

Digital Policy Hub – Working Paper

Countering Fossil-Fuelled Climate Disinformation to Save Democracy

Andrew Heffernan

Summer 2024 cohort

About the Hub

The Digital Policy Hub at CIGI is a collaborative space for emerging scholars and innovative thinkers from the social, natural and applied sciences. It provides opportunities for undergraduate and graduate students and post-doctoral and visiting fellows to share and develop research on the rapid evolution and governance of transformative technologies. The Hub is founded on transdisciplinary approaches that seek to increase understanding of the socio-economic and technological impacts of digitalization and improve the quality and relevance of related research. Core research areas include data, economy and society; artificial intelligence; outer space; digitalization, security and democracy; and the environment and natural resources.

The Digital Policy Hub working papers are the product of research related to the Hub's identified themes prepared by participants during their fellowship.

Partners

Thank you to Mitacs for its partnership and support of Digital Policy Hub fellows through the Accelerate program. We would also like to acknowledge the many universities, governments and private sector partners for their involvement allowing CIGI to offer this holistic research environment.



About CIGI

The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) is an independent, non-partisan think tank whose peer-reviewed research and trusted analysis influence policy makers to innovate. Our global network of multidisciplinary researchers and strategic partnerships provide policy solutions for the digital era with one goal: to improve people's lives everywhere. Headquartered in Waterloo, Canada, CIGI has received support from the Government of Canada, the Government of Ontario and founder Jim Balsillie.

Copyright © 2024 by Andrew Heffernan.

The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre for International Governance Innovation or its Board of Directors.

Centre for International Governance Innovation and CIGI are registered trademarks.

67 Erb Street West
Waterloo, ON, Canada N2L 6C2
www.cigionline.org

Key Points

- Disinformation campaigns are funded by a variety of actors, including governments, political organizations, corporations, special interest groups and individuals with vested interests.
- Fossil fuel companies and petrostates wield significant economic and political influence, leveraging their resources to manipulate public opinion and policy discourse. Through funding biased research, lobbying efforts and strategic partnerships with media outlets, they sow seeds of doubt regarding the reality and severity of climate change.
- When vested interests dictate the terms of public debate and policy formulation, the foundational principles of democracy are eroded, jeopardizing the public interest and exacerbating societal divisions.
- Countering climate disinformation requires a multi-faceted approach that includes global information sharing and collaboration, capacity building and technical assistance, regulatory measures and legal frameworks, engagement with technology platforms, and support for independent journalism and public awareness campaigns.

Introduction

In today's digitally interconnected world, disinformation has emerged as a pervasive and potent force shaping public opinion, political landscapes and societal perceptions. This working paper unpacks the multi-faceted origins of disinformation, exploring its roots in historical, technological, psychological and socio-political contexts. While the spread of disinformation and misinformation occurs as a result of the actions of millions of both nefarious and unsuspecting actors, the vast majority of disinformation is a product of deliberate, targeted and well-funded campaigns (Gwiazdon and Brown 2023). By examining the evolution of disinformation and its dissemination mechanisms, this paper aims to offer insights into understanding and combatting this dangerous phenomenon.

While scholars have usefully unpacked the differences between misinformation and disinformation (Treen, Williams and O'Neill 2020), in the context of climate change it is important to treat all such misleading information as if it stems from deliberate, targeted, well-funded and often nefarious disinformation campaigns. While a crazy uncle or unsuspecting grandmother may be unknowingly sharing false information on their social media platforms, that specific information found its way to them via a carefully curated algorithmic pathway to serve specific interests. In relation to climate disinformation, these interests are predominantly represented by fossil fuel companies and petrostates, which aim to discount the impacts of greenhouse gases on climate change and undermine the effectiveness of sustainable climate policies that seek to limit oil and gas consumption. Unfortunately, not only are these campaigns undermining the global fight against climate change, but they also serve as inroads for additional nefarious actors who seek to sow division and undermine democracy around the world. As a result, we need to learn *The Language of Climate Politics* in order to better understand

how to fight fossil-fuel propaganda, as outlined in Genevieve Guenther's (2024) recently published book by that title.

In an era marked by increasing environmental consciousness and urgency to combat climate change, disinformation campaigns pose a formidable obstacle to progress. At the heart of these campaigns lie fossil fuel companies and petrostates, with vested interests in maintaining the status quo that have propelled them to propagate disinformation. This paper delves into the mechanisms through which these entities fuel disinformation, the consequences of that disinformation and the imperative for concerted action.

The Machinations of Disinformation

Petro states and the fossil fuel companies that operate within them exert significant political and economic influence by wielding resources to manipulate public debate and the political discourse that influences policy making. One of their primary tactics is the dissemination of misleading information regarding climate science (Reed et al. 2021). This is accomplished via fossil fuel companies funding biased research outputs, lobbying efforts and strategic partnerships with media outlets through which they fuel doubt regarding the reality and severity of climate change (de Valk 2019). Moreover, these entities often engage in greenwashing — the practice of portraying themselves as environmentally responsible while continuing to perpetuate unsustainable practices (Medeiros et al. 2024). By investing in token renewable energy projects or espousing vague sustainability goals, they seek to obfuscate their role in exacerbating climate change and delay meaningful regulatory action.

Another tactic involves the vilification of climate activists, scientists and policy makers who are advocating for stringent emissions regulations (Bennett and Livingston 2020). By casting doubt on their credibility and motives, fossil fuel interests attempt to undermine the legitimacy of calls for climate action, thereby stalling progress toward a sustainable future. At the core of these disinformation campaigns lies a convergence of profit motives and geopolitical power dynamics. Fossil fuel companies prioritize short-term profits over long-term sustainability, driven by shareholder interests and the imperative to maintain market dominance (Schia and Gjesvik 2020). Similarly, petrostates, with their economies that rely heavily on oil and gas revenues, view efforts to transition away from fossil fuels as an existential threat to their economic prosperity and geopolitical influence.

For fossil fuel companies, the perpetuation of fossil fuel dependency ensures continued demand for their products, safeguarding profits and shareholder returns (Franta 2021). Petrostates, on the other hand, utilize their oil wealth to consolidate political power domestically and exert influence on the global stage (Walker 2023). Any disruption to the status quo poses a direct challenge to their economic and political hegemony, compelling them to resist efforts aimed at decarbonization.

Dealing with climate disinformation becomes exceptionally challenging in states where regulatory capture by the fossil fuel industry is prevalent. Regulatory capture refers to a situation in which regulatory agencies, tasked with overseeing industries such

as fossil fuels, end up being heavily influenced or controlled by the very entities they are supposed to regulate (MacLean 2016). In such states, the fossil fuel industry often wields significant political and economic power, which it leverages to shape policies and public narratives in its favour. Regulatory capture undermines the integrity of regulatory processes, leading to weakened oversight and enforcement of environmental regulations. This allows the fossil fuel industry to perpetuate disinformation campaigns that downplay the urgency of climate action or cast doubt on established scientific consensus (Vormedal, Gulbrandsen and Skjærseth 2020). Industry influence can extend to shaping public perception through media manipulation and funding of research that supports their agenda, thereby complicating efforts to educate the public on climate science and policy.

While climate scientists, environmentalists, activists and progressive-minded people around the world so often dismiss climate disinformation as laughable, ridiculous or just plain dumb, the complex assemblage of actors feeding into the broader network can make climate disinformation quite adaptable, forward-thinking and even ingenious. This is demonstrated by the way in which disinformation has evolved over time. As the science of climate change has become increasingly irrefutable, even for a growing number of those on the right, disinformation campaigns have evolved to suggest instead that it is either too late to do anything, that current policies are ineffective or inefficient or that certain fossil fuels or fossil fuels from certain places are the answer to the climate crisis (Heffernan 2024).

Addressing climate disinformation in these states requires untangling deep-seated political and economic interests, strengthening regulatory independence and fostering transparency in decision-making processes (van Asselt 2021). It necessitates robust efforts to counteract misinformation with accurate scientific information and build public awareness of the implications of climate change and the benefits of decisive action. However, overcoming the barriers posed by regulatory capture demands sustained advocacy and policy reforms aimed at restoring regulatory integrity and prioritizing public and environmental health over industry interests.

Actors Fuelling Disinformation

Funding and perpetuating climate change disinformation campaigns involves a complex web of actors, each with their own motivations, strategies and methods. These campaigns are designed to sow doubt, delay action and protect vested interests in industries that contribute to greenhouse gas emissions (Thapa Magar, Thapa and Li 2024). Understanding the actors involved requires examining a range of entities including governments, political organizations, corporations, special interest groups and individuals with vested interests. While the actors involved in climate disinformation are diverse, most also share an interest in our civilization's continued addiction to burning things, especially fossil fuels, at prodigious rates, as outlined by Simon Dalby in his book *Pyromania: Fire and Geopolitics in a Climate-Disrupted World* (2024).

Climate change disinformation campaigns are fuelled by a diverse range of actors, each with their own motivations and methods. Guenther (2024) argues that contrary to the neatly polarized positions we so often assume of climate debates along the right-left

spectrum, the reality is much more complex and there is actually more shared language than we often assume. This paper builds on her arguments to suggest that this shared language is due, in part, to the power fossil fuel companies hold in shaping the discourse of the right and left and everything else in between, in an era in which the political spectrum is becoming increasingly difficult to delineate along such lines. At the forefront of shaping such discourse are fossil fuel companies and their trade associations, such as ExxonMobil, Shell, BP and the American Petroleum Institute (Thapa Magar, Thapa and Li 2024). These entities invest substantial financial resources into organizations, think tanks and campaigns that promote skepticism toward climate science and oppose regulatory measures. For example, ExxonMobil reportedly spent US\$30 million between 1998 and 2014 funding groups that cast doubt on climate science (Franta 2021). This funding supports research that questions climate models and emphasizes the economic costs of climate policies. Additionally, fossil fuel companies engage in extensive public relations campaigns, including advertisements and sponsored content in mainstream media, to shape public opinion and influence policy makers (Vormedal, Gulbrandsen and Skjærseth 2020).

Such disinformation campaigns are funded by fossil fuel companies globally, including in Canada. Companies such as ExxonMobil's Canadian subsidiaries and the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) are active in such disinformation efforts. These entities invest significant sums in funding research, lobbying efforts and public relations campaigns that cast doubt on climate science and oppose stringent environmental regulations (Haney 2022). This includes sponsoring studies that downplay the role of human activity in climate change or emphasize the economic benefits of continued fossil fuel extraction.

Conservative think tanks and advocacy groups also play a significant role in perpetuating climate change disinformation. Organizations such as the Heartland Institute and the Competitive Enterprise Institute receive funding from fossil fuel interests, conservative donors and industry associations (Dunlap and Brulle 2020). In Canada, organizations such as the Fraser Institute and the Canadian Taxpayers Federation receive funding from fossil fuel interests and conservative donors to produce reports and media content that challenge climate science consensus and advocate against carbon pricing and other climate policies (Crowley 2022). Like CAPP and ExxonMobil's Canadian subsidiaries, these groups produce reports, articles and books that challenge mainstream climate science and criticize proposed climate policies. Think tanks and advocacy groups also organize conferences and events where climate skeptics gather to promote alternative viewpoints on climate change. Their influence extends to media engagement, where they collaborate with conservative outlets to amplify their messages and reach audiences skeptical of climate science and government regulation (Ruser 2021).

Media outlets and influencers themselves also contribute to the dissemination of climate change disinformation, in that some are indirectly funded by advertising revenue from industries opposed to climate action (Hassan et al. 2023). These entities benefit from lucrative partnerships and sponsorships that promote content that questions climate science or downplays the urgency of climate action. They engage in selective reporting and opinion pieces that emphasize dissenting views within the scientific community, creating a perception of ongoing debate or uncertainty among the public (López 2023).

Political parties and individual politicians have also continued to align with fossil fuel interests and conservative ideologies, shaping policy agendas and public discourse on climate change. They receive campaign contributions and support from the fossil fuel industry, which influences their stance on climate policies and environmental regulations (Bennett and Livingston 2023). Politicians use their platforms to communicate positions on climate change that often reflect industry interests, framing the issue as a debate between economic growth and environmental protection.

While the majority advocate for climate action, a minority of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are funded to promote climate skepticism by conservative interests. These NGOs receive funding from foundations, fossil fuel companies and individual donors opposed to government intervention in the economy. They produce research and advocacy campaigns that challenge mainstream climate science and advocate against climate policies (Bellamy 2020). Their efforts target policy makers, influencers and the public, aiming to shape policy decisions and public opinion.

While this is but a snapshot of its assemblage of actors, the complex landscape of climate change disinformation involves significant financial investments and strategic dissemination methods by various actors. From fossil fuel companies funding research and public relations campaigns to conservative think tanks producing reports and organizing events, these entities shape public perception and policy debates on climate change. Each group employs specific strategies to influence public opinion, shape policy debates and protect their economic interests related to fossil fuel production and consumption. Recognizing these actors and understanding their methods is crucial for developing effective strategies to counter misinformation and promote evidence-based climate policies that address the urgent challenges posed by climate change.

Climate Disinformation and Democratic Disintegration

The ramifications of orchestrated disinformation campaigns are manifold and far-reaching. First, they engender public apathy and complacency toward climate change, impeding efforts to mobilize collective action. By fostering a sense of uncertainty and false equivalence in the public discourse, they create a fertile ground for inaction and delay (Lindvall 2021). Second, disinformation campaigns undermine the integrity of democratic processes by subverting evidence-based policy making and scientific consensus (Reed et al. 2021). The very foundations of democracy are eroded when we allow vested private interests to dictate the terms of public debate and policy formulation based on wealth and power imbalances that exacerbate societal divisions. Continuing fossil fuel dependency also perpetuates environmental degradation and exacerbates social inequities, disproportionately impacting marginalized communities and future generations (Bennett and Livingston 2018). By prioritizing profit over planetary well-being, fossil fuel interests maintain a system of exploitation and injustice that undermines global sustainability and human flourishing. Listed below are some of the ways they do this:

- **Ideological alignment:** Climate change has become highly politicized, with positions on the issue often aligning with broader ideological divides. In many cases, climate

change denialism is associated with conservative or libertarian ideologies that prioritize limited government intervention, free-market principles and skepticism of environmental regulations. Conversely, acceptance of climate science and support for climate action tend to align with progressive or liberal ideologies that prioritize environmental protection, social justice and collective responsibility (Cann, Weaver and Williams 2021).

- **Partisan messaging:** Political parties and interest groups often use climate change as a wedge issue to mobilize their base, differentiate themselves from opponents and appeal to their ideological constituencies. This can lead to the promotion of polarized narratives and misinformation that reinforce existing political divides. Climate change disinformation may be disseminated by political elites, media outlets and partisan commentators who seek to advance their political agendas and maintain partisan loyalty (Merkley and Stecula 2018).
- **Media coverage and framing:** Media coverage of climate change can exacerbate political polarization by framing the issue in ways that reinforce existing ideological beliefs and biases. Some media outlets may provide platforms for climate change denialism or present false balance by equating scientific consensus with fringe viewpoints, thereby legitimizing misinformation and perpetuating confusion among the public. This can contribute to echo chambers and filter bubbles, in which individuals are exposed primarily to information that aligns with their pre-existing beliefs, reinforcing partisan divisions (Stecula and Merkley 2019).
- **Cultural affiliation:** Climate change attitudes are often shaped by cultural identities and affiliations, with perceptions of the issue influenced by factors such as geography, religion, education and social networks (Lewandowsky 2021). Individuals may adopt climate change denialism or skepticism as part of their cultural identity, especially in communities where acceptance of climate science is perceived as contrary to shared values or economic interests. Cultural factors can reinforce political polarization by creating social norms that discourage dissenting views and promote conformity to group beliefs (Newman, Nisbet and Nisbet 2018).
- **Elite messaging and elite cues:** Political elites, including elected officials, opinion leaders and interest group representatives, play a critical role in shaping public opinion and attitudes toward climate change. Elite cues, such as statements, policy positions and endorsements from trusted leaders, can influence public perceptions of climate change and affect the likelihood of partisan polarization (Guisinger and Saunders 2017). When political elites espouse climate change denialism or downplay the urgency of climate action, their followers are more likely to adopt similar views, leading to partisan polarization on the issue (Merkley and Stecula 2018).
- **Psychological biases:** Cognitive biases and motivated reasoning can contribute to political polarization by shaping how individuals process and interpret information about climate change. Confirmation bias, for example, leads people to seek out information that confirms their pre-existing beliefs while dismissing or discounting evidence that contradicts them (Wolff and Taddicken 2024). This can create an “information cocoon,” in which individuals are insulated from opposing viewpoints and become resistant to factual information that challenges their ideological worldview, reinforcing political polarization (Kasenov 2023).

These are just some of the ways in which climate change disinformation interacts with and reinforces broader political polarization that is undermining democracy around the world. Freedom House has stated that “in every region of the world, democracy is under attack by populist leaders and groups that reject pluralism and demand unchecked power to advance particular interests of their supporters, usually at the expense of minorities and other perceived foes” (Freedom House 2024).

Disarming Disinforming Actors

The international community plays a crucial role in addressing climate disinformation emanating from petrostates, where the fossil fuel industry holds considerable sway over policy and public discourse. Petrostates rely heavily on revenues from oil and gas extraction, which often leads them to prioritize industry interests over climate action. This dynamic not only perpetuates misinformation that undermines global efforts to combat climate change, but also hinders progress toward achieving international climate goals.

United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres has emphasized the importance of global cooperation in countering climate disinformation. He has highlighted that disinformation campaigns funded by fossil fuel interests threaten the credibility of climate science and delay urgent action needed to mitigate the impacts of climate change. Guterres has called for increased transparency, accountability and adherence to scientific evidence in climate communications to counteract false narratives (United Nations 2024).

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) provides authoritative scientific assessments on climate change, which serve as a critical foundation for international climate negotiations and policy making. The IPCC’s reports underscore the urgency of reducing greenhouse gas emissions and adapting to climate impacts, countering misinformation with robust scientific evidence and consensus among experts worldwide.

Addressing the scourge of disinformation propagated by fossil fuel companies and petrostates requires a multi-faceted approach encompassing regulatory measures, corporate accountability and grassroots mobilization. First, governments must enact robust regulations to curtail the influence of vested interests in shaping public discourse and policy outcomes. Transparency measures, such as disclosure requirements for political spending and lobbying activities, can help expose the covert tactics employed by fossil fuel interests. Simultaneously, there is a need for enhanced corporate accountability mechanisms to hold fossil fuel companies accountable for their role in perpetuating disinformation. Shareholder activism, divestment campaigns and litigation efforts can exert pressure on corporations to align their practices with environmental and social responsibility standards.

Additionally, fostering media literacy and critical thinking skills is essential to inoculate the public against the pernicious effects of disinformation. By empowering individuals to discern fact from fiction and question the motives behind deceptive narratives, society can mitigate the impact of misinformation and cultivate a more informed citizenry. Furthermore, fostering international cooperation and solidarity is indispensable in addressing the transnational nature of disinformation campaigns. By forging alliances among governments, civil society organizations and grassroots movements, the global community can amplify efforts to combat disinformation and advance climate justice. Countering climate disinformation requires a multi-faceted

approach that involves collaboration among governments, international organizations, civil society and the private sector.

Recommendations

- **Global information sharing and collaboration:** International cooperation is essential for addressing the transnational nature of climate change disinformation. Governments can work together through multilateral frameworks, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, to develop common strategies, share best practices and coordinate efforts to combat climate disinformation. Efforts such as the Paris Agreement provide a platform for countries to commit to ambitious climate action and promote transparency and accountability in reporting on climate-related information. Establishing mechanisms for global information sharing and collaboration can help enhance the capacity of governments, researchers and civil society organizations to monitor and counter climate disinformation. This can involve creating international networks, platforms and databases to track the spread of disinformation, identify emerging trends and share insights and resources for debunking false information.
- **Capacity building and technical assistance:** Providing capacity building support and technical assistance to countries, particularly in developing regions, can strengthen their ability to address climate disinformation effectively. This may include training government officials, journalists, educators and civil society actors on media literacy, critical thinking skills, fact-checking techniques and digital media literacy to identify and counter misinformation.
- **Regulatory measures and legal frameworks:** Governments can implement regulatory measures and legal frameworks to hold purveyors of climate disinformation accountable and deter malicious actors from spreading false information. This may involve enacting laws or regulations that prohibit the dissemination of false or misleading information about climate change, impose penalties for violations and establish mechanisms for reporting and addressing disinformation. Regulation should also include truth in advertising legislation as well as potential bans on certain advertisements for companies and products that are damaging to the environment in the same way that we have done with tobacco.
- **Engagement with technology platforms:** Collaboration with technology companies and social media platforms is essential for addressing the spread of climate disinformation online. Governments can engage with these platforms to develop and enforce policies that combat the dissemination of false information, enhance transparency around advertising and content moderation practices and promote the visibility of credible sources of information on climate change.
- **Support for independent journalism and public awareness campaigns:** Strengthening independent journalism and fact-checking initiatives is crucial for countering climate disinformation and promoting media integrity. Governments and international organizations can provide funding, training and technical support to journalism organizations, fact-checking agencies and media watchdogs to investigate

and debunk false information, hold disinformation actors accountable and provide accurate and balanced reporting on climate-related issues.

- **Public awareness and education:** Public awareness campaigns can play a crucial role in educating the public about the realities of climate change and debunking common myths and misconceptions perpetuated by disinformation campaigns. Governments, international organizations and civil society groups can collaborate on campaigns to promote scientific literacy, raise awareness about the sources and impacts of climate disinformation and empower citizens to critically evaluate information they encounter online.

Conclusion

The proliferation of disinformation campaigns orchestrated by fossil fuel companies and petrostates poses a formidable challenge to efforts aimed at addressing climate change and advancing global sustainability. By exploiting their economic and political power, these entities perpetuate disinformation, sow doubt and obstruct progress toward a more sustainable future. The imperative for action has never been more urgent. Through concerted efforts to expose and counteract disinformation, uphold democratic values and hold accountable those responsible for perpetuating deceptive narratives, society can reclaim control of the narrative and forge a path toward a just and sustainable future for all.

By adopting a comprehensive and collaborative approach that integrates these governance strategies, the international community can work together to mitigate the spread and impact of climate disinformation, foster public understanding and engagement on climate change and support evidence-based policy making and action to address the global climate crisis.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Simon Dalby, Ryan Katz-Rosene and Michael Murphy who provided invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this paper and have helped it to reach its current form. I would also like to thank CIGI and the Digital Policy Hub for an enriching program and curriculum that contributed to a wealth of stimulating conversations and that helped guide the research direction for this project.

About the Author

Andrew Heffernan is a part-time professor of international relations and comparative politics at the University of Ottawa, where he also completed a Ph.D. in political science. He is a former post-doctoral fellow at the Digital Policy Hub whose research examined climate governance and mis- and disinformation around climate change. Other major research interests include African politics, global environmental governance, climate change mis- and disinformation, community-based conservation, and the politics of food. Andrew is also active in the scholarship of teaching and learning, about which

he is regularly publishing on and presenting at academic conferences, as well as implementing in his teaching in university classes.

Works Cited

- Bellamy, Jackson. 2020. "Climate Change Disinformation and Polarization in Canadian Society." Policy primer, December 18. North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network. www.naadsn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/20-dec-Bellamy-Disinformation.pdf.
- Bennett, W. Lance, and Steven Livingston. 2018. "The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions." *European Journal of Communication* 33 (2): 122–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760317>.
- — —. 2020. *The Disinformation Age*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- — —. 2023. "A Brief History of the Disinformation Age: Information Wars and the Decline of Institutional Authority." In *Streamlining Political Communication Concepts*, edited by Susana Salgado and Stylianos Papathanassopoulos, 43–73. Springer Studies in Media and Political Communication. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Cann, Tristan J. B., Iain S. Weaver and Hywel T. P. Williams. 2021. "Ideological biases in social sharing of online information about climate change." *Plos One* 16 (4): e0250656. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0250656>
- Crowley, Brian Lee. 2022. *A modern Conservatism for a modern Canada*. MacDonald Laurier Institute. April. https://macdonaldlaurier.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Apr2022_A_Modern_Conservatism_for_a_Modern_Canada_BLC_COLLECTION_FWeb.pdf.
- Dalby, Simon. 2024. *Pyromania: Fire and Geopolitics in a Climate-Disrupted World*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Agenda Publishing.
- de Valk, Marloes. 2019. "Recycling old strategies and devices: *What remains*, an art project addressing disinformation campaigns (re)using Strategies to delay industry regulation." *Artnodes: Revista de Arte, Ciencia y Tecnología* 24: 34–43.
- Dunlap, Riley E. and Robert J. Brulle. 2020. "Sources and Amplifiers of Climate Change Denial." In *Research Handbook on Communicating Climate Change*, edited by David C. Holmes and Lucy M. Richardson, 49–61. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Franta, Benjamin. 2021. "Early oil industry disinformation on global warming." *Environmental Politics* 30 (4): 663–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2020.1863703>.
- Freedom House. 2024. "Democracies in Decline." Freedom House. January 25. <https://freedomhouse.org/issues/democracies-decline>.
- Guenther, Genevieve. 2024. *The Language of Climate Politics: Fossil-Fuel Propaganda and How to Fight It*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Guisinger, Alexandra and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2017. "Mapping the Boundaries of Elite Cues: How Elites Shape Mass Opinion across International Issues." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (2): 425–41.
- Gwiazdon, Kathryn and Donald A. Brown. 2023. "The Climate Change Disinformation Campaign: Attacking the Common Good, Advancing the Self, and Destroying Democracy." In *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Climate Change Ethics*, edited by Donald A. Brown, Kathryn Gwiazdon and Laura Westra, 198–213. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Haney, Timothy J. 2022. "Scientists don't care about truth anymore: the climate crisis and rejection of science in Canada's oil country." *Environmental Sociology* 8 (1): 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23251042.2021.1973656>.
- Hassan, Isyaku, Rabi'u Muazu Musa, Mohd Nazri Latiff Azmi, Mohamad Razali Abdullah and Siti Zanariah Yusoff. 2023. "Analysis of climate change disinformation across types, agents and media platforms." *Information Development* 40 (3): 504–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02666669221148693>.
- Heffernan, Andrew. 2024. "The Climate Policy Crisis: Governing Disinformation in the Digital Age." Digital Policy Hub Working Paper. www.cigionline.org/publications/the-climate-policy-crisis-governing-disinformation-in-the-digital-age/.
- Kasenov, Ayken. 2023. "Climate change deniers and believers on the TikTok media platform: similarity and difference in the distribution of their knowledge claims." Bachelor's thesis, Charles University. <https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/185426>.
- Lewandowsky, Stephan. 2021. "Climate Change Disinformation and How to Combat It." *Annual Review of Public Health* 42 (1): 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-publhealth-090419-102409>.
- Lindvall, Daniel. 2021. "Democracy and the Challenge of Climate Change." International IDEA Discussion Paper. March. Strömsberg, Sweden: International IDEA. <https://doi.org/10.31752/idea.2021.88>.
- López, Antonio. 2023. "Gaslighting: Fake Climate News and Big Carbon's Network of Denial." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Media Misinformation*, edited by Karen Fowler-Watt and Julian McDougall, 159–77. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-11976-7_11.
- MacLean, Jason. 2016. "Striking at the Root Problem of Canadian Environmental Law: Identifying and Escaping Regulatory Capture." *Journal of Environmental Law and Practice* 29: 111–28. www.proquest.com/openview/32061c70adb6a1c82425616dc47c9641/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=28151.
- Medeiros, Priscila, Débora Salles, Thamyres Magalhães, Bianca Melo and Rose Marie Santini. 2024. "Greenwashing and Disinformation: The Toxic Advertising of Brazilian Agribusiness on the Networks." *Comunicação e Sociedade* 45: e024008.
- Merkley, Eric and Dominik A. Stecula. 2018. "Party Elites or Manufactured Doubt? The Informational Context of Climate Change Polarization." *Science Communication* 40 (2): 258–74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1075547018760334>.
- Newman, Todd P., Erik C. Nisbet and Matthew C. Nisbet. 2018. "Climate change, cultural cognition, and media effects: Worldviews drive news selectivity, biased processing, and polarized attitudes." *Public Understanding of Science* 27 (8): 985–1002. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662518801170>.
- Reed, Genna, Yogi Hendlin, Anita Desikan, Taryn MacKinney, Emily Berman and Gretchen T. Goldman. 2021. "The disinformation playbook: how industry manipulates the science-policy process – and how to restore scientific integrity." *Journal of Public Health Policy* 42 (4): 622–34. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41271-021-00318-6>.
- Ruser, Alexander. 2021. "Widening the gap: US think tanks and the manufactured chasm between scientific expertise and common sense on climate change." In *Critical Perspectives on Think Tanks*, edited by Julien Landry, 195–214. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

- Schia, Niels Nagelhus and Lars Gjesvik. 2020. "Hacking democracy: managing influence campaigns and disinformation in the digital age." *Journal of Cyber Policy* 5 (3): 413–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23738871.2020.1820060>.
- Stecula, Dominik A. and Eric Merkley. 2019. "Framing Climate Change: Economics, Ideology, and Uncertainty in American News Media Content from 1988 to 2014." *Frontiers in Communication* 4. www.researchgate.net/publication/331274785_Framing_Climate_Change_Economics_Ideology_and_Uncertainty_in_American_News_Media_Content_From_1988_to_2014.
- Thapa Magar, Neelam, Binay Jung Thapa and Yanan Li. 2024. "Climate Change Misinformation in the United States: An Actor–Network Analysis." *Journalism and Media* 5 (2): 595–613. <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia5020040>.
- Treen, Kathie M. d'I., Hywel T. P. Williams and Saffron J. O'Neill. 2020. "Online Misinformation about Climate Change." *WIREs Climate Change* 11 (5): e665. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.665>.
- United Nations. 2024. "Press Conference by Secretary-General António Guterres at United Nations Headquarters." June 24. <https://press.un.org/en/2024/sgsm22284.doc.htm>.
- van Asselt, Harro. 2021. "Governing fossil fuel production in the age of climate disruption: Towards an international law of 'leaving it in the ground.'" *Earth System Governance* 9: 100118. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esg.2021.100118>.
- Vormedal, Irja, Lars H. Gulbrandsen and Jon Birger Skjærseth. 2020. "Big Oil and Climate Regulation: Business as Usual or a Changing Business?" *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 143–66. https://doi.org/10.1162/glep_a_00565.
- Walker, Jeremy. 2023. "Silencing the voice of Indigenous Australia: The fossil-funded Atlas Network and the Vote No disinformation campaign against the referendum on constitutional recognition." Michael West Media. September. <http://michaelwest.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/Jeremy-Walker-CCS-27-Sept-2023.pdf>.
- Wolff, Laura and Monika Taddicken. 2024. "Disinforming the unbiased: How online users experience and cope with dissonance after climate change disinformation exposure." *New Media & Society* 26 (5): 2699–720. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221090194>.