Cultural Cognition Project at Yale Law School

www.culturalcognition.net

Cultural Cognition and Risk Communication

Dan M. Kahan Yale Law School

John Gastil University of Washington

> Ellen Peters Decision Research

Donald Braman George Washington Law School

Paul Slovic
Decision Research

Hank Jenkins-Smith University of Oklahoma

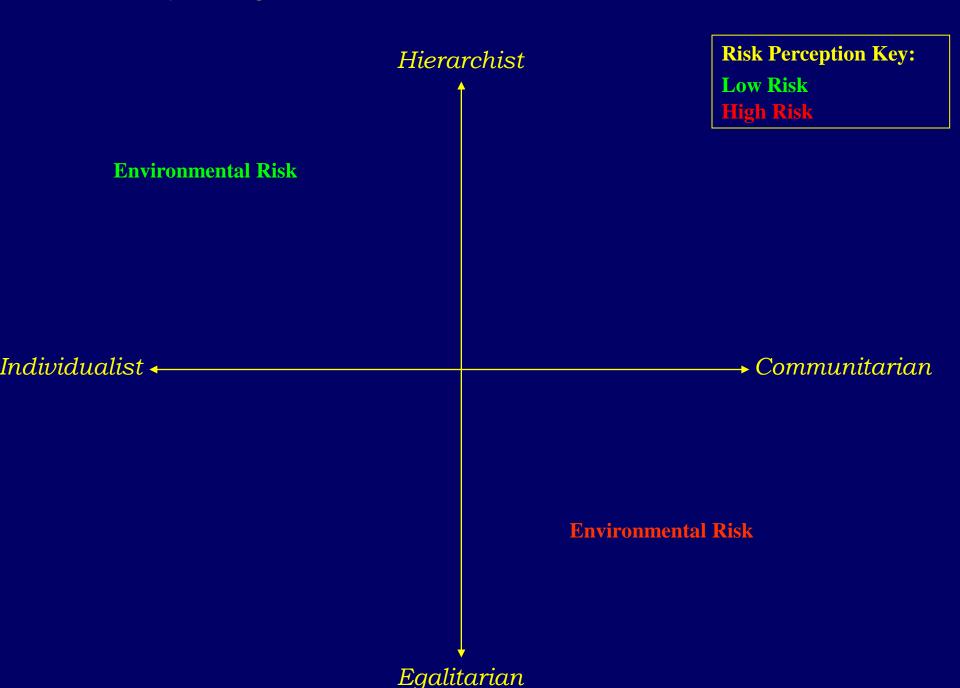
Research Supported by:

National Science Foundation, Awards SES-0621840 & -0242106 The Oscar M. Ruebhausen Fund Yale Law School Center for Applied Social Research, Univ. Oklahoma

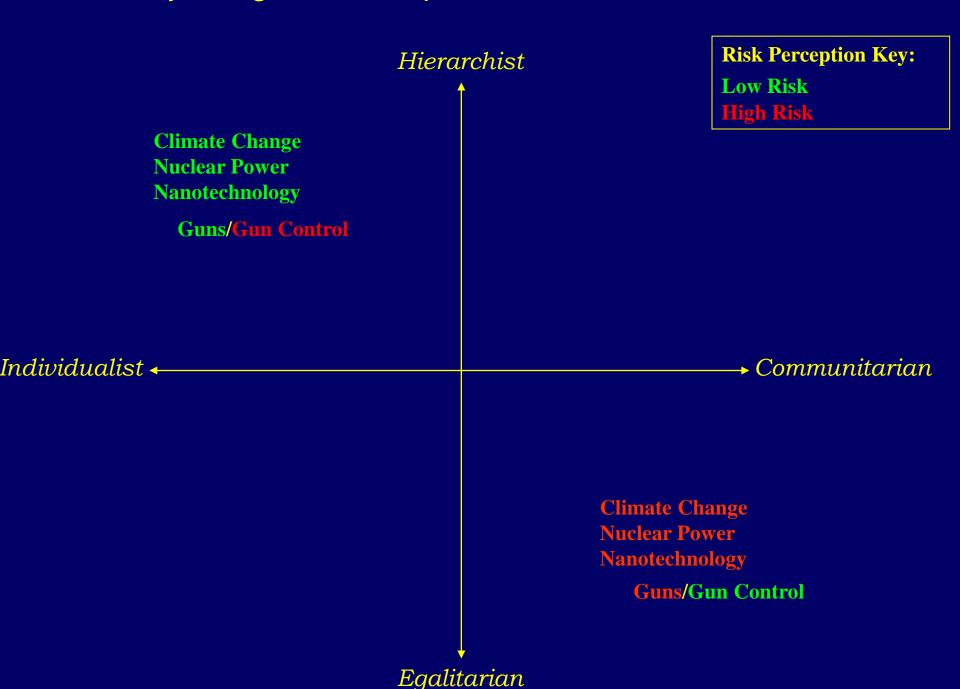
Cultural Cognition and Risk Communication

- 1. Cultural Cognition: Theory and Evidence
- 2. Cultural Cognition of Scientific Expertise
- 3. Cultural Identity Affirmation
- 4. Cultural Credibility

Mary Douglas's "Group-Grid" Worldview Scheme



Mary Douglas's "Group-Grid" Worldview Scheme



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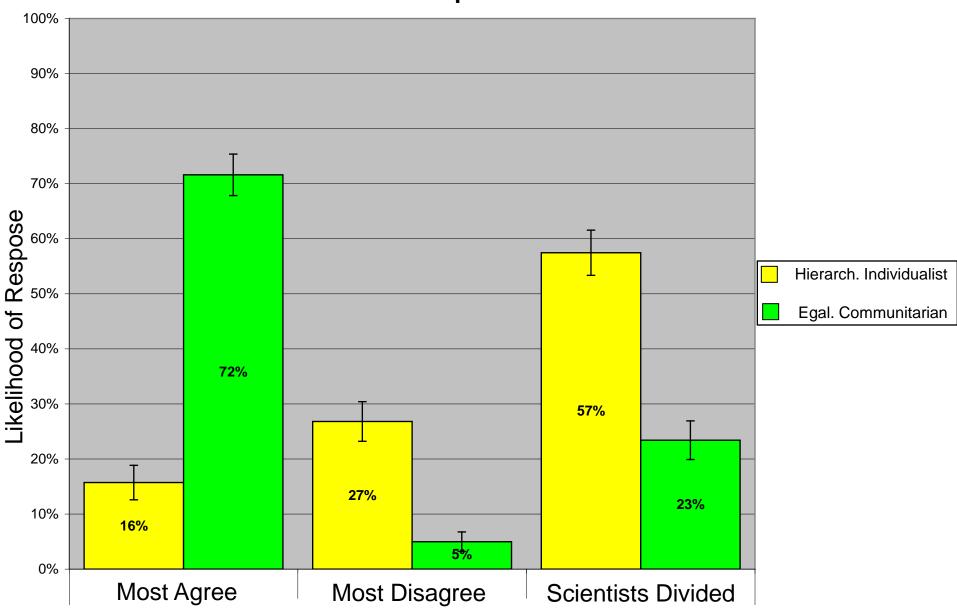
The Cultural Cognition of Scientific Consensus

Dan M. Kahan Yale Law School Hank Jenkins-Smith University of Oklahoma

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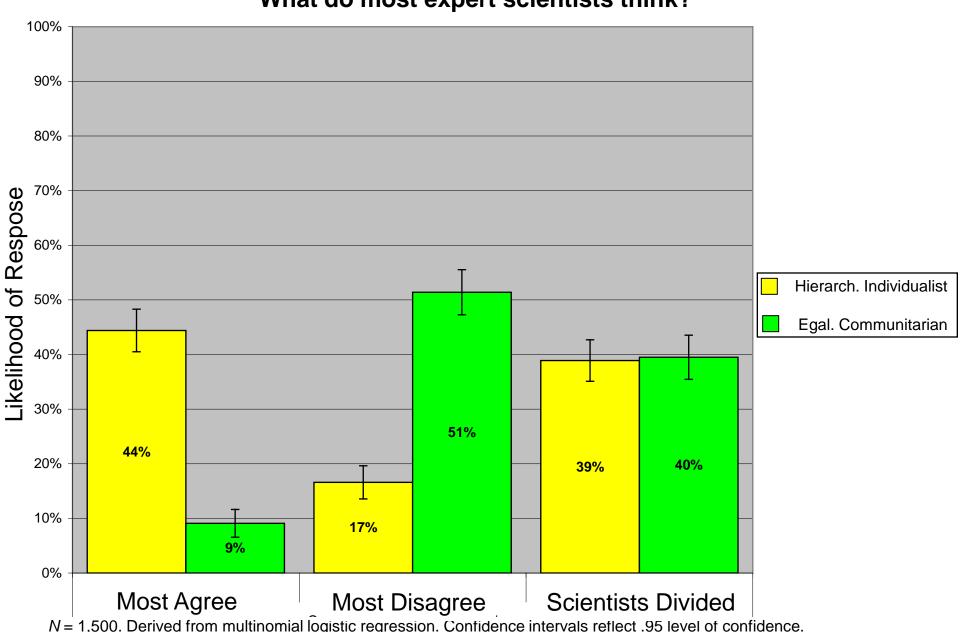
"Human activity is causing global warming." What do most expert scientists think?



N = 1.500. Derived from multinomial logistic regression. Confidence intervals reflect .95 level of confidence.

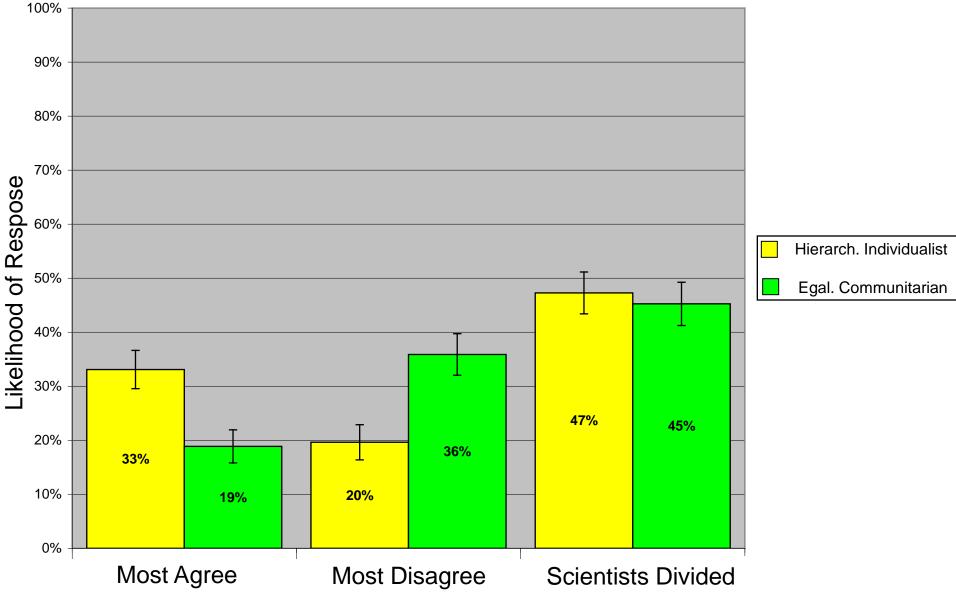
"Permitting adults without criminal records or histories of mental illness to carry concealed handguns in public decreases violent crime."

What do most expert scientists think?



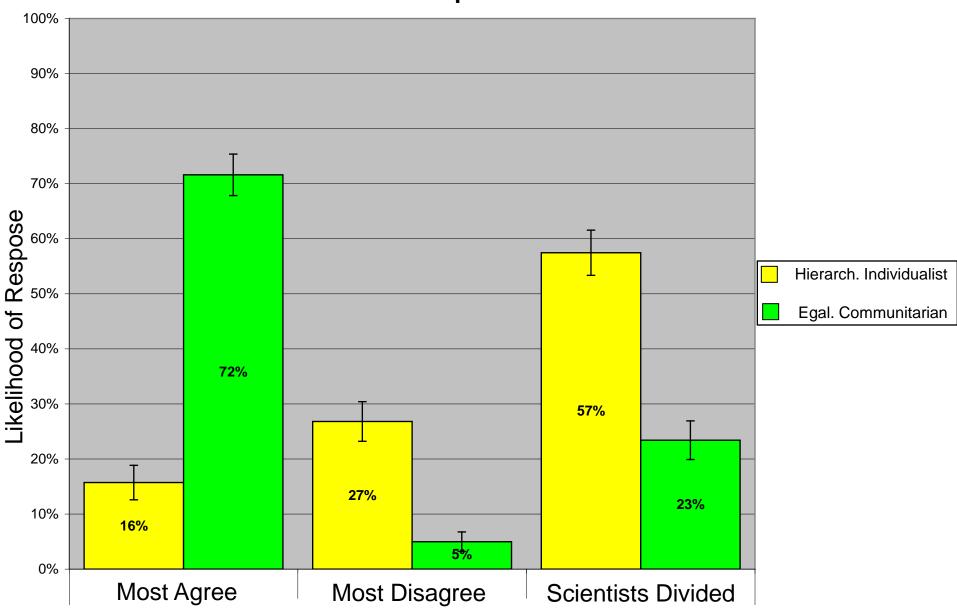
"Radioactive wastes from nuclear power can be safely disposed of in deep underground storage facilities."





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"Human activity is causing global warming." What do most expert scientists think?



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Is this a knowledgeable and credible expert on ...?



Robert Linden
Position: Professor
of Meteorology,
Massachusetts Institute
of Technology

Education: Ph.D., Harvard University

Memberships:

- American Meteorological Society
- National Academy of Sciences



Oliver Roberts

Position: Professor of Nuclear Engineering, University of California, Berkeley

Education: Ph.D., Princeton University

Memberships:

- American Association of Physics
- National Academy of Sciences



James Williams

Position: Professor of Criminology, Stanford University

Education: Ph.D., Yale University

Memberships:

- American Society of Criminologists
- National Academy of Sciences

Global Warming

Nuclear Power

Gun Control

High Risk

Low Risk

Climate Change

"It is now beyond reasonable scientific dispute that human activity is causing 'global warming' and other dangerous forms of climate change. Over the past century, atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide (CO2)-called a "greenhouse gas" because of its contribution to trapping heathas increased to historically unprecedented levels. Scientific authorities at all major universities agree that the source of this increase is human industrial activity. They agree too that higher CO2 levels are responsible for steady rises in air and ocean temperatures over that period, particularly in the last decade. This change is resulting in a host of negative consequences: the melting of polar ice caps and resulting increases in sea levels and risks of catastrophic flooding; intense and long-term droughts in many parts of the world; and a rising incidence of destructive cyclones and hurricanes in others."



Robert Linden

Position: Professor of Meteorology,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Education: Ph.D., Harvard University
Memberships:

- American Meteorological Society
- National Academy of Sciences

"Judged bv conventional scientific standards, it is premature to conclude that human $C0_2$ emissions-so-called 'greenhouse gasses'—cause global warming. For example, global temperatures have not risen since 1998, despite significant increases in CO2 during that period. In addition, rather than shrinking everywhere, glaciers are actually growing in some parts of the world, and the amount of ice surrounding Antarctica is at the highest level since measurements began 30 years ago.... Scientists who predict global warming despite these facts are relying entirely on computer models. Those models extrapolate from observed atmospheric conditions existing in the past. The idea that those same models will accurately predict temperature in a world with a very different conditionsincluding one with substantially increased CO₂ in the atmosphere—is based on unproven assumptions, not scientific evidence..."



Robert Linden

Position: Professor of Meteorology,
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Geologic Isolation of Nuclear Wastes

Low Risk

"Radioactive wastes from nuclear power plants can be disposed of without danger to the public or the environment through deep geologic isolation. In this method, radioactive wastes are stored deep underground in bedrock, and isolated from the biosphere for many thousands of years. Natural bedrock isolation has safely contained the radioactive products generated by spontaneous nuclear fission reactions in Oklo, Africa, for some 2 billion years. Manmade geologic isolation facilities reinforce this level of protection through the use of sealed containers made of materials known to resist corrosion and decay. This design philosophy, known as 'defense in depth,' makes long-term disposal safe, effective, and economically feasible."



Oliver Roberts **Position**: Professor of Nuclear Engineering,
University of California, Berkeley

Education: Ph.D., Princeton University **Memberships:**

- American Association of Physics
- National Academy of Sciences

High Risk

"Using deep geologic isolation to dispose of radioactive wastes from nuclear power plants would put human health and the **environment at risk**. The concept seems simple: contain the wastes in underground bedrock isolated from humans and the biosphere. The problem in practice is that there is no way to assure that the geologic conditions relied upon to contain the wastes won't change over time. Nor is there any way to assure the human materials used to transport wastes to the site, or to contain them inside of the isolation facilities, won't break down, releasing radioactivity into the environment. . . . These are the sorts of lessons one learns from the complex problems that have plagued safety engineering for the space shuttle, but here the costs of failure are simply too high.



Oliver Roberts

Position: Professor of Nuclear Engineering, University of California, Berkeley

Education: Ph.D., Princeton University **Memberships:**

- American Association of Physics
- National Academy of Sciences

Concealed Carry Laws

High Risk (Increase crime)

"So-called 'concealed carry' laws increase violent crime. The claim that allowing people to carry concealed handguns reduces crime is not only contrary to common-sense, but also unsupported by the evidence... Looking at data from 1977 to 2005, the 22 states that prohibited carrying handguns in public went from having the *highest* rates of rape and property offenses to having the *lowest* rates of those crimes....To put an economic price tag on the issue, I estimate that the cost of "concealed carry laws" is around \$500 million a year in the U.S."



James Williams

Position: Professor of Criminology,

Stanford University

Education: Ph.D., Yale University

Memberships:

- American Society of Criminologists
- National Academy of Sciences

Low Risk (Decrease Crime)

"Overall, 'concealed carry' laws decrease violent crime. The reason is simple: potential criminals are less likely to engage in violent assaults or robberies if they think their victims, or others in a position to give aid to those persons, might be carrying weapons. . . . Based on data from 1977 to 2005, I estimate that states without such laws, as a group, would have avoided 1,570 murders; 4,177 rapes; and 60,000 aggravated assaults per year if they had they made it legal for law-abiding citizens to carry concealed handguns. Economically speaking, the annual gain to the U.S. from allowing concealed handguns is at least \$6.214 billion."



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Position: Professor of Criminology, Stanford

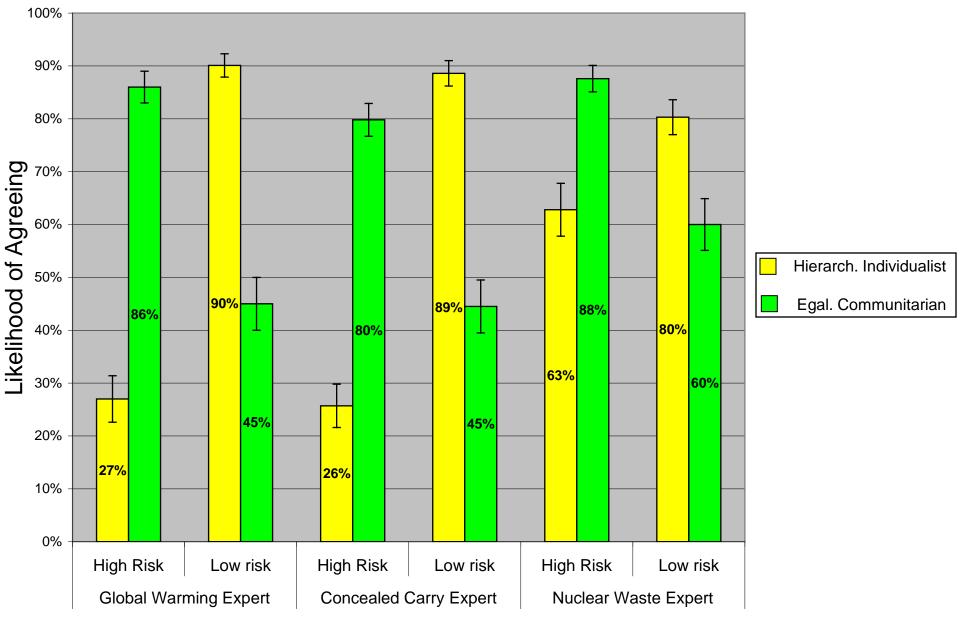
University

Education: Ph.D., Yale University

Memberships:

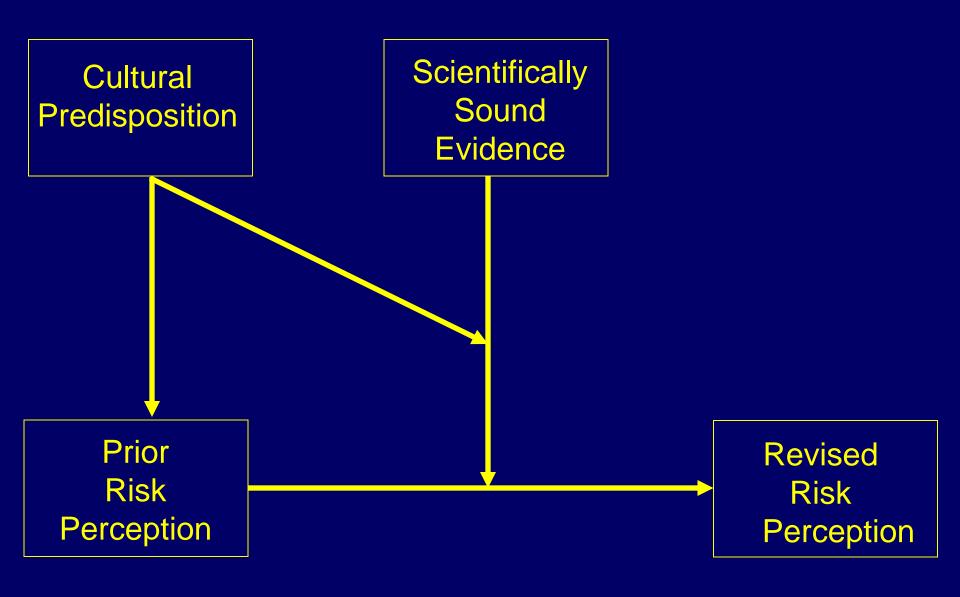
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"I believe the author is a trustworthy and knowledgeable expert"



Experimental Condition

N = 1,500. Derived from ordered logistic regression. Confidence intervals reflect .95 level of confidence.



Cultural Cognition and Risk Communication

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By Jeffrey Cohen November 15, 2006

The American Academy of Environmental Scientists, a panel consisting of leading U.S. experts, today recommended revitalization of the nation's nuclear power industry as a response to global warming.

"Fossil fuels such as coal, natural gas, and oil are the leading cause of global warming," explained Dr. Jonathan Brastil, head of the Academy. "To reduce reliance on such fuels, we recommend strongly broad scale commercial development of nuclear power, including the repeal of government regulations from the 1970s and 1980s that now

investment in the nuclear industry." Brastil said.

private

discourage

Highlights of AAES Report

- Scientific evidence furnishes irrefutable proof of global warming. Some of the most
 obvious effects are visible in the Arctic, where rising temperatures and melting ice
 have dramatically changed the region's unique landscapes and wildlife.
- Global warming is caused by carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping gases that are
 emitted primarily by the burning of fossil fuels. These gases remain in our atmosphere
 for decades or even centuries.
- If it continues, global warming could have catastrophic environmental and economic consequences. Among the results will be extreme heat and drought, rising sea levels, and higher-intensity tropical storms. Such conditions will endanger coastal property and resources, diminish the habitability of major cities, and curtail the productivity of our farms, forests, and fisheries.
- Fossil fuels such as coal, natural gas, and oil are the leading cause of global warming.
 To reduce reliance on such fuels, we strongly recommend the broad scale commercial development of nuclear power, which does not emit any heat-trapping gasses. We urge repeal of government regulations that discourage investment in this form of energy.

The group's recommendation was made in a report that examined the extent and causes of global warming and the likely consequences that would occur if global warming were not reversed.

Scientific Panel Recommends Anti-Pollution Solution to Global Warming

By Jeffrey Cohen November 15, 2006

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Scientific Panel Recommends Nuclear Power Solution to Global Warming

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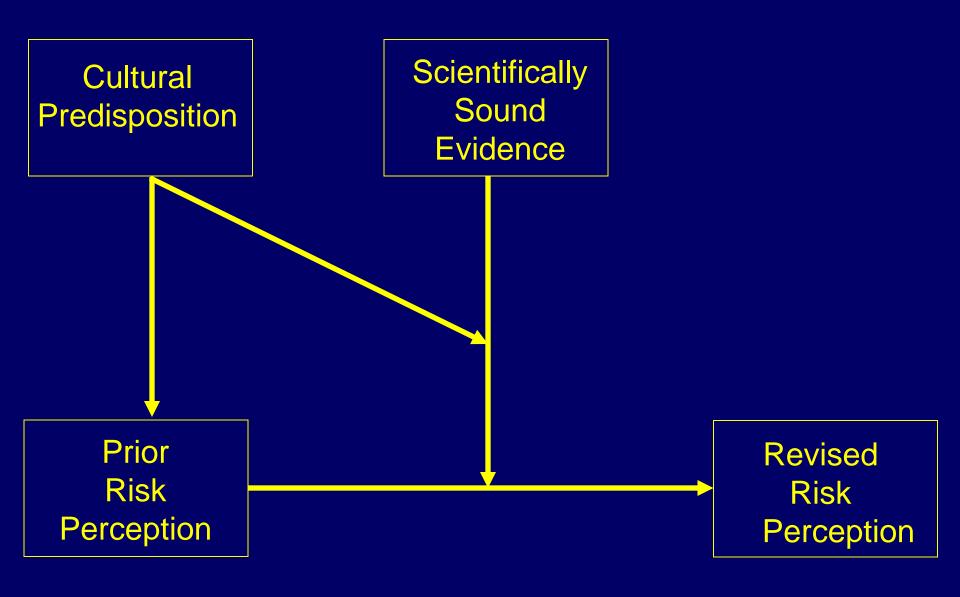
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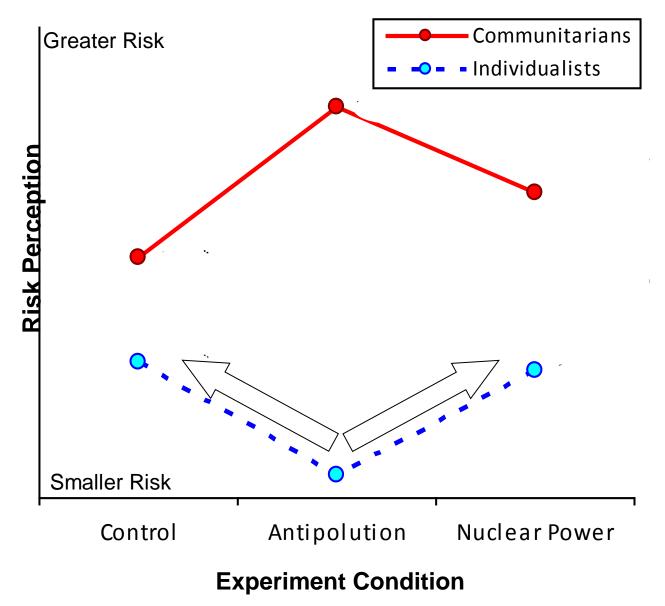
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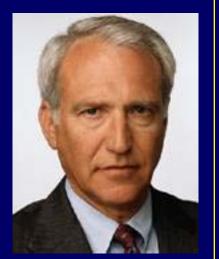
N = 750. 6-pt likert Gwrisk scale. Differnces in differences in conditions significant at p < .05

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Culturally Identifiable Experts

Hierarchist





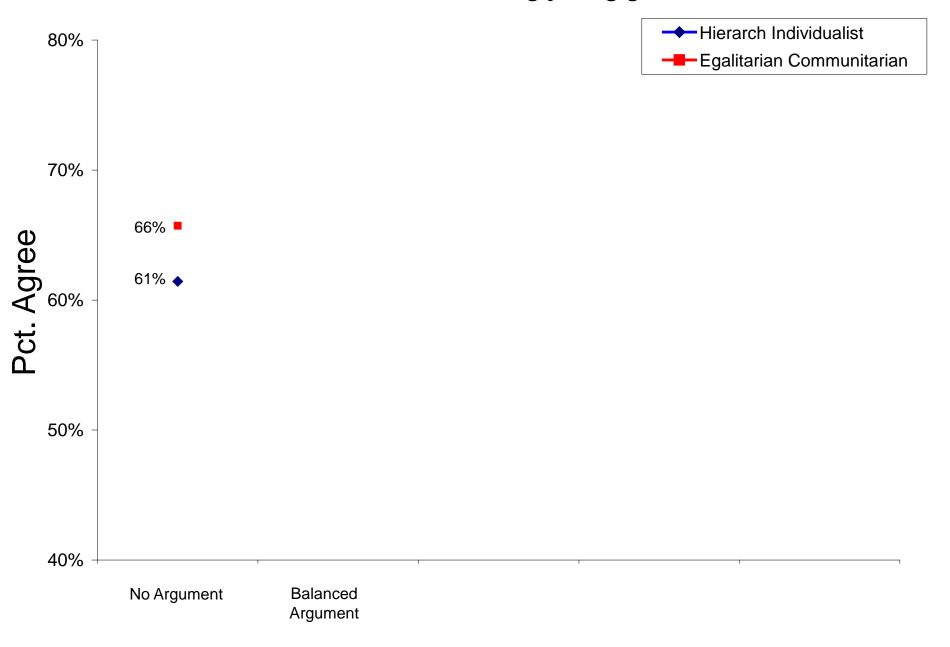
Individualist 🗸

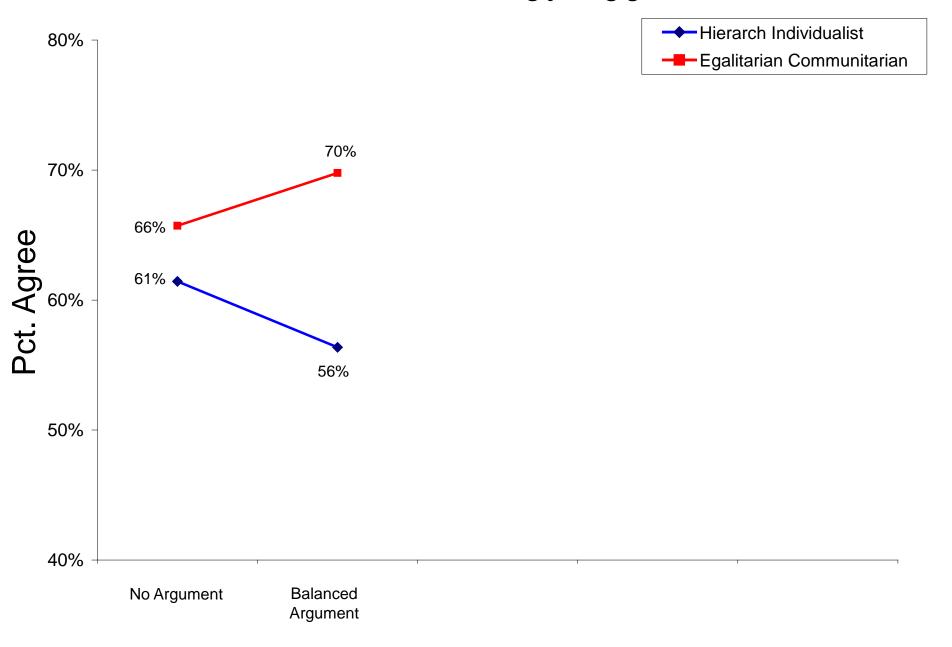


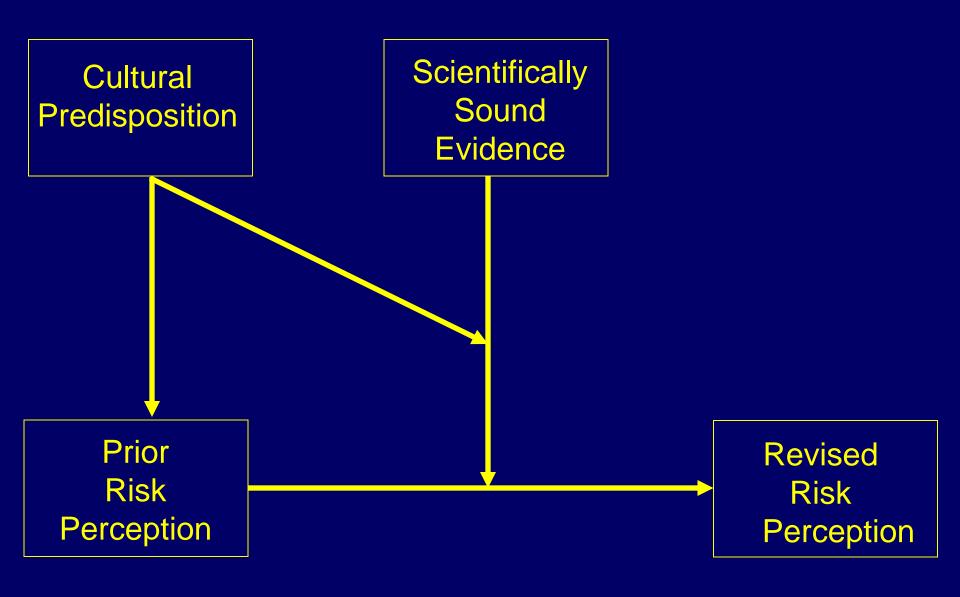


Egalitarian

Communitarian

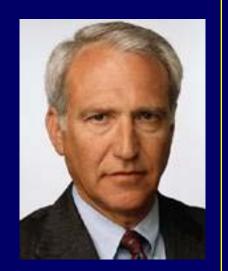


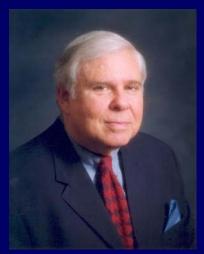




Culturally Identifiable Experts

Hierarchist





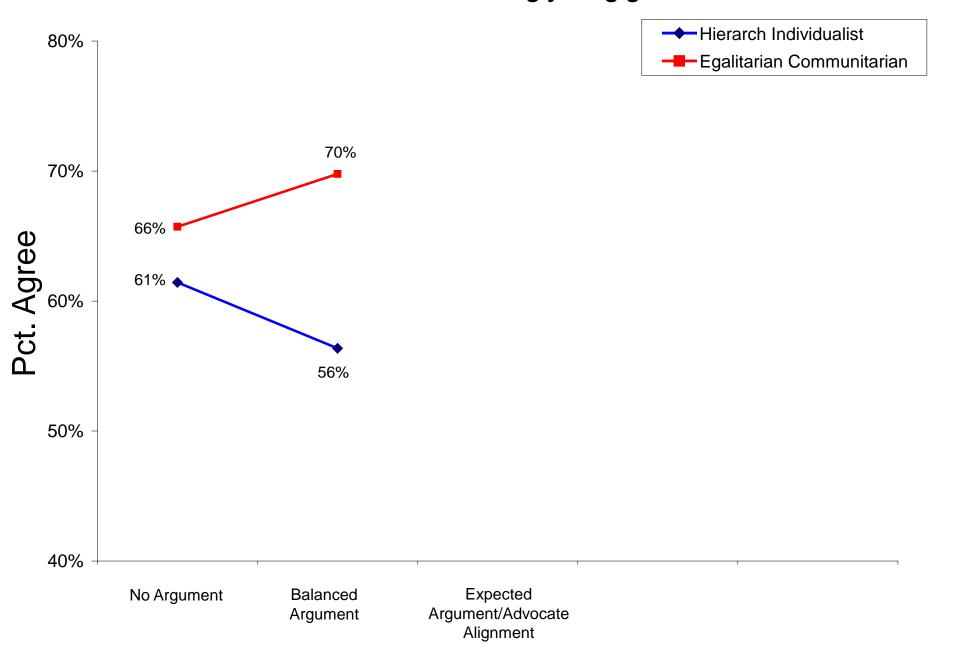
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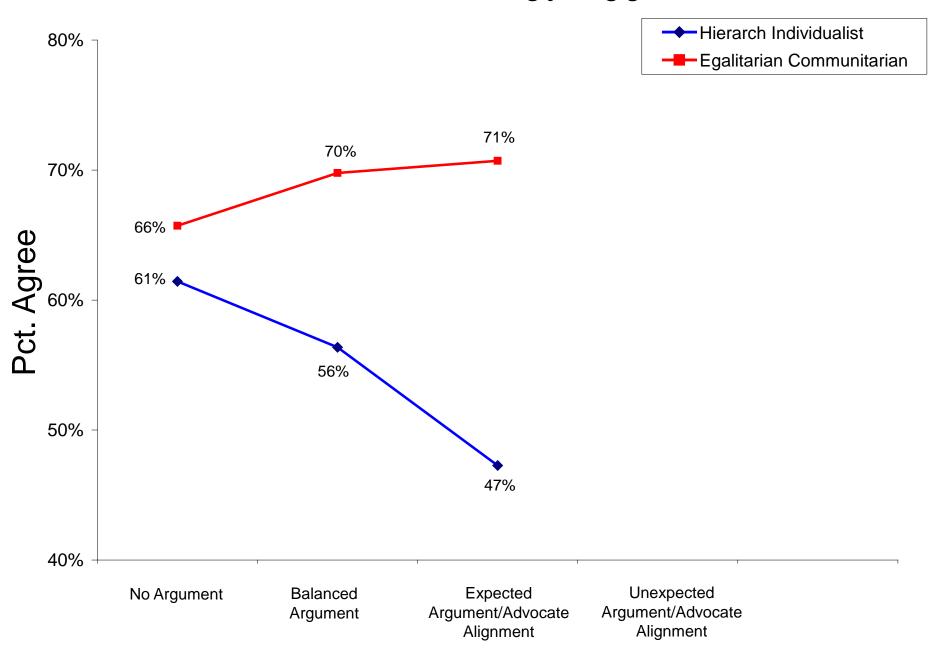
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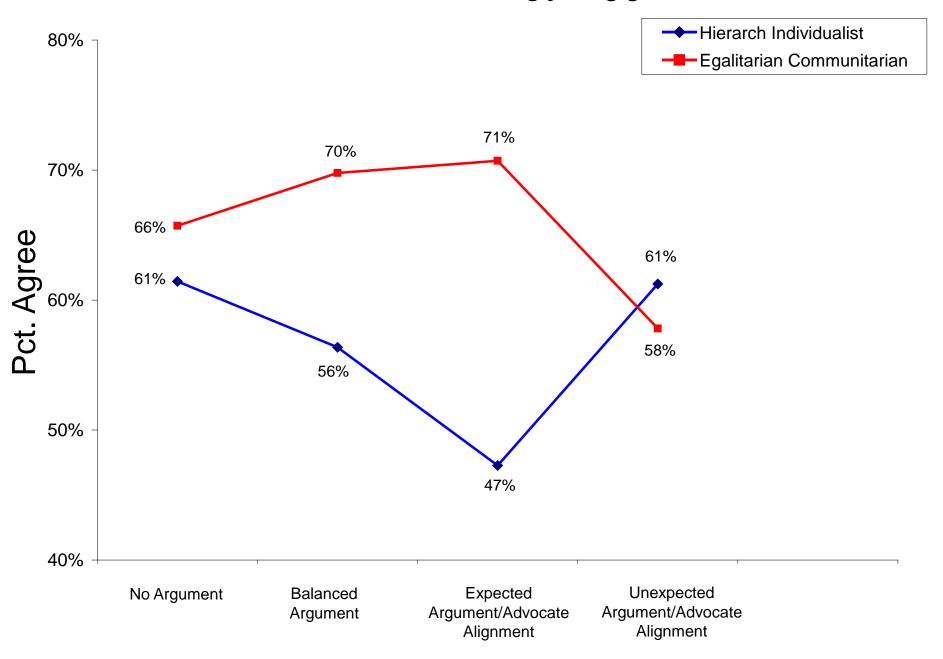


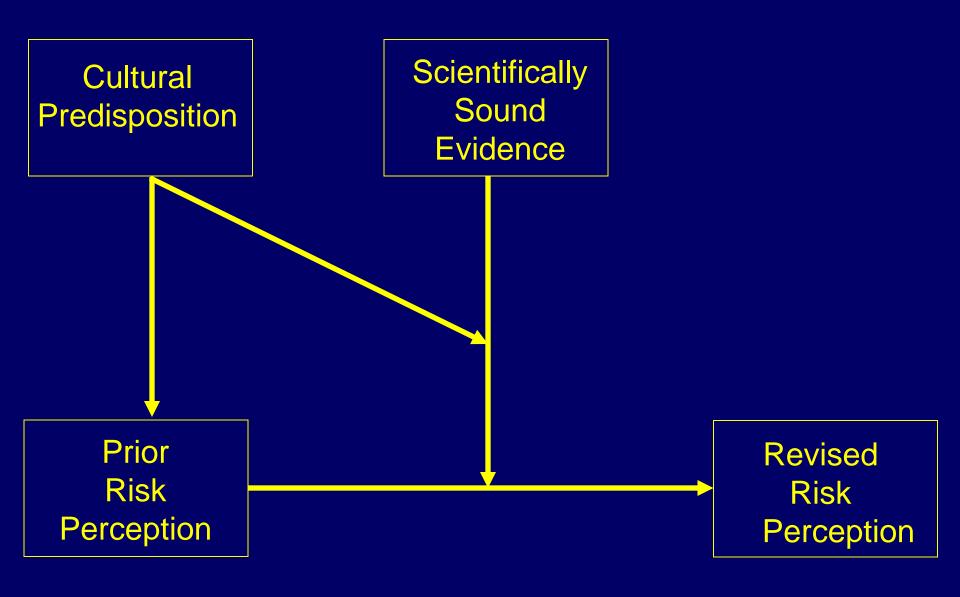


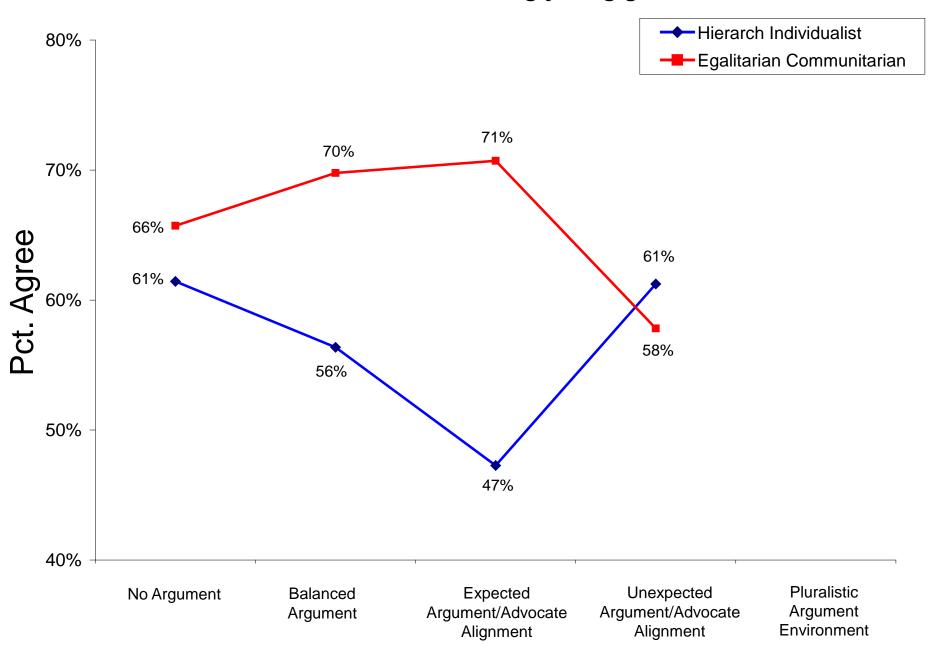
Egalitarian

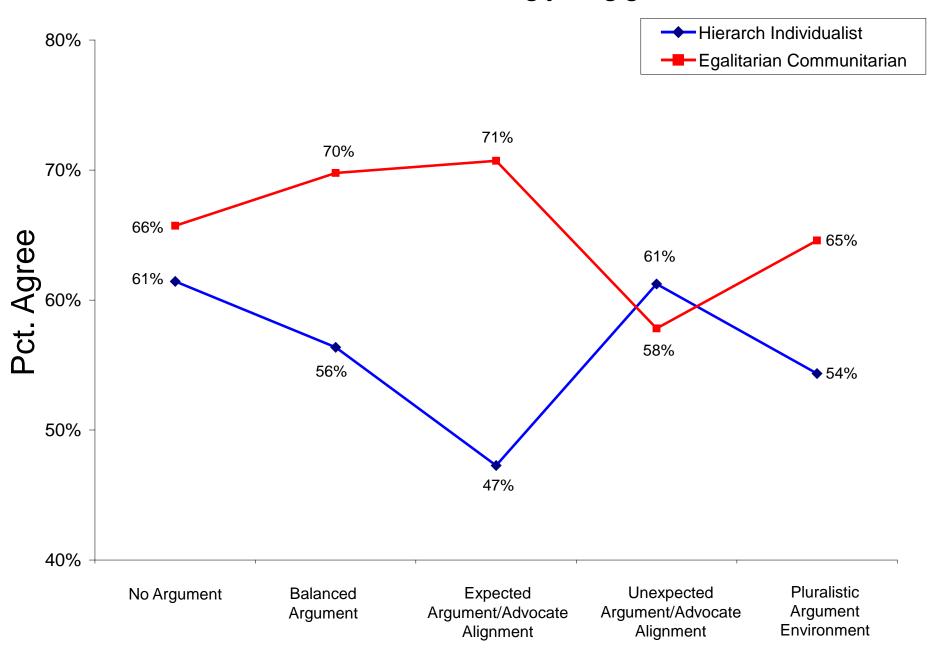




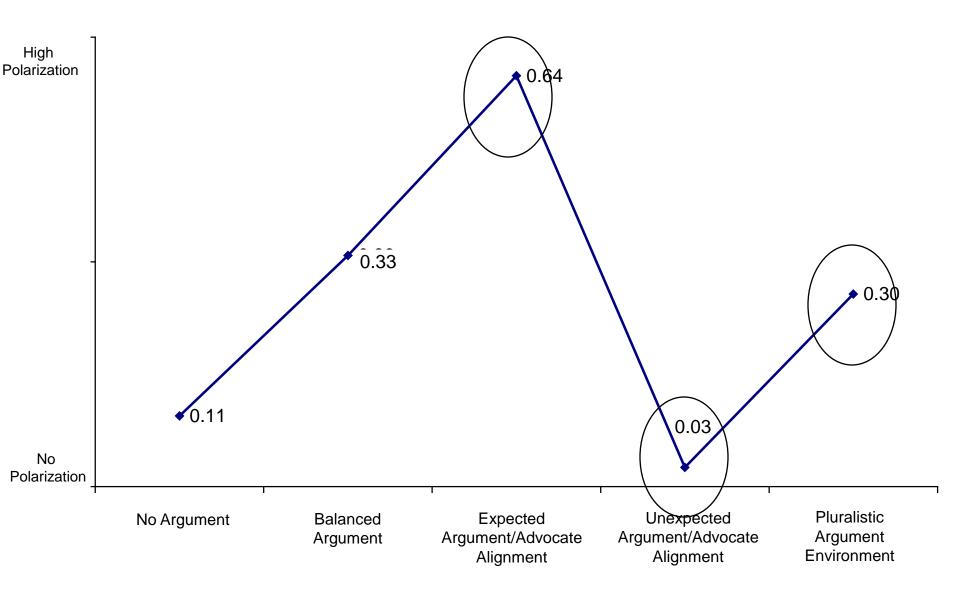




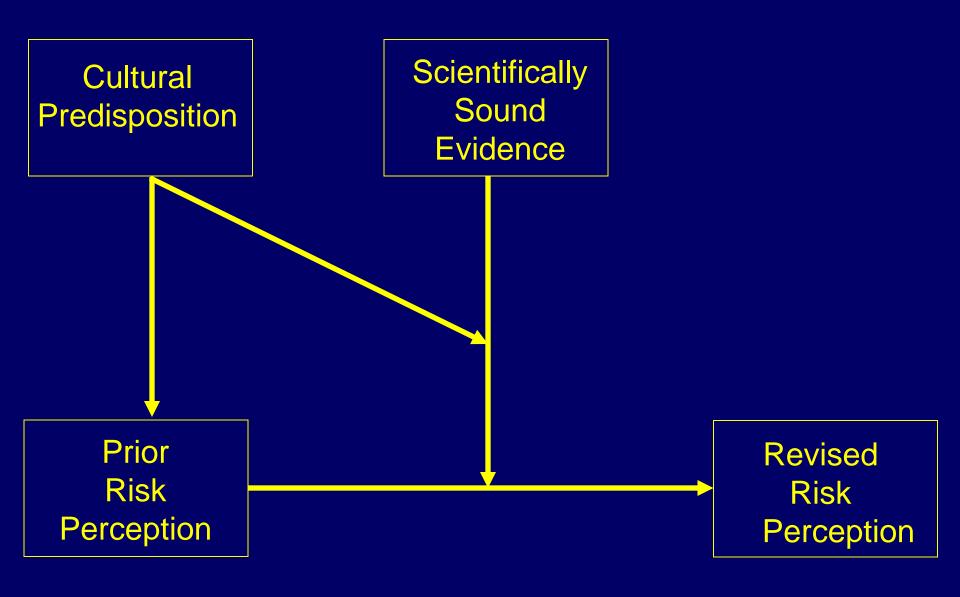




Polarization of Egalitarian Communitarians & Hierarchical Individualists, Across Conditions



N = 1,500. 6 pt VACRISK composite scale. Differences between all conditions except (1) "Balanced Aruument" and "Pluralistic Argument Environment," and (2) "No Argument" and "Unexpected Argument/Alignment" are significanct at p < .05



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"Our time has come...."

Hierarchist





Individualist







Egalitarian



Ind	ividualism-Solidarism, Alpha = .88
IENJOY	People who are successful in business have a right to enjoy their wealth as they see fit.
IFIX	If the government spent less time trying to fix everyone's problems, we'd all be a lot better off.
IGOVWAST	Government regulations are almost always a waste of everyone's time and money.
IINTRFER	The government interferes far too much in our everyday lives.
IMKT	Free marketsnot government programsare the best way to supply people with the things they need.
INEEDS	Too many people today expect society to do things for them that they should be doing for themselves.
INEEDY	It's a mistake to ask society to help every person in need.
IPRIVACY	The government should stop telling people how to live their lives.
IPROFIT	Private profit is the main motive for hard work.
IPROTECT	It's not the government's business to try to protect people from themselves.
IRESPON	Society works best when it lets individuals take responsibility for their own lives without telling them what to do.
ITRIES	Our government tries to do too many things for too many people. We should just let people take care of themselves.
SHARM	Sometimes government needs to make laws that keep people from hurting themselves.
SLIMCHOI	Government should put limits on the choices individuals can make so they don't get in the way of what's good for society.
SNEEDS	It's society's responsibility to make sure everyone's basic needs are met.
SPROTECT	The government should do more to advance society's goals, even if that means limiting the freedom and choices of individuals.
SRELY	People should be able to rely on the government for help when they need it.

Hierarchy-Egalitarianism, Alpha = .89

- $\label{eq:HEQUAL} \mbox{We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.}$
- HFEMININ Society as a whole has become too soft and feminine.
- HREVDIS1 Nowadays it seems like there is just as much discrimination against whites as there is against blacks.
- HREVDIS2 It seems like blacks, women, homosexuals and other groups don't want equal rights, they want special rights just for them.
- HTRADFAMA lot of problems in our society today come from the decline in the traditional family, where the man works and the woman stays home.
- HWMNRTS The women's rights movement has gone too far.
- EDISCRIM Discrimination against minorities is still a very serious problem in our society.
- EDIVERS It's old-fashioned and wrong to think that one culture's set of values is better than any other culture's way of seeing the world.
- EGAYMAR A gay or lesbian couple should have just as much right to marry as any other couple.
- ERADEQ We need to dramatically reduce inequalities between the rich and the poor, whites and people of color, and men and women.
- EROUGH Parents should encourage young boys to be more sensitive and less "rough and tough."
- EWEALTH Our society would be better off if the distribution of wealth was more equal.
- EXSEXIST We live in a sexist society that is fundamentally set up to discriminate against women.