Climate Change, Energy and Values: Surveys in Five Countries

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

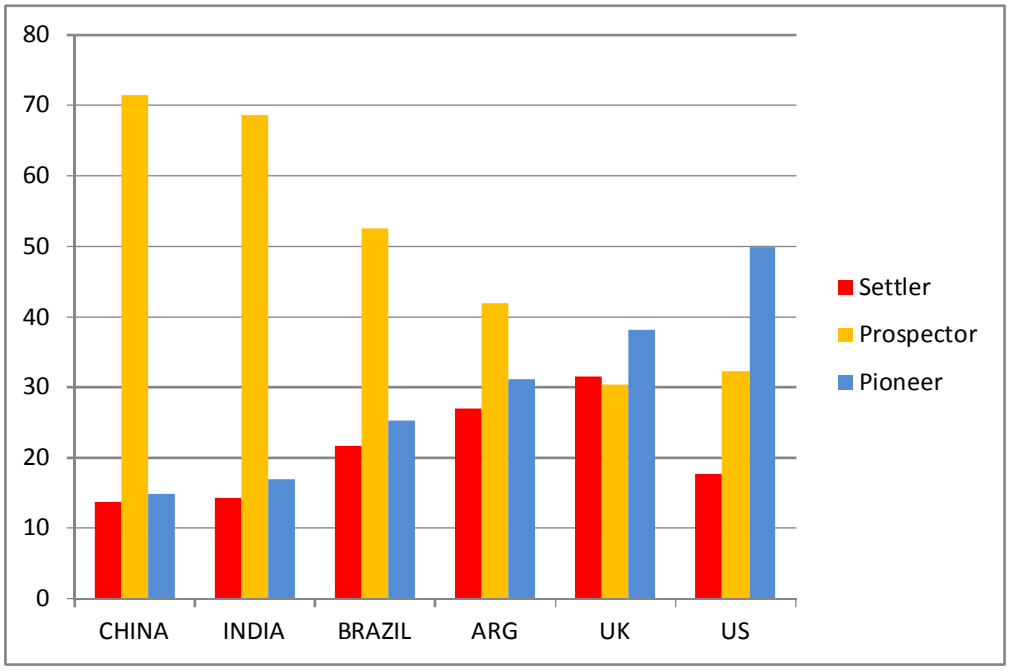
Introduction

Over the past year Campaign Strategy Ltd has worked with values-mapping 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 within the Settlers, Prospectors and Pioneers, and guidance on communicating with the three main Maslow Groups are to be found at the home page of www.campaignstrategy.org. 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. Data was collected online through Global Market Insite (GMI). The Argentina and US samples represent urban and rural populations, while those in India, China and Brazil are mostly from a set of larger cities. This may result in some departure from the 'true' National Population distribution, perhaps in particular under-estimating Settlers but it probably accurately reflects he population most engaged in national social and political dynamics. 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'

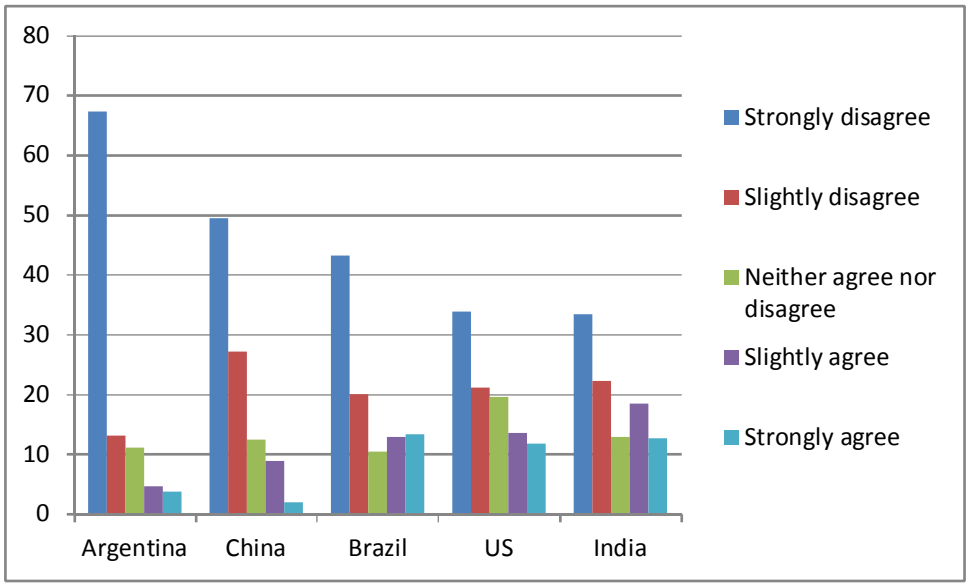
For each question in the survey, respondents were asked to select the one of five options which most closely matched their view.

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 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.

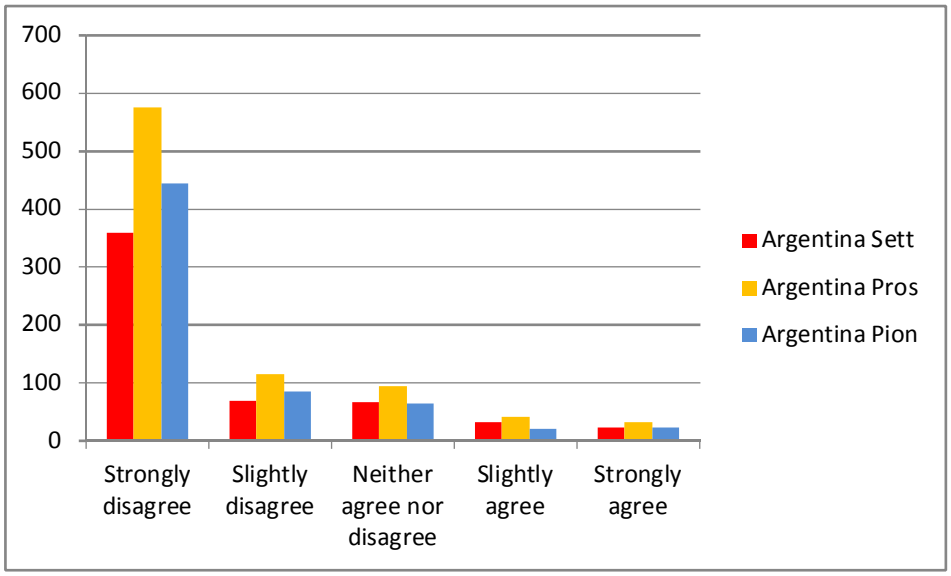


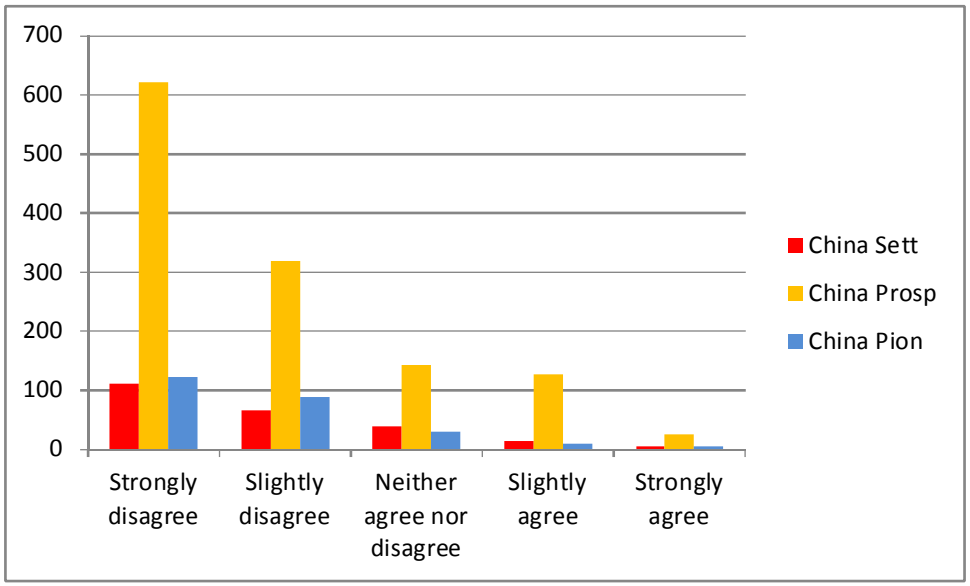
At this gross national level, the strongest 'belief in climate' change, despite their very different cultures and political systems, is in Argentina and China, while the US and India are most similar in having a larger number who say they 'don't believe' in climate change.

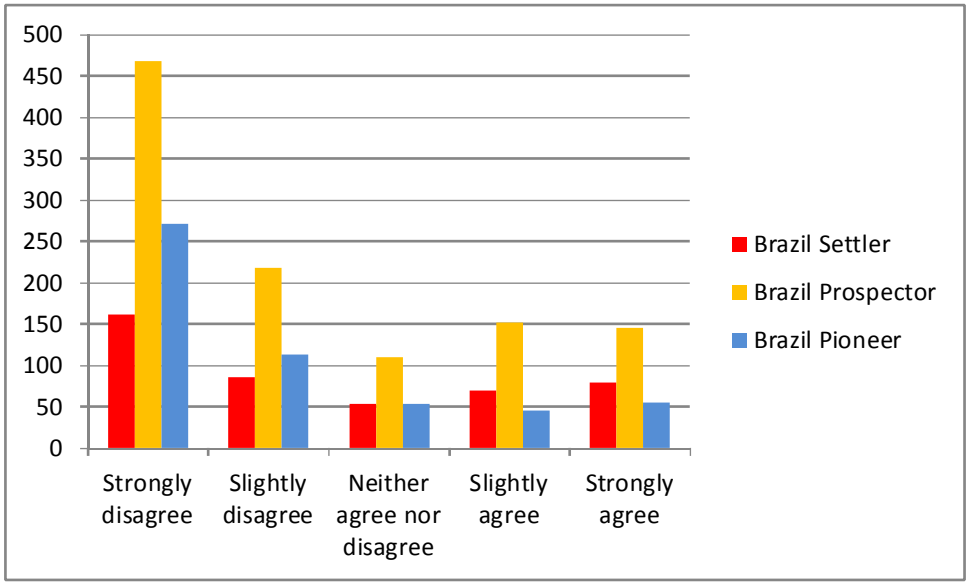
Obviously, it is possible for the media or organisers of 'debates' to find people who say they don't believe in climate change and to use that to sustain a 'debate' but the political implication is clear: there are more than enough people who do 'believe' in it to create a receptive audience for political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

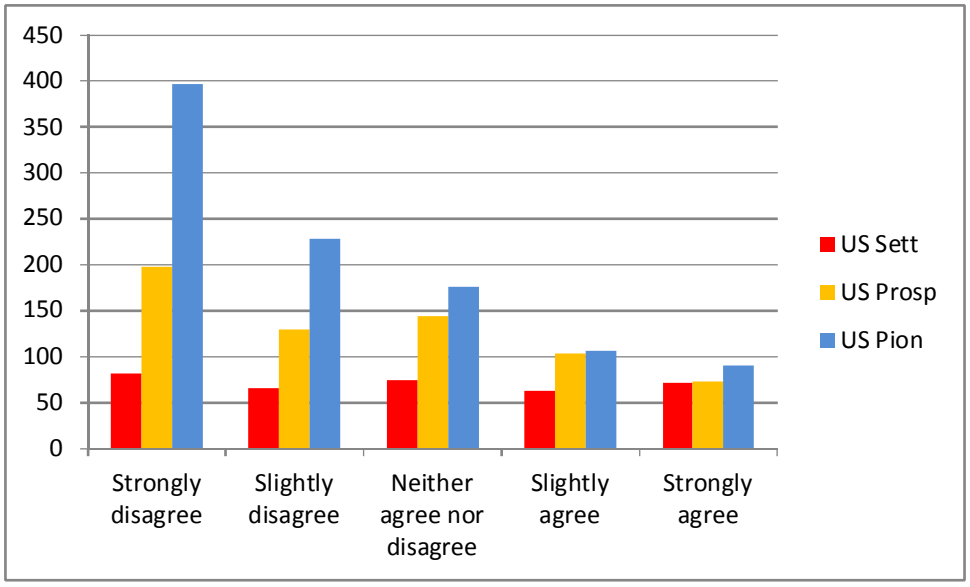
The charts below show which people by values group you might 'bump into', with which opinions, if you were to come across our sample in one of the above countries. They show the actual numbers in the sample (in each case about 2000 in total), picking those options. Of course these gross numbers are very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

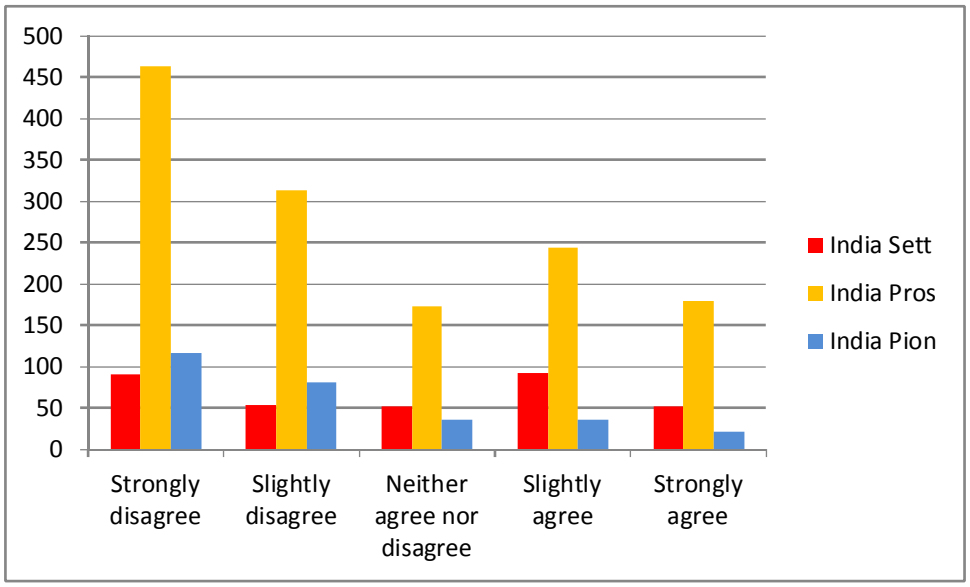
The statement is 'Climate change - I don't believe in it':


700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Strongly disagree
Slightly disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Slightly agree
Strongly agree
Argentina Sett
Argentina Pros
Argentina Pion

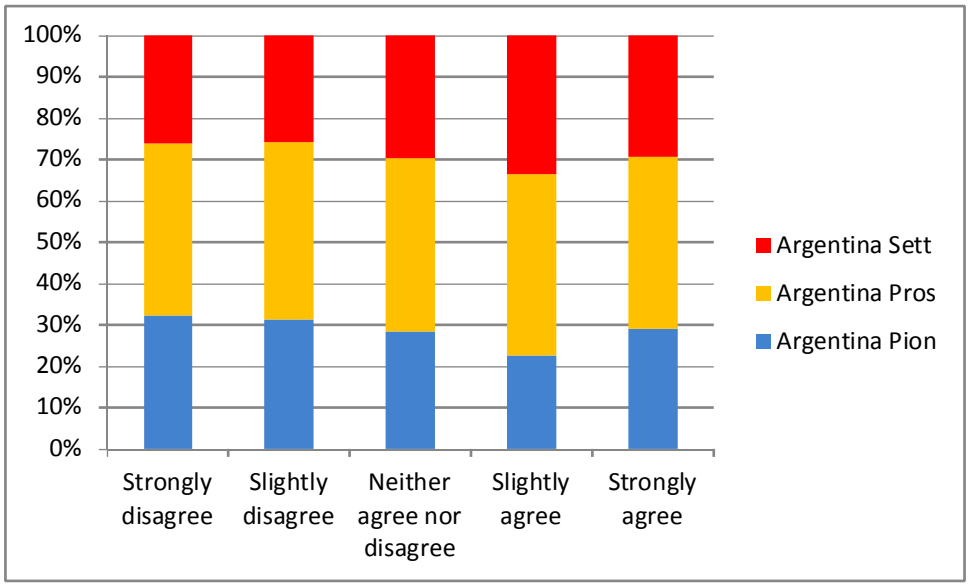

700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Strongly disagree
Slightly disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Slightly agree
Strongly agree
China Sett
China Prosp
China Pion


500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Strongly disagree
Slightly disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Slightly agree
Strongly agree
Brazil Settler
Brazil Prospector
Brazil Pioneer

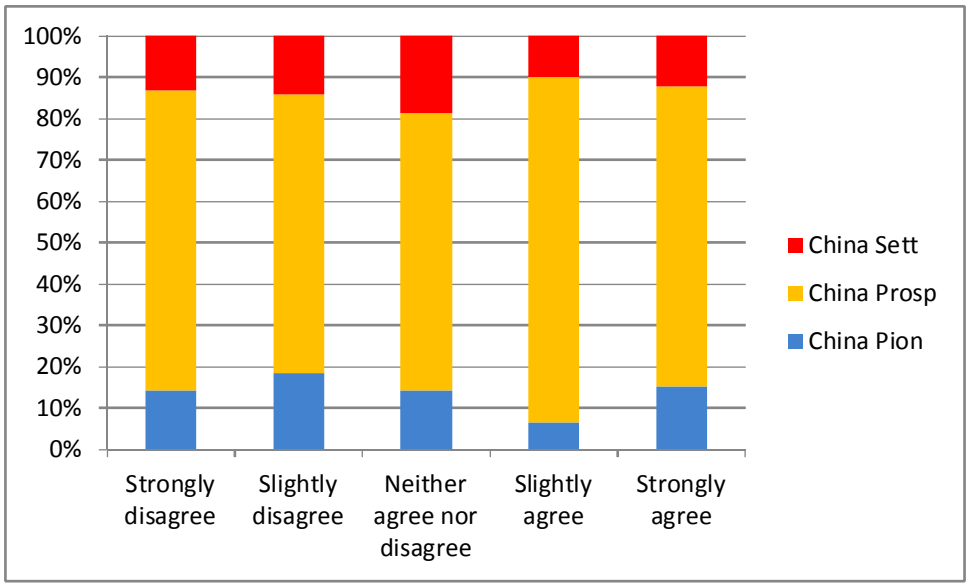

450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Strongly disagree
Slightly disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Slightly agree
Strongly agree
US Sett
US Prosp
US Pion


500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Strongly disagree
Slightly disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Slightly agree
Strongly agree
India Sett
India Pros
India Pion

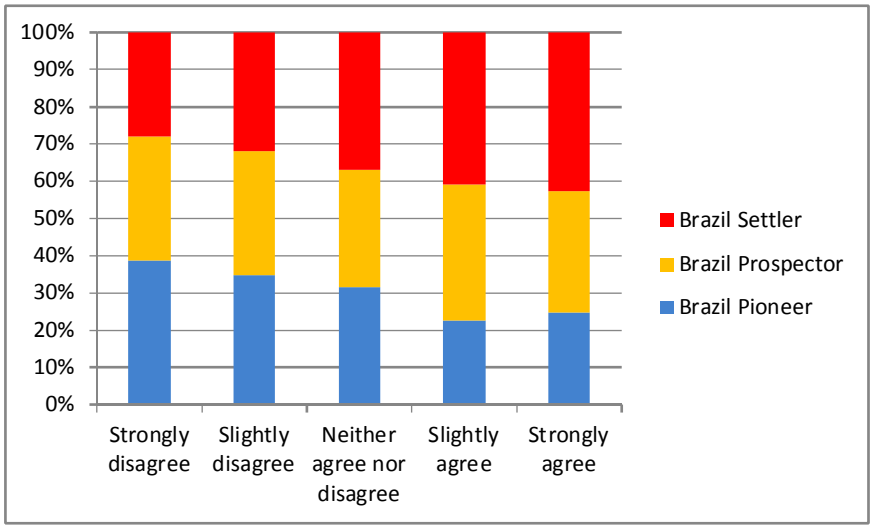
Below are the proportions of each Maslow Group making each choice. These do not show the size of each choice (see sequence above).

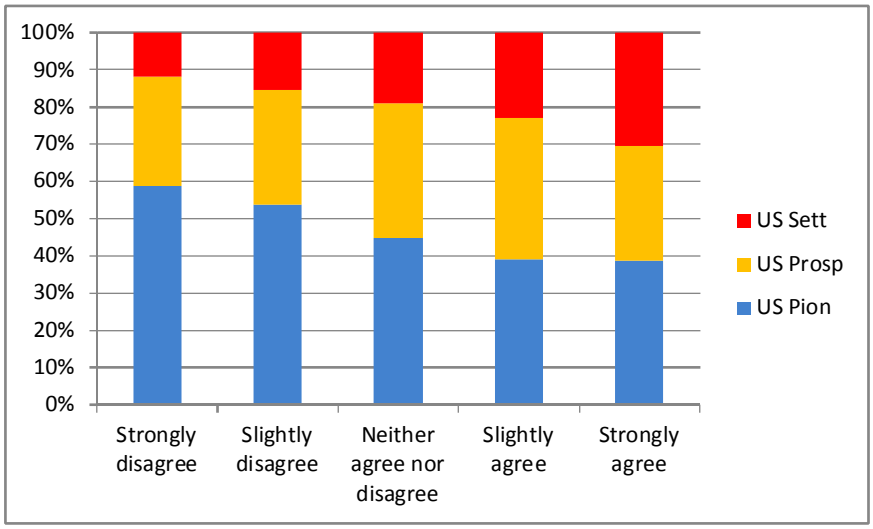


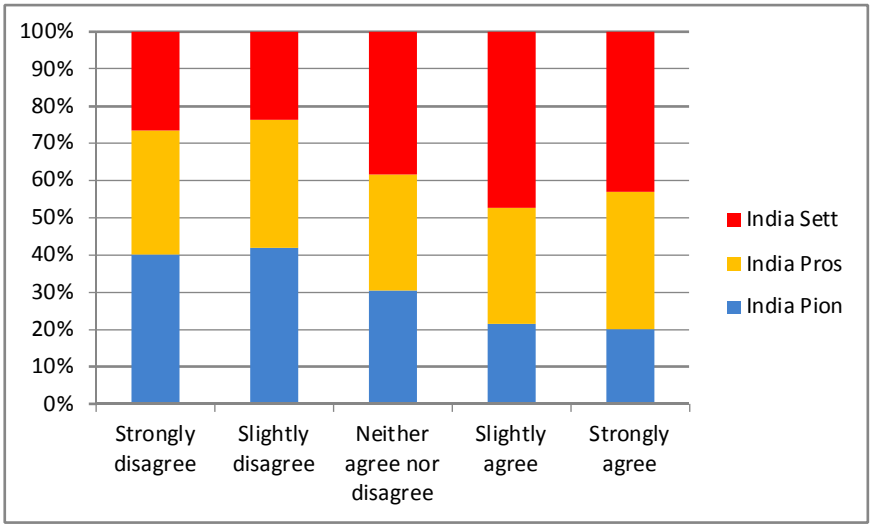
From the above you can see that 'belief' in climate change is not very different across values groups in Argentina (and as shown above, the whole country tends strongly to 'believe in climate change'). Nor (below), is it very different across groups in China.



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.







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

Climate change - I don't believe in it.																				
Sum of C	MG				China				Brazil					India				US		
Q11_2R	Pion	Prosp	Sett	Grand To	Pion	Prosp	Sett	Grand To	Pioneer	Prospec	Settler	Grand to	Pion	Pros	Sett	Grand To	Pion	Prosp	Sett	Grand To
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 c	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 a	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 a	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 Total				2050				1725				2081				2000				1999

The chart above shows where there are statistically significant values skews.

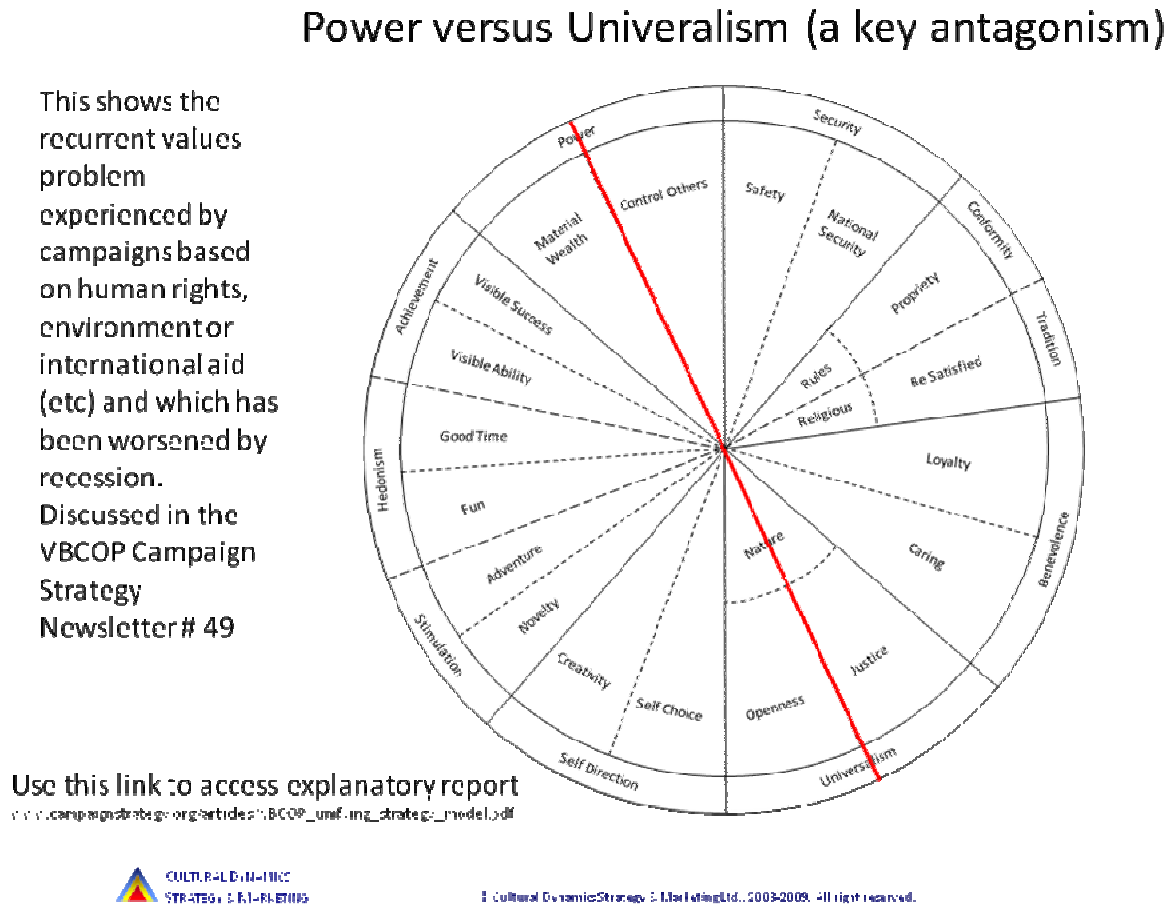
The response choices are colour coded: red – above average at 99% confidence levels, dark orange at above 97.5%, light orange at above 95%; blue – below average at 99%, dark green below average at 97.5%, light green below average at 95%.

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.

The above chart shows that at the MG Maslow Group level, there are almost 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 before, this has tended to polarise opinion along the antagonism identified by Shalom Schwartz as 'Power versus Universalism'.

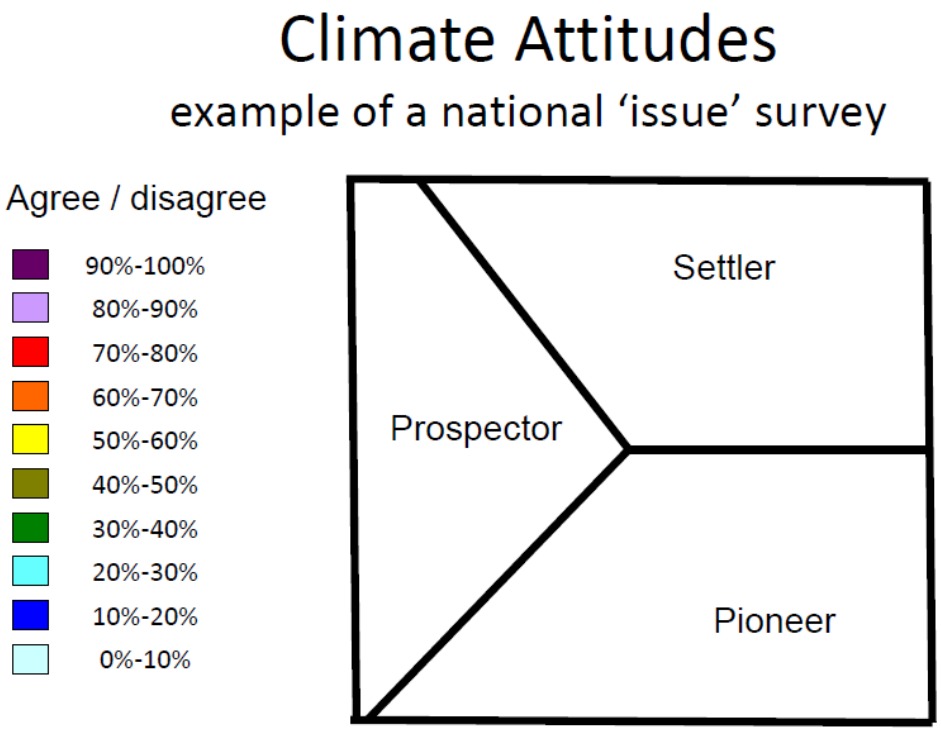


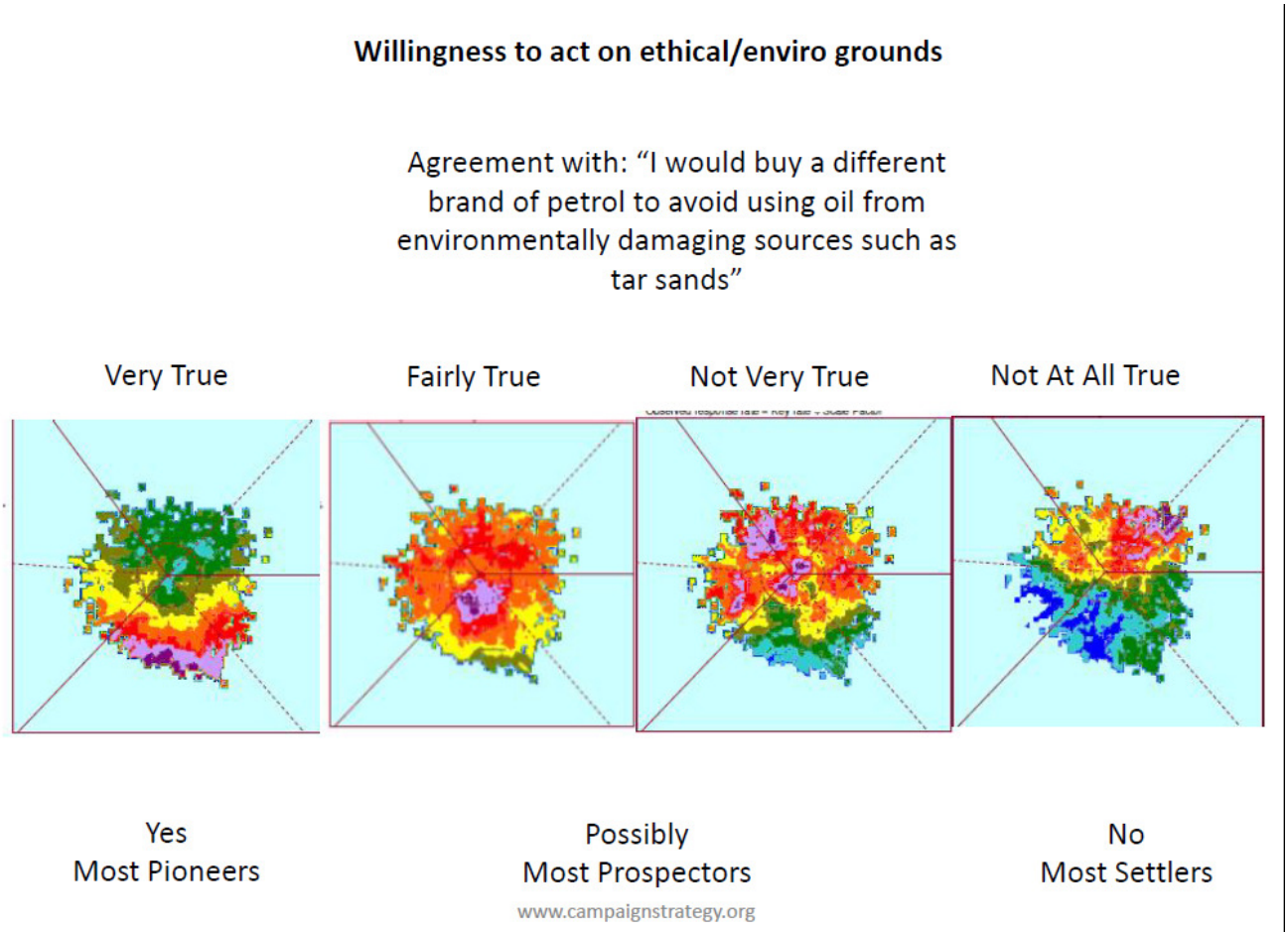
'Power' here means 'control over others', or not allowing others to tell you what to do. It is also closely correlated with the importance of 'material wealth'. So one motivational driver of 'disbelief' has been a side effect of campaigns and conclusions that Settlers and Prospectors in particular have 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 unwelcome 'message' 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'.





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, for example if there is an identity frame in play.

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.

- 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

- Some change in strategy by climate advocates, 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 consequences of accepting the reality of climate change are no longer threatening, the motivational need to deny it can dissipate.

- 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, eg Australia. 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 the case of arguing about how to reach conclusions, 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	
ARGENTINA				
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 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 TX-NP '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:

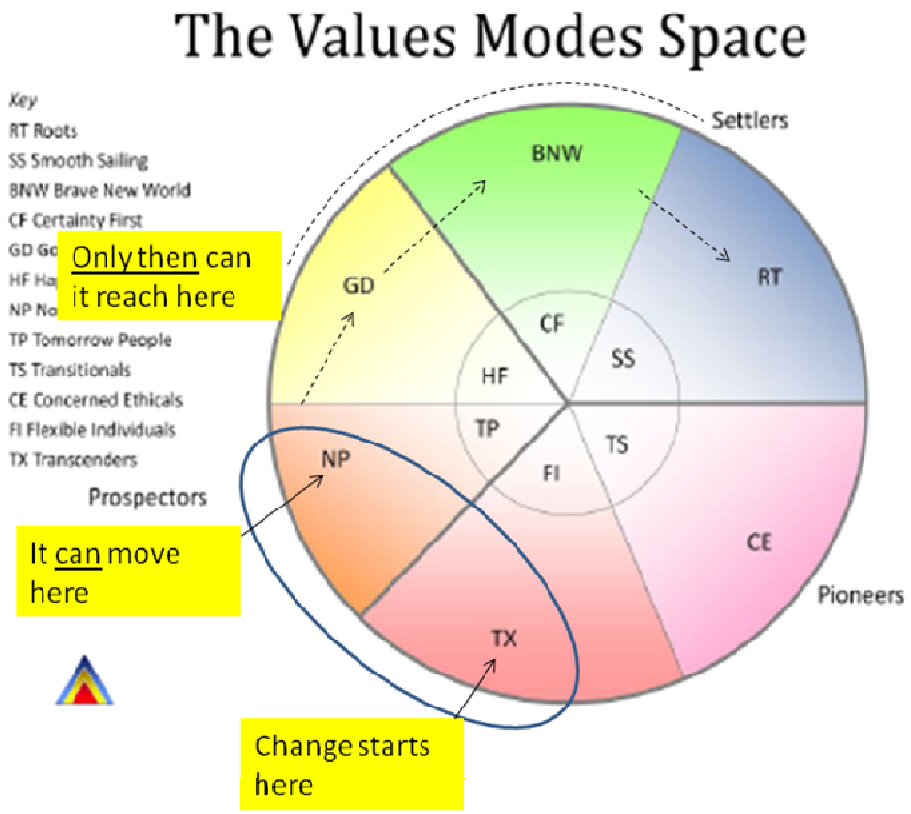
Roots	RT
Smooth Sailing	SS
Brave New World	BNW
Certainty First	CF

Prospectors:

Golden Dreamers	GD
Happy Followers	HF
Now People	NP
Tomorrow People	TP

Pioneers:

Transitionals	TS
Concerned Ethicals	CE
Flexible Individualists	FI
Transcenders	TX



Above: Diagrammatic explanation 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 C	VM												
Q11_23	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	CF	BNW	SS	RT	Grand To
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 C	VM												
Q17_2	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	CF	BNW	SS	RT	Grand To
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 C	VM												
A15__2	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	CF	BNW	SS	RT	Grand To
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 C	VM												
Q11_2R	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	CF	BNW	SS	RT	Grand To
Strongly	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 - I don't believe in it.													
Sum of C	VM												
Q20__2	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	CF	BNW	SS	RT	Grand To
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	

[All above: strongly disagree with the statement]

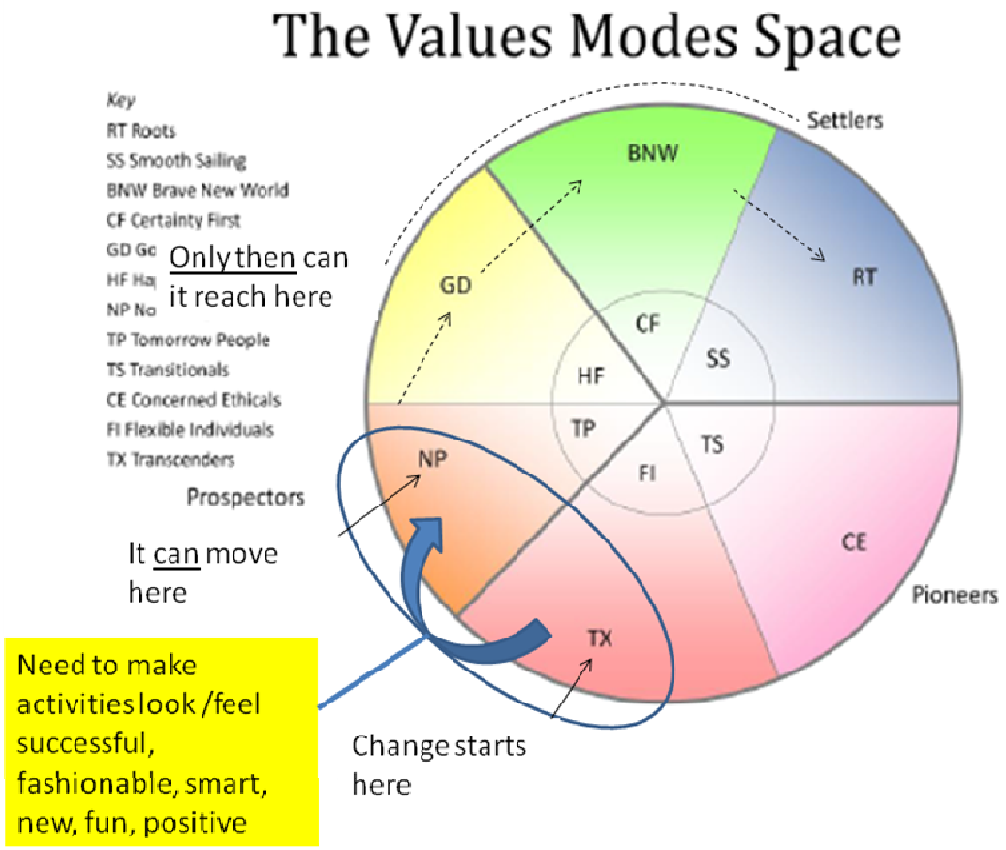
In every case, and despite the enormous differences between societies, and the large differences in overall responses to this question, the same two VMs (TX and NP) emerge as showing the strongest conviction that climate change exists.

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 GDs.

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 because NGOs are even overtly critical of the values and behaviours of NPs. For many reasons, the single greatest gain for climate campaigns in terms of leveraging support of audiences, will come from better engaging NPs (see for example, the experiments of Global Cool).

Note also (below 'Apparently Paradoxical Opinions') that it is not necessary to 'believe in' climate change to support taking action to cut climate-changing pollution and renewable energy, or even to perceive that it is happening.

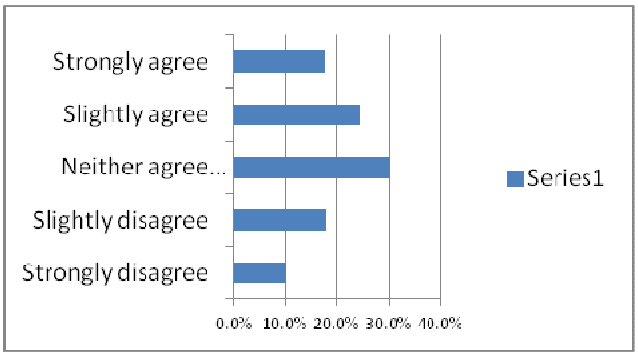


Above: diagrammatic explanation of change and requirement to catalyse change at the TX – NP 'bridge'.

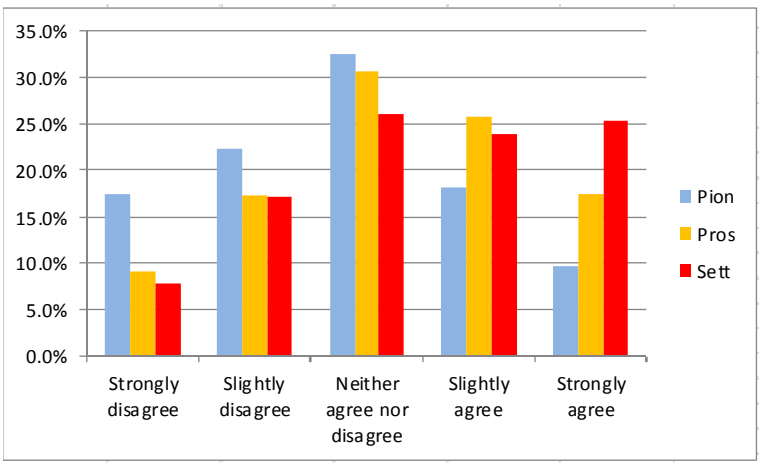
The trend seen in the 'climate belief' response is also apparent in numerous others.

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 split. 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.

	VM												
	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	CF	BNW	SS	RT	Grand Total
Strongly disagree	8	5	9	28	8	62	11	44	8	8	5	5	201
	17.1%	22.7%	9.6%	22.8%	6.5%	12.0%	7.4%	7.5%	7.5%	4.6%	14.8%	18.6%	10.1%
	3.8%	2.6%	4.7%	13.9%	4.2%	30.7%	5.3%	21.7%	4.2%	3.7%	2.7%	2.6%	
	170	225	96	227	65	120	73	74	74	46	147	185	
Slightly disagree	6	5	22	31	28	116	27	65	21	21	10	5	358
	14.6%	23.2%	22.3%	25.0%	21.9%	22.6%	18.7%	11.1%	19.0%	12.9%	28.9%	17.9%	17.9%
	1.8%	1.5%	6.1%	8.6%	7.8%	32.3%	7.6%	18.1%	6.0%	5.9%	2.9%	1.4%	
	81	130	125	140	122	126	104	62	106	72	162	100	
Neither agree nor disagree	15	8	32	38	46	156	53	167	34	40	7	7	602
	33.6%	36.3%	33.3%	30.5%	35.5%	30.3%	36.4%	28.5%	30.3%	24.5%	19.3%	26.0%	30.1%
	2.5%	1.4%	5.4%	6.2%	7.6%	25.8%	8.7%	27.7%	5.7%	6.7%	1.2%	1.2%	
	112	121	111	101	118	101	121	95	101	81	64	86	
Slightly agree	7	2	26	17	34	103	33	182	30	39	8	4	485
	15.8%	9.2%	26.4%	14.1%	26.4%	20.1%	22.5%	31.1%	26.4%	23.7%	22.7%	15.3%	24.3%
	1.4%	0.4%	5.3%	3.6%	7.0%	21.3%	6.7%	37.6%	6.1%	8.0%	1.7%	0.9%	
	65	38	109	58	109	83	93	128	109	98	94	63	
Strongly agree	8	2	8	9	12	77	22	128	19	56	5	6	353
	18.9%	8.6%	8.3%	7.5%	9.7%	15.0%	15.1%	21.9%	16.8%	34.2%	14.2%	22.3%	17.7%
	2.4%	0.6%	2.3%	2.6%	3.5%	21.7%	6.2%	36.3%	5.4%	15.8%	1.5%	1.8%	
	107	49	47	43	55	85	85	124	95	194	81	126	
Grand Total	44	23	97	123	128	513	145	586	113	164	36	28	2000
	2.2%	1.1%	4.9%	6.1%	6.4%	25.6%	7.2%	29.3%	5.6%	8.2%	1.8%	1.4%	

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'.

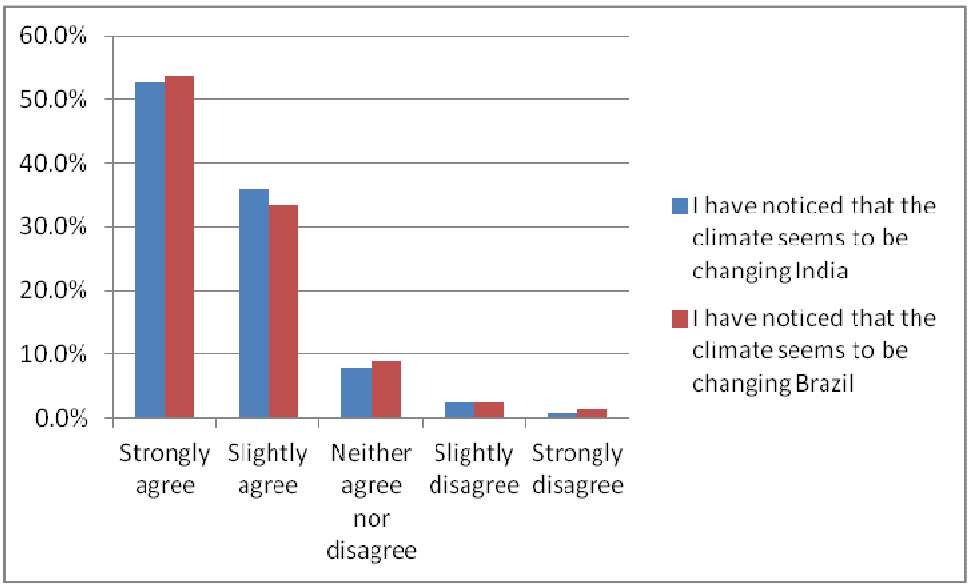
Similar results are seen for a change in energy systems in China, where 57% 'strongly agreed' with 'I support China reducing coal burning and increasing clean renewable energy such as wind power or solar power as the main source of electricity'.

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 over index 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%):

I have noticed that the climate seems to be changing.													
Sum of CVM													
Q20__13	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	CF	BNW	SS	RT	Grand To
Strongly	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	TS	CE	FI	TX	TP	NP	HF	GD	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 over scored on 'strongly agree' but all three MGs took the same view. At a VM level, NP and BNW over scored 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 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 as well as other countries, 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 dichotomy 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	FI	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 To
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 second-hand 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	RT	Grand Tot
Strongly 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 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, future-looking, 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.

Conclusions

These large surveys indicate that across a range of countries with very different social and political systems, and at different stages of development, Maslowian values exert a powerful and rather consistent effect on 'belief in climate change'.

At a Values Mode level the TXs and NPs, the Transcender Pioneers and the Prospector Now People, repeatedly emerge as the vanguard of willingness to recognize the need for change in personal behaviours, technologies and policies.

Where there are aspirational choices about greener products such as electric cars, they may also be joined by the GD Golden Dreamer Prospectors, who otherwise are often part of the minority base 'disbelieving' in climate change.

Majorities 'believe in' climate change in Argentina, China, US, Brazil and India. It seems likely that active 'disbelief' in climate change is a residual consequence of past divisions, making it an identity question. [There is no such division in China]. At the same time, 'noticing' climate change is happening, is probably decided by a separate process, based on personal observation of unfamiliar weather and social conversations. For most people neither matter is decided analytically, and the survey results in India and Brazil show that some people have noticed climate is changing, while also not believing in climate change.

Rather than try to 'fix' anomalous public opinion, campaigners and governments making policy should utilise the multiple factors driving acceptance of climate change as a reality and the benefits of new greener technologies, in particular to engage and harness Prospectors as individuals and businesses, to accelerate change.

Acknowledgement and Disclaimer: The author wishes to thank Pat Dade of CDSM (pat@cultdyn.co.uk) for commenting on earlier drafts and permission to use UK data, and Amrekha Sharma at Greenpeace (amrekha.sharma@greenpeace.org) for permission to use results from the surveys it commissioned. The views expressed in this paper represent those of the author alone and not those of CDSM or Greenpeace.