

FAITH, MORALITY AND THE ENVIRONMENT: PORTRAITS OF GLOBAL WARMING'S SIX AMERICAS



YALE PROGRAM ON
Climate Change
Communication



GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY
CENTER for CLIMATE CHANGE
COMMUNICATION

Faith, Morality and the Environment: Portraits of Global Warming's Six Americas

Connie Roser-Renouf, Edward Maibach, Anthony Leiserowitz,
Geoff Feinberg & Seth Rosenthal

Page	
1	Preface
4	Key Findings
6	PART I: INTRODUCTION TO GLOBAL WARMING'S SIX AMERICAS
6	Characteristics of Global Warming's Six Americas
8	Global Warming Issue Frames Among the Six Americas
9	PART II: MORAL PERSPECTIVES OF GLOBAL WARMING'S SIX AMERICAS
9	Receptivity to Moral Perspectives on Global Warming among the Six Americas
10	The Alarmed & Dismissive
12	The Concerned
14	The Cautious & Disengaged
17	The Doubtful
18	Implications for the Moral Framing of Global Warming
20	PART III: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS AND BELIEFS
20	Religious Affiliation
21	Religious Participation
22	Religiosity and Spirituality
23	Science & Religion Beliefs
25	Conflicts between Science and Religion
26	PART IV: HUMANS' RELATIONSHIP WITH NATURE
26	Environmental and Global Warming Concern
28	Importance of Caring for Others and the Environment
30	Effectiveness of Mitigation in Helping Others and the Environment
32	Perception of a Moral Dimension to Global Warming
34	Stewardship vs. Dominion over Earth and Its Resources
35	God's Expectations for Human Treatment of Nature
36	PART V: SOCIAL AND CONSUMERIST VALUES
36	Egalitarianism & Individualism
39	Consumerist Values
41	Empathy
45	PART VI: METHODS

Cite as: Roser-Renouf, C., Maibach, E., Leiserowitz, A., Feinberg, G., & Rosenthal, S (2016). *Faith, Morality and the Environment: Portraits of Global Warming's Six Americas*. Yale University and George Mason University. New Haven, CT: Yale Program on Climate Change Communication.

Preface

"The climate is a common good, belonging to all and meant for all."

"Never have we so hurt and mistreated our common home as we have in the last 200 years."

"We must regain the conviction that we need one another, that we have a shared responsibility for others and the world, and that being good and decent are worth it."

"We need to strengthen the conviction that we are one single human family."

-- Pope Francis; Excerpts from Laudato Si'

Recent months have witnessed an evolution in public discourse on global warming. Typically discussed in the news media as a scientific, environmental or political issue, global warming is being reframed as a moral and spiritual issue by religious leaders – most notably by Pope Francis. Americans are now hearing that global warming will have severe impacts on the world's poor; that it violates divine dictates on the treatment of nature; and that it mandates a concerted response from all nations in the name of social justice and God's will.

Faith communities carrying this message are potentially powerful voices on climate change – voices that have been largely silent on the issue until recently. The call from religious leaders for a moral perspective on climate change is growing, however. For example, Pope Francis's teachings about climate change's disproportionate impact on the world's poor have attracted widespread media attention. Faith leaders from many other traditions are speaking out on the issue as well, including Evangelical Christians, Muslims, Episcopalians, and Jews. Interdenominational organizations, such as Interfaith Power & Light, are serving as forums for collaborative efforts.¹

A moral framing of climate change may have particular resonance in the U.S., as Americans tend to be more religious than citizens in many other industrialized nations; more than half of Americans say that religion plays a very important role in their lives.² Dispassionate statements by climate scientists, couched in cautious, neutral language and supported by charts, figures and statistics, may resonate less than admonitions from religious leaders to respond to the ethical and moral implications of a changing climate.

The Pope has forcefully argued in his encyclical, *Laudato Si'*,³ that climate change results from over-consumption, is fueled by greed, and that its impacts fall disproportionately on the

¹ For example: Evangelical Christianity: <http://www.npr.org/documents/2006/feb/evangelical/calltoaction.pdf>; Judaism: <http://www.jewishclimatecampaign.org/>; Islam: <http://islamicclimatedeclaration.org/islamic-declaration-on-global-climate-change/>; Episcopalian: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/26/katherine-jefferts-schori-climate-change_n_6949532.html; Interfaith: <http://www.interfaithpowerandlight.org/>. For more faith-based statements on climate change, see: <http://fore.yale.edu/climate-change/statements-from-world-religions/> or <http://citizensclimatelobby.org/files/images/Faith%20Based%20Statements%20PDF%20for%20printing.pdf>

² <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/03/12/how-do-americans-stand-out-from-the-rest-of-the-world/>

³ https://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si_en.pdf

world's poor. He has called on the developed nations to act swiftly and decisively to address the threat and protect the less fortunate, asserting that we are abusing the gifts of the natural world given by God.

A moral framing of global warming is new to most people in the U.S.: In the spring of 2015, only 10 percent of Americans viewed global warming as a religious issue; 13 percent thought it was a spiritual issue, and just over a third (36%) thought it was a moral issue. Three-quarters, by contrast, saw it as an environmental issue (76%). If a moral framing resonates with values people already hold dear – protecting future generations, for example – it may shift people's perceptions of the meaning and importance of the threat posed by climate change.

This report examines how consistent a moral framing of climate change is with the values and beliefs Americans already hold. It explores the values and beliefs of Americans regarding spirituality, religion, and humans' relationships with each other and the natural world. The analysis describes the spiritual and environmental perspectives of *Global Warming's Six Americas* – six discrete groups within the American public distinguished by their views on global warming – to assess the correspondence between a moral framing of climate change and the moral and spiritual values of Americans in the six groups.

Part I of the report briefly describes the six audience segments and their views of the moral and spiritual dimension of global warming in the spring of 2015. Part II provides short descriptions of each segment's religious affiliations, beliefs about humans' relationship with nature, and characteristics such as empathy and consumerist values. Parts III, IV and V present the full data on religious beliefs and affiliation (III), humans' relationship with nature (IV), and social and consumerist values (V).

Most of the results are from a nationally representative survey of Americans conducted in the spring of 2015. Some results are taken from earlier surveys, as noted.

Key Findings

Global Warming's Six Americas are six audiences within the American public that share similar views on global warming. The groups range along a spectrum of belief and concern from the Alarmed, who are firmly convinced that global warming is real, human-caused and dangerous, through the Concerned, Cautious, Disengaged and Doubtful to the Dismissive, who are convinced global warming is not real and is likely to be a scientific hoax.

All Six Americas report fairly high levels of religiosity and spirituality. Majorities of all segments say they consider themselves to be very or moderately spiritual. Two-thirds of the Dismissive (68%) say they are very or moderately religious, as do close to half of the Concerned (48%), the Cautious (50%), the Disengaged (50%), and the Doubtful (53%). The Alarmed are the segment least likely to describe themselves as religious (36%).

The Six Americas exhibit large differences in concern about global warming and environmental problems. Four of the six segments – the Alarmed, Concerned, Cautious and Disengaged – report moderate to high levels of concern about global warming; the Doubtful however, say they are not concerned, and the Dismissive say they are not concerned about either global warming or other environmental problems.

The Six Americas hold different egalitarian and individualistic values. The Alarmed have much stronger egalitarian values (*i.e., equal opportunity, a more equal distribution of wealth, and protection for vulnerable minorities and the poor*), while the Dismissive and Doubtful are much more individualistic (*i.e., freedom from government intervention in the lives of individuals and in business*). Differences are smaller within the remaining three segments, although the Concerned tend to have stronger egalitarian values and the Cautious and Disengaged are slightly more individualistic.

The Six Americas report similar levels of empathy for others. The Doubtful report the lowest empathy for others of the six groups, and the Alarmed report the highest. All groups, however, report moderate empathic concern and perspective-taking ability.

The Six Americas report similar levels of consumerist values. The Concerned, Cautious and Disengaged tend to have slightly higher consumerist values, but the differences are relatively small.

Most Americans say that caring for the poor, the environment and future generations is important. Almost all of the Alarmed and Concerned say that caring for the environment, the poor and future generations is moderately to very important, as do large majorities of the Cautious and Disengaged. Close to three-quarters of the Dismissive and Doubtful say caring for future generations is moderately or very important, and about half say caring for the poor is important. Overall, caring for others and the environment is perceived as important across all segments, but it is significantly higher among the more concerned segments.

Understanding that reducing global warming will help the poor, the environment and future generations is uneven. The Alarmed are the only segment in which a majority understand the link between global warming and poverty: Three-quarters of the Alarmed, half the Concerned and fewer than 30 percent of the remaining four segments know that reducing global warming would help the world's poor. Fewer than half of the Disengaged and fewer than a quarter of the Doubtful and Dismissive say reducing global warming would help the environment and future generations "a lot" or "a moderate amount." More than 90 percent of the Alarmed and Concerned and two-thirds of the Cautious say it would help future generations and the environment, however.

The Six Americas have very different views of the moral, religious, and spiritual dimensions of global warming. In the spring of 2015, prior to the release of Pope Francis' encyclical on the environment and his visit to the U.S., only the two most engaged segments – the Alarmed and Concerned – had a majority that viewed global warming as a moral issue (82% and 58%, respectively). A majority of the Alarmed also viewed it as a social justice (61%) and poverty (51%) issue, as did over a third of the Concerned (social justice = 36%; poverty = 37%), but only a third or fewer Alarmed and Concerned saw it as a spiritual or religious issue. Less than a quarter of four segments – the Cautious, Disengaged, Doubtful and Dismissive – viewed global warming as a moral issue.

Most people in the U.S. say their views on global warming do not strongly reflect their moral values. Forty percent say their feelings about global warming reflect their core moral values only "slightly" or "not at all," including half or more of the members of four segments – the Cautious, Disengaged, Doubtful and Dismissive. Only among the Alarmed do a majority say that their feelings about global warming reflect their core moral values and their fundamental beliefs about right and wrong "very much" or "much" (core moral values = 86%; beliefs about right and wrong = 80%).

Values and beliefs that are widely held among Americans suggest that a moral framing of global warming could resonate with many people who currently are unconcerned about the issue. Members of all segments except the Dismissive say that it is our responsibility to protect the Earth, rather than simply using it for our own benefit; and among those who believe that God or the concept of God is relevant to humans' relationship with nature, majorities in all segments view humans as having a stewardship responsibility, rather than as rulers over nature.

Sources with moral authority, such as Pope Francis, may reach audiences that are disinclined to accept the science of global warming. The Cautious, Disengaged, Doubtful and Dismissive say that if a scientific explanation conflicts with their spiritual or religious beliefs, they are inclined to accept the religious explanation. The Concerned are "in between" the two perspectives, and only the Alarmed say they're more likely to accept the scientific explanation. The preference for religious explanations is evident in the rejection of evolution by majorities of the Doubtful and Dismissive (61% and 71%, respectively). Similarly, majorities of every segment except the Alarmed are biblical literalists, believing that the world was created in six days. Distrust of science is also apparent, particularly among the Disengaged: A third of them believe that modern science does more harm than good.

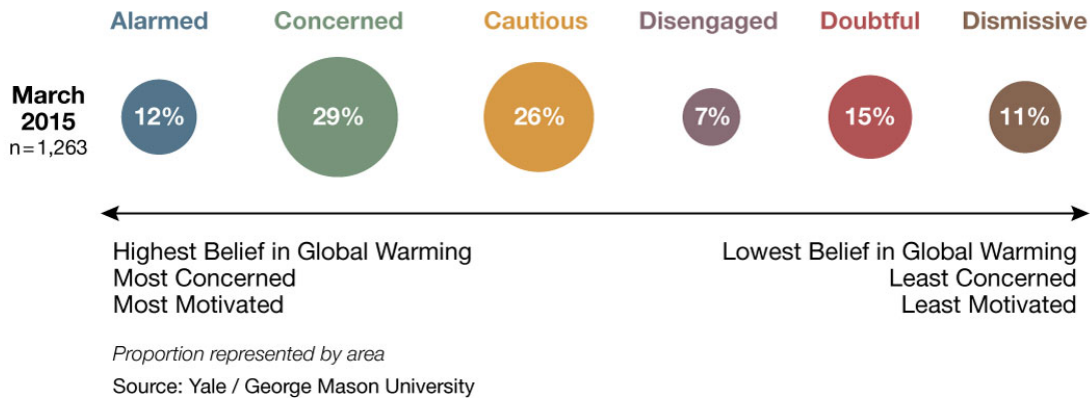
Together, the results demonstrate that many Americans who are not currently concerned about global warming, nonetheless believe we should care for other people and the environment, but have yet to recognize that reducing global warming will help both. As the majority prefer religious over scientific explanations, a moral perspective on global warming by religious leaders such as Pope Francis may reach segments of the U.S. public that have yet to engage with the issue.

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO GLOBAL WARMING'S SIX AMERICAS

Characteristics of Global Warming's Six Americas

The Six Americas do not vary much by age, gender, race or income – there are members of every demographic group in each of the segments. The segments range instead along a spectrum of belief, concern and issue engagement, from the *Alarmed* to the *Dismissive*. Groups on the left side of this spectrum (pictured below) are more concerned about global warming and desire more action to reduce it, while groups on the right are relatively unconcerned and oppose action. The middle groups tend to have lower issue involvement, do not think about global warming often and do not have strong – if any – opinions on reality, causes and threat of global warming, or on the course the U.S. should pursue.

Figure 1: The Six Americas Audience Segments



The *Alarmed* (12%) are very certain global warming is happening, understand that it is human-caused and harmful, and strongly support societal action to reduce the threat. They discuss the issue more often, seek more information about it, and are more likely to act as global warming opinion leaders than the other segments. They are the most likely of the six groups to have engaged in political activism on the issue, although only about one quarter have done so.

The largest audience segment is the *Concerned* (29%), who are moderately certain that global warming is happening, harmful and human-caused; they tend to view global warming as a threat to other nations and future generations, but not as a personal threat or a threat to their own community. They support societal action on climate change, but are unlikely to have engaged in political activism. In 10 of 12 national surveys tracking the Six Americas since 2008, the *Concerned* have been the largest of the six segments.

The *Cautious* (26%) – the second-largest group – are likely to believe that climate change is real, but they aren't certain, and many are uncertain about the cause. They are less worried than the *Concerned*, and view global warming as a distant threat, if any. They have given little

thought to the issue and are unlikely to have strongly held opinions about what should be done to address it.

The *Disengaged* (7%) are the smallest segment of the U.S. population. They have given the issue of global warming little to no thought. They have no strongly held beliefs about global warming, know little about it, and do not view it as having any personal relevance. They tend to have the lowest education and income levels of the six groups.

The *Doubtful* (15%) are uncertain whether global warming is occurring or not, but believe that if it is happening, it is attributable to natural causes, not human activities. They tend to be politically conservative and to regard global warming as having little to no personal relevance.

The *Dismissive* (11%) are certain that global warming is *not* happening. Many regard the issue as a hoax and are strongly opposed to action to reduce the threat. About one in nine have contacted an elected representative to argue against action on global warming.

Together, the three segments on the left side of the continuum – the *Alarmed*, *Concerned* and *Cautious* – comprised two-thirds of the American public (67%) in the spring of 2015. Although they range in certainty about the reality and dangers of climate change, they are similarly inclined to believe it is a real threat that should be addressed. Thus, some level of support for action is the predominant view among the majority of Americans.

Global Warming Issue Frames Among the Six Americas

An *issue frame* is the lens through which people view social problems, questions and issues. The moral and spiritual frame for global warming now being promoted by some faith communities is new for many Americans, who have not previously thought of the issue in this way.

The new framing has the potential to widen and deepen public discourse on global warming. If it is viewed as solely an environmental or scientific issue, many people may feel it has little personal relevance. If it is instead viewed as a moral, ethical or religious issue, more people may feel a personal and social responsibility to address it.

Americans are unusual among developed nations in their high levels of religiosity: 54 percent say religion is very important in their lives, compared, for example, to 24 percent in Canada and 21 percent in Australia.⁴ In light of this religiosity, a public shift toward considering climate change a moral or religious issue could build wider public support for action.

In the spring of 2015, less than a third of the members of any segment viewed global warming as a spiritual or religious issue. Majorities of the Alarmed and Concerned, however, saw it as a moral issue. A majority of the Alarmed also viewed it as a social justice or poverty issue, as did over a third of the Concerned. Few in any other segment identified these dimensions of the issue. The Dismissive were most likely to view global warming as a political issue (49%), while a third or fewer connected it to any of the other issue frames.

Table 1: Global Warming Issue Frames							
<i>In your opinion, do you think global warming is:</i>							
	<i>Nation</i>	Alarmed	Concerned	Cautious	Disengaged	Doubtful	Dismissive
An environmental issue	76	99	97	83	51	54	28
A scientific issue	72	97	92	75	39	54	34
An agricultural issue	65	93	87	69	39	40	18
An economic issue	61	96	81	63	25	33	25
A health issue	59	97	87	62	28	17	9
A lifestyle issue	57	89	84	58	23	27	11
A political issue	55	83	71	48	15	38	49
A moral issue	36	82	58	24	11	8	6
A national security issue	26	62	42	16	7	6	6
A social justice (fairness) issue	24	61	36	14	10	7	6
A poverty issue	24	56	37	17	8	7	5
A spiritual issue	13	31	16	11	8	5	6
A religious issue	10	20	12	6	10	6	9

⁴ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/03/12/how-do-americans-stand-out-from-the-rest-of-the-world/>

PART II: MORAL PERSPECTIVES OF GLOBAL WARMING'S SIX AMERICAS

Receptivity to Moral Perspectives on Climate Change among the Six Americas

The two segments that are firmly convinced of their opinions on climate change – the Alarmed and Dismissive – include about a quarter of the U.S. population, while the four groups between them, comprising three-quarters of the U.S. population, are less certain about the reality, threat, and significance of global warming. People who are less certain can be more likely to change their views in response to new information. A moral message could therefore help the uncertain and less engaged members of the middle segments understand the issue differently.

This report explores the religious and spiritual values and beliefs of the six segments, with a particular focus on the four less-certain middle segments. The two end segments are unlikely to change their beliefs about the issue, and information about climate change is more likely to strengthen their existing beliefs, rather than change them.⁵ The middle segments, however, may be more responsive to calls from religious leaders for a moral response to climate change – a potentially powerful change in light of the large majority of Americans who belong to one of these four groups. If appeals from religious leaders are consistent with people's existing values and beliefs, while providing them with a new perspective on global warming and linking it to their existing beliefs, their views may shift toward greater concern and issue engagement.

We summarize the relevant beliefs and values of the Alarmed and Dismissive segments below, but then focus attention on the middle groups.

⁵ In the case of the Alarmed, strengthening their existing beliefs may motivate them to *act politically* on the issue. We are primarily focused here, however, on the potential of a moral message for *engaging* segments of the public that have not been previously concerned about global warming.



The Alarmed and Dismissive (23% of U.S. Population)

The Alarmed and Dismissive are to a large extent polar opposites in their beliefs about global warming: The Alarmed are certain that global warming is real, human-caused and solvable, while the Dismissive believe it is not real and may be a hoax. The Alarmed are likely to recognize the scientific consensus on global warming, while the Dismissive believe scientists disagree that human-caused global warming is happening.

The Alarmed view global warming as an important issue with many dimensions – environmental, scientific, agricultural, health, lifestyle, social justice and moral, for example; the Dismissive are unlikely to see it in any of these ways: half see it as a political issue, and a third or fewer view it in any other way. Eighty-two percent of the Alarmed see global warming as a moral issue, compared to 6 percent of the Dismissive (see page 4).

While a large majority of the Alarmed say their feelings about global warming reflect their core moral values (86%) and sense of right and wrong (80%), many fewer of the Dismissive view global warming as reflecting their moral sense (core moral values= 28%; right and wrong = 24%). Nonetheless, the proportion of Dismissive who perceive a moral dimension to global warming is higher than among the segments with low issue involvement; i.e., 10 percent or fewer of the Cautious, Disengaged or Doubtful view the issue as reflective of their moral values.

The Dismissive tend to describe themselves as very religious, and close to half (45%) are evangelicals; the Alarmed are less religious and few are evangelicals (14%; pp. 17-19).

The Alarmed tend to accept scientific explanations over religious beliefs; over two-thirds accept evolution (66%) and reject literal interpretations of the Bible's creation story (69%); the Dismissive show the reverse preferences and beliefs, with 29% accepting evolution and 62% accepting the Bible's creation story as literally true (p. 20).

On multiple issues related to global warming, the Alarmed and Dismissive have the strongest views of the six segments, with opposing perspectives, including:

- *Concern about global warming and other environmental problems:* the Alarmed average 6.0 on a scale of global warming concern that ranges from 1 ("not at all concerned") to 7 ("extremely concerned"), while the Dismissive average 1.6; using the same scale for concern about environmental problems in general, the Alarmed average 5.8, and the Dismissive, 2.9 (p. 23).

- *Perceptions of the importance of caring for the environment:* 100 percent of the Alarmed say caring for the natural environment is very or moderately important, compared to 49 percent of the Dismissive; caring for the world's poor is viewed as important by 90 percent of the Alarmed, compared to 54 percent of the Dismissive; and caring for future generations is viewed as important by 96 percent of the Alarmed, compared to 76 percent of the Dismissive (p. 25).
- *Belief that action on global warming would help the environment, future generations and the world's poor:* large majorities of the Alarmed believe taking action to reduce global warming would help the environment (86%) and future generations (89%) "a lot," compared to 8 percent and 6 percent of the Dismissive, respectively. Almost half the Alarmed (47%) believe it would help the world's poor "a lot," compared to 3 percent of the Dismissive (p. 28).
- *Belief that it is humankind's responsibility to protect and care for the Earth ("stewardship"), rather than using its natural resources for our own benefit ("dominion");* the Alarmed average 6.6 on a 7 pt. scale where 7 represents responsibility to protect and care for the Earth and 1 represents using the Earth for its natural resources; the Dismissive average 4.0 on this scale, representing "in between" the two perspectives (p. 31).

The Alarmed have the strongest egalitarian values and the weakest individualistic values of the six groups, while the Dismissive are the opposite. The Alarmed average 3.0 on a 4-point scale of egalitarianism, compared to 1.7 for the Dismissive; the Dismissive average 3.3 on a 4-point scale of individualism, while the Alarmed average 2.1 (p. 33).

A few similarities between the two segments do exist, however: Both groups report relatively low consumerist values, and they respond similarly in terms of empathy for other people (pp. 36-38).



The Concerned (29% of U.S. Population)

The Concerned hold similar beliefs and values to the Alarmed, but they hold these views less strongly – they're less worried, less engaged, and less motivated to take personal action; on many dimensions, their opinions fall about mid-way between those of the Alarmed and the average for the overall U.S. population.

Like the Alarmed, the Concerned view global warming as an issue with many dimensions, and close to 60 percent see it as a moral issue (58%). About one in six see it as a spiritual issue (16%), and one in eight view it as a religious issue (12%; p. 4).

Minorities of the Concerned say their feelings about global warming strongly reflect their core moral values, with just over a third saying their feelings about global warming reflect their moral values "very much" (11%) or "much" (25%), and that their feelings about the issue are connected to their fundamental beliefs about "right" and "wrong" (14% "very much" and 25% "much"). The perceived link between global warming and moral values among the Concerned is much weaker than the link perceived by the Alarmed, but still stronger than national averages (p. 29).

Religious affiliation and participation of the Concerned are close to national averages in multiple ways: They are slightly more likely to be Catholic (27% of the Concerned, compared to 24% nationally) and slightly less likely to be evangelicals (23%, as compared to 27% nationally). Close to 30 percent attend religious services once or more a week (29%), half describe themselves as very or moderately religious (48%), and almost two-thirds say they are very or moderately spiritual (63%; pp. 17-19).

Close to two-thirds of the Concerned accept the theory of evolution (63%), while half believe the Bible's creation story is literally true (53%). These proportions are higher than national averages for evolution (53%), and about equal for Biblical literalism (54%; p. 20).

Asked whether they weight scientific or religious explanations more heavily when the two conflict, the Concerned respond that they are "in between," averaging 3.9 on a 7-point scale where 7 represents a preference for scientific explanations and 1 represents a preference for religious explanations. With an average near the middle of the scale, the Concerned show a slightly higher preference for scientific explanations than the U.S. population average (3.6; p. 22).

The Concerned have relatively high levels of concern about global warming and environmental problems more generally, averaging 5.3 on scales assessing how concerned

respondents are about impacts of global warming and environmental problems in general on other species, other people and themselves. On 7-point scales where 7 represents "extremely concerned," average Concerned responses are well above the national averages for global warming (Concerned = 5.3; nation = 4.7) and for environmental problems (Concerned = 5.3; nation = 4.9). Almost all of the Concerned (95%) believe global warming will harm the natural environment a great deal (80%) or a moderate amount (15%). A similar proportion believe future generations (94%) and the world's poor (83%) will be harmed; p. 23).

Large majorities of the Concerned believe it is moderately to very important to care for the natural environment (93%), the world's poor (89%), and future generations (91%). Large majorities also believe that action to reduce global warming will help the environment and future generations "a lot" (74% & 72%, respectively). Only a quarter, however, believe it will help the world's poor "a lot" (p. 25). As this is a central message of Pope Francis, many of the Concerned may have recently have heard about the link between global warming and poverty for the first time.

Like the Alarmed, the Concerned see humans as stewards, rather than rulers of the Earth and its resources, averaging 6.1 on a 7-point scale where 7 represents stewardship and 1 represents dominion. This is a weaker perception of stewardship than among the Alarmed, who average 6.6, but it is stronger than the perceptions of the remaining four segments, which average 5.2 or lower (p. 31).

The Concerned hold slightly stronger egalitarian than individualist values, suggesting that they value equal opportunity, a more equal distribution of wealth, and care for the less fortunate somewhat more highly than freedom from government intrusion into business and private lives (p. 33).

Consumerist values are slightly higher among the Concerned than among the Alarmed and Dismissive, but are very close to the national average. Seven in ten (71%) say it's not important to them to have a home that's as well-furnished as their peers; close to two-thirds (64%) say you can't tell if people are successful by their possessions and appearance; and only 17 percent express a preference for brands and products that make them feel socially accepted (p. 36).

Like most Americans, the Concerned express moderate agreement with statements indicating empathy for others, averaging 3.06 on 4-point scales, where 4 represents high levels of empathy. The Concerned average is slightly higher than the national average of 2.97, and higher than the averages of all other segments, with the exception of the Alarmed, who have the highest reported empathy (p. 38).



The Cautious & Disengaged (33% of U.S. population)

The Cautious and Disengaged are the two segments of the U.S. public that think and care about global warming the least. There are many similarities between the two, but as will be apparent below, there are also important differences.

The Cautious and Disengaged are unlikely to perceive a moral or spiritual dimension to global warming.

- Although the Cautious see global warming as an issue with multiple dimensions, only a quarter view it as a moral issue (24%); 11 percent see it as a spiritual issue and 6 percent as a religious issue.
- The Disengaged are unlikely to associate global warming with any other issue frames beyond the environment, which is perceived by half (51%). Less than 40 percent say it has any other dimension, and only about one in ten perceive it as a moral (11%), spiritual (8%), or religious (10%) issue (p. 4).

Few members of the Cautious and Disengaged segments say that their feelings about global warming reflect their core moral values "very much" or "much" – only 8 percent of the Cautious and 7 percent of the Disengaged. Over half the Disengaged say their feelings about global warming don't reflect their core moral values at all (54%; p. 29).

Compared to Americans as a whole, the Cautious are slightly more likely to be Catholic (28%) and less likely to be either agnostic or atheist (5%), while the Disengaged are less likely to be Protestant (10%) and more likely to say they don't belong to any of the denominations assessed (26%). Just over a quarter of each group is Evangelical (26% of the Cautious and 29% of the Disengaged; p. 17).

Both groups are close to national averages in terms of religious service attendance, with 29 percent of the Cautious and 34 percent of the Disengaged attending services at least once weekly. Half the members of both segments say they are very or moderately religious, which is the national average as well, and just over half of each group say they are very or moderately spiritual. The Cautious are slightly less likely than other segments to describe themselves as spiritual (pp. 18-19).

The Cautious are slightly more likely than the national average to accept evolution (57%), while the Disengaged are less likely (48%). The Disengaged have the highest acceptance

of the Bible's creation story as literally true of all the segments (71%, compared to 54% nationally); six in ten of the Cautious accept the story as literally true (59%; p. 20).

The Disengaged have the lowest trust in science of the segments: a third agree with the statement that "overall, modern science does more harm than good," twelve percentage points higher than the national average, and higher than any other segment (Disengaged=32%; national average=20%; p. 20).

In situations where scientific and religious explanations conflict, the Cautious and Disengaged both give slightly more weight to religious explanations, with averages of 3.5 on a 7-point scale where 1 represents a strong preference for religious explanations, and 7 represents a strong preference for scientific explanations; the segments' average is below the middle of the scale (4) and near the national average (3.6; p. 22).

Concern about global warming and environmental problems is close to national averages, and the two types of concern are highly correlated for both the Cautious and Disengaged.

- On 7-point scales, where 7 represents high concern and 1 represents no concern, the Cautious average 4.5 on global warming concern and 4.4 on environmental problem concern, which places them above the middle of the scale (4), but slightly below the national averages (global warming = 4.7; environmental problems = 4.9).
- The Disengaged have concern levels that equal the national averages on both indices; i.e., 4.9 for environmental problems and 4.7 for global warming (p. 23).

One striking difference between the two groups is evident in their perceptions of the harm global warming will cause: while large majorities of the Cautious say global warming will harm the environment, future generations and the world's poor "a moderate amount" or "a great deal," (82%, 83% and 57%, respectively), close to all of the Disengaged say they don't know how much harm will be caused (86%, 99% and 95%, respectively; p. 23).

Both groups believe it is moderately to very important to care for future generations and the environment; 73 percent of the Cautious and 69 percent of the Disengaged say it's moderately to very important to care for the environment; 65 and 59 percent say it's important to care for the poor; and 80 and 69 percent say it's important to care for future generations (p. 25).

Two-thirds of the Cautious believe that reducing global warming will help future generations and the environment "a lot" or "a moderate amount" (68% for both), but less than a third think it will help the world's poor as much (29%; p. 27).

The Disengaged are most inclined to say they're not sure how much reducing global warming will help the environment (41%), the poor (52%) and future generations (45%). Less than half believe it will help the environment (44%) or future generations (39%) "a lot" or "a moderate amount," and only 15 percent believe it will help the poor (p. 27).

Both groups see humans as stewards, rather than rulers of nature, averaging 5.2 (Cautious) and 5.1 (Disengaged) on a 7-point scale where 7 represents stewardship and 1 represents dominion (p. 31).

Egalitarianism and individualism are closely balanced among the Cautious and Disengaged, with both segments responding close to the middle of both scales.

- The Cautious show a slight preference for individualistic values, averaging 2.4 on egalitarianism and 2.7 on individualism, close to the population averages of 2.5 for egalitarianism and 2.6 for individualism.
- The Disengaged average 2.6 on both scales, very close to the 2.5 mid-point of the 4-point scales (p. 33).

Consumerist values are slightly higher among the Cautious and Disengaged segments than among the Alarmed, Dismissive and Doubtful. Close to two-thirds of both segments say, however, that success isn't apparent in people's possessions or clothing, and that having a home that's as well-furnished as others they know isn't important to them. Very few say that they prefer brands and products that make them feel socially accepted (Cautious = 16%; Disengaged = 17%; p. 36).

As with other segments, the Cautious and Disengaged report moderate levels of empathy, varying only slightly from the population average (p. 38).



The Doubtful (15% of U.S. population)

The Doubtful are uncertain of the reality of global warming, but are certain that if it's happening, it's not being caused by humans. Fewer than one in ten view global warming as a moral (8%), spiritual (5%), or religious (6%) issue. In contrast, just over half perceive global warming as an issue with environmental or scientific dimensions (54% for both). Only one in ten say that their feelings about global warming reflect their core moral values or their sense of right and wrong (10% for both; p. 29).

The Doubtful are less likely to be Catholic than the national average (19%), and more likely to be Protestant (21%), or some other Christian denomination (17%). About one third are Evangelicals (33%) and/or attend religious services at least weekly (36%), slightly more than the national average (32%). Just over half say they are very or moderately religious (53%) and 59 percent say they are very or moderately spiritual (pp. 17-19).

The Doubtful are less likely to accept the theory of evolution (39%), and more likely to interpret the Bible's creation story literally (62%), than the national averages (53% and 54%, respectively; Table 6). They give slightly more weight to religious than to scientific explanations when the two conflict, averaging 3.4 on the 7-point scale of preference for scientific (7) or religious (1) explanations (p. 20).

The Doubtful are more concerned about the impacts of environmental problems, generally construed, than about the impacts of global warming, specifically. Their average concern about the impacts of environmental problems on the environment, other species, other people and themselves is 4.1 on 7-point scales, as compared to a 2.9 average level of concern about global warming's impacts on these same groups (7 represents high concern and 1 represents no concern). Their average level of concern on both indices is also significantly lower than the national averages of 4.9 for environmental problems and 4.7 for global warming (p. 23).

Fewer than a quarter of the Doubtful believe that the environment, future generations or the world's poor will be affected "a great deal" or "a moderate amount" by global warming (22%, 20% & 15%, respectively; p. 23).

Seven in ten of the Doubtful believe it's very or moderately important to care for future generations (70%), and six in ten (59%) believe it is important to care for the environment, but only half (51%) believe it's important to care for the world's poor (p. 25). Fewer than a quarter believe that global action to reduce global warming will help the environment (22%), future generations (21%) or the poor (7%; p. 27).

The Doubtful hold much stronger individualistic than egalitarian values, averaging 2.0 on egalitarianism (somewhat disagree) and 3.0 on individualism (somewhat agree). Hence, they tend to believe in self-reliance and oppose government intervention to help disadvantaged groups (p. 33).

Levels of consumerist values among the Doubtful are slightly lower than among the Concerned, Cautious and Disengaged, but again, the differences are very small. Close to three-quarters say that success is not apparent in clothing or possessions (72%) and 79 percent say it's not important to them whether their homes are as well-furnished as the homes of their peers. One in ten say they prefer brands and products that make them feel socially accepted (10%; p. 36).

The Doubtful report the lowest levels of empathy of the six segments; their deviation from the population average is small but significant (Doubtful average = 2.76, as compared to population average of 2.97 on the 4-point scale; p. 36). They are more likely than any other segment to agree with statements indicating low empathy; for example, over half of the Doubtful (57%) said they sometimes don't feel sorry for others when they're having problems, compared to 47% or less in the other groups.

Implications for a Moral Framing of Global Warming in the U.S.

Before people can accept global warming as a moral challenge, they must first understand that it is real, human-caused and harmful. Most in the middle segments – particularly the Cautious, Disengaged and Doubtful – are not certain of these facts. Some of their resistance to the concept of human-caused global warming arises – like their resistance to the theory of evolution – from a sense that it conflicts with religious cosmologies. The assertion is often made, for example, that God controls the climate, and that it is hubris to think humans are capable of doing so.⁶

The results show that when science and religion appear in conflict, all segments, with the exception of the Alarmed, prefer the religious explanation. If religious leaders become more vocal in communicating that human-caused global warming is real, the perceived conflict between science and religion regarding climate change could, perhaps, diminish in some people's eyes.

The lack of understanding the harm caused by global warming is a large barrier to recognizing the issue's moral dimension among the Disengaged, Doubtful and Dismissive. Awareness of the harm global warming will cause is particularly low among the Disengaged, nearly all of whom say they don't know how much harm it will cause. About a quarter of the Doubtful also say they don't know how much harm will occur, and among the Disengaged, Doubtful and Dismissive, fewer than one in ten believe that a great deal of harm will occur to the environment, future generations or the poor. As harm to the poor and to future generations are central themes for Pope, awareness of these impacts may increase among the less-engaged segments.

⁶E.g.,: <https://newrepublic.com/article/120889/evangelical-james-inhofe-says-only-god-can-cause-climate-change>

Even if the reality and threat of climate change are recognized, the motivation to take action may remain low if people do not view it as a personal, ethical responsibility. Our findings demonstrate that only the Alarmed view global warming as a moral issue that reflects their core values and sense of right and wrong. Potential for increasing this perspective on the issue is high, however, as there are instances in which people's values (e.g., empathy for those who are less fortunate) and their beliefs (e.g., that we are called on to be stewards, rather than rulers, of nature) imply that climate change is a moral challenge.

Once the implications of climate change for the poor, future generations and other species are understood, it may become more difficult to ignore these ethical dimensions. The segments are all inclined to believe that caring for these groups is important, but they are less likely to understand that reducing global warming will help all three.

Large majorities of all segments, for example, say that caring for future generations is very or moderately important, from a high of 96 percent of the Alarmed to a low of 69 percent of the Disengaged. Yet only four in ten of the Disengaged (39%) and two in ten of the Doubtful (21%) understand that reducing global warming will help future generations.

The discrepancy is largest for care for the world's poor: Half or more of the members of all segments believe it's important to care for the poor, but the proportions that understand reducing global warming will help the poor are very low for most segments: 29 percent of the Cautious, 15 percent of the Disengaged, and 7 percent of the Doubtful and Dismissive. Because much of the Pope's discussion of global warming has focused on its impacts on the poor, this is one perception that may shift in response to his efforts.

The Concerned merit special consideration as the group with the highest potential to be engaged by emphasizing the moral dimensions of global warming. Their beliefs about the issue resemble those of the Alarmed, in terms of recognizing the reality, cause and threat of climate change; and 60 percent already believe that global warming is a moral issue. They have relatively high levels of concern about global warming's impacts, and large majorities say that future generations, the poor and the environment will be harmed. Yet only a third say their feelings about global warming reflect their core moral values, and they are much less likely than the Alarmed to have engaged in political or consumer activism in support of mitigation. Will the teachings of the Pope and other religious leaders increase their sense of personal responsibility and willingness to take action? Because the Concerned are the largest of the six segments, an increase in their level of issue engagement could foster a shift to the Alarmed segment, which would signal a major change in Americans' willingness to respond to climate change.



PART III: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS AND BELIEFS

Religious Affiliation

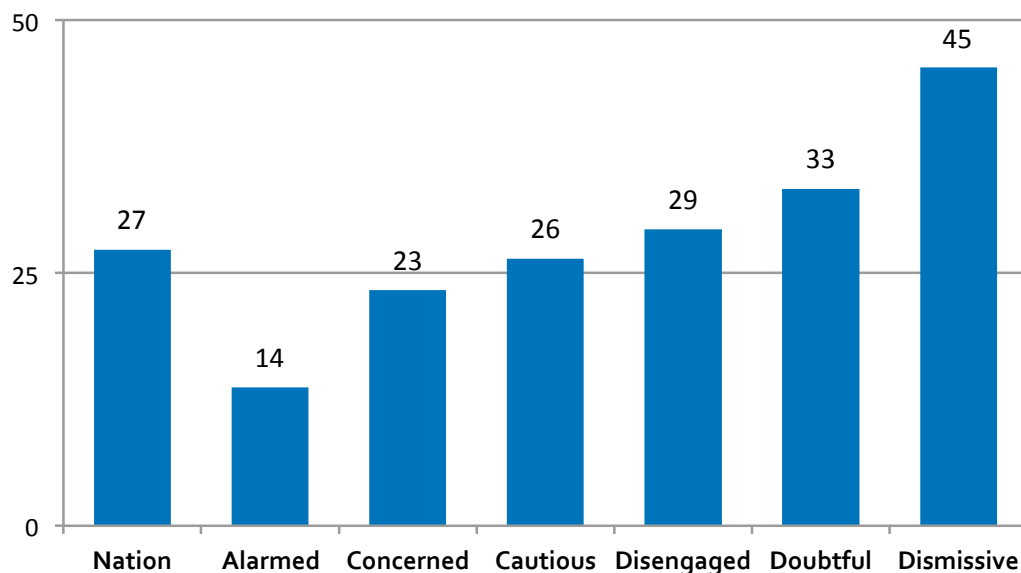
Members of some religious denominations are more likely to belong to the more disbelieving segments of the public, while others tend to belong to the more concerned segments: Protestants, Baptists and Mormons tend to belong to the more disbelieving segments, while Catholics, agnostics and atheists are more likely to belong to the more concerned segments. The Disengaged are the most likely to say they have no affiliation to any of the groups listed.

Table 2: Religious Affiliation							
<i>What is your religion?</i>							
	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
Catholic (304)	24	26	27	28	18	19	17
Protestant (e.g., Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopalian) (204)	16	9	15	19	10	21	19
None of the Above (193)	15	16	15	17	26	12	8
Baptist - any denomination (162)	13	6	12	13	12	17	17
Other Christian (149)	12	11	11	9	10	17	17
Agnostic (54)	4	10	5	3	1	2	3
Atheist (53)	4	11	5	2	8	1	3

Note: Number of respondents in each religious group is shown in parentheses. The table shows column percents, but the columns do not total to 100% because religious groups with fewer than 50 respondents have been omitted. The omitted categories are: Pentecostals, Jews, Mormons, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Eastern Orthodox, other non-Christians, and refusals. Results for religions with fewer than 100 respondents should be interpreted cautiously.

Evangelicals and "born-again" Christians are much more likely to belong to a disbelieving segment, and much less likely to belong to a concerned segment; they're particularly unlikely to belong to the Alarmed segment.

Figure 2 : Proportion of Segment Members Who are Evangelical or "Born-Again"



Religious Participation

The middle segments do not vary much on religious attendance, with close to a third of the Concerned, Cautious, Disengaged and Doubtful saying they attend services once or more times each week. The two end segments, however, report different levels of attendance: Over half of the Dismissives say they attend services once or more weekly, while only 21 percent of the Alarmed attend services with this frequency, and over a third say they never attend religious services.

Table 3: Religious Participation							
<i>How often do you attend religious services?</i>							
	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
More than once a week	12	5	12	10	13	14	26
Once a week	20	16	17	19	21	22	31
Once or twice a month	7	5	7	11	2	9	4
A few times a year	16	15	18	17	10	14	11
Once a year or less	18	22	18	18	21	21	7
Never	27	36	29	25	32	21	20

Religiosity & Spirituality

Religiosity is lowest among the Alarmed and highest among the Dismissive, with only small variations among the remaining segments. Differences in spiritual identity are less marked, although the Dismissive again report higher levels than any other segment. Although the Alarmed and Concerned are more likely to be atheist and agnostic and attend religious services less frequently, they are no less spiritual than other segments.

Figure 3: Religiosity and Spirituality

To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person? a spiritual person?

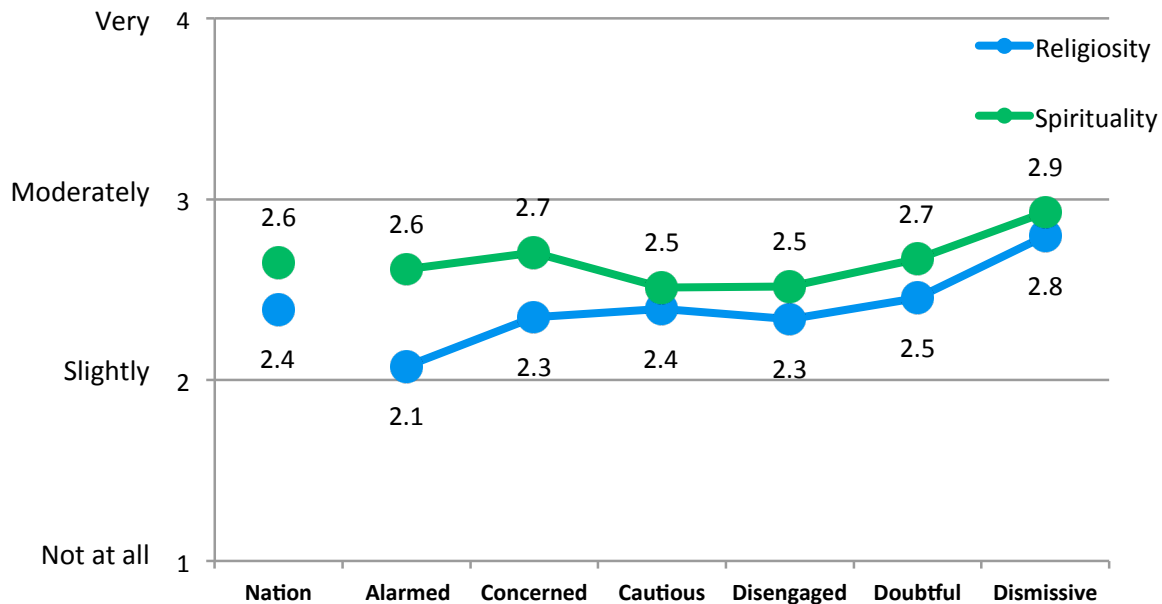


Table 4: Religious & Spiritual Identity							
<i>To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person? Are you...?</i>							
	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
Very religious	16	11	14	16	14	14	33
Moderately religious	34	25	34	34	36	39	34
Slightly religious	23	25	23	25	18	26	13
Not religious at all	27	39	28	26	32	21	20
<i>To what extent do you consider yourself a spiritual person? Are you...?</i>							
	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
Very spiritual	25	26	25	20	26	23	36
Moderately spiritual	34	30	38	33	28	36	35
Slightly spiritual	22	24	19	27	17	25	15
Not spiritual at all	19	20	17	21	28	16	14

Science & Religion Beliefs

The more concerned segments are more likely to accept the theory of evolution, and less likely to interpret the biblical creation story literally, to believe that modern science is harmful, or to think that belief in God is necessary for a good and moral life.

Figure 4 : Biblical Literalism & Evolution

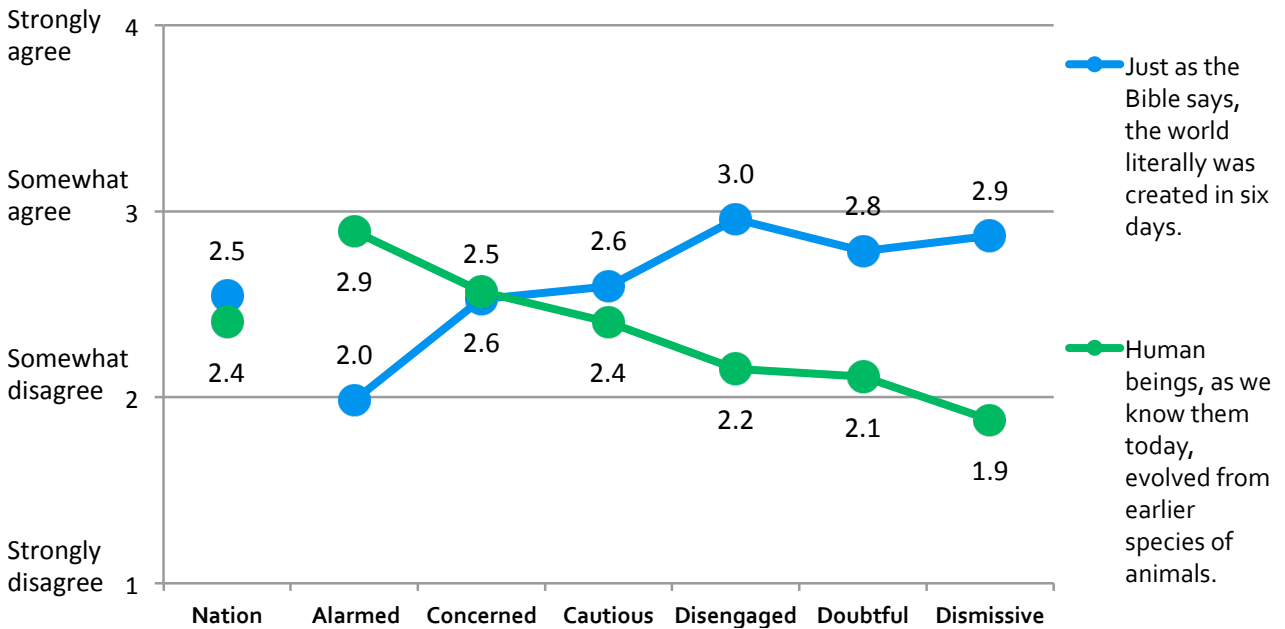


Figure 5 : Morality, God and the Perceived Harm of Science

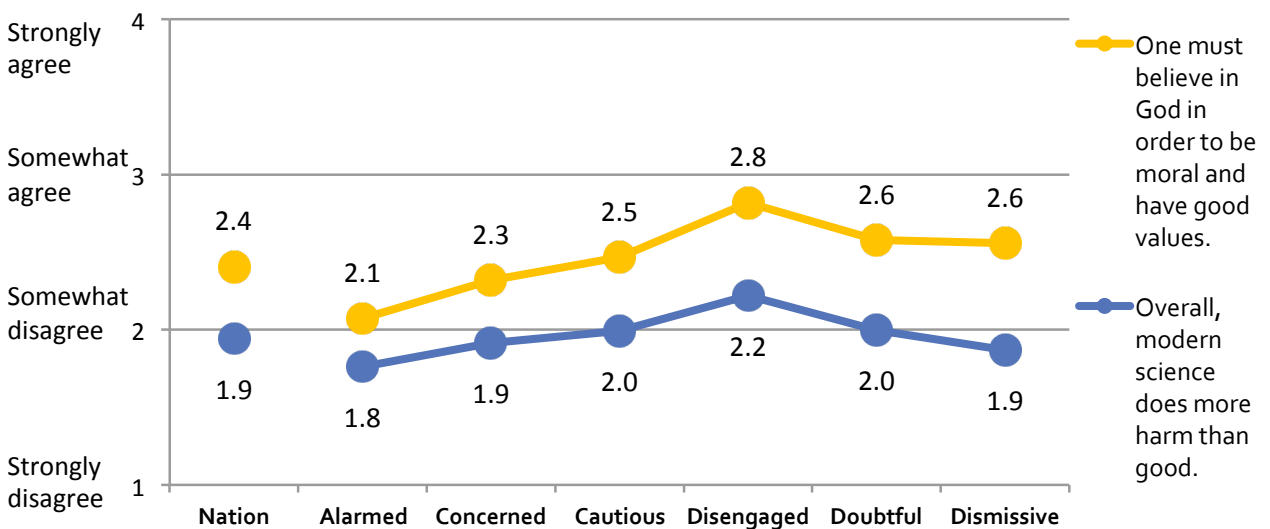


Table 5: Science & Religion Beliefs

<i>How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</i>								
		<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
Human beings, as we know them today, evolved from earlier species of animals. ⁷	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	25	40	37	18	6	14	14
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	28	26	26	39	42	25	15
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	15	11	12	18	31	20	10
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	32	23	26	25	21	41	61
Just as the Bible says, the world literally was created in six days. ⁸	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	28	17	26	23	35	36	47
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	26	13	27	36	36	26	15
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	19	20	19	19	19	17	14
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	27	49	27	22	10	21	24
Overall, modern science does more harm than good. ⁸	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	29	44	29	24	14	25	34
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	51	41	53	55	54	57	47
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	16	11	14	19	28	13	17
	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	4	5	3	2	4	5	2
One must believe in God in order to be moral and have good values. ⁸	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	20	17	18	18	27	21	25
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	26	17	23	31	35	31	24
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	29	23	31	29	30	32	32
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	25	43	28	21	8	16	19

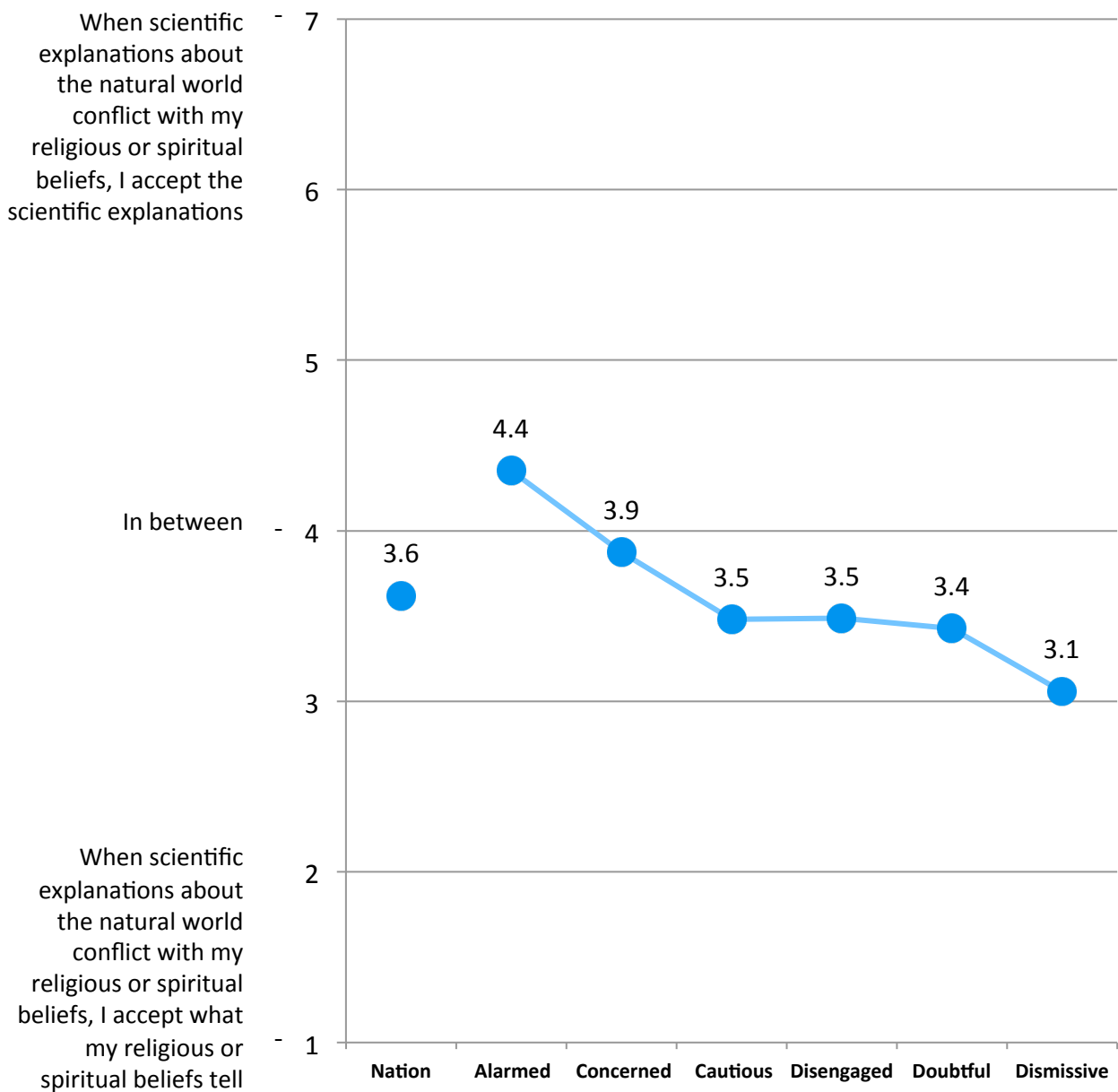
⁷ April 2013; N=988

⁸ Fall 2008; N=2,127

Conflicts between Science & Religion

If a scientific explanation conflicts with their spiritual or religious beliefs, people in four of the six segments say they're inclined to accept the religious explanation. When asked which viewpoint they weigh more heavily, the Concerned responded mid-way between the two end points of the scale, the Cautious through the Dismissive segments said they give preference to the religious explanation, and only the Alarmed said they're more likely to accept the scientific explanation.

Figure 6: Preference for Scientific or Religious Explanations



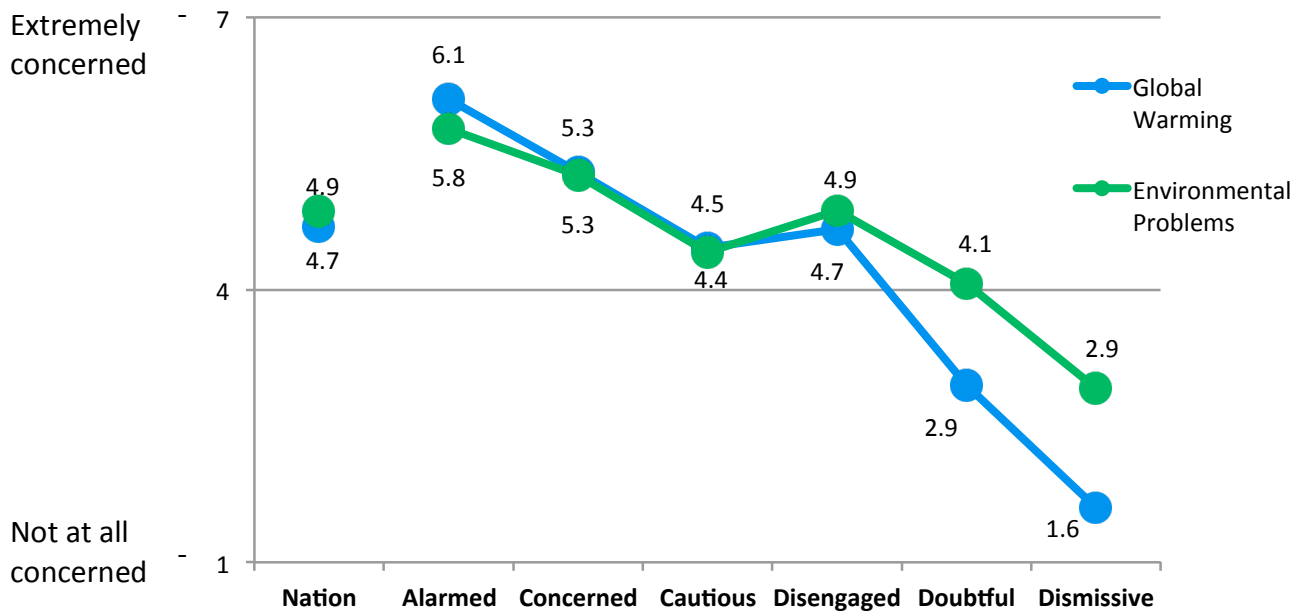
PART IV: HUMANS' RELATIONSHIP WITH NATURE

Environmental and Global Warming Concern

A scale often used in research on environmental attitudes asks respondents how concerned they are about the impacts of environmental problems on other species, other people, and on themselves.⁹ Adapting this scale to assess concern about the impacts of global warming on other species, people and themselves allows a comparison of general environmental concern to specific global warming concern.¹⁰

General concern about environmental problems and concern about global warming specifically are closely linked for most Americans, and the segments that are more concerned about global warming are also more concerned about environmental problems generally construed. For the Concerned, Cautious and Disengaged, general environmental concern closely matches their global warming concern. For the Alarmed, however, global warming concern is significantly higher than general environmental concern, and for the Doubtful and Dismissive, it is significantly lower.

Figure 7: Environmental and Global Warming Concern



Note: Global warming concern was assessed in the fall of 2008 ($N=2,164$), and environmental problem concern was assessed in June 2011 ($N=1,043$). The 2011 survey was a re-contact of respondents to the 2008 survey. Hence, data shown for environmental problem concern was obtained from respondents who had reported on their level of global warming concern three years prior.

⁹ Schultz, P. W. (2001). The structure of environmental concern: Concern for self, other people, and the biosphere. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 21(4), 327-339.

¹⁰ Concern indices include measures of concern about harm to plants, marine life, animals, birds, all people, all children, the respondent's children, people in the United States, the respondent, and the respondent's health, life and future. While wording differed slightly, rating scales for both sets of questions ranged from 1, indicating the respondent was not at all concerned, to 7, indicating very high concern.

Another closely related set of questions asked respondents how much harm they think global warming will cause to the natural environment, future generations and the world's poor. These questions included a "don't know" response option, and the results highlight the low understanding of global warming impacts among the Disengaged, who overwhelmingly choose this response.

The same pattern of results is evident for all three risk assessments: virtually all of the Alarmed believe that great harm will occur; similar proportions of the Dismissive believe no harm will occur, and the segments in between show decreasing expectations of harm from the Alarmed to the Dismissive, with the exception of the Disengaged, who stand out for their high number of "don't know" responses.

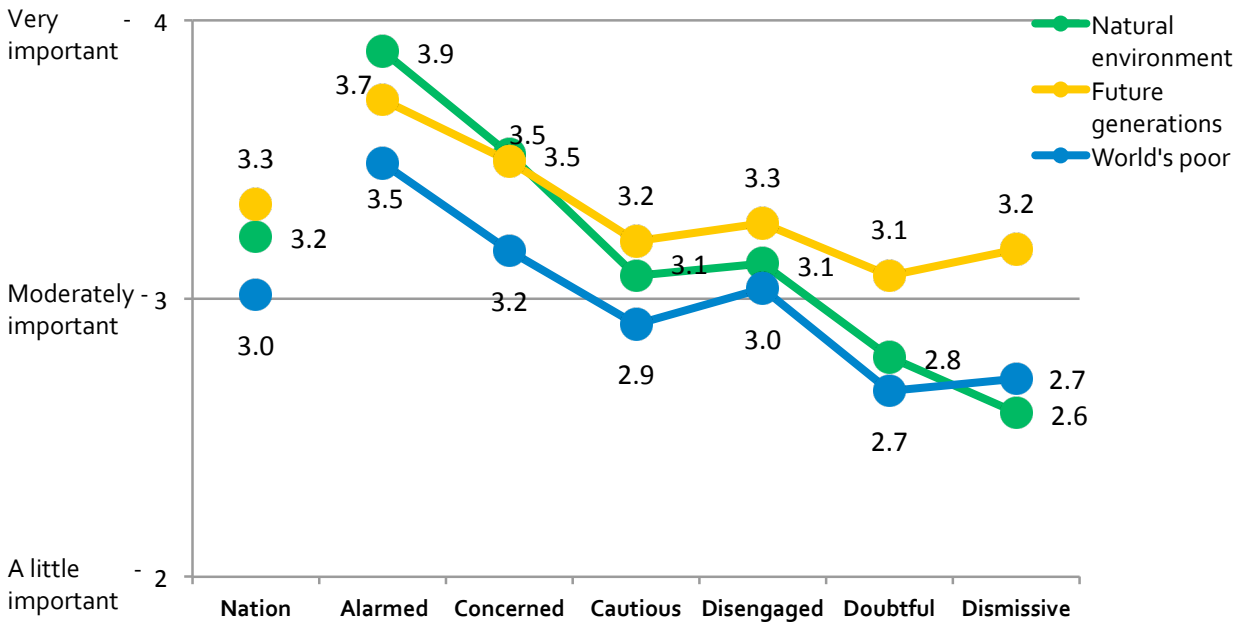
Table 6: Expected Harm from Global Warming								
<i>How much harm do you think global warming will cause to...</i>								
		<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
The natural environment	<i>A great deal</i>	44	95	79	31	8	4	0
	<i>A moderate amount</i>	21	2	15	51	9	19	2
	<i>Only a little</i>	10	0	1	15	0	40	2
	<i>Not at all</i>	12	0	0	1	0	7	95
	<i>Don't know</i>	13	3	4	2	84	30	1
Future generations of people	<i>A great deal</i>	42	97	80	25	0	4	0
	<i>A moderate amount</i>	21	0	13	57	1	16	1
	<i>Only a little</i>	10	0	0	14	0	43	4
	<i>Not at all</i>	12	0	0	0	0	8	94
	<i>Don't know</i>	15	3	7	2	99	30	1
The world's poor	<i>A great deal</i>	30	85	52	15	3	3	2
	<i>A moderate amount</i>	23	10	31	42	0	12	1
	<i>Only a little</i>	16	2	6	34	1	35	3
	<i>Not at all</i>	16	0	1	6	0	20	93
	<i>Don't know</i>	15	3	10	3	96	30	1

The Importance of Caring for Others and the Environment

Almost everyone in the Alarmed and Concerned segments said that caring for the environment, the poor and future generations is moderately to very important, as did large majorities of the Cautious and Disengaged. Close to three-quarters of the Dismissive and Doubtful said caring for future generations is moderately or very important, and about half said caring for the poor is important. Overall, caring for others and the environment is perceived as important across all segments, but it is significantly higher among the more concerned segments.

Nationally, the priority of caring for future generations is significantly higher than caring for the environment, and the importance of caring for the environment is significantly higher than caring for the poor. The Cautious and Doubtful segments hold this same set of priorities, but the Alarmed prioritize caring for the environment over caring for the future generations over caring for the poor. The Concerned prioritize caring for the environment and future generations over caring for the poor. The Dismissive prioritize caring for the environment and future generations over caring for the poor. Caring for the poor – a high priority for the Pope – has the lowest priority among all segments, with the exception of the Dismissive, for whom caring for the environment has the lowest importance.

Figure 8: Importance of Caring for Others and the Environment



Note: Table entries are segment averages on the 4-point scales where 1="not important" and 4="very important." The "not important" scale point has been omitted from the figure. A "don't know" response option was offered on these questions; those responses have been excluded in calculating the averages shown here. For the full distribution of responses, please see Table 7.

Table 7: Perceived Importance of Caring for Others & the Environment

How important are the following to you personally?

		<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
Caring for the natural environment	Very important	44	90	60	34	29	16	19
	Moderately important	33	10	33	39	40	43	30
	A little important	17	1	6	23	15	28	33
	Not important	3	0	1	2	1	4	13
	Not sure	3	0	1	2	14	8	5
Caring for the world's poor	Very important	32	56	38	28	35	16	21
	Moderately important	36	34	41	37	24	35	33
	A little important	23	6	16	28	24	32	31
	Not important	4	1	2	4	4	7	8
	Not sure	4	1	2	2	13	9	6
Caring for future generations of people	Very important	48	74	57	40	46	31	40
	Moderately important	34	22	34	40	23	39	36
	A little important	12	3	7	17	16	19	15
	Not important	2	0	0	2	3	2	4
	Not sure	3	1	1	2	12	8	5

Effectiveness of Mitigation in Helping Others and the Environment

Americans in all segments believe that action to reduce global warming will help the environment and future generations equally. All segments also believe that it will help the world's poor less than it will help the environment and future generations, with the single exception of the Dismissive, who believe mitigation won't help any of the three.

Figure 9: Effectiveness of Mitigation in Helping Others and the Environment

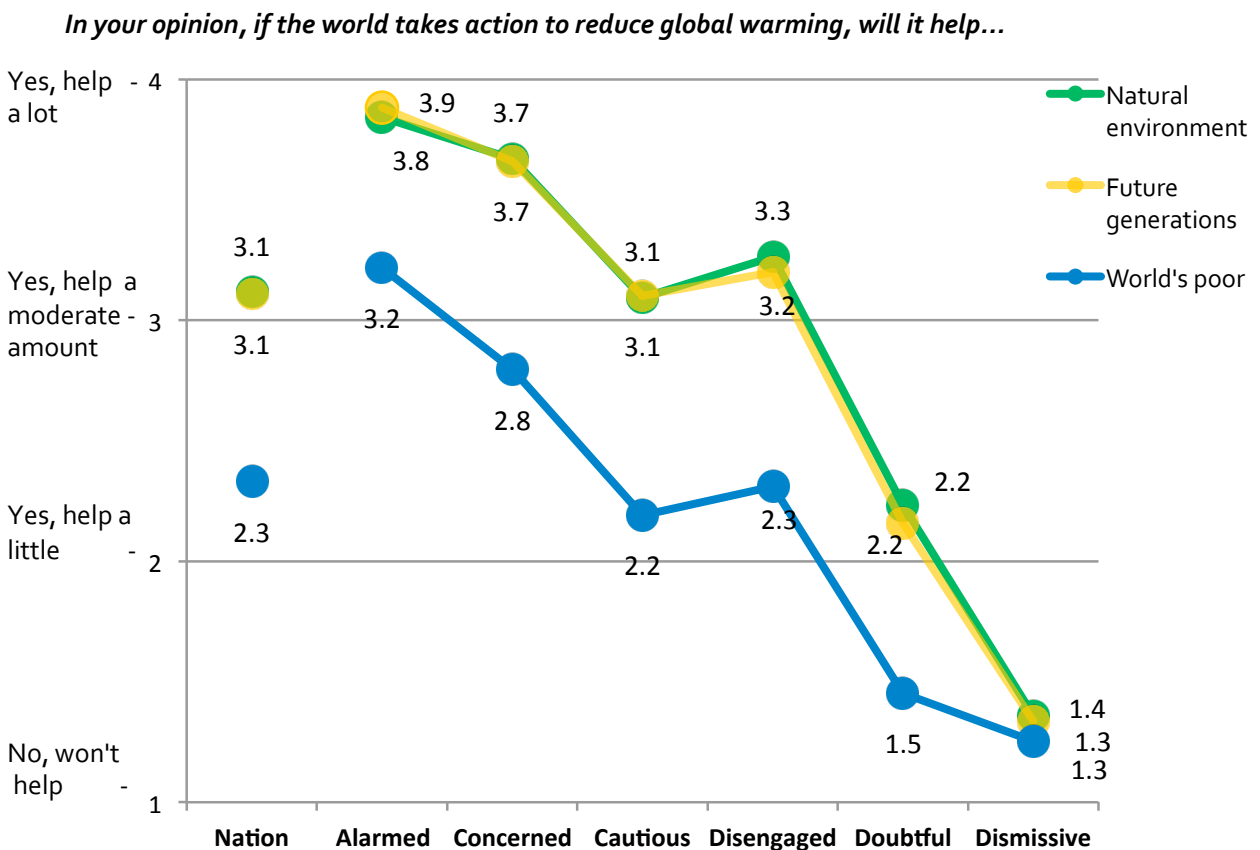


Table 8: Effectiveness of Mitigation in Helping Others and the Environment

In your opinion, if the world takes action to reduce global warming, will it help...?

		<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
The natural environment	<i>Yes, it will help a lot</i>	44	86	74	34	32	8	2
	<i>Yes, it will help a moderate amount</i>	19	11	17	34	12	14	5
	<i>Yes, it will help a little</i>	14	3	8	19	14	27	15
	<i>No, it will not help</i>	10	0	0	3	1	15	62
	<i>Not sure</i>	13	1	1	10	41	35	17
The world's poor	<i>Yes, it will help a lot</i>	17	47	25	11	11	2	3
	<i>Yes, it will help a moderate amount</i>	17	27	25	18	4	5	4
	<i>Yes, it will help a little</i>	21	15	26	28	22	15	6
	<i>No, it will not help</i>	25	6	8	24	11	43	74
	<i>Not sure</i>	20	5	16	18	52	36	13
Future generations of people	<i>Yes, it will help a lot</i>	44	89	72	33	28	6	3
	<i>Yes, it will help a moderate amount</i>	19	10	19	35	11	15	3
	<i>Yes, it will help a little</i>	13	1	7	18	14	27	14
	<i>No, it will not help</i>	11	0	0	3	2	16	64
	<i>Not sure</i>	14	1	1	11	45	36	16

Perception of a Moral Dimension to Global Warming

The Alarmed are very likely to say that their feelings about global warming reflect their core moral values and fundamental beliefs about right and wrong; the Concerned are less likely to hold this belief than the Alarmed, but more likely than other segments to do so. The Disengaged and Doubtful see little relationship between their feelings about global warming and their moral sense, saying they are only slightly connected.

Figure 10: Perception of a Moral Dimension to Global Warming

*To what extent are you feelings about global warming...
...a reflection of your core moral values & convictions?
...connected to your fundamental beliefs about 'right' and 'wrong'? (Mean of
two questions shown)*

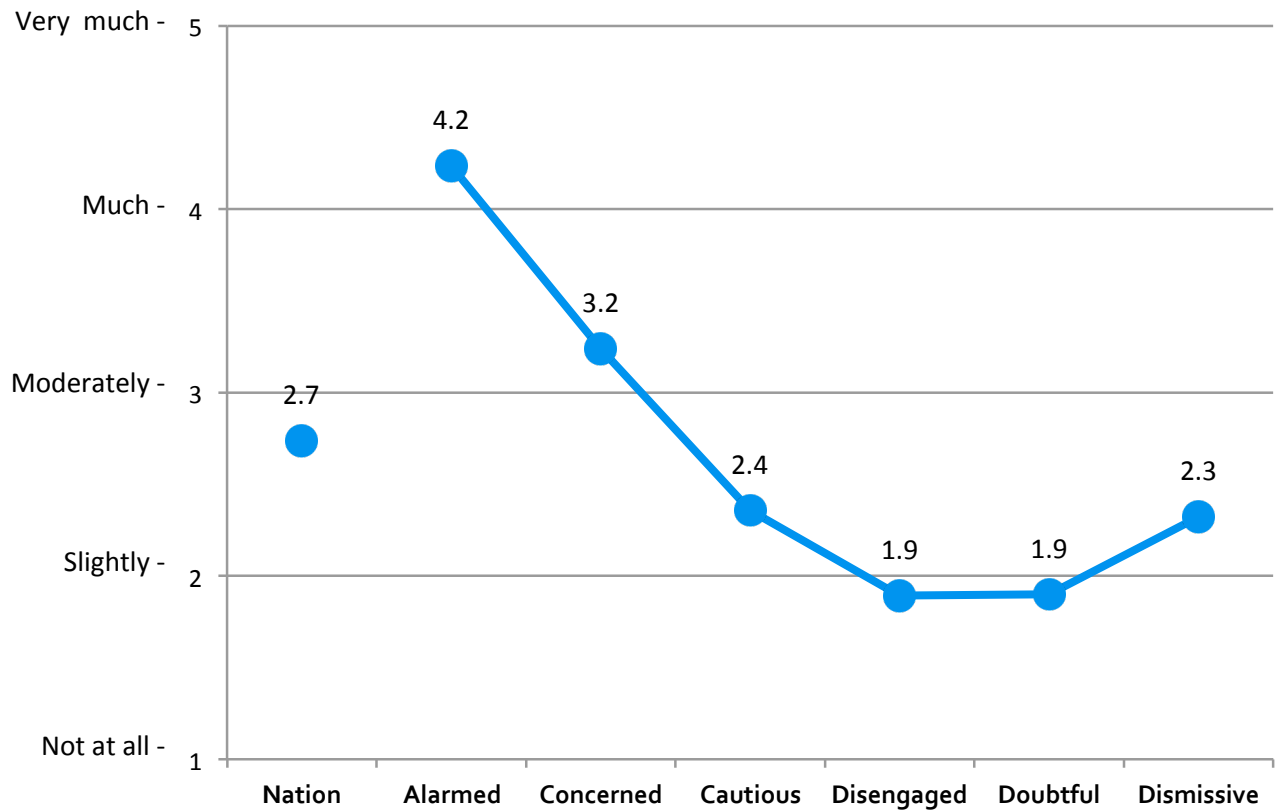


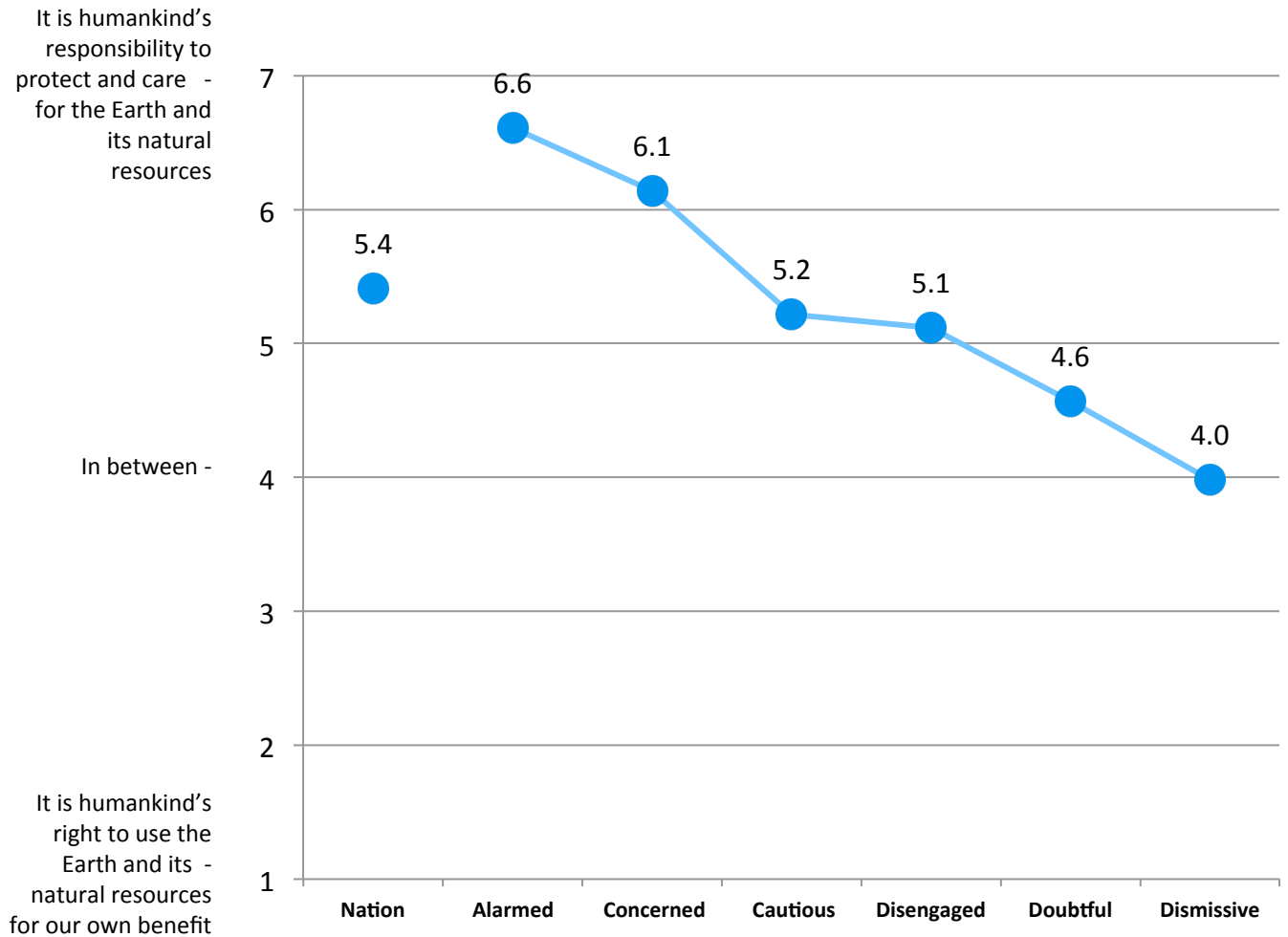
Table 9: Perception of a Moral Dimension to Global Warming

		<i>Nation</i>	Alarmed	Concerned	Cautious	Disengaged	Doubtful	Dismissive
To what extent are your feelings about global warming a reflection of your core moral values and convictions?	<i>Very much</i>	12	50	11	2	0	2	18
	<i>Much</i>	16	36	25	6	7	8	10
	<i>Moderately</i>	32	9	47	42	24	22	13
	<i>Slightly</i>	15	1	12	26	14	15	11
	<i>Not at all</i>	25	4	5	25	54	53	48
To what extent are your feelings about global warming connected to your fundamental beliefs about 'right' and 'wrong'?	<i>Very much</i>	13	50	14	3	0	5	15
	<i>Much</i>	15	30	25	7	3	5	9
	<i>Moderately</i>	31	14	40	39	37	21	14
	<i>Slightly</i>	13	2	12	23	11	12	11
	<i>Not at all</i>	28	4	9	28	49	57	50

Stewardship vs. Dominion over Earth and Its Resources

Most Americans believe it is our responsibility to protect the Earth, rather than simply using it for our own benefit. This is particularly true among the Alarmed and Concerned, but it is characteristic of all segments, with the exception of the Dismissive, whose opinions fall mid-way between stewardship and dominion.

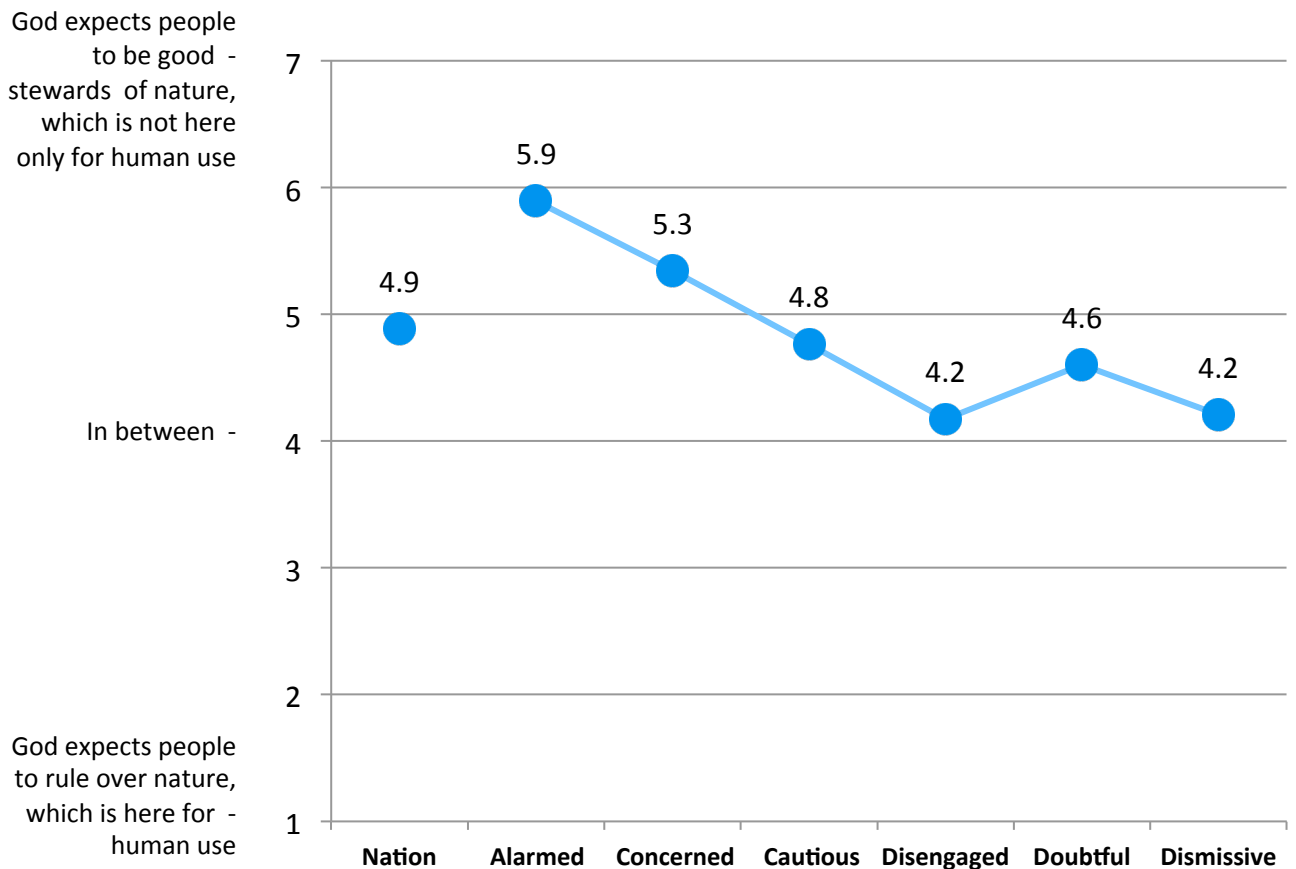
Figure 11: Stewardship vs. Dominion over Earth & Its Resources



God's Expectations for Human Treatment of Nature

About one quarter of Americans think that God or the concept of God is not relevant to the relationship between humans and nature (28%). Of those who believe that God is relevant to the relationship, most tend to think that God expects people to be stewards, rather than rulers over nature. The Disengaged and Dismissive beliefs fall closer to the middle of the scale, midway between stewardship and dominion.

Figure 12: Beliefs about God's Expectations on Human Treatment of Nature



Note: n= 873. Respondents who said God is not relevant to the relationship between humans and nature were not asked this question.

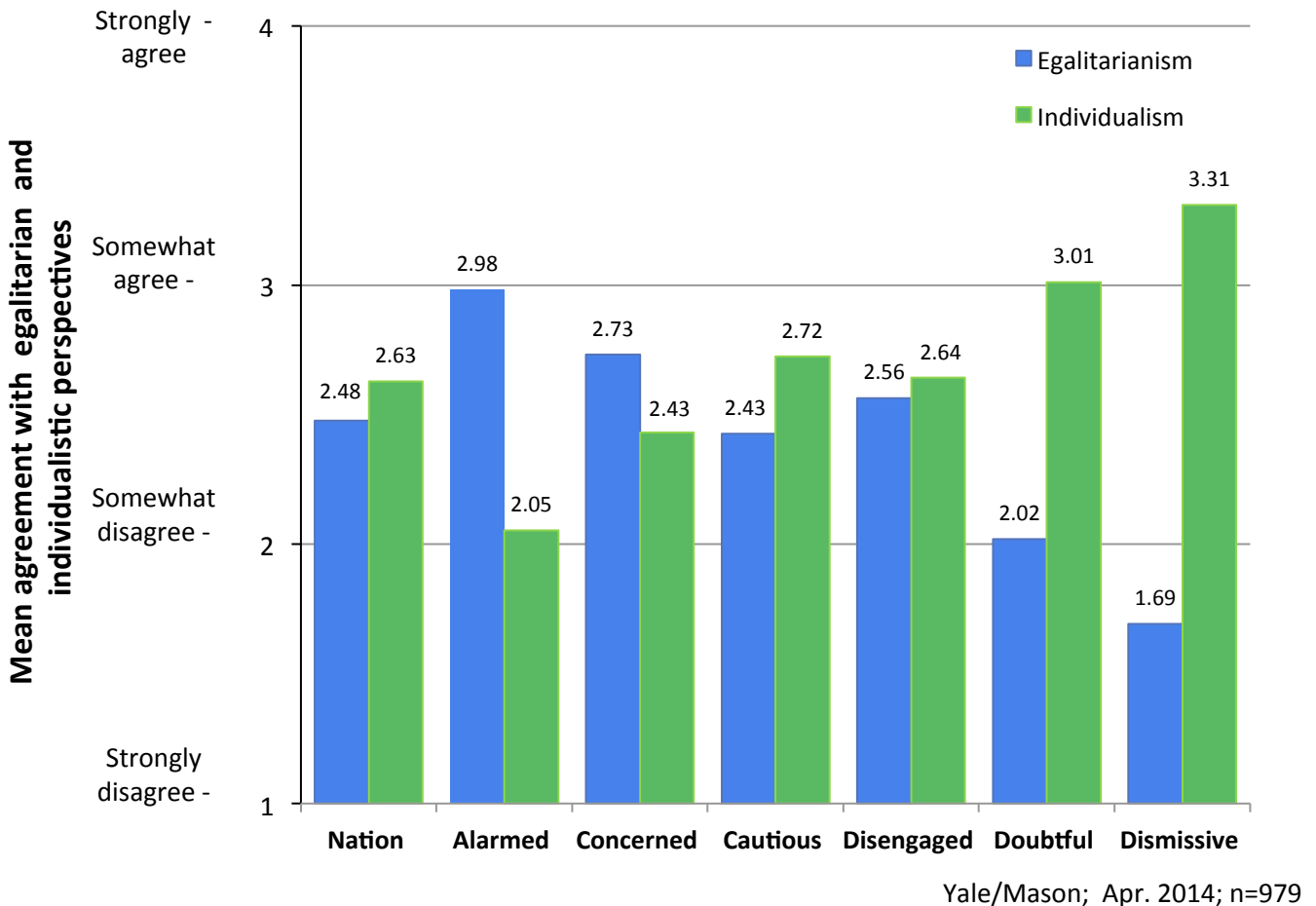
PART V: SOCIAL & CONSUMERIST VALUES

Egalitarianism and Individualism

The Six Americas differ in the weight they ascribe to egalitarian values (i.e., equal opportunity, a more equal distribution of wealth, and protection for vulnerable minorities and the poor) as opposed to individualistic values (i.e., freedom from government intervention in the lives of individuals and in business).

Nationally, Americans' values are slightly more individualistic than egalitarian. Within the segments, however, strong differences are apparent: The Alarmed hold much stronger egalitarian values, while Dismissives and Doubtfuls are much more individualistic. Differences are smaller within the remaining three segments, although the Concerned tend to hold stronger egalitarian values and the Cautious and Disengaged are slightly more individualistic.

Figure 13: Egalitarianism and Individualism



Note: Scores for egalitarianism and individualism shown in the figure are average levels of agreement with multiple items, which are shown in Tables 10 and 11 below.

Table 10: Egalitarianism								
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?								
		Nation	Alarmed	Concerned	Cautious	Disengaged	Doubtful	Dismissive
The world would be a more peaceful place if its wealth were divided more equally among nations.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	8	15	7	6	10	6	2
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	35	45	47	37	37	17	6
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	32	27	32	39	43	30	24
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	25	13	14	17	10	48	68
In my ideal society, all basic needs (food, housing, health care, education) would be guaranteed by the government for everyone.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	14	30	17	11	20	4	4
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	31	37	42	29	32	20	7
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	28	26	26	35	32	25	25
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	27	8	16	25	16	51	64
I support government programs to get rid of poverty.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	17	46	21	8	17	4	4
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	46	42	55	53	50	38	19
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	25	10	19	29	27	36	39
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	12	3	5	10	6	21	39
Discrimination against minorities is still a very serious problem in our society.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	21	40	28	12	12	11	6
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	37	40	45	37	31	27	21
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	30	14	19	42	47	41	33
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	13	6	7	9	10	21	40

Yale/Mason; Apr. 2014; n=979

Table 11: Individualism								
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?								
		Nation	Alarmed	Concerned	Cautious	Disengaged	Doubtful	Dismissive
If the government spent less time trying to fix everyone's problems, we'd all be a lot better off.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	23	5	15	19	14	43	59
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	37	32	37	46	41	34	24
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	28	33	34	31	39	19	8
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	12	30	14	4	6	5	10
Our government tries to do too many things for too many people. We should just let people take care of themselves.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	17	3	9	19	12	29	44
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	33	18	29	38	48	44	37
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	33	40	43	34	36	18	13
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	16	39	19	9	4	9	5
The government interferes too much in our everyday lives.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	26	10	13	22	22	51	62
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	37	30	40	46	46	32	26
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	27	34	37	28	24	11	9
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	10	26	10	4	8	6	3
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	16	7	6	9	18	31	47
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	37	21	36	48	37	40	37
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	36	40	49	37	35	19	11
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	11	32	9	6	10	9	5
People should be allowed to make as much money as they can, even if it means some make millions while others live in poverty.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	18	4	10	14	8	28	59
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	36	27	38	47	38	35	19
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	31	39	32	34	44	26	15
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	15	30	19	5	10	11	7

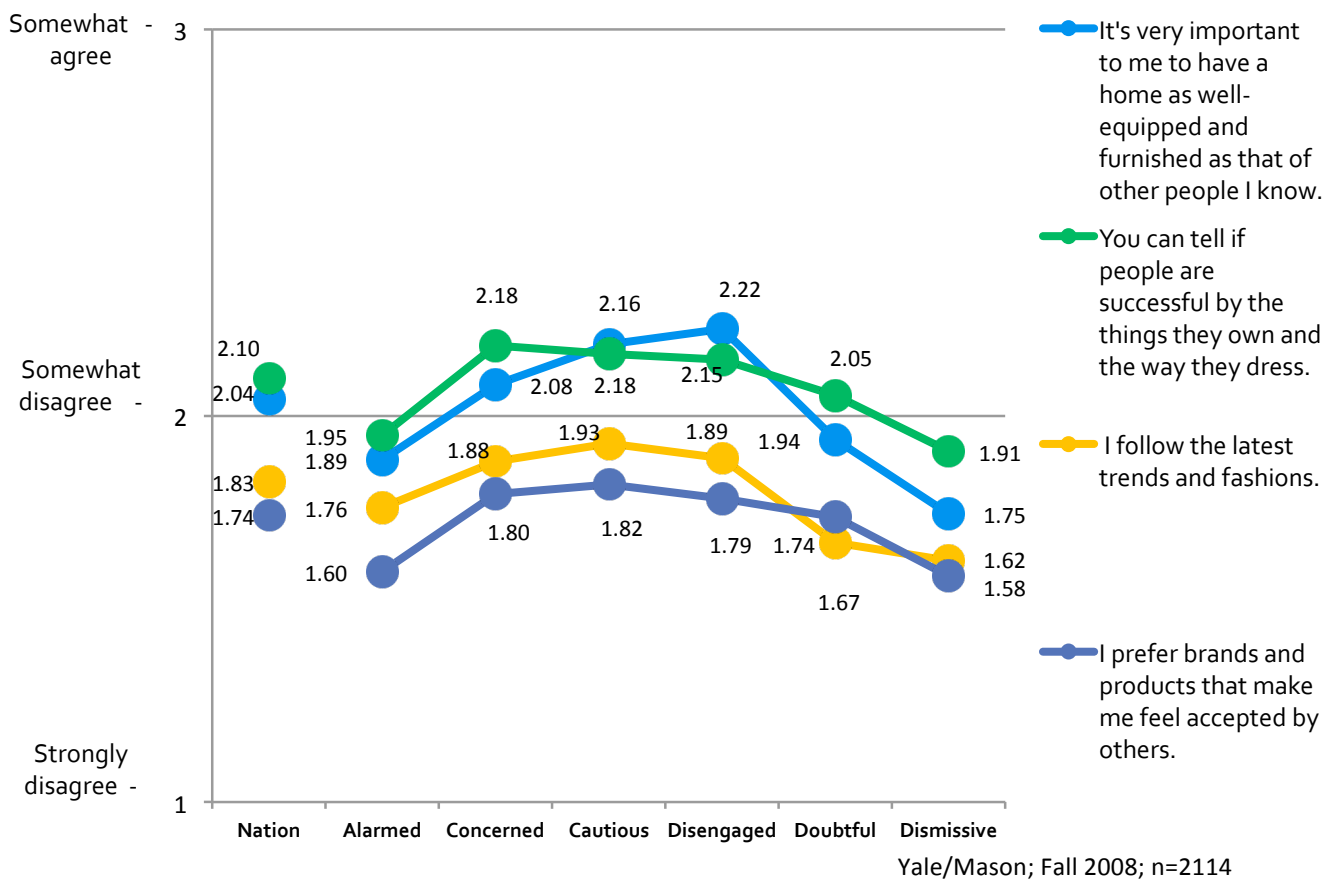
Yale/Mason; Apr. 2014; n=979

Consumerist Values

Most Americans say that having well-furnished homes is not important to them, that success is not evident in possessions, that they don't follow fashion and they don't prefer socially-accepted brands and products. All means are below the mid-point of the scale (i.e., 2.5; the top scale point, "strongly agree," has been omitted from the figure), and close to 2 on the 4-point scale, indicating respondents "somewhat disagree" with consumerist attitudes.

A slight curvilinear relationship is apparent, such that the Concerned, Cautious and Disengaged segments disagree less strongly than the Alarmed, Doubtful and Dismissive.

Figure 14: Consumerist Values



Note: Questions were asked using 4-point scales, with 1 representing "strongly disagree" and 4 representing "strongly agree." The "strongly agree" point on the scale is not shown in this figure.

Table 12: Consumerist Values

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

		Nation	Alarmed	Concerned	Cautious	Disengaged	Doubtful	Dismissive
You can tell if people are successful by the things they own and the way they dress.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	4	2	5	3	5	4	0
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	30	26	31	33	31	25	27
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	40	37	41	40	39	45	36
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	27	35	23	23	26	27	37
It's very important to me to have a home as well-equipped and furnished as that of other people I know.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	4	2	5	4	10	2	2
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	24	21	24	32	25	19	14
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	44	41	46	44	42	50	41
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	28	36	25	21	23	29	44
I follow the latest trends and fashions.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	18	15	20	22	19	13	14
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	40	39	41	44	44	37	30
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	39	44	36	32	35	49	54
I prefer brands and products that make me feel accepted by others.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	2	1	2	1	2	3	1
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	14	13	13	16	14	14	9
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	43	32	47	48	45	38	36
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	42	54	38	35	39	45	53

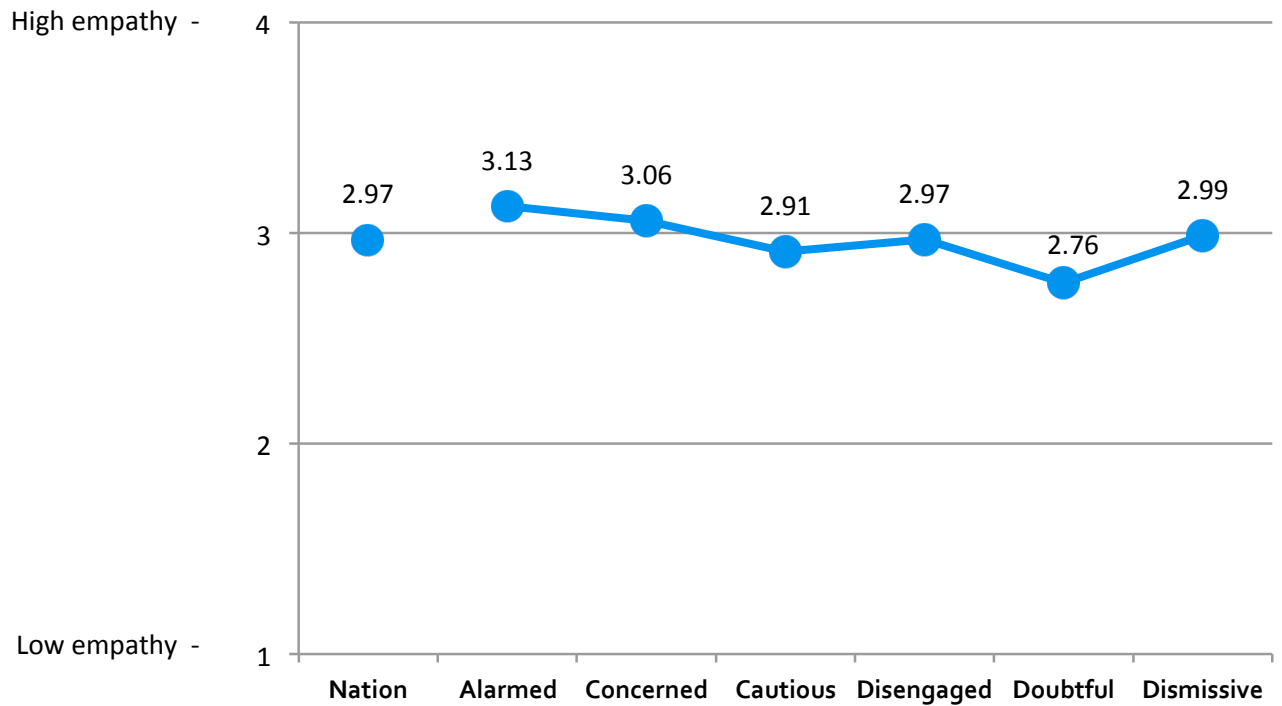
Yale/Mason; Fall 2008; n=2114

Empathy

Differences between the groups in terms of empathetic feelings for others are fairly small, with all segments reporting more agreement than disagreement with statements indicative of empathy for others. Empathy was assessed by level of agreement with the 14 statements shown in Table 13.¹¹

Figure 15: Empathetic Feelings for Others

Mean agreement with empathetic statements:



Yale/Mason; Apr. 2012; N=992

Note: On some items, agreement reflected higher levels of empathy, and on others, disagreement showed higher empathy. When calculating the averages shown above, all items were coded such that 4 represents high empathy.

The Doubtful report the least empathy of the six groups, while the Alarmed report the highest. The Doubtful also differ from other segments in their level of agreement with statements that indicate low empathy. For example, twenty-eight percent agreed that when they see someone being treated unfairly, they sometimes do not feel very much pity for them; in the other five segments, 16 percent or less agreed with this statement. Over half of the Doubtful

¹¹ The 14 empathy measures are the Empathic Concern and Perspective-Taking subscales of the 28-item scale of empathy developed by Mark Davis:
Davis, M. H. (1983). Measuring individual differences in empathy: evidence for a multidimensional approach. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 44(1), 113.

(57%) said they sometimes don't feel sorry for others when they're having problems, compared to 47% or less in the other groups.

TABLE 13: Empathy								
Now we'd like to ask you some questions about yourself. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?								
		Nation	Alarmed	Concerned	Cautious	Disengaged	Doubtful	Dismissive
When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	25	35	30	21	18	15	33
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	65	58	64	68	70	68	60
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	8	5	5	10	13	12	5
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	2	2	0	1	0	5	2
When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	36	50	41	29	39	24	43
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	47	42	44	55	45	48	45
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	13	6	11	13	14	26	9
	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	3	3	4	3	2	2	4
I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	24	37	29	21	20	13	23
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	60	54	58	64	70	58	64
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	12	3	10	12	11	23	10
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	4	6	3	2	0	6	4
I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	22	26	28	19	20	14	24
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	57	60	57	59	54	52	57
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	17	9	15	18	27	27	15
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	3	5	1	4	0	7	4
Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems.	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	18	23	24	11	21	14	24
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	37	42	35	42	43	29	31
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	40	26	37	44	30	51	37
	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	5	8	4	2	5	6	8

TABLE 13: Empathy

Now we'd like to ask you some questions about yourself. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

		<i>Nation</i>	<i>Alarmed</i>	<i>Concerned</i>	<i>Cautious</i>	<i>Disengaged</i>	<i>Doubtful</i>	<i>Dismissive</i>
	<i>Agree</i>							
Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	21	34	29	13	23	13	23
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	52	48	52	58	54	49	47
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	22	12	17	25	18	35	25
	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	4	6	3	4	5	3	6
I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	24	38	28	19	20	9	31
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	59	47	60	66	61	59	53
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	15	13	11	14	20	25	12
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	3	2	1	1	0	7	4
Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	25	38	28	19	25	14	28
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	58	52	56	64	57	60	54
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	14	9	14	13	18	19	16
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	3	2	2	4	0	6	2
If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	12	22	14	6	14	10	10
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	45	47	50	46	43	34	44
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	36	24	28	42	41	48	35
	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	7	7	8	6	2	8	12
I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	20	40	21	12	23	10	26
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	65	51	66	73	63	67	58
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	12	8	12	13	11	16	10

TABLE 13: Empathy**Now we'd like to ask you some questions about yourself. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

		Nation	Alarmed	Concerned	Cautious	Disengaged	Doubtful	Dismissive
things look from their perspective.	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	3	1	1	3	4	7	6
I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	33	48	39	27	27	20	41
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	57	47	56	60	64	62	50
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	8	3	4	11	9	13	7
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	2	2	1	3	0	5	2
I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the other guy's point of view.	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	16	25	18	11	9	17	15
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	48	44	48	51	50	41	51
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	33	21	31	35	39	41	30
	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	4	10	3	3	2	1	4
I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	27	32	30	26	23	14	33
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	61	54	62	59	59	72	58
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	10	9	8	13	18	9	5
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	2	4	0	2	0	6	4
When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to put myself in his shoes for a while.	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	13	20	15	13	9	7	11
	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	59	57	60	58	71	56	57
	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	24	18	22	24	20	32	25
	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	4	5	3	4	0	5	8

Note: On some items, agreement reflects higher levels of empathy, and on others, disagreement reflects higher empathy. When calculating the averages shown in Figure 15, all items were coded such that 4 represents high empathy. Yale/Mason; Apr. 2012; N=992

PART VI: METHODS

Most of the data in this report are based on a nationally representative survey of 1,263 American adults, aged 18 and older, conducted February 27-March 10, 2015. Average margin of error: +/- 3 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. The research was funded by the 11th Hour Project, the Energy Foundation, the Grantham Foundation, and the V.K. Rasmussen Foundation.

All questionnaires were self-administered by respondents in a web-based environment. The survey took, on average, 26 minutes to complete. Some data were gathered in earlier surveys, as noted in the text. All surveys employed similar methods, using nationally representative samples of respondents who completed questionnaires online.

The samples were drawn from GfK's KnowledgePanel®, an online panel of members drawn using probability sampling methods. Prospective members are recruited using a combination of random digit dial and address-based sampling techniques that cover virtually all (non-institutional) resident phone numbers and addresses in the United States. Those contacted who would choose to join the panel but do not have access to the Internet are loaned computers and given Internet access so they may participate.

The sample therefore includes a representative cross-section of American adults – irrespective of whether they have Internet access, use only a cell phone, etc. Key demographic variables are weighted, post survey, to match US Census Bureau norms.

The six audience segments were first identified in 2008 using Latent Class Analysis with survey data from 2,164 respondents. Respondents were segmented using 36 variables representing four distinct constructs: global warming beliefs, issue involvement, policy preferences and behaviors. Discriminant functions derived from the latent class analysis have been used since 2008 to assess changes in the sizes and attitudes of the segments, and to describe additional differences among the groups, such as the moral and religious perspectives discussed in this report.

For a full description of the segmentation methods, please see: Maibach, E. W., Leiserowitz, A., Roser-Renouf, C., & Mertz, C. K. (2011). Identifying like-minded audiences for global warming public engagement campaigns: An audience segmentation analysis and tool development. *PloS one*, 6(3), e17571. All prior reports on Global Warming's Six Americas are available at our websites: <http://climatechange.gmu.edu> and <http://environment.yale.edu/climate>

This study was conducted by the *Yale Program on Climate Change Communication* and the *George Mason University Center for Climate Change Communication*, and was funded by the Surdna Foundation, the 11th Hour Project, the Grantham Foundation, and the V. K. Rasmussen Foundation. The survey instruments were designed by Anthony Leiserowitz, Geoff Feinberg, and Seth Rosenthal of Yale University, and Edward Maibach and Connie Roser-Renouf of George Mason University.

Rounding error

For tabulation purposes, percentage points are rounded off to the nearest whole number. As a result, percentages in a given chart may total slightly higher or lower than 100%.

