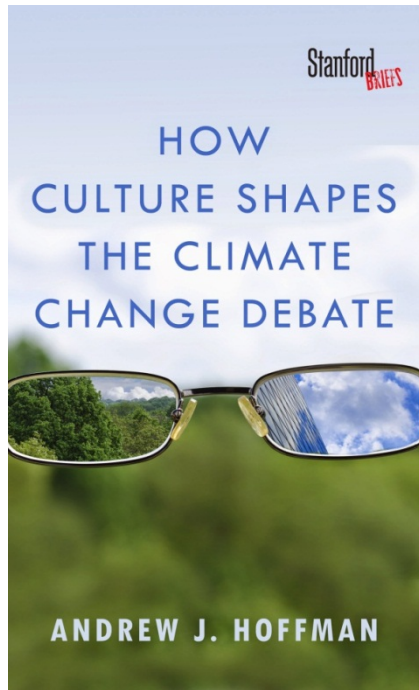


# How Culture Shapes the Climate Change Debate



**Andrew J. Hoffman**

*Education Director, Graham Sustainability Institute  
Ross School of Business/School of Natural Resources & Environment  
University of Michigan*



**Just Sustainability**  
Hope for the Commons

August 7, 8, 9, 2016

[JS2016.org](http://JS2016.org)

*Center for Environmental Justice and Sustainability  
Seattle University*



SCHOOL OF NATURAL RESOURCES & ENVIRONMENT  
STEPHEN M. ROSS SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

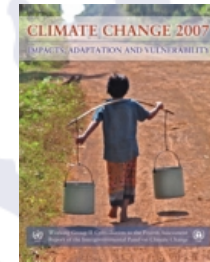
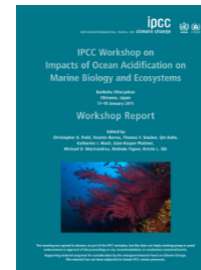
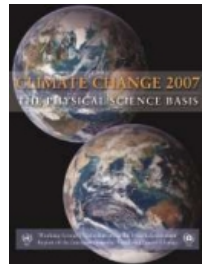
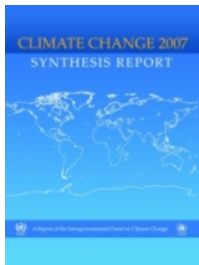
 [@HoffmanAndy](https://twitter.com/HoffmanAndy)

# *Divergent Trends*

## Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

*2013 -- “Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, and since the 1950s, many of the observed changes are unprecedented over decades to millennia.”*

*2014 -- “Human interference with the climate system is occurring, and climate change poses risks for human and natural systems.”*



# Divergent Trends

Academia Brasileira de Ciências, Brazil  
Academia Chilena de Ciencias, Chile  
Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa, Portugal  
Academia de Ciencias de la República Dominicana  
Academia de Ciencias Físicas, Venezuela  
Academia de Ciencias Medicas, Fisicas y Naturales de Guatemala  
Academia Mexicana de Ciencias, Mexico  
Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia  
Academia Nacional de Ciencias del Peru  
Academia Sinica, Taiwan, China  
Académie des Sciences et Techniques du Sénégal  
Académie des Sciences, France  
Academy Council of the Royal Society of New Zealand  
Academy of Athens, Greece  
Academy of Science of Mozambique  
Academy of Science of South Africa  
Academy of Sciences Malaysia  
Academy of Sciences of Moldova  
Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic  
Academy of Sciences of the Islamic Republic of Iran  
Academy of Scientific Research and Technology, Egypt  
Academy of the Royal Society of New Zealand  
Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Italy  
African Academy of Sciences  
Albanian Academy of Sciences  
Australian Academy of Science  
Bangladesh Academy of Sciences  
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences  
Cameroon Academy of Sciences

Caribbean Academy of Sciences  
Chinese Academy of Sciences  
Colombian Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences  
Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences  
Cuban Academy of Sciences  
Delegation of the Finnish Academies of Science and Letters  
Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina, Germany  
European Academy of Sciences and Arts  
Georgian Academy of Sciences  
Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences  
Indian National Science Academy (India)  
Indonesian Academy of Sciences  
InterAcademy Council  
International Council of Academies of Engineering and Technological Sciences  
Islamic World Academy of Sciences  
Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities  
Kenya National Academy of Sciences  
Korean Academy of Science and Technology  
Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts  
Latin American Academy of Sciences  
Latvian Academy of Sciences  
Lithuanian Academy of Sciences  
Matemáticas y Naturales de Venezuela  
Mauritius Academy of Science and Technology  
Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts  
National Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences, Argentina  
National Academy of Sciences, United States  
National Academy of Sciences of Armenia  
National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic  
National Academy of Sciences, Sri Lanka  
National Research Council, United States  
Network of African Science Academies  
Nicaraguan Academy of Sciences

Nigerian Academy of Sciences  
Norwegian Academy of Sciences and Letters  
Pakistan Academy of Sciences  
Palestine Academy for Science and Technology  
Polish Academy of Sciences  
Romanian Academy  
Royal Academies for Science and the Arts of Belgium  
Royal Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences of Spain  
Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters  
Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Sciences and the Arts  
Royal Irish Academy  
Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences  
Royal Scientific Society of Jordan  
Royal Society of Canada  
Royal Society of New Zealand  
Royal Society of the United Kingdom  
Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences  
Russian Academy of Sciences  
Science Council of Japan  
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
Slovak Academy of Sciences  
Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
Sudanese National Academy of Science  
Tanzania Academy of Sciences  
Turkish Academy of Sciences  
TWAS - The academy of sciences for the developing world  
Uganda National Academy of Sciences  
Union of German Academies of Sciences and Humanities  
Zimbabwe Academy of Sciences

# Divergent Trends

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Academy Council of the Royal Society of New Zealand

Academy of Athens, Greece

Academy of Science of Mozambique

## **Academy of Science of South Africa**

Academy of Sciences Malaysia

Academy of Sciences of Moldova

Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

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Indonesian Academy of Sciences

InterAcademy Council

International Council of Academies of Engineering and Technological Sciences

Islamic World Academy of Sciences

Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities

Kenya National Academy of Sciences

Korean Academy of Science and Technology

Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts

Latin American Academy of Sciences

Latvian Academy of Sciences

Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

Matemáticas y Naturales de Venezuela

Mauritius Academy of Science and Technology

Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts

National Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences, Argentina

## **National Academy of Sciences, United States**

National Academy of Sciences of Armenia

National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic

National Academy of Sciences, Sri Lanka

National Research Council, United States

Network of African Science Academies

Nicaraguan Academy of Sciences

Nigerian Academy of Sciences

Norwegian Academy of Sciences and Letters

Pakistan Academy of Sciences

Palestine Academy for Science and Technology

Polish Academy of Sciences

Romanian Academy

Royal Academies for Science and the Arts of Belgium

Royal Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences of Spain

Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Sciences and the Arts

Royal Irish Academy

Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences

Royal Scientific Society of Jordan

## **Royal Society of Canada**

Royal Society of New Zealand

## **Royal Society of the United Kingdom**

Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences

## **Russian Academy of Sciences**

## **Science Council of Japan**

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Turkish Academy of Sciences

TWAS - The academy of sciences for the developing world

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Union of German Academies of Sciences and Humanities

Zimbabwe Academy of Sciences

# Divergent Trends

- **Farnsworth, S. and S. Lichter (2011)** “The structure of scientific opinion on climate change,” *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Survey of 489 scientists working in academia, government, and industry members of the American Geophysical Union or the American Meteorological Society. Of those surveyed, **97%** agreed that that global temperatures have risen over the past century. Moreover, **84%** agreed that "human-induced greenhouse warming" is now occurring. Only 5% disagreed with the idea that human activity is a significant cause of global warm
- **Doran, P. and M. Kendall Zimmerman (2009)**. "Examining the Scientific Consensus on Climate Change". *EOS 90 (3): 22–23*. 3,146 of the 10,257 polled Earth scientists. Among all respondents, **90%** agreed that temperatures have risen compared to pre-1800 levels, and 82% agreed that humans significantly influence the global temperature.
- **Bray, D. and H. von Storch (2008)**. "A Survey of the Perspectives of Climate Scientists Concerning Climate Science and Climate Change" 2,058 climate scientists from 34 different countries. "How convinced are you that climate change, whether natural or anthropogenic, is occurring now?" got **93.8%** very much agree (67.1%) or to some large extent (26.7%), 6.2% said to some small extent (2–4), none said not at all. Question 21 "How convinced are you that most of recent or near future climate change is, or will be, a result of anthropogenic causes?" received **83.5%** very much agree, (34.6%) or agreeing to a large extent (48.9%), 15.1% to a small extent (2–4), and 1.35% not agreeing at all.
- **Lichter, R. (2008)**. "Climate Scientists Agree on Warming, Disagree on Dangers, and Don't Trust the Media's Coverage of Climate Change". *Statistical Assessment Service, George Mason University*. 489 randomly selected members of either the American Meteorological Society or the American Geophysical Union. **97%** agreed that global temperatures have increased during the past 100 years; **84%** say they personally believe human-induced warming is occurring, and 74% agree that “currently available scientific evidence” substantiates its occurrence. Only 5% believe that that human activity does not contribute to greenhouse warming; and 84% believe global climate change poses a moderate to very great danger.
- **Anderegg, W., J. Prall, J. Harold, and S. Schneider (2010)**. "Expert credibility in climate change". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*. Survey of 1,372 climate researchers found that **97–98%** of the climate researchers most actively publishing in the field support the tenets of ACC (Anthropogenic Climate Change) outlined by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and (ii) the relative climate expertise and scientific prominence of the researchers unconvinced of about CC are substantially below that of the convinced researchers.

# Divergent Trends

1. Cook, J., D. Nuccitelli, S. Green, M. Richardson, B. Winkler, R. Painting, R. Way, P. Jacobs and A. Skuce (2013) "Quantifying the consensus on anthropogenic global warming in the scientific literature," *Environmental Research Letters*. A study of 11 944 climate abstracts from 1991–2011 in the peer reviewed literature matching the topics 'global climate change' or 'global warming' found that 66.4% of abstracts expressed no position on AGW, 32.6% endorsed AGW, 0.7% rejected AGW and 0.3% were uncertain about the cause of global warming. Among abstracts expressing a position on AGW, **97.1% endorsed the consensus position** that humans are causing global warming.
2. Oreskes, N. (2004). "Beyond the Ivory Tower: The Scientific Consensus on Climate Change" *Science* 306 (5702): 1686. 928 abstracts of papers from refereed scientific journals between 1993 and 2003, listed with the keywords "global climate change". Oreskes divided the abstracts into six categories: explicit endorsement of the consensus position, evaluation of impacts, mitigation proposals, methods, paleoclimate analysis, and rejection of the consensus position. 75% of the abstracts were placed in the first three categories, thus either explicitly or implicitly accepting the consensus view; 25% dealt with methods or paleoclimate, thus taking no position on current anthropogenic climate change; **none of the abstracts disagreed with the consensus position**

# Divergent Trends

**American Association for the Advancement of Science:** "The conclusions in this statement reflect the **scientific consensus** represented by, for example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and the Joint National Academies' statement."

AAAS (2006) *Board Statement on Climate Change*

[http://www.aaas.org/news/press\\_room/climate\\_change/mtg\\_200702/aaas\\_climate\\_statement.pdf](http://www.aaas.org/news/press_room/climate_change/mtg_200702/aaas_climate_statement.pdf)

**US National Academy of Sciences:** "In the judgment of most climate scientists, Earth's warming in recent decades has been caused primarily by human activities that have increased the amount of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. ... On climate change, [the National Academies' reports] have assessed **consensus findings on the science**..." NAS (2008)

*Understanding and Responding to Climate Change*

<http://dels-old.nas.edu/climatechange/understanding-climate-change.shtml>

# *Divergent Trends*

Belief in the science of climate change declined from 71 to 57 percent among Americans between 2008 and 2009 (Pew Research Center, 2009) and rose to 67 percent by 2012 (Borricks and Rabe, 2013).

American Association for the Advancement of Science: "The conclusions in this statement reflect the... Climate Ch... AAAS (200... [http://www.aaas\\_clima](http://www.aaas_clima)

US National... in recent d... amount of... Academies... Understand... <http://dels>



# ***Divergent Trends***

Belief that “most scientists think global warming is happening” declined from 47 to 39 percent among Americans between 2008 and 2011 (Ding, et al, 2011).

American Association for the Advancement of Science: "The conclusions in this statement reflect the... Climate Ch... AAAS (200... [http://www.aaas\\_clima](http://www.aaas_clima)

US National... in recent d... amount of... Academies... warming... e... *Understanding and Responding to Climate Change*  
<http://dels-old.nas.edu/climatechange/understanding-climate-change.shtml>

# *Climate Change as a Cultural Issue*



*Cigarettes and human health*

**Scientific  
Consensus**



**Social  
Consensus**

# Climate Change as a Cultural Issue

113,597 DOCTORS FROM COAST TO COAST WERE ASKED:

Family doctors, surgeons, those and those specialists... doctors in every branch of medicine were asked: "What cigarette do you smoke?"

These nationally known independent research groups did the asking.

The answers came in by the thousands. Actual statements from doctors themselves. The result? Camels... overwhelmingly!

According to this recent Nationwide survey:

## MORE DOCTORS SMOKE CAMELS THAN ANY OTHER CIGARETTE!

This is no casual claim. It's an actual fact. Based on the statements of doctors themselves to three nationally known independent research organizations.

THE QUESTION was very simple. One that you... any smoker... might ask a doctor: "What cigarette do you smoke, Doctor?"

After all, doctors are human too. Like you, they smoke for pleasure. Their taste, like yours, enjoys the pleasing flavor of costlier tobaccos. Their throats too appreciate a cool mildness.

And more doctors named Camels than any other cigarette!

If you are a Camel smoker, this preference for Camels among physicians and surgeons will not surprise you. But

if you are not now smoking Camels, try them. Compare them in your "T-Zone."

**THE "T-ZONE" TEST WILL TELL YOU**

The "T-Zone" is the throat and the lungs. It's the zone where you feel the effects of any cigarette. You will know the difference between the soft, smooth taste of Camels and the harsh, irritating taste of other tobaccos. You will know the difference between the cool, mildness of Camels and the harsh, irritating taste of other tobaccos.

CAMEL — COSTLIER TOBACCOS NEVER GET ON YOUR NERVES!

## Viceroy's FILTER the Smoke!

As your Dentist, I would recommend Viceroy's

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

# A FACT!

SCIENCE ADVANCES NEW DATA THAT MAY COMPLETELY CHANGE YOUR IDEAS OF CIGARETTES!

Experience of Camel Smokers Confirmed

There's a basic discovery that doctors now tell us you can't know about cigarette smoke by looking at the "tar" and "nicotine" content of a cigarette. The "tar" and "nicotine" content of a cigarette are not the only factors that determine how a cigarette will affect you. The "tar" and "nicotine" content of a cigarette are not the only factors that determine how a cigarette will affect you.

EFFECTS IN NATURE

The effect is produced by Camels in a wholly natural and entirely delightful way.

So, whenever you feel your throat and lungs, you'll find a Camel.

You can smoke one of these delightful Camels in your car. You can smoke your first of every year and over again. And you need never worry about your nerves. For remember! Camel's costlier tobacco never get on your nerves.

**CAMEL'S COSTLIER TOBACCOS NEVER GET ON YOUR NERVES!**

SMOKE THIS FEELING! The feeling of being you "all in" is the feeling of the costlier of the Camels. It's the feeling of the costlier of the Camels. It's the feeling of the costlier of the Camels.

Get a **LIFT** with a Camel!

ALL OVER AMERICA... MORE SCIENTISTS AND EDUCATORS SMOKE KENT with the MICRONITE FILTER than any other cigarette!

SMOKE CIGARETTES IN AN HOUR	SMOKE ENERGY
10	100
20	200
30	300
40	400
50	500
60	600
70	700
80	800
90	900
100	1000

For good smoking taste, it makes good sense to smoke KENT

REGULAR SIZE KING SIZE OR CRUSH PROOF BOX

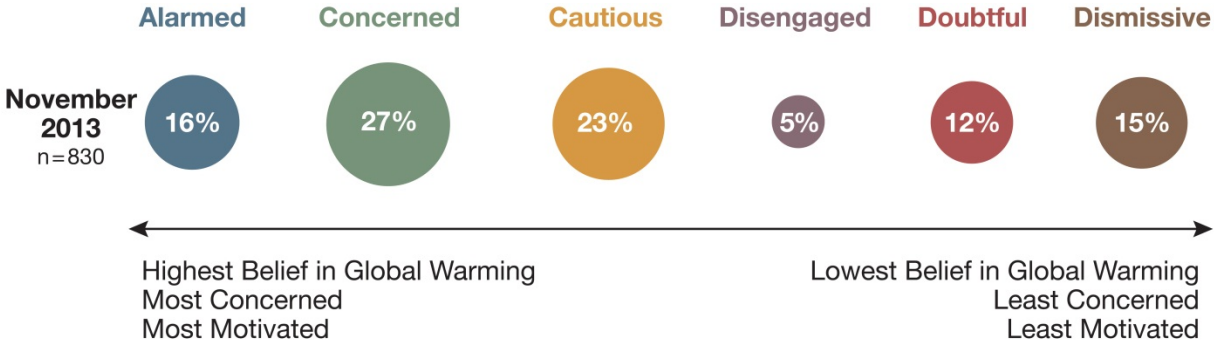
A PRODUCT OF H. LORILLARD COMPANY, INC. WITH THE FINEST CIGARETTES THROUGH LORILLARD RESEARCH

# *Climate Change as a Cultural Issue*

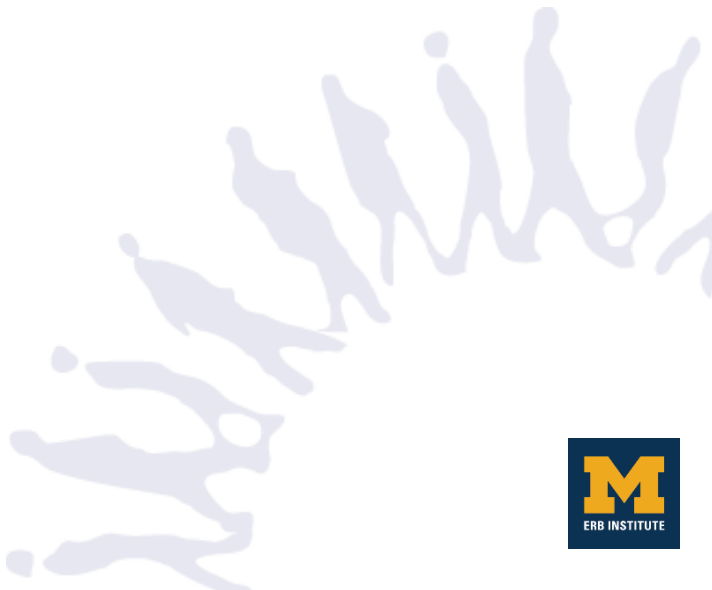
Two-thirds of Americans rarely if ever discuss global warming with family or friends.

Source: Yale Project on Climate Change Communication, 2013

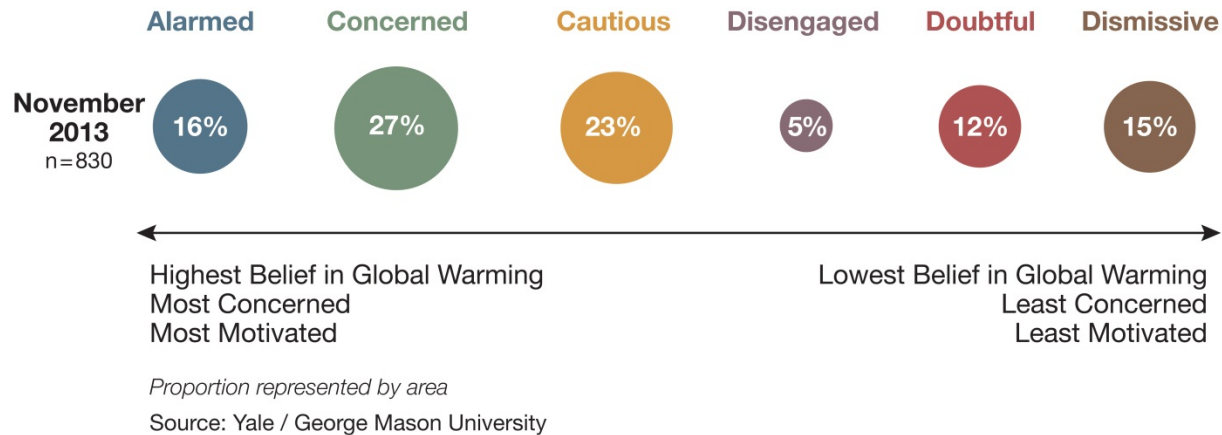
# Climate Change as a Cultural Issue



*Proportion represented by area*  
Source: Yale / George Mason University

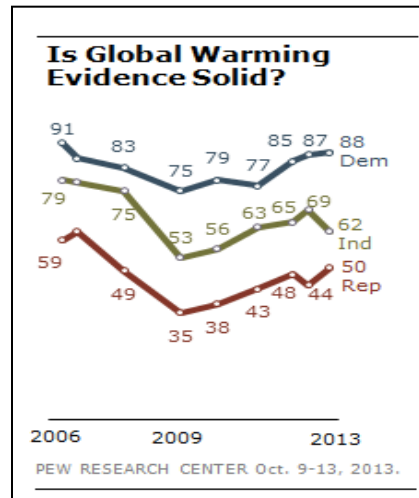
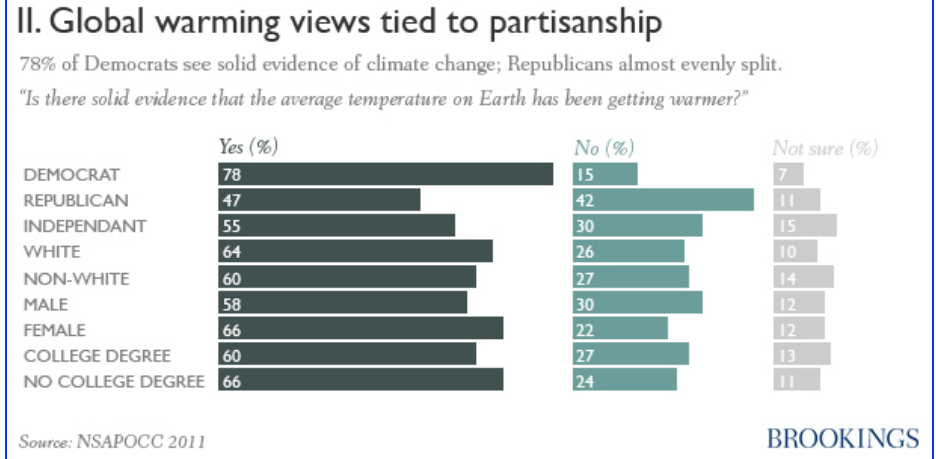
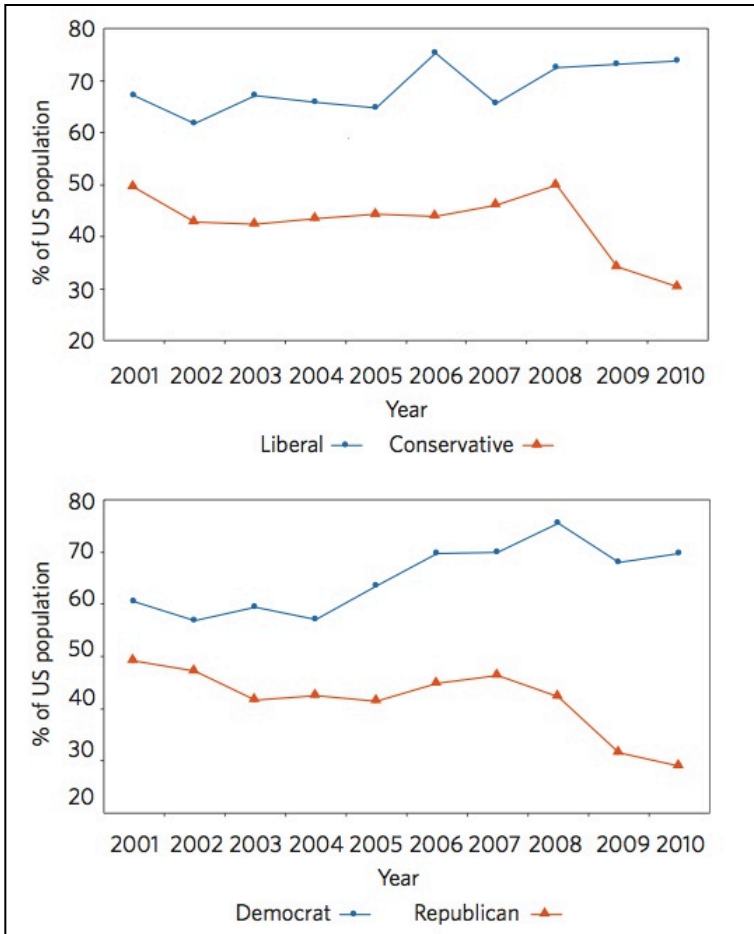


# Climate Change as a Cultural Issue



- Multiple studies have shown that **political affiliation**, cultural worldview and environmental values are the strongest correlates of individual uncertainty about climate change, not scientific knowledge (Hoffman and Jennings, 2012; Hoffman, 2011a; Maibach, Leiserowitz, Rosen-Renouf and Mertz, 2011).

# Climate Change as a Cultural Issue



# ***Social Psychology & Climate Change***

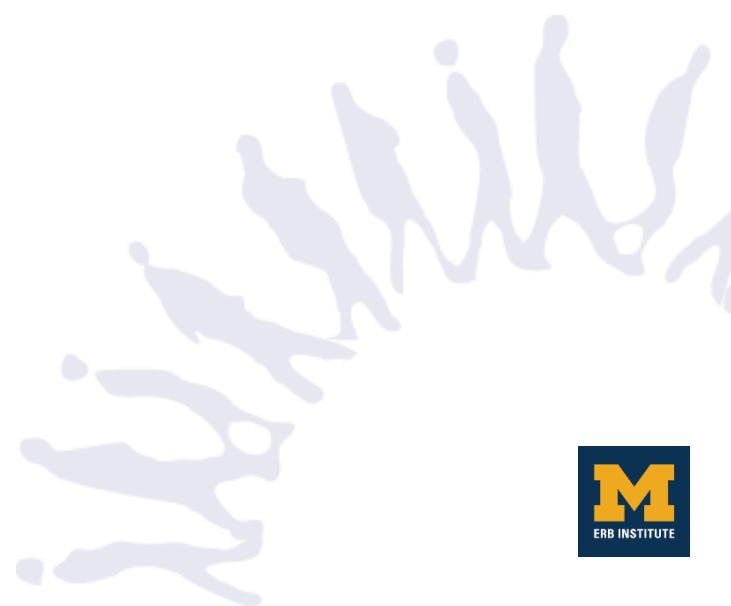
- **We all use cognitive filters.**
- **Our cognitive filters reflect our cultural identity.**
- **Cultural identity can overpower scientific reasoning.**
- **Our political economy creates inertia for change.**





# ***Social Psychology & Climate Change***

- **We all use cognitive filters.** We interpret and validate conclusions from the scientific community by filtering their statements through our own pre-existing beliefs.  
*Motivated Reasoning.*
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- **Cultural identity can overpower scientific reasoning.** We are limited by the amount of information we can access and process. *Bounded Rationality* We carefully expend our limited time and energy on issues that are most important to us it *Cognitive Mizers.*
- **Our political economy creates inertia for change.**

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Once our minds are made up and our position aligns with our cultural identity, providing additional scientific data can make us more resolute in resisting conclusions that are at variance with our cultural beliefs → The challenge is communication to overcome distrust.

# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

1. Distrust of the present climate messengers.

2. Distrust of the process that created the message.

3. Distrust of the message itself.

4. Distrust of the solutions that come from the message.

- ❶ Environmentalists
- ❷ Democratic Politicians
- ❸ Scientists

*AGW believers “hate people, they hate the Western economy.”*

*“The environmental agenda seeks to use the state to create scarcity as a means to exert their will, and the state’s authority, over your lives.”*

# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

- 1. The messenger is as important as the message.**
2. Distrust of the process that created the message.
3. Distrust of the message itself.
4. Distrust of the solutions that come from the message.

Find “climate brokers”

Know your audience

Need brokers from:

- the market
- the ideological right

# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

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The scientific process

*“The problem of science goes back to WWII... they moved the peer review process to the pal review process.”*

United Nations and the IPCC

*“Climate-gate”*



# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

1. The messenger is as important as the message.
2. Address the process by which message was created.
3. Distrust of the message itself.
4. Distrust of the solutions that come from the message.

Strong correlation between belief about climate change and belief of scientific consensus

Ask the right scientific questions

Separate the problem from the solution

# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

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Discomfort with Climate Scenarios

*Just World Theory and “Climate Porn”  
Terror Management Theory*

Belief in God

*Genesis*

Differing conceptions of risk

# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

1. The messenger is as important as the message.
2. Address the process by which message was created.
3. Choose messages that are personally accessible.
4. Distrust of the solutions that come from the message.

Find “broker frames”

Recognize the power of language

Avoid cataclysmic scenarios

Employ events as leverage for change

# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

1. The messenger is as important as the message.
2. Address the process by which message was created.
3. Choose messages that are personally accessible.
4. Distrust of the solutions that come from the message.

Role of government

One-world government

*“All of our industries have been hampered by government regulation...climate change is just another attempt to diminish our freedom.”*

*“Green jobs is just an ideological push for a Euro-style disaster.”*

*“He who controls carbon controls life.”*

Differing conceptions of the value of nature

Trust in the market

# ***Building Trust in the Climate Change Debate***

1. The messenger is as important as the message.
2. Address the process by which message was created.
3. Choose messages that are personally accessible.
4. Present solutions for a commonly desired future.

Move beyond the negative

Balance individual/community responsibility

Preserve the “American way of life”

# ***Illustrative post-script***



Hoffman, A. (2010) “Climate change as a cultural and behavioral issue: Addressing barriers and implementing solutions,” *Organizational Dynamics*, (39): 295-305.



## *Cigarettes and human health*



A Woman exchanged for a Ram and Sheep. Page 110.

## *Slavery abolition*

## Green



**A Blog About Energy and the Environment**

October 27, 2010, 12:33 PM

### A Cultural Barrier to Action on Climate Change

By JOHN M. BRODER



North Carolina Museum of History

A researcher draws parallels to long resistance to the notion that smoking poses risks.



It may seem far-fetched to compare the resistance to action on climate change to the slow progress toward the abolition of slavery or the recognition of the fatal effects of smoking, but a

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**Next Eco-Scare is Here! 'Biodiversity': 'The new Big Lie': The green movement is ditching 'Climate Change' in favor of species extinction fears**

**'High Priestess of Global Warming' No More! Former Warmist Judith Curry Admits To Being 'Duped Into Supporting IPCC' - 'If the IPCC is dogma, then count me in as a heretic'**

**Prominent Physicist Resigns From American Physical Society: 'Global warming is the greatest and most successful pseudoscientific fraud I have seen in my long life'**

**Scientific Rube?: John Holdren ridiculed for claiming Arctic could be ICE FREE IN WINTER! Holdren 'appears to have less scientific competence than most 1st graders'**

**Cameron's Spokesman: 'Morano is not at Cameron's level to debate, and that's why it didn't happen. Cameron should be debating someone who is similar to his stature in our society'**

**Left-wing Env. Scientist Bails Out Of Global Warming Movement: Declares it a 'corrupt social phenomenon...strictly an imaginary problem of the 1st World middleclass'**

**Read Selected Portions of the Esquire Mag. Profile on Climate Depot (April 2010 Hardcover at Newsstands - Tina Fey Cover)**



Prof. Andy Hoffman: Climate skeptics are the moral equivalent of those who defended slavery? 'Climate change requires shift similar to smoking, slavery'  
ajhoff@umich.edu

**Here comes the Cooling?! "In the last month, did we just lose nearly a century's worth of global warming?" 'Global air and sea temperatures starting to drop rapidly'**

**Extreme Weather Whining: 'US in 1990s had nearly as much extreme weather as all other decades combined'**

**'In fact, the past decade (2000-2009) may have had the least extreme weather. Twenty three states set their record high temperature in the 1930s,**



**Warmist Arnold Schwarzenegger compares AGW heretics to Nazis? Schwarzenegger on skeptics: 'This is like Eva Braun selling a kosher cookbook. It's not about jobs at all'**

**Next Eco-Scare of Biodiversity is twice climate ransom! Poor nations seek \$200bn per year 'for biodiversity conservation' -- Up from**



**Prof. Hoffman: 'Just as few people saw a moral problem with slavery in 18th century, few people in 21st century see a moral problem with burning of fossil fuels'**

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**Reaction to Hoffman's slavery analogy: 'Skeptics have been called 'deniers' a deliberate comparison to Holocaust denial...We've been labeled traitors to the planet...I don't**

## Climate 411

**Watts Up With That?**  
Trenberth on fixing the IPCC? and ? missing heat?

**Planet Gore**  
Tweet of the Day  
**Planet Gore**  
Future of Solar Projects in the U.S. in Doubt

**Planet Gore**  
Previewing California's New Cap-and-Trade Rules

**Keyword:**  
globalwarming  
Happy Climate Fools' Day

**Dot Earth**

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***Thank you***

**Andrew Hoffman**

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Education Director, Graham Sustainability Institute**

**University of Michigan**

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