

Missing the (Tipping) Point: The Effect~~Role~~ of Information about Climate Tipping Points on Public Risk Perceptions in Norway.

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Abstract. Climate tipping points are a topic of growing interest in climate research as well as a frequent communication tool in the media to warn of dangerous climate change. Despite indications that several climate tipping points may be triggered already within at the Paris Agreement temperature range of 1.5°C to well below 2°C warming above pre-industrial levels, there is limited research about understanding of the level of public understanding of climate tipping points, the effects this knowledge (or lack thereof of such) may have on perceptions of risk related to climate change, and the corresponding effects on behaviour~~al~~ and public policy support implications. The emerging scholarship on learning, communication, and risk perceptions related to climate tipping points provides confounding evidence regarding the psychological and behavioural effects of information about climate tipping points. It remains unknown whether and under what conditions this knowledge increases concern, risk urgency perceptions, and action intentions, or whether it might overwhelm audiences, inducing fatalism and withdrawal from public engagement. In this study, we assess the current state of knowledge about climate tipping points among Norwegians using an online nationally representative survey. We study the comparative effects of communicating about climate tipping points and climate change more generally on risk perceptions among participants with a survey-embedded experiment. Norway is an interesting case with its fossil-based economy and high level of education. We find very low levels of knowledge on regarding climate tipping points (<20%). Information about tipping points had somewhat stronger effects on participants' risk perceptions compared to general information about climate change, moderately increasing concern. We discuss our findings, and the implications, and suggest directions for further research~~—.~~

1.0 Introduction

Efforts to mitigate the most severe impacts of climate change require urgent attention from both policymakers and the general public (IPCC, 2022). Despite recent progress, such as thea recent acceleration of growth in renewable energy markets growth (IEA, 2022), global climate action continues to be insufficient to reach international objectives~~ly agreed upon targets.~~ While uncertainty in future warming projections have narrowed, making pathways towards more than 3°C warming less likely, pathways towards 1.5°C - 2°C futures do not appear credible without rapid, large-scale transformations of human systems (Kuramochi et al., 2022). Among the many reasons for this inadequate response to the climate challenge (Stoddard, 2021), public risk perceptions and the corresponding support for climate action have played an important role~~been paramount.~~ Public

32 ~~risk perceptions affect public support for climate policy and action (Drews and van den Bergh 2015, Bergquist et al., 2022;~~
33 ~~Drews & van den Bergh, 2016), and public support is a key condition for climate policy adoption, especially at the local scale~~
34 ~~(Yeganeh et al., 2020).~~ When Lenton et al. published their seminal paper introducing the concept of climate tipping elements
35 in 2008, they argued that ~~the persistent lack of climate urgency, i.e., insufficiently high risk perceptions, stems from a~~ “society
36 ~~may be lulled into a false sense of security by smooth projections of global change”~~ (p. 1792), i.e., ~~that dominant conceptions~~
37 ~~of gradual, linear change might be at least partly to blame for the relatively low levels of concern about climate change and~~
38 ~~the persistent lack of urgency among publics and policymakers in the face of significant climate risks. ~~founded in smooth,~~~~
39 ~~gradual projections of climate change.~~ This mental model of gradual ~~climate~~ change is now increasingly challenged by a
40 growing body of scientific evidence ~~for~~ tipping points in the climate system. ~~Here, ~~we investigate whether exposure to~~~~
41 ~~knowledge on climate tipping points affects (i.e., increases) public risk perceptions of climate change in the national context~~
42 ~~of Norway.~~

43 Climate tipping points refer to ~~non-linear change~~ dynamics in ~~large components of~~ the Earth system. ~~These so-called tipping~~
44 ~~elements can undergo state shifts in the sense that a change process that is initially gradual can~~ where large system components
45 reach a threshold (i.e., a tipping point), ~~after which self-amplifying feedback mechanisms propel the system rapidly towards~~
46 ~~an alternative stable state. ~~resulting in non-linear~~ In many cases, these state shift~~ changes that are irreversible on human
47 timescales (~~Armstrong McKay et al., 2022; Lenton et al., 2008; Steffen et al., 2018, Armstrong McKay et al., 2022~~). There is
48 some evidence that multiple climate tipping points may be triggered within the temperature target range set by ~~t~~The Paris
49 Agreement: 1.5°C to well below 2°C (Armstrong McKay et al., 2022; Schellnhuber et al., 2016; Wunderling et al., 2023).
50 With recent projections indicating that global average temperatures could exceed 1.5°C in the 2030s (IPCC, 2021), perhaps
51 even ~~reach 1.5°C temporarily in this decade by 2027~~ (WMO, 2023), climate tipping ~~processes points and the subsequent tipping~~
52 ~~events~~ add new arguments for ~~the urgency of~~ more ambitious climate action ~~and urgency~~. This growing relevance has been
53 reflected in more frequent appearances of climate tipping points in the assessment reports of the IPCC and in growing media
54 coverage warning of dangerous climate change (Van der Hel et al., 2018).

55 However, it is yet unclear to what extent and how climate tipping points are understood by relevant audiences, how knowledge
56 of ~~climate~~ tipping points affects climate risk perceptions, and whether and how this will influence behaviour ~~change~~ or climate
57 policymaking. The growing importance of climate tipping ~~processes points~~ as a topic for climate ~~risk change~~ communication
58 and action ~~is underexplored not yet reflected~~ in research investigating public understanding, risk perceptions, and action
59 orientations related to climate tipping points. Given the relative novelty of the concept of climate tipping points compared with
60 the science of anthropogenic climate change, the level of public as well as policy maker knowledge is likely to differ between
61 the two. There might also be significant learning challenges associated with ~~climate~~ tipping points (Renn, 2022), linked to the
62 more general challenges of understanding complex systems. This context of uneven knowledge distribution and obstacles to
63 learning has important implications for public risk perceptions and corresponding questions of behaviour change or political
64 engagement. In contrast with now common studies of climate risk perceptions, existing knowledge and understanding of
65 climate tipping points cannot be assumed.

66 Starting with the assumption that public knowledge of climate tipping points is likely less developed than more general
67 knowledge of climate change, we investigate the current state of public understanding of this concept in Norway. Further, we
68 study the effects of information about climate tipping points on climate risk perceptions compared with the effects of
69 conventional climate change communication. ~~Norway is an interesting case by being a major producer of oil and gas, having~~
70 ~~a fossil based economy, a high level of education, and yet, high levels of climate scepticismskepticism and inattentiona~~
71 ~~paradoxical climate ignorance (PERITIA, 2022; YouGov, 2019refs). At the same time Norway is also regarded as a “green”~~
72 ~~nation, andnation and plays an important and active role in international climate change negotiations. Despite being considered~~
73 ~~“climate robust”, Norway could be impactedaffected by a large number of climate tipping processespoints, including the loss~~
74 of ice in the Arctic and Greenland, permafrost thaw, boreal forest dieback, and changes in ~~North Atlantic oceanAtlantic Ocean~~
75 circulation patterns. The ~~country is also a major producer of fossil fuels and plays an important role in international climate~~
76 ~~change negotiations.~~

77 ~~The~~ following section (2) briefly reviews the literature on climate risk perceptions, discussing whether and how climate tipping
78 points present novel and specific challenges for this scholarship, ~~and outline Norway as a case study for this research.~~ Section
79 3 outlines our methodological approach, followed by a presentation of our results (4), discussion (5) and conclusion— ~~(6).~~
80

81 **2.0 Climate Tipping Points: A Challenge for Climate Risk Perception Research**

82 We briefly review the vast scholarship on climate risk perceptions, focusing on the role of knowledge and highlighting insights
83 most pertinent to tipping points (2.1). In section 2.2, we ~~describe the characteristics of~~~~discuss why~~ climate tipping points ~~that~~
84 might affect public risk perceptions differently than ~~information about~~ climate change more generally. This is followed by a
85 deep dive into the still limited literature on risk perceptions relating specifically to climate tipping points, where we identify
86 hypotheses and existing, inconclusive evidence for the effects of ~~exposure to information about~~ climate tipping points on public
87 concern about climate change (2.3). ~~We conclude this section by bringing focus to our research location, Norway, and why~~
88 ~~climate risk perceptions in a petroleum-based economy provides an interesting case study for our research (2.4).~~

89 **2.1 Climate Change Risk Perceptions**

90 Climate change risk perceptions refer to individuals' subjective understandings, beliefs, and evaluations of the potential risks
91 and impacts associated with climate change. It encompasses how people perceive the likelihood, severity, and personal
92 relevance of climate change-related impacts. Perceptions of risk are subjective and influenced by several factors, such as
93 personal experience, value orientation, emotion ~~and affect~~, social norms, and knowledge (~~Van der Linden, 2015; Salas Reyes~~
94 ~~et al., 2021; van der Linden, 2015).~~ ~~Given this complexity, it~~ is important to consider ~~how the multiple factors interact the~~
95 ~~complex reality of the risk perception spectrum~~ (Capstick & Pidgeon, 2014; Kahan et al., 2012) ~~and consider how the multiple~~
96 ~~factors interact.~~

97 Climate change presents a range of risk perception challenges, especially because it operates on long time horizons, and is
98 perceived as a slow, incremental, and controllable phenomenon (Foz-Glassman, 2015; Sterman, 2011; Weber, 2006). Since
99 many climate change with its' main impacts are expected to occurring in the distant future, psychological distancing has played
100 a prominent role in climate risk perception research (Jones et al., 2017; Spence et al., 2012; Jones et al., 2017) (Foz-Glassman,
101 2015; Sterman, 2011; Weber, 2006). The psychological distance of climate change, e.g., in spatial or temporal terms, is often
102 considered a barrier to climate action, although evidence for this claim has been inconsistent (Keller et al., 2022). More recent
103 polling data and reviews suggest that the psychological distance of climate change might have been declining over the last few
104 years; in many countries, the majority of polled citizens no longer perceive climate change as a distant threat (van Valkengoed
105 et al., 2023). Nevertheless Given these common assessments, climate change is associated with a lower sense of urgency and
106 overall lower risk perceptions (Sterman, 2011; van Beek et al., 2022; Weber, 2006) than more an abrupt and more-tangible
107 phenomena, an such as the Covid-19 pandemic (Manzanedo & and Manning, 2020; Hochachka, 2020).

108 Knowledge plays a crucial role in climate change risk perceptions. Scientific knowledge - what is accepted as fact by the
109 scientific community based on specific standards of knowledge production - can be distinguished from 'public knowledge' '-
110 - that which people believe to be true and act upon. Here, we are interested in the latter. However, the phenomenon we
111 investigate occurs at the intersection of the two kinds of knowledge where the public communication of recent scientific
112 insights (new knowledge) is expected to create learning and belief revisions among the public.
113 In the context of risk perception research, v-Van der Linden (2015) categorises knowledge as a cognitive factor, which he
114 differentiates from experiential factors, socio-cultural influences and demographics. Scientific knowledge of the risk source
115 isforms the foundation for understanding climate change, and for identifying and evaluating related risks, and for counteracting
116 misconceptions which may alter. Risk perceptions are not possible without knowledge of the risk source, which. This implies
117 that incomplete knowledge or misconceptions matter for the way that risks are perceived (Majid et al., 2020). Some studies
118 have demonstrated that instruction, information, and knowledge about climate change increase climate risk perceptions (Aksit
119 et al., 2018; Milfont, 2012; v-Van der Linden, 2015; Aksit et al. 2018; Xie et al., 2019), while others caution that there is little
120 evidence that knowledge is a strong indicator of pro-environmental behaviour (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002) and that the
121 relationship between knowledge and risk perceptions of climate change are more complicated.

122

123 **Importantly, knowledge interacts with other variables that shape risk perceptions, especially with political belief and**
124 **value systems. Adherents to different political ideologies or cultural worldviews experience risks related to climate**
125 **change very differently (Kahan, 2012) driven by dynamics of motivated reasoning to protect a person's identity and**
126 **core values. In For Norway, the high economie fossil-fuel dependency of the economy combined with a the persistent**
127 **governmental policystatement that "the fossil fuel industryi should be developed, not liquidated (Redjeringen, 2022),"**
128 **no doubt plays a role.** Individuals with a high degree of knowledge of climate change can be found across the entire
129 range of risk perception, from the alarmed to the dismissive (Capstick & Pidgeon, 2014; Kahan et al., 2012). Norgaard
130 (2006; -2011) argues that it is not a lack of information that reduces risk perceptions of climate change, but a
131 psychological need to keep threatening information at a distance, informing her theory on socially organised denial.
132 This observation informs her theory on socially organised denial, in which individuals distance themselves from

negative information (about climate change) in order to maintain cultural norms and a positive individual and national identity.

2.2 Risk-relevant Characteristics of Climate Tipping Points

While the modern science on anthropogenic climate change is over half a century old, whereas the term climate tipping points first began to emerge less than two decades ago, in referencing to Arctic ice sheet dynamics in the Arctic (Holland et al., 2006; Lindsay & Zhang, 2005; Winton, 2006). Since then, the use of the term tipping point and corresponding body of knowledge in the climate sciences has been growing rapidly (Milkoreit et al., 2018). The term tipping point generally refers to the moment at which a system reaches this critical threshold at which a small perturbation can qualitatively change the development of the system (Kuehn, 2011; Lenton et al., 2008; Scheffer et al., 2009). Climate tipping points more specifically refer to rapid reorganisations (state changes) of large components of the Earth system that are driven by self-reinforcing feedback mechanisms and can be irreversible on human timescales (Lenton, 2011; Levermann et al., 2012). Over time, more tipping elements in the Earth system have been identified, growing from eight (Lenton et al., 2008) to 24 in a recent assessment (Lenton, Armstrong-McKay et al., 2023).

Different definitions of climate tipping points exist, and often identify a common set of characteristics of climate tipping processes (Armstrong-McKay et al., 2022; Milkoreit et al., 2018; van Beek et al., 2022), in our study we focus on the following characteristics: multiple stable states, abruptness (non-linearity), self-amplifying (positive) feedback mechanisms, and limited reversibility (or hysteresis). Some of these characteristics, especially as non-linearity and limited irreversibility, present significant aberrations from traditional common conceptions of climate change as slow, incremental and controllable. In addition to these four features, as such, climate tipping points and impacts caused by tipping processes share several general similarities with climate change a number of characteristics with climate change more generally that, they present complex uncertainty and unpredictability regarding the potentially severe perceived risks. present specific risk perception challenges, including high levels of uncertainty, complexity, long timescales, uneven distribution of impacts in time and space, and the potential for severe (catastrophic) impacts. However, in the case of tipping points, these challenges might be amplified.

A Reorganisation or state shift is the core characteristic of a tipping process is the shift of an entire system from one stable state to another, such as the potential transformation of the Amazon rainforest into a grassland (Lenton et al., 2023).

State shifts imply a reorganisation of the system in question, changing its main characteristics, relationships between key entities, and functions. From a human perspective, the quality of this type of change process is fundamentally different compared to incremental increases in temperature, sea-level rise or even extreme events. System state shifts permanently remove the current environmental conditions for human life and social organisation, likely forcing large-scale social reorganisations as well. This is why the impacts of climate tipping processes are expected to be severe, even catastrophic.

The potential impacts of climate tipping points are underexplored in the scientific literature. There is general agreement that triggering climate tipping points will magnify well-established risks and impacts of climate change (OECD, 2022), meeting

166 the description of “dangerous climate change” (McKay et al., 2022). These risks include faster sea level rise, increased intensity
167 of extreme weather events, and abrupt ecosystem shifts (Lenton et al. 2009; OECD, 2022; Wang et al., 2023). Climate tipping
168 points could ~~which could~~ significantly affect human welfare, threatening global food and water security, negatively impacting
169 human health due to increased risk of disease spread, and destabilising societies (OECD, 2022). Further, each tipping element
170 has a certain potential to contribute to a tipping point cascade, leading to a destabilisation of multiple systems and ultimately
171 having global reach (Lenton et al., 2019; Kriegler et al., 2009; Wunderling et al., 2021). ~~Limited literature on climate tipping
172 points shows negative impacts amplification, leading to a distressing perception of the future. The limited literature on the
173 impacts of climate tipping points clearly points to the amplification of negative climate change impacts, leading to a more
174 distressing image of the future. The corresponding messages of irreversible doom and gloom could have negative,
175 disempowering effects on the public, which are not yet well understood.~~

176 **Non-linearity**, (i.e., self-perpetuation and acceleration of change driven by positive feedback mechanisms dynamic) is a
177 feature of complex systems. Feedback mechanisms involve a closed loop of causality in which the change in a system is
178 amplified (mathematically positive) or dampened/balanced (mathematically negative) (Lenton et al., 2023). Tipping points
179 occur where positive feedback mechanisms overwhelm the balancing negative feedback mechanisms in a system, leading to
180 self-perpetuating and amplifying the initial change, forcing a rapid transition in a non-linear manner from one stable state to
181 another (Armstrong McKay et al., 2022; Lenton et al., 2023). Typically, humans tend to comprehend time and cause-and-
182 effect relationships in a linear manner (Dessai & Van der Sluijs, 2007) and struggle to understand non-linear, ~~and exponential~~
183 changes (Pereira & Viola, 2018). While the climate system is complex, this linear model of causality has ‘worked’, given the
184 well-established linear relationship between the amount of greenhouse gases in the Earth’s atmosphere and average global
185 temperatures, ~~which is evident in IPCC scenarios (IPCC, 2022). The more GHGs in the atmosphere, the more warming will
186 take place. This fundamental scientific understanding of climate change is evident in IPCC scenarios which portray
187 predominantly linear trends in temperature, sea level, and other variables (IPCC, 2022), and is the foundation for current
188 approaches to climate action. However, the linear model cannot explain non-linear tipping and complex systems dynamics
189 such as non-linearity, which present distinct learning challenges. However, the linear model of causation is not able to
190 accommodate tipping dynamics due to the non-linear nature of the change process. Hence, complex system dynamics including
191 non-linearity present distinct learning challenges (Plate, 2010; Milkoreit, 2015; Renn 2022).~~ Related to the challenges of
192 learning about tipping risks is the observation that systemic risk perceptions are subject to attenuation and underestimation
193 (Schweizer et al., 2022). As Schweizer et al. note (2022, p. 1458) “they [systemic risks] are less easily understood and, due to
194 their complexity and nonlinearity, less present in the mental representation of most people”.

195 **Limited Irreversibility** implies that tipping processes and the changes they create can not be ‘undone’ easily in the
196 sense that the system in question will not return to its initial state even if the driver of change is removed. For example, an ice
197 sheet might reach its tipping point and accelerate melting at a global temperature increase of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels.
198 Even if global temperatures were later reduced to below 1.5°C again, the ice sheet would not regain its mass. Reversing
199 tipping processes is possible, but requires different conditions (e.g., a return to much lower global temperature in the example

200 ~~of the ice sheet), and, in many cases, is not achievable on timescales that are relevant for humans. Limited reversibility as a~~
201 ~~tipping point feature might not present learning challenges but~~ could have significant and undesirable psychological and
202 emotional effects, including the weakening of agency beliefs, the creation of feelings of powerlessness, anxiety, fear, or dread
203 (Milkoreit, 2014), leading to disengagement and avoidance (Norgaard, 2006; 2011).

204 In addition to these four, there are a number of additional features of tipping processes that might affect risk perceptions in a
205 predictable way.

206 Like climate change more generally (Enserink et al., 2013; Marx et al., 2007; Enserink et al., 2013), knowledge about climate
207 tipping points is subject to ~~different types~~ several types of **uncertainty**. Key uncertainties pertain to when (under what specific
208 conditions) different tipping points will be reached (Sterman, 2011), how long various state shift processes will take, and what
209 kinds of impacts they will have over time and in which places, ~~—affecting which communities in what ways—over time.~~ Recent
210 assessments conclude that some climate tipping points can be triggered ~~already~~ at +1–2°C of warming (Armstrong McKay et
211 al., 2022), ~~placing the risk of reaching them within the targets set by the Paris Agreement, and~~ Given that global average
212 temperatures could exceed 1.5°C ~~the targets set by the Paris Agreement~~ as soon as the 2030s (IPCC, 2021; WMO, 2023),
213 ~~placing~~ the likelihood of triggering climate tipping points is “dangerously close” (Lenton et al., 2019, p. 529). ~~These temporally~~
214 ~~closest tipping elements include low lateral coral reefs, the Greenland Ice Sheet (GrIS), and the West Antarctic Ice Sheet~~
215 ~~(WAIS) (Armstrong McKay et al., 2022).~~

216 While tipping processes ~~(transition and effects)~~ are abrupt, they can occur over long timescales from a human perspective.
217 These timescales differ for each tipping element, and the transition from one state to another can last from days on local scale
218 (e.g. shift in turbid and clear-water phase in lakes) to years (coral reefs), ~~to~~ decades (Amazon rainforest), ~~to~~ or millennia (ice
219 sheets), while the effects may last substantially longer (Armstrong McKay et al., 2022).— Some of these timescales are short
220 enough that human societies would struggle to adapt to the induced environmental pressures (Alley et al., 2003; Brovkin et
221 al., 2021); ~~h~~ However, all of them are long enough that they are of sufficient duration to invite psychological dynamics, like
222 distancing (Spence 2012), ~~and~~ as well as discounting (devaluing) of future impacts (Dasgupta, 2008).

223 The potential impacts of climate tipping points are underexplored in the scientific literature but knowledge about these could
224 exert distinct effects on risk perceptions. There is general agreement that triggering climate tipping points will magnify well-
225 established impacts of climate change (OECD, 2022), meeting the description of “dangerous climate change” (Armstrong
226 McKay et al., 2022, p. 7). These risks include faster sea level rise, increased intensity of extreme weather events, and abrupt
227 ecosystem shifts (Lenton et al. 2009; OECD, 2022; Wang et al., 2023), which could significantly affect human welfare, threaten
228 global food and water security, and destabilise societies (OECD, 2022). Further, each tipping element has a certain potential
229 to contribute to tipping cascades, which could destabilise multiple systems and ultimately have global reach (Kriegler et al.,
230 2009; Lenton et al., 2019; ~~Kriegler et al., 2009~~; Wunderling et al., 2021). These impact characteristics, especially negative
231 impact amplification, could lead to a more negative assessment of the future, increasing concern among the public.

232 2.3 Perceptions of Climate Tipping Point Risk

233 The literature on risk perception and communication specifically related to climate tipping points is far more limited than the
234 voluminous body of work on climate change more broadly. Initially, scholars expected climate tipping points to have
235 significant effects on risk perceptions among the public and policy makers, likely increasing concern ~~and urgency~~. For
236 example, Russill and Nyssa (2009) suggested that communication related to climate tipping points could encourage audiences
237 to include non-linearity in their mental models of climate change (i.e., the potential for rapid changes), and as a result reevaluate
238 their risk perceptions. Nuttall (2012) argued that the looming threat of climate tipping points creates anticipation for the future,
239 and that this heightened attention to long-term change can aid in guiding human action. Regardless of the psychological
240 mechanism - worries about abrupt changes or lengthened time horizons - the hypothesis that climate tipping points would
241 increase risk perceptions created hope that they might counter mitigation inertia (Gardiner, 2009) and boost climate action ~~—~~.
242 An early study by Lowe et al. (2006) provided some evidence for this hypothesis, finding that participants were more concerned
243 about and willing to act on climate change after watching the 2004 film “The Day After Tomorrow”, which depicted a fictional
244 rapid cooling scenario due to changes in the ~~Atlantic ocean~~ Atlantic Ocean current. More recently, van Beek et al. (2022)
245 investigated changes in risk perceptions related specifically to climate tipping points using a serious game. While their
246 quantitative analysis did not show significant effects of the intervention (possibly due to ceiling effects), they argued based
247 on a qualitative analysis that also observed an increase in concern and perceived seriousness of climate tipping points could
248 be observed, even among an audience with extensive climate change knowledge and a high baseline of concern - scientists and
249 representatives of NGOs involved in climate change negotiations.

250 However, it is also possible that information about climate tipping points would elevate negative emotions, especially fear and
251 helplessness, fostering fatalism and public disengagement from climate change. Arguing along these lines, O’Neill et al. (2009)
252 suggested that information about climate tipping points frames climate change as a catastrophic event, leading to feelings of
253 anxiety, helplessness, and fatalism. Bellamy and Hulme (2011) provided some evidence for this argument. Using a cultural
254 theory of risk framework, they found that concern about climate tipping points was higher ~~increased concern only~~ among
255 participants with an egalitarian value set while also generating a fatalistic narrative among study participants. More recently,
256 in a representative study of the UK population, Bellamy (2023) confirmed that risk perceptions differed between social groups
257 depending on their cultural worldview, and also showed that the British public was significantly more doubtful about the
258 prospects of an effective policy response to climate tipping points than to climate change generally.

259 A third hypothesis is emerging from the recent empirical work: information about climate tipping points might have no
260 meaningful effects on public climate risk perceptions at all. The early work by Bellamy and Hulme (2011) already indicated
261 that higher levels of differences in increases in concern were limited to a distinct social group sharing a particular worldview
262 that is also associated with higher levels of concern for climate change. Then, And a recent study by Formanski et al. (2022)
263 investigated risk perceptions (and other beliefs) regarding climate tipping points with an experimental research design similar
264 to ours. Focusing on one particular characteristic of tipping points, they studied whether participants who were given

265 information about non-linear climate change processes would have qualitatively different risk perceptions than those presented
266 with a common incremental change narrative. Formanski et al. (2022) found no difference between climate risk perceptions
267 related to linear versus non-linear portrayals of climate change (based on a short message combined with a graphical depiction
268 of future temperature change).

269 Each of these three hypotheses - increased concern, fatalism and no effects - would have different implications for public
270 communication related to climate tipping points. Given the limited and mixed evidence for risk perception effects so far,
271 science communication and media reporting on climate tipping points lacks guidance.

272 Here, we seek to advance empirical understanding of this phenomenon, pursuing in particular questions about the role of
273 knowledge as a foundation for climate risk perceptions. A number of prior studies have indicated limited public and policy
274 maker awareness of the concept of climate tipping points. For example, Milkoreit (2019) reported limited knowledge among
275 climate negotiators in 2018, and Bellamy's survey of the UK public (2023) showed that more than a quarter of respondents
276 were unfamiliar with climate tipping points in 2022 despite increased media coverage of the topic. At the same time, systemic
277 risk scholars have argued that tipping points present specific learning challenges and tend to receive less public attention than
278 they merit (Schweizer et al., 2022; Renn, 2022). Hence, understanding the state of public knowledge, limitations in
279 understanding, and misconceptions is important to support future communication efforts related to climate tipping points.

280 **2.4 The Norwegian Context**

281 The focus of this study is on climate change risk perceptions in Norway, a small, oil-rich nation that perceives itself as a
282 genuinely concerned nation about climate change (Painter, 2013; Eckersley 2016). Norway's state-owned company Equinor
283 is engaged in oil and gas extraction primarily for export purposes (Griffin & Heede, 2017), making Norway a significant
284 contributor to anthropogenic GHG emissions. The Global Footprint Network (2023) reported that Norway also had one of the
285 highest carbon footprints per capita in Europe. Contrastingly, Norway is often cited as an example of reaching a consumer
286 tipping point in the purchase of electric vehicles, pointing to the country as a leader in decarbonising their transport system
287 (IEA, 2019; Sharpe & Lenton, 2021).

288 Recent polling data suggest that Norway is home to a significant amount of climate scepticism, with around 24% of
289 Norwegians not believing in anthropogenic climate change (Krange et al., 2019; YouGov, 2019). At the same time, Norway
290 is facing visible signs of climate change, with increased rainfall and frequency of landslides along the West Coast (Hanssen-
291 Bauer et al., 2015). However, research conducted by KANTARGallup (2020) found that only a third of the population in
292 Norway noticed the ongoing consequences of climate change around them, which affected their risk perceptions. Along with
293 current and future effects of climate change, Norway is likely to be physically affected by the impacts of a number of identified
294 climate tipping pointelements, such as thawing of mountain glaciers and permafrost, shifting boreal forests, melting ice sheets,
295 and ocean circulation destabilisation. Rapidly declining glaciers is likely not perceived as a real risk, and the same holds for
296 the vanishing permafrost in the northern parts of the county (e.g. Finnmark) or on the island of Svalbard, since it does not pose
297 criticalreally put critical risk to human infrastructure at risk.

298 Public knowledge of climate tipping points would have to be based on the consumption of media reporting. As Bellamy shows
 299 (2023), media coverage of climate tipping points has significantly increased in international English language reporting over
 300 the last twenty years, especially since 2018. To understand whether and to what extent Norwegian newspapers have been
 301 covering the topic of climate tipping points relative to general climate change, we conducted a quantitative analysis of
 302 Norwegian media using the database available through the National Library of Norway. Our search covers the time period
 303 from 2005 to 2022 and over 100 Norwegian press newspapers (local and national) for articles containing the following terms
 304 in Norwegian: global warming, climate change, and climate crisis, tipping point, and climate+tipping point (“global
 305 oppvarming”, “klimaendring”, “klimakrise”, “vippepunkt”, “klima+vippepunkt”). As expected, we found substantially more
 306 media content on climate-related terms without mentions of tipping points. The first article mentioning climate tipping points
 307 was published in April 2006 in the newspaper Klassekampen and focused on irreversible climate changes. It was entitled “Is
 308 it too late to turn back?”. Coverage of the subject remained limited (less than 50 articles per year) until 2017, and has been
 309 expanding since 2018, mirroring Bellamy’s analysis of British and international news media.

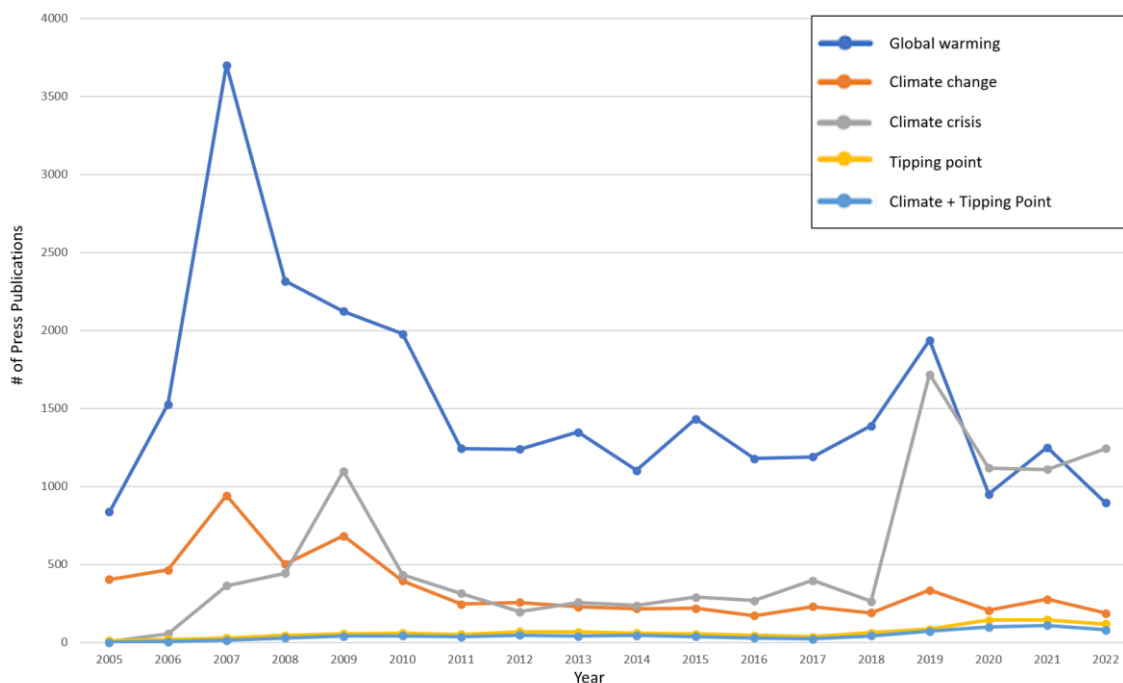


Figure 1: Norwegian mentions in press newspaper articles of climate change and climate tipping points.

310 Mentions of climate tipping points likely became more common after the publication of the Norwegian popular science book
 311 “The World on a Tipping Point” (Verden på vippepunktet) by Hessen (2020), and which received wide public attention. Based
 312 on these findings we expect knowledge of climate tipping points in the general population to be lower than general climate
 313 change.

314 3.0 Research Design and Methods

315 3.1 Survey Design

316 Our study sought to answer the following research questions:

- 317 1. What is the level of knowledge of climate tipping points among Norwegians?
- 318 2. To what extent does the information on climate tipping points increase concern about climate change?

319 To answer both questions, we conducted a web-based survey with an embedded experiment, which was implemented by a
320 third-party polling service in Norway. The survey consisted of three parts. In part 1a, all participants were asked a series of
321 questions about their climate change risk perceptions, including concern, impacts today and the need to act (see Appendix B,
322 questions 1-3). Part 1b contained a question about participants' level of familiarity with the concept of climate tipping points
323 ("vippepunktet") on a scale of "never heard of it" to "know it well". If the participant indicated at least some familiarity with
324 climate tipping points ("know it [climate tipping points] well", "a little familiar", "neutral"), they were asked if they could
325 give an example (yes/no question) Those who answered yes were prompted to provide a written example (see Appendix B,
326 question 4).

327 This design contrasts with Bellamy's (2023), who presented survey participants with ten examples of climate tipping points
328 identified in the literature and asked for self-reported familiarity with these. We purposefully did not present participants with
329 a definition or examples but sought to elicit information about their knowledge based on participants ability to recall examples
330 themselves. This limits the influence of biases like socially desirable responding (e.g., projecting knowledgeability).

331 For part 2 of the survey, participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions, receiving different kinds
332 of climate change information in text form. The participants in Group 1 were asked to read a text that introduced them to the
333 concept of climate tipping points and included specific characteristics of tipping points identified in the literature (non-linear
334 and abrupt change, irreversibility of climate change, system interactions and domino effects). The text for Group 2 presented
335 more general information about climate change ~~(without terminology pertaining to climate tipping points)~~. The texts were
336 comparable in length - Each text took 2-3 minutes to read - and with the same intended linguistic style and difficulty. They
337 were significantly longer than the texts used by Formanski et al., (2022), but still short relative to a common news article. The
338 texts ~~were~~ presented in Norwegian (English translations in Appendix A).

339 In part 3, all participants were asked the same questions presented in part 1a about their risk perceptions related to climate
340 change. We also asked to what extent they agree with the statement that "it was too late to do anything about climate change"
341 in order to capture any indicators of effects on fatality from the intervention.

342 The responses to the survey were managed using SPSS data files, and later converted into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets for
343 processing and analysis.

344 The survey design is visualised in Figure 2.

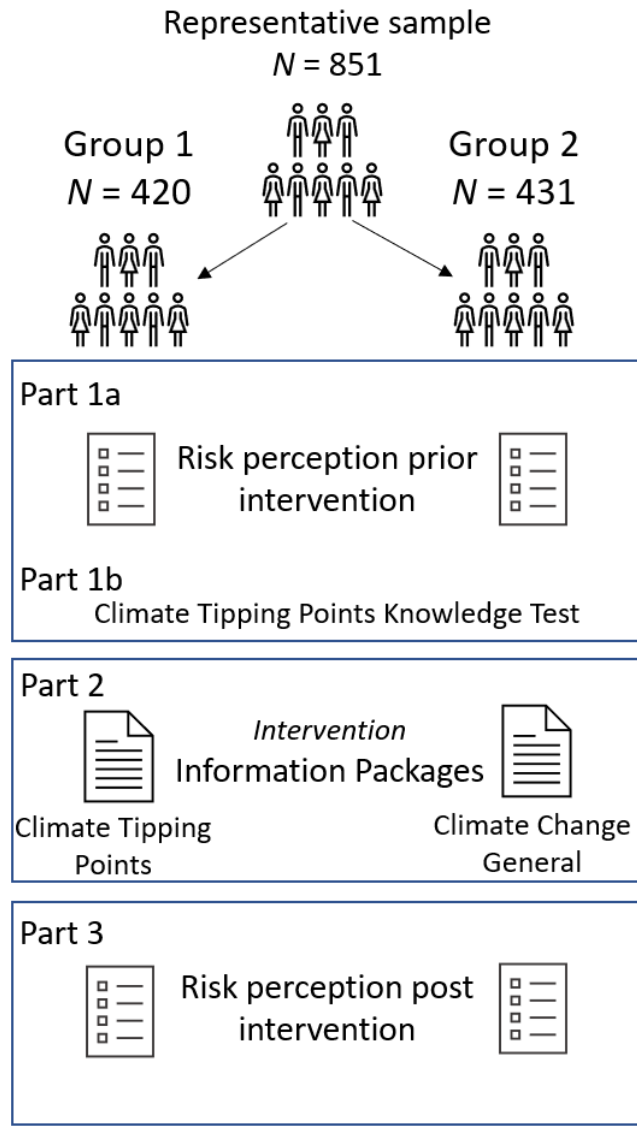


Figure 2: Survey Design Outline.

345 Our survey was conducted by an external Norwegian data collection unit (Opinion) in October-November 2022. A [nationally](#)
 346 [representative quota](#) sample of participants was recruited from a pool of over 8000. Our sample included 851 adults ranging
 347 from 18 – 91 years of age with a 50/50 split between men and women from all regions of Norway (northern Norway, 9%;
 348 central Norway, 14%; west Norway, 20%; east Norway, 30%; south Norway, 14%; Oslo, 13%) and did not favour any specific
 349 characteristics (pro-environmental views, political orientation, [level of education](#) etc.). [-It is important to note, that we attained](#)
 350 [a “quota” sample and not necessarily “nationally representative” sample of the Norwegian population which limited mainly to](#)
 351 [gender, age, and geographic location. This leaves space for some members of the population to be excluded, such as](#)

immigrants, international students, refugees, people with disability, and non-binary participants. This limits our study in reflecting certain dimensions of diversity and should be considered in future recruitment processes.

3.2 Analysis

We used a primarily qualitative approach to assess knowledge and a statistical analysis to analyse changes in risk perceptions.

- Knowledge

Using data from pre-intervention questions about knowledge, and adjusting Milkoreit's (2019) approach, we categorised participants into four different levels of knowledge (no knowledge, incorrect knowledge, some knowledge, good knowledge).

To assess the level of knowledge among participants, we developed a codebook that reflected the existing scholarship on climate tipping points, especially the four main characteristics of tipping points identified by Milkoreit et al. (2018, 2022), and sixteen examples based on Lenton et al. (2008) and Armstrong McKay et al. (2022).

Participants who indicated that they were not familiar with the concept of climate tipping points at all, or that they had 'little knowledge' were categorised as having "no demonstrated knowledge". Among the remaining participants, those who indicated that they could not provide an example were also categorised as having no demonstrated knowledge. Similarly, if a participant answered yes but then did not provide a response to the prompt for an example, they were also categorised as demonstrating no not having knowledge. It is possible that some of these participants had knowledge about climate tipping points but did not provide written examples for reasons other than inability to recall this information, e.g., time constraints or a general unwillingness to answer open-ended questions. However, we assumed that the most likely reason for not providing any text was the inability to provide relevant information due to the lack of usable knowledge.

Participants who responded to the prompt to provide an example of a climate tipping point were categorised based on the content of their answer. Answers were coded, distinguishing incorrect, some and good knowledge (see codebook in Appendix C). The answers contained both examples of tipping elements, such as "arctic sea ice" or "Gulfstream", and more general descriptions of the concept, such as "point of no return" or "an irreversible event". While identifying characteristics of climate tipping points was not asked specifically in our survey, it was found during data analysis to be meaningful to code these responses in addition to specific example of climate tipping elements as examples of demonstrated knowledge.

1. No Self-Reported or Demonstrated Knowledge: self-reported lack of familiarity with climate tipping points, or self-reported inability to provide an example, or an inability to provide an example.
2. Incorrect Knowledge: self-reported knowledge and ability to provide an example, but inability to provide a correct example of a tipping element or any description (feature) that could be associated with climate tipping points.
3. Some Knowledge: identified one or two features of climate tipping points or one example, indicating a limited but incomplete understanding of the concept.

- 384 4. Good Knowledge: identified multiple (3 or more) features of climate tipping points and/or one or more correct
385 examples, indicating a good understanding of the concept.
386

387 We counted how often specific climate-tipping elements were mentioned by participants. Here it was necessary to distinguish
388 types/classes of tipping elements and specific examples within each type. The different types included cryosphere tipping
389 elements/ice sheets, circulation patterns in the oceans and atmosphere, and biosphere tipping elements. Some participants
390 referred to these types of tipping elements, while others provided more specific examples, such as the West Antarctic Ice Sheet
391 or the Amazon rainforest. Based on these counts, we assessed which known tipping elements the public is currently most
392 familiar with.

393 ● Risk Perceptions

394 Our survey data were quantitatively analysed using data analysis tools in Microsoft Excel [and R](#) in order to identify any effect
395 on climate risk perceptions post-intervention between the two groups ([analysis for covariance \(ANCOVA analysis\)](#) and *t*-Test:
396 two sample assuming unequal variances) and within the same group (*t*-Test: paired two sample for means). Significance tests
397 were performed on the data in order to identify any statistically significant differences in responses on concern levels for
398 climate change post-intervention.

399 4.0 Results

400 4.1 General State of Knowledge of climate tipping points

401 When asked about their self-reported level of familiarity with climate tipping points, [728%](#) indicated ~~moderate or~~ good levels
402 of familiarity, [21%](#) indicated a little ~~familiarity~~ familiarity, 16% were neutral, [23%](#) indicated very little knowledge, ~~5028%~~
403 indicated ~~little or~~ no familiarity [and had never heard of the term](#), and 6% were unsure or did not know. When combining these
404 data on self-reported knowledge with our analysis of responses to the prompt about examples, the share of participants without
405 knowledge increases significantly to 81.1% (n=690). About 44% (n=372) of the participants who indicated some knowledge
406 on climate tipping points were asked whether they could give an example of a climate tipping point, 56% (n=208) answered
407 no. Among those who answered yes to this question, 52 did not provide an example or provided incorrect descriptions when
408 prompted, [providing no demonstrated knowledge](#). [This small but significant number of participants provided incorrect](#)
409 [responses, which included descriptions of climate change generally, such as “global warming” or “increasing average global](#)
410 [temperatures”](#).

411 Given this lack of ability to recall information about climate tipping points, we assess that [4 out of 5%](#) of Norwegians are
412 unfamiliar with the concept in the sense that their understanding is insufficient to meaningfully inform a person’s risk
413 perceptions related to climate change.

414 A small but significant number of participants, who had indicated that they were able to provide an example of a climate
415 tipping point, provided incorrect responses. These included descriptions of climate change generally, such as “global warming”
416 or “increasing average global temperatures”.

417 From these results and examples given by participants qualitatively coded, our final results on the levels of knowledge are as
418 follows. Out of the total number of participants (n=851), 81.1% (n=690) ~~demonstrated~~ had no knowledge of climate tipping
419 points while 6.1% (n=52) indicated that they were familiar with the concept but provided incorrect characteristics or examples
420 of climate tipping points, 11.5% (n=98) had some knowledge of climate tipping points, and the responses of 1.3% (n=11)
421 indicated a good understanding of climate tipping points (see Figure 3).

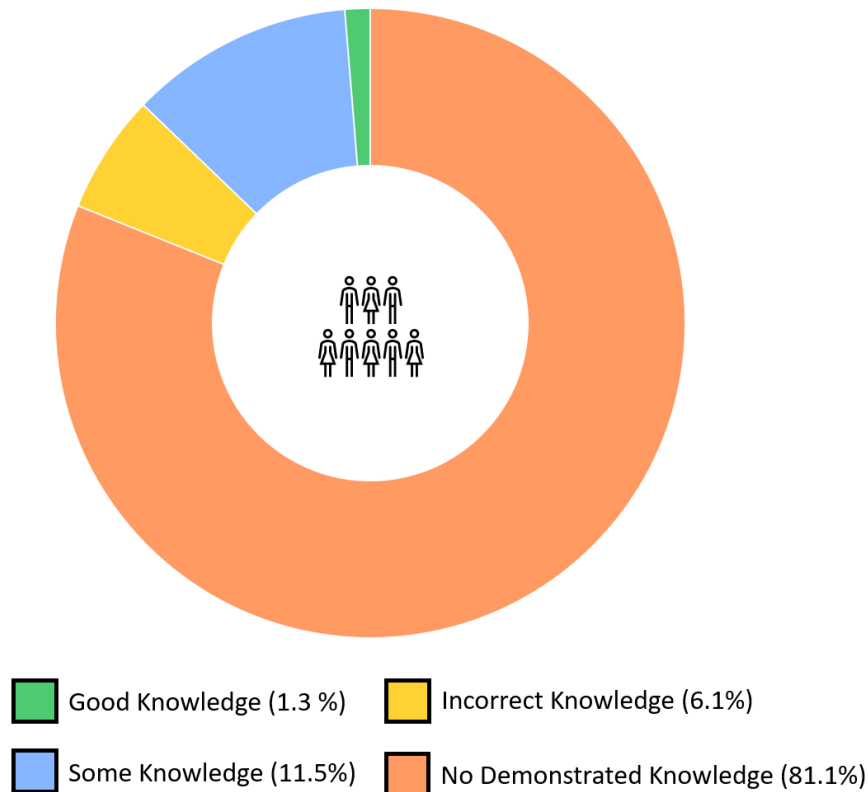


Figure 3: Results on the level of knowledge of climate tipping points amongst participants.

422 After the intervention participants were asked whether the ~~text~~ text they had read contained information that was new to them.
423 A higher percentage (27%) of participants who read the text on climate tipping points agreed that the information was new to
424 them compared with the general climate change group (17%). This difference was highly statistically significant ($t(848) = -$
425 $5.98266, p < 0.05$). However, this result does not align with the result of participants indicating a lack of familiarity with the
426 concept of climate tipping points in part 1b of the survey (more than 50%). This disparity between initial self-report of
427 knowledge and post-experimental assessment of the information’s novelty indicates reliability problems regarding self-report

428 data, possibly linked to a desire for socially desirable responses. This difference could also be explained by the fact that the
429 free recall of memorised information is a more challenging cognitive task than the recognition of previously encountered
430 information. In other words, participants might not have been able to recall the definition or examples of climate tipping points
431 in part 1b of the survey, but later remembered having heard or read about the concept when they encountered the materials
432 provided for the experiment.

433 4.2 Characteristics of Climate Tipping Points

434 Further, some participants identified characteristics of climate tipping points rather, or in addition, to giving an example. We
435 found this meaningful in understanding the level of knowledge about climate tipping points. We counted how often specific
436 characteristics of tipping points were mentioned by participants to identify the most common features in public perceptions.
437 The results are summarised in Table 1.

438 **Table 1: Most commonly identified features of climate tipping points identified by participants.**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Share of Participants (N = 161) (%)</i>
1	<u>Limited Irreversibility</u>	46	28
2	Feedbacks	18	11
3	Critical Threshold	13	8
4	Abruptness/non-linearity	8	4
5	Multiple stable states	4	2

439
440
441 The feature most commonly mentioned by participants was limited irreversibility, with some using the term “irreversible”
442 directly, or phrases such as “unable to turn back” or “point of no return”. Participants mentioning feedbacks used phrases such
443 as “self-reinforcing loops” or, more frequently, described feedback loops, such as “less ice allows more light absorption which
444 leads to more ice melting””. Participants used terms including “threshold””, “boundary” or “limit” that is crossed to refer to

445 critical thresholds. For abruptness and non-linearity participants used terms such as “escalating” to describe change or stated
 446 that climate change will happen “even faster^{22,23}.” The idea of multiple stable states was described with the terms “unstable”
 447 “fluctuating^{22,23}” or “change from one system to another”. Other features such as severe impacts and uncertainty were not
 448 mentioned often enough to be considered part of a common understanding.

449 4.3 Examples of Climate Tipping Points

450 By far, the most frequently identified type of tipping points were those related to the cryosphere - 71 mentions (provided by
 451 61 participants, some mentioning multiple elements) referred to ice loss, especially the Greenland Ice Sheet and the Arctic Sea
 452 Ice. The majority of these referred to “ice melting” or “polar ice” and “glaciers disappearing” without specific geographical
 453 reference. Some participants referred to “glaciers” but did not specify if these were mountain glaciers specifically, therefore
 454 these responses were coded as ice loss generally. More specific examples included “permafrost”, the Greenland ice sheet, and
 455 the loss of sea ice in the Arctic.

456 The second most frequent type of tipping element was circulation patterns (7 mentions) followed by biosphere components (4
 457 mentions). Mentions of circulation patterns included mentions of “the Gulf stream” or “ocean currents”, and one mention of
 458 “air currents”. Regarding biosphere components, only one person identified the “coral reefs” and two the “Amazon rainforest”.
 459 The results are summarised in Figure 4.

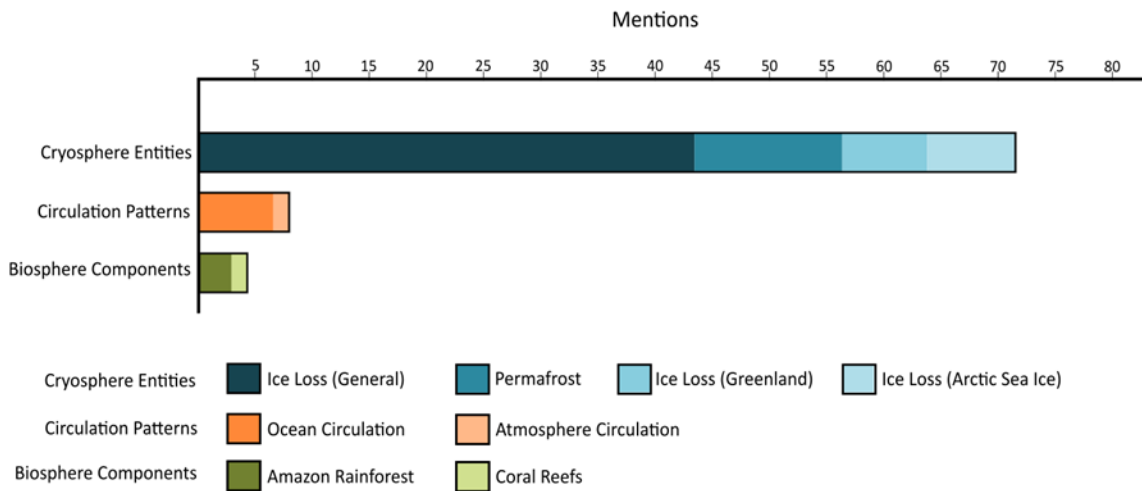


Figure 4: Most commonly and correctly identified climate tipping elements by participants.

460 4.4 Effect of climate tipping points on Level of Concern for Climate Change

461 All participants were asked about their concerns about climate change before and after our intervention. [An ANCOVA analysis](#)
 462 [was performed in R on the post-test scores, with the pre-test scores as a covariate. The results show a statistical significance](#)

($p < 0.000$ [$= 2e-16$], $F = 1962.5851$) between the pre-intervention scores (risk perceptions) and post-intervention scores (risk perceptions). There was also a statistical significance when comparing Groups 1 and 2 post-intervention ($p < 0.05$ [$= 0.02803$], $F = 4.8431$), but not between Groups 1 & 2 pre-intervention ($p > 0.05$ [$= 0.1878$], $F = 1.7378$). This indicates that our experimental treatment (reading a brief text with information about climate tipping points or climate change) significantly contributed to a change on risk perceptions of climate change in Group 1, while ~~it~~ the dependent variable (text on CC) did not have an effect on Group 2. For data used in ANCOVA analysis, including mean values and standard deviations for each experimental condition, see Table 2.

Table 2. ~~Table Reporting~~ Results of Statistical Analysis

	<u>Group A</u>	<u>Group A</u>	<u>Group B</u>	<u>Group B</u>
	<u>Pre-Intervention</u>	<u>Post-Intervention</u>	<u>Pre-Intervention</u>	<u>Post-Intervention</u>
<u>Mean</u>	<u>2.464286</u>	<u>2.366667</u>	<u>2.542923</u>	<u>2.545244</u>
<u>± SD</u>	<u>1.226657</u>	<u>1.293949</u>	<u>1.2017</u>	<u>1.310838</u>

As a follow-up test, in Microsoft Excel a two-sample t -test for independent means was performed and found that the difference between Group 1 and Group 2 was significant ($t(849) = -1.99$, $p < 0.05$ [0.045829]) with more participants in Group 1 who were presented with information about climate tipping points being more concerned than Group 2 post-intervention. The difference in responses post-intervention for the two groups is illustrated in Figure 6. The biggest change in responses before and after our intervention was that some who agreed before the intervention that they were concerned about climate change, completely agreed that they are personally concerned after the intervention. Both Groups 1 and 2 saw shifts of this nature, however, Group 1 who were presented with information on climate tipping points saw a higher degree of difference post-intervention.

~~An additional follow-up~~ A two-sample t -test was performed on the responses prior to the intervention and found no statistical significance between Groups 1 and 2 prior to our intervention ($t(847) = -0.94$, $p > 0.05$ [0.615757]).

~~After being asked to read their respective texts, participants in both groups were asked again about their level of concern about climate change. A two-sample t -test was performed and found that the difference between Group 1 and Group 2 was significant ($t(849) = -1.99$, $p < 0.05$) with more participants in Group 1 who were presented with information about climate tipping points being more concerned than Group 2 post intervention. The difference in responses post intervention for the two groups is illustrated in Figure 6. The biggest change in responses before and after our intervention was that some who agreed before the~~

487 ~~intervention that they were concerned about climate change, completely agreed that they are personally concerned after the~~
 488 ~~intervention. Both Groups 1 and 2 saw shifts of this nature, however, Group 1 who were presented with information on climate~~
 489 ~~tipping points saw a higher degree of difference post intervention.~~
 490 The significance

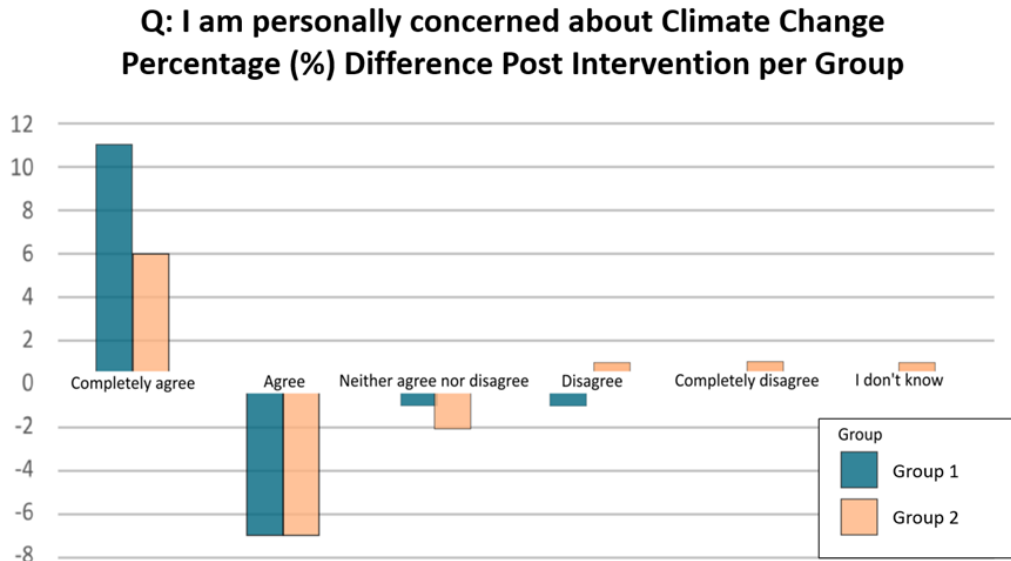


Figure 5: Percentage difference in climate risk perceptions post intervention per Group (Group 1: climate tipping points text; Group 2: climate change general text)

491 A paired *t*-test for means was performed on Group 1 between their level of concern before and after the intervention in
 492 Microsoft Excel. The results indicate that the responses from Group 1 were significantly different post-intervention ($t(419)$
 493 $= 2.72, p < 0.05$). The same test was carried out for Group 2, and it was found that the difference in response post-intervention
 494 was not statistically significant ($t(430) = -0.07, p > 0.05$).

495 ~~We asked participants post intervention to what degree they agreed or disagreed that it was “too late” to do anything about~~
 496 ~~climate change. We find that a majority of participants either completely disagree (24%) or disagree (36%) and few completely~~
 497 ~~agree/agreeing (4%) or agreeing (8%) that it is too late. There was little difference between the two groups and we found no~~
 498 ~~significant difference between Groups 1 and 2 post intervention ($t(848) = -0.088, p > 0.05$).~~

499 5.0 Discussion

500 Despite our expectations that knowledge of climate tipping points would be more limited than knowledge of climate change
 501 in general, we were surprised to find that less than 20 percent of respondents ~~self-declared and~~ demonstrated familiarity with
 502 the concept. Ultimately, only 13% of Norwegians have an understanding of climate tipping points that can serve as a foundation

503 for risk assessments and potential behavioural changes. [This is an important reminder about the potential knowledge gap](#)
504 [between scientists and the general public in such issues, a gap that clearly is important for understanding reluctance to change](#)
505 [and remedies. This shows not only that the public understanding of science is limited, but also that the scientific understanding](#)
506 [of the public needs to be improved.](#) For the large majority of Norwegians, knowledge of climate tipping points does not yet
507 affect judgements of climate risk. Comparing our assessment to that of Bellamy (2023), the state of public knowledge in
508 Norway ~~appears to be~~ significantly weaker than that in the UK. Bellamy reported that 25% of British study participants had
509 not heard of [any of the ten explicitly named](#) climate tipping points before taking their survey, and that awareness of the issue
510 is still low in the UK.

511 These observations could be indicative of more limited media communication on climate tipping points in Norway compared
512 to British and international press, but they could also be [the result of different methodological approaches. Our research design](#)
513 [relied on participants' free recall of definitions and examples while Bellamy provided survey participants with a list of ten](#)
514 [tipping points and asked whether they had heard of these before. The latter is a less demanding cognitive task than open recall,](#)
515 [which might account for some of the difference and suggest that familiarity in Norway might be higher than our findings](#)
516 [reflect.](#)

517 [At the same time, Bellamy's findings strongly mirror our own regarding awareness of specific tipping elements. In both](#)
518 [countries, there is significant variation, with highest scores for tipping elements in the cryosphere \(e.g., over 50% of British](#)
519 [participants were familiar with Arctic sea ice loss\) and the potential dieback of the Amazon rainforest, and lowest scores \(under](#)
520 [20% in the UK\) for the risk of AMOC collapse and boreal forest dieback. Cryosphere elements are the most correctly identified](#)
521 [and commonly mentioned examples of climate tipping points in our study. This may be due to the fact that Arctic Sea ice was](#)
522 [the first Earth system component to be associated with tipping points \(Winton, 2006\), and likely also its significance to Norway](#)
523 [being proximal to the Arctic. The prominence of ice-related examples may also be due to the rather simple cause-and-effect](#)
524 [relationship between higher temperatures and melting ice sheets, and the prevalence of cryosphere change in visual media](#)
525 [reporting, e.g., eye-catching photos of polar bears on \(disappearing\) icebergs. The reasons for the differential popularity,](#)
526 [recognizability of and attention to various tipping elements should be explored in future research. While Arctic summer sea](#)
527 [ice is no longer considered to have a tipping point \(Armstrong McKay et al., 2022\), other elements of the cryosphere \(e.g.,](#)
528 [Greenland Ice Sheet, West Antarctic Ice Sheet\) remain policy relevant with significant impacts on human systems. More](#)
529 [surprising is the lack of public awareness of the AMOC as a potential tipping point with potentially dramatic consequences](#)
530 [for Norway and all Atlantic states. Recent studies find that the circulation system is at its weakest in 1600 years \(Boers, 2021;](#)
531 [Thornalley et al., 2018\) and some has argued that it could ~~could~~ cross a tipping point this century \(Ditlevsen & Ditlevsen,](#)
532 [2023\), yet this is a ~~highly disputed~~ highly disputed worst case scenario.](#)

533 [More generally, the shared finding that there is low public awareness of climate tipping points in these two countries](#)
534 [indicates ~~indicators of~~ the learning challenges related to tipping processes as complex systems dynamics that defy mechanistic](#)
535 [causal thinking. Reporting on climate tipping points has been increasing over the last five years, but with limited effects on](#)
536 [public understanding so far. Given this baseline of limited knowledge paired with cognitive and emotional barriers to learning,](#)

537 it is likely that our experimental intervention - a short, fact-based description of climate tipping points - had very limited effects
538 on risk perceptions because of its limited potential to contribute to learning and understanding.

~~539 Creating broad and meaningful public understanding of climate tipping points might be more challenging than both the
540 scientific and media communities realise. More frequent, more expansive, more emotional, visual, and story-based information
541 might be needed to convey the meaning and potential implications of this concept. This could be explored through in-depth
542 interviews or focus groups to gain a deeper perspective into the learning mechanisms, barriers, and challenges associated with
543 climate tipping points rather than climate change more generally. Interventions that rely on alternative learning strategies
544 should be explored, as illustrated by van Beek et al. (2022), who combined role play, active learning strategies and storytelling
545 to increase understanding of climate tipping points with promising results. Formanski et al. (2022) suggests comparing active
546 and passive learning strategies in order to further investigate how climate tipping points are understood. Our analysis provides
547 modest evidence for the hypothesis that climate tipping point communication can increase public concern about climate change
548 compared to more conventional, linear descriptions of climate change (Lenton et al., 2008; Russill, 2015). We observed that
549 the strongest change in risk perceptions occurs among those who already are concerned about climate change, which aligns
550 with findings by van Beek et al. (2022), although our survey-embedded experiment was significantly less engaging than the
551 serious game deployed in their study. Our results contrast with recent findings by Formanski et al. (2022) who found no
552 difference in risk perceptions between participants presented with portrayals of linear versus non-linear climate change. One
553 explanation for this difference might be that Formanski et al. focused on a specific characteristic of tipping points (non-
554 linearity), which might not be the feature that generates most concern. Our results were not independently verified by an
555 unbiased and impartial third party, which is a limitation of our study. We found that limited irreversibility was the most
556 commonly identified feature of climate tipping points, similar to findings by Milkoreit (2019) from surveys with international
557 policymakers.~~

558 It could be argued that people are more concerned about the permanence of losses rather than the speed of change, especially
559 when limited irreversibility is combined with the possibility of severe harm ('catastrophic risks'). While we cannot conclude
560 this from our study, it opens up pathways for future research.

~~561 We did not observe any effect of information of climate tipping points on beliefs about whether or not it is too late to act on
562 climate change. This could be attributed to the public's tendency to downplay the seriousness of these risks due to certain
563 cognitive biases, and that systematic risk associated with climate tipping points pose unique learning challenges that is not
564 easily grasped by participants (Schweizer et al., 2022). However, Bellamy (2023) finds that there is strong doubt amongst
565 participants about humanity's response to climate tipping points, aligning more closely with fatalistic views of climate tipping
566 points found by Bellamy and Hulme (2011). There is likely a complex relationship between climate tipping points and negative
567 effects on participants' risk perceptions of climate change. To reveal subtler, potential negative effects (e.g., increasing
568 negative emotions, decreasing sense of personal agency) of climate tipping points on climate risk perceptions would however
569 require more in-depth and interdisciplinary research methodologies.~~

570 ~~Cryosphere elements are the most correctly identified and commonly mentioned examples of climate tipping points in our~~
571 ~~study. This may be due to the fact that Arctic Sea ice was the first Earth system component to be associated with tipping points~~
572 ~~(Winton, 2006), and likely also its significance to Norway being proximal to the Arctic. The prominence of ice related~~
573 ~~examples may also be due to the rather simple cause and effect relationship between higher temperatures and melting ice~~
574 ~~sheets, and the prevalence of cryosphere change in visual media reporting, e.g., eye catching photos of polar bears on~~
575 ~~(disappearing) ice bergs . The reasons for the differential popularity, recognizability of and attention to of various tipping~~
576 ~~elements should be explored in future research. While summer sea ice is no longer considered to have a tipping point~~
577 ~~(Armstrong McKay et al., 2022), other elements of the cryosphere (e.g., Greenland Ice Sheet, West Antarctic Ice Sheet) remain~~
578 ~~policy relevant climate tipping points with significant impacts on human systems. More surprising is the lack of public~~
579 ~~awareness of the Atlantic meridional overturning circulation as a potential tipping point with potentially dramatic~~
580 ~~consequences for Norway and all Atlantic states. Recent studies find that this potential climate tipping element is at its weakest~~
581 ~~in 1600 years (Boers, 2021; Thornalley et al., 2018) and is at risk of crossing a tipping point as early as 2025 (Ditlevsen &~~
582 ~~Ditlevsen, 2023).~~

583 Major questions remain regarding how to best communicate the risks of climate change, balancing information about threats
584 with motivation to act and managing a complicated medley of emotions, including fear and apathy. This discussion is
585 particularly relevant for Norway with the paradoxical gap between the political acceptance of climate risks and continued oil
586 exploration, as well the apparent widespread ignorance or denial of climate change (PERITA, 2022; YouGov, 2019). While
587 communicating risk based scientific predictions of potential tipping points should motivate climate action among both
588 politicians and voters, the concept is hardly known, and partially misunderstood. One could argue that in Norway, a general
589 feeling of safety, trust in government and technological solutions are widespread, creating a kind of hubris with regard to
590 climate risks that can only be overcome by personal experience as the situation worsens (cf. Lujala et al., 2015). However,
591 there is major potential to increase the scale and effectiveness of public communication about the risks of climate tipping
592 points. Future research should seek to support the development of effective communication strategies, considering national
593 differences, including differences in cultural worldviews (Bellamy, 2023).

594 **6.0 Conclusion**

595 Understanding climate change risk perceptions is crucial for effective communication, policymaking, and public engagement.
596 Climate tipping points, while presenting a range of threats to societies, might also provide new communication tools and
597 opportunities to reshape existing climate change narratives, public risk perceptions, engagement, and support for climate
598 action.

599 Our study investigated the level of knowledge of climate tipping points among participants in Norway, and assessed whether
600 information pertaining to climate tipping points has a different impact on climate change risk perceptions compared with
601 information ~~about~~ climate change more generally.

602 Among our findings, two stand out. First, we found a widespread lack of knowledge about climate tipping points among
603 Norwegians, suggesting that the topic remains “new” for the majority of the population despite its increasing presence in the
604 media. This situation merits further investigation, focusing on the question how to best support public learning and meaning
605 making related to tipping points, including active learning strategies (Beek et al. 2022; Formanski et al. 2022) in the face of
606 significant obstacles to informal learning.

607 Second, our results indicate a moderate impact of information about climate tipping points on risk perceptions of Norwegians,
608 while more general climate change information had no effect at all. We suspect that these limited effects are linked to the
609 general state of public knowledge in Norway and the limited effects of our intervention on participants’ understanding of the
610 concept and its potential implications for human wellbeing. In other words, the reading materials provided to participants did
611 - in most cases - not enable learning about tipping points in a way that affected existing risk perceptions. Our experimental
612 treatment might have been ineffective as a learning device. Given the findings and limitations of our study, we recommend
613 further investigation into how laypeople and decision makers learn about the risks posed by climate tipping processes, and
614 how (or if) knowledge about tipping points changes existing perceptions of climate change risk. Future work should explore
615 in particular whether different modes of communication, engagement and learning have different impacts, e.g., active learning
616 strategies such as serious gaming, passive learning through reading news or story-based information. This work might require
617 more challenging experimental designs (e.g., game or storytelling workshops) coupled with in-depth interviews, focus groups,
618 or observations.

619
620 Given that with the complexity involved in climate risk perceptions are shaped by multiple and strong evidence that other
621 factors in addition to other than knowledge have significant impacts on risk perceptions- (Kahan et al., 2012; Libarkin et al.,
622 2018), future research should also explore how (changes in) knowledge and understanding interact with other variables over
623 time to there are many opportunities to investigate the complex psychological processes that may be triggered by forewarnings
624 of climate tipping points. Future work should not only consider the role of cultural cognition in the adoption of this concept,
625 but also emotional and social barriers to learning, such as psychological distancing, identity protection and socially organised
626 denial (Norgard, 2011). Future research should also explore the relationship between climate risk perceptions and action gaps.

627 Our results indicate a moderate impact of information about climate tipping points on risk perceptions of Norwegians. We
628 suspect that these small effects are linked to the general state of public knowledge in Norway and the limited effects of our
629 intervention on participants’ understanding of the concept and its potential implications for human wellbeing. Given the
630 findings and limitations of our study, we recommend further investigation into how laypeople perceive the risks posed by
631 triggering climate tipping points, and how (or if) this differs from their existing perceived risks of climate change. To study
632 this more we recommend that future work explore this through active learning strategies, story based information, in depth
633 interviews, workshops, or focus groups.

634 Our research explores the larger question that often mentioned in conjunction with climate tipping points, of whether and how
635 social awareness and potential positive societal tipping points can counteract the potentially dangerous climate tipping points

636 in the climate system (Milkoreit et al., 2018; et al., 2022). Examples of proposed social tipping dynamics to bring about climate
637 action include knowledge/information feedbacks (Otto et al., 2020), governance and policy interventions (Otto et al., 2020;
638 Sharpe and Lenton, 2021), social norms (Nyborg et al., 2016), business initiatives and informal peer enforcement (Otto et al.,
639 2020). Bellamy (2023) states that to understand and encourage such social tipping points, we must address different cultural
640 worldviews that exist in any complex social system, and rather than attempting to make people with different worldviews think
641 the same way, social tipping points should focus on aligning actions in support of climate policies. Related to this, our work
642 raises questions regarding the role of knowledge, its absence, creation, and interactions with cultural worldviews to shape
643 public climate risk perceptions.

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647 **Competing Interests**

648 The contact author has declared that none of the authors has any competing interests.

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