WE’RE NOT THAT FAR APART:
Transformational Ideas From
The Oregon Values & Beliefs Project

2014 Public Interest Environmental Law Conference

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www.policyinteractive.org

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www.politicalpsychologyresearch.com
EXPLORING OREGON VALUES 2013
(DHM PRIORS 1992, 2002)

Three surveys; spaced 2 weeks apart; 198 questions

• Multiple Data Modes, Landline, Cell & Internet
• S1: 3,971 respondents (1.6% MOE @ 95% confidence)
• S2: 1,958 respondents (2.2% MOE @ 95% confidence)
• S3: 1,865 respondents (2.3% MOE @ 95% confidence)
• Oversampling for Geographic Representativeness
• Statistical weighting for age, gender & income
• Quality control: best practices for survey error & bias
Disclaimer

The opinions presented here are solely of the presenters and not those of the project sponsors.
Variety of question styles used:
- Strength of Agreement matrix
- Probability/Desirability
- Open ended response
- Forced Choice Question Style

Three examples of Forced Choice
Which statement do you agree with more even if neither represents your view exactly?
(Ordering randomized & A/B rotates)
Which statement comes closest to your view?

Statement A: Economic Growth should be given priority even if the environment suffers to some extent

Statement B: Protection of the environment should be given priority even at the risk of slowing economic growth

Color Tone Key:
Light: Lean towards
Dark: Feel strongly

38% Statement A
53% Statement B
8% Don’t know
Statement A: Economic growth should be given priority even if the environment suffers to some extent

Statement B: Protection of the environment should be given priority even at the risk of slowing economic growth

Which statement comes closest to your view?
Which statement comes closest to your view?

Statement A: Climate change requires us to change our way of life such as driving less or living more simply.

Statement B: If climate change becomes a problem we can deal with it later.

72% voted for Statement A, 21% for Statement B, and 7% chose 'Don’t know'.
Which statement comes closest to your view?

(statements always rotate)

**Statement A:**
Climate change requires us to change our way of life such as driving less or living more simply.

**Statement B:**
If climate change becomes a problem, we can deal with it later.

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**Chart:**
- Total: 72% (Green), 7% (Red), 6% (Gray)
- Metro: 76% (Green), 18% (Red), 6% (Gray)
- W. Valley: 72% (Green), 20% (Red), 7% (Gray)
- Central: 64% (Green), 28% (Red), 7% (Gray)
- Eastern: 62% (Green), 30% (Red), 8% (Gray)
- Southern: 72% (Green), 21% (Red), 7% (Gray)

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**Values & Beliefs Project**

**RESEARCH PARTNERS**

**PROJECT SPONSORS**

Oregon Health & Science University
The Oregon Community Foundation
OSU
Oregon State University

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A carbon emission tax established to discourage greenhouse gas emissions and used to invest in green jobs and technologies

- **Strongly desirable $$**: 21%
- **Somewhat desirable $$**: 29%
- **Neutral**: 20%
- **Somewhat undesirable**: 10%
- **Strongly undesirable**: 16%
- **Don’t know**: 3%
(How much Agree – Disagree with:)

Science and human ingenuity will solve climate change with little need to *change our way of life*

- **Strongly Disagree**: 36%
- **Somewhat Disagree**: 25%
- **Neutral**: 16%
- **Somewhat Agree**: 13%
- **Strongly Agree**: 6%
- **Don’t know**: 4%
Which statement comes closest to your view?

Statement A: We should invest more in roads for cars
Statement B: We should invest more in public transit

Tone Key:
Light: Lean towards
Dark: Feel strongly

38% for Statement A
53% for Statement B
8% for Don’t know
Which statement comes closest to your view?

(Statements always rotate)

Statement A:
We should invest more in roads for cars

Statement B:
We should invest more in public transit

Total: 53%
Metro: 38%
W. Valley: 39%
Central: 45%
Eastern: 46%
Southern: 38%
Shift some funding for road and highway construction towards public transportation such as better bus service and high speed rail projects.

- Strongly desirable: 18% (47% as a reference)
- Somewhat desirable: 29%
- Neutral: 21%
- Somewhat undesirable: 14%
- Strongly undesirable: 13% (27% as a reference)
- Don’t know: 3%
(How desirable or undesirable; with $$ & $ cost implications) S3-Q50

Increase investments in public transportation

- $$ Strongly desirable: 56% (22%)
- $ Somewhat desirable: 34% (23%)
- Neutral: 23% (10%)
- Somewhat undesirable: 17% (7%)
- Strongly undesirable: 10% (7%
- Don’t know: 3% (3%)

OR Values & Beliefs PROJECT

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RESEARCH PARTNERS
Peak driving in Oregon

Oregonians began driving less long before the recession.

**Miles traveled:**

- Per capita: 10,920
- Per registered passenger vehicle: 10,360
- Per licensed driver: 8,548

Oregon hits peak driving

Recession hits

Source: Oregon Department of Transportation

PAM MARTIN/THE OREGONIAN
There should be stronger government policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions

- **Strongly desirable**: 29%
- **Somewhat desirable**: 28%
- **Neutral**: 19%
- **Somewhat undesirable**: 10%
- **Strongly undesirable**: 12%
- **Don’t know**: 3%
Economic growth will be more important than addressing climate change

**Probability**

- Very likely: 26%
- Somewhat likely: 33%
- Neutral: 14%
- Somewhat unlikely: 13%
- Very unlikely: 9%
- Don’t know: 5%

**Desirability**

- Strongly desirable: 20%
- Somewhat desirable: 17%
- Neutral: 17%
- Somewhat undesirable: 18%
- Strongly undesirable: 22%
- Don’t know: 5%
Which statement comes closest to your view?

Statement A: Our country would be better off if we all consumed less

Statement B: We need to buy things to support a strong economy

57%

35%

8%
Our country would be a better place if we all consumed less.

PI – Oregon Random Dial Nov. 2008 n=400 moe 4.7%
Political Party Ideology Comparison

Compare - Global Warming: Consume Less

PI November 2008 n=400 V4A/V1A (% Combined Agreement of Sector)

![Bar Chart]

- Global Warming Concern
- 'Our Country Better Consume Less'

- Republican n=128
- Democrat n=228
With roughly two-thirds of consumers saying they care, why is ethical consumption so minimal and so rarely transformative?

- Dana O’Rourke, book review of Market for Virtue by David Vogle
ATTITUDE A

DISSONANCE
- Anxiety
- Grief
- Avoidance
- Denial

CONSTRAINS
- Habits
- Norms (conformity)
- Self identity
- Ideology (social)
- Desires
- Physical constraints

BEHAVIOR B
How Social Does Change Happen?

PUBLIC POLICY or INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR?

DOES INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR COUNT?

MOTIVATIONS: Materialism or Well-being?
“It is naive to ask consumers to voluntarily downscale, and give up their desires without offering them alternative dreams.”

Tim Jackson, Sustainable Development Commission, U.K.
Income/Emissions/Life Satisfaction
Four Nations & Oregon Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Income ($US)</th>
<th>Emissions (ton/capita)</th>
<th>Life Satisfaction Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>$47580</td>
<td>19.4(t)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
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<td>7.5</td>
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<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>$6060</td>
<td>1.3(t)</td>
<td>7.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>$27920</td>
<td>3.3(t)</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>$46800</td>
<td>5.4(t)</td>
<td>7.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Oregon Source Data:
- Income: Oregon Blue Book
- Emissions US DOE & DataMasher
- Satisfaction: Gallup world survey template & PI Dec.09 survey (moe 403)

Income: Per Capita World Bank 2008 estimate (Atlas Method)

Emissions: Tons CO2/capita World Resources Institute (Source: Nationmaster)

Life Satisfaction: Life Satisfaction Index Gallup World Survey 2008 (Source: Happiness Foundation)
Tons CO2 Emissions Per Capita Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>CO2 Emissions (t)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Nations Avg.</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Avg.</td>
<td>4.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Est. Sustainable Range</td>
<td>1.7-4.9</td>
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</table>

Emissions: Tons CO2/capita  World Resources Institute (Source:Nationmaster)
Sustainable estimate range, multiple sources: PI citations on file
ATTITUDE A

• Anxiety
• Grief
• Avoidance
• Denial

DISSONANCE

• Anxiety
• Grief
• Avoidance
• Denial

CONSTRAINTS

• Habits
• Norms (conformity)
• Self identity
• Ideology (social)
• Desires
• Physical constraints

BEHAVIOR B
Actionables:

Personal Behaviors

• Know your own actions: “Oregon Carbon Calculator”
• Mindfulness! Thoughtful consumption
• Car & Commute
• House Size & Operation
• Airplane travel
• Transformational – Incremental?

Group Decision-making …

Dr. William McCononchic, Licensed Psychologist and Director of Political Psychology Research, Inc.
Oregonians from diverse backgrounds will find common ground and work together to make progress addressing the critical issues we face as a state

*Combined Very/Somewhat Responses*

### Probability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Probability</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Valley</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>43%</td>
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</table>

### Desirability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Desirability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Valley</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>84%</td>
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Psychological Dimensions of Climate Change Politics

William McConochie, Ph.D.
Psychologist
Expertise:

- Ph.D., Post-doc, Stanford SIPP.
- Clinical and applied. Private practice.
- Build and market batteries of tests for screening job applicants.
- 11 years of research in political psychology.
- Political Psychology Research, Inc.
- Member APA, International Society of Political Psychology.
Approaches to climate issues:

- **Legal**: Essentially unsuccessful according to James Gus Speth, professor of law, U. of Vermont.
- **Traditional political**: Unsuccessful to date, as fossil fuel industries control government policies. 86%...
- 2/3 of citizens worldwide care about environment...but lack political power.
How can the citizen gain political power?

Perhaps via the science of psychology...

Especially as revealed by questionnaire studies of citizen attitudes.

Such as Tom Bowerman, Adam Davis and I have done.
Attitudes can be measured very reliably and validly with agree-disagree statements:

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither, or between 2 and 4.
4. Agree.
5. Strongly agree.
Sample questionnaire items:

- Warmongering endorsement:
  “My government should do what best serves our nation’s interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.”
  “It is more honorable to serve one’s nation as a warrior in combat than as an anti-war protester.”

- Human rights endorsement:
  “Slavery is wrong.”
More attitude sample items:

- **Fundamentalism**: “There is only one true God.”
- **Kindly religion**: “God can be well-defined simply as the universal spirit of human goodness and kindness.”
- **Share economics**: “Rich people should pay more in taxes than poor people.”
- **Gender attitudes**: “Women deserve pay equal to men for the same job.”
- **Environment**: “Our national government should promote replacement of fossil fuels with non-polluting fuels.”
Examples of traits measured:

- Political orientation...liberal, conservative, independent.
- Fundamentalist religious beliefs.
- Kindly religious beliefs.
- Gender attitudes.
- Economic policy.
- Peaceful foreign policy.
- Preferred types of government.
My primary findings:

- Political attitudes fall into two clusters, liberal and conservative.
- Liberal and conservative worldviews are mainly inherited.
- Conservatism is oriented toward protecting in-groups.
- Liberalism is oriented toward cooperation with neighbors.
More highlights:

- About 1/6 of U.S. citizens self-identify as liberals, 1/6 conservative, 2/3 in between.
- Only about 20 percent endorse government serving citizens as members of special interest groups.
- 90% endorse government that serves them as members of the community overall.
Strong liberals and conservatives, *as groups*, are rather close together on most general political attitudes, e.g.…

- They tend to endorse:
  - Peaceful foreign policy,
  - Gender equality,
  - Common good democracy,
  - Share economics,
  - Concern for the environment.
My study samples have included:

- Eugene business executives, church members, community college students, university students, international students, \textsuperscript{1}st generation immigrants from Slavic Europe, students in New York and Florida.

- GSS (General Social Survey data). Random samples of U.S. citizens, different years.

- Most recently, a random sample of 1200 Oregonians via Tom Bowerman and Adam Davis of local polling companies.
Highlights of Oregon data:

- Liberalism... more supportive of...
- Public transportation
- Public education
- Protection of air and water quality.
- Publicly funded health insurance for all.
- Energy efficiency programs, promoting conservation.
- Renewable energy incentives and investments.
- Changing our ways due to climate change.
Conservatives more supportive of...

- Public safety, fire and police services.
- Economic development via subsidies and tax breaks to companies that produce jobs.
- Locking up criminals, vs. rehabilitation.
- Economic growth stimulus vs. protecting environment.
Percent of sample endorsing...

- 76% Public safety, fire and police services.
- 80 K-12 Education programs.
- 73 Protecting air and water quality.
- 56 Energy efficiency programs.
- 62 Healthy behavior rewards.
- 65 Protection of farm and forest from other development.

- 29% Criminals should be locked up vs. rehabilitation.
- 35 Economic growth stimuli vs. environment protect.
Mean scores of strong liberals and strong conservatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Endorse</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Not endorse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public safety</td>
<td>2.1L 2.4C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prot. Air/h2o</td>
<td>1.4 L</td>
<td>2.8C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub Health Insurance</td>
<td>2.0L</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.0C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public infrastruc.</td>
<td>2.0L 2.3C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protect farm/forest</td>
<td>1.7L</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.0C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate/ change our ways</td>
<td>1.2 L 1.8ALL</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.8C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How policy makers and individuals can use this information:

- Policy makers (governments). Use sophisticated, reliable public polls to help define government policy.

- Individuals. Form a new type of political party that will give them greater political power.
New type of political party:

- Unite both liberals and conservatives.
- Use mean scores on polls of public and party members to define platform, policy agenda.
- Groom party members for elective office.
- Require candidate devotion to party agenda.
- Fund candidate campaigns only from party member dues.
Papers for details are:

- E.g. Publications #32, 39 & 41.
Book: “Party Time! How you can enjoy creating common good democracy, right now.

- Self-publish in paperback and electronic.
- Via Amazon.
- Soon.
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- Bill at Politicalpsychologyresearch.com.
- Ph 541-686-9934