Curbing Emissions: Framing and Normative Messages Influence CO<sub>2</sub> Abatement Policy Preferences

Study 1

Study 2

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#### UNSW 2013 http://www.cogsciwa.com

mark.hurlstone@uwa.edu.au Curbing Emissions

Introduction	Aims	Study 1	Study 2	Conclusions	Fin
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- The average temperature of the Earth has been increasing since the Industrial Revolution
- The scientific consensus is that human greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are the principal cause (Anderegg et al., 2010; Cook et al., 2013)
- Such emissions must be severely curtailed to prevent further anthropogenic interference of the climate system
- However, many people are opposed to policies aimed at mitigating GHG emissions (e.g. Bord et al., 1998; Leiserowitz, 2006)

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#### Loss aversion:

- losses associated with reducing emissions loom larger than the respective gains (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979)
- Status quo bias:
  - loss aversion triggers a preference to remain at the status quo (Samuelson & Zeckhauser, 1988)
- Inflated estimation of costs:
  - 1 in 5 Australians thinks reducing emissions will cause future incomes to decrease from current levels—"worse off fallacy" (Hatfield-Dodds & Morrison, 2010)

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- One solution may lie in how messages about the costs of reducing emissions are formulated
- The way a decision problem is framed influences people's preferences (Kahneman & Tversky, 1974; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981)
- Losses vs. Foregone-gains
  - loss: "out-of-pocket" costs
  - foregone-gain: a possible gain that is relinquished or attenuated
- Foregone-gains are judged "less painful" and "fairer" than objectively equivalent framed losses (e.g. Kahneman et al., 1986, 1990, 1991)

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Introduction	Aims oo	Study 1 000000000	Study 2 0000000	Conclusions	Fin o

## Example: Kahneman et al. (1986)

#### Loss Frame:

A shortage has developed for a popular model of automobile, and customers must now wait two months for delivery. A dealer has been selling these cars at list price. Now the dealer prices this model at \$200 above list price.

#### Foregone-Gain Frame:

A shortage has developed for a popular model of automobile, and customers must now wait two months for delivery. A dealer has been selling these cars at a discount of \$200 below list price. Now the dealer sells this model only at list price.

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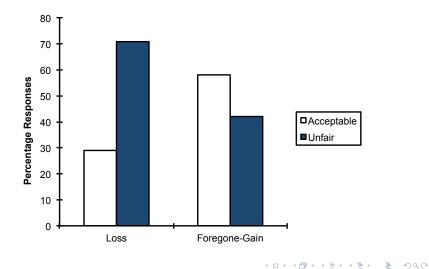
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Introduction	Aims oo	Study 1 000000000	Study 2 0000000	Conclusions	Fin ○

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Introduction	Aims	Study 1	Study 2	Conclusions	Fin
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- Messages about climate policy impacts typically frame costs as a "loss" (Hatfield-Dodds & Morrison, 2010)
- Such messages should be more effective when the costs are reframed as a "foregone-gain":
  - Conventional statement: "reducing emissions will cost \$1,200 per person in 2020" (an actual loss)
  - Reframed statement: "incomes will rise by \$4800 per person in 2020 with emission cuts, compared to \$6,000 without emissions cuts" (a reduction in gain)

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- Social norms refer to people's perceptions of how others behave in the relevant social context
- Social norms influence intentions and behaviour (Cialdini et al., 1990; Manning, 2009; Rivis & Sheeran, 2003)
- Thus, people tend to behave based on what they *think others are doing*
- Persuasive messages that make social norms salient can influence behaviour ...

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- a normative message vis-á-vis average neighbourhood energy consumption reduces energy use amongst households with above-average consumption
- Persuasive messages that activate social norms have also been shown to influence:
  - littering (Cialdini et al., 1990, 1991)
  - recycling (Schultz, 1999)
  - environmental conservation (Goldstein et al., 2008; Schultz et al., 2008)

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# Average- vs. rank-based social-norming messages

- In many social norming studies, the normative feedback pertains to the average behaviour of a peer group
- However, there are indications that people may be more sensitive to ordinal rank information:
  - rank of income within a comparison group predicts life satisfaction (Boyce et al., 2010; Brown et al., 2008)
  - judgements of depression and anxiety influenced by rank position of a persons symptoms (Melrose et al., 2013)

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In two studies, participants were asked to indicate their policy preferences regarding how Australia should manage its CO<sub>2</sub> emissions

#### Q1:

• Does framing the costs of reducing emissions as a foregone-gain increase the amount people are prepared to reduce emissions?

#### Q2:

• Do persuasive messages that make social norms salient further boost the amount people are prepared to reduce emissions?

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- Participants (N = 120; mean age = 19.73; SD = 5.28; females = 67%) recruited from the campus community at the University of Western Australia
- 2 (framing: loss vs. foregone-gain) × 3 (social norm: control vs. average-norm vs. rank-norm) between-subjects design
- Provided with information about CO<sub>2</sub> emissions
- Asked about willingness to support various different extents of carbon emission cuts

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	Introduction	Aims oo	Study 1 000000000	Study 2 0000000	Conclusions	Fin o
Study	/ 1					

- Participants (*N* = 120; mean age = 19.73; *SD* = 5.28; females = 67%) recruited from the campus community at the University of Western Australia
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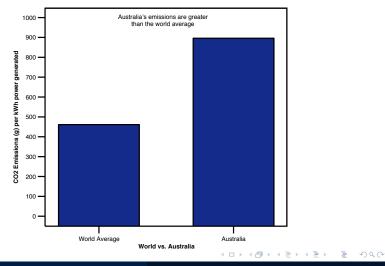
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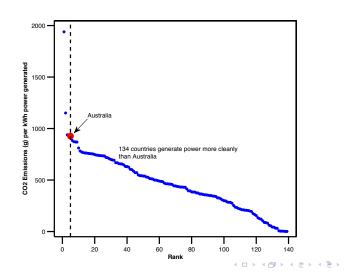
# Average-Norm



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**Curbing Emissions** 

	Introduction	Aims oo	Study 1 ●○○○○○○○○	Study 2 0000000	Conclusions	Fin o
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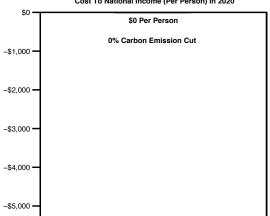
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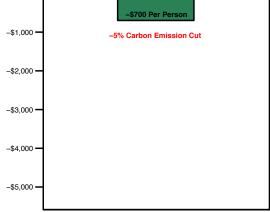
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Cost To National Income (Per Person) In 2020

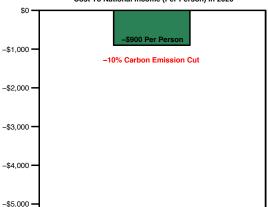
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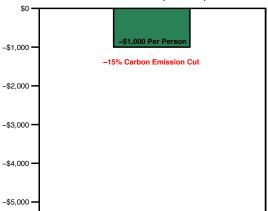


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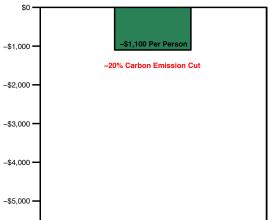
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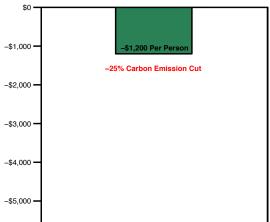
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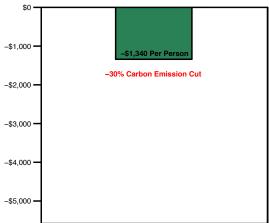
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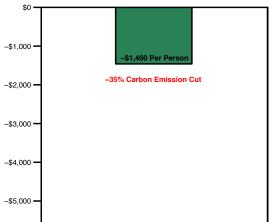
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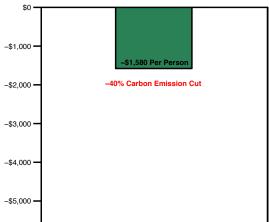
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#### Cost To National Income (Per Person) In 2020

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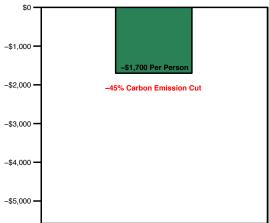
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#### Cost To National Income (Per Person) In 2020

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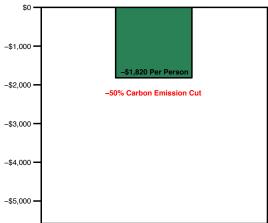


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#### Cost To National Income (Per Person) In 2020

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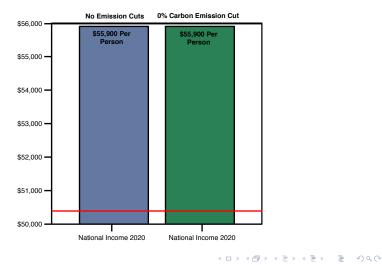


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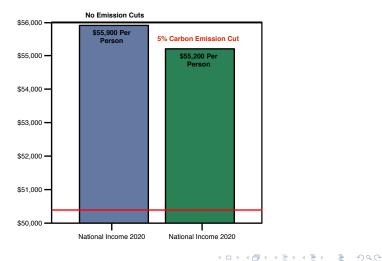
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#### **Foregone-gain framing**

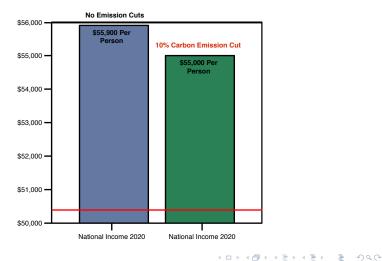


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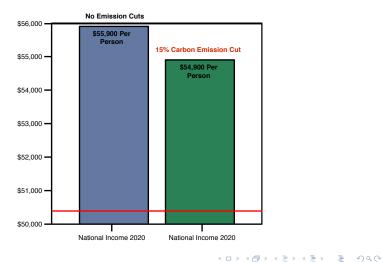
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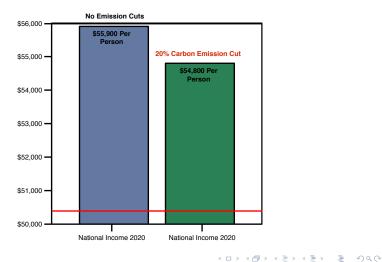
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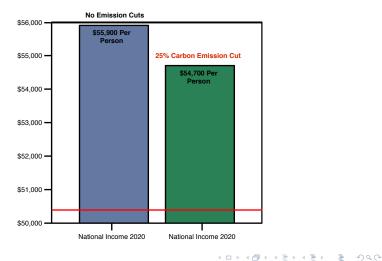
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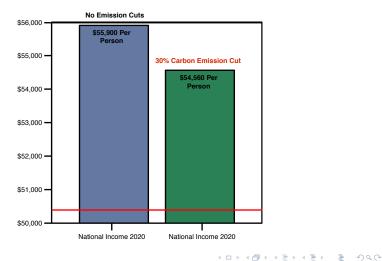
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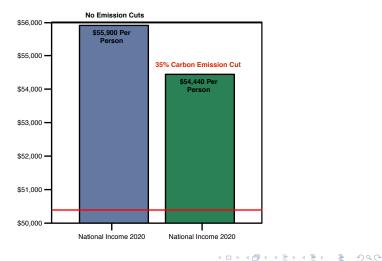
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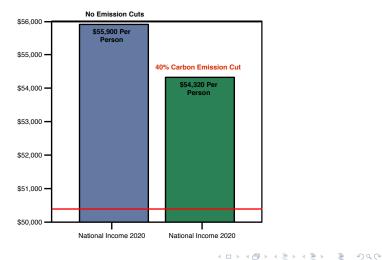
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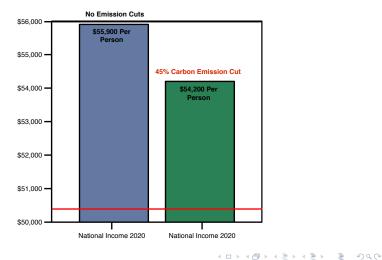
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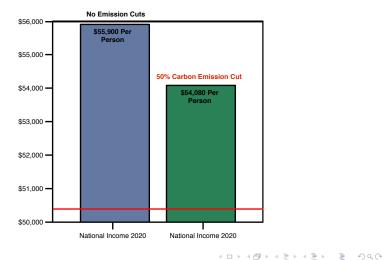
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#### Predictions

## Independent and additive effects of framing and social norm manipulations:

#### Main effect of framing:

• mean emission cuts will be larger in the foregone-gain than in the loss framing condition

#### Main effect of social norm:

• mean emission cuts will be larger in the rank-norm than in the in average-norm condition, which in turn will be larger than in the control condition.

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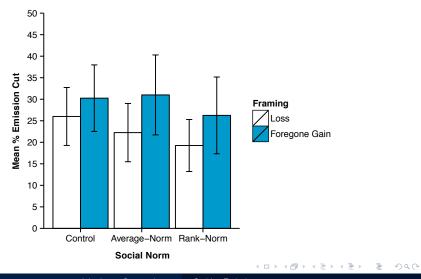
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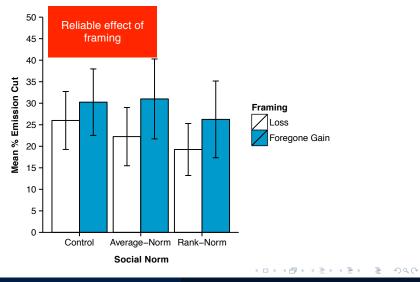
## **Results**



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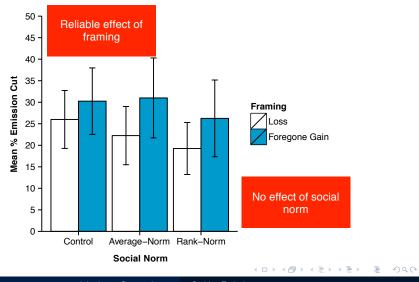
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## Study 1: Summary

#### • Framing costs as a foregone-gain increases emission cuts

#### • Presumably because:

- foregone-gains are perceived as "fairer" than objectively equivalent losses (Kahneman et al., 1986)
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- The social norming messages were ineffective and may have "backfired"
  - how to explain this finding?

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- The goal of the social-norming messages was to make salient that Australia's emissions are above the norm of other nations
- However, within those messages lurks the powerful and undercutting disclosure that:

"many Australians are doing this"

• The backfire effect suggests it is the latter norm that was made salient in people's minds

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• The backfire effect suggests it is the latter norm that was made salient in people's minds

Introduction	Aims	Study 1	Study 2	Conclusions	Fin
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# Further shortcomings of the social norming messages

- The messages are unusual with respect to those typically employed in norming-nudging studies
- The normative information pertained to other countries, whereas in most studies it pertains to a peer-referent group (Goldstein et al., 2008; Schultz et al., 1999, 2007)
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#### Outline

- Study 1
  - loss vs. foregone-gain framing and social norming messages regarding Australia's CO<sub>2</sub> emissions
- Study 2
  - loss vs. foregone-gain framing and social norming messages about others emission policy preferences

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- Representative sample of Australian respondents (N = 1,200; mean age = 44.38; SD = 16.53; females = 51%)
- 2 (framing: loss vs. foregone-gain) × 2 (social norm: no-norm vs. with-norm) between-subjects design
- The graphical interfaces in the no-norm condition were the same as those used in Study 1
- The interfaces for the with-norm condition were redesigned to incorporate normative feedback about the policy preferences of respondents in the initial study

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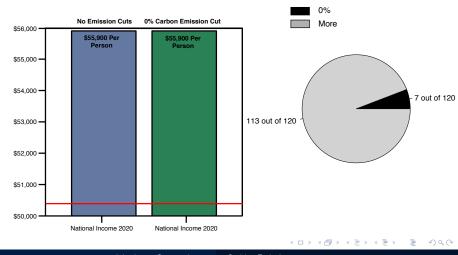
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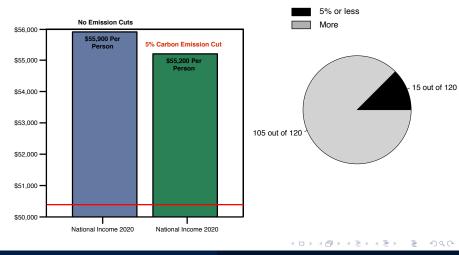
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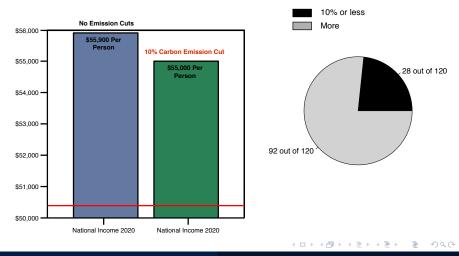
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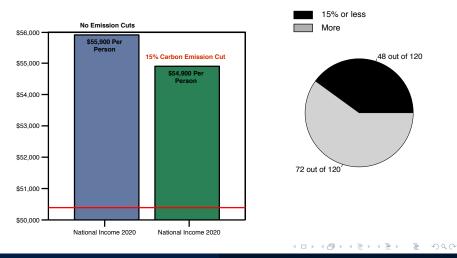
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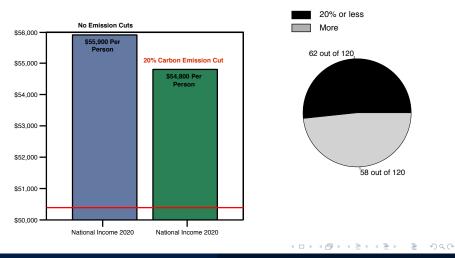
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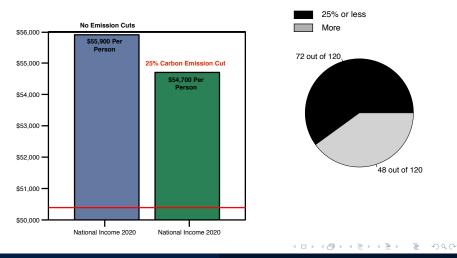
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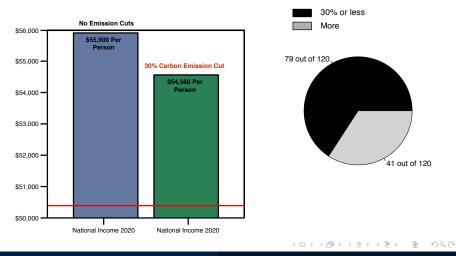
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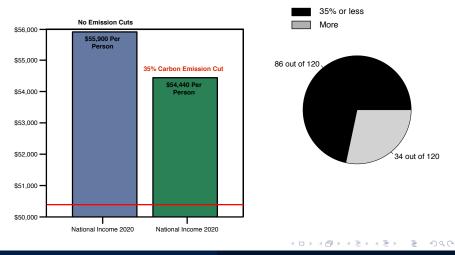
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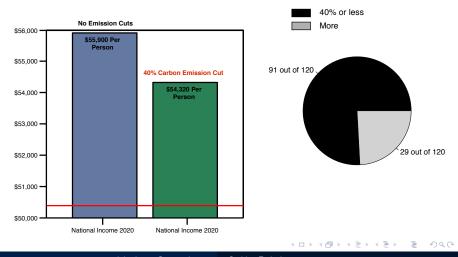
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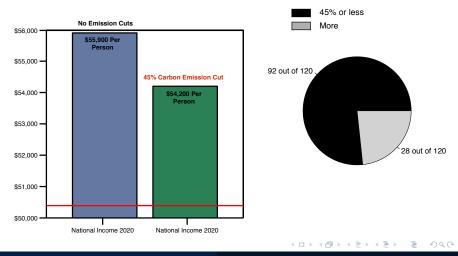
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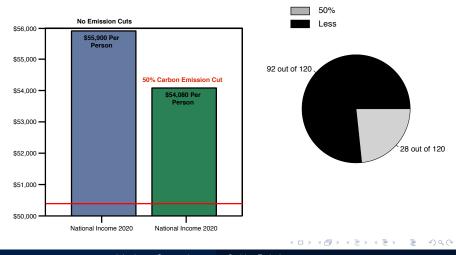
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#### Predictions

# Independent and additive effects of framing and social norm manipulations:

#### Main effect of framing:

• mean emission cuts will be larger in the foregone-gain than in the loss framing condition

#### Main effect of social norm:

• mean emission cuts will be larger in the with-norm than in the no-norm condition.

Introduction	Aims oo	Study 1 000000000	Study 2 ○○●○○○○	Conclusions	Fin o

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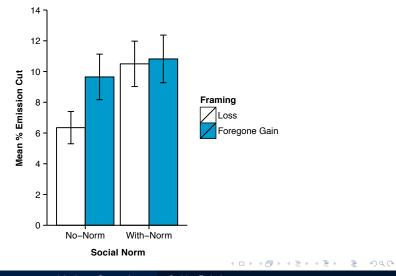
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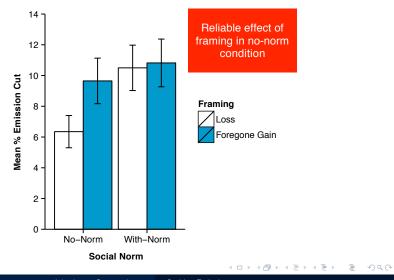
#### **Results**



mark.hurlstone@uwa.edu.au Curbing Emissions

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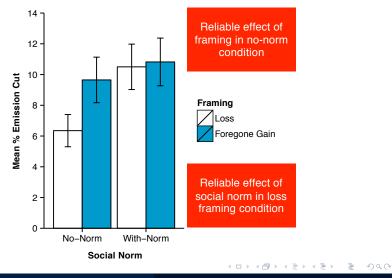
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mark.hurlstone@uwa.edu.au Curbing Emissions

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mark.hurlstone@uwa.edu.au Curbing Emissions

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# • The results replicate Study 1 in showing an effect of framing

- but this time only in the absence of normative information
- The novel finding was that a normative message—this time about the policy preferences of others—increased emission cuts
  - but only in the loss framing condition ....
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# Willingness-To-Pay (WTP) and perceived cost fairness

- Perceived cost fairness is an important predictor of an individuals WTP (Ajzen et al., 2000; Schroder & Mieg, 2008; Thaler, 1985)
  - implies a fair reference point about which gains and losses are evaluated
- Reframing the costs as a foregone-gain raises an individuals fair reference point to an "upper bound"
  - renders the social norming message ineffective, as people are unwilling to be nudged past their reference point

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- Raises the question of whether it is possible to shift the reference point?
- One solution is to institute a new objective reference point in place of the subjective fair reference point
- Anchoring:
  - do you think Australia should reduce its emissions by less than or greater than 45%?
- Such arbitrary numerical anchors cause an assimilation of people's response towards the reference point—anchoring heuristic (Kahneman & Tversky, 1974)

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- Policy communications will be most effective when costs are framed as a "foregone-gain"
- Noteworthy because messages about policy impacts typically frame costs as a "loss"
- A loss frame and normative message regarding the policy preferences of a peer group is similarly effective
- Normative messages must be crafted with care to avoid possible "backfire" effects
- Remains to be seen whether people can be "nudged" to support higher levels of emission cuts

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#### **Collaborators and Funding**

#### **Thanks for listening!**



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