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POLICY BRIEF: MYTHS OF AI

Data Centers Aren't the Future of American Prosperity

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Amid the global AI race, leading tech companies are refashioning their AI tools as key infrastructure across industries like healthcare, defense, education, and "lean" governance. To do so, they are massively investing in data centers — the physical spaces that house digital infrastructures, including servers and chips, that facilitate AI applications. As of 2025, installed data center capacity in the United States amounts to nearly 54 gigawatts — roughly equivalent to the amount of energy continuously generated by the Hoover Dam over a quarter century — and 1.6 times the capacity of China, the US's closest competitor.[1]

The proliferation of AI infrastructure is a sign of both global economic competition and shifting national priorities in the US, where the Trump administration has reduced environmental protections to accelerate energy infrastructure and data center construction.[2] Ultimately, rapid data center growth is the foundation of an industrial strategy that is betting on AI innovation and energy dominance as the keys to US technological supremacy. Yet leveraging extractive AI infrastructure for geopolitical advantage sets up a tension that may well prove unresolvable: **achieving computing abundance requires exhausting the planetary bounds of our ecological resources, energy, and labor, all of which are required to support this industrial development.**[3]

Data centers require staggering amounts of energy — with some forecasts predicting data centers constituting 12 percent of energy demand by 2028.[4] Though the global energy needs to support the sector have grown 12 percent in the past five years, they're expected to double by 2030, becoming a leading share of regional power demand.[5] Locally-sourced water is often required to cool the heat produced by this infrastructure, including in regions that are already water-stressed.[6] To that end, total water consumption by

[1] Rich Miller, "Building Through the Pandemic, Data Centers Added 17 Million SF in 2020," Data Center Frontier, February 18, 2021, https://www.datacenterfrontier.com/cloud/article/11428395/building-through-the-pandemic-data-centers-added-17-million-sf-in-2020; "Energy and AI Observatory – Data Tools," International Energy Agency, July 11, 2025, https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/data-tools/energy-and-ai-observatory.
[2] Adam Satariano, et al., "The AI Race Is Splitting the World Into Haves and Have-Nots," The New York Times, June 23, 2025, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2025/06/23/technology/ai-computing-global-divide.html; Valerie Volcovici, Jarrett Renshaw, and Valerie Volcovici, "Exclusive: Trump Plans Executive Orders to Power AI Growth in Race with China," Reuters, June 27, 2025, https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/trump-plans-executive-orders-power-ai-growth-race-with-china-2025-06-27/.
[3] OpenAI, "Infrastructure Is Destiny: Economic Returns on US Investment in Democratic AI," July 8, 2025, https://cdn.openai.com/global-affairs/openai-infra-economics-10.09.24.pdf; Maya Richman, "Within Bounds: Limiting AI's Environmental Impact," Green Screen Coalition, February 5, 2025, https://greenscreen.network/en/blog/within-bounds-limiting-ai-environmental-impact/.
[4] Arman Shehabi, et al., "2024 United States Data Center Energy Usage Report," December 20, 2024, https://doi.org/10.71468/P1WC7Q.
[5] IEA (2025), Global data centre electricity consumption, by equipment, Base Case, 2020-2030, IEA, Paris https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/charts/global-data-centre-electricity-consumption-by-equipment-base-case-2020-2030.
[6] "Data Centers and Groundwater Usage," The Joyce Foundation, August 6, 2024, https://www.joycefdn.org/news/data-centers-and-groundwater-usage; Lakshmee Sharma, "AI Data Centers Threaten Global Water Security," Lawfare, July 11, 2025, https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/ai-data-centers-threaten-global-water-security.

Meta, Apple, Microsoft, and Google has already jumped by 60 percent since 2020.[7] Data centers have been proposed as engines of local economic development, sited in cities, towns, and regions across the globe that are often particularly vulnerable to private speculation, have histories of economic disinvestment or labor disputes, or otherwise limited local power.[8] As a result, data center siting is an increasingly political decision, carrying economic and health-related consequences for communities that live close to data centers and related energy infrastructures.

The material implications of AI's expansion for the climate, local economies, and global patterns of extraction are often pushed aside in favor of the alleged inevitability of AI's advantages, especially given deep investments from states, national governments, tech firms, and utility companies.[9] With so much on the line, this policy brief aims to cut through lobbying points and speculative myths, looking instead to what the evidence reveals about the industry's claims.

THE MYTH SAYS:		THE EVIDENCE SHOWS:
#1: Data centers are a key revitalization tool for dwindling local economies.	⇢	#1: Economic benefits from data centers are largely short-term and often fail to deliver the promised community revitalization.
#2: Data centers provide opportunities for alternative energy development.	⇢	#2: While alternative energy like hydropower, wind, and nuclear have been proposed, data centers currently rely on polluting fossil fuels.
#3: Building data centers quickly is a matter of national security.	⇢	#3: AI data centers still rely on global supply chains for raw materials and chips. A focus on national security or energy dominance is leading to hasty, deregulated construction that leaves the US increasingly vulnerable.
#4: Massive data centers are necessary for our future.	⇢	#4: It is not yet known which uses of AI are actually driving energy consumption. In the meantime, speculative overbuilding of data centers could inflict lasting harms on surrounding regions and municipalities.

[7] Surfshark, "Big Tech's Water Usage Has Risen by 60% since 2020," July 16, 2025, https://surfshark.com/research/chart/big-tech-water-usage?srsltid=AfmBOooz_rDtzGgW1rbCJetJ36ofS5GoEfW7EugC9yI-_wtKNyFcotX7.
[8] John Cole, "Amazon Announces $20 Billion AI Investment That Will Bring at Least 1,250 Jobs to Pa.," Pennsylvania Capital-Star, June 9, 2025, https://penncapital-star.com/government-politics/amazon-announces-20-billion-ai-investment-that-will-bring-at-least-1250-jobs-to-pa/.
[9] Jesse Noffsinger, et al., "The Cost of Compute Power: A $7 Trillion Race," McKinsey, July 11, 2025, https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/technology-media-and-telecommunications/our-insights/the-cost-of-compute-a-7-trillion-dollar-race-to-scale-data-centers.

Myth #1: Data centers are a key revitalization tool for dwindling local economies.

What the evidence tells us: To secure advantageous siting for data centers with connections to key energy and natural resources, tech companies, data center developers, and investors frequently promise local officials that data centers bring thousands of jobs and new tax revenue. Though these claims would benefit from public scrutiny and adjudication, projects are often brought forward and approved without the input or knowledge of the public, who may not know that a company is building a data center in their town.[10]

Even with public attention, studies have shown such promises to be short-term at best, and misleading at worst. Data centers are not factories with continual staff needs. While they may employ a large number of people in the construction phase, once constructed, the warehouses typically engage fewer than 100 workers.[11] Moreover, many of the jobs attached to data centers are highly specialized, so it is likely these positions will be filled by workers brought in from other geographic areas, as opposed to locals. Some positions will be short-term, subcontracted roles without employee benefits.[12]

Still, many municipalities continue to offer developers deals to bring in data centers and their proposed economic benefits, largely through tax subsidies and incentives. **On the whole, state and local governments actually lose valuable tax revenue to these subsidies — and for at least ten states, the loss totals over $100 million.**[13] As a result, essential funding that would otherwise fund local schools or transportation is instead going into the pockets of tech companies and developers.

Meanwhile, because of increased demand on the grid, ratepayers often bear the brunt of data center expansion through increased utility bills.[14] Residents are also often stuck with paying for other related data center infrastructure, including transmission lines needed to deliver energy to and from the site. This means that people who reside in one state might be paying for data centers in a neighboring state, as is the case with West Virginia ratepayers, who pay $440 million for Virginia-based data centers.[15]

The bottom line: The place-based benefits of data centers are often limited. Though the construction phase can provide a short-term benefit for some workers, the economic benefits may not be concentrated enough to make long-term differences within localities. Moreover, tax breaks for data center operators can funnel money away from public services while residents end up paying more for their electricity. In the end, participation in the innovation economy can often prove extractive for residents.

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[10] Farrah Anderson, "Previously Unnamed Company behind Proposed Indy Data Center Named in New Documents," WFYI Public Media, July 1, 2025, https://www.wfyi.org/news/articles/previously-unnamed-company-behind-proposed-indy-data-center-named-in-new-documents.
[11] Tom Dotan, "The AI Data Center Boom is a Job Creation Bust," Wall Street Journal, February 25, 2025, https://www.wsj.com/tech/ai-data-center-job-creation-48038b67.
[12] Kasia Tarczynska, "Will Data Center Job Creation Live Up to Hype? I have Some Concerns," Good Jobs First, February 12, 2025, https://goodjobsfirst.org/will-data-center-job-creation-live-up-to-hype-i-have-some-concerns/
[13] Kasia Tarczynska and Greg LeRoy, "Cloudy with a Loss of Spending Control: How Data Centers Are Endangering State Budgets," Good Jobs First, April 24, 2025, https://goodjobsfirst.org/cloudy-with-a-loss-of-spending-control-how-data-centers-are-endangering-state-budgets/.
[14] Ivan Penn, "Data Centers' Hunger for Energy Could Raise All Electric Bills," The New York Times, May 16, 2025, https://www.nytimes.com/2025/05/16/business/energy-environment/data-centers-utilities-electricity-bills.html.
[15] "IEEFA Report: West Virginia Electricity Customers to Pay More Than $440 Million for Two Proposed Transmission Lines to Support Data Centers," T&D World, June 5, 2025, https://www.tdworld.com/utility-business/news/55294978/ieefa-report-west-virginia-electricity-customers-to-pay-more-than-440-million-for-two-proposed-transmission-lines-to-support-data-centers.

Myth #2: Data centers provide opportunities for alternative energy development.

What the evidence tells us: Data center proponents argue that the increased energy demands associated with AI data centers will lead to more pressure and public support for renewable energy development.[16] Right now, data centers draw 15 percent of their energy globally from nuclear sources, compared to 26 percent from fracked gas, and 56 percent from fossil fuels.[17] Within the US, energy demand is expected to rise dramatically, in part due to the expansion of AI and data center construction, increasing the risk of power outages by 100 times by 2030.[18]

This may have been an opportunity for deeper investment in alternative energy infrastructures, but the US federal government is poised to make the problem worse by limiting tax credits that support wind and solar energy development.[19] Though the Trump administration has declared an "energy emergency" to justify investment in energy for data centers, it has been met with a confounding mix of regulations that keep aging coal-fired power plants online stalling a more sustainable (and necessary) transition.[20] Where there have already been significant draws on the energy grid, fracked gas and other fossil fuel-related energy sources are being used as a stopgap, binding data center development to polluting forms of energy as an intermediate measure.[21]

For example, diesel backup generators or methane turbines are sometimes used to provide a reliable source of power when the grid is otherwise strained, as in the case of Memphis's xAI supercomputer and its associated air quality issues.[22] Another is the TECFusions Keystone Connect site in Upper Burrell, PA, which uses pre-existing fracking infrastructure as a key element of its energy portfolio, relying on highly polluting industries for more energy-efficient siting.[23]

Further development of nuclear power is a priority, though today it still contributes a relatively small percentage of data center energy. Though plants like Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island are currently restarting to meet the moment, alongside small modular reactors in other states around the country, most are met with significant public outcry, especially from Indigenous groups who have historically borne the

[16] Anna Flávia Rochas, "AI Boom Spurs Big Tech to Build Clean Power on Site," Reuters, July 12, 2025, https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/ai-boom-spurs-big-tech-build-clean-power-site-2025-02-05/.
[17] Zachary Skidmore, "IEA: Data Center Energy Consumption Set to Double by 2030 to 945TWh," Data Center Dynamics, April 11, 2025, https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/iea-data-center-energy-consumption-set-to-double-by-2030-to-945twh/; Gianluca Guidi, et al., "Environmental Burden of United States Data Centers in the Artificial Intelligence Era" (arXiv, 2024), https://doi.org/10.48550/ARXIV.2411.09786.
[18] US Department of Energy, "Resource Adequacy Report: Evaluating the Reliability and Security of the United States Electric Grid," July 2025, https://www.energy.gov/sites/default/files/2025-07/DOE%20Final%20EO%20Report%20%28FINAL%20JULY%207%29_0.pdf.
[19] Rachel Frazin, "Donald Trump Directs Treasury to Limit Wind and Solar Tax Credits," The Hill, July 12, 2025, https://thehill.com/policy/energy-environment/5389084-trump-wind-and-solar-tax-credits/.
[20] Jon Hurdle, "Aging Pennsylvania Power Plant to Keep Running after Trump Order on Eve of Shutdown," Pennsylvania Capital-Star, June 9, 2025, https://penncapital-star.com/energy-environment/aging-pennsylvania-power-plant-to-keep-running-after-trump-order-on-eve-of-shutdown/.
[21] Terry Nguyen and Ben Green, "What Happens When Data Centers Come to Town?," University of Michigan Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, July 2025, https://stpp.fordschool.umich.edu/sites/stpp/files/2025-07/stpp-data-centers-2025.pdf; Cecilia Marrinan, "Data Center Boom Risks Health of Already Vulnerable Communities," Tech Policy Press, June 12, 2025, https://techpolicy.press/data-center-boom-risks-health-of-already-vulnerable-communities.
[22] "Data Centers, Diesel Generators and Air Quality – PEC Web Map – The Piedmont Environmental Council," accessed July 12, 2025, https://www.pecva.org/uncategorized/data-centers-diesel-generators-and-air-quality-pec-web-map/; Dara Kerr, "Elon Musk's xAI Gets Permit for Methane Gas Generators," The Guardian, July 3, 2025, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/jul/03/elon-musk-xai-pollution-memphis.
[23] TECfusions, "TECfusions Unveils Massive 1400-Acre Data Center Project in Pennsylvania, Revitalizing Former Industrial Plant," July 12, 2025, https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/tecfusions-unveils-massive-1400-acre-data-center-project-in-pennsylvania-revitalizing-former-industrial-plant-302350041.html.

brunt of the dangers of nuclear testing.[24] Nonetheless, Google, Meta, and Amazon have vowed to triple global nuclear capacity to support the data center industry.[25] Given the lax regulatory environment in the United States, these fast-tracked projects are unlikely to uphold standard protections for the communities surrounding these reactors.[26]

Lastly, tech and energy companies alike are sidelining climate concerns through a form of "predatory delay," which premises climate solutions on unclear AI breakthroughs to come, rather than on a concerted present-day effort to transition away from fossil fuels.[27] This means that even if a company were running a data center on renewable energy, an "eco-friendly" AI model may be used in applications that directly accelerate the climate crisis, such as AI services used by the oil and gas industry to intensify exploration and drilling.[28] When companies release reports about their emissions and other sustainability-related practices, the emissions resulting from the increased production of fossil fuels through AI are not typically taken into account.[29]

The bottom line: AI is accelerating new oil and gas exploration. While renewable energy sources like wind and solar, and clean energy sources like nuclear power, may help data centers transition away from their reliance on fossil fuels, political and practical factors are slowing the transition. In the absence of reliable renewable energy sources, the surge in energy demand from data centers is leading to the use of polluting fossil fuels, which can have devastating impacts on communities and environments.

[24] Joe Heath, "The Violence of Nuclear Energy Against Indigenous Peoples, Land, Water and Air," Sierra Club, July 16, 2025, https://www.sierraclub.org/atlantic/blog/2020/08/violence-nuclear-energy-against-indigenous-peoples-land-water-and-air.
[25] Dan Swinhoe, "Google, Amazon, Meta Sign Pledge to Triple Global Nuclear Capacity," March 14, 2025, https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/google-amazon-meta-sign-pledge-to-triple-global-nuclear-capacity/.
[26] Francisco Camacho, "Trump's Executive Order Puts Nuclear Safety at Risk, Experts Warn," E&E News by POLITICO, February 24, 2025, https://www.eenews.net/articles/trumps-executive-order-puts-nuclear-safety-at-risk-experts-warn/.
[27] Gregor Macdonald, "Not Fast Enough," December 23, 2024, https://www.coldeye.earth/p/not-fast-enough; Fieke Jansen and Michelle Thorne, "IV. Predatory Delay and Other Myths of 'Sustainable AI,'" AI Now Institute, October 15, 2024, https://ainowinstitute.org/publications/predatory-delay-and-other-myths-of-sustainable-ai.
[28] Karen Hao, "Microsoft's Hypocrisy on AI," The Atlantic, July 12, 2025, https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2024/09/microsoft-ai-oil-contracts/679804/.
[29] "Enabled Emissions Campaign | Hold Big Tech Accountable Today," Enabled Emissions Campaign, accessed July 12, 2025, https://www.enabledemissions.com.

Myth #3: Building data centers quickly is a matter of national security.

What the evidence tells us: In recent years, US presidents have pushed the country to invest in AI-related infrastructure and accelerate the use of oil, gas, and coal to win the AI race, positioning China as a threat.[30] This national security imperative has also led policymakers to relax permitting requirements for data center projects, so that new construction can bypass assessments of local environmental impacts.[31] **But multiplying the concentration of data centers on US soil and rolling back subsidies for renewable energy does not ensure American security.** Whatever one's views on America's "national security" — a deliberately ambiguous phrase[32] — a rush to build "American AI" and domestic data centers relies on raw materials and hardware that are the product of complex global supply chains and interdependencies. Policymakers invoke the specter of the AI arms race to justify quickly bringing new data centers online, introducing new forms of risk through deregulatory measures that fail, in any event, to address the complex bottlenecks inherent to chips and critical minerals.

Earlier this year, the Trump administration invoked the Defense Production Act to accelerate critical mineral mining in the US.[33] Meanwhile, the passage of the recent "Big Beautiful Bill" makes it harder for American companies to compete on the global critical minerals market by removing the tax credits they need to make this mining cost-effective.[34] At this time, securing data center components still relies on relationships and trade with other parts of the world, as the US has neither the expertise to manufacture these materials nor the access to critical minerals needed for chip production. The geopolitical complexities of the chip supply chain alone can lead to chip delays and shortages, despite growing demand.[35]

While there have been bipartisan efforts to bring manufacturing back to the US, the global supply chain of raw materials remains a significant factor; moreover, building domestic chip manufacturing plants will take years to pay off.[36] For example, Intel's much-hyped fabrication plant in Ohio was once slated for 2026 and is now delayed until 2030.[37] The US is unlikely to avoid global supply chain entanglements through domestic manufacturing any time soon.

In contrast, pushing through projects without proper safety measures may introduce new forms of risk, harming communities, and Indigenous communities in particular, through land grabs and expedited

[30] US Department of Energy, "Resource Adequacy Report: Evaluating the Reliability and Security of the United States Electric Grid," July 2025, https://www.energy.gov/sites/default/files/2025-07/DOE%20Final%20EO%20Report%20%28FINAL%20JULY%207%29_0.pdf; "Executive Order on Advancing United States Leadership in Artificial Intelligence Infrastructure," The White House, January 14, 2025, https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2025/01/14/executive-order-on-advancing-united-states-leadership-in-artificial-intelligence-infrastructure/.
[31] Kevin Bogardus, "Agencies Roll out Plans to Pare down NEPA Reviews," Politico, June 30, 2025, https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/eenews/2025/06/30/agencies-roll-out-plans-to-pare-down-nepa-reviews-00433842.
[32] Andrew Preston, "Total Defense: The New Deal and the Invention of National Security," Harvard University Press, May 2025.
[33] Kit Maher and John Liu, "Trump Invokes Wartime Powers to Increase Production of Critical Minerals," CNN, March 21, 2025, https://www.cnn.com/2025/03/21/business/trump-increase-production-critical-minerals-hnk-intl.
[34] Ernest Scheyder, "Trump's Tax-Cut Bill Could Hold Back US Critical Minerals Projects," Reuters, July 14, 2025, https://www.reuters.com/world/us/trumps-tax-cut-bill-could-hold-back-us-critical-minerals-projects-2025-06-12/.
[35] Stephen Nellis and Aditya Soni, "Nvidia's Supply Snags Limit Deliveries Even as Demand Booms," Reuters, July 14, 2025, https://www.reuters.com/technology/nvidias-supply-snags-hurting-deliveries-mask-booming-demand-2024-11-21/.
[36] "Can Trump Bring Manufacturing Back to the US?," Brookings, July 14, 2025, https://www.brookings.edu/events/can-trump-bring-manufacturing-back-to-the-us/.
[37] Samantha Subin, "Intel Delays Ohio Chip Plant Opening to next Decade, Was Supposed to Start Production by 2026," CNBC, February 28, 2025, https://www.cnbc.com/2025/02/28/intel-delays-ohio-plant-opening-to-2030-production-was-to-start-2026.html.

environmental impact reviews for mining operations, damaging fragile deep sea ecologies through new, untested methods of critical mineral mining, and destroying the habitats of endangered species.[38]

The bottom line: The Trump administration is using executive orders and legislation to accelerate AI deployment and reduce regulatory oversight in the name of national security. Yet even as these policies seek to bolster Made in America tech dominance, policymakers are fast-tracking an AI production system that necessarily involves broader geopolitical and supply chain dynamics — undercutting the stated national security rationale and creating new vulnerabilities in the process.

[38] Dustin Mulvaney, "The Sagebrush Rebel Revival," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, July 16, 2025, https://thebulletin.org/2025/07/the-sagebrush-rebel-revival/.

Myth #4: Massive data centers are necessary for our future.

What the evidence tells us: Given the investments in AI data centers by companies and governments alike, it can feel like massive data centers are inevitable and necessary. A study from Goldman Sachs predicts that AI will drive a 165 percent increase in data center energy demand by 2030.[39] But until we know which AI use cases are actually driving energy consumption and whether such use cases are viable in the long term, it is difficult to know if such energy forecasts are accurate.[40] A study by London Economics International finds that data center energy forecasts are biased and inaccurate, indicating that data centers are likely requesting more energy service for new facilities than they will actually build.[41] It is possible that companies are overbuilding AI infrastructures based on their speculative value, and gains in renewable energy sources and energy efficiency (e.g. DeepSeek) could mean that data centers are not needed at such a scale. Indeed, some companies are already pausing or canceling data center contracts.[42]

Given these developments, what is driving the frenzy of data center construction? Building more data centers may exacerbate demand, becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy, as tech companies derive political power from their control over AI-related energy infrastructures.[43] Tech oligarchs, including venture capitalists, are investing in speculative energy projects.[44] While enchantment with AI propelled the tech industry forward at a time when the cryptocurrency and metaverse bubble was bursting, the long-term utility of generative AI suffers from similar uncertainty.[45] OpenAI, for example, is losing billions of dollars a year.[46]

It is the communities around data centers that are likely to pay the price. While utility companies build infrastructure according to potentially dubious projections, if data center energy demands do not continue to grow as expected, ratepayers may be stuck with the bill. In Louisiana, residents will pay higher energy bills if Meta does not pay for the full construction and maintenance of the gas plants they are building; the company is contracted to subsidize only 15 years of the 30-year project.[47]

The bottom line: While governments, tech companies, and utilities focus on data center expansion, it is unclear if the current pace of construction is sustainable, in terms of the materials needed for data centers, the actual energy demand associated with AI use cases, and the financial viability of AI companies. We should ask who is benefiting from unbridled data center growth, and who is most at risk when these speculative ventures fail.

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[39] "AI to Drive 165% Increase in Data Center Power Demand by 2030," Goldman Sachs Insights, February 4, 2025, https://www.goldmansachs.com/insights/articles/ai-to-drive-165-increase-in-data-center-power-demand-by-2030.
[40] Tamara Kneese and Emma Strubell, "A Holistic Framework for Measuring and Reporting AI's Impacts to Build Public Trust and Advance AI," Federation of American Scientists, July 14, 2025, https://fas.org/publication/reporting-ai-impact-to-build-public-trust.
[41] London Economics International LLC, "Uncertainty and Upward Bias Are Inherent in Data Center Electricity Demand Projections," July 7, 2025, https://www.selc.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/LEI-Data-Center-Final-Report-07072025-2.pdf.
[42] Georgia Butler, "Microsoft Steps Back from Data Center Developments Globally - Report," April 4, 2025, https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/microsoft-steps-back-from-data-center-developments-globally-report/.
[43] Anne Pasek, "Getting into Fights with Data Centers: Or, a Modest Proposal for Reframining the Climate Politics of ICT," White Paper. Experimental Methods and Media Lab, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario. July 2023, https://emmlab.info/Resources_page/Data%20Center%20Fights_digital.pdf
[44] Tamara Kneese, "Why Are Tech Oligarchs So Obsessed with Energy and What Does That Mean for Democracy?," Tech Policy Press, June 5, 2025, https://techpolicy.press/why-are-tech-oligarchs-so-obsessed-with-energy-and-what-does-that-mean-for-democracy.
[45] Brian Merchant, "AI Generated Business: The Rise of AGI and the Rush to Find a Working Revenue Model", AI Now Institute, December 2024, https://ainowinstitute.org/publications/ai-generated-business.
[46] Joe Wilkins, "OpenAI May Be in Major Trouble Financially," Futurism, July 8, 2025, https://futurism.com/openai-trouble-subprime.
[47] Roshan Abraham, "'A Black Hole of Energy Use': Meta's Massive AI Data Center Is Stressing Out a Louisiana Community," 404 Media, June 23, 2025, https://www.404media.co/a-black-hole-of-energy-use-metas-massive-ai-data-center-is-stressing-out-a-louisiana-community/.