

# Public engagement with climate change post-Brexit: a centre-right perspective



# About Climate Outreach

[Climate Outreach](#) (formerly COIN) are one of Europe's leading experts on climate change communication, bridging the gap between research and practice. Our charity is focused on building cross-societal acceptance of the need to tackle climate change. We have over 12 years of experience helping our partners find their climate voice – talking and thinking about climate change in ways that reflect their individual values, interests and ways of seeing the world. We work with a wide range of partners including central, regional and local governments, charities, business, faith organisations and youth groups.

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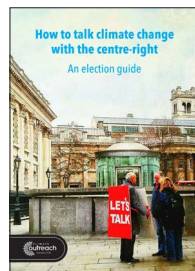
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## Our centre-right publications



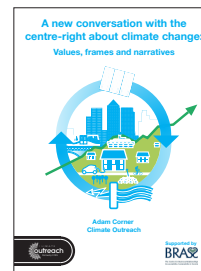
Communicating effectively with the centre-right about household energy-efficiency and renewable energy technologies  
March 2016



How to talk climate change with the centre-right - An election guide  
April 2015



Starting a new conversation on climate change with the European centre-right  
January 2015



A new conversation with the centre-right about climate change: Values, frames and narratives  
June 2013

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# Executive summary

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## Background

The Climate Coalition, a network of 100 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other civil society organisations, commissioned Climate Outreach to explore audience responses to climate change in light of Brexit, and as a follow up to Climate Outreach's [original research](#) informing the creation of the 'For The Love of' campaign in 2014. With a campaign focus on engaging new, harder-to-reach audiences, this research focused on people of centre-right values.

## Recommendations

### ➔ Adapt to the post-Brexit landscape

Participants were very distrusting of elites, large institutions and corporations - top-down messaging is a tough sell with centre-right audiences in this atmosphere. Instead, amplify trusted local (i.e. non-elite) voices, emphasise the 'will of the people', and where there is a positive social norm (e.g. majority support for a policy or issue), highlight it: expert opinion is not currently held in high regard. Many of the centre-right feel bolstered and empowered by the Brexit vote. Identify opportunities for tying in this new found confidence to messages of energy independence and control over the decisions affecting our future.

### ➔ Places are important - but human relationships even more so

Special places and landscapes are valued, but it is the human relationship to them that matters. What makes people proud of their country is its people, our freedoms and the tolerance we show to each other. Britishness is about the 'software' more than the 'hardware' of the nation. People like language that stresses we are all in this together and everyone is doing their bit. Use messaging which speaks to that shared sense of pride in who we are as a people, and which reflects that belief and optimism. 'Can do' language (which avoids overclaiming) is empowering and feeds into the respect for people who get on, do something with their lives and make a difference for the better.

### ➔ Be conscious of how people think about new technologies when talking about the switch to clean energy

The idea of protecting the purity of the family and our environment was a prominent theme. Technology was as much a threat to this purity as pollution. Therefore, be careful in the promotion of new technologies (phones, tablets, smart meters, etc.) as part of the solution. These are often seen as taking time away from the family.

### ➔ Stress continuity, not change

Use language which talks of continuity and familiarity rather than radical and rapid change. Present changes as continuations of previous familiar and accepted improvements in people's lives. Talk about clean energy as the next step in the steady progress that has made Britain a successful country.

## ➔ Promote the 'simplicity' of sustainability

We observed a palpable sense of frustration with the pace and demands of modern life – the impact of a 24/7 society on work patterns and new technologies coming between people, families and communities. Family mealtimes were precious moments, a simple pleasure which provided a space where families could come together and return to a timeless ritual and tradition. Emphasise simplicity, and activities and behaviours which provide more opportunities for families to come together.

## ➔ Make climate messages tangible and meaningful

Climate change was not tangible or 'front of mind' for participants. This is a common finding across our research with the general public and is not unique to centre-right audiences. This means it is important to anchor campaign messages by foregrounding recognised, tangible, localised issues, such as reducing air pollution. Starting with local, recognised issues can provide a means for opening up conversations about broader longer term environmental issues such as climate change. Make it clear that climate change is important for the same reason that these issues are important: cleanliness, health and responsibility to future generations.

## ➔ Nostalgia can be as powerful as a 'bright future': position clean energy as a responsibility and duty to those who follow

The feeling that something has been lost was a recurring theme in the discussions. Participants described a sense of sadness that children did not go out and play in nature as they used to. Thoughts about lost traditions became crystallized into a desire to pass on to others the joys and adventures of pre-social media childhoods. Use messaging which links a clean energy future to the opportunities for children to have those same experiences which many people feel nostalgia for.

## ➔ Focus on the importance of maintaining a 'balance'

A consistent theme in conversations with the centre-right is a desire for balance. This is a ubiquitous frame which this audience wants to see reflected across a wide range of social activity, including but extending beyond climate change policy. For example, changes in the weather can be referred to as the climate being 'out of balance'. Balance is also a desirable personal value; people should not just take but also give something back to society and the economy.

## ➔ Be humble, not hubristic, with claims about renewables

Positive and ambitious messages were well received in the context of post-Brexit optimism about Britain's future. However, the *"100% clean energy within a generation is 100% possible"* message was consistently rejected because '100% clean energy' was not seen as realistic or achievable. In line with findings from our other centre-right work, it is important to be honest and open about the benefits and challenges of making the shift to renewables. Ensure messages are moderate and balanced in the claims made for renewable energy. Big claims about the transformation of energy systems may backfire.

# Methodology

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As part of this research, two workshops were held in Birmingham and Woking on 17 and 22 August 2016, with a total of 22 participants with a centre-right political perspective. The workshops were sponsored by Climate Coalition members National Trust and WWF, both of whom have memberships that include significant numbers of centre-right supporters.

Professional recruiters used an initial online screening process to find potential participants who self-identified as centre-right or moderately right wing. The recruiters then conducted a further screening process, carrying out phone interviews with potential candidates which included a series of 10 questions relating to core centre-right values. The recruitment process also ensured that participants reflected the typical membership of WWF and National Trust. The participants at the workshop sponsored by the National Trust in Birmingham all indicated that protection of the country's cultural heritage and conservation of areas of natural beauty was an important principle in their lives. At the Woking workshop, held at the WWF Living Planet Centre, participants were selected if they agreed that the protection of endangered wildlife and valuing the natural world was an important principle in their lives. The participants were also selected with demographic diversity in mind, as reflected in the table below.

**Table 1 - Demographic Profile of participant**

	Birmingham	Woking
<b>Average age</b>	45 (youngest 19, oldest 72)	42 (youngest 29, oldest 58)
<b>Gender</b>	5 female, 7 male	6 female, 4 male
<b>Ethnicity</b>	10 white, 2 black	1 Indian Asian, 2 mixed, 7 white
<b>Employment status</b>	2 unemployed, 2 retired, 2 leisure industry, 5 professional/managerial, 1 self-employed	2 managerial, 2 retired, 1 manual worker, 1 home maker, 4 clerical/admin

The workshops ran for 2.5 hours and were split into two parts. The first part of the workshop focused on improving and deepening understanding of the values, aspirations and concerns of the centre-right audience. The second part of the workshop tested some key messages (see below) and materials for The Climate Coalition relating to their ongoing 'Show the Love' campaign. Conversations were recorded, with detailed notes taken, and then analysed to inform the findings in this report.

## Key messages tested during the narrative workshops

- 100% clean energy within a generation is 100% possible
- A world powered entirely by clean energy is within our reach
- Clean energy can protect the places, people and life we love from climate change



# Findings

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## Values, attitudes and concerns

The values which participants highlighted as important included **honesty, integrity and achievement** – admirable people were those who had done something with their lives and were **contributing to society**. Disregard for freeloading wasn't reserved for the usual culprits – the poor work shy – but was as likely to be a charge levelled at wealthy and privileged individuals and powerful corporations abusing their advantages to further enrich themselves.

Honesty was seen to be in short supply. Indeed there was an endemic feeling of **distrust** towards elites, institutions and politicians. This was to some extent tempered by a sense of **faith in ordinary people**. The belief in the inherent goodness of ordinary folk was articulated through strong and widespread statements of **pride** in Britain.

Britishness was often conceptualised as about **people and attitudes, rather than the landscape**. The admirable qualities of the British people were demonstrated through institutions (our democracy) and willingness to welcome incomers. This pride was accompanied with a feeling of **loyalty** towards the people of Britain. Olympic success and the **Brexit** vote were a vindication of the pride people felt. **Economic concerns** were uppermost in people's minds, but with a broader sweep post-Brexit, extending to discussions of trade and Britain's place in the world.

**New communication technologies** were discussed with a sense of unease and disquiet. These technologies were thought to be eroding the sense of community and taking away people's free time and **corrupting childhood and family relations**. Mealtimes were seen as an anchor, a sanctuary in this sea of change, a place and time where traditions are enacted and **a reassuring sense of continuity and tradition**.

## Results from message and materials testing

### Brexit and the environment

There was a shared feeling that **Brexit is an opportunity for Britain to be better**, to do better by its children, and even to be a cleaner, greener place. The perception that Brexit was an opportunity for the people of Britain to **take back control** of their country was important:

*"I think at the end of the day it's the will of the people isn't it? It's like Brexit, it's the will of the people that actually decides these things." (Female, Birmingham)*

*"If you believe, if you put your mind to it, you can achieve anything." (Male, Birmingham)*

There was a definite sense of Britishness when talking about what elements of control over the environment were perhaps now more possible – protecting the green belt, for example. However, **the needs of nature were very much something that has to be balanced with the needs of people for housing and jobs**. The environment is something that is not only about trees, regulation, or water quality. It is something tied up with memory, culture, and a place where love is expressed across generations.

Participants' responses to messages which talked about Brexit as an opportunity for greater control over the environment were sometimes tempered by a sense of mistrust:

*"It means I have to trust other people, other countries and if I have to rely on everyone else how you going to do it?"* (Female, Woking)

*"Having more control over our environmental laws is good, as long as they're transparent."* (Female, Woking)

*"It should be an opportunity to improve our environment but sadly I think it will be a wasted opportunity."* (Female, Woking)

In addition, participants responded positively to the suggestion that Brexit is an opportunity to set high environmental standards **for the sake of our children** – a finding that is backed up by recent post-Brexit polling by Friends of the Earth (Guardian, 2016):

*"Our children are going to benefit from it and their children. It's absolutely our duty, yeah."* (Female, Woking)

### Clean energy messaging

A number of specific phrases, messages and concepts were tested as part of this research (see key messages page 5). **Participants liked the positive tone of the messaging**, picking up on the sense of pride and optimism people felt about Britain's role in the world:

*"You can shape your Britain, is very empowering. If you believe you can, you will."* (Female, Birmingham)

*"It's 100% possible and let's lead the way."* (Male, Birmingham)

*"I liked the positivism of the first message. We can do this."* (Female, Birmingham)

However, the use of numbers in the *"100% clean energy within a generation is 100% possible"* didn't test well. People generally did not feel they had the knowledge and information they needed to be able to judge the feasibility of the message, and their initial instinct was to distrust the claim:

*"It's not going to happen."* (Female, Birmingham)

*"Without any information I couldn't say, it's just words on a bit of paper."* (Male, Birmingham)

*"But a lot of things they are saying, the facts and figures that are pumped out, well, who knows".* (Male, Birmingham)

*"I don't like the 100% message because it's not feasible, not realistic".* (Male, Woking)

*"Clean energy can protect the places, people and life we love from climate change"* tested well in Woking and whilst not greeted with the same unanimous praise in Birmingham certainly was not singled out for criticism:

*"Protect - it's not saying we are definitely going to do, but we are going to protect. Like I'm going to protect my children when they are crossing the road, so that word is really key."* (Female, Woking)

*"And it talks about the people who are close to us, the people we love."* (Female, Woking)

*"I like the 3 Ps, protect, places and people."* (Male, Woking)



# Centre-right portrait

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In the second half of this report, we outline key values and principles that consistently arise in our research with this audience and illustrate how they map onto conversations about climate change.

Since [our first report](#) focusing on how to better engage this audience in 2013, Climate Outreach has developed a strong portfolio and growing evidence-base on how individuals with centre-right values engage with climate change. Through **desk research, interviews with key stakeholders in the UK and Europe**, and roundtables with **leading centre-right communication experts**, we have built up a detailed picture of who centre-right citizens are, and how they think about climate change. What follows is a mixture of results from this portfolio of research, combined with new data and findings from the recent narrative workshops described above.

## Core values and principles

Table 2 lists eleven core centre-right principles that have been identified in our research. The right hand column lists some quotes from the Birmingham and Woking narrative workshops which illustrate these principles 'in action'.

**Table 2 - Eleven core centre-right principles**

Principle	Illustrative quotes
<p><b>1</b></p> <p><b>Maintaining the status quo</b></p> <p>Wariness of novelty and change</p>	<p><i>"Sunday dinner was a tradition. We never, ever have a Sunday lunch now because it doesn't conform with people's lives. If I could wave a magic wand the one thing I would bring back would be the Sunday lunch."</i></p> <p><i>"Everything's just moved too fast."</i></p> <p><i>"Technology will create a catastrophe, if you think it through, the implications."</i></p>
<p><b>2</b></p> <p><b>Control and closure</b></p> <p>Comfortable with a structured, consistent and straightforward framework for interpreting the world</p>	<p><i>"Nuclear energy will solve all those problems."</i></p> <p><i>"That's just common sense. But a lot of things they are saying, the facts and figures that are pumped out, well, who knows?"</i></p> <p><i>"Society also put in place children's rights and it all went wrong after that. I didn't have any rights and I still achieved what I achieved."</i></p>

3

**Respect for authority and tradition**

Favourable towards heritage and existing cultural institutions

*"I think that's getting lost on the younger generation, something like going to a castle would be exciting. But now, go and watch a film, so many different entertainments, new technology. So maybe heritage is something less important for families."*

*"Our heritage is at risk because of changes in employment, the need for more housing, so green belt and historical building stock are at risk from the need for land."*

*"Celebrating the Queen's 90<sup>th</sup> this year - the cherry on the cake."*

4

**Intergenerational duty**

The 'Burkean contract' between the living, the dead and the yet-to-be-born, and a sense of responsibility

*"Our children are going to benefit from it and their children. It's absolutely our duty, yeah."*

*"Protect ...Like I'm going to protect my children when they are crossing the road, so that word is really key."*

*"That's what we've all been talking about. Should be more like 'You can do this for the next generation.' That's missed."*

5

**Integrity & authenticity**

Defence of honesty and purity against corruption/pollution/health/vested interests

*"You don't know until a year, 5 years or 10 years down the line that you find out they are lying. Like the banks, everything was supposed to be fine then we had a huge crash."*

*"We need limits to multiculturalism so we retain Britain as Britain. I've seen our country diluted over so many years."*

*"What's going into food, the GMOs and all that, people having a lot of heart attacks. So many people are dying a lot earlier."*

6

**Scepticism of centralisation**

Including 'big government'; a preference for pragmatism

*"I don't like giving to big charities, I don't want to give money to the man at the top. If I know the face then I will give money."*

*"10 years ago I was quite vocal with Birmingham City Council about recycling and they said they couldn't recycle plastics. Birmingham, a centre of industry, and we haven't got any facilities for recycling plastics? And then because the EU said we've got all these targets to meet we have actually got to go and do it now."*

*"Being part of the EU should protect our resources but it didn't and I think the same will happen now, whether we are independent or not."*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>7</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Conscientiousness</b></p> <p>Being thorough, careful, vigilant, disciplined and polite</p>	<p><i>"You can't trust anyone."</i></p> <p><i>"Everyone has an agenda."</i></p> <p><i>"I don't think people are allowed to have an opinion anymore. When people were talking about how they were going to vote on Facebook everyone else was jumping on it, going mad."</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>8</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Security, sacrifice &amp; loyalty</b></p> <p>To the in-group (family, community, country)</p>	<p><i>"I am proud of the support we give to people who are in need - our country looks after its people."</i></p> <p><i>"I think people make Britain what it is."</i></p> <p><i>"It's fantastic what the police must be doing in London behind the scenes to stop terrorism, when we look at France and Germany and Belgium."</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>9</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Fairness</b></p> <p>Success is rewarded; transgressions are punished; keeping things in balance is important</p>	<p><i>"I have an issue with people who don't contribute to society, who are a financial drain, who don't contribute to the country or the world."</i></p> <p><i>"I am proud of our diversity. Incomers working hard to achieve what they have."</i></p> <p><i>"Some people abuse it, landlords taking lots of money from the state to support high rents. It needs better policing."</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>10</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>The good life</b></p> <p>An aspiration to happiness, good health, and wellbeing</p>	<p><i>"I would never change my childhood. Kids today it's all ipads."</i></p> <p><i>"The earth, the environment, going out into the garden and getting muddy, that is still being part of a kid."</i></p> <p><i>"I'm proud of the freedom of expression we've got, the humour we've got."</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>11</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Aesthetics</b></p> <p>Sensitivity to negativity, ugliness and breaches of purity; appreciation of natural beauty</p>	<p><i>"I've got a friend who lived in a house which was built on a landfill and all the fumes were making the children sick. I'm poisoning my kids, I'm poisoning my family."</i></p> <p><i>"I remember when there was no such thing as sodium fluoride in the water. I remember when you weren't allowed to let the child chew the end of the cot because of lead in the paint. Keep the good and chuck out the bad."</i></p> <p><i>"And soon there won't be any elephants left. It makes me cry when I see that."</i></p>

## What is loved and needs protecting?

Table 3 lays out how the internal values and principles of centre-right audiences often find external expression. These are the features of the world which centre-right consistently hold dear in our research. The table cross-references the ‘things that are loved’ with the eleven principles in Table 2.

**Table 3 - What centre-right audiences want to protect**

The things that are loved/need protection	The principles this relates to
Continuity and a sense of control	1, 2, 4, 6
Family	4, 8, 3
Air quality and beauty of nature	9, 11, 5
Cultural heritage	3, 5
Wellbeing, health & quality of life	10, 8
The green and pleasant land	11, 8
A sense of balance	9
Efficiency	7, 6
Purity of nature	11, 5



## Whom do centre-right audiences trust?

Results from this project confirm the findings emerging from our previous centre-right research. In general, centre-right audiences distrust big institutions. **Governments, businesses, the news media, environmentalists, large charities<sup>1</sup> – all were seen as being untrustworthy.** Credibility comes from authenticity and honesty. This is something earned through consistent patterns of behaviour demonstrating integrity and a willingness to admit mistakes. **Trusted messengers** are real ordinary people speaking their mind. **Centre-right audiences value transparency and accountability.** Respect will be shown to those who have made something of themselves and are contributing to society. Making money is OK, but it's important to be honest about motives. If someone is doing something to make money, they should say so. This audience is quick to smell a rat and are naturally cynical and critical of faceless institutions. As well as respecting direct and straightforward messaging, the centre-right are dismissive of overly positive or bold claims and projections. A great deal of standard environmental campaigning emphasises the exciting changes a low carbon future will bring – new opportunities, technologies and lifestyles. We find that **this audience rejects narratives with overly optimistic language about major changes** and are most inclined to accept language arguing for small, measurable and balanced changes.

## Diversity within centre-right audiences

### Age

In a recent poll of people's political positioning, 17% of UK voters identified themselves as centre-right, with a further 45% who consider themselves as 'centre' (Opinium, 2016). 22% of those aged 65 yrs+, 20% of those aged 55–64, and 13% of both the 35–54 and 18–34 age groups self-identified as centre-right – so there is a drift towards older age groups among this audience, although people with centre-right values can be found among all age groups.

Research shows the younger centre-right audience (under 30) appears less sceptical of the climate science and more open to renewable policy. Communications about climate change is most effective with this younger generation, who 'get' the problem but want it presented with distinctly centre-right language solutions. Younger audiences in general are much better informed about climate risks and policies. In one poll of conservative voters under 25 years old, 40% said they "could not vote for this party without a strong climate policy" (YouGov, 2013).

### Rural/urban

80% of people in Britain live in urban areas, and many of the surrounding country areas are dominated by retirement homes, second homes, and commuter homes for urbanites. The dominant perspective on the countryside is therefore urban – a primarily aesthetic response, shaped by television and occasional day trips.

In our previous research with this audience, people associated countryside with air quality, nature, landscape, community and national identity. There is little consideration among urbanites of the countryside as a place for producing food or economic products. Attitudes to this domain are fundamentally defensive and conservative – wishing to defend the countryside's iconic identity and historic values – and people are highly resistant to visual change.

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<sup>1</sup> The National Trust and Macmillan Cancer Support were notable exceptions



Cities are the domain within which people are most welcoming of change and where the low carbon future offers the most positive changes – for example, in terms of improvements to air quality following the wide scale adoption of low emission vehicles.

## Gender

In recent polling, 27% of males and 18% of females self-identified as centre-right (Opinium, 2016). Although there was no specific testing of this in the Woking and Birmingham workshops, analysis of the recordings does suggest a greater propensity to mention the duty to future generations amongst female participants. However, given the small numbers involved, it is not possible to generalise from this sample to the broader population. Other research, though the evidence isn't emphatic, shows women are less likely to be sceptical of climate change than men (Scientific American, 2015). Conservative white males are the group most likely to be sceptical of climate change (Guardian, 2011).

## Place identity

Place and people's relationship to it are increasingly been seen as a driver in identity. The Birmingham workshop participants were more homogeneous in their identity than the group in Woking, and there was a definitive working class character to that Birmingham workshop identity. All the participants in Birmingham voted for Brexit, but at least two of the Woking participants voted to stay in. Whilst three Woking participants mentioned news media they trusted, no expression of trust towards the media was forthcoming in Birmingham. The Birmingham group expressed a stronger sense of place identity than the group in Woking. In fact the latter group made no mention of Woking, which may in part reflect the commuter belt status of the town. The Birmingham participants were as likely to identify as being from Birmingham as Britain.

## Attitudes to climate change

Social research consistently shows that **people do not tend to spontaneously mention climate change as a future or present threat**. This is as true of centre-right audiences as the broader public. **There is a limited understanding of, and limited day to day attention paid to, climate change.** Conversations about climate change quickly become discussions of recycling and other more immediate and local environmental concerns. There is strong distrust of the numbers and data. **Though estrangement from the science is not unique to centre-right audiences, mistrust of the sources of that information compound and reinforce the barriers to communication.** There is a widespread sense by the centre-right that energy and climate change is an issue driven by left-wing political priorities and prone to hype and exaggeration (i.e. not 'balanced'). Therefore, any attempt to force through a watertight argument built on the science of climate change may backfire because big numbers can arouse suspicion or provoke challenges. The important thing is that the centre-right care more about the consequences of climate change and how to address these, not that they accept every last facet of the climate change 'story'.



## Language, frames and words to use and to avoid

**Table 4 - Do's and Don'ts for framing messages about climate change with centre-right audiences**

Do's	Don'ts
<p><b>Use personal stories and testimony</b>, not 'big numbers' to talk about climate change.</p>	<p><b>Don't force the issue of 'accepting' climate change</b> – most people acknowledge it and have a sense that the weather is changing.</p>
<p>On energy-saving, <b>rely on the logic of avoiding wastefulness</b> rather than the more contentious concept of 'fuel poverty.' The most useful terms may be renew, renovate, modernise, and update.</p>	<p><b>Don't stress change</b> – people are averse to change in the home environment. Rather, highlight that important values (comfort, family, appearance, retreat, security) will be continued and strengthened.</p>
<p><b>Lead with the 'co-benefits' of renewables</b> (health, wellbeing) but don't use the term 'co-benefits' – it is jargon that is not positively viewed.</p> <p>Conversion, transfer, and shift are useful substitutes for the word 'change' in the context of the shift to renewables.</p>	<p><b>Don't over-hype or exaggerate the likely benefits of renewable technologies</b> – over-optimistic claims are likely to backfire.</p>
<p><b>Be honest and authentic when campaigning on large-scale renewables</b> – don't 'oversell' their benefits.</p>	<p><b>Don't assume big corporations are well regarded.</b></p>
<p><b>Make a clear distinction between younger and older centre-right audiences.</b> Scepticism about climate risks is much rarer among conservatives who are under 30.</p>	<p><b>Don't rely on big numbers</b> – claims about the efficiency or profitability of renewable technologies may not be trusted.</p>
<p><b>Provide reassurance</b> – if possible, foreground ways that people can exercise control and choice over the speed and nature of change.</p>	<p><b>Don't assume typical environmentalist language will work.</b></p>
<p><b>Emphasise that climate policies mean striking a sensible balance</b> in which everyone stands to gain – a sensible middle course that is good for our health, and good for our environment.</p>	<p><b>Don't rely on messengers who are perceived as having a vested interest in clean energy technologies.</b></p>

Table 5 lists individual words which, either through our previous audience testing or on the basis of our experience and knowledge, will be most appropriate to use with a centre-right audience, and the principles (see Table 2) which they most closely relate to.

**Table 5 - Words to use**

Words to use	Principle
Stable/stability Straightforward Settled/settlement Moderation Order	<p><b>Control and closure</b> – comfortable with a structured, consistent and straightforward framework for interpreting the world.</p> <p><b>Scepticism of centralisation</b> – including ‘big government’. A preference for pragmatism.</p>
Duty Tradition Ambition Fairness	<p><b>Respect for authority and tradition</b> – favourable towards heritage and existing cultural institutions.</p>
Resolve/resolution Predictable Balance Proportionate Fair/fairness Clear/clarity Simplicity Real/reality/realistic Consistent/consistency	<p><b>Fairness</b> – success is rewarded. Transgressions are punished. Keeping things in balance is important.</p>
Innocent/beautiful/pure Dirty/filthy Pollution Waste Ugly Messy	<p><b>Aesthetics</b> – sensitivity to negativity, ugliness and breaches of purity; appreciation of natural beauty.</p>
Efficient Reliable Reasonable/sensible Integrity Right Decent Realism	<p><b>Conscientiousness</b> – being thorough, careful, vigilant, disciplined and polite.</p>
Secure/security Prosperity Investment Defend/combat Safe Grow/growth	<p><b>Respect for authority and tradition</b> – favourable towards heritage and existing cultural institutions.</p> <p><b>Security, sacrifice and loyalty</b> – to the in-group (family, community, country).</p>

Table 6 - Words to avoid

Words to avoid	
Eco and environmentalist jargon	<p>Words such as green, eco, planet</p> <p>Attacks on oil company greed</p> <p>Moral appeals to 'save the planet'</p>
Left-wing tropes	<p><b>Social levelling:</b> equal, entitled, alliance, unified, 'the rich' and 'the poor'</p> <p><b>Political terms that suggest rapid and radical change:</b> capitalism, revolution</p> <p><b>Moralistic judgment:</b> caring/uncaring, compassion, greed</p>
Distancing language	<p>Those with centre-right values (like most people) are strongly invested in their current needs, community and locality. Therefore, avoid language that presents climate change as a future problem that will affect foreign countries or other species, or if this is unavoidably the focus of your messaging, try to minimise the 'psychological distance' of the issue by beginning with more localised, culturally congruent concerns for this audience.</p>



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