely reposted and translated content from prominent English-speaking climate science misinformers. This finding is also true of the online anti-renewables conversation, where the English-language “60 whales” video was widely distributed in Spanish-language posts across platforms. Similarly, the claim that forest fires are set deliberately to raze land for wind turbines has appeared in posts in Greek [since at least 2018](#). Besides Greek, we saw evidence that the narrative has circulated in Spanish, Portuguese, and English and has emerged around fires in different geographical contexts over the years, including as recently as the August 2023 Hawaii wildfires. A comparison of Spanish-language and English-language posts containing key terms in each language related to this claim shows divergent content peaks that correlate with different forest fire events.



Screenshot of a 2018 post (left) suggesting the 2017 forest fires in Greece were set deliberately to make way for wind farms. In 2022, a post making the same claim about forest fires in Spain reused the same image.



A line graph comparing Spanish-language and English-language posts related to the wind farm-arson narrative, demonstrating the recurring nature of the claim as it applies to different geographical and language contexts.

### Actors Sharing Content Across Multiple Assets to Boost Narrative Reach

We identified actors using the same content across multiple social media assets, likely as a strategy to reach a wider audience. For example, we found at least 13 different Facebook pages

linked to regional chapters of the far-right Spanish party VOX posting identical content suggesting that forest fires were started deliberately to clear land for future wind farms.



Screenshot of the Facebook pages for VOX Asturias (left), VOX España (center), and VOX Navacarnero (right) posting identical claims that forest fires were deliberately started to clear land for wind farms.

## Facebook Groups for Communities Opposing Specific Pro-renewables Policies and Projects Can Become Repositories for Broader Anti-renewables Content

Many communities respond to policy and project announcements regarding renewable technologies by organizing opposition through public or private Facebook groups. We found that some groups created for organizing opposition to specific climate actions incentivizing the use of renewable energies eventually grow into repositories for more general anti-renewables content. One example is the public Facebook group created for Spanish-speaking users to oppose a European Union [measure](#) that proposes phasing out gas and diesel vehicles by 2035 by requiring all new cars sold to be electric or hydrogen-powered. It contains multiple posts, articles, memes, and videos that criticize electric cars as a technology in general rather than opposing the obligatory nature of the measure or aspects of its implementation.

## Contributors

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## About Us

**Graphika** is an intelligence company that maps the world's online communities and conversations. We help partners worldwide, including Fortune 500 companies, Silicon Valley, human rights organizations, and universities, discover how communities form online and understand the flow of information and influence within large-scale social networks. Customers rely on Graphika for a unique, network-first approach to the global online landscape.

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