IMPACT OF CLIMATE DISINFO: PUBLIC OPINION & LEGISLATION

PAPER III

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The following publication is the final installment of our three-part series on climate change disinformation. These papers analyze the origins of climate disinformation, expose the international and domestic sources of climate disinformation, and calculate climate disinformation's impact. Click here to read Part 1. Click here to read Part 2.

III. Impacts of Climate Disinformation on Public Opinion and Legislation in the United States

Part two of this publication series lists and analyzes the major sources of climate disinformation. In part three, we discuss how that disinformation has influenced United States public opinion and legislation.

Impact of U.S. Climate Denial on Public Opinion

The lack of US domestic climate policy and leadership in international climate agreements can be attributed, in part, to sharply divided public opinion on the existence of climate change.

Climate disinformation inhibited early progress on mitigating climate change by calling climate change itself into question. Such efforts to discredit the science of global warming were largely successful; climate action was delayed in Congress as lawmakers and the general public struggled to determine the truth of what was happening to the planet. As time progressed and oil companies begrudgingly began to acknowledge the existence of a warming climate, climate disinformation once again derailed climate action. Oil companies deflected the blame of rising temperatures away from fossil fuels and human activity to other faux reasoning. The public perception of climate change was and still is largely driven by what is discussed in the media.

Media

2020's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report bypassed the debate over the existence of climate change, and instead presented overwhelming evidence that humans are responsible for altering climate

patterns. The report compiled around 14,000 independent empirical studies and received input from 200 climate scientists from over 60 countries.[1]

Public perception of this report depended on the media context: some news outlets cherry-picked specific data from the report, and took an optimistic tone about the positive effect of "negative emissions."[2] Others critiqued the report, saying it was too limiting and omitted important climate change impacts on agriculture and sea level rise, among other consequences.[3] How media sources manipulated the framing of the IPCC report influenced how their consumers formed opinions. DisinfoLab urges readers to read the report themselves before looking at external opinions: IPCC Report.

Figure 1 summarizes how media factors and human factors enable misinformation consumption. This pattern can be applied to reactions and media coverage about the IPCC report.

[1] Miller, Brandon. "Key Takeaways from the UN Report on the Climate Crisis." CNN, Cable News Network, 9 Aug. 2021, www.cnn.com/2021/08/09/world/ipcc-climate-key-takeaways/index.html?utm_term=1628505033535382c21e32abe&utm_source=cnn_Five%2BThings%2Bfor%2BMonday%2C%2BAugust%2B9%2C%2B2021&utm_medium=email&bt_ee=MrakmFnxX4ygiPciyZnvXsny4LnScmIvO8kn12v3EbS6J9slV8%2BIhGnMN91u0Lgo&bt_ts=1628505033537; Meyer, Robinson. "It's Grim." The Atlantic, Atlantic Media Company, 9 Aug. 2021, www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2021/08/latest-ipcc-report-catastrophe/619698/; Fritz, Angela, and Rachel Ramirez. "Earth Is Warming Faster than Previously Thought, Scientists Say, and the Window Is Closing to Avoid Catastrophic Outcomes." CNN, Cable News Network, 9 Aug. 2021, www.cnn.com/2021/08/09/world/global-climate-change-report-un-ipcc/index.html?utm_term=1628505033535382c21e32abe&utm_source=cnn_Five%2BThings%2Bfor%2BMonday%2C%2BAugust%2B9%2C%2B2021&utm_medium=email&bt_ee=MrakmFnxX4ygiPciyZnvXsny4LnScmIvO8kn12v3EbS6J9slV8%2BIhGnMN91u0Lgo&bt_ts=1628505033537; "IPCC Report's Verdict on Climate Crimes of Humanity: Guilty as Hell." The Guardian, Guardian News and Media, 9 Aug. 2021, www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/09/ipcc-reports-verdict-on-climate-crimes-of-humanity-guilty-as-hell

[2] Press, Associated. "5 Things to Know about the New UN Report on Climate Change." Fox News, FOX News Network, 9 Aug. 2021, www.foxnews.com/world/un-report-climate-change-5-things-know.

[3] Ward, Bob. 2021. "The IPCC global warming report spares politicians the worst details." The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/oct/08/world-leaders-climate-change-ipcc-report; Waldman, Scott. 2021. "New Climate Report Was Too Cautious, Some Scientists Say." Scientific American. https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/new-climate-report-was-too-cautious-some-scientists-say/

The image below demonstrates how social media platforms calculate user activity.[4] It starts with corporations and fossil fuel industries that fund different producers of climate change information. That production can be seen in financially-driven "research," advertising, political campaigns, and other organizations. Then, the media, bloggers, and politicians alike bounce that false information fed to them by the producers in feedback loops. Feedback loops are systems that take outputs and essentially update them to improve future efficacy of the system. Media algorithms take what social media users like to see and then show them more to get them on the platform longer. Users can then enter echo chambers where certain beliefs are continuously reinforced; it lacks debate.
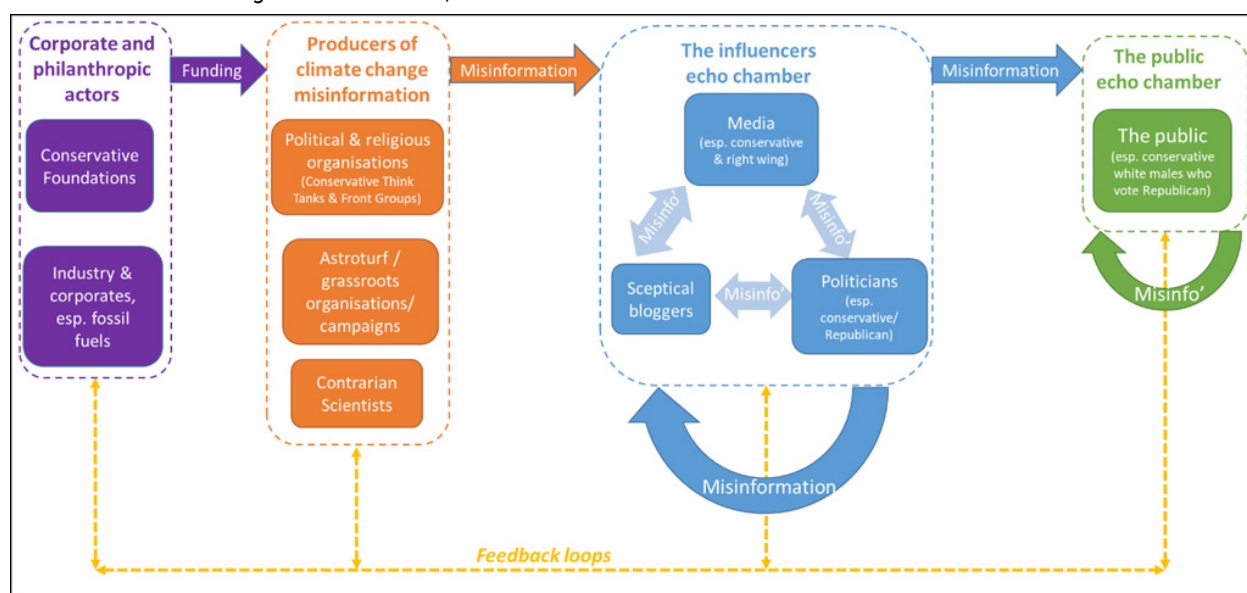
Language

The rhetoric used to describe the climate phenomena has influenced public opinion, specifically with respect to word choice. *The Guardian* recently published a glossary explaining how it has made changes in language to better reflect the reality of climate change for its readers .[5] Writers from *The*

[4] June 2020 - How climate change misinformation spreads online (Carbon Brief)https://wires.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/wcc.665; Treen, KMd, Williams, HTP, O'Neill, SJ. Online misinformation about climate change. WIREs Clim Change. 2020; 11:e665. https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.665; Dunlap, Riley and Peter Jacques. 2013. "Climate Change Denial Books and Conservative Think Tanks: Exploring the Connection." *American Behavioral Scientist*. 57(6) pp. 699-731. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0002764213477096
[5] 'It's a crisis, not a change': the six Guardian language changes on climate matters (The Guardian 10/16/2019 by Sophie Zeldin-O'Neill)

Guardian—alongside social psychologists—argue that substituting "climate emergency" or "climate crisis" for "climate change" and "global warming" greatly influences a reader's opinion on the subject.[6] More descriptive terms, such as "emergency" or "crisis," accentuate the urgency of climate change for readers.

Multiple studies analyzing the language psychology of "climate change" vs. "global warming" demonstrate that the framing of the phenomenon can contribute to an individual's beliefs.[7] The results of these studies indicate that people are more likely to believe that "climate change" exists over "global warming." In fact, on the Trump administration's Twitter, messages used the term "global warming" more than "climate change," which fits the account's narrative of classifying the issue as a "hoax."[8]

Overall, word choice has helped climate deniers in the United States prevent climate action because the scope of the debate turned into climate change's existence instead of what to do about it. The more times the public hears "global warming" associated with the climate crisis, the less likely they are to support legislation and proposed solutions.[9] However, when scientists outside of the United States tested this language theory on their respective populations, the connections between beliefs and word choice were inconsistent: *"Although question wording no longer had a significant effect on beliefs in climate change/global warming, the association of political self-identification with beliefs in environmental phenomena replicated in all three countries, with Conservatives consistently believing less in climate*

[6] Ibid.
[7] Schuldt, J.P., Enns, P.K. & Cavaliere, V. Does the label really matter? Evidence that the US public continues to doubt "global warming" more than "climate change". Climatic Change 143, 271–280 (2017). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-017-1993-1. The results of this study demonstrate that when respondents were asked if "climate change" exists, the response was 85.8% "yes" compared to "global warming" 80.9% "yes." When looking at the variables, a clear ideological trend was also prevalent. For Republicans, the effect of using "climate change" had a greater effect on the belief of climate change (74.4% vs. 65.5% for "global warming").
[8] Ibid.
[9] Schuldt, J.P. et al. 2017. "Does the label really matter? Evidence that the US public continues to doubt "global warming" more than "climate change." Climatic Change 143, 271–280. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-017-1993-1; Leiserowitz, Anthony et al. 2014. "What's in a name? Global warming vs. climate change." *Yale Project on Climate Change Communication.* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316859513_What's_in_a_Name_Global_Warming_versus_Climate_Change.; Whitmarsh, Lorraine. 2008. "What's in a name? Commonalities and differences in public understanding of climate change and global warming." *Public Underst Sci.* 18:401–420. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0963662506073088.

change/global warming than Liberals."[10] So despite the party affiliation with beliefs, word choice has become a particularly salient way of influencing psychology within the United States.

Other studies have tested this theory and have come up with similar results: word choice matters.[11] But it's not always consistent—it depends on intent. For example, the Republican Party consultant Frank Luntz wrote a memo in 2021 alleging that there is no scientific consensus about greenhouse gases (GHGs). Within the memo, he promoted the use of the term "climate change" over "global warming," noting that the former "suggested a more controllable and less emotional challenge."[12] Given his knowledge of the acceptance of climate change, he promoted that term in order to downplay the issue's significance. In light of recent signs affirming an unfolding climate disaster, Luntz retracted that rhetoric and admitted to utilizing language to downplay the crisis and divert blame from fossil fuel companies:

> "The phrase "global warming" should be abandoned in favour of "climate change" and the party should describe its policies as "conservationist" instead of "environmentalist", because "most people" think environmentalists are "extremists" who indulge in "some pretty bizarre behaviour... that turns off many voters"."[13]

Despite reaffirming the use of "climate change" over "global warming," Luntz had different intentions: voter acceptance of the reality of the issue.

[10] Soutter, Alistair Raymond, and René Mõttus. 2020. "'Global Warming' versus 'Climate Change': A Replication on the Association between Political Self-Identification, Question Wording, and Environmental Beliefs." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 69 p. 101413, doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2020.101413.

[11] Viala-Gaudefroy, Jérôme. 2021. "Why Is Climate Skepticism so Successful in the United States?" *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/why-is-climate-scepticism-so-successful-in-the-united-states-129826; "The Politics of Climate Change in the United States." 2020. *Pew Research Center Science & Society*, Pew Research Center. www.pewresearch.org/science/2016/10/04/the-politics-of-climate/.; Wilson, Kris M. 2000. "Drought, Debate, and Uncertainty: Measuring Reporters' Knowledge and Ignorance about Climate Change." *Public Understanding of Science*, vol. 9(1):1–13. doi:10.1088/0963-6625/9/1/301.

[12] Zak, Dan. 2019. "How Should We Talk about What's Happening to Our Planet?" *The Washington Post*. www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/how-should-we-talk-about-whats-happening-to-our-planet/2019/08/26/d28c4bcc-b213-11e9-8f6c-7828e68cb15f_story.html

[13] Birkman, Oliver. 2003. "Memo Exposes Bush's New Green Strategy." *The Guardian*. www.theguardian.com/environment/2003/mar/04/usnews.climatechange.

Another study conducted by the University of Michigan, looked at popular conservative and liberal think tanks in 2011 and analyzed the language used to describe the climate crisis. The results suggested that "conservative think tanks use the term 'global warming' more often than 'climate change.'" Liberal think tanks did the opposite. This divide is consistent with how the survey respondents answered questions about climate change: Republican respondents were more skeptical of the existence of "climate change" when compared to "global warming.[14]
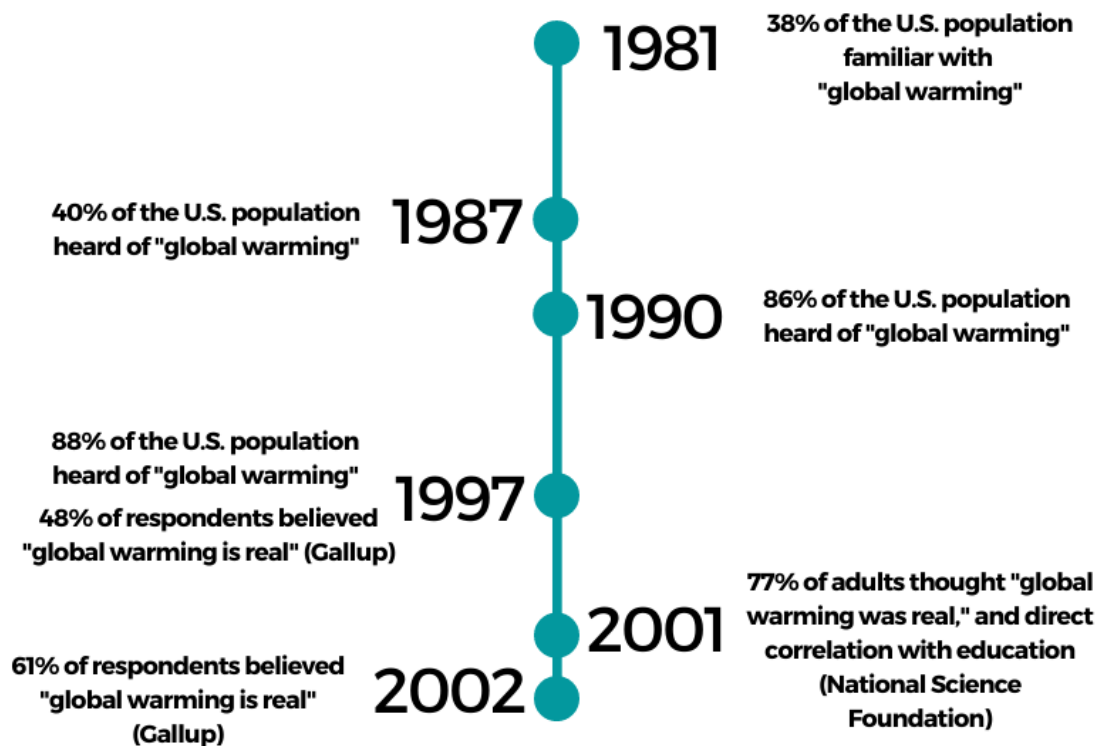
The figure below outlines public survey data from Gallup and the National Science Foundation regarding world choice:[15]

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[14] Schuldt, Johnathan and Sara H. Konrath and Norbert Schwarz. 2011. "'Global warming' or 'climate change'? Whether the planet is warming depends on question wording." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. vol. 75(1): 115–124. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfq073. This summarizes the study succinctly: "Republicans were less likely to endorse that the phenomenon is real when it was referred to as "global warming" (44.0%) rather than "climate change" (60.2%), whereas Democrats were unaffected by question wording (86.9% vs. 86.4%). As a result, the partisan divide on the issue dropped from 42.9 percentage points under a "global warming" frame to 26.2 percentage points under a "climate change" frame."" (115).
[15] Corbett, J. B., & Durfee, J. L. (2004). Testing Public (Un)Certainty of Science: Media Representations of Global Warming. *Science Communication*, *26*(2), 129–151. https://doi.org/10.1177/1075547004270234; Trumbo, C. 1996. Constructing climate change: Claims and frames in U. S. news coverage of an environmental issue. Public Understanding of Science 5 (3): 269–283; Stamm, K. R. , F. Clark , and P. R. Eblacas . 2000. "Mass communication and public understanding of environmental problems: The case of global warming." *Public Understanding of Science*. 9(3): 219–237.

THE HISTORY OF

National Survey Data About the Climate Crisis

1981 — 38% of the U.S. population familiar with "global warming"

40% of the U.S. population heard of "global warming" — **1987**

1990 — 86% of the U.S. population heard of "global warming"

88% of the U.S. population heard of "global warming"
48% of respondents believed "global warming is real" (Gallup) — **1997**

2001 — 77% of adults thought "global warming was real," and direct correlation with education (National Science Foundation)

61% of respondents believed "global warming is real" (Gallup) — **2002**

Sources:
- Corbett, J. B., & Durfee, J. L. (2004). Testing Public (Un)Certainty of Science: Media Representations of Global Warming. Science Communication, 26(2), 129–151. https://doi.org/10.1177/1075547004270234
- Stamm, K. R. , F. Clark , and P. R. Eblacas . 2000. "Mass communication and public understanding of environmental problems: The case of global warming." Public Understanding of Science. 9(3): 219–237.
- Trumbo, C. 1996. Constructing climate change: Claims and frames in U. S. news coverage of an environmental issue. Public Understanding of Science 5 (3): 269–283

Exxon

Exxonmobil used strategic language to divert climate blame away from fossil fuels as an agent of climate change during the Kyoto Protocol.[16] According to Exxonmobil's comments about the meeting, the protocol's guidelines were unfit to predict how the Earth's climate would change in the future.[17] The company outlines its logic:

> "ExxonMobil's argument here produces the conclusion that the *problem is not global warming, but the wrong-headed, if not arrogant, views of climate scientists* (and the misguided government representatives and public who trust them), who 'believe they can predict changes in climate decades from now.'" (Livesey 128).[18]

Key "global warming" language was used to manipulate readers into diverting blame from fossil fuel companies to "wrong-headed" climate scientists, influencing the public into thinking the climate crisis was not happening.

Widespread Climate Denial in the United States

A study by the Global Disinformation Index traced online disinformation in the time period after the United States rejoined the Paris Agreement. According to the chart, disinformation peaked ten days after the United States rejoined. The study measured engagement as the total number of likes, favorites, reactions or comments on posts containing malicious content on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter.[19] The spikes of disinformation correlate with major news mentions and media coverage about the decision to rejoin.

Figure 3: Online engagement with climate disinformation following the U.S. decision to rejoin the Paris Agreement.
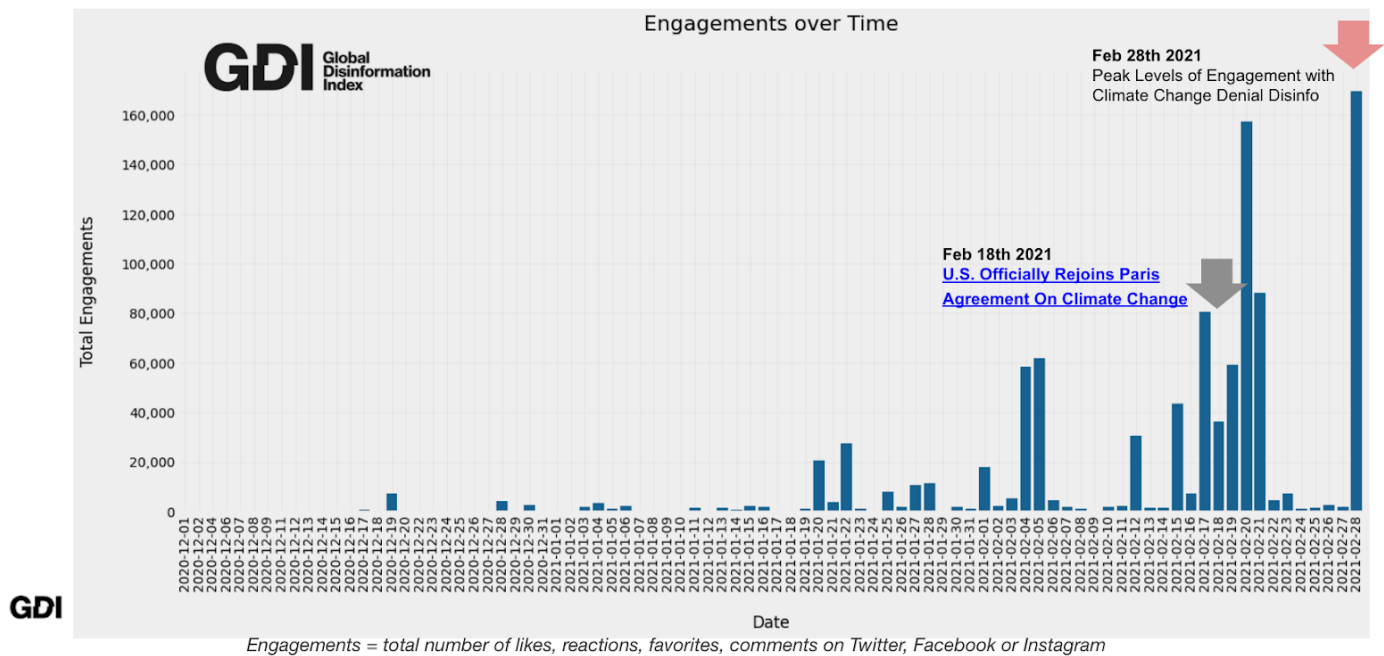
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[16] Livesey, SM. 2002. "Global Warming Wars: Rhetorical and Discourse Analytic Approaches to Exxonmobil's Corporate Public Discourse." *The Journal of Business Communication*. 39(1) pp. 117-146. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/002194360203900106
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] GDI. 2021. "Climate Change Denial has been Rising Steadily since the Change in Administration in the U.S." *Global Disinformation Index*. https://disinformationindex.org/2021/03/climate-change-denial-has-been-rising-steadily-since-the-change-in-administration-in-the-u-s/

Disinfo engagement peaked 10 days after the US re-joined the Paris Agreement.

Engagements = total number of likes, reactions, favorites, comments on Twitter, Facebook or Instagram

The figure above visualizes the polarized content that individuals have engaged with from December 2020 to February 2021. Based on social media algorithms, if someone has engaged with previous misinformation content, they would be more likely to see similar postings. This process "amplifies the psychological finding that people tend to prefer to consume information that matches their belief systems – known as confirmation bias."[20] Climate information, propelled by algorithmic bias, enables disinformation to circulate amongst and engage with people more, augmenting existing polarization.[21]

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[20] Carbon Brief. 2020. "How climate change misinformation spreads online." *Carbon Brief*. https://www.carbonbrief.org/guest-post-how-climate-change-misinformation-spreads-online. Treen, Kathie M., Hywel Williams and Saffron O'Neill. 2020. "Online misinformation about climate change." *Wiley*. https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.665.

[21] Algorithmic Biases are errors that machines make based on assumptions. This can be harmful for individuals. See the attached source to learn more about algorithmic bias and its unintended effects. Lee, Nicol TUrner et al. 2019. "Algorithmic bias detection and mitigation: Best practices and policies to reduce consumer harms." *Brookings*. https://www.brookings.edu/research/algorithmic-bias-detection-and-mitigation-best-practices-and-policies-to-reduce-consumer-harms/

Impact of U.S. Climate Denial on Legislation

In the United States, climate denial fueled by disinformation has contributed to climate policy gridlock at the national level, resulting in a patchwork of state and local policies across the country and insufficient levels of involvement in international climate agreements.

National Gridlock

Substantive climate policy solutions in the United States have long been blocked by gridlock in Congress. Partisan polarization is a root cause of political gridlock, and its intensity has been exacerbated by climate disinformation, both foreign and domestic. It doesn't help that much of the polarization is also being propagated because of major oil company contributions to political campaigns. The timeline below offers a glimpse at climate policy shortcomings in the United States caused by gridlock at the national level:

National Gridlock

1992 **Foundational Commitment**

Senate Approves <u>UN Framework Convention on Climate Change</u>

Renewable energy production tax credit added onto the 1992 Energy Policy Act

Pre-Empt to Kyoto Protocol **1997**

Senate adopted a non-binding resolution: " the United States should not enter into any international climate agreement that did not include comparable emissions commitments by developing countries or that 'would result in serious harm to the economy of the United States...'"

Mandated emissions reporting

2008 Through the Consolidated Appropriations Act using The Greenhouse Gas Reporting Program database.

Cap-and-Trade **2009**

Climate bill "American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009" passed in the house (219-212) would have established cap-and-trade system
*other major legislation <u>proposed</u>

Congressional Gridlock

"Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.) was expected to combine elements of the climate and energy legislative proposals into a comprehensive climate bill. Citing a lack of bipartisan support in the Senate...Reid ended climate action for the 111th Congress."

SOURCE: "Congress Climate History." The Center for Climate and Energy Solutions. <u>https://www.c2es.org/content/congress-climate-history/</u>

Since assuming office in January 2021, The Biden administration has pursued a national climate policy. It created a National Climate Task Force, canceled the Keystone XL project, and proposed spending on climate change in an infrastructure bill, including $174 billion for electric cars and $35 billion for

research and development in climate-focused technology.[22] Despite this running start, partisanship may stall future change in climate policy. Oil and gas corporations donated over $11 million. The money gets funneled through individuals, employees, owners, and PACs.[23] Without the support of Congress, these plans may not come to fruition. If they do, they may arrive too late to effectively combat climate change.

State and Local Climate Policy in the United States

Substantial climate legislation has also been passed at the local and state levels in certain regions of the country.[24] These regional coalitions can create a productive roadmap for federal climate policy, provided they dedicate sufficient funds and prioritize climate policy over other issues.[25] The majority of states, however, lack these coalitions, and therefore have not passed substantive climate legislation at the state level. The country remains extremely divided when it comes to state and local climate legislation.

The existence of regional climate coalitions across the United States is shown below:

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[22] Rosane, Olivia (January 28, 2021). "Biden Signs Sweeping Executive Orders on Climate and Science". Ecowatch. Retrieved January 31, 2021; Newburger, Emma. "POLITICS Here's how Biden's $2 trillion infrastructure plan addresses climate change." CNBC, 31 Mar. 2021, www.cnbc.com/2021/03/31/biden-infrastructure-plan-spending-on-climate-change-clean-energy.html.

[23] Oil & Gas: Top Contributors to Federal Candidates, Parties, and Outside Groups. https://www.opensecrets.org/industries/contrib.php?cycle=2022&ind=E01

[24] "Currently, 15 states and territories have taken legislative or executive action to move toward a 100 percent clean energy future. This includes 10 states, along with Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico, that have passed legislation to implement 100 percent clean electricity policies and economy-wide greenhouse gas pollution-reduction programs." States Are Laying a Road Map for Climate Leadership (Center for American Progress 2020); "**Nine states** across the country, along with the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, have enacted policies to move toward a 100 Percent Clean Future by 2050 or earlier, including through clean electricity standards and aggressive econo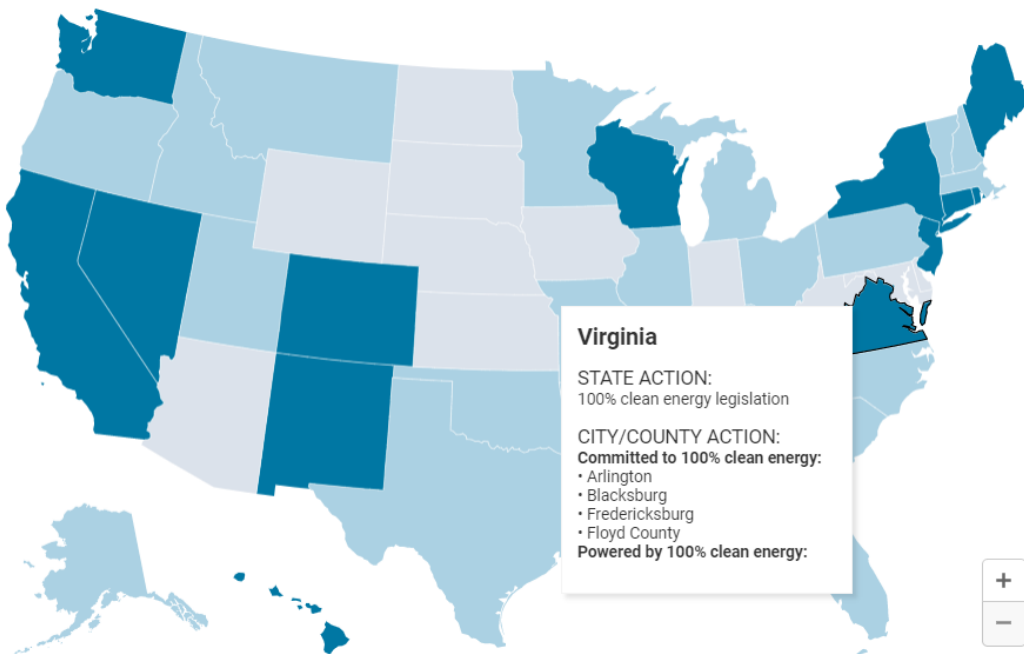my-wide emission reduction targets." (https://cdn.americanprogress.org/content/uploads/2019/10/15120800/Clean-Future-State_FS3.pdf?_ga=2.69051858.210833613.1628637798-941206020.1628637798)

[25] "U.S. Climate Alliance: a bipartisan coalition now comprising 24 states and two territories that remain committed to the Paris agreement and are working together to advance climate solutions. These states represent 55 percent of the U.S. population and 40 percent of the country's greenhouse gas pollution, and if they were their own country would boast the world's third-largest gross domestic product."; "America's Pledge is a coalition of nearly 4,000 states, cities, organizations, and institutions committed to fulfilling America's climate pledge to the Paris agreement" States Are Laying a Road Map for Climate Leadership (Center for American Progress 2020); "Accelerating America's Pledge"

100 percent clean policies by state as of April 2020

Action taken at:

■ State level   ■ City/County level   ■ No action taken

Virginia

STATE ACTION:
100% clean energy legislation

CITY/COUNTY ACTION:
Committed to 100% clean energy:
• Arlington
• Blacksburg
• Fredericksburg
• Floyd County
Powered by 100% clean energy:

Hover or click on states for more information.

Map: Center for American Progress • Source: Author's review of relevant state policies, updated from: Center for American Progress, "State Fact Sheet: 100 Percent Clean Future," October 16, 2019, available at https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/green/reports/2019/10/16/475863/state-fact-sheet-100-percent-clean-future/; Source: Sierra Club, "Ready for 100" https://www.sierraclub.org/ready-for-100/commitments..

The pattern of state and local-level climate legislation shown in the map above can be partially explained by the partisan divide on climate change policy, which has been largely fueled by Conservative Think Tanks (CTTs). As discussed in Part II, corporate elites in the fossil fuel industry mobilize through CTTs to shape public opinion and policy in the United States through disinformation campaigns and lobbying in an effort to maximize profits.[26] CTTs, therefore, typically dedicate more energy towards influencing legislation and public opinion in states with large fossil fuel economies than in other states which are less of a priority to the fossil fuel industry. As a result, there is more widespread climate denial and little state and local policy action in states with fossil fuel economies.[27]

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[26] Peter J. Jacques, Riley E. Dunlap, and Mark Freeman. "The Organisation of Denial: Conservative Think Tanks and Environmental Scepticism." *Environmental Politics* 17, no. 3 (June 1, 2008): 349-385.
[27] Ibid.

The extent of division amongst states and localities with regard to climate legislation suggests that state and local level policy is insufficient to adequately address the climate crisis in the United States.[28] A divided subnational approach will be similarly inadequate. States make strategic environmental policy moves based on their best interests.[29] They react to policy at the international and national levels and pursue extreme local policies or none at all. For example, California might bolster its climate policy in an effort to align with the Paris Agreement, but a fossil fuel economy-driven state would see that as an opportunity to loosen regulations and reduce standards. Progress is null.

In order to effectively combat climate change, there must be more substantive legislation at the national level in accordance with international agreements.[30] State and local level action could also act as a modeling tool for the federal government.

Conclusion

On September 21, 2021, President Biden stated at the United Nations General Assembly that he would "work with Congress to double funds by 2024 to $11.4 billion per year to help developing nations deal with climate change."[31] This is a step in the right direction; the fight against climate change must be an inclusive, concerted effort which extends beyond the current standards set forth by the Paris Climate Agreement.

Widespread climate denial in the United States is currently blocking these efforts, contributing to national gridlock and a lack of sufficient leadership by the United States in international climate agreements. Media and climate change rhetoric only exacerbate this problem. In Part IV, we will discuss how steps may be taken in both public policy and the private sector in order to

[28] Statehouse versus Greenhouse (Journal of the American Planning Association 2010) https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2010.499537
[29] Bechtel, M., & Urpelainen, J. (2015). All Policies Are Glocal: International Environmental Policy Making with Strategic Subnational Governments. British Journal of Political Science, 45(3), 559-582. doi:10.1017/S0007123413000495
[30] An International Climate Road Map for the Next President
[31] "Biden pledges to double U.S. climate change aid; some activists unimpressed". *Reuters*. Retrieved September 21, 2021.

mitigate the harmful effects of climate disinformation and spur progress on United States climate legislation and international climate leadership.