# Climate Change, Energy and Values: Surveys in Five Countries 

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Chris Rose, chris@campaignstrategy.co.uk, April 2013

## Introduction

Over the past eighteen months Campaign Strategy Ltd has worked with valuesmapping consultants Cultural Dynamics Strategy and Marketing (CDSM www.cultdyn.co.uk) to map values distributions in a number of countries. As well as the values-segmenting questions used to generate the three large 'Maslow Groups' of Settlers (Security Driven), Prospectors (Outer Directed) and Pioneers (Inner Directed) and within them, the twelve 'Values Modes', a number of other questions were asked on particular topics. With permission of Greenpeace, which commissioned the surveys in Argentina, Brazil, China, India and the US, some of the results most relevant to 'climate change' and energy are presented here, together with some CDSM data from the UK.

Explanations of the Values Modes system and a number of previous papers on values and climate change are at www.campaignstrategy.org and www.cultdyn.co.uk. Descriptions of the Values Modes and guidance on communicating with the three main Maslow Groups are to be found at the home page of www.campaignstrategy.org including Summary of Values Based Segmentation - Values Modes and the differences and dynamics between the main Maslow Groups are discussed further in the book What Makes People Tick: The Three Hidden Worlds of Prospectors, Settlers and Pioneers.

Each of the surveys was nationally representative of adult populations by age and sex and had a base of around 2000 individuals. Many more questions were asked, including on demographics, lifestage, religion, politics (etc), than are presented here.

## National Values Distributions



Above are the gross national distributions of values groups at the MG Maslow Group level (Settler: Security Driven; Prospector: Outer-Directed; Pioneer, Inner Directed). Data were also separated at the VM Values modes level.

You can see that the emergent economies of China, India and Brazil are strongly Prospector dominated, that the values mix of Argentina and the UK look similar, and the US is now the most Pioneer-dominated of these countries. See also previous discussion of five of these countries. [The UK population data is from a recently completed British Values Survey by CDSM, which did not include the other topic specific questions asked for Greenpeace, on climate change etc].

## 'Climate Change - I don't believe in it'

For each question in the survey, respondents were asked to select the one of five options which most closely matched their view.

In the case of 'Climate Change - I don't believe in it', the \% results were as follows:

| Climate change - I don't believe in it |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Argentina | China | Brazil | US | India |
| Strongly disagree | 67.3 | 49.5 | 43.3 | 33.8 | 33.5 |
| Slightly disagree | 13.1 | 27.3 | 20 | 21.2 | 22.4 |
| Neither agree nor <br> disagree | 11.1 | 12.4 | 10.4 | 19.7 | 13 |
| Slightly agree | 4.7 | 8.8 | 12.9 | 13.6 | 18.6 |
| Strongly agree | 3.8 | 2 | 13.4 | 11.7 | 12.6 |

There is a majority rejecting the proposition in all five countries: in other words, 'people' in Argentina, China, Brazil, the US and India "believe in climate change".

From many previous studies we know that those selecting 'strongly' options are those most likely to act on those views: for example, to voice an opinion in a debate, or to join a campaign for or against something, or to undertake a behaviour consistent with that view.


At this gross national level, the strongest 'belief in climate' change, despite their very different cultures and political systems, is in Argentina and China, while the US and India are most similar in having a larger number who say they 'don't believe' in climate change.

Obviously, it is possible for the media or organisers of 'debates' to find people who say they don't believe in climate change and to use that to sustain a 'debate' but the political implication is clear: there are more than enough people who do 'believe' in it to create a receptive audience for political action in all these countries.

The charts below show which people by values group you might 'bump into', with which opinions, if you were to come across our sample in one of the above countries. They show the actual numbers in the sample (in each case about 2000 in total), picking those options. Of course these gross numbers are very influenced by the percentages of each values group in the country.

The statement is 'Climate change - I don't believe in it':






Below are the proportions of each Maslow Group making each choice. These do not show the size of each choice (see sequence above).


From the above you can see that 'belief' in climate change is not very different across values groups in Argentina (and as shown above, the whole country tends strongly to 'believe in climate change'). Nor (below), is it very different across groups in China.


But in Brazil (below), the US and India, Settlers show a tendency to opt 'not to believe', and Pioneers the opposite skew. This is the same finding as in earlier UK surveys.




Note also that in the US, there is a greater values polarisation than in the other countries, between Pioneers dominating the 'strongly disagree' camp (ie do strongly believe in climate change) on the one hand, and the Settlers and Prospectors on the other, whose overall numbers are more evenly spread across the options.

The statistical significance of these differences is shown in the charts below:

| Climate change - I don't believe in it. |  |  |  |  | China Pion | Prosp | Sett |  | Brazil Pioneer |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Argentina |  | Sett | Grand Td |  |  |  | Grand Td |  | Prospec Settler |  | Grand to | Pion | India <br> Pros | Sett | Grand Td Pion |  | US Prosp | Sett | Grand Tc |
| Q11_2R | Pion | Prosp |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 444 | 576 | 360 | 1380 | 122 | 622 | 111 | 855 | 271 | 468 | 162 | 901 | 116 | 463 | 91 | 670 | 397 | 197 | 81 | 675 |
|  | 32.2\% | 41.7\% | 26.1\% | 67.3\% | 14.3\% | 72.7\% | 13.0\% | 49.5\% | 50.3\% | 42.8\% | 36.1\% | 43.3\% | 40.4\% | 33.7\% | 26.7\% | 33.5\% | 58.8\% | 29.2\% | 12.0\% | 33.8\% |
|  | 103 | 99 | 97 |  | 96 | 102 | 95 |  | 116 | 99 | 83 |  | 121 | 101 | 80 |  | 118 | 90 | 68 |  |
| Slightly 0 | 84 | 115 | 69 | 269 | 87 | 318 | 66 | 472 | 112 | 218 | 85 | 415 | 80 | 314 | 53 | 447 | 228 | 130 | 66 | 424 |
|  | 31.4\% | 42.9\% | 25.7\% | 13.1\% | 18.5\% | 67.5\% | 14.1\% | 27.3\% | 20.9\% | 19.9\% | 19.0\% | 20.0\% | 28.0\% | 22.9\% | 15.6\% | 22.4\% | 53.8\% | 30.6\% | 15.6\% | 21.2\% |
|  | 101 | 102 | 96 |  | 125 | 94 | 103 |  | 105 | 100 | 95 |  | 125 | 102 | 70 |  | 108 | 95 | 88 |  |
| Neither = | 65 | 95 | 67 | 227 | 31 | 143 | 40 | 214 | 54 | 110 | 53 | 217 | 35 | 172 | 53 | 260 | 176 | 143 | 74 | 394 |
|  | 28.6\% | 41.8\% | 29.6\% | 11.1\% | 14.4\% | 67.0\% | 18.6\% | 12.4\% | 10.1\% | 10.1\% | 11.8\% | 10.4\% | 12.2\% | 12.6\% | 15.4\% | 13.0\% | 44.7\% | 36.4\% | 18.9\% | 19.7\% |
|  | 92 | 99 | 110 |  | 98 | 94 | 135 |  | 97 | 96 | 113 |  | 94 | 97 | 119 |  | 90 | 113 | 106 |  |
| Slightly 0 | 22 | 42 | 32 | 96 | 10 | 126 | 15 | 151 | 46 | 152 | 70 | 268 | 35 | 244 | 92 | 371 | 106 | 103 | 63 | 272 |
|  | 22.7\% | 43.9\% | 33.5\% | 4.7\% | 6.6\% | 83.3\% | 10.1\% | 8.8\% | 8.6\% | 13.9\% | 15.6\% | 12.9\% | 12.2\% | 17.8\% | 27.1\% | 18.6\% | 38.9\% | 38.0\% | 23.1\% | 13.6\% |
|  | 73 | 104 | 124 |  | 45 | 117 | 73 |  | 66 | 108 | 121 |  | 66 | 96 | 146 |  | 78 | 118 | 130 |  |
| Strongly | 23 | 33 | 23 | 79 | 5 | 24 | 4 | 34 | 55 | 146 | 79 | 279 | 21 | 179 | 52 | 251 | 90 | 72 | 71 | 234 |
|  | 29.0\% | 41.8\% | 29.2\% | 3.8\% | 15.1\% | 72.7\% | 12.2\% | 2.0\% | 10.2\% | 13.3\% | 17.5\% | 13.4\% | 7.2\% | 13.1\% | 15.1\% | 12.6\% | 38.7\% | 30.9\% | 30.4\% | 11.7\% |
|  | 93 | 99 | 109 |  | 102 | 102 | 89 |  | 76 | 99 | 130 |  | 57 | 104 | 121 |  | 78 | 96 | 171 |  |
| Grand To | tal |  |  | 2050 |  |  |  | 1725 |  |  |  | 2081 |  |  |  | 2000 |  |  |  | 1999 |

The chart above shows where there are statistically significant values skews.
The response choices are colour coded: red - above average at $99 \%$ confidence levels, dark orange at above $97.5 \%$, light orange at above $95 \%$; blue - below average at $99 \%$, dark green below average at $97.5 \%$, light green below average at $95 \%$.

The index is 100 where there is no departure from what would be expected by chance, ie if the proportion of people taking this option is in proportion to the frequency of their values group in the population as a whole.
(Top row choice is 'strongly disagree' with the statement, bottom row choice is 'strongly agree').

The above chart shows that at the MG Maslow Group level, there are no significant skews in the response from Argentina, and relatively few from China, although Pioneers show some skew to 'believing in' climate change. Conversely, there are strong skews across MGs in Brazil, India and especially the US; in all cases with Pioneers "leading" on 'belief in climate change' and Settlers skewing towards not believing.

Earlier UK surveys also show this effect. Values analysis and qualitative research segmented by values both suggest that this is due to a history of campaigning and political and social debate which has divided people by values. (No such history applies in China, where the government has been active in recognizing climate change for some years).

As discussed in other papers, this has tended to polarise opinion along the antagonism identified by Shalom Schwartz as 'Power versus Universalism'.

## Power versus Univeralism (a key antagonism)

This shows the recurrent values problem experienced by campaigns based on human rights, environment or international aid (etc) and which has been worsened by recession.
Discussed in the
VBCOP Campaign
Strategy
Newsletter \# 49


Use this link to access explanatory report
www.campaignstrategy.org/articles/VBCOP_unifying_strategy_model.pd
'Power' here means 'control over others', or not allowing others to tell you what to do. It is also closely correlated with the importance of 'material wealth'. So one motivational driver of 'disbelief' has been a side effect of campaigns and conclusions that Settlers and Prospectors in particular have tended to draw from 'climate communications', that if we are to 'tackle climate change', they will not get the desired new car or may have to 'give things up', and that others are telling them to
do this, particularly on ethical/ universalist grounds. A convenient way to deal with this is to chose 'not to believe in' climate change.

Another source of denial is simply change-aversion. This most affects Settlers, driven by a sense that change is always risky, and that it is best to stick to the old ways and to avoid it where possible. Settlers are the last MG to adopt new attitudes and behaviours (Pioneers being first), for example in response to climate change.

Below is data from a 2010 UK survey, of a question about 'avoiding petrol made from Tar Sands'.

## Climate Attitudes

example of a national 'issue' survey
Agree / disagree


## Willingness to act on ethical/enviro grounds

Agreement with: "I would buy a different brand of petrol to avoid using oil from environmentally damaging sources such as tar sands"



While a hypothetical question, the 'very true' response closely matches actual behaviours consistent with this response, such as membership of 'ethical' or 'good cause' groups, especially where these are change-oriented and 'universalist', like Action Aid and Greenpeace. Similar responses are given to propositions such as 'the environment: I'm not concerned, it doesn't bother me', and' concern about 'global poverty'. These are values based responses, not knowledge-based differences, and therefore giving information does not alter them, indeed it can entrench differences.

## Change Underway

Numerous surveys have shown that in countries such as the US, 'public opinion' on 'climate change', is beginning to change, in the direction of 'believing in it'. There may be several reasons for this, one laid on top of another.

- The gradual adoption of new technologies and products, and 'greener lifestyles', starting with the Pioneers but adopted by emulation by the 'Now People' Prospector Values Mode, meaning that 'green' begins to go from 'alternative' to look fashionable, then mainstream and then 'normal'. Because people tend to adopt opinions consistent with behaviours
(Kahneman's 'consistency heuristic'), such changes in behaviour begin to drive 'opinion'. Visible widespread development of renewables, particularly where it drives change with immediate benefits (such as jobs and cheaper/ more secure energy) and penetration of technologies like electric cars, are likely to cause a crash in support for criticised technologies such as fossil fuels, as the values change dynamic spreads from Pioneers, to Prospectors and Settlers. [Novel/ innovative behaviours always start with Pioneers].
- Generational shifts in the percentages of values groups. In the US, Pioneers now out-number Prospectors, and adult Settlers are a dwindling part of the population. While not all Pioneers will 'believe in' climate change, this population level shift has probably helped drive a change in net opinion. [Such cohort /generational effects have also been documented by by Ron Inglehart of the World Values Survey/ University of Michigan].
- Some change in strategy by climate adovocates, towards promoting energy saving and carbon reducing technologies like renewable energy, on grounds that resonate with the Prospector/Settler "power" nexus, such as independence from foreign energy supplies, rather than conflicting with it. Once the consequence of accepting climate change as a reality is no longer threatening, the motivational need to deny it can dissipate. [Upton Sinclair said that it is hard to persuade a man to understand something "when his salary depends upon not understanding it" - this strategy removes the basis for that perception and replaces it with one that has the opposite effect].
- Perceived direct experience of climate change: ie it is happening. This is discussed further with evidence from two surveys below but a tendency to perceive climate change as real because the weather has become "funny", "extreme", "unreliable", "chaotic", "unseasonal" etc, has recently been reported in numerous countries. Because this is often received from trusted messengers and verified by direct personal observation (ie not 'one of those campaigners' telling you what to think), the conviction that climate change is happening because of personal observation, is likely to affect Prospectors and Settlers in particular. Some Pioneers will object to this on grounds that it is not "the right" way to reach a conclusion but by and large their equivocation is likely to get lost in the fog of debate, which in this case is mainly confined to Pioneers themselves.

All this means that 'green technologies' and 'climate change as a reality' can both very suddenly become "the new normal". For campaigners that means that the terms of campaigns can and should change. Both media and political agendas and attitudes are often 'lagging indicators' in this respect.

## Being Green - Is It An Alternative Lifestyle?

Respondents to all the surveys were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement 'Being Green is an alternative lifestyle; it's not for the majority'.

Being Green is an alternative lifestyle; it's not for the majority.

| US | MG |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Pion | Prosp | Sett | Total |  |  |
| Strongly | 229 | 97 | 34 | 361 |  |  |
| disagree | 63.6\% | 27.0\% | 9.4\% | 18.0\% |  |  |
|  | 128 | 83 | 53 |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 64 | 65 | 42 | 172 |  |  |
| agree | 37.6\% | 37.8\% | 24.7\% | 8.6\% |  |  |
|  | 75 | 117 | 139 |  |  |  |
| CHINA |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 72 | 309 | 45 | 426 |  |  |
| disagree | 17.0\% | 72.5\% | 10.5\% | 24.7\% |  |  |
|  | 115 | 101 | 77 |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 16 | 87 | 25 | 128 |  |  |
| agree | 12.2\% | 68.2\% | 19.7\% | 7.4\% |  |  |
|  | 82 | 95 | 143 |  |  |  |
| ARGENT | TINA |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 255 | 259 | 153 | 667 |  |  |
| disagree | 38.3\% | 38.8\% | 22.9\% | 32.5\% |  |  |
|  | 123 | 92 | 85 |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 32 | 103 | 79 | 214 |  |  |
| agree | 14.9\% | 48.0\% | 37.1\% | 10.4\% |  |  |
|  | 48 | 114 | 138 |  |  |  |
| BRAZIL |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 106 | 151 | 35 | 292 |  |  |
| disagree | 36.2\% | 51.8\% | 12.0\% | 14.0\% |  |  |
|  | 140 | 99 | 56 |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 58 | 289 | 106 | 453 |  |  |
| agree | 12.9\% | 63.8\% | 23.3\% | 21.8\% |  |  |
|  | 50 | 121 | 108 |  |  |  |
| INDIA |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 59 | 118 | 27 | 204 |  |  |
| disagree | 28.9\% | 57.8\% | 13.3\% | 10.2\% |  |  |
|  | 201 | 84 | 78 |  |  |  |
| Strongly | 29 | 289 | 76 | 394 |  |  |
| agree | 7.4\% | 73.3\% | 19.3\% | 19.7\% |  |  |
|  | 51 | 107 | 113 |  |  |  |

The table above shows only the extremes - the strongly agrees and disagrees. In the US, China and Argentina there are more strongly disagrees than agrees, whereas it is the other way around in Brazil and India. The values skews though, show that this is a consistently values-influenced result, with Pioneers tending to strongly see 'green lifestyle' for everyone, and Settlers always over-indexing on the
opposite - saying that it is not for everyone. This is typical of an unfinished trend that starts in the Pioneers and then spreads to the Prospectors, and finally the the Settlers.

So is it possible to be more specific about who is leading the change ?

## Leading VMs: The TX and the NP

The surveys featured here included dozens more 'issue' questions but a consistent tendency within the results, was for the two Values Modes to take the most positive view of environmental priorities: the 'TX' Transcender Pioneers, and the 'NP' Now People Prospectors. These lie adjacent on the 'values map', and often appear similar to each other, although they are separated by five values transitions.

These VMs are crucial to change-dynamics, as if a behaviour moves across the TXNP 'bridge' it can spread from Pioneers to Prospectors, and then to Settlers.

The 12 Values Modes with their shorthand identifiers are, in order of transition:

## Settlers:

Roots RT

Smooth Sailing SS
Brave New World BNW
Certainty First CF
Prospectors:
Golden Dreamers GD
Happy Followers HF
Now People NP
Tomorrow People TP
Pioneers:
Transitionals TS
Concerned Ethicals CE
Flexible Individualists FI
Transcenders TX

## The Values Modes Space



Diagrammatic explation of change dynamics
The responses to the 'climate change belief' question illustrate the tendency for the TXs and NPs to take the most positive position on environmental issues. Here are the results at VM level for "strongly disagree" with that statement:

Strongly Disagree responses by VM:

| China |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Climate change - I don't believe in it. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sum of CVM |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q11_23 | TS | CE | FI | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tc |
| Strongly | 21 | 4 | 48 | 49 | 91 | 250 | 74 | 206 | 44 | 33 | 20 | 14 | 855 |
|  | 2.4\% | 0.5\% | 5.7\% | 5.7\% | 10.6\% | 29.3\% | 8.7\% | 24.1\% | 5.2\% | 3.9\% | 2.4\% | 1.6\% | 49.5\% |
|  | 86 | 68 | 84 | 124 | 98 | 117 | 96 | 91 | 89 | 96 | 93 | 119 |  |


| US |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Climate change - I don't believe in it. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sum of CVM |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q17_2 | TS | CE | FI | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tc |
| Strongly | 41 | 61 | 51 | 243 | 30 | 122 | 15 | 30 | 22 | 16 | 18 | 25 | 675 |
|  | 6.1\% | 9.1\% | 7.6\% | 36.0\% | 4.5\% | 18.1\% | 2.2\% | 4.4\% | 3.3\% | 2.4\% | 2.7\% | 3.7\% | 33.8\% |
|  | 107 | 102 | 72 | 145 | 73 | 127 | 54 | 56 | 80 | 69 | 59 | 65 |  |

INDIA
Climate change - I don't believe in it

| Sum of CVM |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A15_2 | TS | CE | FI | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tc |
| Strongly | 16 | 11 | 34 | 56 | 30 | 244 | 36 | 153 | 34 | 35 | 13 | 9 | 670 |
|  | 35.4\% | 45.7\% | 34.9\% | 45.6\% | 23.8\% | 47.5\% | 24.7\% | 26.1\% | 30.5\% | 21.4\% | 34.5\% | 32.6\% | 33.5\% |
|  | 2.3\% | 1.6\% | 5.1\% | 8.4\% | 4.5\% | 36.4\% | 5.3\% | 22.8\% | 5.1\% | 5.2\% | 1.9\% | 1.4\% |  |
|  | 106 | 137 | 104 | 136 | 71 | 142 | 74 | 78 | 91 | 64 | 103 | 97 |  |


| ARGENTINA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Climate change - I don't believe in it. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sum of CVM |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { Q11_2R } \\ \hline \text { Strongly } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | TS | CE | FI | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tc |
|  | 55 | 50 | 120 | 220 | 69 | 251 | 72 | 184 | 118 | 121 | 43 | 78 | 1380 |
|  | 4.0\% | 3.6\% | 8.7\% | 15.9\% | 5.0\% | 18.2\% | 5.2\% | 13.3\% | 8.6\% | 8.7\% | 3.1\% | 5.6\% | 67.3\% |
|  | 89 | 89 | 108 | 109 | 82 | 113 | 92 | 94 | 103 | 93 | 83 | 104 |  |


| BRAZIL |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Climate change - Idon't believe in it. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sum of CVM |  | CE | FI |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q20 2 | TS |  |  | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tc |
| Strongly | 43 | 19 | 87 | 122 | 78 | 204 | 52 | 134 | 57 | 43 | 29 | 33 | 901 |
|  | 43.5\% | 38.2\% | 46.6\% | 60.0\% | 47.3\% | 47.8\% | 37.2\% | 37.0\% | 32.8\% | 33.7\% | 37.1\% | 48.0\% | 43.3\% |
|  | 4.8\% | 2.1\% | 9.6\% | 13.6\% | 8.6\% | 22.7\% | 5.8\% | 14.8\% | 6.3\% | 4.8\% | 3.3\% | 3.6\% |  |
|  | 100 | 88 | 108 | 139 | 109 | 110 | 86 | 85 | 76 | 78 | 86 | 111 |  |

In every case, and despite the enormous differences between societies, and the large differences in overall responses to this question, the same two VMs (TX and $N P)$ emerge as showing the strongest conviction that climate change exists.

Note also the preponderance of blue and green 'under scores' to the right, amongst Settler VMs, and the GD Prospectors. There is often a divide between the NP Prospectors, with their higher sense of self-agency, and the less confident GD Prospectors.

These skews are also much stronger than effects of age, sex and socio-economic factors.

It is worth noting that in surveys we have run, whereas TXs are typically over represented as a VM in the membership of campaign groups, in most cases the NPs are heavily under-represented. In this case it is plain that they share common views of 'the issue'. The differences in involvement are mainly because the type of offers and asks put forward by campaign groups, which often do not attract NPs, and indeed, often repel them. In some cases Pioneer-dominated NGOs effectively shoot themselves in the foot by being overtly critical of the values and behaviours of NPs.

## The Values Modes Space



Above: change requirement at the TX - NP 'bridge'.

The trend seen in the 'climate belief' response is also apparent in numerous others.
Below for example is the response to the statement in India, 'Forests are important but coal is more important' (in India, some forests are dug up to get at coal).
'Forests are important but coal is more important' (India):


Forests and coal in India - the population is divided on the issue. There are marked values differences at the Maslow Group (MG level):


At a VM level, Pioneers as a whole, the TX in particular and the NPs skew to agree, while the GDs and the Settlers skew to disagree.


Identifying the exact (and partly cultural) reasons for this result would require further research.

On other energy-related questions in India, there is more agreement. For example, the statement 'I would support the Indian government diverting investment from coal to renewable energy sources' elicits a huge majority supporting such a shift of resources: $84.2 \%$ in favour to $3 \%$ against, with $12.8 \%$ saying 'neither'. There are no significant values effects at MG level but at the VM level the NPs over-score amongst the 'strongly agrees', also backed up by the GDs. This is a very strong base for change. Over half of all Indians 'strongly agree' and another 28\% agree 'somewhat'.

Similar results are seen for a change in energy systems in China, where $57 \%$ 'strongly agreed' with 'I support China reducing coal burning and increasing clean renewable energy such as wind power or solar power as the main source of electricity'.

In response to the generic statement 'The environment - I'm not concerned - it doesn't bother me', the Values Modes over-indexing on 'strongly disagree' in India, China, Argentina, the US, Brazil and in the UK, are again, the NPs and the TXs.

Similarly, while over $90 \%$ of Brazilians agree "every home should have affordable solar energy", the two VMs over indexing on 'strongly agree' are the TXs at 110 and the NPs at 107.

## 'The Climate Is Changing'

In two of the surveys discussed here we asked people to agree or disagree with the statement, "I have noticed that the climate seems to be changing". An overwhelming majority agreed in both Brazil (87.4\%) and India (88.8\%).


At the MG level there are relatively few differences: all groups agree, and in Brazil the Prospectors overindex at 107. At a Values Mode level (below), the VMs most agreeing 'strongly' are the NP Now People, the GD Golden Dreamers (the two most influential Prospector VMs at 109 and 112) and the BNWs or Brave New Worlds. The GDs and BNWs are the two VMs normally most associated with opposition to action on climate change.

Brazil (strongly agree option - 53.8\%):

| Sum of d | Vm |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Q20__13 | TS | CE | FI | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Gr and To |
| St rongly | 47 | 18 | 81 | 116 | 87 | 252 | 70 | 218 | 89 | 79 | 30 | 32 | 1120 |
|  | 47. 4 \% | 35. $9 \%$ | 43. $7 \%$ | 56. $8 \%$ | 53. $1 \%$ | 58.9\% | 50. $5 \%$ | $60.4 \%$ | 51. $5 \%$ | $61.3 \%$ | 37. $8 \%$ | 46. $6 \%$ | 53. $8 \%$ |
|  | 4. $2 \%$ | 1. $6 \%$ | 7. $3 \%$ | 10.3\% | 7. $8 \%$ | 22. $5 \%$ | 6. $3 \%$ | 19.5\% | 8. $0 \%$ | 7. $1 \%$ | 2. $7 \%$ | 2. $8 \%$ |  |
|  | 88 | 67 | 81 | 106 | 99 | 109 | 94 | 112 | 96 | 114 | 70 | 87 |  |

The picture is similar in India (strongly agree option - 52.9\%):

| A15 _ 20 |  |  |  |  | TP | NP | HF |  | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tota |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly a | 20 | 13 | 37 | 71 | 45 | 306 | 70 | 317 | 54 | 92 | 21 | 13 | 1058 |
|  | 44.7\% | 54.5\% | 38.0\% | 58.1\% | 35.0\% | 59.7\% | 48.3\% | 54.0\% | 47.9\% | 56.0\% | 57.6\% | 44.4\% | 52.9\% |
|  | 1.9\% | 1.2\% | 3.5\% | 6.8\% | 4.2\% | 29.0\% | 6.6\% | 30.0\% | 5.1\% | 8.7\% | 2.0\% | 1.2\% |  |
|  | 85 | 103 | 72 | 110 | 66 | 113 | 91 | 102 | 91 | 106 | 109 | 84 |  |

Here the NP Now People over-index at 113.
In India people were also asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement 'I don't like the way the climate is changing - pollution should be controlled to limit climate change', and $85.1 \%$ agreed. Brazilians were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement 'Pollution should be controlled to limit climate change', and $92.6 \%$ agreed. Prospectors slightly overscored on 'strongly agree' but all three MGs took the same view. At a VM level, NP and BNW overscored on 'strongly agree'

## Apparently Paradoxical Opinions

As noted above, $88.8 \%$ in India say they have noticed that the climate is changing. Yet $31 \%$ say they 'don't believe' in climate change. So how could around $20 \%$ have 'noticed' something they 'don't believe in'?

Similarly, $87.4 \%$ of Brazilians say they have noticed the climate is changing, whereas only $63 \%$ say they believe in climate change, so $24 \%$ are not 'joining the dots'. $26.3 \%$ say explicitly that they do not believe in climate change.

The answer is probably that these 'questions' are being answered in two different ways, both intuitive [= reflexive] rather than analytical. 'Belief in climate change' in these countries (the same would probably be true of most democracies) has become an identity question: there has been a political 'taking of sides', an agreeing with people-like-me. This is particularly strong with Settlers, who are over-represented amongst the 'disbelievers' in both India and Brazil, and have an unmet need to affirm 'identity'.
'Noticing climate changing' though, has not been politicised or become an identity issue. It is answered by asking whether or not you and your friends have noticed the weather acting strangely. For some at least, the two things are not being directly
connected, and the 'paradox' is probably an echo of an old dichtomy which is now dying out.

## An Electric Car

In India, the US and Brazil, we asked people if they agreed or disagreed with the statement "I'd like my next car to be an electric one". While not necessarily any sort of forecast of buying behaviour, this is a measure of aspiration and the acceptability of a breaking new 'green' technology.
64.4\% of Indians, $61.8 \%$ of Brazilians and 31.5\% of Americans 'agree'. Of the 29.6\% Indians who 'strongly agree', significantly more NP Now People strongly agree than by chance, over-indexing at 115.

| A15_13 | TS | CE |  | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tota |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly a | 14 | 5 | 15 | 33 | 28 | 175 | 42 | 190 | 31 | 41 | 11 | 8 | 593 |
|  | 31.0\% | 23.3\% | 15.8\% | 26.5\% | 21.9\% | 34.2\% | 28.8\% | 32.4\% | 27.7\% | 25.3\% | 29.2\% | 26.8\% | 29.6\% |
|  | 2.3\% | 0.9\% | 2.6\% | 5.5\% | 4.7\% | 29.6\% | 7.0\% | 32.1\% | 5.3\% | 7.0\% | 1.8\% | 1.3\% |  |
|  | 104 | 79 | 53 | 89 | 74 | 115 | 97 | 109 | 93 | 85 | 99 | 90 |  |

Amongst the 34.2\% Brazilians who 'strongly agreed', the NPs again over-indexed most strongly, at 124 , or $24 \%$ more than 'average', followed by the GD Golden Dreamer Prospectors at 114.

| Q20 _ 5 | TS | CE | FI | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS | RT | Grand Tc |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly | 31 | 12 | 47 | 74 | 57 | 181 | 39 | 141 | 53 | 33 | 28 | 16 | 712 |
|  | 31.1\% | 23.8\% | 25.3\% | 36.3\% | 34.3\% | 42.4\% | 28.3\% | 38.9\% | 30.9\% | 26.0\% | 35.4\% | 22.9\% | 34.2\% |
|  | 4.4\% | 1.6\% | 6.6\% | 10.4\% | 7.9\% | 25.5\% | 5.5\% | 19.7\% | 7.5\% | 4.7\% | 3.9\% | 2.2\% |  |
|  | 91 | 69 | 74 | 106 | 100 | 124 | 83 | 114 | 90 | 76 | 103 | 67 |  |

One significance of these findings is that in India and Brazil these are very large Values Modes. In India the NPs are $25.6 \%$ of the population. In Brazil the NPs are $20.6 \%$ of the population and the GDs 17.4\%.

The Brazilian, Indian and China surveys are of the urban population, a sample drawn from larger cities. Car ownership is growing rapidly in these countries and in car industry parlance, the "parc" is not yet full. Many of the people buying cars in these countries are new to car buying, and they may be very different to 'typical' buyers of new cars in more mature markets, where of course much buying is also of secondhand cars.

In the US, of the $31.5 \%$ who agree they want their next car to be electric, $12.9 \%$ say so 'strongly'. While the \% is smaller, here again the NP Now People over-index, at 136 but this time the TX Transcender Pioneers also over-index at 136, along with the GD Golden Dreamers at a huge 156, and the BNW Brave New Worlds at 132.

| Q17_9 | TS | CE | FI | TX | TP | NP | HF | GD | CF | BNW | SS |  | Grand Tot |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Strongly ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 5 | 17 | 19 | 87 | 9 | 50 | 4 | 32 | 6 | 12 | 7 | 11 | 258 |
|  | 1.9\% | 6.5\% | 7.4\% | 33.6\% | 3.5\% | 19.3\% | 1.5\% | 12.3\% | 2.4\% | 4.6\% | 2.7\% | 4.2\% | 12.9\% |
|  | 34 | 74 | 70 | 136 | 57 | 136 | 38 | 156 | 58 | 132 | 60 | 74 |  |

For electric car sales-people, the significance is obvious: across all three very different countries, the NP Now People are consistently enthusiastic about buying an electric car.

For campaigners and advocates of action on climate change in the US, the significance is slightly different. Here the TX Pioneers, the terminal Values Mode, is the largest, at $24.8 \%$ of the population, twice the size of the NP Now People at $14.2 \%$ and much bigger than the GD Golden Dreamers at $7.9 \%$ and the BNW Brave New Worlds at $3.5 \%$. For the TXs, with an unmet need to find new connections between their universalist, self-directed 'practical ethics' and their actions, an electric car choice will be about acting on personal responsibility for climate change: a very political choice. This is the VM which typically predominates in initiating change, new behaviours and starting and supporting universalist campaigns.

The NPs often emulate the TXs once a behaviour starts to look like a sign of success, and are the bell-weathers of 'fashion'. The fact that they are not only 'following' the TXs is not surprising but in this case, where 'climate action' has been turned into a green shopping choice, they are alongside or ahead of them (as in India and Brazil). And in the US, they are joined by the GDs and BNWs who have been the 'traditional' opponents of political action to combat climate change.

So it appears that once 'climate response' is converted from an 'issue' into choices and opportunities to get 'better things', it can enter the mainstream and escape from the dysfunctional values stand offs that have bedevilled 'climate action' in many countries in the past.

This offers politicians an opportunity to fast-track 'decarbonization' of their economies and societies, and 'detoxify' the 'climate issue' in countries like the US where it has long been seen as problematic. In the UK for example, we have surveyed the staff of Gentoo Group, which is a very green and successful housing company and found it is two thirds Prospector. Achievement oriented, futurelooking, success-seeking, optimistic and target driven, Prospector dominated organisations have long been the motor of vigorous economies: if they are now harnessed to greening economies, change may be extremely rapid.

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