



WHERE TO FROM HERE?

"We can't solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them." ALBERT EINSTEIN

"It is often easier to fight for a principle than to live up to it." ADLAI STEVENSON

Climate change is a challenge on every level. One of the hardest issues for campaigners is the sense of urgency we feel, and the resulting frustration that so little is being done. This can take its toll on us personally, but it also has an effect on how we campaign - it's a bit like dealing with a child who ignores his parent's wishes (bitter experience); more often than not the parent ends up ranting and raving, which of course often make matters worse.

We can say that much of the answer will need to come from the top down, we can put the responsibility on countries like China and the US, on governments, on the fossil fuel industry, or on companies. We can look to big international agreements, or to geo-engineering. But we can't escape the fact that none of this will happen if, we, the people, don't push from below. After all what is government or industry but a merging of human beings, all of whom live in the real world, and who are influenced by the choices we make on the ground?

However, for campaigners and people who "get" the seriousness of the issue, it is our sense of urgency that makes us strive for that one quick fix, and the temptation is to re-double our efforts to ram home the facts and make people change their ways.

But this isn't working. As we have seen in the preceding articles, how people respond to issues like global warming is not always rational or clear-cut. There are so many factors which influence decision-making along the way.

Perhaps we have to accept that there is no silver bullet solution. Maybe all we can strive for are *"clumsy solutions for a complex world"*.¹ Maybe we will have to have faith that things are moving on a societal level, and that behavioural changes seen to date are not just trends or blips that could reverse at any given moment. And perhaps we will have to accept that other changes will just have to come from plain hard graft. In the meantime, we can learn to be better communicators and to approach the issue in a more effective way.

¹ Term coined by Marco Verweij & Michael Thompson

THE FOLLOWING IS A SMORGASBORD OF APPROACHES WHICH I CAME ACROSS DURING MY RESEARCH.

DO WE TALK ABOUT CLIMATE CHANGE AT ALL?

At this stage, after years of arguing over the issue, do the very words, “climate change” or “global warming”, in themselves, trigger a negative mental reaction, similar to the “yuk” factor, in people? They certainly seem to be a conversation killer where we live in West Cork. And if the words evoke a switch off response on the ground, is this replicated on the global policy-making stage?

In July 2011, New York City Mayor, Michael Bloomberg, announced that he was giving \$50 million to the Sierra Club’s Beyond Coal initiative. Bloomberg’s money and his backing was a significant boost to the campaign, the goal of which is to retire one-third of the US’s more than 500 coal plants by 2020, and to replace dirty coal with clean energy. On their website the Sierra Club refers to coal’s contribution to carbon emissions and its effect on people’s health.

Yet when journalist, Bryan Walsh,² spoke to Mayor Bloomberg before his donation became public, climate change wasn’t foremost on the politician’s mind. He saw coal pollution first and foremost as a public health issue, one that is directly hurting Americans through higher rates of asthma and heart disease. He was certainly worried about the greenhouse gases those coal plants were spewing out - coal is responsible for about 20% of global carbon emissions - but what really motivated him were the mercury emissions, the particulates, the arsenic and all the other conventional poisons created by burning coal. According to Walsh, the Sierra Club’s Beyond Coal campaign has succeeded more by motivating individual communities over the local health effects of coal pollution than by appealing to the broader risks of global warming. He says, “*if we’re smart, this approach might be the new way to attack climate change: by identifying actions that can provide a wealth of benefits - including on carbon emissions - rather than simply focusing on global warming alone*”.

Climate Pragmatism-Innovation, Resilience and No Regrets, is a policy report released in 2011 by the Hartwell group, a collection of climate scientists, economists and policy experts, after the collapse of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) process.

Its introduction says that “*future historians of efforts to address climate change will almost certainly look back on 2010 as the end of one era and the beginning of another...By the Cancun talks in late 2010, the emphasis of international negotiations had shifted from efforts to establish legally binding emissions limits to more modest agreements to invest in new energy technology, transfer technology among nations and support climate resilience efforts in the developing world. If efforts in this direction are redoubled, this shift of priorities could redeem international climate cooperation.*”

And “*if this new era is to be led at all, it will be led primarily by example, not global treaty.*”

According to the authors, globally, almost all of the important action occurring on energy innovation and adoption to date has occurred for reasons other than just climate change. For instance, the only two countries to have significantly decarbonised their energy sectors over recent decades, Sweden and France, did so in response to oil shocks, not environmental fears. In 2010, the Indian government imposed a small fee on coal consumption, not for climate mitigation, but to fund advanced energy development to meet future energy needs.

² <http://www.time.com/time/health/article/0,8599,2085220,00.html>

The Hartwell strategy focuses on efforts to accelerate energy innovation, build resilience to extreme weather, and pursue no regrets pollution reduction measures – three efforts that each have their own diverse justifications, independent of their benefits for climate mitigation and adaptation.

The authors say that, as such, the report offers a framework for renewed American leadership on climate change the effectiveness of which, paradoxically, does not depend on any agreement about climate science or the risks posed by uncontrolled greenhouse gases.

Climate Pragmatism report http://thebreakthrough.org/archive/climate_pragmatism_innovation

The Hartwell Paper <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/researchAndExpertise/units/mackinder/theHartwellPaper/Home.aspx>

SOCIAL MARKETING AND COMMUNITY BASED SOCIAL MARKETING

Social Marketing is a strategy which is gaining favour in behaviour change circles. In short, the approach is to target and segment the intended audience of a behaviour change campaign, so that each segment can be worked with according to their current attitudes or behaviour. All barriers need to be identified and the context for the behaviour understood. Social marketing has the ability to pilot behaviour-change programmes with a small number of people first, and emphasise the importance of monitoring progress, assessing feedback and evaluating outcomes.

Adam Corner, of the School of Psychology at Cardiff University is researching the psychology of communicating climate change, and public attitudes to emerging energy technologies. In a 2011 blog,³ he outlined some of his concerns about the social marketing approach, including his view that segmentation does nothing to increase social capital (the productive benefits of social relations), and may even damage it. Social capital is important for sustainable development and the effectiveness of environmental policies. He states that communities with higher levels of social capital are more likely to respond positively to pro-environmental policies and display pro-environmental behaviour, because they are already engaging in solving problems collectively and tend to trust each other more. Individualised messages might work well for individuals, but are they as powerful in the context of social interaction?

Also, splitting people into distinct segments may entrench attitudes that need to be changed in the future. He posits that a strategy for engaging people in preventing climate change needs to be about more than just social marketing. Environmental education, fostering ecological citizenship and involving people in social networks, rather than segmenting them as individuals, has far greater promise for the ambitious societal transformations needed to tackle climate change.

Doug McKenzie-Mohr is a compelling advocate for Community Based Social Marketing. As well as running workshops around the world, one of which I was lucky enough to attend in Dublin, he has co-authored a guide to community based social marketing.⁴ McKenzie-Mohr claims that community based social marketing draws heavily on research in social psychology which indicates that initiatives to promote behaviour change are often most effective when they are carried out at the community level and involve direct contact with people. He agrees that the conventional form of social marketing, which often relies heavily on media advertising and may be effective in creating public awareness and understanding of sustainable issues, is limited in its ability to foster behaviour change.

³ <http://greenlivingblog.org.uk/2011/03/01/look-beyond-social-marketing/>

⁴ Doug McKenzie-Mohr & William Smith (1999) *Fostering Sustainable Behaviour - an introduction to community-based social marketing (this book has since been updated)*

In their book, McKenzie-Mohr and Smith say it is important to uncover the barriers and benefits to a particular action and they stress the role that commitment, prompts and norms play in their approach:

BARRIERS AND BENEFITS AND EVALUATION

While hunches regarding what motivates people to engage in sustainable behaviour are important, speculation is not enough. Neither should we presume that the barriers and benefits to one action are the same as for another similar action, or that if a person masters one activity that they will then automatically change other related aspects of their behaviour.

As a first step in any programme, a thorough review must be carried out to identify both the barriers and benefits associated with the activity you wish to promote. This should include a search through available literature, qualitative research - including observational studies and focus groups - and a broader survey. Without such research, it is impossible to design an effective strategy. In the initial design stage, it is also important to build in a method to evaluate the impact and success rate of the initiative.

COMMITMENT

Consistency is an important character trait. Those who behave inconsistently are often perceived as being untrustworthy and unreliable, while those who keep their word are viewed as being honest and upright. And people have a strong desire to be seen as consistent by others.

So, wherever possible, people should be asked to make a commitment public and, if possible, to make it in writing rather than just verbally. Commitments made together by cohesive groups are very effective. Commitment can also be made cost-effective by asking people who commit to trying a new behaviour to ask others to make a similar commitment.

Commitments should be sought only for behaviours which people express interest in doing. It will not work if people feel pressured to commit.

When a researcher,⁵ posing as a volunteer asked Californian residents if they would allow a large, ugly obtrusive billboard with the wording DRIVE CAREFULLY to be placed on their front lawn, most declined. Yet 76% of another group of residents, who were asked the same question, agreed. The difference was that these residents had previously been asked to display a small 3-inch sign in their car or home windows, that said BE A SAFE DRIVER. This request was so innocuous that almost everyone consented. Agreeing to this first request greatly increased the likelihood that the residents would, then, consent to having the billboard put up on their lawn. When individuals agree to a small request, it often alters the way they perceive themselves. When asked later to comply with the larger request there is a strong internal pressure to behave consistently. Similarly, saying that you “think” you would volunteer for a certain voluntary organisation, vote in an election, or give blood, alters your attitudes and increases the likelihood that you will later act in a way that is consistent with your new attitudes.

In another study, residents, who had been identified as putting their grass clippings at the road-side for disposal, were assigned into 3 groups. The first group was asked to make a commitment to leave their clippings on the lawn, while the second was asked to do so and, also, to ask their neighbours in the third group to do the same. The “commitment only” request had no effect on behaviour in the first groups. However, those who were asked to make a commitment and then speak to their neighbours, increased not only their grass recycling but that of their neighbours as well. And these findings were still observable 12 months later.

⁵ Doug McKenzie-Mohr & William Smith (1999) *Fostering Sustainable Behaviour*; p. 46

PROMPTS

Numerous actions that promote sustainability are vulnerable to the most basic of human traits: forgetting. Switching off sockets, turning down the thermostat in the evening, driving in the most energy efficient way are actions that we are likely to forget. Prompts, in the form of visual or auditory aids (say, stickers beside the switch, on the dashboard), can be very effective in reminding us to engage in an action which we are already predisposed to do.

Prompts can be effective for encouraging both one-time and repetitive behaviours that promote sustainability. One-time behaviours, referring to actions that individuals engage in only once (like connecting a low-flow showerhead), are often easier to influence than repetitive behaviours, where people have to engage in an action time after time for there to be a significant effect (like composting, turning off lights).

To be most effective, the prompt needs to be visible, and it should be self-explanatory. It should be presented as close in time and space as possible to the targeted behaviour.

Prompts should be used to encourage people to engage in positive behaviours, rather than to avoid negative actions.

NORMS

If we are to make the transition to a sustainable future, it is critical that we are able to develop a new set of societal norms that support such lifestyles.

Where possible, programmes to promote sustainable behaviour should attempt to communicate behaviours which are acceptable. For example, communicating that the vast majority of people living in a community strongly believe that it is important to reduce waste, and that they demonstrate this belief through participating in recycling programs, can be an effective way of bolstering recycling, as well as introducing other waste reduction programmes, such as composting and source reduction. By stressing the very high participation rates, clear messages are sent to others regarding the perceived importance of cutting down on waste.

To be effective, the norms must also be visible and they need to be internalised by individuals. The people need to view the behaviour as the way they “should” behave - it is simply the “right thing to do” - despite the fact that it takes time and can be inconvenient. These norms are most likely to develop through direct contact between people, rather than through campaigns that rely upon prompts or information alone. The norm should be noticeable. As with prompts, the norm should be made explicit at the time the targeted behaviour is to occur. And, where possible, they should be used to encourage people to engage in positive behaviours rather than to avoid environmentally harmful actions.

During the 1930's, both American and Canadian farmers were losing a lot of topsoil from their fields. In response to the crisis, the US government distributed leaflets, detailing the problem and suggesting actions, such as planting trees as wind screens. This attempt to influence the farmers' behaviour was a dismal failure. A new approach was then tried, which involved giving direct assistance in adopting practices that would slow erosion to a small number of farmers. This approach was much more successful. Neighbouring farmers observed the changes being made, discussed them with their neighbours and adopted similar practices once they saw the results. Consequently, these agricultural practices quickly spread.⁶

⁶ Doug McKenzie-Mohr & William Smith (1999) *Fostering Sustainable Behaviour*; p. 73

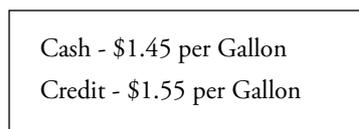
FRAMING

Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. They can determine the plans we make, how we behave, and what we see as a good or bad outcome to our actions. How people react to messages depends, in part, on the way in which they are stated or “framed”. Barry Schwartz⁷ illustrates this with the following example.

Imagine two gas stations at opposite corners of a busy intersection. One offers a discount for cash transactions and has a big sign that says:



The other, imposing a surcharge for credit, has a small sign, just above the pumps, that says



The sign is small and doesn't call attention to itself, because people don't like surcharges. Beyond the difference in presentation, though, there is no difference in the price structure at these two gas stations. A discount for paying cash is, effectively, the same as a surcharge for using credit. Nonetheless, fuel-hungry consumers will have very different subjective responses to the two different propositions, and more than likely they will prefer getting the discount!

According to Thaler and Sunstein,⁸ framing is very important for public policy, and they invite us to consider the following information campaigns:

A If you use energy conservation methods, you will save \$350 per year

B If you do not use energy conservation methods you will lose \$350 per year

It turns out that information campaign **B**, framed in terms of losses, is far more effective than campaign **A** - after all, we all hate losses!

Suppose that you are suffering from serious heart disease and your doctor proposes a gruelling operation. You ask about the odds. The doctor says, “Of 100 patients who have this operation, 90 are alive after five years.” What will you do? If you fill in the facts in a certain way, the statement will be pretty comforting, and you'll probably have the operation.

But suppose the doctor frames his answer in a somewhat different way. Suppose that he says, “Of 100 patients who have this operation, 10 are dead after 5 years.” If you're like most people, the doctor's statement will sound pretty alarming, and you might not have the operation.

Their conclusion is that people are busy trying to cope in a complex world in which they cannot afford to think deeply about every choice they have to make. People adopt sensible rules of thumb that sometimes lead them astray. Because they are busy and have limited attention, they accept questions as posed rather

⁷ B. Schwartz (2005) *The Paradox of Choice*; p.64

⁸ R. Thaler & C. Sunstein (2008) *Nudge*; p.37

than trying to determine whether their answers would vary under alternative formulations. Therefore, people are nudge-able.

Hardisty, Johnson, and Weber (2009) found that 65% of US Republicans were willing to pay a CO₂ emission reduction fee on such purchases as airline tickets when the fee was labelled as a carbon offset, but that this percentage dropped to 27% when the fee was labelled as a carbon tax, a label that generated negative visceral reactions in this group.

The leading Republican consultant and pollster, Frank Luntz (who became familiar to us here in Ireland when he chaired a number of focus groups for RTE prior to our 2007 general election) wrote a memo to President George W. Bush in 2002 called *The Environment: a Cleaner, Safer, Healthier America*. In it, he focused in particular on casting doubts about the science:

"The scientific debate is closing [against us] but is not yet closed. There is still a window of opportunity to challenge the science.... Voters believe that there is no consensus about global warming within the scientific community. Should the public come to believe that the scientific issues are settled, their views about global warming will change accordingly. Therefore, you need to continue to make the lack of scientific certainty a primary issue in the debate, and defer to scientists and other experts in the field." He goes on to say, *"the most important principle in any discussion of global warming is your commitment to sound science."* He recommended that administration communications reframe *"global-warming"* as *"climate change"* since *"climate change"* was less alarmist. And finally, *"A compelling story, even if factually inaccurate, can be more emotionally compelling than the dry recitation of the truth."*

Later Luntz tried to distance himself from the Bush administration policy and says that he is not responsible for what the administration has done since that time. Though he now believes humans have contributed to global warming, he maintains that the science was in fact incomplete, and his recommendation sound, at the time he made it.⁹

DEVELOPING A STRATEGIC STORY

Mark S. Walton,¹⁰ a former senior correspondent at CNN, asks what triggers "buy-in"? He defines the term as an understanding, commitment and action in support of a common goal.

Companies that advertise on television are masterful at generating buy-in for their products: cars, clothes, investments, holidays.

According to Walton, what is at the heart of their success is how they speak to us in strategic stories designed to project a positive future. To illustrate this, he asks us to think about the phrase: *a perfect summer afternoon*. For most people it conjures up a mental story with images of warm weather, bright sunshine, a clear blue sky, and enjoyable activities with friends and family.

We think in stories. The human mind is like our own private screening room that continually shows complex mental stories - images of life which are language and currency of the mind - that have the power to soothe, frighten or stimulate us.

⁹ E. Kolbert (2006) *Field Notes from a Catastrophe*; p.157-163 and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frank_Luntz

¹⁰ <http://leadercommunication.com/text%20files/BOOK%20SUMMARY%20SOUNDVIEWW.pdf>

Today, people are deluged with information - statistics, graphs, charts and facts - so giving them more information will not make them notice you. The way to achieve real buy-in - getting people's understanding, commitment and ultimately, their behavior - is to impact their emotions, not just their thinking. If our goal is to trigger buy-in from people for our product or issue, the story that is most likely to succeed is one that projects a positive future.

However, Walton stresses that you *"can't sugarcoat bad news and maintain your credibility"*. So there needs to be a balance. You've got to be upfront and honest with people. After acknowledging the current realities, the challenge of leadership is to create a bright tomorrow, to focus on what can and will be done to make the future better. Without denying the downside, you must communicate a brighter tomorrow, even if you have to create that tomorrow yourself.

SHOULD WE ENCOURAGE SMALL CHANGES?

While Quentin and I were busy spreading the word here in Bantry, many people were writing practical manuals, with encouraging titles such as "Climate Change Begins at Home", "Over 500 Ways to Save the Planet", "How to Reduce your Carbon Footprint", "How can I Stop Climate Change", "You can Save the Planet". And I bought a good few of them (which made me question if they were actually reaching their target audience). And over time, I also began to wonder if people were buying the argument that they can save the planet by turning off light switches and driving less. After all, they were also being told that major ice sheets are melting, forests are dying, Africa's crops are failing and the Chinese have taken up driving. The jury, it seems, is out on this one.

Anthony Giddens¹¹ says he is *"hostile"* to the proliferation of How-To books, saying they are *"based on an unrealistic assumption - that everyone is willing and able to live like the small minority of "Positive Greens"* He reckons it's possible they may even be counterproductive, by putting off the majority from other steps they might take.

According to John Thøgersen,¹² existing evidence does not suggest that there is a big risk that people think they have already done enough when they have done small and simple things for the environment. However, neither is there currently much reason to hope that a sustainable lifestyle will grow automatically from the promotion of the many small and painless steps that people can take for the environment. He reckons there is a need for more radical measures to realise that goal.

However, David Roberts¹³ comes from another direction. He quotes a response given by Al Gore to a question about why his film was so light on solutions:

"In the United States of America, unfortunately we still live in a bubble of unreality. And the Category 5 denial is an enormous obstacle to any discussion of solutions. Nobody is interested in solutions if they don't think there's a problem. Given that starting point, I believe it is appropriate to have an over-representation of factual presentations on how dangerous it is, as a predicate for opening up the audience to listen to what the solutions are, and how hopeful it is that we are going to solve this crisis. Over time, that mix will change. As the country comes to more accept the reality of the crisis, there's going to be much more receptivity to a full-blown discussion of the solutions."

¹¹ A. Giddens (2009) *The Politics of Climate Change*; p. 106/7

¹² <http://www.guardian.co.uk/sustainable-business/small-painless-behaviour-change>

¹³ *Behavior Change Causes Changes in Beliefs, Not Vice Versa*

<http://www.grist.org/article/2010-11-23-behavior-change-causes-changes-in-beliefs-not-vice-versa>

Roberts claims that Gore may have had it exactly backwards. He asks us to imagine a guy who rejected human-caused climate change in a poll, and then to imagine that bike riding was made convenient and useful enough that he started doing it. And to imagine that his neighbours started getting solar panels, to the point that he felt pressured to do it, and he became a power producer. Imagine he's in the military and his platoon started insulating their tents and carrying solar water purifiers.

Next thing you know, he's a guy who uses solar power and rides a bike. His behaviour has changed, so he's telling a different story about himself. That new story, that new identity - the guy who rides a bike and uses solar power - is much more likely to incorporate climate change concern than the previous one. According to Roberts, action rather than belief comes first. Changing people's behaviour - in small, incremental, but additive ways - is the best way to open their minds to the science. Those behaviour changes will pull changes in consciousness in their wake.

THE SOCIAL CURE

Tina Rosenberg says that *"when behaviour change experts have tried to persuade, they have often chosen strategies that were poorly thought out and doomed to fail, usually because they appealed to the strategists but not to their target audience. They failed to take into account those human foibles that can hold us back from acting in our own self-interest."*¹⁴

She points out that the typical attempt to solve a social ill focuses on giving people information, or trying to motivate people through fear. But these strategies tend to fail exactly when the issue becomes most important and emotionally fraught. The more significant and deeply rooted the behaviour, the less impact information has and the more people close their minds to messages that scare them. Similarly, advertising is effective when it pushes immediate gratification, but not when it tries to get people to quit smoking, follow a diet of brown rice and vegetables, or save for retirement.

Rosenberg tells the story of people who have successfully used a different way, based on changing behaviour by helping people obtain what they most care about: the respect of their peers.

She outlines campaigns which have succeeded in persuading people to take action that initially appears psychologically difficult, unpleasant, or even dangerous. They may involve getting people to confront authority, tackle an addiction, avoid risky sex, or go against ingrained beliefs of proper behaviour. The approach does not lecture them about their long-term interest, it may not focus on anything rational at all. Instead, the projects go for what people want now - to belong, to be part of the in crowd, to be loved and admired and respected. They offer people a new and desirable club to join - a peer group so strong and persuasive that the individual adopts a new identity.

Rosenberg has called this the "social cure". And for the social cure to be successful it must reach beyond the core audience, beyond the people who always turn up to your meetings, as they are not the ones at risk.

Rosenberg includes examples of where the social cure has worked - it has brought "untouchable" Indian women out of the shadows and into jobs as community health workers, persuaded teenagers to demand safe sex in South Africa and to rebel against smoking in Texas, and prompted minority students to excel in university subjects where even well prepared students were failing. It has helped cure TB, given soldiers the confidence to face enemy fire, and organised the non-violent overthrow of Serbia's brutal dictator.

¹⁴ Tina Rosenberg(2011) *Join The Club; how peer pressure can transform the world; p.44*
Also: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2011/03/06/the-healing-power-of-peer-pressure.html>
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2011/sep/02/join-club-tina-rosenberg-review>

The social cure can benefit from social net working sites, but Rosenberg says it is an open question as to whether the Internet can substitute for human contact in being a social cure. The internet can provide the virtual community of the chat room, but these forums can become polarised, and the people who have an opposing view just drop out. For people with a choice, face to face is going to be best. People we see and know and care about have a more compelling pull. The relationships we create in person are simply stronger.

Rosenberg suggests campaigners learn from the world of marketing:

- 1 Branding** - in the world of fast food, the first thing an advertiser would do is create a brand. Nothing is more standard in the commercial world, yet branding is often ignored by social activists. A brand creates loyalty, affinity, and consistent expectations for the experience people will have with a product. Campaigners may need to brand an activity or even a lifestyle.

- 2 Identity marketing** – selling not the Prius but the self-image a buyer would enjoy as a Prius driver. Commercial identity marketing assumes people want to be rich and beautiful, but beyond the desire for wealth and beauty is the need for connection, recognition, respect and the admiration of one's peers.

- 3 Word of mouth** - the idea that the most credible spokespeople for a brand are special, socially influential, peers that people know and trust. When the recommendation comes from a trusted friend or influence, people feel they have circumvented a manufactured desire for something.

- 4 Experiential marketing** tries to involve people in an experience, not just a purchase, even if the purpose is to get them to buy. After tobacco advertising was banned, companies spent their money on sponsoring events, especially sports and concerts that young people like. Experiential marketing tries to build a community, one that transmits its new norms to its members - give them activities to go to and do, people to meet and groups that revolve around the product or issue.

TEEN SMOKING

Tina Rosenberg¹⁵ says that efforts to prevent teen smoking were seen as doomed. Their failure was so consistent that it was common to hear experts acknowledge that they had no idea what to do, and some people advocated simply giving up. That was in the mid-1990s. Today the battle is a completely different one. An effective new approach has brought astonishing and rapid success in the US. The problem today is one of political will: how to keep the effort from backsliding in the face of the tobacco industry's political and financial clout.

Teens start to smoke because they want to feel rebellious, and want to be admired by their peers for being rebellious. Anti-smoking ads depicting gravestones, tumours, stained teeth, and a smelly puking habit rely on fear - smoking kills. But teenagers already know this - in fact they overestimate the dangers of smoking - they believe that cigarettes are even more deadly than they are. Yet they don't think that they will die, they don't feel vulnerable, death is a long way off, and besides, someone will invent a cure for cancer by then. Teens have heard that smoking kills far too often - they resent what it symbolises – the heavy hand of grownups.

The new approach seeks to provide the rebellious satisfactions teens look for in cigarettes in a healthier way, by offering the teens a target for their rebellion: the tobacco industry. Many of the states that are now enjoying the most success with their anti-smoking efforts use the social cure. Part of their campaign is to establish clubs for teens - not anti-smoking clubs - they do not criticise smoking or smokers. Instead they provide a new peer group of fellow anti-tobacco revolutionaries, gathering teenagers to tell the tobacco industry that teens are tired of being manipulated. The clubs intersect with an innovative media campaign in a way that makes both more effective. And antismoking became "cool."

¹⁵ Tina Rosenberg (2011) *Join The Club; how peer pressure can transform the world*; p.50

In South Carolina, the campaign called Rage Against the Haze, gives out information on how the tobacco industry is manipulating teenagers, saying that teens can make a difference, that they can be in control, that no one is judging them, that they can hang out and play a hot video game, that they can get an edge on their friends because they've already met Rage. Rage is about everybody having their own voice, their own talents. What they don't say - cigarette smoking is addictive, smoking kills, you shouldn't smoke.

In Florida, the state set up SWAT - Students Working Against Tobacco - groups of teenagers in every county who were the forerunners of Rage Against the Haze and similar anti-tobacco groups in other states. They trained thousands of youngsters in leadership skills and organising - the teens created "truth" ads (a series of TV ads focusing on industry manipulation - each ad was approved by a panel of teens and some featured those teens and included outrageous quotes from industry documents); they had a "truth" train which went from city to city, picking up kids and giving on board workshops, before they got off at the next stop. They organised a concert at the end of its run in Miami - with plenty of T-shirts, baseball caps, etc. With SWAT, "truth" began to transcend TV and become adopted by teenagers as the voice of their peers.

In 2000, after two years of the programme, studies showed that the number of high school smokers had dropped to 22.6%, a fall of 17.5%. By 2007, the rate was down to 14.5%. but the decline began to significantly slow down in 2002, when the campaign began to suffer budget cuts. Despite the fact that the antismoking budget was up again (due to settlement claims with the tobacco industry), smoking for younger teens was rising again by 2009. Apparently, this is because Florida's Dept. of Health has lost interest in themes of industry manipulation, and is back onto the smoking kills/damages your health mantra.¹⁶

HARLEY-DAVIDSON AND EXPERIENTIAL MARKETING¹⁷

The campaign was designed to address the perception of a social ill, a midlife crisis, but its main purpose was to sell a product.

In the early 1980s the company was in deep trouble. Its reputation was suffering from the plethora of biker-gang movies portraying motorcycle riders as outlaws. They were being squeezed by better Japanese imports. In 1981, the company was sold, and quality began to improve. They shed the outlaw image by persuading police officers to use their bikes. In 1983, Harley started the Harley Owners Group - playing on the fact that the big bikes have long been known as Hogs. Today, Hog has more than a million members. By 2005, the average owner was forty seven, with median income of \$83,000. Bike owners play a large role in directing the organisation, but Harley manages the process. The company organises rides for everything from going out to dinner to cross-country tours and charity events. By the late 1990's, Harley had to tone it down a bit, the mystique of the Harley rider and its almost cultlike status was beginning to scare away new customers. They began to offer courses at its dealerships to teach novices to ride, even offering courses in group riding (it was around this time that U2's Bono gave the much loved RTE presenter, Gay Byrne, a Harley-Davidson on the set of his last Late Late Show!)

Until the world economy weakened in 2007, the company enjoyed record breaking sales.

¹⁶ Tina Rosenberg(2011) *Join The Club; how peer pressure can transform the world*; p. 74

¹⁷ *Ibid*; p. 89

INTERESTING REPORTS FOR FURTHER READING

Stephen Hounsham is the author of a report called *Painting the Town Green- how to persuade people to be environmentally friendly*. He says that the green movement has a lot to learn in terms of how to engage with the public, suggesting that we sometimes tend to follow the Dad's Army approach to changing lifestyles. It's an unattractive combination of disaster prediction (Private Fraser's "We're all doomed!"), supercilious criticism (Sergeant Wilson's "Do you really think that's wise?") and condemnation (Captain Mainwaring's "You stupid boy!"). And what response do we often get? Yes, Warden Hodges said it: "Oi Napoleon! Who do you think you are?"

<http://www.green-engage.co.uk/PaintingtheTownGreen.pdf>

In March 2005, the UK communications company Futerra launched *The Rules of the Game*. These Rules were developed as a guide for communication which could change attitudes towards climate change. They formed the evidence base that underpins the ongoing UK Government campaign *Tomorrow's Climate, Today's Challenge*.

New Rules: New Game was subsequently written as a guide to the tactics needed to change behaviour and should be seen as a complementary resource to the original version and not a replacement.

According to Futerra, we should forget trying to bridge the "value-action" gap and we must stop searching for the sparkly magic bridge that simply leads from values to action, or from attitudes to behaviour. People's behaviours, attitudes, values and awareness are all different and linked in complicated ways - if they're linked at all.

And they say we need to beware of the impacts of cognitive dissonance, which describes the tension between what we think and what we do - the worst thing we can do is to confront someone with the difference between their attitude and their actions ("You say you care about climate change but look at the car you're driving"), as this will make them more likely to change their *attitude* than their *actions*!

<http://www.futerra.co.uk/downloads/RulesOfTheGame.pdf>

http://www.futerra.co.uk/downloads/NewRules_NewGame.pdf

In January 2008, Jane Genovese, put together a document called *Behaviour Change for Combating Climate Change* as a guide for designing climate change behaviour change programs. It sets out what doesn't work and what does work, as well as a toolkit of strategies to foster long term behaviour change (based on social science research). The strategies presented in this guide are not limited to climate change and can be applied to other behaviour change programs.

<http://learningfundamentals.com.au/wp-content/uploads/behaviour-change-for-combating-climate-change.pdf>

The Centre for Research on Environmental Decision (CRED), based at Columbia University, New York, is an interdisciplinary centre that "*studies individual and group decision making under climate uncertainty, and decision making in the face of environmental risk*". They have produced a guide for scientists, journalists, educators, political aides and the interested public called *The Psychology of Climate Change Communication*, which details many of the biases and barriers to scientific communication and information processing and offers a tool to help people take positive action.

<http://guide.cred.columbia.edu/guide/intro.html>

Robert Cialdini was one of the first social psychologists to study what motivates people to take care of the environment. He maintains that, when made aware of a social norm, people tend to adhere to it. He calls this effect “social proof” and says it is a primitive instinct, more akin to peer information than peer pressure. He is now applying that concept to energy consumption, with promising results.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2009/07/greening-with-envy/7498/>

In their 2008 report, *Communicating climate change and motivating citizen action*, Susanne Moser & Maggie Walser focus on how civic engagement on climate change can be fostered further, and uses the U.S. situation as a testing ground.

http://www.eoearth.org/article/Communicating_climate_change_motivating_citizen_action

In his report, *Challenging Assumptions In The Psychology Of Climate Change*, Prof. David Uzzell challenges the following assumptions: that everyone experiences similar barriers to acting sustainably; that the young are most supportive of pro-environmental actions; recycling has a positive image; children will change their parents’ attitudes and behaviours.

http://surrey.academia.edu/DavidUzzell/Papers/253899/Challenging_Assumptions_In_the_Psychology_of_Climate_Change

We have already met Greg Craven in Article 12. He puts forward a different way of looking at risk, and asks people, what is the worst that can happen? Which mistake would you rather risk: the possible harm to the economy that sceptics embrace or the possible upheaval the activists warn us about? Which is the more acceptable risk: the risk of taking action or not taking action?

“The Most Terrifying Video You’ll Ever See”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zORv8wwiadQ>

The more evolved descendant of the above

<http://www.youtube.com/user/wonderingmind42>

<http://www.gregcraven.org/>