

1 Quantifying the Impact of Skeptical Science Rebuttals in Reducing 2 Climate Misperceptions

3 John Cook^{1,2}, Bärbel Winkler², Collin J.H.M. Maessen², Timo Lubitz^{2,3}, Doug Bostrom², Dana Nuccitelli^{2,4}

4 ¹ Melbourne Centre for Climate Change, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia

5 ² Skeptical Science, USA

6 ³ German Citizens' Climate Lobby, Germany

7 ⁴ Citizens' Climate Lobby, USA

8 *Correspondence to:* Bärbel Winkler (baerbelw@skepticalscience.com)

9 **Abstract.** Misinformation about climate change causes societal damage in a number of ways and consequently, resources are
10 required to support interventions that counter their influence. Aiming to meet this need, Skeptical Science is a highly-visited
11 website featuring 250 rebuttals of misinformation about climate change. The rebuttals are written at multiple levels—basic,
12 intermediate, and advanced—in order to reach as wide an audience as possible. This study collects survey data from visitors to the
13 website, assessing the effectiveness of rebuttals in reducing acceptance in climate myths and increasing acceptance of climate
14 facts. Our data found that nearly half of visitors were already highly convinced regarding climate facts, indicating many visitors
15 come to the site not to answer unresolved questions but to gather resources and answers. We found that the rebuttals were effective
16 in reducing belief in climate myths but that some rebuttals show a concerning reduction in belief in climate facts. The greatest
17 improvement occurred with visitors who began with the most inaccurate climate perceptions. This indicates that the website is
18 useful for two main audiences - those who are convinced about climate change but looking for material to support their own climate
19 communication efforts, and those who disagree with climate facts but are open to new information. We examine potential ways
20 that Skeptical Science rebuttals could be updated to improve their performance in raising climate literacy and critical thinking
21 skills.

22 1 Introduction

23 Despite the overwhelming scientific consensus on human-caused climate change (Cook et al., 2013; Cook et al., 2016), there is
24 still public confusion over the severity of climate change and therefore insufficient public demand for climate action. A significant
25 contributor to this lack of progress is climate misinformation, which damages society in a number of ways. The obvious impact of
26 climate misinformation is the instilling of false beliefs or lowering of accurate beliefs, with even just a few misleading statistics
27 reducing people's acceptance of the reality of climate change (Ranney & Clark, 2016). However, climate misinformation has more
28 subtle and subversive impacts beyond simply fostering misperceptions. One subversive effect in the cognitive domain is
29 misinformation's tendency to cancel out efforts to communicate facts. When people are confronted with conflicting pieces of
30 information (e.g., facts and misinformation) and have no way to resolve the conflict, they tend to disengage and believe neither
31 (McCright et al., 2016; van der Linden et al., 2017; Vraga et al., 2020). This impact is highly consequential for educators, scientists,
32 and communicators, as it means that any efforts to communicate facts can be cancelled out by misinformation.

33 Other subversive effects are seen in the social domain, with climate misinformation polarizing the public, having a disproportionate
34 impact on political conservatives. This means that after being exposed to misinformation, people with different political
35 backgrounds end up further from each other in their climate perceptions (Cook et al., 2017). Another social effect is on scientists
36 who, when attacked, can be influenced to downplay how they report their scientific results, lest they appear to resemble the
37 stereotypes of biased scientists made in attacks made about them (Lewandowsky et al., 2015). This chilling effect extends beyond

Deleted: measuring their belief in climate facts and myths before and after reading a rebuttal

Deleted: a plurality

41 the scientific community, with the general public less likely to talk about climate change with friends and family, largely because
42 of fear of pushback (Geiger & Swim, 2016).

43 Climate misinformation in the form of conspiracy theories also causes damage spilling beyond the issue of climate change. One
44 study found that when people were exposed to a conspiracy theory about global warming, they were less likely to sign a petition
45 in support of measures to reduce global warming and less likely to donate to a charity (van der Linden, 2015). Conspiracy theories
46 also increase people's feelings of powerlessness, uncertainty, and disillusionment, which reduces their intention to engage in
47 politics more broadly (Jolley & Douglas, 2014). This myriad of negative impacts necessitates the need to develop resources and
48 interventions to counter climate misinformation.

49 Much psychological research has been conducted into effective ways to refute misinformation. One strategy is to dislodge myths
50 with a "replacement fact" that possesses at least the same explanatory relevance as the myth (Ecker et al., 2010; Seifert, 2002).
51 However, factual information alone may not be enough as when people are presented with both facts and myth countering the fact,
52 the two can cancel each other out (McCright et al., 2016; van der Linden et al., 2017; Vraga et al., 2020). This risk can be mitigated
53 by explaining the misleading rhetorical techniques or logical fallacies used by the misinformation to cast doubt on the facts (Cook
54 et al., 2017a). These disparate strategies have been synthesised in the Debunking Handbook 2020 which suggests that debunkings
55 should adopt a fact-myth-fallacy-fact structure (Lewandowsky et al., 2020). A complementary approach that often incorporates
56 these approaches is misconception-based learning (McCuin, Hayhoe, & Hayhoe, 2014) or agnotology-based learning (Bedford &
57 Cook, 2013), which involves teaching scientific facts through directly debunking science misconceptions.

58 An increasingly important concept in misinformation research is *discernment* – the ability to distinguish factual information from
59 misinformation. Discernment is commonly measured by taking the difference between agreement with facts and agreement with
60 misinformation (Pennycook & Rand, 2021). This is important because concerns have been raised that some anti-misinformation
61 interventions have resulted in reducing discernment, not only reducing agreement with misinformation but also reducing agreement
62 with facts (Modirrousta-Galian & Higham, 2023). Anti-misinformation interventions should seek to raise discernment by
63 increasing the gap between fact agreement and misinformation agreement.

Formatted: Font: Italic

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

64 1.1 Skeptical Science

65 Skeptical Science is an international website and non-profit science education organization founded by John Cook in 2007. The
66 main purpose of the website is to debunk misconceptions and misinformation about human-caused climate change, featuring
67 more than 250 rebuttals of climate myths. The website is maintained by a team of academics and volunteers from around the
68 globe who actively contribute to published research. One highlight of Skeptical Science research output is an often-cited 97%
69 consensus paper (Cook et al., 2013), which was affirmed by a subsequent synthesis of consensus studies (Cook et al., 2016).

Deleted: (SkS)

Deleted: S

70 Other researchers have also drawn upon or analysed Skeptical Science's content. For example, one study analysed user comments
71 on skepticscience.com, finding that one third of posts indicated a desire to communicate facts or educate (Metcalfe, 2020). The
72 website's encyclopedic list of climate myths has also been influential, with Elsasser & Dunlap (2013) drawing upon the 103 listed
73 rebuttals (at the time) in order to identify the prevalence of specific climate myths in newspaper op-eds. A later analysis of climate
74 denial referenced Skeptical Science's 193 rebuttals (at the time, indicating the steady accumulation of debunkings) (Hansson,
75 2017). The taxonomy of myths also served as the starting point in the inductive development of a comprehensive taxonomy of
76 contrarian claims about climate change (Coan et al., 2021). The website content is currently being used to train models that use
77 generative AI to automatically debunk climate misinformation (Zanartu et al., 2024).

Deleted: as a documentation of "zombie arguments"

Deleted: SkS

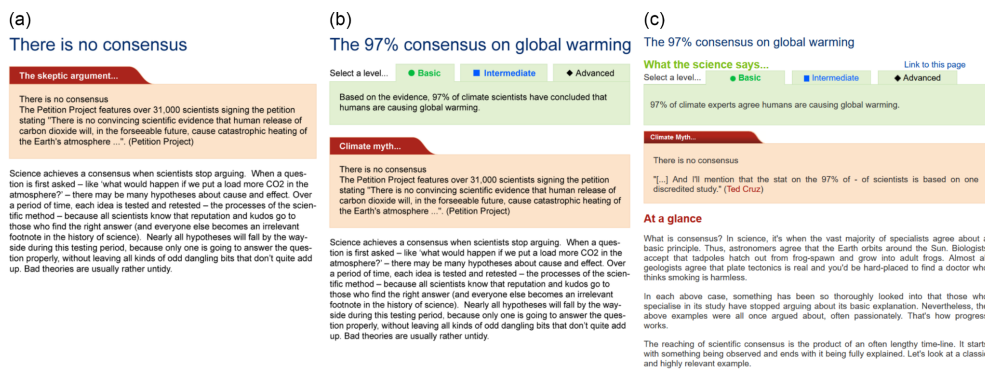
78 The rebuttals are written at multiple levels, offering basic, intermediate, and advanced versions. They tackle common
79 misconceptions about climate change such as "global warming is not happening", "It's not caused by human activity", "Climate

Deleted: SkS

85 impacts are not bad”, and “Climate solutions are too hard”. The rebuttals receive most of the website’s traffic, with some individual
86 rebuttals viewed more than 20,000 times per month. They are listed by popularity, fixed numbers (for ease of reference), or
87 taxonomic categories for ease of access.

88 Over time, the design of the rebuttal content has evolved to be brought more in line with debunking best-practices recommended
89 from psychological research. The myth rebuttals initially led with and emphasized the myth that was being debunked (Fig. 1a).
90 Subsequently, the rebuttals were adapted using a format to de-emphasise the myth according to Schwarz et al. (2016)(Fig. 1b).

91 In late 2022, a thorough rebuttal revision project was initiated, motivated by the years that had passed since some rebuttals had
92 been written and the advances in climate science that had occurred during that time. Given the important role of readability on
93 reading comprehension (Zainurrahman et al., 2024), the rebuttals were made accessible to a wider range of readers with an 'at
94 a glance' primer section added to the start of the basic version of selected rebuttals (Fig. 1c).



95
96 **Figure 1: (a) First version of rebuttal, (b) Second version of rebuttal with initial fact and basic/intermediate/advanced levels, (c) Current**
97 **version with “At a glance” section.**

98 Despite much effort gone into rebuttal creation and revision over many years, no research had been conducted assessing the
99 effectiveness of the rebuttals in countering climate misinformation. Such an analysis could inform development of future rebuttals
100 and revision of existing rebuttals. Consequently, this study explores the research question: how effective are the Skeptical Science
101 rebuttals in reducing acceptance in climate myths and increasing acceptance of climate facts?

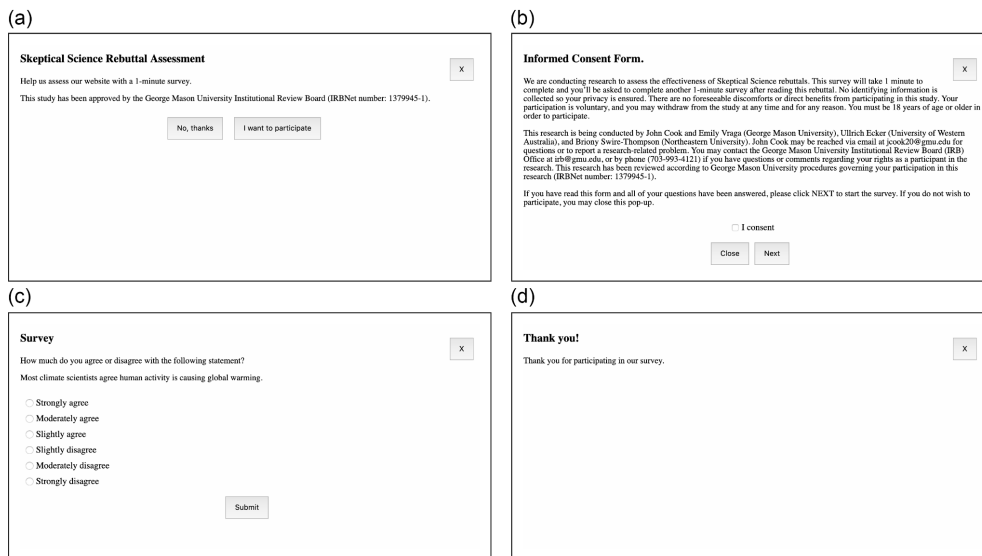
102 2 Methods

103 This study collected survey data from a selection of visitors to skepticscience.com. Specifically, visitors who arrived directly at
104 a rebuttal having come from google.com, google.co.uk, or google.com.au were invited to participate in research. In other words,
105 users who conducted a search on Google then clicked on a link to a Skeptical Science rebuttal in the organic search results.¹ Users
106 who arrived at a non-English rebuttal were excluded from the final analysis as the research was conducted in English. Invited
107 visitors were shown a modal (an industry term for a pop-up box overlaying the webpage) asking if they wanted to participate (Fig.
108 2a). Visitors who indicated they wanted to participate were shown a consent form informing them about the experiment design
109 and how data would be handled (Fig. 2b).

¹ Analysing the search phrases used to find us are beyond the scope of this study. However, we do speculate on the purpose of most readers in coming to Skeptical Science in the Results and Discussion section.

- Deleted: SkS
- Deleted: a
- Deleted: was commenced seeking to answer
- Deleted: we
- Deleted: S

115 If users consented, they were shown a single statement about climate change and asked to indicate their level of agreement on a 6-
116 point Likert scale from "Strongly agree" to "Strongly disagree" (Fig. 2c). "Strongly agree" answers were assigned value 1 while
117 "strongly disagree" answers were assigned value 6. Users were randomly shown either a factual or misinformation statement
118 relevant to the rebuttal (all statements listed in Table A1). Answers to factual statements were reverse scored so that higher values
119 equated to more accurate answers. Once they completed this single survey item, participants proceeded to read the rebuttal. If they
120 scrolled to the end of the rebuttal, indicating that they had read the rebuttal, another modal screen was displayed, inviting them to
121 again indicate their level of agreement with the same factual/misinformation statement. Users who failed to scroll to the end of the
122 rebuttal were not shown the second survey question, and were excluded from the research data. After answering the final question,
123 participants were thanked for their participation and could close the survey (Fig. 2d).



124
125 **Figure 2: Screenshot of modals used in experiment design. (a) Invitation to participate in research. (b) Informed consent form detailing**
126 **research design. (c) Survey question. (d) Final thank you modal.**

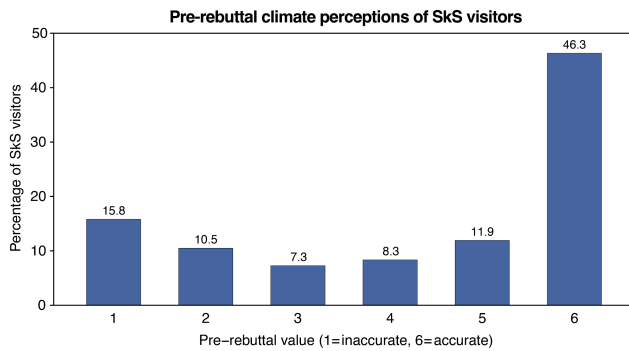
127 As well as the answer to the survey question, the user's IP address was recorded so that users whose IP address was already listed
128 among existing research participants were not invited upon any subsequent visits (**however, IP addresses were deleted in the**
129 **anonymised version of the dataset**). We also recorded Start Time (when the first survey question was loaded) and End Time (when
130 the end survey was loaded). Time Spent was calculated as the difference between End Time and Start Time, noting that this also
131 included the time spent filling out the pre-rebuttal survey. Data collection occurred from November 2021 to July 2025. Over this
132 period, 858,016 visitors were shown the pop-up invitation to participate in research.

133 3 Results

134 Among the 13,432 people that consented to participate in the research and filled out the pre-rebuttal survey, 6,261 people (46%)
135 went on to fill out the post-rebuttal survey. 3,146 participants were shown a factual statement in the survey quiz while 3,115 were
136 shown a myth statement. The average time spent looking at the rebuttals was 4 minutes, with the median being 1 minute, indicating
137 that readers scrolled through the rebuttal quickly (see Figure A7.1 in the Appendices for a distribution of reading times and speeds).

138 While some participants showed fast reading speeds, they weren't excluded from the analysis as they were representative of real-
139 world skimming behaviour and hence offered external validity.

140 The majority of participants came to the website already convinced about climate change. Figure 3 shows the distribution of pre-
141 rebuttal beliefs, revealing that nearly half of the participants (46.3%) showed full agreement with the climate fact or full
142 disagreement with the climate myth. *In this figure and throughout our results, we refer to the single measure accuracy where strong*
143 *agreement with the factual statement and strong disagreement with the myth statement are designated the most accurate response.*
144 Interestingly, the distribution of users was bi-modal with peaks at the extreme ends of the spectrum, indicating that most visitors
145 had a strong opinion about climate change one way or the other, with a minority of undecided visitors.



146 **Figure 3: Distribution of climate perceptions in pre-survey. 1 shows inaccurate answer, 6 shows accurate answer.**

148 Comparing the pre-rebuttal and post-rebuttal scores showed that overall (e.g., including participants that were shown fact
149 statements or myth statements), there was a small but non-significant improvement in accuracy. This was conducted through a
150 Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test, using the Common Language Effect Size (CLES) as a measure of effect size, finding a non-significant
151 difference between pre- and post-test scores with a small effect size ($p = 0.49$, $CLES = 0.05$). To examine the change in perceptions
152 in greater detail, we looked at the response to either factual statements or myth statements individually, shown in Fig. 4a and 4b.
153 Overall, there was a significant decrease in agreement with factual statements ($p = .006$, $CLES = .05$) and a significant decrease in
154 agreement with myth statements ($p = .001$, $CLES = .08$). While overall accuracy improved, the change was non-significant because
155 the decrease in accuracy in response to the factual statements partially canceled out the more accurate response to the myth
156 statements.

Formatted: Font: Italic

Deleted: shift

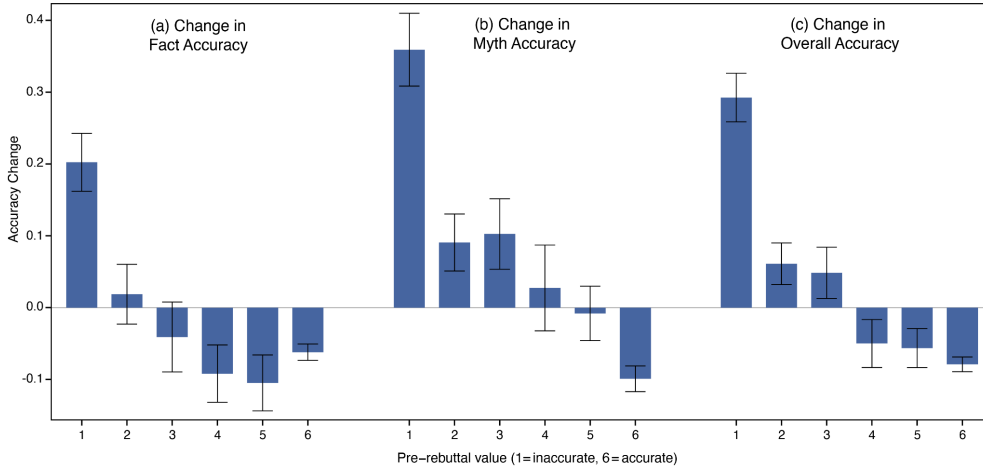
Deleted: climate perceptions

Deleted: which

Deleted: ou

Deleted: The

Deleted: result is



163
 164 **Figure 4: Change in accuracy among participants at varying pre-rebuttal values (positive value means increase in accuracy).** (a) Change
 165 in accuracy for participants shown factual statement (e.g., change in agreement with factual statement), (b) Change in accuracy for
 166 participants shown myth statement (change in disagreement with misinformation statement), (c) Average change in accuracy for fact
 167 and myth statements combined.

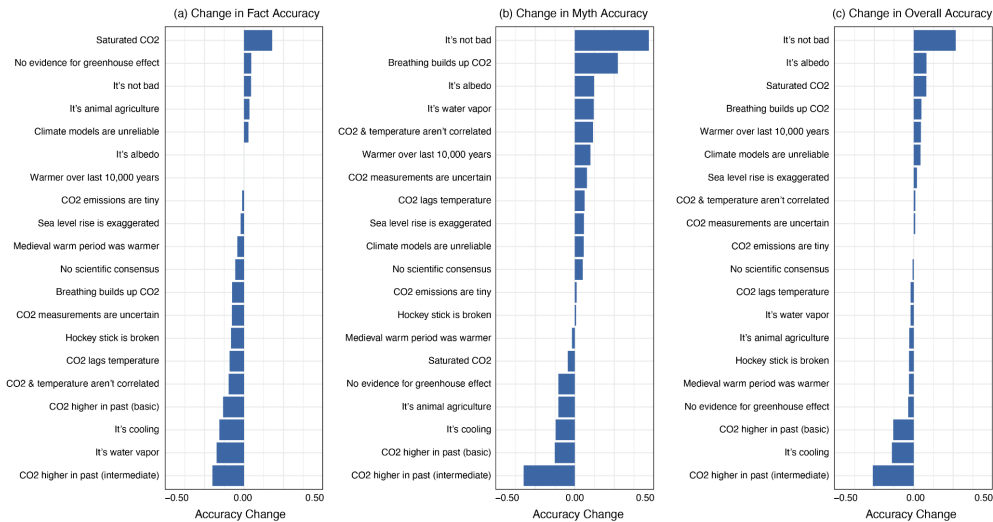
168 The change in accuracy significantly depended on pre-existing accuracy. To explore this, a hierarchical regression analysis was
 169 conducted to examine the moderating effect of pre-rebuttal accuracy on the change in accuracy, where B represents the slope of
 170 the relationship between pre-rebuttal accuracy and change in accuracy and t is the t-test statistic. The results indicated a significant
 171 interaction ($B = .14, t(6258) = 77.7, p < .001$). Figure 4c visualizes this dynamic, showing how the improvement in accuracy was
 172 greatest for those with the lowest pre-rebuttal accuracy. Among the people who gave an inaccurate value in the pre-rebuttal survey
 173 (1-3), 7.2% switched to an accurate value (4-6) in the post-rebuttal survey.

174 In order to better understand reader response to rebuttals, the change in perception was examined across different individual
 175 rebuttals. Figure 5 shows the changes in myth and fact accuracy for 20 rebuttals that recorded at least 50 participants, with positive
 176 values representing a shift towards greater accuracy. Consistent with Fig. 4, this shows that myth accuracy has on average a more
 177 positive improvement compared to fact accuracy.

Commented [1]: @john@skepticalscience.com - This may be a stupid question (I don't know anything about how this is calculated), but how is it taken into account that for an initial full agreement it's impossible to improve it further and likewise for full disagreement to get worse at the ends of the scale? All the other items can go up or down by at least one "point" but not 1 or 6 which can only move in one direction. Or doesn't this play a role at all?
 Assigned to john@skepticalscience.com

Commented [2R1]: It does mean there is a ceiling and floor effect but I don't think it's much of a factor - given that people starting at 4 or 5 (no ceiling effect) still show factual agreement going down is damning.

- Deleted: for different
- Deleted: C
- Deleted: C
- Deleted: perceptions
- Deleted: perceptions
- Deleted: perception
- Deleted: perception
- Formatted: Font: Italic
- Formatted: Font: Italic
- Deleted: between pre and post
- Deleted: perception
- Deleted: perceptions
- Deleted: more
- Deleted: te perceptions
- Deleted: perceptions
- Deleted: in accuracy
- Deleted: perceptions



193
194 **Figure 5: Change in accuracy with regard to (a) fact, (b) myth perceptions, and (c) myth and fact combined, for the 20 rebuttals with**
195 **most data (positive values mean increase in accuracy).**

196 Some rebuttals consistently perform well for both fact and myth (e.g. “climate impacts aren’t bad”, see Appendix A6 for links)
197 while other rebuttals perform badly for both fact and myth (e.g., basic and intermediate versions of “co2 was higher in past”). In
198 the case of the water vapor rebuttal, the change in myth accuracy is one of the better results, while the change in fact perception is
199 the second worst result.

200 To more closely explore potential explanations for the varied results, the content of the top three and bottom three rebuttals listed
201 in Fig. 5c were qualitatively examined. In particular, the rebuttals were inspected to see whether they possessed a factual
202 explanation that possessed at least the same explanatory relevance as the myth (Ecker et al., 2010) and an explanation of the fallacy
203 the myth used to distort the facts (Cook et al., 2017a). Overall, the top three rebuttals clearly explained replacement facts, while
204 the bottom three rebuttals failed to clearly explain replacement facts. All but one rebuttal included a fallacy explanation. The top
205 three rebuttals span three categories of climate misinformation casting doubt on the reality, cause, and impacts of global warming.
206 The most effective rebuttal debunked the myth “climate impacts are not bad”, with the next most effective rebuttals countering the
207 myths “climate change is caused by albedo changes” and “greenhouse effect is saturated.”

208 In the rebuttal of “climate impacts are not bad”, the replacement fact was that the negative impacts of global warming far
209 outweighed the benefits. This fact is clearly and simply communicated, and reinforced repeatedly as the rebuttal compares negative
210 impacts to benefits across different aspects of the climate (e.g., agriculture, health, polar melting, etc). However, the rebuttal fails
211 to explicitly explain the myth’s fallacy, which is cherry picking benefits of climate change while ignoring negative impacts.

212 The rebuttal of “climate change is caused by albedo changes” does explain the relevant fact which is that albedo is a feedback that
213 amplifies climate change rather than a forcing that drives climate change. However, this fact is not highlighted in the “what the
214 science says” box and could have been made more prominent, which may explain why belief in the fact did not increase from this
215 rebuttal. The fallacy in this myth involves cherry picking short periods in order to find spurious correlations between albedo and
216 temperature trends. While the rebuttal does show the long-term trend data which implicitly exposes this fallacy, it fails to explicitly
217 explain the misleading technique.

- Deleted: perception
- Deleted: st
- Deleted: performing rebuttals
- Deleted: performing rebuttals

222 For the rebuttal of the myth “greenhouse effect is saturated,” the relevant fact is that more heat is being trapped high up in the
223 atmosphere where the air is thinner (Cook et al., 2015). The rebuttal implicitly alludes to this fact, mentioning the need to consider
224 the greenhouse effect at all levels of the atmosphere, but does not explicitly explain the fact. The rebuttal fails to explain the fallacy
225 of oversimplification, considering the atmosphere as a single layer when it consists of multiple layers (Cook et al., 2018; Flack et
226 al., 2024).

227 The worst and third-worst performing rebuttals were the basic and intermediate rebuttals of “CO2 was higher in the past.” This
228 myth argues that because CO2 has been much higher in the Earth’s deep past (e.g., over ten times current levels during the
229 Ordovician-Silurian period) without the world burning up, this casts doubt on the warming effect of CO2. The relevant fact is that
230 in the Earth’s deep past, the sun was cooler when CO2 was higher with the two forcings roughly balancing each other out (Cook
231 et al., 2015). The myth commits single cause fallacy, a form of oversimplification that fails to consider both factors. Both the basic
232 and intermediate debunkings fail to explain either the fact or the fallacy.

233 The second worst performing rebuttal addressed the myth “it’s cooling.” The replacement fact communicated in the “What the
234 Science Says” box simply says “it’s warming”, which is essentially just a negation of the myth without producing any substantive
235 details. The factual explanations delve into complicated details regarding ocean cycles and statistical methods without a clear
236 articulation of how these details relate to the key fact. The rebuttal does explain the fallacy of cherry picking committed by this
237 myth, the only rebuttal examined among both the top three and bottom three rebuttals that explicitly explains the fallacy.

238 4 Discussion

239 Our experimental data shed light on the nature of Skeptical Science visitors with most visitors (66.5%) already agreeing with
240 climate facts, and 46.3% of visitors showing strong agreement with the fact or strong disagreement with the myth (Fig. 3). One
241 possible interpretation of this result is that a large proportion of visitors may be coming to the website, not because they were unsure
242 about a particular climate fact or myth but because they were looking for information to assist them in responding to climate
243 misinformation (but we have collected no data to justify this interpretation). In analysing comment threads on Skeptical Science,
244 Metcalfe (2020) concluded that commenters seeking out like-minded users was an example of “chanting to the choir.” However,
245 a more constructive interpretation is that Skeptical Science content is “teaching the choir to sing,” providing resources that
246 empower people to respond to climate misinformation (Swim, Fraser, & Geiger, 2014). Such a service is particularly important
247 given that a major reason why people self-censor and avoid talking about climate change with friends and family is due to fear of
248 push-back from climate contrarians (Geiger & Swim 2016). This avoidance of climate change as a discussion topic, known as
249 climate silence, is self-reinforcing leading to a “spiral of silence” (Maibach et al., 2016). On the other hand, discussing climate
250 change raises awareness of the issue, which leads to more discussion in a positive feedback loop (Goldberg et al., 2019).

251 Also conflicting with the “chanting to the choir” interpretation is the finding that the greatest improvement in accurate perceptions
252 was observed among those with the strongest disagreement with climate facts or strongest agreement with climate myths. This was
253 an encouraging result, showing the website is effective in changing the minds of those most dismissive about climate change.
254 However, a concerning result was that overall, there was a decrease in agreement with climate facts. Inspection of the top three
255 and bottom three rebuttals offers insights into how rebuttals could be made more effective. The better performing rebuttals
256 identified relevant replacement facts that offered equal or greater explanatory relevance than the myths, explained clearly and
257 simply, while the worst performing rebuttals failed to clearly explain replacement facts. In addition, explicit explanations of the
258 fallacies used by climate myths should also be integrated into the rebuttals, offering a seamless fact-myth-fallacy debunking
259 structure (Lewandowsky et al., 2020). Currently, the website is being redesigned with plans to integrate fallacy explanations into
260 the updated content infrastructure and rebuttal design, in line with research showing the effectiveness of fallacy explanations (Cook
261 et al., 2017a). *By incorporating existing resources documenting fallacies in climate misinformation (Cook et al., 2015; Cook et al.,*

Deleted: SkS

Commented [3]: @john@skepticalscience.com - this should perhaps be something to remember when we relaunch the experiment on the new website, i.e. include a direct question like "What brought you here?"

Deleted: the

Deleted: on the SkS website

265 [2018; Flack et al., 2024](#)), it is expected that this might have a greater impact on lowering agreement with myths than on increasing
266 agreement with facts. Future research should assess the updated effectiveness of rebuttals that are more intentional in including
267 replacement facts and fallacy explanations.

Deleted: Intuitively

268 One limitation of our study was the measurement of just one outcome variable: agreement with a fact/myth statement. Future
269 studies should aim to gain deeper insight into the impact of rebuttals on readers. One approach would be to collect open-ended
270 feedback from participants in the post-rebuttal survey. Qualitative data with the user reflecting on the readability or
271 comprehensibility of the rebuttal might offer guidance on potential problems with specific rebuttals. Questions specifically
272 targeting motivations could address more definitively why readers visited [Skeptical Science](#), better informing the website creators
273 to meet readers' needs. Another limitation of this study is that it examined the impact of a single exposure to debunking text, a
274 challenging situation given that the effects of misinformation interventions decay over time (Maertens et al., 2025) while the public
275 are often exposed to multiple cases of misinformation over time. Unfortunately given the real-world field test aspect of this
276 research, with the corresponding lack of control over participant behaviour, addressing this limitation is beyond the scope of our
277 research capability.

278 However, controlled laboratory experiments are capable of addressing some of these limitations, such as testing the impact of
279 repeated exposure to corrective messages (Maertens et al., 2025) or offering messages that vary in a more controlled fashion to
280 avoid confounds (e.g., exposing participants to the same debunking with or without the presence of replacement facts and/or fallacy
281 explanations). In particular, controlled laboratory experiments can address the major weakness of field tests that rely on
282 convenience sampling, which is to provide participant samples that represent the general population. Such research design would
283 offer more generalizable findings for science communicators although in the case of this field test, the biased sample matched the
284 readership of the website so provided external validity for this research.

Deleted: SkS

285 A key goal of misinformation interventions is to increase reader discernment, the difference between belief in facts and belief in
286 myths (Pennycook & Rand, 2021). While there was overall an increase in discernment, with the decrease in agreement with myths
287 greater than the decrease in agreement with facts, the result that belief in climate facts decreased for at least some rebuttals is
288 unwelcome and counter to the goal of [Skeptical Science](#). A recent meta-analysis found that overall, inoculation against
289 misinformation increases discernment between reliable and unreliable news (Simchon et al., 2025).

Deleted: Given that inoculation interventions tend to be logic-based or technique-based, involving explanations of the misleading techniques and fallacies used in misinformation, this further underscores the imperative of incorporating fallacy explanations in SkS rebuttals.

290 [A purely fact-based approach to debunking misinformation operates under the assumption of the information deficit model, which
291 assumes that public controversy about climate change can be resolved if enough information is supplied to people. This assumption
292 has been criticised as simplistic, resulting in ineffective climate communication \(Suldovsky, 2017\). Alternative approaches have
293 been proposed such as relationship-building between scientists and the public \(Cook & Overpeck, 2019\), participatory models
294 \(Pearce et al., 2015\), or the CAUSE model which has a strong emphasis on building credibility and establishing trust with target
295 audiences \(Rowan et al., 2021\). Alternatively, inoculation theory – and in particular, logic-based inoculation – offers a
296 psychological framework for reducing the influence of misinformation in a way that overcomes some of the cultural barriers such
297 as political ideology \(Cook et al., 2017a\). This underscores the importance of incorporating fallacy explanations in rebuttals, and
298 measuring their effectiveness in increasing reader discernment between facts and myths.](#)

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

299 Lastly, [the rebuttals examined in this study all focused on climate science myths, which has been a particular focus of Skeptical
300 Science to date. However,](#) recent research indicates that climate misinformation is transitioning from science denial to arguments
301 against climate solutions (Coan et al., 2021), with increasing attention being paid to the so-called “discourses of delay” – framings
302 and narratives designed to delay climate action (Lamb et al., 2020). [Further, solutions misinformation has been found to be one of
303 the most polarizing forms of climate misinformation, having a disproportionate effect on political conservatives \(Lieu et al., in
304 revision\). Due to this growing threat, Skeptical Science](#) has recently begun incorporating more rebuttals of solutions myths. A
305 collaboration with The Sabin Center for Climate Change Law at Columbia Law School involved adapting their rebuttals of 33

Deleted: While SkS has largely focused on climate science myths over its history, it

315 renewable myths into Skeptical Science rebuttals (Eisenson et al., 2023). However, the effectiveness of rebuttals in response to
 316 solutions misinformation is understudied. Experimentally testing the impact of these rebuttals would be a useful area of future
 317 research.

Deleted: to measure their effectiveness in countering misinformation targeting climate solutions

318 In summary, collecting quantitative survey data on a live website is technically and scientifically challenging but offers the
 319 opportunity to gain deep insights into pre-existing and updated perceptions of visitors after reading website content. In this study,
 320 we obtained insights into climate perceptions of visitors as they arrived at the website. We also learned that our rebuttals decreased
 321 belief in climate myths and improved discernment – the difference between belief in facts and myths. However, we also observed
 322 a decrease in agreement with climate facts, an unwelcome result necessitating investigation into possible causes. In turn, the
 323 subsequent analysis offered guidance on ways that the rebuttals could be updated to be more effective, by including explanations
 324 of “replacement facts” that dislodge the myths being debunked. bringing the rebuttals, in line with the recommendations of
 325 psychological research.

Deleted: , implying that visitors were looking for scientific information enabling them to respond to misinformation

Deleted: m

326 Appendices

327 A1 Table of Fact and Myth Statements

328 **Table A1: Factual and misinformation statements used in pre-rebuttal and post-rebuttal surveys.**

Myth	Factual Statement	Misinformation Statement
"It's cooling", "DMI show cooling Arctic"	I am certain that global warming is really happening.	The climate is not really warming.
"Ice isn't melting", "Arctic sea ice loss is matched by Antarctic sea ice gain"	Ice is melting at an accelerating rate.	Ice is not in danger of melting.
"We're heading into cooling", "We're heading into an ice age", "A grand solar minimum could trigger another ice age"	Earth's climate is headed into future warming.	Earth's climate is headed into another ice age.
"It's freaking cold!", "Record high snow cover was set in winter 2008/2009", "Record snowfall disproves global warming", "2009-2010 winter saw record cold spells"	Global warming makes hot days more likely and cold days less likely.	Recent cold weather is evidence that the climate is not warming
"No warming in 16 years", "Phil Jones says no global warming since 1995", "It hasn't warmed since 1998", "BEST hides the decline in global temperature", "IPCC admits global warming has paused", "They changed the name from 'global warming' to 'climate change'", "Oceans are cooling", "Springs aren't advancing", "Global warming stopped in 1998, 1995, 2002, 2007, 2010, ?????", "Trenberth can't account for the lack of warming", "Satellites show no warming in the troposphere", "It's not happening"	Over the past few decades, the world's average temperature has been increasing.	Over the past few decades, the world's average temperature has not been increasing.
"Sea level rise is exaggerated", "Sea level rise is decelerating", "Sea level rise predictions are exaggerated", "Scientists retracted claim that sea levels are rising", "Sea level is not rising", "Sea level fell in 2010", "Tuvalu sea level isn't rising"	Sea level rise has been steadily accelerating over the past century.	The seriousness of sea level rise is exaggerated.
"Climate change isn't increasing extreme weather damage costs", "Extreme weather isn't caused by global warming", "Heatwaves have happened before", "Hurricanes aren't linked to global warming", "The connection between Hurricane Sandy and global warming"	Climate change is increasing the risk of extreme weather.	Extreme weather is not increasing, there is just more reporting of it in the media these days.
"There's no correlation between CO2 and temperature", "It's El Nino", "Animal agriculture and eating meat are the biggest causes of global warming", "It's methane", "It's microsite influences", "It's satellite microwave transmissions", "Nuclear testing is causing global warming", "It's the ocean", "It's ozone", "It's Pacific Decadal Oscillation", "It's planetary movements", "It's a climate regime shift", "It's soot", "It's a climate shift step function caused by natural cycles", "Underground temperatures control climate", "It's internal variability", "A drop in volcanic activity caused warming", "It's waste heat"	Human activities are changing the climate	Climate change is just a result of natural variation in the climate.

"Mt. Kilimanjaro's ice loss is due to land use", "It's land use"	Most of the warming over the last 50 years is due to the increase in greenhouse gas concentrations	Climate change is due to non- greenhouse gas factors like land use.
"Greenhouse effect has been falsified", "Increasing CO2 has little to no effect", "There's no tropospheric hot spot", "We didn't have global warming during the Industrial Revolution", "CO2 was higher in the late Ordovician", "CO2 was higher in the past", "Postma disproved the greenhouse effect", "Removing all CO2 would make little difference", "CO2 has a short residence time", "CO2 effect is saturated", "2nd law of thermodynamics contradicts greenhouse theory", "CO2 is just a trace gas", "Water vapor is the most powerful greenhouse gas", "Venus doesn't have a runaway greenhouse effect"	Greenhouse gases in the atmosphere affect the average global temperature of the Earth.	Increasing greenhouse gases in the atmosphere has little to no effect on climate.
"Breathing contributes to CO2 buildup", "CO2 emissions do not correlate with CO2 concentration", "CO2 increase is natural, not human-caused", "Murry Salby finds CO2 rise is natural"	CO2 emissions from fossil fuel burning have caused atmospheric CO2 levels to increase by over 40%.	CO2 emissions from fossil fuel burning is not the cause of the increase in CO2 levels in the atmosphere.
"It's only a few degrees", "It's not bad", "An exponential increase in CO2 will result in a linear increase in temperature", "It's not urgent"	The effects of climate change are likely to be catastrophic.	I do not believe climate change is a real problem.
"Clouds provide negative feedback", "Humidity is falling", "Infrared Iris will reduce global warming", "Lindzen and Choi find low climate sensitivity", "No long tail means climate sensitivity is low", "Roy Spencer finds negative feedback", "Positive feedback means runaway warming", "Schmittner finds low climate sensitivity", "Climate sensitivity is low", "Water vapor in the stratosphere stopped global warming", "Tropical thermostat limits sea surface temperature to 30C"	The climate is highly sensitive to changes in heat.	Negative feedbacks mean climate sensitivity is low.
"Animals and plants can adapt"	Global warming will harm animal and plant species.	Global warming is no danger to animal and plant species.
"CO2 is not a pollutant"	Rising carbon dioxide in the atmosphere presents a danger to people and the environment.	Carbon dioxide is natural; therefore, it is safe.
"Adapting to global warming is cheaper than preventing it", "It's too hard"	Humans can reduce global warming, and we are going to do so successfully.	Humans can't reduce global warming, even if it is happening.
"CO2 limits will harm the economy", "Renewable energy investment kills jobs", "CO2 limits will hurt the poor"	The economic benefits of climate action outweigh the costs.	Climate action is bad for the economy.
"CO2 limits won't cool the planet"	With strong climate action, we can make significant impact on slowing climate change.	Climate action will have little impact on slowing climate change.
"Renewables can't provide baseload power", "Renewable energy is too expensive"	We need many different strategies to reduce CO2 emissions and avoid climate change.	Renewable technology like solar power cannot help us reduce global warming.
"Climate 'Skeptics' are like Galileo", "The science isn't settled"	There is a strong body of evidence for climate change.	The evidence for climate change is unreliable.
"CO2 measurements are suspect", "Trec-rings diverge from temperature after 1960", "Dropped stations introduce warming bias", "Satellite error inflated Great Lakes temperatures", "Hockey stick is broken", "Ljungqvist broke the hockey stick", "Mauna Loa is a volcano", "Satellite record is more reliable than thermometers", "Plant stomata show higher and more variable CO2 levels", "Temp record is unreliable", "UAH atmospheric temperatures prove climate models and/or surface temperature data sets are wrong",	Climate measurements are accurate.	Climate measurements are unreliable.

"It's Urban Heat Island effect"		
"Climategate CRU emails suggest conspiracy", "Scientists tried to 'hide the decline' in global temperature", "Freedom of Information (FOI) requests were ignored", "Climate scientists are in it for the money", "Climate science peer review is pal review", "Peer review process was corrupted", "CRU tampered with temperature data"	Climate scientists are sincere in their research into climate.	Climate change is a hoax to generate money for scientists.
"Antarctica is gaining ice", "Southern sea ice is increasing", "Antarctica is too cold to lose ice"	Antarctica is losing land ice at an accelerating rate, contributing to sea level rise.	Antarctica is gaining ice, casting doubt on global warming.
"Greenland is gaining ice", "Greenland ice sheet won't collapse", "Greenland has only lost a tiny fraction of its ice mass", "Ice Sheet losses are overestimated"	Greenland is losing ice at an accelerating rate.	Greenland is not in danger of melting.
"Melting ice isn't warming the Arctic", "Arctic sea ice has recovered", "Arctic icemelt is a natural cycle", "Arctic Storm Caused the 2012 Record Sea Ice Minimum"	Arctic sea ice is in long-term retreat, losing half its coverage in only 40 years.	Arctic sea ice is not in danger of melting.
"Glaciers are growing", "Himalayan glaciers are not shrinking"	Glaciers are in long-term retreat.	Glaciers are not in danger of melting.
"The sun is getting hotter", "Solar Cycle Length proves its the sun", "Solar cycles cause global warming", "It's the sun", "Water levels correlate with sunspots", "Jupiter is warming", "Mars is warming", "Neptune is warming", "Other planets are warming", "Pluto is warming"	Over the last few decades of global warming, the sun has been cooling and cannot be causing recent warming.	Other planets showing warming means the sun is causing global warming.
"It's a 1500 year cycle", "CO2 only causes 35% of global warming", "It's aerosols", "It's not us", "Akasofu Proved Global Warming is Just a Recovery from the Little Ice Age", "It's albedo", "It's global brightening", "CERN CLOUD experiment proved cosmic rays are causing global warming", "It's CFCs", "It's cosmic rays", "It's a natural cycle", "CO2 is not the only driver of climate", "There's no empirical evidence", "Greenland was green", "We're coming out of the Little Ice Age", "Loehle and Scafetta find a 60 year cycle causing global warming", "It cooled mid-century", "Medieval Warm Period was warmer", "Northwest passage has been navigated in the past", "Climate's changed before", "It warmed before 1940 when CO2 was low", "Humans are too insignificant to affect global climate", "Soares finds lack of correlation between CO2 and temperature", "Humans survived past climate changes", "It warmed just as fast in 1860-1880 and 1910-1940"	Most of the warming over the last 50 years is due to the increase in greenhouse gas concentrations.	The climate is always changing and what we are currently observing is just natural fluctuation.
"Most of the last 10,000 years were warmer", "1934 - hottest year on record", "Arctic was warmer in 1940"	Modern climate change is abrupt and driven by human activity, setting it apart from past climate change.	It's been hotter in the past, therefore humans are not the cause of current global warming.
"CO2 lags temperature"	More CO2 causes more warming and warming causes more CO2, combining to create a reinforcing feedback.	CO2 lagged temperature in the past, disproving the warming effect of CO2.
"Human CO2 is a tiny % of CO2 emissions", "CO2 is coming from the ocean", "Volcanoes emit more CO2 than humans", "Warming causes CO2 rise"	CO2 emissions from fossil fuel burning have upset the carbon cycle which was in natural balance.	Nature produces more carbon dioxide than humans.
"CO2 is not increasing"	CO2 emissions from fossil fuel burning have caused atmospheric CO2 levels to increase by over 40%.	CO2 levels in the atmosphere are not increasing appreciably.
"Polar bear numbers are increasing"	Global warming will harm polar bears.	Global warming is no danger to polar bears.
"Ocean acidification isn't serious", "Coral atolls grow as sea levels rise", "Corals are resilient to bleaching", "Great Barrier Reef is in good shape"	Global warming will harm ocean	Global warming is no danger to ocean

	ecosystems.	ecosystems
"CO2 is plant food"	Plants need the right amount of water to flourish - climate change upsets that balance.	CO2 is plant food so CO2 emissions are good for plants.
"500 scientists refute the consensus", "There is no consensus", "Deniers are part of the 97%", "The IPCC consensus is phoney", "Over 31,000 scientists signed the OISM Petition Project", "Naomi Oreskes' study on consensus was flawed", "97% consensus on human-caused global warming has been disproven", "Royal Society embraces skepticism", "Less than half of published scientists endorse global warming"	Most climate scientists agree human activity is causing global warming.	There is a lot of disagreement among climate scientists about whether human activity is causing global warming.
"Earth hasn't warmed as much as expected", "Models are unreliable", "Climate is chaotic and cannot be predicted", "Scientists can't even predict weather"	Climate models have been successful at predicting global warming over long time periods.	Scientists' computer models are too unreliable to predict the climate of the future.
"Ice age predicted in the 70s"	Most climate research in the 1970s predicted future global warming.	Scientists were wrong about ice age predictions in the 1970s so can't be trusted now.
"Al Gore got it wrong"	Al Gore is trustworthy in how he treats climate research.	Al Gore is not trustworthy in how he treats climate research.
"Hansen's 1988 prediction was wrong", "Hansen predicted the West Side Highway would be underwater"	Climate scientists are trustworthy in how they do climate research.	Climate scientists are not trustworthy in how they do climate research.
"IPCC graph showing accelerating trends is misleading", "IPCC were wrong about Amazon rainforests", "IPCC human-caused global warming attribution confidence is unfounded", "IPCC were wrong about Himalayan glaciers", "IPCC disappeared the Medieval Warm Period", "IPCC edited out natural causes of climate change", "Skeptics were kept out of the IPCC?", "IPCC overestimate temperature rise", "IPCC global warming projections were wrong", "Ben Santer rewrote the 1995 IPCC report", "IPCC is alarmist"	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is trustworthy in how they treat climate research.	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is not trustworthy in how they treat climate research.

334 **A2 Handbooks**

335 **The Debunking Handbook**

336 Skeptical Science also provides downloadable materials such as handbooks devoted to various aspects of misinformation research.
337 The **Debunking Handbook** is a consensus document written by 19 co-authors invited by the three lead authors Stephan
338 Lewandowsky, John Cook and Ullrich Ecker based on their scientific status in the field. The Handbook explains what mis- and
339 disinformation is, why it can cause substantial harm for individuals and societies, why it is often sticky and therefore hard to
340 dislodge, why pre-bunking can be more effective than debunking and how to go about the latter best. As of July 2025, this handbook
341 has been translated into 20 languages.

342 Cite: Lewandowsky, S., Cook, J., Ecker, U. K. H., Albarracín, D., Amazeen, M. A., Kendeou, P., Lombardi, D., Newman, E. J.,
343 Pennycook, G., Porter, E. Rand, D. G., Rapp, D. N., Reifler, J., Roozenbeek, J., Schmid, P., Seifert, C. M., Sinatra, G. M., Swire-
344 Thompson, B., van der Linden, S., Vraga, E. K., Wood, T. J., Zaragoza, M. S. (2020). The Debunking Handbook 2020. Available
345 at <https://sks.to/db2020>. DOI:10.17910/b7.1182

346 **The Conspiracy Theory Handbook**

347 Conspiracy theories attempt to explain events as the secretive plots of powerful people. While conspiracy theories are not typically
348 supported by evidence, this doesn't stop them from blossoming. Conspiracy theories damage society in a number of ways. To help
349 minimize these harmful effects, **The Conspiracy Theory Handbook** written by Stephan Lewandowsky and John Cook explains

350 why conspiracy theories are so popular, how to identify the traits of conspiratorial thinking, and what effective response strategies
351 are. As of July 2025, this handbook has been translated into 20 languages. The Handbook distills the most important research
352 findings and expert advice on dealing with conspiracy theories. It also introduces the abbreviation CONSPIR which serves as a
353 mnemonic to more easily remember the seven traits of conspiratorial thinking: They are contradictory, contain overriding
354 suspicion, have nefarious intent, something must be wrong, peddlers of conspiracy theories see themselves as persecuted victims,
355 they are immune to evidence and are re-interpreting randomness.

356 Cite: Lewandowsky, S., & Cook, J. (2020). The Conspiracy Theory Handbook. Available at <https://sks.to/conspiracy>

357 **A3 Massive Open Online Course: Denial101x**

358 [In 2015](#), the Skeptical Science team in collaboration with the University of Queensland produced a Massive Open Online Course
359 (MOOC) titled Denial101x: Making Sense of Climate Science Denial (Cook et al., 2017b; Winkler & Cook, 2021). Included the
360 fact-myth-fallacy resource (published at sks.to/fmf).

Commented [4]: Should we change this to something like "From April 2015 to February 2024"?

361 **A4 Translations**

362 In 2009, translation capabilities for rebuttals were added to the website and since then, 1086 translations have been published in
363 25 languages by volunteer translators. For some languages there are less than 5 translations while others have up to 213. Table A2
364 shows the top 15 languages by number of published translations.

365 **Table A2. Number of Translations into each Language.**

Language	Translations
German	213
Italian	136
Russian	108
Portuguese	99
Indonesian	60
Slovenian	60
Hebrew	58
Finnish	52
Polish	46
Czech	37
Spanish	35
Hungarian	27
Japanese	25
Dutch	23

Icelandic	17
-----------	----

366

367 **A5 Conference presentations**

368 Winkler, B., Cook, J. (2020). [The story of Skeptical Science: How citizen science helped to turn a website into a go-to resource](#)
369 [for climate science](#). EGU 2020.

370 Winkler, B. and Cook, J.: [Using an interdisciplinary MOOC to teach climate science and science communication to a global](#)
371 [classroom](#), EGU General Assembly 2021, online, 19–30 Apr 2021, EGU21-8576, [https://doi.org/10.5194/egusphere-](https://doi.org/10.5194/egusphere-egu21-8576)
372 [egu21-8576](#), 2021. [PDF](#)

373 **A6 Links to Skeptical Science Content and Resources**

374 **A6.1 Skeptical Science content**

375 Website - <https://skepticalscience.com>

376 Evolution from 2007 to 2017 - <https://skepticalscience.com/SkepticalScience-10-Birthday.html>

377 Activities 2017 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2017-SkS-Review.html>

378 Activities 2018 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2018-SkS-Review.html>

379 Activities 2019 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2019-SkS-Review.html>

380 Activities 2020 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2020-SkS-Review.html>

381 Activities 2021 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2021-SkS-Review.html>

382 Activities 2022 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2022-SkS-Review.html>

383 Activities 2023 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2023-SkS-Review.html>

384 Activities 2024 - <https://skepticalscience.com/2024-SkS-Review.html>

385 List of arguments - <https://skepticalscience.com/argument.php>

386 Taxonomy of arguments - <https://skepticalscience.com/argument.php?f=taxonomy>

387 With fixed numbers - <https://skepticalscience.com/fixnum.php>

388 Announcing the 3 rebuttal levels - [https://skepticalscience.com/Plain-English-climate-science-now-live-at-Skeptical-](https://skepticalscience.com/Plain-English-climate-science-now-live-at-Skeptical-Science.html)
389 [Science.html](#)

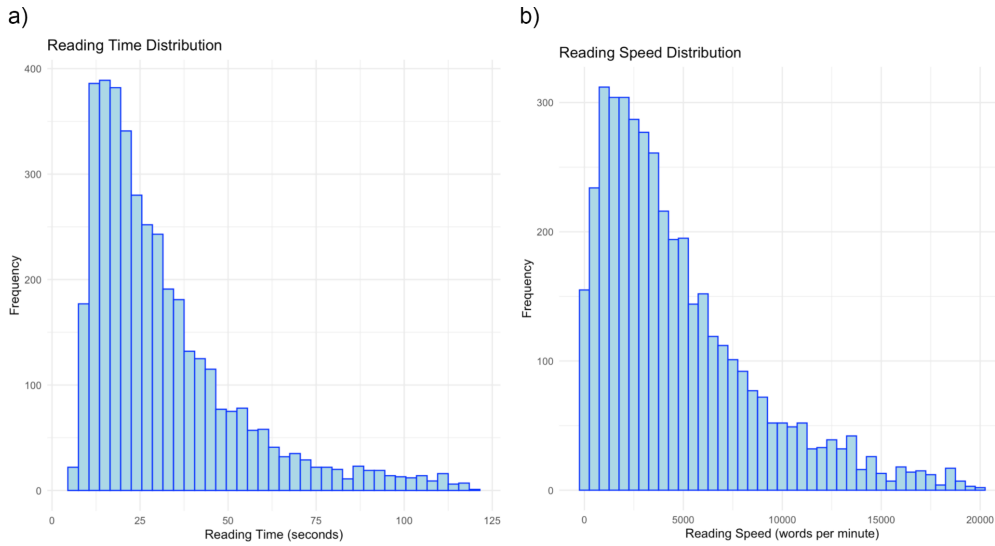
390 Rebuttal updates project - <https://skepticalscience.com/rebuttal-update-project.html>

391 Collaboration with the Sabin Center for Climate Change Law - [https://skepticalscience.com/rebutting-33-false-claims-about-](https://skepticalscience.com/rebutting-33-false-claims-about-solar-wind-ev-introduction.html)
392 [solar-wind-ev-introduction.html](#)

393 FLICC-techniques of science denial - <https://skepticalscience.com/history-FLICC-5-techniques-science-denial.html>

- 394 **A6.2 Myths and Rebuttals Referenced**
- 395 It's not happening - <https://skepticalscience.com/evidence-for-global-warming.htm>
- 396 It's not us - <https://skepticalscience.com/its-not-us.htm>
- 397 It's not bad - <https://skepticalscience.com/global-warming-positives-negatives.htm>
- 398 It's too hard - <https://skepticalscience.com/global-warming-too-hard.htm>
- 399 CO2 was higher in the past - basic - <https://skepticalscience.com/co2-higher-in-past-basic.htm>
- 400 CO2 was higher in the past - intermediate - <https://skepticalscience.com/co2-higher-in-past-intermediate.htm>
- 401 Water vapor is the most powerful greenhouse gas -
402 <https://skepticalscience.com/water-vapor-greenhouse-gas.htm>
- 403 It's albedo - <https://skepticalscience.com/earth-albedo-effect.htm>
- 404 CO2-effect is saturated - <https://skepticalscience.com/saturated-co2-effect.htm>
- 405 It's cooling - <https://skepticalscience.com/global-cooling.htm>
- 406 There is no consensus - <https://skepticalscience.com/global-warming-scientific-consensus.htm>

407 **A7 Reading time/speed distributions**



408 **Figure A7.1. a) Reading time distribution (seconds). b) Reading speed distribution (words per minute).**

410 **Data Availability**

411 Anonymised data has been uploaded to <https://osf.io/jnce4/>

412 **Author Contributions**

413 JC and BW contributed data analysis and writing of results. CM, TL, DB contributed descriptions of experimental implementation.
414 DN contributed writing of manuscript.

415 **Competing interests**

416 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

417 **Ethical statement**

418 This study was conducted with ethics approval obtained from the George Mason University Institutional Review Board (IRBNet
419 number: 1379945-1).

420 **Special issue statement**

421 This paper was submitted to a special issue of *Geoscience Communication* on the theme of **Climate and ocean education and
422 communication: Practice, ethics and urgency.**

423 **Acknowledgements**

424 The Skeptical Science team acknowledges the tireless contributions of John Mason who led the revision of rebuttals and addition
425 of the 'At a Glance' sections.

426 **References**

427 Bedford, D., & Cook, J. (2013). Agnotology, scientific consensus, and the teaching and learning of climate change: A response to
428 Legates, Soon and Briggs. *Science & Education*, 22(8), 2019-2030.

429 Bentley, A. P., Petcovic, H. L., Cassidy, D. P., & Eklund, P. R. (2016, December). The Relationship between Anthropogenic
430 Climate Change Acceptance and Agreement with Authentic Dissenter Messages. In AGU Fall Meeting Abstracts (Vol.
431 2016, pp. ED33D-0909).

432 Cook, B. R., & Overpeck, J. T. (2019). Relationship-building between climate scientists and publics as an alternative to information
433 transfer. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, 10(2), e570.

434 Coan, T. G., Boussalis, C., Cook, J., & Nanko, M. O. (2021). Computer-assisted classification of contrarian claims about climate
435 change. *Scientific Reports*, 11(1), 22320.

436 Cook, J., Ellerton, P., & Kinkead, D. (2018). Deconstructing climate misinformation to identify reasoning errors. *Environmental
437 Research Letters*, 11(2).

Commented [5]: @john@skepticalscience.com - Does this need to be somewhere in the main text given that the editor asked about ethics approval specifically and with regards to collecting IP-addresses? _Assigned to john@skepticalscience.com_

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

438 Cook, J., Lewandowsky, S., & Ecker, U. (2017a). Neutralizing misinformation through inoculation: Exposing misleading
439 argumentation techniques reduces their influence. *PLOS ONE*, *12*(5): e0175799.

440 Cook, J., Nuccitelli, D., Green, S.A., Richardson, M., Winkler, B., Painting, R., Way, R., Jacobs, P., & Skuce, A. (2013).
441 Quantifying the consensus on anthropogenic global warming in the scientific literature. *Environmental Research Letters*,
442 *8*(2), 024024+.

443 Cook, J., Oreskes, N., Doran, P. T., Anderegg, W. R. L., Verheggen, B., Maibach, E. W., Carlton, J.S., Lewandowsky, S., Green,
444 S. A., Skuce, A. G., Nuccitelli, D., Jacobs, P., Richardson, M., Winkler, B., Painting, R., Rice, K. (2016). Consensus on
445 consensus: a synthesis of consensus estimates on human-caused global warming. *Environmental Research Letters*, *11*(4),
446 048002.

447 Cook, J., Schuennemann, K., Nuccitelli, D., Jacobs, P., Cowtan, K., Green, S., Way, R., Richardson, M., Cawley, G., Mandia, S.,
448 Skuce, A. & Bedford, D. (2015). Denial101x: Making sense of climate science denial. *edX*. Retrieved from
449 <http://edx.org/understanding-climate-denial>.

450 Cook, J., Winkler, B., Finn, C., & Dodgen, T. (2017b, January). Challenges and learning opportunities in a controversial MOOC
451 forum on climate science denial. In *10th International Conference of Education, Research and Innovation (Iceri2017)*
452 (pp. 3460-3468). IATED Academy.

453 Ecker, U. K., Lewandowsky, S., & Tang, D. T. (2010). Explicit warnings reduce but do not eliminate the continued influence of
454 misinformation. *Memory & Cognition*, *38*(8), 1087-1100.

455 Eisenson, M., Elkin, J., Fitch, A., Ard, M., Sittinger, K., Lavine, S. (2023). Rebutting 33 false claims about solar, wind, and electric
456 vehicles. *Sabin Center for Climate Change Law*. <https://climate.law.columbia.edu/news/sabin-center-releases-new-report-rebutting-33-false-claims-about-solar-wind-and-electric> .

458 Elsasser, S. W., & Dunlap, R. E. (2013). Leading voices in the denier choir: Conservative columnists' dismissal of global warming
459 and denigration of climate science. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *57*(6), 754-776.

460 Flack, R., Cook, J., Ellerton, P., Kinkad, D., Coan, T., Boussalis, C., Nanko, M. O., Gallant, A., Dargaville, R. (2024). Identifying
461 Flawed Reasoning in Contrarian Claims about Climate Change. *Online at https://osf.io/preprints/psyarxiv/tk76c*

462 Geiger, N., & Swim, J. K. (2016). Climate of silence: Pluralistic ignorance as a barrier to climate change discussion. *Journal of*
463 *Environmental Psychology*, *47*, 79-90.

464 Goldberg, M. H., van der Linden, S., Maibach, E., & Leiserowitz, A. (2019). Discussing global warming leads to greater acceptance
465 of climate science. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *116*(30), 14804-14805.

466 Hansson, S. O. (2017). Science denial as a form of pseudoscience. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A*, *63*, 39-47.

467 Jolley, D., & Douglas, K. M. (2014). The social consequences of conspiracism: Exposure to conspiracy theories decreases
468 intentions to engage in politics and to reduce one's carbon footprint. *British Journal of Psychology*, *105*(1), 35-56.

469 Lamb, W. F., Mattioli, G., Levi, S., Roberts, J. T., Capstick, S., Creutzig, F., Minx, J. C., Müller-Hansen, F., Culhane, T., &
470 Steinberger, J. K. (2020). Discourses of climate delay. *Global Sustainability*, *3*, e17.

471 Leiserowitz, A., Smith, N., & Marlon, J. R. (2011). American teens' knowledge of climate change. Yale University. New Haven,
472 CT: Yale Project on Climate Change Communication, 5.

473 Lewandowsky, S., Cook, J., Ecker, U. K. H., Albarracín, D., Amazeen, M. A., Kendeou, P., Lombardi, D., Newman, E. J.,
 474 Pennycook, G., Porter, E. Rand, D. G., Rapp, D. N., Reifler, J., Roozenbeek, J., Schmid, P., Seifert, C. M., Sinatra, G.
 475 M., Swire-Thompson, B., van der Linden, S., Vraga, E. K., Wood, T. J., Zaragoza, M. S. (2020). *The Debunking*
 476 *Handbook 2020*. <https://doi.org/10.17910/b7.1182>

477 Lewandowsky, S., Oreskes, N., Risbey, J. S., Newell, B. R., & Smithson, M. (2015). Seepage: Climate change denial and its effect
 478 on the scientific community. *Global Environmental Change*, 33, 1-13.

479 Lieu, R., Hayes, O. R., Cook, J. (in revision). Testing the impact of fallacies and contrarian claims in climate change
 480 misinformation. *British Journal of Psychology*.

481 Ling, M., Head, A., & Clarke, E. J. R. (2019). Validation of a Novel Climate Change Denial Measure Using Item Response Theory.
 482 <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/57nbk>

483 Maibach, E., Leiserowitz, A., Rosenthal, S., Roser-Renouf, C & Cutler, M 2016, *Is There a Climate “Spiral of Silence” in America:*
 484 *March, 2016*, Yale Program on Climate Change Communication, New Haven, CT.

485 Maertens, R., Roozenbeek, J., Simons, J. S., Lewandowsky, S., Maturo, V., Goldberg, B., ... & van der Linden, S. (2025).
 486 Psychological booster shots targeting memory increase long-term resistance against misinformation. *Nature*
 487 *Communications*, 16(1), 2062.

488 McCright, A. M., Charters, M., Dentzman, K., & Dietz, T. (2016). Examining the effectiveness of climate change frames in the
 489 face of a climate change denial counter-frame. *Topics in cognitive science*, 8(1), 76-97.

490 McCuin, J. L., Hayhoe, K., & Hayhoe, D. (2014). Comparing the Effects of Traditional vs. Misconceptions-Based Instruction on
 491 Student Understanding of the Greenhouse Effect. *Journal of Geoscience Education*, 62(3), 445-459.

492 Metcalfe, J. (2020). Chanting to the choir: the dialogical failure of antithetical climate change blogs. *Journal of Science*
 493 *Communication*, 19(2), A04.

494 Modirrousta-Galian, A., & Higham, P. A. (2023). Gamified inoculation interventions do not improve discrimination between true
 495 and fake news: Reanalyzing existing research with receiver operating characteristic analysis. *Journal of Experimental*
 496 *Psychology: General*, 152(9), 2411.

497 Pearce, W., Brown, B., Nerlich, B., & Koteyko, N. (2015). Communicating climate change: Conduits, content, and consensus.
 498 *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, 6(6), 613-626.

499 Pennycook, G., Cannon, T. D., & Rand, D. G. (2018). Prior exposure increases perceived accuracy of fake news. *Journal of*
 500 *Experimental Psychology: General*, 147(12), 1865.

501 Ranney, M.A. & Clark, D. (2016). Climate Change Conceptual Change: Scientific Information Can Transform Attitudes. *Topics*
 502 *in Cognitive Science*, 8(1), 49-75.

503 Rowan, K. E., Engblom, A., Hathaway, J., Lloyd, R., Vorster, I., Anderson, E. Z., & Akerlof, K. L. (2021). Overcome the deficit
 504 model by applying the CAUSE model to climate change communication. *The Handbook of Strategic Communication*,
 505 225-261.

506 Schwarz, N., Newman, E., & Leach, W. (2016). Making the truth stick & the myths fade: Lessons from cognitive psychology.
 507 *Behavioral Science & Policy*, 2(1), 85-95.

Formatted: Font colour: Red

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Red

Formatted: Font colour: Red

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font: Italic, Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)), Highlight

508 Seifert, C. M. (2002). The continued influence of misinformation in memory: What makes a correction effective? In *Psychology*
509 *of learning and motivation* (Vol. 41, pp. 265-292). Academic Press.

510 Simchon, A., Zipori, T., Teitelbaum, L., Lewandowsky, S., & van der Linden, S. (2025). A Signal Detection Theory Meta-Analysis
511 of Psychological Inoculation Against Misinformation. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 102194.

512 Suldoovsky, B. (2017). The information deficit model and climate change communication. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of*
513 *Climate Science*. Oxford University Press.

514 Swim, J. K., Fraser, J., & Geiger, N. (2014). Teaching the choir to sing: Use of social science information to promote public
515 discourse on climate change. *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law*, 91-117.

516 van der Linden, S. (2015). The conspiracy-effect: Exposure to conspiracy theories (about global warming) decreases pro-social
517 behavior and science acceptance. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 87, 171-173.

518 van der Linden, S., Leiserowitz, A., Rosenthal, S., & Maibach, E. (2017). Inoculating the Public against Misinformation about
519 Climate Change. *Global Challenges*, 1(2), 1600008.

520 Vraga, E. K., Kim, S. C., Cook, J., & Bode, L. (2020). Testing the effectiveness of correction placement and type on Instagram.
521 *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 25(4), 632-652.

522 Winkler, B. and Cook, J. (2021). Using an interdisciplinary MOOC to teach climate science and science communication to a global
523 classroom, EGU General Assembly 2021, online, 19–30 Apr 2021, EGU21-8576, [https://doi.org/10.5194/egusphere-](https://doi.org/10.5194/egusphere-egu21-8576)
524 [egu21-8576](https://doi.org/10.5194/egusphere-egu21-8576). PDF

525 Zainurrahman, Z., Yusuf, F. N., & Sukyadi, D. (2024). Text readability: its impact on reading comprehension and reading time.
526 *Journal of Education and Learning (EduLearn)*, 18(4), 1422-1432.

527 Zanartu, F., Cook, J., Frermann, L., Otmakhova, Y. (2024). Generative Debunking of Climate Misinformation. *ClimateNLP 2024*
528 *Workshop*. <https://arxiv.org/abs/2407.05599>

Formatted: Font: Italic

Formatted: Font colour: Custom Colour (RGB(34,34,34)),
Highlight