

Communicating climate change adaptation

A practical guide to values- based communication

December 2014

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Foreword

Engaging meaningfully with a diverse range of individuals and organisations is one of the biggest challenges surrounding climate change adaptation. As part of the 'Adaptation Learning Exchange', Adaptation Scotland invited communication experts Climate Outreach to deliver an interactive seminar on values-based climate change communication.

Climate Outreach's mission is to ensure climate change and its impacts are understood, accepted and acted on across the breadth of society, in a manner that creates a truly sustainable future. Climate Outreach has a unique position as a bridge between research and practitioners, which enables them to disseminate key principles of climate change communication and public engagement. Central among these is the idea that effective engagement starts by understanding how people's *values* underpin their views about climate change.

This practical 'how-to' guide introduces the concept of values-based climate change communication for adaptation. It provides clear, concise summaries of the principles of engagement, combined with practical examples of how public bodies in Scotland can use and tailor these principles in their work.

The guide is primarily aimed at staff within public bodies who want to communicate more effectively on climate change adaptation within their workplace, to external stakeholders and to members of the public. However, it will also be of use to those in the private sector, third sector and other communities who need to communicate the challenge of climate change adaptation.

Karen Miller, Project Coordinator
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Summary: the principles of values-based climate change communication

- **Pay close attention to your audience's values:** Values are the bedrock on which attitudes to climate change are built. Use a values map (page 4) to help identify the values of your audience that you want to engage with.
- **Frame your messages in the right way:** Look for the overlap between the values that are important to your target audience and values such as 'protecting the environment' and 'helping others' that are crucial for building longer-term support for tackling climate change. Frame your messages so that they build a bridge between the values of the audience and the values of a more sustainable society.
- **Overcome the 'psychological distance' of climate change:** Who are you trying to engage with? What are the things they are passionate about? How can you make climate change adaptation relevant to their lives? Identify the interests of your audience and think about how climate change affects them.
- **Don't focus on 'doom and gloom':** Emphasising the benefits of climate adaptation policies is much more effective than pointing to the risks of not adapting.
- **Extreme weather can be a powerful opportunity to engage on climate change:** People will not necessarily 'join the dots' between extreme weather and climate change on their own. Use severe weather as an opportunity to discuss preparing for future events, and emphasise the benefits of adaptation using the powerful narratives of resilience, community pride and mutual caring that often emerge during the experience of severe weather events.
- **Promote the health benefits of adapting to climate risks:** Connecting climate change with health problems which are already familiar and seen as important - such as heat-stroke, hypothermia or asthma - can make the issue seem more personally relevant.
- **Try to engage across the political spectrum:** Scepticism about climate change is more common among political conservatives. But it doesn't have to be this way. Use language and 'narratives' that have been designed to appeal to the 'right', as well as the 'left' of politics – for example by focusing on conserving the beauty of the Scottish countryside, or improving the health and wellbeing of communities.
- **Harness the power of social norms and social networks:** Representatives of diverse social communities can communicate with their own groups better than any politician or public figure. People respond well when they can see that 'people like them' are also taking climate adaptation seriously. Promote social norms on climate change wherever possible.

1 Understanding your audience

For most people in the Scotland, climate change is ‘not here and not now’. The impacts will be felt mostly in the future, and more intensely by people in countries overseas. The evidence before our eyes can also lead people in the wrong direction. For example, a cold winter can make it hard for people to accept that globally, temperatures are increasing¹.

People have a ‘finite pool of worry’, and can only concentrate on so many things at once.² When day-to-day concerns about employment and financial security arise, they are likely to take priority over the ‘psychologically distant’ issue of climate change. People are far more tolerant of risks from ‘natural’ hazards (such as climate impacts) than from human attack (like terrorism) or technology (for example nuclear threats).

All in all, climate change is a very difficult risk for people to get to grips with – which makes communicating in the most effective way all the more important.

1.1 The importance of values

Through a programme of research that has spanned several decades, 44 nations and over 25,000 people, the role of personal values in public engagement with climate change is now well established³. Values are guiding principles in an individual’s life. The ‘values map’ on the next page shows the 56 different values that research has identified, and how they relate to each other. People have a range of values and most people will recognise themselves in more than one part of the values map.

As a general rule, values that are near to each other on the map tend to fit together. The further apart two values are, the more they contradict each other. For example, values such as ‘equality’ and ‘protecting the environment’ (sometimes called ‘self-transcending’ values because they relate to concerns that go beyond self-interest), tend to be opposed to values such as ‘social power’ and ‘wealth’ (sometimes called ‘self-enhancing’ values because they are based on enhancing self-interest).

People who favour ‘self-transcendent’ values (like altruism and concern for the welfare of others) are generally more likely to be concerned about climate change, to support policies to cut carbon, and to engage in sustainable behaviours. ‘Self-transcending’ values can be seen as the values of a more sustainable society. It is these values that should be promoted to build support for a more climate-resilient Scotland.

Top tip: Spend time speaking with your target audience. Use the values map to identify their values, and consider where there is overlap with the (self-transcending) values of a more sustainable society.

¹ Capstick, S. & Pidgeon, N. (2014) Public perception of cold weather events as evidence for and against climate change. *Climatic Change* <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10584-013-1003-1>

² Weber, E. (2010) What shapes perceptions of climate change? *WIREs climate change* 1, 332-342.

³ Corner, A. J., Markowitz, E. & Pidgeon, N. F. (2014) Public engagement with climate change: the role of human values. *WIREs climate change*. doi:10.1002/wcc.269



Figure 1: A values map for understanding your audience. Similar values are closer together; values that are opposed to each other are further apart. Image credit: Public Interest Research Centre (PIRC).

Case study: Welsh Government

Climate Outreach worked with the Welsh Government to [develop a communications 'toolkit'](#) for engaging the public on sustainable development⁴. The toolkit was based on developing language that reflected core Welsh values, but that would also promote the values of a more sustainable society. Core Welsh values that emerged were:

- a sense of 'belonging' (linked to a shared national identity);
- pride in modest leadership;
- fairness and 'fair play'; and
- a strong sense of attachment to the landscape of Wales.

The Welsh project began with research identifying the values of a range of different constituencies, and then worked on the 'common ground' between them. This kind of approach would easily be transferrable to the Scottish context, where there is perhaps an even stronger sense of national identity.

1.2 Frame your messages so that they build a bridge between the values of the audience and the values of a more sustainable society

The way that a message about climate change is 'framed' will have a big impact on how people respond to it. Different ways of framing a message incorporate very different values. Consider two different ways of encouraging people to car-share on the commute to work. One option would be to tell people how much money they will save on petrol (a 'self-enhancing' value). A second option would be to emphasise the environmental benefits (a 'self-transcending' value).

Research has found that when people were asked to consider the environmental reasons for car-sharing, they were more likely to subsequently recycle – that is, one environmental behaviour 'spilled over' to another⁵.

The findings can easily be applied to adaptation behaviours, such as whether to invest in flood defences. There will often be both an environmental and financial justification for adaptation measures – but focusing exclusively on the money-saving (or wealth-enhancing) reasons for adapting to climate change is likely to undermine people's motivation for engaging with the issue in the longer term.

When a person acts for self-interested reasons, that person will perceive themselves as someone who does things for their own benefit. They will only engage further with climate change if there is something in it for them. As soon as the 'sweeteners' dry up, so will their interest in climate change. If people think of themselves as 'someone who does things for the environment' or for the 'collective good of Scotland', the chance that they will engage in other adaptation behaviours is much higher.

Top tip: When designing adaptation messages, focus on 'self-transcending' values wherever possible. For example, "Growing more drought-resistant crops will mean we have a fair and resilient food system for the benefit of everyone in Scotland as the climate changes".

Be careful not to focus solely on profit. Instead, talk about creating secure jobs and markets for new technology. These have obvious financial benefits as well as wider social benefits. For example, "Growing more drought-resistant crops will mean Scotland can create jobs and develop new technology even as the climate changes".

⁴ Marshall, G. (2014) *Hearth and Hiraeth: Constructing Climate Change Narratives around National Identity*. Climate Outreach, Oxford.

⁵ Evans, L., Gregory, R.M., Corner, A., Hodgetts, J. Ahmed, S. & Hahn, Ulrike (2013). Self-interest and pro-environmental behaviour. *Nature Climate Change*, 3, 122-125.

2 Overcoming the psychological distance of climate change

Making climate change real for people in Scotland means starting with tangible, practical examples. It should focus on the things that people are passionate about that climate change will affect, and using severe weather as an opportunity to 'join the dots' between climate impacts and people's lives.

2.1 Show how climate change affects the things people love

Connect with the things that your audience are passionate about, and then make the link between these and the broader issue of climate adaptation. This means:

- identifying something that your target audience is passionate about (e.g., playing football) and how climate change will affect it (e.g., flooded football pitches preventing games from occurring); and
- using this as a way of starting a conversation about the 'bigger picture' on climate change.

Top tip: Identify something that your target audience is passionate about. How will it be affected by climate change?

This is a classic climate change adaptation message, stark and focused on the environment far away from the majority of the population.



Image credit:

<http://www.continuum.com.au/>

By comparison, the following website connects to local readers by focusing on a strong community image (beach huts) to communicate adaptation in a positive way, locally relevant way. It is more likely that people will have had experience with the changing face of the British coastline than the changing nature of Penguin's habitats.



Image credit: LiCCo
future proof beach hut
© Nathan Ball

2.2 Severe weather is an opportunity to engage on climate change – but proceed with caution

Severe weather events offer the prospect of communicating about climate change in a way that connects directly with people's lives. An event like a flood may make climate change feel more real, but there is mixed evidence about whether people 'join the dots' between severe weather and climate change. Experiencing severe weather impacts first-hand does not always make people more attuned to climate risks and the need for adaptation.

The victims of severe weather events may in fact have strong personal and social reasons for not wishing to accept that these events will increase in frequency and severity. It is therefore crucial that communicators help to make the link between severe weather and climate change.⁶

Top tips

- Use severe weather to start a discussion about long-term preparedness and adaptation.
- Emphasise the benefits of adaptation: increasing local resilience to future weather events, drawing on powerful narratives of community pride and mutual caring that often emerge during the experience of severe weather events.
- Take care not to over-exaggerate the link between a single weather event and climate change.

This image is from Talybont, a Welsh community that was badly flooded in 2012. However, it shows positive community spirit and resilience, and the quotes from the community that accompany it suggest that many positive emotions were stirred despite the sadness of the flood.



Image credit: CERI JONES

"I had 30 people in my garden helping me out; without that support life would have been much harder".

"From out of nowhere a workforce turned up from the village with wheelbarrows and spades and within half an hour had opened the road. It was an amazing thing to see and gave us hope".

"We know more than ever, but rather than wait until we've dotted all the 'i's and crossed all the 't's in terms of understanding we're going to have to put more things in place because people are going to become more vulnerable".

⁶ Marshall, G. (2014). After the Floods: Communicating climate change around Extreme Weather Events. Climate Outreach.

2.3 Use adaptation as a way of engaging people more widely on climate change

A study conducted in a coastal community in New Zealand found that when people considered adaptation measures to potential local sea-level rise, they were more likely to agree with climate change mitigation options too⁷. This effect was observed even for people who said they were sceptical about climate change. In contrast, participants who were asked to consider climate change mitigation policies in isolation were less inclined to adopt pro-mitigation behaviour.

Top tip: Connect the 'bigger picture' of climate change to people's lives and communities.

2.4 Use the right tool for the right job

Climate change adaptation communications tend to be dominated by the language of science, graphs and detailed reports. Graphs are appropriate for certain audiences but they must be clear. For many audiences, though, scientific language and technical figures are not helpful.

Top tip: Reports can be made more engaging by using personal stories and images. They should also be kept succinct or include key bullet points at the start as many people do not have time to read lengthy reports.

The following two images show the importance of using language people can relate to. Both are taken from the European 'Living with a changing coastline' (LICCO) project, helping coastal communities to better understand and prepare for the impacts of climate change. The first image emphasises the natural cause of coastal change, giving very little sense of urgency of place-based risk:

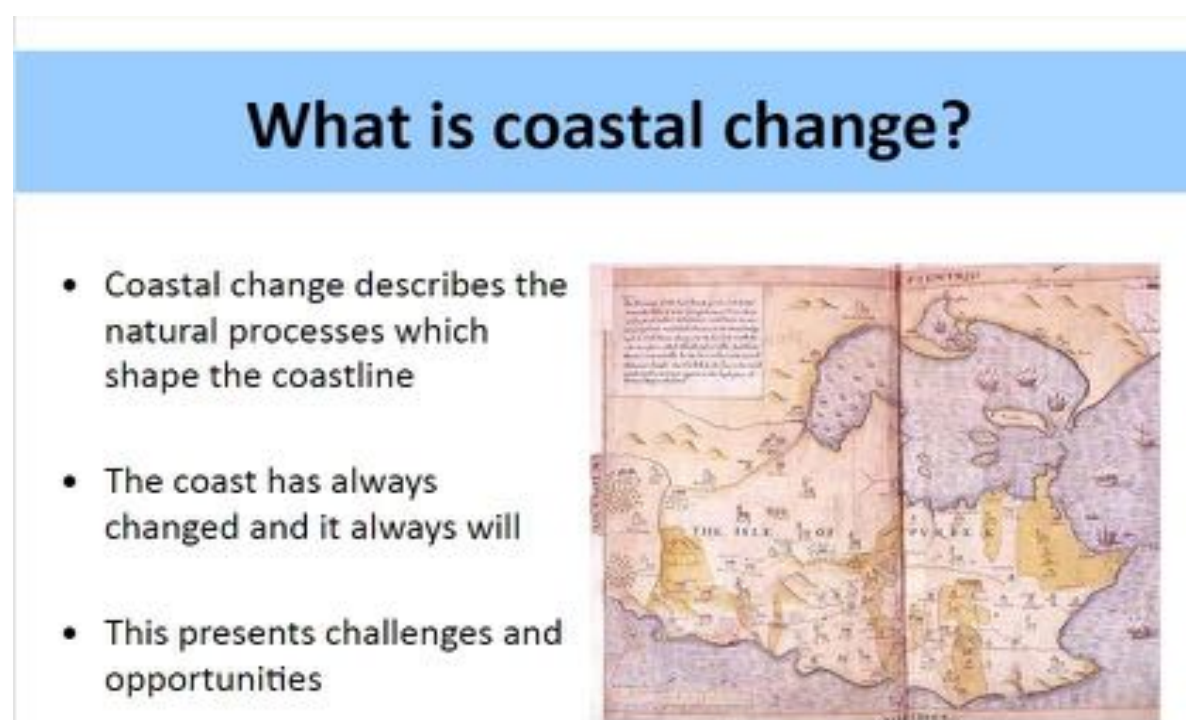


Image credit: 1586 'Survey of the Isle of Purbeck' by Ralph Treswell © National Trust Images

⁷ Evans et al., (2014). Considering local adaptation increases willingness to mitigate. Global Environmental Change. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2013.12.013>

The changing face of Poole Harbour

From the 1800s, and the subsequent growth of the port, the harbour has seen a number of changes. The harbour has seen a number of changes, including the construction of the Bournemouth Pier, the opening of the Bournemouth International Centre, and the construction of the Bournemouth International Centre.

1800 The first pier was built in 1800, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1810 The first pier was built in 1810, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1820 The first pier was built in 1820, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1830 The first pier was built in 1830, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1840 The first pier was built in 1840, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1850 The first pier was built in 1850, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1860 The first pier was built in 1860, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1870 The first pier was built in 1870, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1880 The first pier was built in 1880, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1890 The first pier was built in 1890, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1900 The first pier was built in 1900, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1910 The first pier was built in 1910, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1920 The first pier was built in 1920, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1930 The first pier was built in 1930, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1940 The first pier was built in 1940, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1950 The first pier was built in 1950, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1960 The first pier was built in 1960, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1970 The first pier was built in 1970, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1980 The first pier was built in 1980, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

1990 The first pier was built in 1990, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

2000 The first pier was built in 2000, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

2010 The first pier was built in 2010, and the harbour was used for the export of wool and the import of coal.

New development of the harbour

The harbour has seen a number of changes, including the construction of the Bournemouth Pier, the opening of the Bournemouth International Centre, and the construction of the Bournemouth International Centre.

Future of the harbour

The harbour has seen a number of changes, including the construction of the Bournemouth Pier, the opening of the Bournemouth International Centre, and the construction of the Bournemouth International Centre.

Living with a Changing Coast
Initiative of the Environment Agency

The coast is changing

The coastal erosion within 100m of the coast is estimated to be around 100m per year. This is a significant amount of land being lost to the sea.

Before

After

The erosion within 100m of the coast is estimated to be around 100m per year. This is a significant amount of land being lost to the sea.

How does coastal erosion happen?

Coastal erosion happens when the sea is stronger than the land. This can happen in many ways, including:

- Wave action:** Waves hitting the shore and pulling the sand away.
- Longshore drift:** Sand being moved along the coast by waves.
- Human activity:** Building on the coast or removing sand from the beach.

What can we do to prevent coastal erosion?

There are many ways to prevent coastal erosion, including:

- Sea walls:** Concrete walls that stop waves from hitting the shore.
- Beach nourishment:** Adding sand to the beach from a nearby source.
- Dune planting:** Planting trees and shrubs to stabilize the dunes.

Why do we need to manage coastal change?

Coastal change affects the environment, the economy, and the way we live. It can cause:

- Loss of land:** Land being lost to the sea.
- Damage to property:** Houses and other buildings being destroyed.
- Loss of jobs:** People losing their homes and businesses.
- Loss of the environment:** Beaches and dunes disappearing.

How can we manage coastal change?

There are many ways to manage coastal change, including:

- Defence:** Building sea walls and other defences to stop waves from hitting the shore.
- Managed realignment:** Moving buildings and other structures away from the coast.
- Beach management:** Keeping the beach in good condition.

The future of Poole Harbour's coast

Poole Harbour is a special place. It has a beautiful coastline and a rich history. But the coast is changing, and we need to think about the future of the harbour.

What is the future of Poole Harbour's coast?

There are many different views on the future of Poole Harbour's coast. Some people think that the coast should be defended, while others think that it should be managed. The future of the harbour will depend on the decisions we make today.

What can we do to protect Poole Harbour's coast?

There are many ways to protect Poole Harbour's coast, including:

- Defence:** Building sea walls and other defences to stop waves from hitting the shore.
- Managed realignment:** Moving buildings and other structures away from the coast.
- Beach management:** Keeping the beach in good condition.

What do you think coastal change might mean for you?

“When using both the climate and coastal change boards it became clear very quickly that people were drawn to the large map of the area where they live. They could see themselves within the context of the local climate change impacts. We also discovered that showing a wider area put local issues in perspective and allowed people to see that they were not the only ones dealing with coastal and climate change issues. It made it easier for us to talk about good examples of adaptation in other locations.”

Elli MacDonald, Living with a Changing Coast Project Manager

3 Breaking out of the ‘green ghetto’: how to engage wider audiences

Although the effects of climate change will be felt widely across society, it is still seen by many as a ‘niche’ issue, that only ‘greens’ care about. So how can wider audiences be engaged?

3.1 Talk about the health impacts of climate change

Connecting climate change with health problems which are already familiar and seen as important - such as heat-stroke, hypothermia or asthma - can make the issue seem more personally relevant.⁸ In fact, there is growing evidence that making links between health and climate change is a way of reaching a much wider audience.

Top tip: Concrete, tangible examples of how health and climate impacts are related are an extremely valuable communication tool. What are the health implications of climate impacts for your target audience? Are they elderly, or vulnerable in another way?

3.2 Don’t focus on ‘doom and gloom’

Many early campaigns to engage the public on climate change used the fear of catastrophic climate impacts to attempt to motivate concern. The use of appeals based on fear or guilt has a long history in the health-behaviour domain, and research has shown the potential for fear-based messages to change attitudes. But while fear of a negative outcome (e.g. lung cancer) can be an effective way of promoting behavioural changes (e.g. giving up smoking), the link between the threat and the behaviour must be personal and direct. Typically, climate change is perceived as neither a direct nor a personal threat – and so deliberate attempts to instil fear or guilt in people carry a considerable risk of backfiring.⁹

Emphasising the benefits of acting rather than the negative consequences of not acting is likely to produce more support for climate policies.¹⁰

Top tip: Emphasise the benefits of action rather than the risks of in-action. For example: Emphasise that sea defences will enhance the safety and security of a coastal community, rather than stressing the increased risks from not installing the defences.

⁸ Myers, T.A., Nisbet, M.C., Maibach, E.W., & Leiserowitz, A.A. (2012). A public health frame arouses hopeful emotions about climate change. *Climatic Change* 113(3-4), 1105-1112; Nisbet, M.C. (2009). Communicating climate change: Why frames matter for public engagement.” *Environment* 51(2), 12-25.

⁹ O'Neill, S. & Nicholson-Cole, S. (2009). “Fear won't do it”: Promoting positive engagement with climate change through visual and iconic representations. *Science Communication* 30(3), 355-379; Witte, K., & Allen, M. (2000). A meta-analysis of fear appeals: implications for effective public health campaigns. *Health, Education & Behaviour* 27(5), 591-615.

¹⁰ Pidgeon, N. & Spence, A. (2010). Framing and communicating climate change: The effects of distance and outcome frame manipulations. *Global Environmental Change* 20(4), 656-667.

3.3 Try to engage across the political spectrum

Studies consistently show that scepticism about climate change is higher on the right of the political spectrum. For this reason, there has been particular interest in how to engage citizens with ‘centre-right’ views more effectively. [A previous Climate Outreach project](#) identified four different ‘narratives’ for effectively engaging centre-right citizens, using the values map on page 4 to identify key conservative values that also fit with sustainability:¹¹

1. **‘Localism’:** Making connections between the conservation of the ‘green and pleasant land’, and protecting it from the risks that climate change poses to it (drawing on values such as aesthetic beauty and responsibility).
2. **Energy security:** Investing now to create sustainable, secure jobs and a reliable energy supply (the values invoked here are mainly around security, justice and protecting the environment).
3. **A new type of environmentalism:** The approach is optimistic, and embraces rather than opposes progress (values targeted would include freedom and creativity).
4. **The concept of the ‘Good Life’:** Happiness is about the health and wellbeing of our communities, not simply financial wealth (touching on values of respect for tradition, and a sense of belonging).

These narratives were developed to interest citizens with ‘centre-right’ values, which is a lot broader than simply Conservative voters. In fact, values like security, freedom and a sense of belonging are widely shared across the political spectrum. Do these narratives resonate with your target audience?

¹¹ Corner, A. (2013). A new conversation with the centre-right about climate change: Values, frames and narratives. Oxford: Climate Outreach.

4 Harness the power of social networks and social norms

There are very few opportunities for ordinary people – whether in their day to day lives or in the organisations they work in – to see examples of other people ('like me') engaging in positive climate adaptation behaviours. Partly because of the 'social invisibility' of climate change, many people underestimate how interested other people are in the issue¹². Pictures and videos of ordinary people engaging in adaptation behaviours are a simple and effective way of generating a sense of social normality around climate change preparedness. In this Climate Outreach leaflet, local people's voices and images are used to help connect the message to their community:



4.1 What do 'people like me' think?

Social norms – the standards people use to judge the appropriateness of their own behaviour – are crucial for engaging the public on climate change. Studies have shown that guests in a hotel are more likely to re-use their towels if the sign in their hotel room encouraging them to do so informs them that a majority of other guests are re-using theirs.¹³

Top tip: Behaviours that are socially approved of tend to spread. Communicating the idea that adapting to climate risks is 'the norm' is, therefore, a powerful tool, but it is not always obvious how to do this. One possibility is to conduct a short survey of people's views, and then publicise the findings to show that other people are already thinking along similar lines.

4.2 Use peer-to-peer communication and diverse, trusted messengers

It can sometimes be difficult to identify widely-trusted messengers when engaging the public on adaptation and climate change. The media, energy companies and politicians are all common sources of climate change information. They are also all widely distrusted.

This underscores the importance of peer-to-peer communication. If messages about climate change adaptation can be spread through a representative of a particular social group of community, e.g., a faith network or sports club, they are much more likely to be effective.

¹² ECIU - Energy & Climate Intelligence Unit (2014). Study shows widespread misconceptions about energy and climate change. Retrieved from: <http://eciu.net/press-releases/2014/survey-reveals-widespread-misconceptions-about-energy-and-climate-change>

¹³ Griskevicius, V., Cialdini, R.B. & Goldstein, N.J. (2008). Social norms: An underestimated and underemployed lever for managing climate change. *International Journal of Sustainability Communication* 3, 5-13.

Different social networks will take ‘ownership’ of climate change in different way. Climate Outreach’s own research suggests that this should be encouraged, because people expect to hear multiple, diverse and perhaps even ‘competing’ voices on climate change¹⁴. Providing a platform for diverse voices to talk about climate change is a powerful way of showing the breadth of support across society. They don’t need to agree on the specifics so long as the overall message – supporting meaningful action on climate change – is the same.

Top tip: List the social networks you can think of that are relevant to your target audience. Are there ‘unusual suspects’ among them who could communicate about climate change in their own language and style?

Scientists continue to be perceived as highly trusted messengers on climate change (Pidgeon, 2012) despite some attacks on their credibility from sceptics. So having a scientist involved in a campaign to engage the public on adaptation risks would be likely to strengthen its credibility.

Echoing the importance of using ‘health frames’ to communicate the advantages of adaptation (see Section 3.2), health professionals are seen as having moral authority, professional prestige and a reputation for science-based analysis. Because of their special position in society, health professionals are valuable assets when speaking with the public about the health impacts of climate change and the need to adapt to climate risks¹⁵.

Top tip: Make links with health professionals who are dealing with many of the same issues. If diverse voices, other than climate change professionals, are making the same argument, it is more likely to be taken on board.

What to learn more? Resources for communicating climate change

Climate Outreach www.climateoutreach.org/resources

Marshall, G. (2014) [After the Floods](#): Communicating climate change around Extreme Weather Events. Climate Outreach

¹⁴ Corner, A.J. & Roberts, O. (2014). How narrative workshops informed a national climate change campaign. Oxford: Climate Outreach.

¹⁵ Frumkin, H., & McMichael, A.J. (2008). Climate change and public health: Thinking, communicating, acting. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 35(5), 403-410.

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Scotland**
supporting climate change resilience

Adaptation Scotland provides advice and support to help organisations, businesses and communities in Scotland prepare for, and build resilience to, the impacts of climate change.

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