



A new conversation with the centre-right about climate and energy

Masterclass
11th May 2016

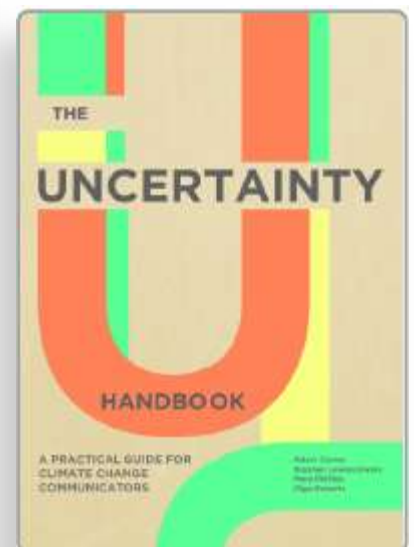
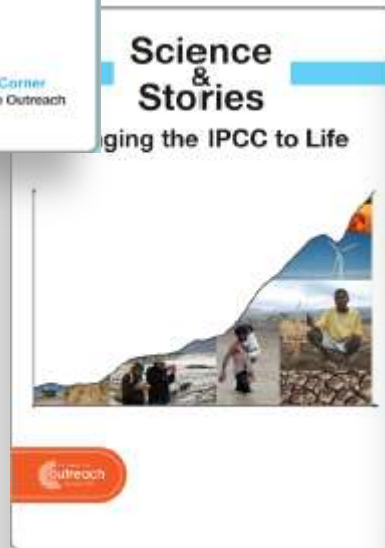
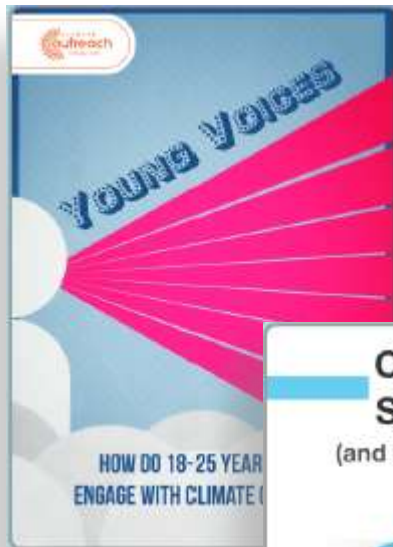


George Marshall

Director of Projects

www.climateoutreach.org





**A new conversation with the
centre-right about climate change:**
Values, frames and narratives



Adam Corner
Climate Outreach & Information Network



**Starting a New Conversation
on Climate Change
with the European Centre-Right**

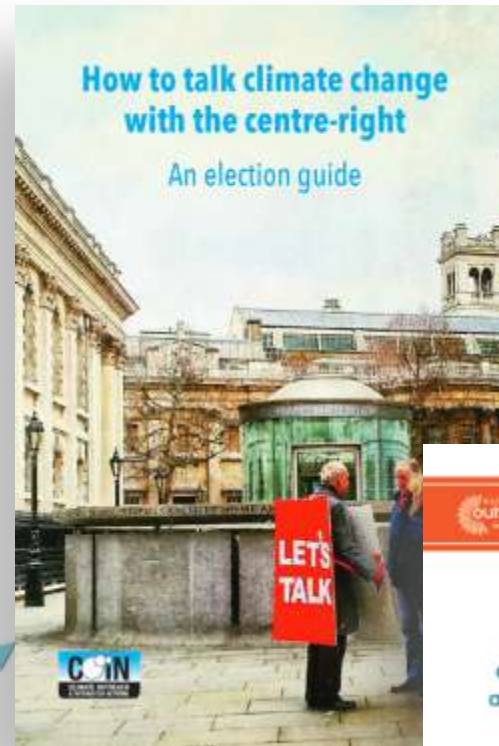


A practical toolkit



**How to talk climate change
with the centre-right**

An election guide



Communicating effectively
with the centre-right
about household energy-efficiency
and renewable energy technologies



www.climateoutreach.org/resources

TERMINOLOGY

c'onservatives

people with conservative *values*

Conservatives

people who vote for the Conservative Party

BBBliberals

people with left-leaning values

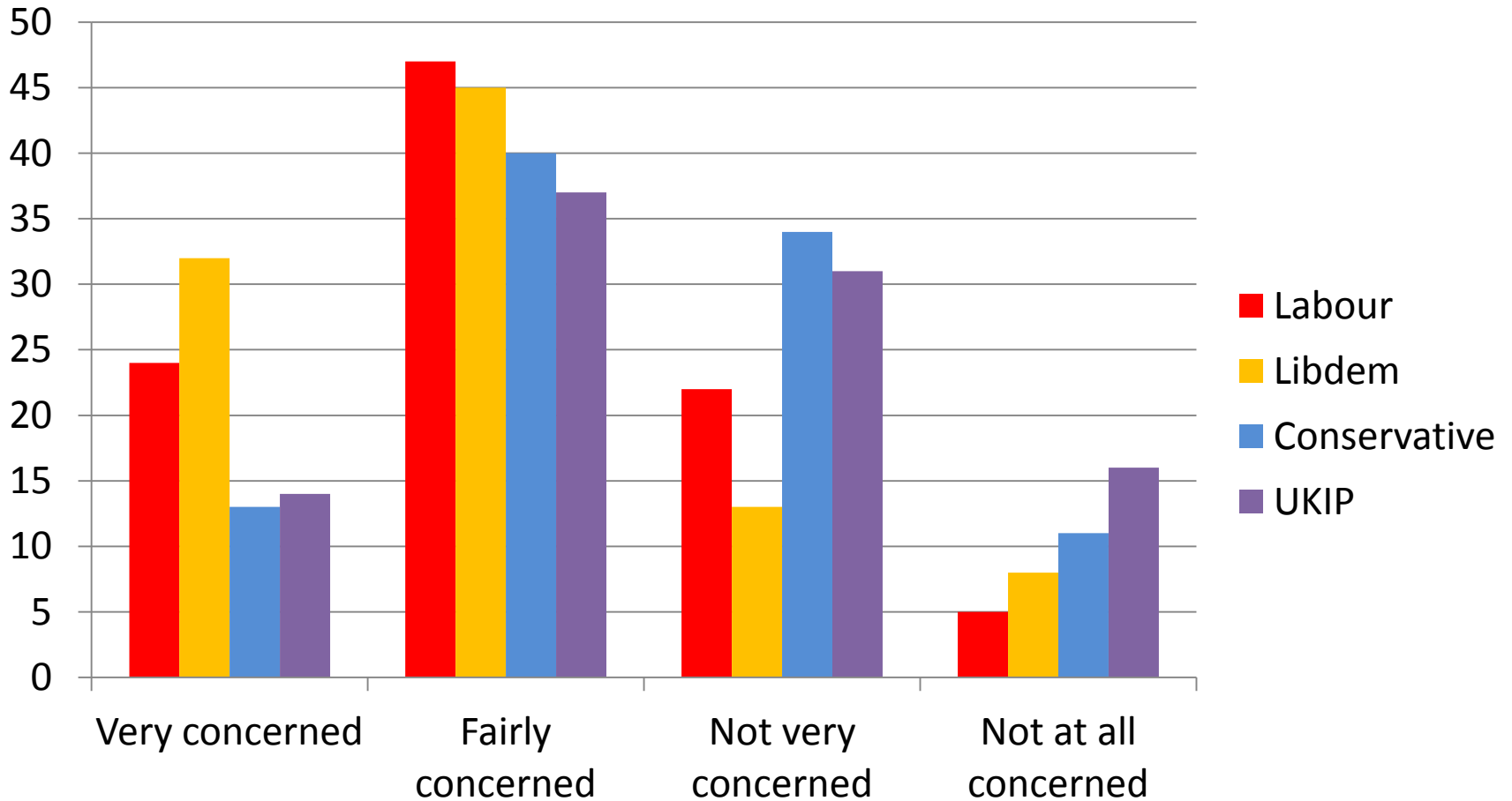
People with c'onservative values do not always vote for Conservative parties

	CON	LAB	LIB/DEM	UKIP
All	22	27	5	14
Christian	28	25	5	16
Muslim	5	62	5	3

Source: Tear Fund/ ComRes Survey 12th Sep, 2014

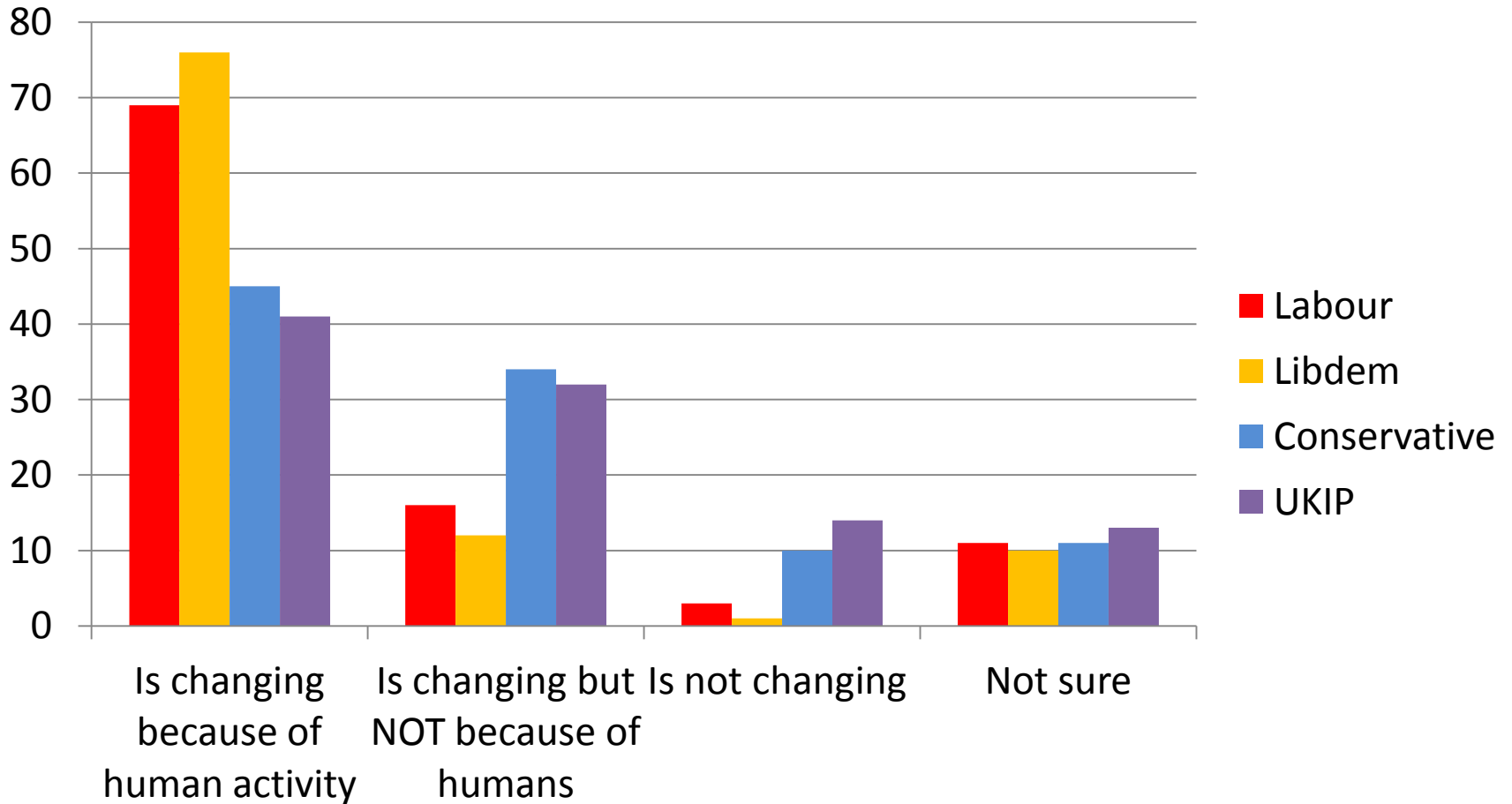
The political divide

Levels of concern



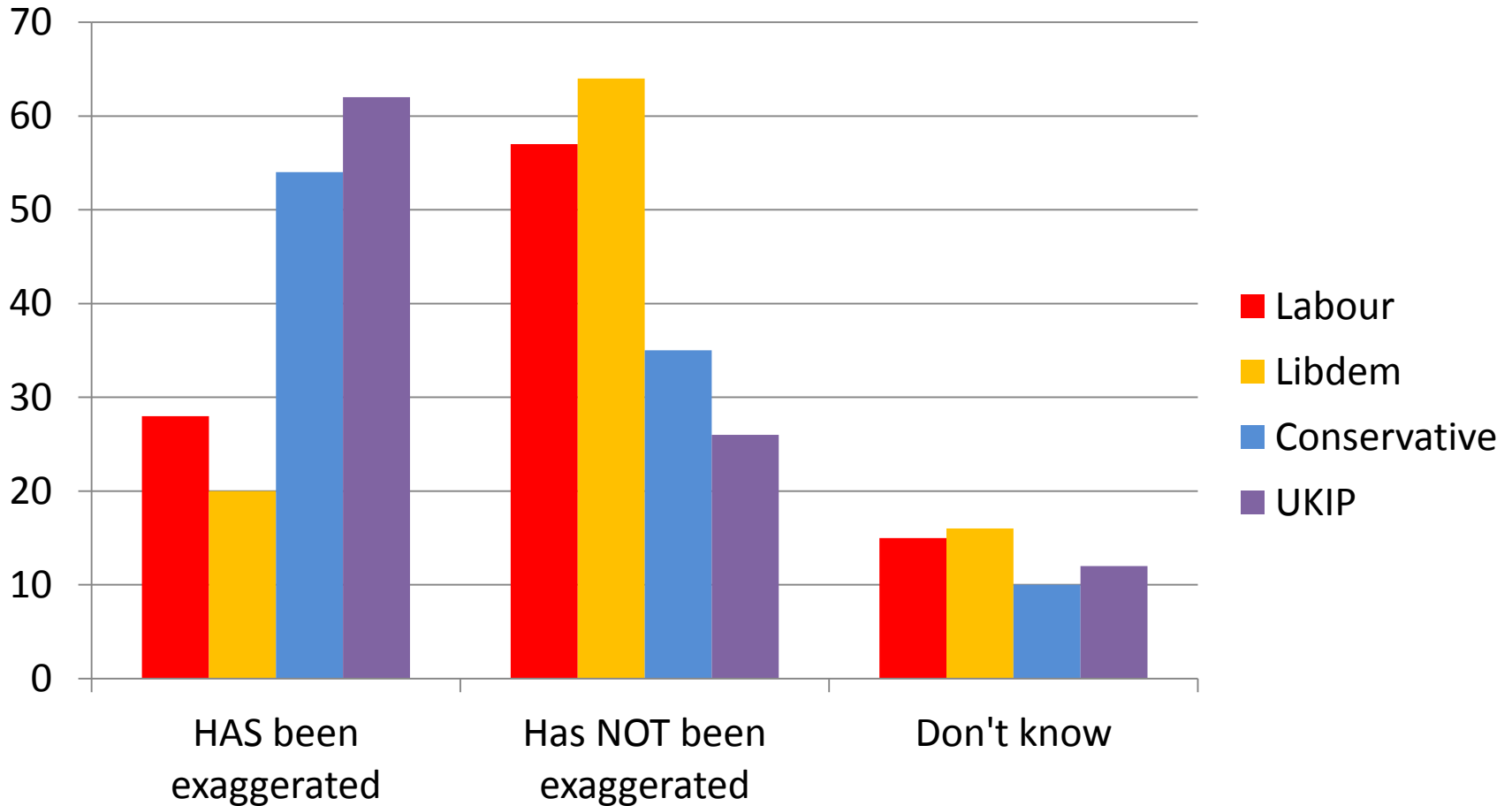
How concerned, if at all, are you about climate change, sometimes referred to as 'global warming'? Comres, Climate Coalition, February 2015 n=2,100

The climate is/is not changing because of humans

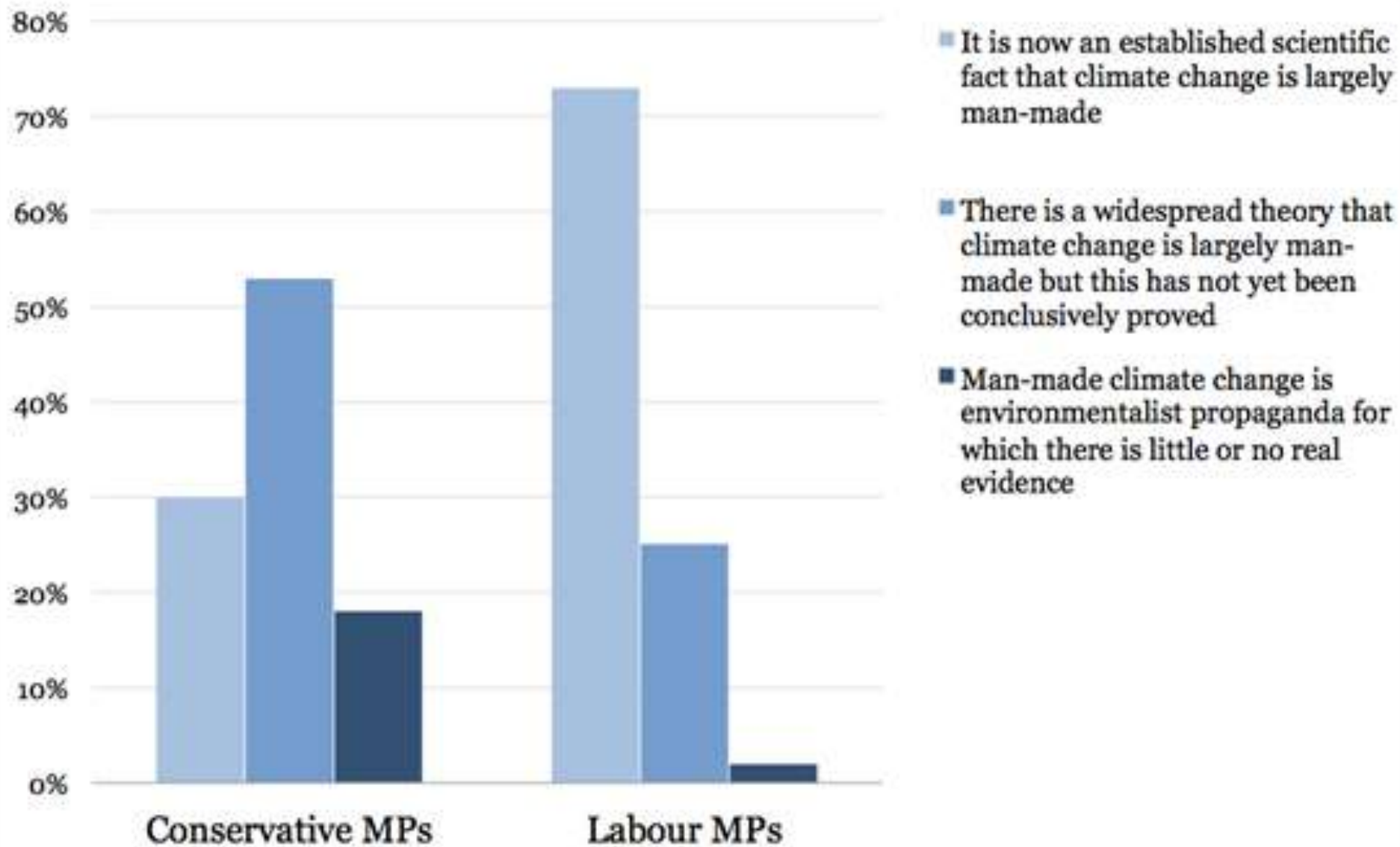


YouGov Sunday Times September 2013 n=1,956

Climate change is “exaggerated”



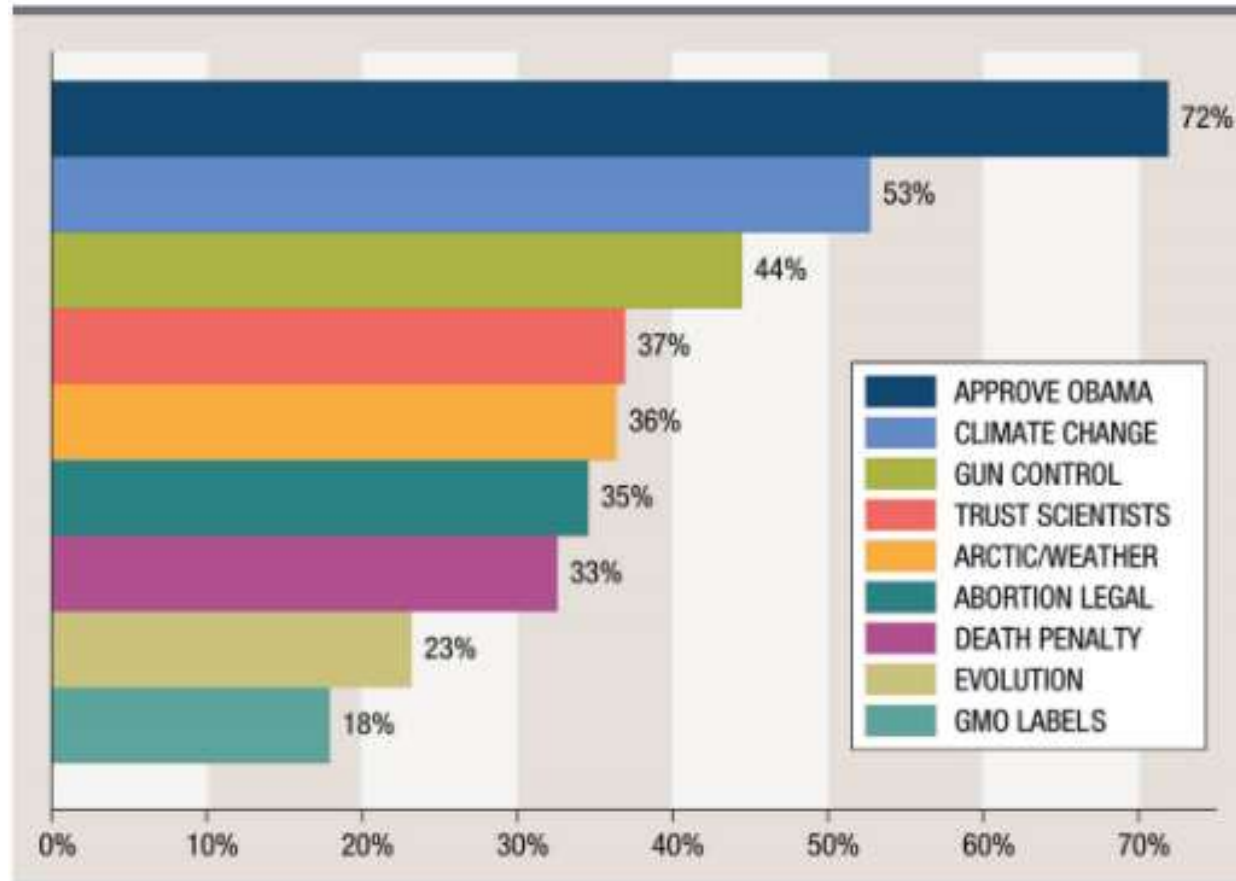
Do you think concerns about climate change have or have not been exaggerated YouGov/Sunday Times September 2013 n=1,956



Source: Carbon Brief 2014, Poll of MPs

In the US, climate change is more polarised than any other issue

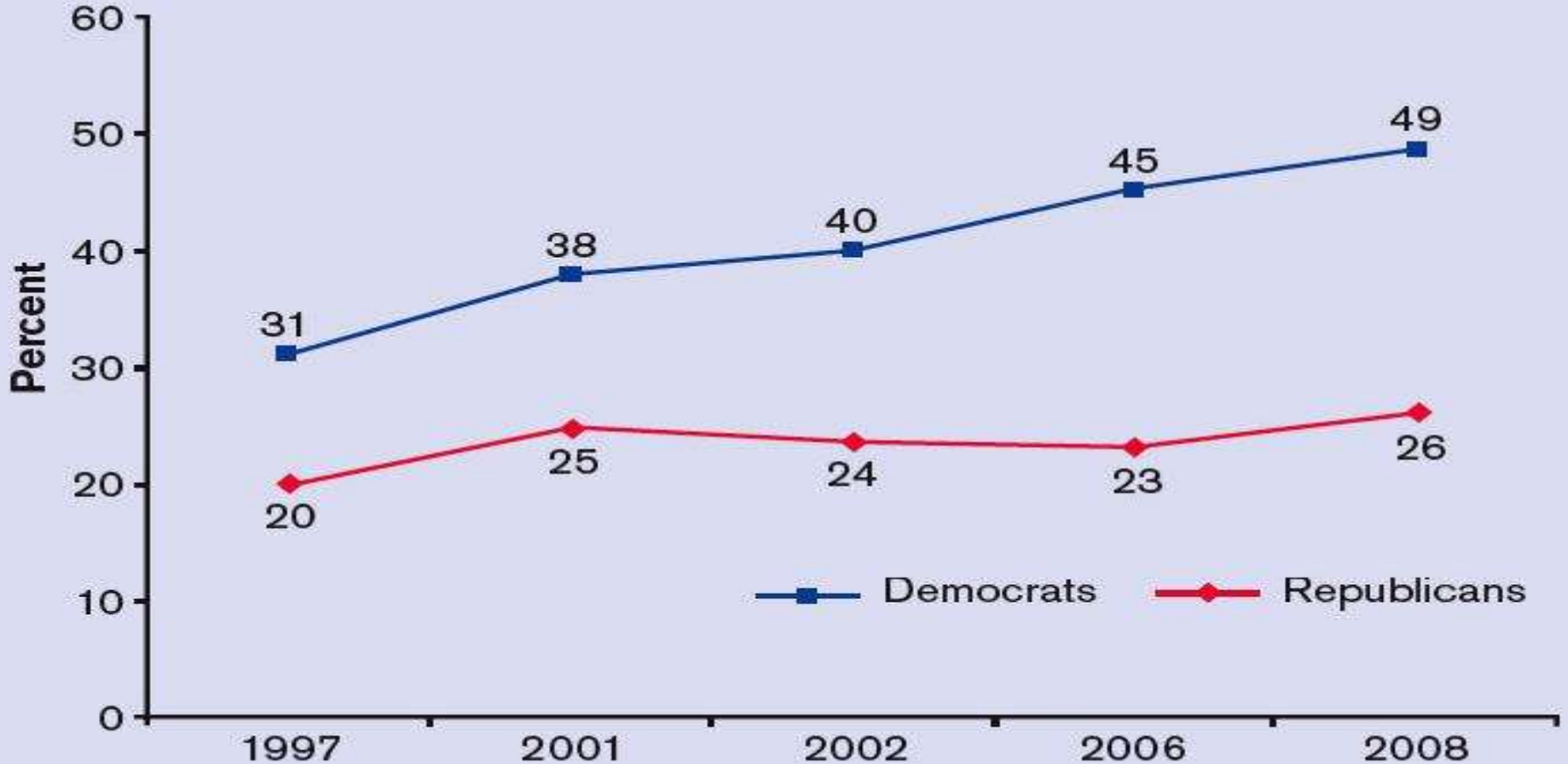
FIGURE 6: PERCENTAGE POINT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRAT AND REPUBLICAN RESPONSES



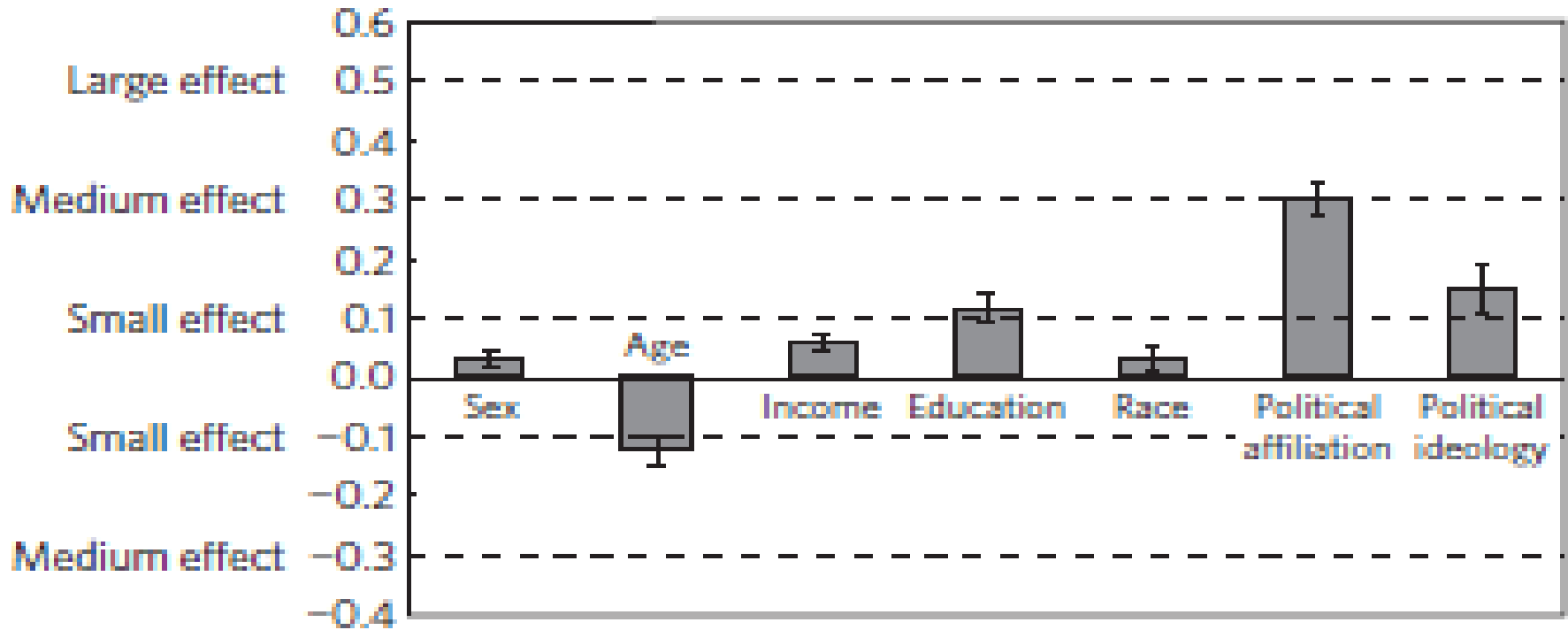
Do You Trust Scientists About the Environment? 2014, Carsey Institute, University of New Hampshire

Climate Change has become more polarised over time

Figure 5. Respondents saying that global warming will pose a serious threat to them or their way of life in their lifetimes, by party



Political worldview is by far the greatest influence on attitudes to climate change



Hornsey M. et al., 2016, Meta-analyses of the determinants and outcomes of belief in climate change, . 25 polls, 171 studies over 56 nations

What do *you* think are the reasons for this political polarisation of attitudes to climate change ?

In pairs

The role of values in climate change attitudes

SPECIAL REPORT GLOBAL WARMING

TIME

**BE
WORRIED.
BE *VERY*
WORRIED.**

Climate change isn't some vague future problem—it's already damaging the planet at an alarming pace. Here's how it affects you, your kids and their kids as well

EARTH AT THE TIPPING POINT
HOW IT THREATENS YOUR HEALTH
HOW CHINA & INDIA CAN HELP
SAVE THE WORLD—OR DESTROY IT
THE CLIMATE CRUSADERS



Communications based on disasters, negativity and distant impacts have little effect on attitudes.



People are not motivated by facts and figures.

Their attitudes are formed by social norms and worldview

Climate change is *understood* and *believed* as a socially constructed **narrative** that signals to people their **in-group identity** and validates their **values**

Research Streams on Political Worldview and Climate Change

Social- Anthropology

New Ecological Paradigm (NEP)
Cultural Theory (Mary Douglas)
Cultural Cognition
Just World Theory

Social Psychology

Shalom Schwartz - Values Circumplex-
Moral Foundations Theory

Cognitive Linguistics

George Lakoff and linguistic framing

Intrinsic-extrinsic

Climate change communications should:

Reinforce intrinsic values:

Identity, community, common purpose,
sharing, co-operation, respect, openness

Avoid the extrinsic values:

Self interest, competition, superiority,
aggression, defensiveness

We define ourselves by who we are (our in-group)



<https://www.deviantart.com/60m2x22>

AND who we are not (our out-group)



In what ways might climate change seem “out group” to c’onservatives?

Discussion

The images and narratives of climate change are shaped by ***“environmentalist”*** values





**The climate 'movement'
actively alienates
c'onservatives**

Climate March, New York, September 2014

Some reasons for the polarisation

Climate change is challenging for c'onservatives (and everyone)

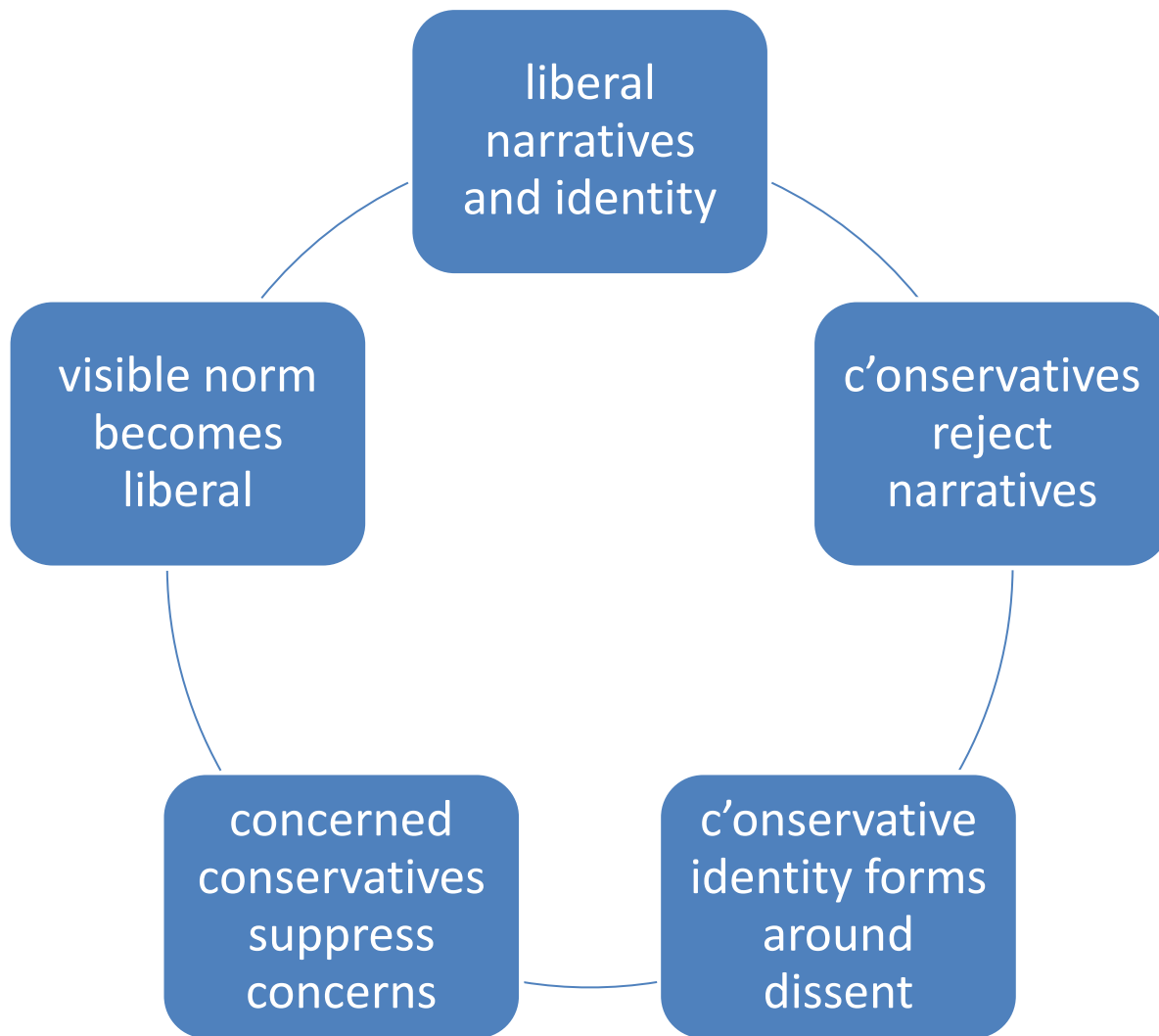
The dominant communicators, language and narratives are often liberal (out-group)

There is no compelling and distinct c'onservative narrative for accepting and acting on climate change

There is a distinct c'onservative narrative for denying climate change

Concerned c'onservatives misread peer group values and suppress their concerns.

Positive feedbacks



Towards a c'onservative narrative

STRONG COMMUNICATIONS SAY

This is who you are.

This is your conservative identity

This is what you care about

These conservative values are important

Other people like you agree with this.

Others conservatives are concerned/involved.

When you do this you belong more to your group.

Accepting climate change is *very* conservative

And the world becomes more how you want it to be

And action makes a more conservative world

THE SANDWICH STRATEGY

Avoid aggravating the opponents

Build support in the middle

Maintain support of the base



THE NARRATIVE PROJECT

UK USER GUIDE

BUILDING SUPPORT FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

THREE GROUPS

Embolden **Supporters**

Swing the **Swings**

Appease **Sceptics**

www.bond.org.uk/resources/narrative-project-user-guide

Offering a hand up so everyone can stand on their own two feet.

ORIGINAL MESSAGE

In poor countries, millions of children still miss out on the opportunity to go to school and learn. We can make a difference by training teachers in the poorest parts of the world, saving children from ignorance and poverty.

NARRATIVE THEME

Independence →



SANDWICH STRATEGY

However, there are also risks in using c'onservative values.

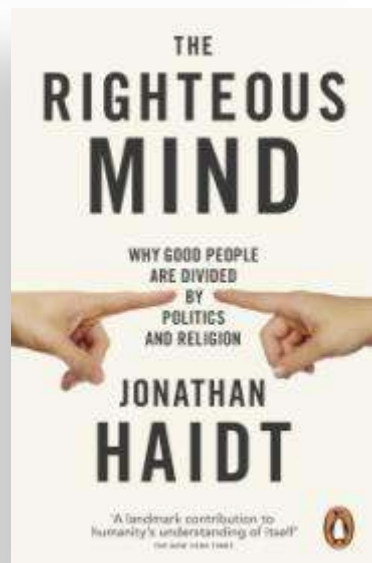
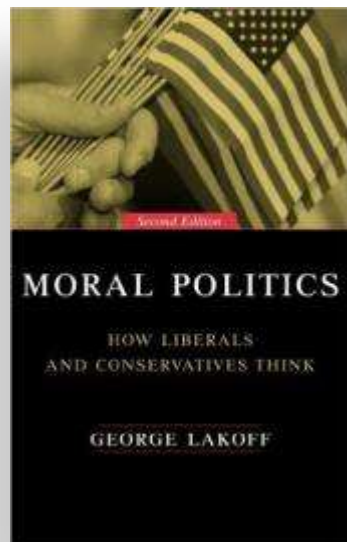
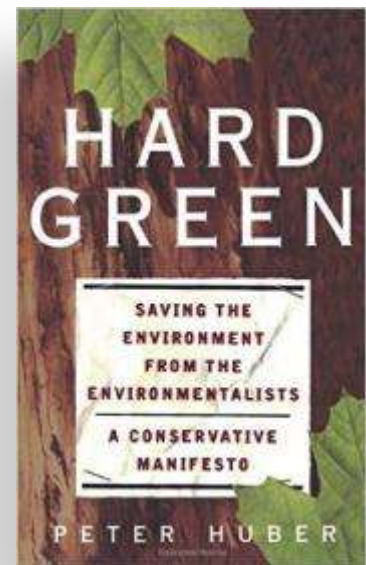
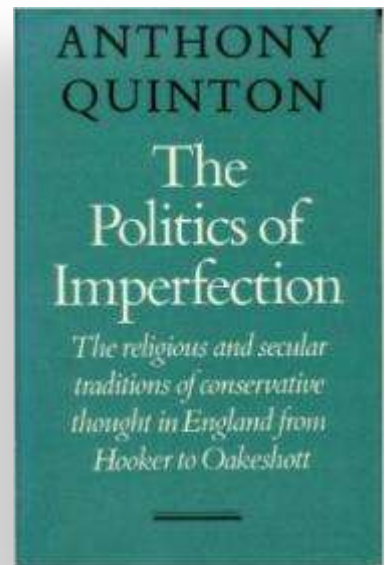
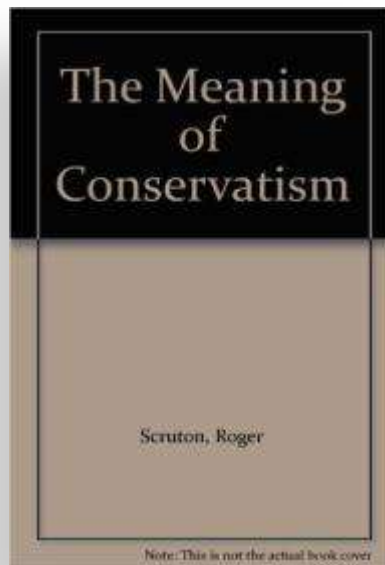
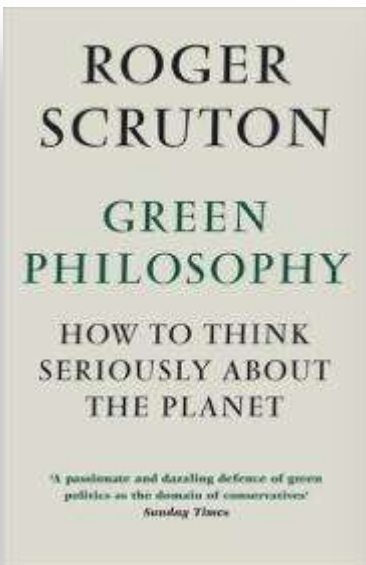
Which c'onservative values/concerns might damage support from the base?

Discussion

c'onservative values and climate change

What are the core c'onservative values?

In pairs identify three core values.



Sources

What are your core values?



10 conservative values.

1. Wary of novelty and change, defence of status quo, and institutions. Tried and tested approaches.
2. Sceptical of centralisation, grand theories and ideologies, vested interests of commercial and state power blocks.
3. Respect for authority and tradition (strong father model)
4. Need for closure and certainty. Authenticity, reliability.
5. Conscientiousness. Thorough, careful, vigilant, disciplined.
6. Defence of purity against corruption/pollution/health.
7. Loyalty to group (family, community, country). Security, sacrifice.
8. Fairness. Success is rewarded. Transgressions are punished.
9. Sensitive to negativity and ugliness
10. Aspiration to happiness, enjoy a good life.

INTRINSIC

Freedom from state interference in personal behaviour and property. Independence, personal, individual

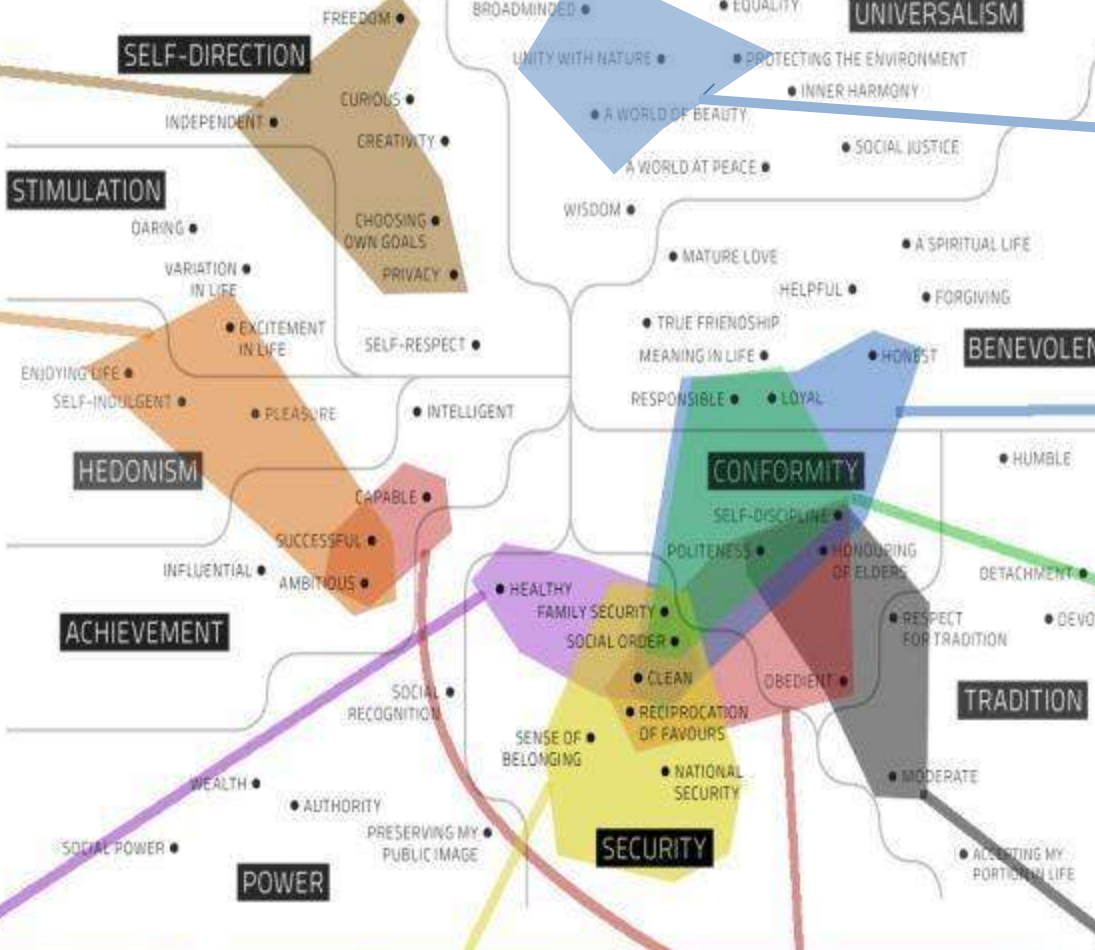
Aspiration to enjoy life; avoidance of challenges to personal life, positive, good news, quality of life, rewards, achievements, happiness, future, pleasure, happiness

Purity: having moral standards and protecting the 'pure' - e.g children and nature. (eg innocent, beautiful, clean, safe, healthy, right, decent (and their opposites: ugly, dirty, filthy, pollution, waste, messy, wrong, evil))

Loyalty to the social group; patriotism. British, national, duty, pride, secure, defend, protect, way of life

Support for a sense of social order; importance of rewarding hard work. Duty, tradition, law, order, self-discipline, prosperity, investment, growth, opportunity, achievement

Resistance to (and discomfort with) change. Stable, straightforward, settled, moderate, order, structure



Nature: love of creation, nature-broadmindedness

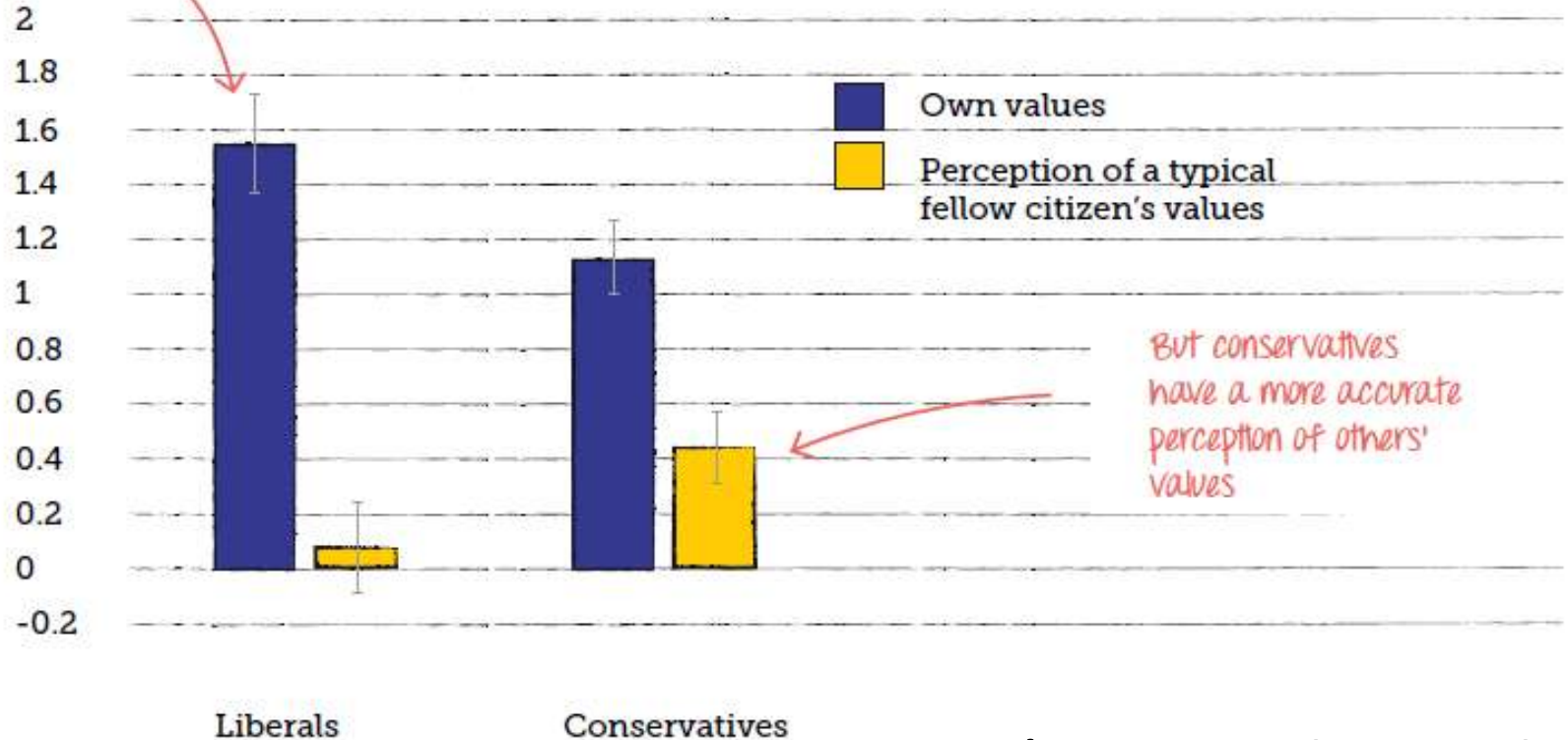
Conscientiousness: being thorough, careful, and vigilant. Efficient, reliable, reasonable, sensible, tidy, organised

Need for closure, certainty, and defined categories. Resolute, predictable, balance, proportionate, fair, clear, confidence, straightforward, reality, consistent, structure, framework

EXTRINSIC

Liberals assume (wrongly) that conservative values are extrinsic

Liberals have higher adjusted compassionate values than conservatives



But conservatives have a more accurate perception of others' values



Case Study: The Big Ask

Friends of the Earth, 2008.

A call for public action to support national legislation



Case Study: We Call it Life

Competitive Enterprise Institute, 2006.

Opposing US Federal proposals to define carbon dioxide as a pollutant.



Case Study: Southern US Christians

Evangelical Environmental Network, 2003.

Start a conversation within c'onservative churches about climate change and transport lifestyles



Case Study: For the Love Of

UK Climate Coalition, 2014 onwards.

Creating an umbrella theme within a very broad coalition for activities and outreach.



FOR THE LOVE OF...

ADD YOUR LOVE



FOR THE LOVE OF...

FILTER:

WORDS

IMAGES

RECENT

NATURE
By Cinsia Morvate

+ ❤️

LEEDS UNITED

+ ❤️ 1 votes

OLD, FAT TREES
By Nikki

+ ❤️

TIGERS

+ ❤️

MY CHILDREN'S CHILDREN
By Catherine Chambers

+ ❤️

feedback

THE NATURAL WORLD
By Joseph

+ ❤️

THE COUNTRYSIDE
By Helen

+ ❤️ 1 votes

TREES
By Ann-Marie

+ ❤️

BEEES AND SPIDERS
By Sandra Cashmore

+ ❤️ 1 votes

FOOTBALL

+ ❤️

MY CHILDREN
By Sarah Beets

+ ❤️

ANIMALS
By Laura Harrington

+ ❤️

DAVINA

+ ❤️

BIRDS
By Marlon

+ ❤️

PARROTS
By Emma

+ ❤️

LIVING
By Kerry

+ ❤️

PANDAS
By Lammick

+ ❤️

ALL PEOPLE WHERE

+ ❤️

FUTURE GENERATIONS
By Lisa Klotz

+ ❤️

4 SEASONS AND THE ATLANTIC GULF STREAM
By Bill Gaulton

+ ❤️

For the LOVE of..

Margaret Thatcher Narrative Frame Bingo

Good conduct

Safeguard

Duty

Nation

In-group out-group

Countryside

Conserving

Prosperity

Privilege

Master and serve

Way of life

Character

Challenge

Responsibility

Life /Lifeless

Lead

Effective

Cleaner

Sound

Tougher

Healthy





BREAK

Exercise

Create a short explanation of the photograph on your table for a conservative audience

10 minutes

Research into language and narratives

Important caveats

Emerging field – we have a ***lot*** to learn

We do not know the ***critical*** conditions

The discourse is already culturally ***polluted***

Most research is from the ***USA***

Almost all research is **quantitative** (*surveys*) not **qualitative** (interviews/focus groups)

Most research uses ***voting*** (*Conservatives*) as a proxy for **values** (c'onservatives)

MONEY

Assumption by liberals that c'onservatives are motivated by personal success, wealth, status, big business and opposed to taxes.

Conservatives *are* willing to make sacrifices for the environment

	Con (%)	Lab (%)
Pay much higher prices	22.4	15.8
Pay much higher taxes	20.6	13.6
Accept a big reduction in your standard of living	15.8	8.7
Accept much slower economic growth	45.1	37.1

Question: In order to protect the environment I am fairly/very willing to... Source; YouGov Survey of attitudes towards the environment and climate change, 2012.



Gordon Campbell

Conservative Premier of British Columbia
World's first revenue- neutral carbon tax

Investment in clean energy has exploded – more than \$1,462 billion since the start of 2010. Ikea, Unilever, Marks & Spencer’s know it’s good business-sense, which is why more and more big businesses ‘get it’.

We’re all getting conned and why should old people be paying more on their bills in order to have other people make a load of money?” .

Many c’onservatives are sceptical of the motives of big business

*Big business is enormously greedy-
It’s all to make money*

I’m very suspicious when people are making money from something.

C'ONSERVATIVE MONEY NARRATIVES

Money/profit as a fair reward for hard work

Contributing to the greater good (giving something back)

Transferring cost/rewards from bad things to good (fairness)

The intrinsic rewards of money – security, well-being (eg comfort not energy bills)

Mastercard- “Priceless” campaign 2007-present



little pine: \$25
garden shovel: \$12
growing your own family tree: priceless.

there are some things money can't buy.  for everything else, there's MasterCard.™



THE PRIDE (AND FLOUR)
ON THEIR FACES: *PRICELESS*

HANDS-ON FAMILY FUN FOR EVERYONE.
EXCLUSIVELY FOR MASTERCARD® CARDHOLDERS.



PRICELESS®
NEW YORK

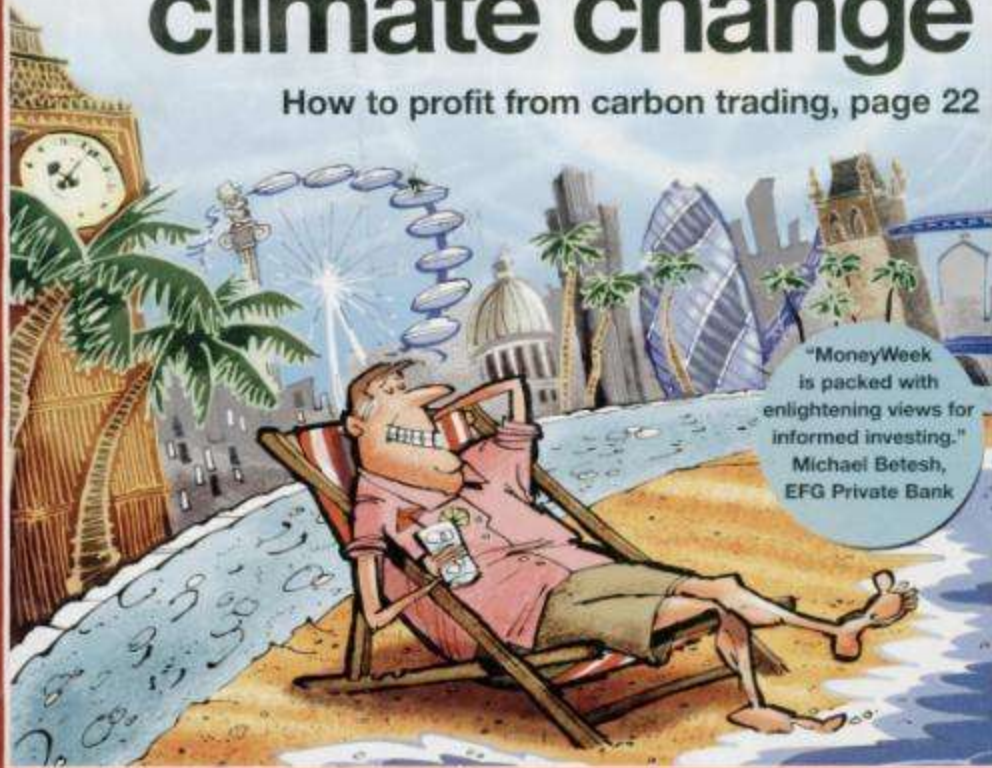
HOW TO MAKE IT . HOW TO KEEP IT . HOW TO SPEND IT

MONEYWEEK

16 July 2008 Issue 393

Cash in on climate change

How to profit from carbon trading, page 22



"MoneyWeek is packed with enlightening views for informed investing."
Michael Betesh,
EFG Private Bank

How to get a share of the Gulf States' oil wealth

SECTOR

10

Will Fannie and Freddie break the US economy?

BRIEFING

17

The man who invented celebrity culture

ENTREPRENEURS

21



How can we speak to people motivated by money?

LINE SUBSTITUTE FROM
**IT'S NEVER
BEEN DONE
BEFORE**



EMERSON

CONSIDER IT SOLVED

HELP CHINA REDUCE ITS RELIANCE ON COAL-FUELED HEATING PLANTS AND
PREVENT 60 MILLION TONS OF CO₂ EMISSIONS.



Get the full story at emerson.com/HeatPump

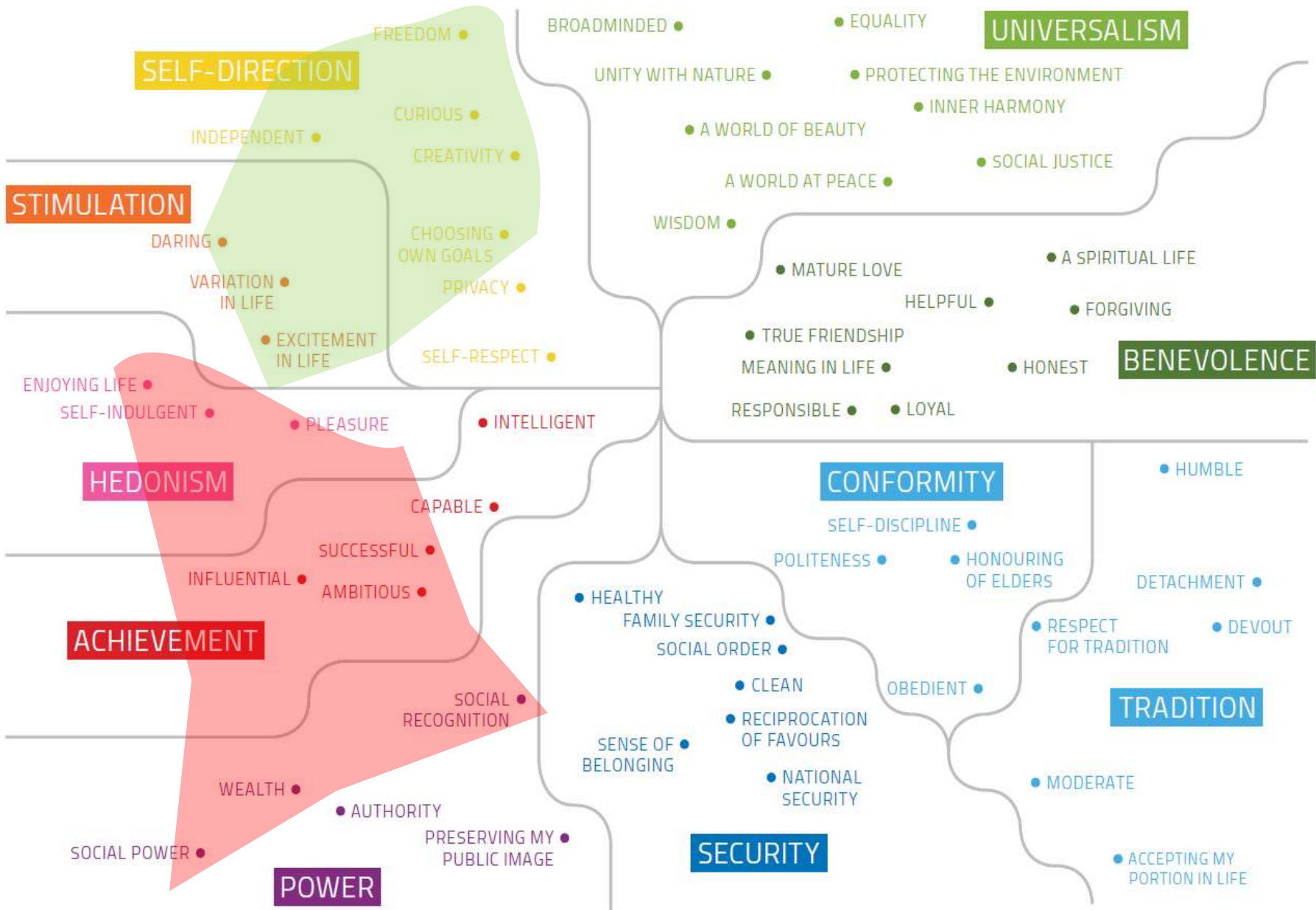
**IT'S NEVER
BEEN DONE
BEFORE**



EMERSON

CONSIDER IT SOLVED





Ontario Carbon Pricing 2015



Seeking *sandwich language* to support carbon pricing in Province of Ontario, Canada.

Ten trial narratives

Segmented survey of 600+ people.

Fairness

It's not **fair** that heavy energy users can **dump** their carbon pollution in the air we all breathe. Polluters should be held **accountable**, and should pay for the pollution that they **force all of us** to live with.

Cap and trade is a **fair** way to share responsibility for the carbon pollution that causes climate change and to **reward** the companies that are most efficient and pollute the least.

#2 with very
concerned

#1 with
somewhat
concerned

#1 with
centre-right

We all pitch in

Don't we all **want** cleaner air, purer water, less pollution?

Carbon pricing is an effort to solve climate change that is **fair** because **everybody pitches in**. If **everyone pulls their weight**, we can really make big changes.



Ontario Carbon Pricing

What did **not** work with the centre-right:

“The price we pay for gasoline does not cover the real **costs**”

“We live in times of economic and political **insecurity**”

“There is a **opportunity** for Ontario businesses to gain **market advantage**”



CLIMATE CHANGE



Climate Change Narratives

The burning of **dirty** fuels is pushing weather patterns out of **balance**.

Climate change threatens your **values** and **concerns**.

Trusted **communicators** tell you about it.

Many of the solutions to climate change are just old fashioned **common sense**.

And the **rewards** of action reflect your values



Balance

We need balanced arguments, a balanced debate

Climate change is disrupting the natural balance in the world.

The seasons are coming at the wrong times.

Climate change is a message that something is wrong.

I want to keep things traditional, we have a lot of history, and I want to try and maintain that **balance**.

Keeping and respecting what we do have and keeping society and everything going. It's not about what we can have now and take, take, take. It's about the next generation and conserving it and keeping the **balance**.

It worries me that we are taking things to extremes and not being asked to look at the range of options.

At a minimum, reducing the risks of climate change is a very **prudent** course to take. If we are wrong and climate change is nothing to do with us, then there's not a lot of harm done. But if it's correct then it's important that we do what we can to correct it.

Polarities

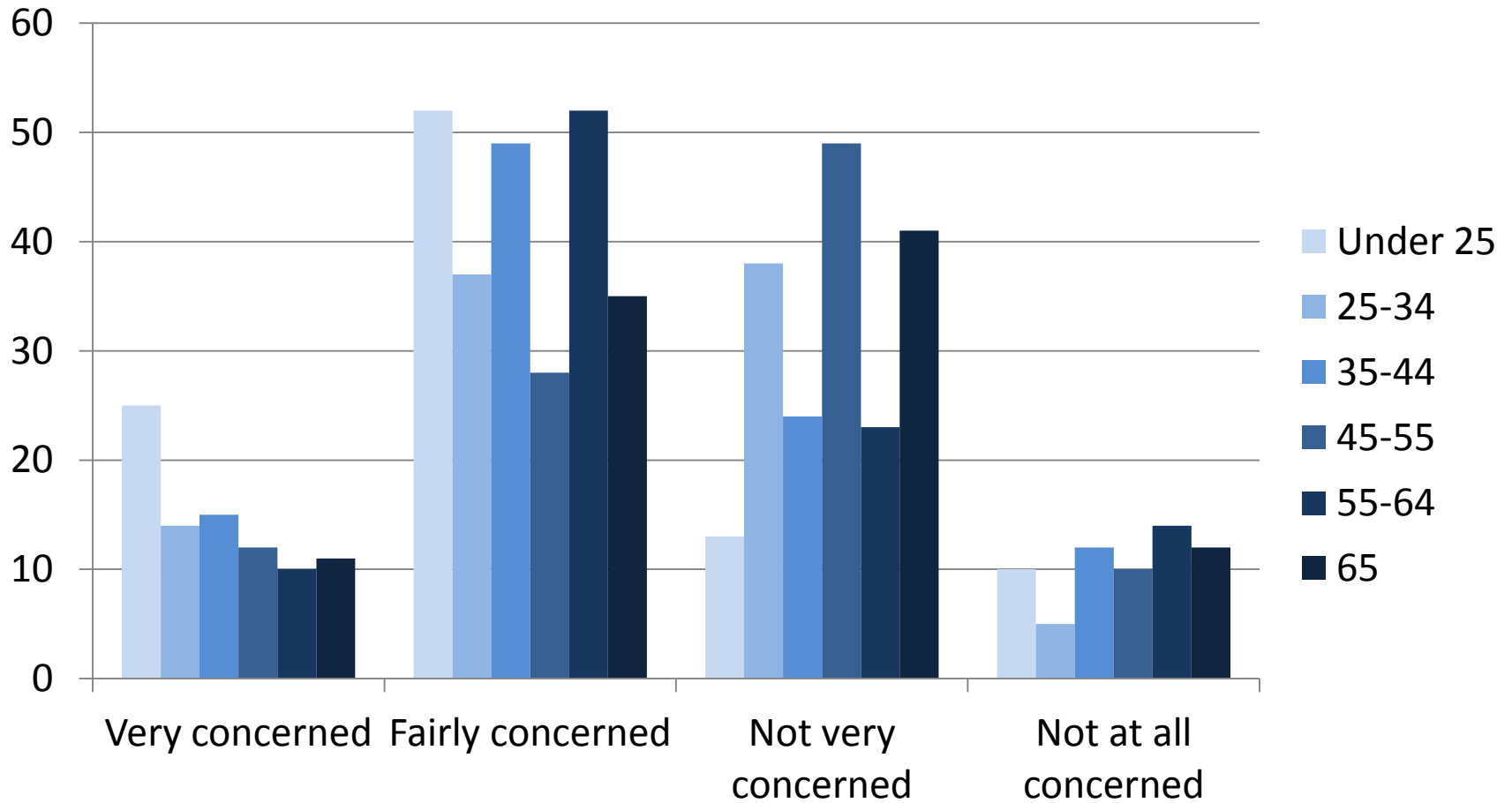
**Dirty carbon
pollution**



**Clean
renewables**

FOSSIL FUELS	RENEWABLES
Dirty	Clean, fresh (air and water)
Dark	Bright (sunlight)
Limited	Abundant, plentiful, forever
Past (but not dead - see below)	New, future, bringing new life, renewal, flourish
Dangerous (working conditions, health and climate change)	Safe (for workers and people)
Wasteful	Efficient

Focus on young people



How concerned, if at all, are you about climate change, sometimes referred to as 'global warming'? Com Res, Climate Coalition, February 2015 n=2,100



RENEWABLES

Communicating effectively
with the centre-right
about household energy-efficiency
and renewable energy technologies



Communicating energy efficiency and renewable energy, 2015

Client: European Climate Foundation

Six interviews, including Lord Deben.

Four focus groups
Richmond
Barcombe
Leominster
Bradford

Survey N=1,000

Landscape (not environment or planet)



Wind farms prevent damage to the *global* environment



Wind farms are damaging to the *local* landscape



WAG WE IN MID WALES LOVE OUR LANDS HILLS & PYLONS

WINDFARMS = NO PYLONS LOWER PLANS
www.midwaleswind.co.uk

END THE SCAM

NO WINDFARMS PYLONS

NO² POWYS POWER PLANS
www.midwaleswind.co.uk

DIM FFERMYDD GWYNT
DIM PEILONAU

POWYS Pryder i'r Paradwys
TAN 8

NOTE NO WINDFARMS

EXTERMINATE TAN 8

NO WINDFARMS NO PYLONS

NO WINDFARMS NO PYLONS

NO

NO WINDFARMS PYLONS

NO WINDFARMS

NO



Solar- Wind

I'd rather live next door to a fracking well than a wind turbines

I think wind turbines have given renewable energy a pretty bad name... you all just said why they are no good and not **fit for purpose**.

Windfarms could create a **divide** in the community. It **divides** villages because developers offer farmers vast amounts of money to have a wind turbine

I don't mind the prospect of windfarms as long as they are **segregated**, but I don't want to see the countryside **peppered** with these things.

They are **eyesores**

In the right place they are okay. As long as they are **out the way** and they are hidden behind mountain

Turbines just don't produce enough power -if it's too windy you have to turn them off and **it's not windy they're not turning**, so it has to be just so for them **to work**

If it was generating **locally** for you and you could **tap off that source** and so reduce your electric bill then that would be okay.

Renewables- “well managed”

Renewables must be **managed** carefully to minimise their impact on traditional landscapes and tourism.

National parks should be fully protected and windfarms should be carefully sited and **grouped**, not **scattered** across the countryside.

Rural communities, who respect and manage the **landscapes**, should have the main say in decisions about how to **harvest** the wind and solar power and should benefit directly from their profits.

Welsh Narratives 2012

**SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT
NARRATIVES
FOR WALES**

A TOOLKIT FOR
GOVERNMENT
COMMUNICATIONS

SEPTEMBER 2012



Client: Welsh Government

Develop narratives to speak to Welsh identity and support government policy on climate change and sustainable development

25 interviews.

16 focus groups



Wales- “another resource”

This is a living and working landscape- not something to be put in a museum. There is not one part of Wales that has not been shaped by the **hard work** of people..

It was our **natural resources** that built our country in the industrial revolution. And we are also **rich in the natural resources** that will meet these new challenges.

Renewables- balance

Balanced energy mix

Balanced energy supply

Balanced supply and demand

You will be able to advantage of the cheapest off-peak rates. This is not just good for your wallet - **balancing** supply and demand is an essential tool for reducing emissions and increasing national efficiency. A **balance** improves our overall energy **security**, by maintaining a dependable supply of energy at all times.



ENERGY EFFICIENCY

You teach your kids that it is irresponsible to waste things - to finish their dinner and not throw away food, and to turn off the lights in rooms when they're not using them.

No-one likes to see things go to waste: it's just **common sense**. That's why energy efficiency is so important: who can argue with the idea of doing more with less?

Waste

the real principle at stake here about how flagrantly we are using the Earth's resources in this appalling way and not considering future generations...

My mother's generation wouldn't waste anything and I wouldn't want to see things wasted.

Comfort trumps cost

In the future our homes will feel even more **comfortable** and be more **efficient** as we continue to improve energy efficiency, extending the improvements of the past generation.

If anything goes wrong in your house it's a really big deal because it affects your **comfort** so much.

The older original boilers were **built to last**. Apparently they were inefficient, but what's inefficient if it **keeps you warm?**

Fuel Poverty- Fails

In the old days the open fire it took the germs away and if you were cold you put on a jumper

M – well my house is pretty cold and draughty.

M – well you look pretty good on it!

Talking about people that deserve better is typical left language

Officially I'm elderly and I live in an old and drafty home and I've worked hard all my life and I'm not miserable

Fuel Poverty- an alternative approach

We will also see more **joined-up thinking** that recognises the huge **health** benefits that can come from building renovation.

In Sunderland doctors are even "prescribing" new boilers and insulation for old people whose health was being severely affected by damp, cold housing.

The costs of renovation have been recovered entirely from the **savings** from lower hospital admissions.

Smart meters: a problem?

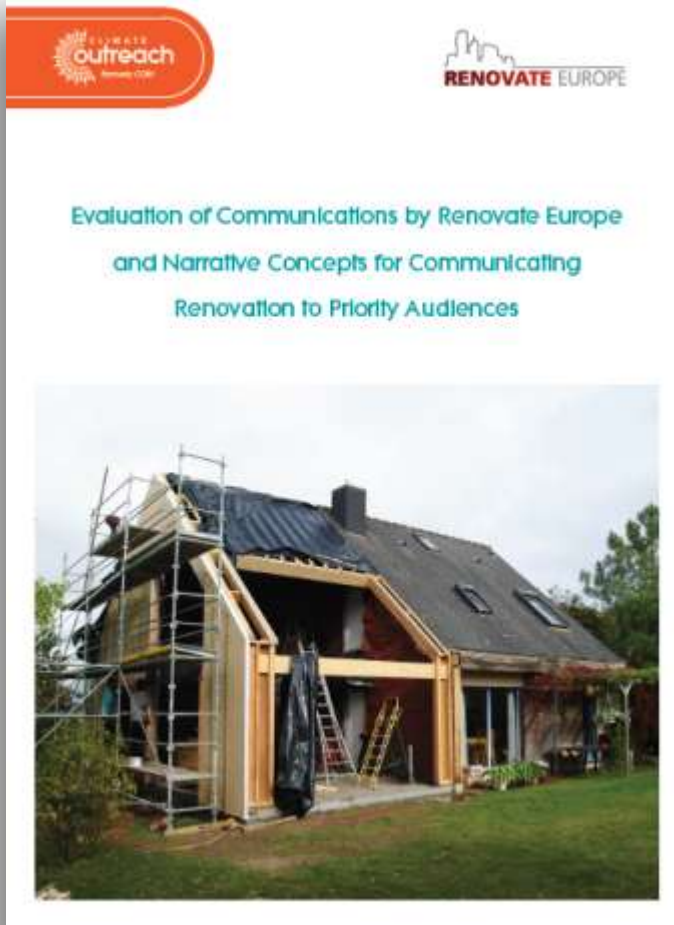
All of that information is being fed directly back to other people that we don't know about- There's a really strange thing between the **privacy** of a home all of that information is a commodity that can be **sold to market research people**

When you have something outside from you like a machine, intelligent modern new... **controlling** your life means to me that you don't control anything, actually.



RENOVATION

Renovation 2015



Client: Renovate Europe
(campaign of major
insulation and energy
companies)

Goal to reduce building
energy use by 80%

Seeking language for
centre-right politicians
and property owners

33 structured interviews.

Preserving and Enhancing our Heritage



**Respecting the past
Welcoming the new**



Renovation = renewal

Renovation=Renewal

We **love** our old buildings. It creates a link with the past, makes our towns and cities **distinct, beautiful, and our own.**

Renovation is what it says in the word: its **re-newal.**

We can **renew** our older buildings- provide a **new lease of life, keeping what is important** from the past and **adapting** to the needs of the 21st century.

A positive future- better jobs

The renovation of buildings offers exactly the kind of local development we need - opening opportunities for **small businesses** to provide **rewarding** jobs through which young people can learn new skills and **contribute** to their own area.



**THIS IS MY
STORY....**

**Proud builders
New SMES**



COMMUNICATORS

Use authentic and trusted communicators

It looks like an insulation company advert.

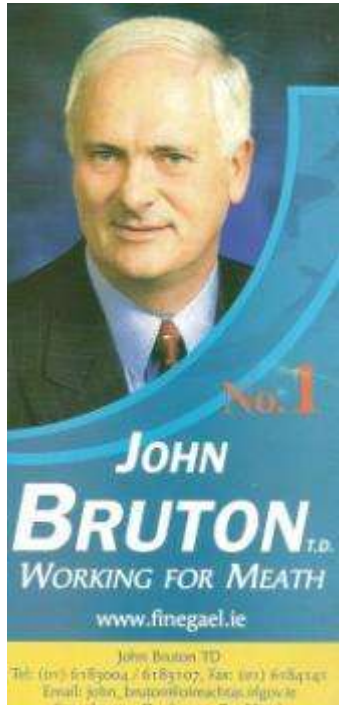
We categorise people and always we say that environmentalists are stupid, extreme, and exaggerate their case. (MEP)

I blame the media. The media have dumbed it down in a way. They've made it all about Greenpeace and things like that and not everybody has those values.

The argument has been hijacked by the green lobby and an agenda to reduce economic growth.

There is now an emotional reaction that if it's coming from that quarter then it's untrustworthy.

UNUSUAL SUSPECTS



Thank you

