The right frame of mind: Engagement for domestic energy efficiency in Scotland

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Table of contents:

1. Summary ................................................................. p1
2. Purpose ................................................................. p5
3. Methodology ............................................................. p5
4. Progress is slowing ..................................................... p6
5. Standards and regulation ............................................. p7
6. Opposition to regulation .............................................. p7
7. Lack of knowledge about contribution of home energy to climate emissions ........................................ p8
8. Existing engagement in Scotland ................................... p9
9. The Individual, Social, Material Model of Behavioural Change ................................................................. p12
10. Other messaging to come out of the ISM / behavioural change theory approach ......................................... p14
11. ISM and the ‘recycling cul-de-sac’ ................................ p14
12. Values and frames – an introduction ................................ p15
13. Values and frames applied to opposition to regulation ................................................................. p16
14. Framing to place issues in the public domain ................. p19
15. What could the re-framed messages look like? ................. p21
17. Other trigger points and engagement partners ................. p25
18. Campaigning – engagement for increased resources ........ p25
19. Technical language and engaging industry ..................... p26
20. Key findings and recommendations .............................. p27
Annex A ........................................................................... p30
Bibliography ................................................................. p31
1. Summary

Scotland has had a history of progress in terms of increasing energy efficiency in domestic buildings, and domestic energy consumption has reduced 20% from the 2005-07 baseline. The Scottish Government is proposing Energy Performance Certificate Band C as a long-term standard for all residential properties, with a target of achieving this by 2040. However, progress is slowing, particularly in the privately rented and owner-occupied sectors, as well as among older properties and rural properties.

The Scottish Government has introduced regulation in the social-rented sector and is due to introduce regulation in private-rented housing next year. The Scottish Government has also stated that it will consider regulation for the owner-occupied sector. However, research has found opposition to this among home-owners in Scotland.

Engagement to encourage home energy efficiency through the Home Energy Scotland programme has been found to be strategic and is being carried out in partnership with a range of local and national organisations. Research has found that Home Energy Scotland is seen as a trusted provider of energy efficiency advice. It will therefore be important that any new engagement initiatives are closely integrated with the work of Home Energy Scotland.

Engagement strategies in Scotland have been strongly influenced by the Individual, Social, Material (ISM) model of behavioural change. This encourages focusing on changing behaviours where barriers to change are lowest.

However, research suggests that there is a risk that concentrating on more ‘do-able’ behaviour change can send people into a ‘cul-de-sac’, where they believe the actions they have already taken mean they have ‘done their bit’. This raises a question about whether engagement to encourage ‘do-able’ change may be inhibiting the uptake of the more intensive home energy efficiency measures now needed to match the ambition of Scottish Government targets.

This scoping study suggests that a ‘values and frames’ approach to future engagement – based on making an explicit moral case for energy efficiency – may provide an opportunity to escape the ‘cul-de-sac’ and reduce opposition to regulation in the owner-occupied sector. Some potential re-framed messages for engagement are put forward in this study. These messages are highly tentative, and this study recommends that quantitative and qualitative research is carried out to create new frames, and to test them with audiences. Factors to consider in this research may include the need for Government to be seen as a trusted advocate for a low-carbon future, where its actions match its rhetoric, and also the importance of avoiding placing responsibility for domestic energy efficiency solely on householders.

The study also proposes re-framing Energy Performance Certificates in order to more clearly highlight where homes are ‘sub-standard’ in terms of energy-efficiency. This is put forward as one example of how policy measures can be used to support the ‘values and frames’ approach, and further research is recommended to identify other policy measures that could benefit from re-framing.
Other recommendations focus on:

- clearly highlighting the contribution of home energy use to climate change;
- identifying partner organisations and potential trigger points for engagement;
- re-framing technical language used to describe home energy-efficiency measures, and;
- engaging with audiences to campaign for further Government financial support for home energy-efficiency measures.

2. Purpose

This report is designed as a scoping exercise on stakeholder engagement designed to help demonstrate that regulations on energy performance can be fair and have a positive impact, and that those affected will have good advice and support on compliance.

In this study, we use 'engagement' to mean pro-active efforts to take crafted messages to targeted audiences in order to encourage a change in views and behaviours.

The report explores the potential for an initiative that could involve direct engagement with landlords, tenants and home-owners to raise awareness of and support for regulation on energy performance, and makes some suggestions on how engagement with landlords, tenants and home-owners could be used demonstrate to government and politicians, a desire for increased government support for warm homes.

The report considers research and expertise from pilot projects on attitudes and behaviours in relation to energy efficiency upgrades and provides recommendations for the focus of future engagement work in terms of audience (e.g. owner/occupiers or private rented sector, geographic area, community of interest), and policy (e.g. regulation, incentives, and communication). These recommendations are based on evidence around the urgency and opportunity for engagement.

3. Methodology

We firstly carried out a review of literature around the efficacy of engagement and communications in the field of energy efficiency, both in Scotland and in other countries.

Secondly, we carried out interviews with stakeholders in the field of energy efficiency in Scotland, in order to learn more about existing approaches to communication and engagement, and to examine possible engagement opportunities and what kinds of communication might best engage with different audiences.

Thirdly, we examined existing theories of behaviour change used in Scotland and around the world, including the Individual, Social and Material model, and models that take a 'values and frames' approach.

Fourthly, we considered evidence on which housing demographics and attributes are under-performing in terms of energy efficiency in Scotland, with the aim of gaining insight into which audiences might be most in need of engagement.
Fifthly, we examined the background of policy and regulation around energy efficiency, in order to consider possible changes in terms of communication and engagement around the implementation of regulation, and to identify engagement opportunities this might present.

4. Progress is slowing

The Scottish Government’s Energy Efficient Scotland programme is designed to support its Climate Change Plan, which sets out to reduce total greenhouse gas emissions by at least 80% on 1990 levels by 2050. Achieving this will mean that by the middle of this century, all buildings in Scotland will need to be near zero carbon where feasible. (Scottish Government, 2018).

Scotland has had a history of progress in terms of increasing energy efficiency in domestic buildings, and domestic energy consumption has been reduced by 20% from the 2005-07 baseline. (Scottish Government, 2018b). Looking at Energy Performance Certificates (EPCs), which rate properties from A (the most efficient) to G (least efficient), there have been consistent reductions in the numbers of homes in EPC bands E F, and G in Scotland. Using the UK Government’s recommended Standard Assessment Procedure (SAP) 2009, the number of such homes in Scotland fell to around 360,000 in 2015, down from 630,000 in 2010. (Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017)

However, in recent years the improvement rate has fallen from around 55,000 homes a year to around 40,000 homes a year or fewer.

*The reasons for the fall are uncertain: it may be that lower-cost insulation measures are no longer as freely available, or that the easier properties to upgrade have largely been addressed, leaving a greater proportion of properties which require more complex measures.*

(Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017)

There is evidence that the ability to improve homes through lower-cost energy efficiency measures may be limited. For example, in 2016 some 94% of homes in Scotland had at least 100mm of loft insulation installed, and around 72% of cavity wall dwellings were already insulated (Scottish Government, 2018b).

Some 1.54 million homes - 64% of the total - were rated below EPC Band C (Citizens Advice Scotland 2017). Some 49% of social housing is in EPC band C, compared to just 33% in both the private rented and owner-occupied tenures. Some 10% of dwellings in the social sector are in EPC bands E, F or G, while around a quarter of owner occupied and private rented sector dwellings are within these bands (National Statistics, 2018). In short, a lot of work remains to be done and the pace of change appears to be slowing. In addition, there are particular sectors where the pace of change is lagging behind, as pointed out by Citizens Advice Scotland:

*...poorer energy efficiency tends to be concentrated in older, detached, off-gas homes – more likely rural, or electrically heated urban, homes – and in the privately rented and owner-occupied sectors.*

(Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017)
5. Standards and regulation

There is increasing acknowledgement of the need to introduce statutory standards and regulations in order increase the uptake of energy efficiency measures.

The Scottish Government is proposing EPC Band C as a long-term standard for all residential properties, with a target of achieving this by 2040 (Scottish Government, 2018).

In the social rented sector, the Scottish Government is proposing a target to maximise the number of homes achieving EPC B by 2032. The consultation also proposes that no social housing should be let after 2025 if the energy efficiency rating is lower than EPC D (Scottish Government, 2018c).

In the private rented sector, the Scottish Government has pledged to bring forward regulations requiring that any property where there is a change in tenancy after 1 April 2020 will need to be at least EPC E, and that all privately rented properties will need to be at least EPC E by the end of March 2022. Where there is a change in tenancy after 1 April 2022, the property will need to be at least EPC D, and all privately rented properties will need to be at least EPC D by the end of March 2025. More detail on how these standards will be applied will be set out alongside draft regulations in 2019 (Scottish Government, 2018c - See Annex A).

In the owner-occupied sector, the Scottish Government is proposing that all owner-occupied properties should meet the long-term domestic standard of EPC C by 2040. The Government says that to do this, it may be necessary to compel home-owners from 2030 through regulation, depending on the success of the Energy Efficient Scotland programme in encouraging voluntary action.

There were around 649,000 households living in fuel poverty in 2016, of which 79% were living in homes rated below EPC C (National Statistics, 2018). The Scottish Government’s Fuel Poverty Strategy and the forthcoming Fuel Poverty Bill will set statutory targets on fuel poverty. The Government is committed to removing poor energy performance of housing as a driver of fuel poverty, and proposes that the homes of all fuel-poor households reach EPC C by 2030 and EPC B by 2040 where technically feasible, cost effective, and ‘affordable to the public purse’ (Scottish Government, 2018c).

6. Opposition to regulation

The prospect of further regulation in the field of energy efficiency is opposed by some members of the public. Research for a recent Citizens Advice Scotland report,

...clearly confirmed the continuing, substantial challenge to be overcome before consumers – and home-owners in particular – can be persuaded to accept regulation of their ‘private domain’ to achieve minimum standards of energy efficiency.
(Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017)

The report goes on to recommend that substantial efforts should be made to lead and transform public opinion on the real benefits of installing energy efficiency measures.
The technical study supporting the Citizens Advice Scotland report found strong feeling against regulation in the owner-occupied sector through the discussion forums:

...the scenario was variously described as 'bullying', 'controlling', 'robbery' and 'a money-making scheme' for government. Several participants went as far as to suggest that there would be civil unrest – or ‘a riot’, as a couple of people put it – if such a measure were implemented... there was a clear sense in which participants were protective of the private domain and felt what they do in/with their homes should be entirely up to them.  
(Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017a)

In an interview for this scoping study, the Scottish Association of Landlords underlined the scepticism about energy efficiency regulation in the private-rented sector.

I think most of them (landlords) are a bit sick of regulations because the sector has really changed in the last 15 years, become very heavily regulated, whereas it wasn’t really at all regulated in the past. A lot of that I think is welcomed by good landlords who want to drive the worst of the operators out of the sector. A lot of it, they say is overkill and not enforced properly, and that's where a lot of the resistance comes from… I think most landlords consider that tenants should be left to vote with their feet as to whether they choose to take on a property that the landlord says, ‘I have invested money in making it efficient or not’ and usually the rent will reflect the standard of the property.  
Interview with Scottish Association of Landlords for this scoping study

7. Lack of knowledge about contribution of home energy to climate emissions

Emissions from housing account for 32% of greenhouse gas emissions from Scottish households, of which nearly 90% is attributable to home energy use- an area where there is significant potential to reduce emissions. The other 10% is made up of actual and imputed rental, maintenance and repair. Space and water heating together account for over 83% of energy use in the home. Electricity consumed by lighting and appliances accounts for 18% of home energy use (Scottish Government, 2016d).

However, research has found home energy efficiency was low on the list of people’s priorities when asked ‘What do you do to combat climate change?’. While 33% of people said they recycled their household waste, just 9% said they sought to save energy.  
(Scottish Government, 2016a). A survey carried out in 2017 found that Scottish citizens think that the use of gas and electricity in the home is only marginally more responsible for climate change than smoking. (Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017a)
8. Existing engagement in Scotland

We carried out four interviews with individuals closely involved in the planning and delivery of engagement with audiences around energy efficiency in Scotland.

From the interviews, it appears that this work is being carried out in a strategic way, with clear thought given to tailoring messages for particular audiences, audience segmentation, pro-actively communicating with targeted audiences, theories of behavioural change, and monitoring and evaluation.

Home Energy Scotland is a network of five regional advice centres covering all of Scotland, funded by the Scottish Government, and offering free, impartial advice on energy saving, renewable energy, sustainable transport and water. Home Energy Scotland is managed by the Energy Saving Trust, a UK not-for-profit organisation devoted to promoting energy efficiency, energy conservation, and the sustainable use of energy, thereby reducing carbon dioxide emissions and helping to prevent man-made climate change. (Energy Saving Trust, 2018) and contributing to the eradication of fuel poverty. Home Energy Scotland is delivered at a regional level by four social enterprises: Changeworks, the Energy Agency, SCARF, and the Wise Group.

Home Energy Scotland provides a nationwide helpline for anyone interested in the energy efficiency of their home and/or lowering their fuel bills. Callers can be referred to advisers with specialist knowledge about their particular housing needs. Advisers carry out an assessment to see what support is available through the variety of Government support schemes on offer, whether that be in the form of grants or loans. There is a particular focus on helping people who may be in fuel poverty, which includes a check to ensure they are receiving all the social security benefits they may be entitled to, providing a gateway to extra energy efficiency support.

Home Energy Scotland carries out nationwide marketing and advertising and has a national social media presence. It also has regionalised social media channels based around its five regional advice offices in Aberdeen, Ayr, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Inverness, providing local content. Each office also has a budget for its own marketing and advertising and has marketing staff in place.

Home Energy Scotland has worked with more than 1,000 different partner organisations around the country and continues to actively seek new partners - from small community groups to large organisations like the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service - all of whom can refer contacts on to the helpline for support (Home Energy Scotland, 2017).

We find huge amounts of value in engaging with partners to deliver the messages that we've got... especially when it comes to more vulnerable audiences. We find that it's very hard to reach people directly... in fuel poverty or struggling... [with] low income, [or] a health condition. Our general day-to-day consumer marketing doesn't always reach those people. We've got a partnership team... in Edinburgh, and they're split into affordable warmth partnership.... looking at potential partner organisations to support our fuel poor target audience, as well as... employee engagement, [targeting] a more general population. Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ayr, Aberdeen, and Inverness all have their own partnership officers, and community
liaison officers as well. That is a huge strand of how we engage with the people that we know need our help the most.

Interview with Energy Saving Trust for this scoping study

Research (ClimateXChange, 2018) suggests that Home Energy Scotland's extensive strategic use of trusted local partners embedded in communities, as well as its own regionalised structure, is a good model for effective engagement. It will therefore be important that any new engagement initiatives are closely integrated with the work of Home Energy Scotland. The Better Buildings Neighborhood Program (BBNP) in the United States and the UK's Green Deal (GD) scheme were similar schemes with similar ambitions of scale in terms of promoting energy efficiency retrofit. But a study found that BBNP has a conversion rate of contacts to actual retrofits of around 9.1% - much higher than that of the Green Deal at just 2.8%. Research suggests that a large part of that success was due to community outreach and working with community partners who had people’s trust.

Within BBNP, the most effective means of generating participation was through personal outreach and Community Based Social Marketing (CBSM) using trusted messengers. [Researchers] emphasise the deeper connection that the CBSM approach facilitated, with cold-calling and mass-media used to drive awareness but making the messenger as important as the message was seen as critical. For BBNP ‘word of mouth’ was the most common means through which participants entered the programme, while for the GD it ranked fourth behind direct sales, leaflets and contact with a utility company... Alongside this, the BBNP roughly achieved its objectives on implementation, energy savings and jobs, while the GD was effectively ended by low take-up and concerns about industry standards. (ClimateXChange 2018)

Research has highlighted the importance of trust and credibility in terms of engagement. For example, research by ClimateXChange found that ‘energy assessments were found to have both positive and negative effects, and the face-to-face engagement with households should be carried out by a trusted, credible source’. Research has found that third-sector organisations such as the Energy Saving Trust may have an advantage over other groups and organisations:

the research also pointed to wider considerations shaping public engagement with the home energy efficiency agenda, which may prove instructive in terms of winning ‘hearts and minds’...[including] the perceived veracity of different actors in the energy sphere and, in particular, low levels of trust in suppliers, as well as ‘independent’ assessors, the media and to a lesser extent Government. As previous research has suggested, it may be that messaging on home energy improvements would best be delivered by other actors – perhaps third-sector organisations such as the Energy Saving Trust. Participants’ very positive reaction to presentations given by the EST at the different fora provides some testimony of the likely value of such as approach. (Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017a)
Case Study 1 – Making Every Conversation Count

Home Energy Scotland uses trusted local partners to create strategic engagement opportunities with particular audiences, using tailored messaging.

Every autumn, GP surgeries in Scotland offer flu vaccinations to people over 65, healthcare workers, pregnant women, and people with a variety of different health conditions. This is one of their busiest periods of the year.

Home Energy Scotland has built up partnerships with many of these surgeries across the country and locate energy advisers in their waiting rooms during flu vaccination season. In the South East of Scotland and Highlands & Islands, these advisers are employed by Changeworks, who are contracted by the Energy Saving Trust to deliver Home Energy Scotland advice centres in these areas.

Changeworks used the Individual Social Material model of behavioural change (see Section 9 below) to create training for their advisers entitled ‘Making Every Conversation Count’. It uses behavioural change theory to advise how best to get a ‘foot in the door’ with clients, what kind of language is likely to maintain engagement, how advisers can tailor their conversations to each individual, how to usefully deal with rejections or negative reaction, and how to elicit pledges from individuals to take certain actions or make certain behavioural changes.

It was changing the adviser’s behaviour to use slightly different language bringing in some of the things like loss aversion. They’re now talking about “You’re wasting energy” as opposed to “We’re going to help save you some money.” It was just kind of framing it. Focusing on not wasting things. Linking up why they were there and then tailoring it to this person.

Interview with Changeworks for this scoping study

If it’s somebody who doesn’t really need a lot of help, but is maybe interested in what support they can get, it’s a quick chat and maybe a leaflet or some sign-posting for them. If it’s somebody who the adviser identifies as maybe being eligible for a government support scheme or who would benefit from a more in-depth chat or who would benefit from a home visit…then they’ll arrange to follow-up with a phone call. The feedback… has been that it’s very effective. There’s very high conversion rate to people actually being willing to have a follow-up call and answering that call, and taking… the support forward.

Interview with Energy Saving Trust for this scoping study

Home Energy Scotland uses its own extensive Customer Relationship Management database alongside commercial audience segmentation platforms to target engagements at particular groups, and tailor messages accordingly.

When we are looking for customers within our database to target with an email campaign... [or] when we’re doing our marketing planning. We... need to do an
audience analysis to add so much kind of richness to the data. It [the commercial platform] is something that we get a lot of use out of. I think it's a very worthwhile tool for us to have. We have full access to it. Anybody in the organisation can use it. It’s a really great help for marketers.

**Interview with Energy Saving Trust for this scoping study**

Home Energy Scotland carries out engagement at large national exhibitions and conferences - such as home-building shows, or the Royal Highland show - as well as smaller regional and community events, through its network of local advice centres. Staff attending these events are given briefings beforehand, with messages tailored to different audiences.

*Using the Home Building Show as an example, we get the advisers together who are going to the event, and just get them to think about who they’re going to meet and what are the key messages that we can tell them about that will be most relevant to what they’re doing on that day. Quite often, that is a really good event for us to get people interested in some of the interest free loans that the Scottish Government offers through the Energy Saving Trust... [We do not have a] one size fits all approach with the same set of messages for everybody. We really have learned that we need to tailor it to the audience, and get the message right.*

**Interview with Energy Saving Trust for this scoping study**

9. The Individual, Social, Material Model of Behavioural Change

The Individual, Social, Material (ISM) model is a tool for designing policy interventions, developed in the context of sustainability challenges. It was created by Andrew Darnton and colleagues at the University of Manchester and launched by the Scottish Government in 2013. The ISM model has been embedded in planning for the Scottish Climate Change Action Plan (Scottish Government, 2016a) and in research on motivating low carbon behaviours (Scottish Government, 2016b).

ISM brings together into a single figure the main factors from the three disciplines most concerned with understanding behaviour: behavioural economics, social psychology, and sociology. The factors are arranged into three contexts, symbolised by a head (the Individual) in a circle (the Social) in a square (the Material). Evidence from reviews of international behaviour change interventions suggests that lasting change requires action in all three contexts.

(AD Research and Analysis Ltd, 2017)

The ISM model has been applied in other fields of public engagement in Scotland, such as community clean ups (Keep Scotland Beautiful, 2017) and the national walking strategy (Scottish Government, 2014). It appears to have helped embed the idea of behaviour change theory in the realm of Scottish public policy.

This Scottish Government’s research on motivating low carbon behaviours (Scottish Government, 2016a) examined how external factors could influence the likelihood of people carrying out changes in 10 key behaviour areas designed to improve home energy efficiency. These external factors include social factors – such as social status, or people’s
perceptions of how others behave – and material factors – such as rules and regulations, technology and infrastructure.

Some behaviours, such as turning down thermostats and buying energy efficient appliances, were found to be ‘...perceived to be governed by comparatively few external factors, so easier to adopt’. Others, such as installing insulation or replacing a boiler, were behaviours ‘...which external factors are perceived to have a significant influence on, which will be relatively easy for some and relatively hard for others’.

Organising key behaviours by their dependence on external factors gives a good guide to which are the most doable, and therefore which behaviours it makes sense to focus on for social marketing campaigns.

(Scottish Government, 2016a)

Case Study 2 – The ISM Model in Practice

Between October 2013 and March 2014, the Energy Saving Trust carried out a study using the ISM model, examining barriers and behaviours around the uptake of solid wall insulation (EST, 2014).

The study focused on households who had decided to install solid wall insulation (and in some cases, already had it installed) to investigate their experience in order to draw insights and inform recommendations for how to encourage others to follow suit. Households were recruited to participate in the study and were asked to answer two questionnaires. To supplement the questionnaires, and provide further understanding, some households took part in in-depth interviews, provided material for case studies and kept video diaries.

The report draws 14 conclusions about the uptake of solid wall insulation and makes several recommendations for consideration to address these conclusions. Among the conclusions are that:

- The benefits of insulation need to be more clearly explained to householders,
- Cost is the biggest barrier to uptake, so marketing of financial benefits and schemes of financial support will both continue to be important in promoting solid wall insulation.
- Warmth is even more important than energy and bill savings for householders and there is an opportunity to promote solid wall insulation based on this benefit.
- Community groups can reach parts of the public that other stakeholders cannot.
- Home Energy Scotland advice centres are a valuable resource.

Case Study 3 – The ISM Model Used to Encourage Behaviour Change

Another bit of work that we did would have been a behaviour change pilot with the Energy Saving Trust. This was a fairly large-scale project about two years ago, where people were given experiments... things like “Turn your thermostat down by one degree. If you haven’t noticed the change in comfort, congratulations. Now
The right frame of mind: Engagement for domestic energy efficiency in Scotland

you’re saving X amount per year. If you are? Okay. Well, let’s try something else.” That was the general principle, but the ISM model was very much involved in the design... at every stage...

...talking about “in your home you can be warmer and more comfortable for less money”... It was the kind of language that was really found to be more effective. The other key thing... was to make the change part and parcel of what people are doing anyway. "You’re [already] doing this, just do it slightly differently and it will cost you less". [That is] rather than "Change your behaviour, do something new. Change your patterns. Forget what you know." It’s... working with what you have already.

Interview with Changeworks for this scoping study

10. Other messaging to come out of the ISM / behavioural change theory approach

In interviews for this scoping study Changeworks stated its aim of becoming a ‘centre for best practice for behavioural change practice’. Theories of behavioural change, and the ISM model in particular, have fed into crafting messages for engagement. These have in turn been fed into the organisation’s work as a partner in Home Energy Scotland.

...there is no 'one size fits all'... The work we’ve been doing has led to different insights about different groups. Recently we did some work with higher energy users, anyone who's not in total poverty... middle-class people... to know what made people tick and what could motivate people... They pretty much want to be in control... [to] see themselves as being in control. Any kind of talk about wasting, or being seen to be wasting, is completely against what they stood for. It seemed to really get under people’s skin... In terms of engagement, that’ll be what we’ll be trying to bring to the forefront... talking about, other than saving, ‘don’t waste energy’. Even though no one was particularly motivated or interested in their energy consumption or... conserving it, it would still hit a nerve if they were to be perceived [as people] that... waste a little.

Interview with Changeworks for this scoping study

11. ISM and the ‘recycling cul-de-sac’

In general, the ISM model has recommended engaging with people - at least in the first instance - around the behaviour changes that are most easy for people to carry out. It has also stated that:

Other influences, more personal and closer to home, are likely to motivate people more than reducing carbon emissions or what is perceived as the distant threat of climate change. These include financial savings, aversion to waste and the benefits of improving the local environment.

(Scottish Government, 2016a.)
In an interview for this study, Changeworks talked about their work looking at the motivations of high energy use households, which found that people's main concern was not:

* wider environmental concern or moral obligation or anything. It was just how will it affect me? What was the bottom line for me? That was something that was slightly counter-intuitive. I think we had been hoping to tap-in to some of the norms, thinking that, "If you knew how much energy you use in relation to your neighbours or in relation to your community," that could make you think twice about it.*

**Interview with Changeworks for this scoping study**

But, the ISM research also shows that recycling waste is the behaviour spontaneously mentioned by far the most people when discussing combating climate change, and points out that the "perceived strong association between combating climate change and recycling can in fact inhibit the uptake of the other key behaviours, as people feel they are already 'doing their bit'" (Scottish Government, 2016b).

This may raise a question around whether the promotion of other 'do-able' energy saving behaviours in engagements such as social marketing campaigns could also have the consequence of inhibiting the uptake of the more intensive home energy efficiency measures now needed to match the ambition of Scottish Government targets. For instance, a campaign to have people turn down their thermostats one degree might be successful in its goals, as it meets people where they are, but may risk sending people down a 'cul-de-sac' which could reduce the likelihood of them carrying out more extensive retrofit measures.

## 12. Values and frames – an introduction

Cognitive science (Common Cause, 2012) suggests that people’s views and behaviours are governed at a very fundamental level by their values. These values have been broadly separated into ‘extrinsic’ values – such as the importance of social status and wealth – and ‘intrinsic’ values – such as the importance of social justice, compassion, and caring for nature. Some cognitive linguists have traced the foundations of these values to two opposing archetypal mental conceptions of the family (Lakoff and Wehling, 2012).

The research suggests that values can be activated by using ‘frames’. Frames are mental structures based on language, metaphor, images, sounds. The use of different frames can activate different values.

Over time, frames become embedded in our thinking and discourse through repeated exposure. The frames most prominent in our minds provide communicative short-cuts. These can provide helpful short-cuts or unhelpfully distort our thinking. Frames such as the ‘bloated civil service’ and ‘taxpayers’ money’ provoke negative reactions to the idea of public spending. An alternative framing might refer to ‘public funds.’ Frames thus help us define the roles of actors and institutions. Through framing we understand how things work—but also how things should work.

(Common Cause, 2012)
By repeated use of frames that activate certain values, those values become strengthened. An analogy often used is the strengthening of a muscle through weight training. This strengthening has a see-saw effect, weakening opposing values that rely on a different set of neurological connections in the brain. So, for example, using frames that strengthens values around ‘Universalism’ and ‘Benevolence’ will weaken those around ‘Achievement’ and ‘Power’.

Some of the ‘frames’ suggested by the ISM model to encourage behaviour change around energy efficiency include saving money, and personal comfort in the home (Scottish Government, 2016a). ‘Saving money’ could be seen as a frame appealing to extrinsic values around ‘Power’, and ‘comfort’ as a frame appealing to extrinsic values around ‘Security’.

Research by Common Cause suggests that care must be taken when aiming for behaviour change using frames that appeal to extrinsic values:

> While we absolutely agree with the need to tailor a message to the intended audience, we have been highly critical of approaches which, following value surveys, have appealed to those audience segments who place greater relative importance on extrinsic values by framing communications and campaigns to appeal to these values.

(Common Cause, 2012a)

The research carried out by Common Cause suggests that extrinsic frames - around ‘saving money’ for example - are likely to engage extrinsic values, and therefore erode wider concern about environmental and social problems. However, the research also suggests that audiences who hold extrinsic values to be more important, ‘can nonetheless be engaged in ways that lead them to express concerns consistent with intrinsic values’. Doing so increases their concern for ‘bigger-than-self’ problems such as climate change.

13. Values and frames applied to opposition to regulation

A study by the US-based Shelton Group - marketing communications firm focused exclusively on energy and the environment - found that ‘regulation’ is a ‘divisive word’ (Shelton Group, 2017a):

> Almost 70% of Americans agreed that a lot of companies wouldn’t do anything to protect the environment unless those companies were forced to by law. However, the word “regulation” is not popular. Only 38% of respondents rated it positively, with almost a quarter (23%) rating it negatively. Consumers know regulations are often necessary to effect positive change, but don’t confuse the acknowledged need for regulation with a positive feeling toward it.

(Shelton Group, 2017a)

The report suggests this is because the concept of regulation does not ‘tap into our broader beliefs about how the world works’. The word ‘regulation’ - along with the phrases
‘environmental stewardship’ and ‘carbon footprint’ - are said to ‘reference world-views that are less archetypal in American culture’.

The cognitive linguists George Lakoff and Elizabeth Wehling have suggested that communication on public policy is ineffective when it is framed in a way that does not challenge people’s deeply-held moral values. Lakoff has created two archetypes that reflect different moral outlooks – a ‘strict father morality’ and a ‘progressive’ morality based around values of ‘empathy and responsibility’. It is important to note that these are archetypes, and that Lakoff believes individuals often hold moral views based on both outlooks in different areas of their lives (Lakoff and Wehling, 2012).

In the ‘strict father’ morality, the ultimate authority of the father is projected onto the market economy. In this moral outlook, regulation is seen as interference in the ‘private domain’ and therefore immoral and subject to opposition.

The Shelton Group recommends using ‘words that unite’ when promoting behaviours designed to improve or protect the environment, including behaviours designed to address climate change.

Their research found that the words ‘science’, ‘conservation’ and ‘sustainability’ all received positive scores from the American public, along with a negligible number of negative scores.

Not only do these ideas tie in with Americans’ key shared environmental beliefs, they cut to the core of American identity. But first, a word of caution: We know from our work with target groups ranging from rural farmers to urban business owners that words like ‘sustainability’, and likely ‘science’ and ‘conservation’ as well, are defined uniquely by each individual, which is one reason they elicit a positive reaction. Using them is not enough. Companies need to keep their target audiences in mind, providing more depth and the appropriate context when using these words to connect with them.

(Shelton Group, 2017a)

This chimes with recommendations from George Lakoff and Elizabeth Wehling, who highlight ‘conservation’ as an important frame in the debate around energy use,

The more we save, the less we need to use. The more we use, the less we save. Just as a penny saved is a penny earned, so energy saved is energy produced. Conservation does as much for us as production.

(Lakoff and Wehling, 2012)

In another report, the Shelton Group found that since 2010, the number of American households who are prepared to carry out energy efficiency improvements has fallen dramatically (Shelton Group, 2017b). Researchers stated that, ‘Tired old messaging about savings has lost its potency, if it ever had any to begin with’.

The research puts forward evidence that consumers are becoming more receptive to messaging around the impact of climate change on their lives, on the lives of others around them, and on the planet as a whole.
When it comes to energy efficiency messaging, protecting the planet offers an inspirational angle that strictly personal benefits, like savings or comfort, can’t match. This is why we believe it may finally be time to put climate change on the table. (Shelton Group, 2017b)

The research suggests that this should be done carefully. Attempts to make householders feel guilty about their home’s contribution to carbon emissions may be unlikely to succeed. Rather, the framing of messages should try to tap into people’s ‘innate desire to contribute to the common good’. This chimes with research by Common Cause, which shows that all individuals hold intrinsic values – like ‘protecting the environment’ - but that these values will be stronger in some than in others (Common Cause, 2012).

Much of the research highlighted in this section has been carried out in the United States, and there may be some question about its relevance to Scotland, so we have looked at evidence of the attitude of people in Scotland to climate change.

The recently published Scottish Household Survey 2017 (Scottish Government 2018e) found that the proportion of adults who view climate change as an immediate and urgent problem increased by one third between 2013 and 2017, from 46% to 61%. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: “It’s not worth me doing things to help the environment if others don’t do the same”. Disagreement with this statement suggests a positive perception of the value of individual actions, regardless of the actions of others. Some 67% of adults disagreed with this statement, an increase from 63% in 2015.

Respondents were then asked about their agreement or disagreement with the statement: “I don’t believe my behaviour and everyday lifestyle contribute to climate change”. Again, disagreement with this statement suggests a perception that there is a link between individual behaviours and lifestyle and climate change. In 2017, 59% adults disagree with this statement, an increase from 54% in 2015.

Even research which found opposition to regulation for energy efficiency measures, found that people were aware of ‘bigger-than-self’ issues:

Participants themselves were clear that, ultimately, the only way of really making incentives and regulation palatable would be by winning the ‘hearts and minds’ argument about environmental sustainability as a whole – in other words, by getting to a position where making home improvements has acquired the same ‘social norm’ status that recycling increasingly has in the public consciousness. (Citizens Advice Scotland, 2017a)

This research perhaps suggests that there may be an opportunity in Scotland to carry out engagement based on appealing to values of ‘empathy and responsibility’, including our moral responsibility to tackle climate change. Such an approach may help decrease opposition towards energy efficiency regulation.
Case Study 4 – Re-framing Poverty in The UK

The FrameWorks Institute is a US-based research company, helping organisations communicate better. They were funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation to look at how people in the UK think about poverty. It also suggests frames that can be used to activate people’s intrinsic values, with the aim of changing their thinking in a positive way.

Their research suggests that: “Making a moral case for poverty [alleviation] is the most effective way of framing this issue for a broad audience. But this doesn’t mean asserting moral superiority, claiming the moral high ground, or highlighting the moral failures of others. It does mean calling to mind the moral values that we all share and hold dear.”

The Poverty Alliance is Scotland's leading anti-poverty coalition. The Alliance has recently developed training materials on how the framing presented in the FrameWorks report can be used by member organisations, with a focus on using the frames in social media and with the news media, as well as in communities.

The aim is to ensure that organisations across the sector are speaking with a similar voice, repeating helpful frames in a way that repeatedly engages helpful values.

Examples of the training materials can be found at http://challengepoverty.net

Examples of other framing campaigns carried out by FrameWorks in the US and UK can be found at: http://frameworksinstitute.org/hall-of-frames.html

14. Framing to place issues in the public domain

As seen above, research has found strong opposition to regulation for energy-efficiency in the ‘private domain’ of people's homes.

Work by The FrameWorks Institute has found that communications that frame issues as a social problem can help change people’s perception, from an issue being a ‘private’ problem, to a public issue (FrameWorks, 2011).

FrameWorks was asked to help with a project increasing support for greater action on children’s oral health in the United States and provided snapshots of frames.

The task was to define the problem in such a way that it invited public intervention.

A Before Snapshot: “Tooth Decay is the most common chronic childhood disease in America. Nationally, it affects 50% of first graders and 80% of 17-year-olds.”

An After Snapshot: “When a child’s oral health suffers, so does school performance, because children who are in pain cannot pay attention to teachers and parents, and thus, they lose ground. Untreated oral disease has been linked with long-term health problems such as heart and respiratory diseases. The good news is we know how to prevent the majority of this disease from ever occurring.”
Framing home energy-efficiency as a public issue could therefore help get around the opposition to regulation in the ‘private domain’ and have the added benefit of helping to lessen the feeling of being ‘picked-on’ by government. This approach has been successfully used to win support for regulation in other areas of social life in Scotland, as highlighted in Case Study 5.

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**Case Study 5 – Framing to Challenge Smoking In Public Places In Scotland**

The Smoking, Health and Social Care (Scotland) Act 2005 made it an offence to smoke in any wholly or substantially enclosed public space in Scotland, with a small number of exceptions.

From the outset, the then Scottish Executive framed smoking as a social problem - as opposed to an individual failing - and promoted the legislation as a morally necessary measure to protect the health of everyone in Scotland, including smokers.

For example, in the introduction to the consultation paper on the proposal, Deputy Health Minister Tom McCabe said: "Smoking is deeply rooted within our society, particularly in some of our most deprived communities and we all know that many smokers find it very difficult to quit a habit which may well have gripped them for most of their adult lives."

When the law was enacted, Health Minister Andy Kerr highlighted the shared benefits for Scotland as a whole: "As a smoke-free nation Scotland can look forward to a healthier future. A future where Scots live longer, families stay together longer and our young people are fitter and better prepared to make the most of their ambitions."

This framing was supported by a sustained marketing and public relations campaign, involving television advertising, posters, leaflets, and a central website.

During the consultation on the proposals there was vocal opposition from many in the licensed trade and lobby groups such as FOREST, and a survey for the BBC found that around 20% of smokers said they would defy the law.

However, since the ban came into force on 26 March 2006, it has been largely accepted by the vast majority of the Scottish public, suggesting a change in people’s values has taken place. Compliance rates have been high, and as of 14 June 2006, only one premises has been fined for permitting smoking, and that happened on the day the Act came into being.

Smoking in enclosed public spaces was later banned in England and Wales by the Health Act 2006, and in Northern Ireland by the Smoking (Northern Ireland) Order 2006.
15. What could the re-framed messages look like?

It can be difficult to talk about frames in the abstract, so we have attempted to pull together a message that could be used in engagement around energy efficiency.

This is put forward with caution. The work carried out by FrameWorks on attitudes to poverty for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation involved testing language and carrying out research on attitudes with around 20,000 individuals across the UK. Frames for energy efficiency would have to be properly tested and assessed, likely involving qualitative and quantitative research, with segmentation for different audiences.

The message takes the form of a short narrative. This narrative could be used as the basis for creating different engagement media, in a similar way to the materials produced for the Poverty Alliance in Case Study 4.

| Everyone deserves a home that's warm and energy efficient, and Scotland has become a world-leader in protecting us all from climate change. | Frames the issue in moral terms, looking to activate helpful values around ‘equality’ and ‘protecting the environment’. |
| We've made significant progress towards that goal over recent years, but that progress now needs to inspire us even more. | Frames the issue in a way that shows that progress can be made, looking to activate optimism, rather than fatalism. |
| Every home in Scotland should be up to standard by 2040. | Clearly sets out target. ‘Should’ frame contains moral imperative. |
| We all need to play our part. We're doing our bit by providing free, impartial advice on what your home needs, and how you can get help to pay for the work. | Frames the issue as a public one, rather than a private one. Frames government as a helper and enabler. |
| It will be a big effort, but it's the right thing to do. | Moral frame to activate values around ‘responsibility’. Frame prepares people for bigger behaviour changes. |
| It's the right thing to do for our world - because our homes account for a | Moral frame – supported by information. |
massive one-third of Scotland’s climate emissions.

It’s the right thing to do for our families - because it gives them a comfortable, warm, healthy environment where they can live, grow, and thrive.  

| Moral frame - looking to activate people’s values around ‘responsibility’. |

It’s the right thing to do for our citizens who struggle to afford to heat their homes.

| Moral frame – looking to activate values around ‘social justice’. |

And it’s the right thing to do for the future - because the homes we live in today will one day become homes for the generations to come.

| Moral frame – looking to activate values around ‘responsibility’. |

Now is the time that we can work together to leave a legacy to be proud of - an Energy Efficient Scotland for all.

These messages are highly tentative, and this study recommends that quantitative and qualitative research is carried out to create new frames, and to test them with audiences. Factors to consider in this research may include the need for Government to be seen as a trusted advocate for a low-carbon future, where its actions match its rhetoric. For example, Government support for actions that increase carbon emissions in spheres outside domestic energy efficiency – such as road building, or airport expansion – may create scepticism among householders, and a sense of defeatism. It may also be important to ensure that re-framed messages avoid the perception that responsibility for domestic energy efficiency lies solely with householders, and that Government has no role to play.

16. Re-framing Energy Performance Certificates

One of the major trigger points for engagement on home energy-efficiency in Scotland is when homes must receive a new Energy Performance Certificate (EPC).

A recent report (ClimateXChange, 2018) examines on how public policy can be used to encourage home-owners to invest in improving the energy efficiency of their homes. The authors state that much of the findings will also have relevance to other tenures, including the private rented sector.

The report reviewed international research on the efficacy of information-based engagement campaigns to encourage energy efficiency retrofit:
It is frequently suggested that if households were more aware of the benefits of energy retrofit they would be more interested in investing in it. However, the international evidence reviewed here suggests that policy measures that seek to increase householders’ awareness of energy use and retrofit options (such as energy performance certificates and personal energy assessments) have a very limited effect in encouraging retrofit in practice, and should be seen as a ‘supportive’ or supplementary form of policy. This is partly due to how retrofit is framed: a focus on household retrofit as solely or primarily an exercise in direct cost saving is repeatedly criticised for offering an overly narrow view of home-owners’ decision-making. Wider framings, such as how information-based interventions can affect a property’s sale or rental value, offer opportunities for more effective policy.

(ClimateXChange, 2018)

The review also suggests that the ‘limited amount of evidence available on information dissemination policies suggests that these can play a supportive role in policy packages, and that improvements could be made to EPCs’.

EPCs were introduced as part of the Home Report in 2009. They included a single survey of the property that is being sold, an energy report, and a property questionnaire (Shelter, 2018). A review of the Home Report (Scottish Government, 2015) found that ‘both industry professionals and the buyers/sellers saw the energy report as the least important and useful part of the Home Report’, although there was an acknowledgement that this might change, due to the prospect of Government regulation on minimum standards of energy efficiency, and the rising cost of energy.

The review found that some national stakeholders felt there was too much jargon in the energy report and that key points – such as the energy efficiency rating, the estimated average energy costs and recommended improvements - were ‘buried in superfluous information’.

How, then, could EPCs be improved – or re-framed – in a way that could help encourage home-owners and landlords to carry out energy-efficiency improvements?

Perhaps there could be lessons from other sections of the Home Report. The Single Survey highlights repairs that should be carried out in properties that are on the market, and places them in one of three categories:

**Category 1**: No immediate action or repair is needed.

**Category 2**: Repairs or replacement requiring future attention, but estimates are still advised.

**Category 3**: Urgent repairs or replacement are needed now. Failure to deal with them may cause problems to other parts of the property or cause a safety hazard. Estimates for repairs or replacement are needed now.

The review notes that:

There were mixed views on the extent to which the Home Report has led to improved property conditions. Some stakeholders and, to a lesser extent housing
industry professionals, felt that gradual progress was being made. However, other industry professionals felt that the Home Report had made no difference to property conditions as they thought that sellers only made small, inexpensive improvements, if they made them at all. The survey showed that half of sellers paid £250 or less on repairs and only 10% spent more than £1,000, which supports this view. However, the survey also showed that, although sellers are not completing many repairs (36% of category 2 and 3 repairs identified in the Home Report), the majority of buyers (75%) are doing so.

(Scottish Government, 2015)

The review also reported views from ‘national stakeholders’ at the ‘front-line of the industry’ that repairs would be used as a ‘bargaining chip’ for the price of the property, even if they were not completed by the seller.

The review recommended that the Scottish Government should consider a further objective for Home Reports around energy efficiency, and should also ‘consider incorporating the classification in the energy report into the main repairs category to give it more prominence’.

There therefore appears to be scope to re-frame EPCs and re-structure Home Reports in order to take advantage of opportunities to use information-based interventions to affect a property’s sale or rental value, or to highlight priority actions for buyers.

One possibility could be to re-frame EPCs in a similar way to the categories used in the Single Survey.

For example, the Scottish Government has been clear that EPC Band C is the ‘standard’ in the Energy Efficient Standard for Social Housing, and going forward, for the private rented and owner-occupied sectors – effectively a national energy efficiency standard.

Following the example of the Single Survey categories, EPCs could be re-framed, perhaps along these lines:

Category 1: Meeting or exceeding the national energy efficiency standard. No immediate action required.

Category 2: Below the national energy efficiency standard, but able to be brought up to standard with some future work. Estimates are advised.

Category 3: Significantly sub-standard in terms of energy efficiency. Urgent work is needed to bring the property up to the national energy efficiency standard. Failure to deal with these issues may cause problems to the property in terms of heat costs and damp. Estimates for this work are needed now.

The above wording would benefit from further consideration with stakeholders, but the use of the frames ‘below standard’ and ‘sub-standard’ may have the effect of making energy efficiency more of a factor in terms of the asking price or rental price of properties, encouraging action by buyers, sellers and landlords, and may increase the perception that belief to address energy-efficiency failings is a moral failing.
The re-framing of EPCs is put forward as one example, and further research is recommended to identify other policy measures that could benefit from re-framing.

17. Other trigger points and engagement partners

The Scottish Association of Landlords is the largest and only dedicated national organisation that represents landlords and letting agents throughout Scotland.

While in an interview for this scoping study the Association was clear that the ‘...vast majority of landlords in Scotland are not a member of a landlord organisation like ourselves’, the Association will be an important potential partner in engaging with the private rented sector.

And there are signs that it may become even more important, due to the introduction of mandatory standards for energy efficiency in the sector alongside other new regulations. Recently, the Association highlighted an increase in membership of around 20% in 12 months, with rises among landlords, letting agents, and businesses. The organisation attributes the growth ‘to the new regulations brought in to regulate the PRS in Scotland’ (SAL, 2018).

Our interview with the Association highlighted a measure of opposition to energy efficiency regulation, similar to the views found among home-owners by Citizens Advice Scotland in Section 6 above, however it also revealed some useful suggestions in how to support compliance. The Association highlighted the requirement for landlords to obtain an Energy Performance Certificate for their property as an important trigger point for engagement, as well as the change of tenancy. The interview highlighted local authorities and rental deposit scheme providers as important potential partners in terms of engaging with both landlords and tenants around energy efficiency, using them as vehicles to promote messages at trigger points around changes of tenancy and property registration. The new register of letting agents was also mentioned as a vehicle for engagement, with registration an important trigger point. The interview highlighted the importance of ensuring that the contact data for landlords and letting agents held by local and central government can be made available for purposes of engagement.

18. Campaigning – engagement for increased resources

Much of the engagement with home-owners and landlords around home energy efficiency will – by necessity – be directed by the Scottish Government and delivered by Home Energy Scotland and via the partnerships it has created with others.

Already there is increased engagement with the private rented sector prior to the introduction of new regulations, and the same is expected with home-owners, as the Scottish Government encourages greater voluntary efforts to improve home efficiency prior to consulting on possible future regulation.

There may be opportunities for third sector organisations to run engagement campaigns in parallel with this increased Government engagement, with a focus on encouraging home-owners, landlords, trade bodies such as the Scottish Association of Landlords, businesses,
and the general public to ask for greater investment from the Scottish Government in home energy efficiency.

Such a campaign may have to be clearly demarcated. Some organisations might find it difficult to take part due to partnership arrangements with Government. Others may not see such campaigning engagement as being suitable for their organisation, or they may have other engagement priorities.

However, there may be opportunities for individual organisations to start such engagement, alone, or in partnership with others. There may also be scope for acting in partnership with other campaign coalitions such as Stop Climate Chaos Scotland.

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**Case Study 6 – Campaigning for Action On Climate Change**

Between July and September 2017, Stop Climate Chaos Scotland (SCCS) launched ‘Act for Our Future’, a public campaign around the Scottish Government’s Climate Change Bill.

The organisation created an online campaign hub, with resources for activists, videos and links for individuals to contact Government and their MSPs. The campaign was highlighted prominently on social media, across the SCCS partners channels, focusing on the stories of individual activists. SCCS also partnered with online campaigners 38 Degrees.

In the end, some 19,000 people from across Scotland contacted the Scottish Government, calling for a strong, ambitious new Climate Change Bill. The responses made by Cabinet Secretary for Climate Change, Roseanna Cunningham MSP at a public photo-shoot featured in the national news media.

This element of the campaign was followed up with a mass lobby of MSPs on 19 September 2018, involving members of the public who had signed up while taking the original action on the Bill, leading to direct engagement with 6% of SNP MSPs, 13% of Conservative MSPs, 40% of Lib Dem MSPs, 48% of Labour MSPs, and 50% of Green MSPs. Again, this attracted coverage from the national and local news media.

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**19. Technical language and engaging industry**

As noted above, research has found that some of the language used in Energy Performance Certificates contained ‘too much jargon’ (Scottish Government, 2015).

One approach to addressing this issue might be found from the US Department of Energy’s Building Science Translator (DOE, 2015).

In 2014, the Department worked extensively with housing industry representatives and building science experts over to compile a new building science glossary that translates technical jargon into ‘an improved consumer experience’.
Now there is a huge ‘collective impact’ opportunity to more effectively convey the value of high-performance homes to consumers and the media using these ‘power words.’ It’s about time, because this value is too little understood. (DOE, 2015)

An example of the changed language is the phrase ‘Reduced Thermal Bridging’ being re-framed as an ‘Energy Saving Thermal Blanket’ or ‘Advanced Thermal Blanket Technology’.

The Department states that the Translator is a ‘work in progress’ that will be updated in line with the experience of industry in terms of success in persuading consumers to act.

In that sense, it is obviously a tool for engaging home-owners and landlords, but the process itself also represents a tool for engaging with industry, and an opportunity to recruit businesses as messengers for useful frames in their own engagement with customers. Research suggests this is important as ‘the best practice retrofit programmes involved communication strategies engaging with contractors on an ongoing basis’ (ClimateXChange, 2018).

20. Key findings and recommendations

Values and Framing

Finding 1: That messaging for engagement with home-owners and private landlords should make a moral case for home energy-efficiency, based on shared values and a sense of shared purpose.

Research suggests that framing home energy efficiency as a moral issue may present a way of dealing effectively with opposition to regulation and lessening barriers to carrying out energy efficiency measures.

At first sight, this recommendation may seem to run contrary to the findings of research carried out using the ISM approach, which - as seen in Sections 9 to 11 above – has found that the public is not highly motivated by appeals to ‘moral obligation’, and that focusing on changing behaviours less affected by external factors is a more productive approach.

However, as seen in Section 10, appeals that target these behaviours risk the ‘cul-de-sac’ effect, inhibiting the chance of achieving behaviour change where external barriers are higher.

Engagement using a moral case for action may help strengthen the Individual and Social motivations for change. This is not to say that appeals to ‘comfort’ or ‘saving money’ should be abandoned, but that they perhaps should be made after a clear moral case for change has first been set out.
Finding 2: That messaging for engagement with all audiences should frame poor home-energy efficiency as an urgent public issue.

The research suggests that there is an alarming lack of awareness among the Scottish public about the importance of home energy-efficiency as a problem for society, especially in terms of climate change. Clearly highlighting this issue may create opportunities to promote collective action – building on recent apparent shifts in Scottish attitudes towards climate change action – and making the issue one of public interest, rather than private domain.

Recommendation 1: Major action research project is undertaken to identify and sharpen frames for engagement with home-owners and private landlords on energy efficiency as an urgent public issue.
(for Scottish Government, ExHA, and European Climate Foundation)

In Section 15, we put forward some examples of how a narrative framed on the moral case for home energy-efficiency measures could be put forward. However, these are untested.

The work around changing attitudes to poverty in the UK highlighted in Case Study 3 involved significant quantitative and qualitative research with different audiences, representing a significant investment of time and effort, and involving contact with some 20,000 individuals.

Investment in this kind of research in the field if energy-efficiency could result in clearly tested and robust frames for engagement with home-owners and private landlords, with frames and language particularly targeted at segmented audiences. Such research could prove valuable not only to Scotland, but to other countries looking at ways to encourage home energy-efficiency measures.

Recommendation 2: The results of the research are piloted with groups of home-owners and private landlords.

Recommendation 3: As part of the pilot project, any messaging arising from further research be cascaded down through training opportunities.
As noted above, Home Energy Scotland has an extensive range of partners at a local and national level. Using these partners as messengers, as well as businesses and contractors, would help increase the number of opportunities to activate helpful values among the public. The example of the Poverty Alliance work in Case Study 3 shows how such training might be delivered.

Recommendation 4: As part of the pilot project, further research be carried out with the aim of creating a clear set of engagement opportunities for different audiences, including home-owners and landlords.
(for Scottish Government and ExHA partners)
As noted above, this scoping study has found that engagement work in Scotland is already being carried out in a strategic way by Home Energy Scotland, and that the organisation is seen as a trusted messenger by citizens. Much work has already been done in terms of looking at potential trigger points for engagement among home-owners and landlords.
However, there appears to be scope for clearly setting out which engagement opportunities are of most value and creating new opportunities such as those highlighted in our interview with the Scottish Association of Landlords. Speaking with other potential messengers – such as businesses, trade bodies, and tenant groups, may highlight further such opportunities.

**Public policy**

**Recommendation 5:** EPCs are amended to support re-framing of energy efficiency as an urgent public issue.  
(for Scottish Government, in consultation with interested parties)  
One example of public policy change to support the engagement effort would be to re-frame EPCs around the concept of housing failing or meeting an energy ‘standard’. This recommendation seeks to optimise the use of the existing EPC trigger points around landlord registration and home sales and strengthen individual’s values around having a moral responsibility to take action to improve their properties.

**Recommendation 6:** That research is carried out looking to make the language used in EPCs and to describe retrofit measures more consumer-friendly.  
(for Scottish Government and ExHA partners, particularly industry partners)

**Recommendation 7:** That the Scottish Government and local authorities are encouraged to ensure that contact data for private landlords, letting agents and tenants can be used for the purposes of engagement around energy efficiency.  
(for Scottish Government and local authorities)

**Recommendation 8:** That third sector organisations consider planning engagement with all audiences, as part of a campaign aiming to increasing the resources made available for domestic energy efficiency in the Scottish Budget.  
(for third-sector ExHA partners)
### Annex A

**Energy Efficient Scotland Routemap**


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The right frame of mind: Engagement for domestic energy efficiency in Scotland

Page 30 of 36
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