

# TALKING CLIMATE: INTEGRATED RESEARCH REPORT

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# Canadian Narratives Project: Integrated summary report of research findings

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# Overview

Research for the Canadian Narratives Project included three lines of inquiry: (1) a scan of more than 80 Canadian non-profit groups, companies and politicians to categorize frames and narratives focused on climate change and climate change solutions (primarily carbon pricing); (2) analysis and review of existing quantitative research covering about 45 different data sets, and (3) focus groups. Louise Comeau and Erick Lachapelle completed the qualitative and quantitative research covered by this integrated, but interim, report.

George Marshall of Climate Outreach conducted interviews with 10 Canadian experts in political and environmental communications. Interviews conducted by Climate Outreach are confidential. As a result, results from that component of our research are not included in this summary of research findings. These interviews, however, combined with the qualitative scan and quantitative analysis, informed the structure and content of the five focus groups. The output of all the qualitative and quantitative research will inform a strategic directions report by Climate Outreach, as well as workshop format and content. This integrated report is a contribution to the strategic report.

This report summarizes results of the qualitative scan, the quantitative research, and the focus groups results. The structure of this report is as follows: Summary of qualitative scan, Summary of quantitative research, Summary of focus groups, and Discussion and Next steps.

# Summary: Qualitative Scan

The scan of Canadian narratives on climate change and solutions like carbon pricing shows proponent discourses fall into two classes: reform and radical. Reformists emphasize Green Governmentality and Ecological Modernization, while radicals emphasize Climate-Justice concerns. Green Governmentality sees a role for strong international governance "focused on economic activity and natural resource use. Think of reform as "Climate Capitalism" (Newell & Paterson, 2010) emphasizing shifts in economic production, technology development, and shifts in financial investments, including market mechanisms like emissions trading and carbon taxes, and increasing energy efficiency. Radicals, while sounding extreme, simply have a focus on challenging the status quo. Radicals focus on climate-justice and structural change to address issues "generated by the global capitalist order that commodifies nature and ecosystems (Backstrand & Lovbrand, 2016). Radicals share concerns with the North/South divide, unequal economic and political relationships, systems change, and provide a moral critique (Brulle & Norgaard, 2019).

Figure 1 shows that 65% of Canadian climate change discourse falls within the reform frame, with 5% of narratives categorized as radical.

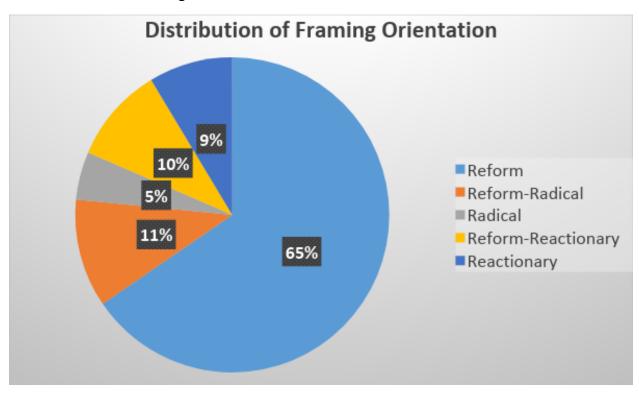


Figure 1. Summarizes secondary frames that are associated with the effective, efficient and market, environment-economy, economic opportunity and transition, polluter-pay-fair, climate change costs, and unfair, ineffective, and cost of living primary frames. It will surprise no one that these primary frames are present in the secondary frames that make up the story arc about carbon pricing. This is an economic story through and through, with the anti-carbon pricing position covering opposing positions.

Figure 2 summarizes primary and secondary (first and subsequent mentions) that climate change frames emphasize economic ideas (bold). Moral (justice, equity, intergenerational) and health and well-being frames (in italics) are present but play a lesser role.

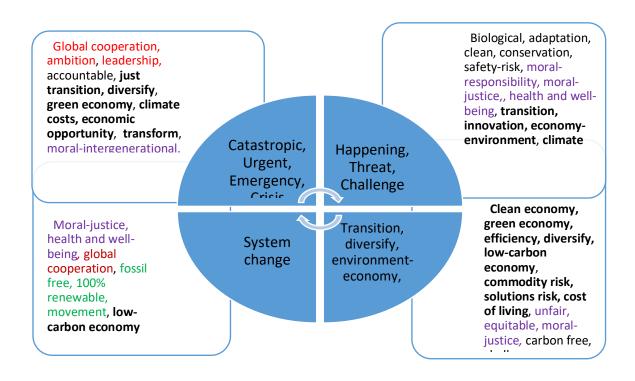


Figure 2. Climate change primary and secondary frames. Economic frames in black, moral frames in purple, cooperation frames in red and system change in green.

Carbon pricing communications is a well-studied topic in Canada, including by Louise Comeau and Erick Lachapelle, independently and through EcoAnalytics, and by Climate Outreach for the World Bank, as well as by numerous pollsters, governments and groups reviewed. It should come as no surprise that there is consistency in messaging. Proponent and opponent frames, as can be seen in Figure 3, suggest carbon pricing is both fair and unfair, effective and ineffective, efficient and inefficient, generates costs savings and raises cost of living, creates jobs and costs jobs.

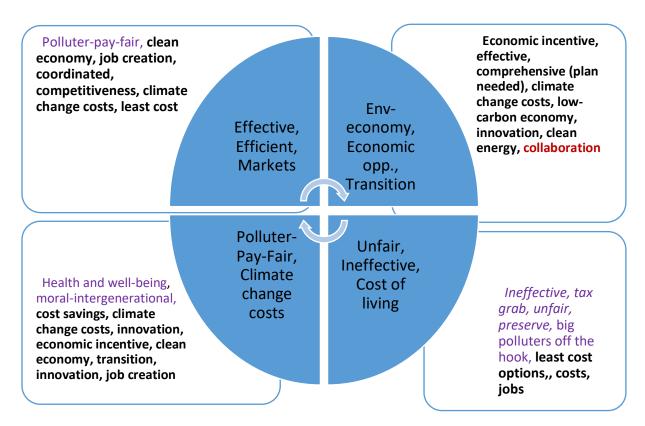


Figure 3. Carbon pricing primary and secondary frames carbon pricing. Moral frames, purple, economic frames black, collaboration frames, red.

Academics, governments, pollsters, and climate change-engaged groups are actively engaged in trying to understand how to communicate climate change and solutions to Canadians. Much of this research has emerged incrementally. We use the focus group to test integrated framing and to assess whether mixed messages are cancelling each other out. We want to explore canceling out effects because of some recent research suggesting climate change discourse is doing just that.

In a thorough analysis of climate change narratives used in the United States and Germany, Annika Arnold (2018) concludes that narratives focused on economic reform and opportunities are risky because they trigger cost-benefit reasoning. Arnold argues that economic reasoning makes climate action optional. Alternatively, a call to climate action framed through moral climate-justice and our common humanity makes climate action non-negotiable. Arnold concludes that mixing economic and justice frames may cancel each other out, a testable hypothesis in ongoing research.

A growing body of research suggests that framing climate change as a public health issue can increase policy support across the political spectrum, especially among moderate conservatives. There is, however, some evidence to suggest raising health threats alone is not as effective as raising the health benefits of climate solutions like renewable energy.

Research on carbon pricing framing has consistently shown that a polluter-pay-fair frame is effective at increasing support for carbon pricing relative to other frames tested. In experimental research, the polluter-pay frame shows it can inoculate opponents tax grab messaging. We discuss these results more fully in the next section summarizing quantitative results.

# Implications for focus groups

Scan analysis and other research suggests further testing of climate change, energy transition, and carbon pricing narratives in focus groups. The scan and discussions with collaborators also suggest additional narratives for testing. These include narratives by:

- The Ontario Public Health Association and Argyle Communications (Make it Better campaign)
- The Good Path narrative developed by Cara Pike for Environmental Defence
- A narrative developed by George Marshall suggested by the Alberta Narratives project and aimed at conservatives, and
- A narrative used by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers emphasizing justice and equity were tested in focus groups.

Based on the scan research and extensive input from George Marshall based on the expert interviews, research questions guiding focus group planning included:

- 1. Mixed messages. What is the effect of mixing climate change, climate justice and economic messaging on people's support for climate action, particularly carbon pricing? Which narratives do focus group participants view most positively?
- 2. The love door. What is the effect of framing climate change action as a means to protect the things we love? There has been a strong and positive reaction to the Climate Outreach For the Love of video. There is interest in testing it in focus groups under a discussion about whether a video like this in Canada would be helpful.
- 3. Powerful words. We have an opportunity to further test the different frames being used to talk about climate change induced changes to the energy system, including: Accelerating, Shift, Move toward, Evolve, Diversify, Transition. In addition, we could test other frames currently proposed by different groups, particularly war-related frames centering the scale of climate action on a World War II scale or emergency, a new green deal for climate action, and carbon pricing rebates as a Carbon Reduction Dividend.
- 4. Weak words: many groups are using terms like "low-carbon economy" "clean economy", "green economy", "managed decline". It is not clear that these terms are understood or meaningful.
- 5. Health and well-being. Does health-based messaging increase support for climate action relative to messaging focused on economics?
- 6. Thresholds. Are Canadians reaching their limit on discussions of environment, climate change and carbon pricing?

- 7. Trusted spokespeople. Who are the trusted spokespersons and why? We know trust matters and we know that when asked most Canadians say they trust scientists and environmental groups most. We need to move outside these broad categories to understand who trusts whom and why. The focus groups provide an opportunity to expose participants to specific people representing specific sectors to assess trust responses.
- 8. How do demographics like gender, age, region, political ideology influence focus group participant perspectives? Can we learn from the focus groups what the key values and needs of women, youth and moderate conservatives relating to climate change, climate action?
- 9. How do broader concerns affect people's reactions to climate change and climate change solutions' messaging, including what currently worries them?

The scan was one contribution to the structure and content of focus groups. Also critical was the quantitative analysis. Here we summarize the main conclusions from the quantitative analysis.

# Quantitative Analysis

Here we provide a brief summary of some key findings and lessons learned from the quantitative analysis. Each of these recommendations also informed the structure and content of the focus groups.

This first section of quantitative report summarizes recent dynamics in Canadian public opinion around the issues of climate change and carbon pricing, with a focus on identifying specific audiences. The report on audiences draws on a variety of publicly available data sets, as well as proprietary data sets from EcoAnalytics and Iris Communications. These data sets include:

- 1. Canadian Surveys of Energy and the Environment (2011; 2013; 2014; 2015)
- 2. EcoAnalytics Climate of Change (2016; 2017; 2018)
- 3. EcoAnalytics Panoramic Survey (2017; 2018)
- 4. Risk and Values survey (2016)
- 5. Iris Communications (Inoculation survey, 2018)
- 6. Ekos Research Associates (2016)
- 7. Abacus (2014; 2015; 2016a; 2016b; 2016c; 2017a; 2017b; 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2018d; 2019)
- 8. Angus Reid (2015a; 2015b; 2016; 2017a; 2017b; 2018a; 2018b; 2019)
- 9. Innovative (2016a; 2016b; 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2018d)

We summarize the main insights emerging from this analysis:

#### Keep climate change high in mind

Climate change is not always salient. When saliency salience is high, however, the evidence suggests there is greater demand for climate action. A key challenge for communicators is to

find ways of keeping climate change on the public radar, by equipping groups (including media) with the tools they need to continue a lasting, positive conversation around climate change in Canada.

#### Mobilize support within ready to engage audiences

We find robust evidence that women, Millennials, and new Canadians are among the strongest supporters of action on climate change. There are some regional differences as well, with attitudes in Quebec and British Columbia, on the one hand, and Alberta, on the other, poles apart. Consolidating and mobilizing support will need to target these groups.

#### Target progressives

We find considerable evidence that there is a pocket of otherwise progressively minded Canadians who are not yet engaged in the current debate. Specifically, NDP supporters, who otherwise are very sympathetic to the climate issue (and apparently being led to vote Green), have not changed opinion much in recent years, coinciding with the relative absence of direct cues from the NDP. Attitudes toward specific climate change risks also tends to be higher among unionized as opposed to non-unionized Canadians. This is an important resource to engage, notably in terms of building a narrative around a just transition.

# Don't ignore conservatives

On some measures, there appears to be limited differences across the right and centre-right segments of the ideological spectrum in terms of both lower climate change beliefs and support for carbon pricing. This convergence of opinion on the right suggests the issue is politicized. The long game should consider strategies that create space for conservatives to show they care about climate change (Annika Arnold suggests communicators need to ensure opponents have opportunities to become climate heroes). In the short term, action to engage segments within the Conservative Party of Canada, like women and Millennials who lean conservative but who are more likely to support action on climate change, should be considered.

# Speak to extreme weather, but focus on solutions

Extreme weather is on people's minds. Over the coming months, there will likely be more examples of extreme weather that communicators might draw on as collective teaching moments. This will require communicators be pro-active in terms of finding best ways to speak about and highlight the relationship between non-trivial events people experience locally, on the one hand, and the broader issue of climate change, on the other. In the meantime, Canadians want detailed oriented solutions. How can they best prepare for extreme weather? What specifically do they need to do? Speaking to disaster preparedness is a way of reaching Canadians on climate change in a way they want to be engaged.

# Don't forget the economics

Moral frames matter for mobilizing action on climate change. When the discussion turns to cost, however, communicators need to be ready, and not dismiss these costs as

inconsequential. Although 2 cents more per litre at the pump may not seem like much, there is a clear effect on people's level of support. The evidence to date suggests rebates matter — across the ideological spectrum. It shows that governments are paying attention, and this can attenuate some of the concern with carbon pricing. It is important to remind Canadians that they will be better off thanks to the rebates, and that thanks to the carbon price, climate friendly alternatives will be made cheaper, if they chose them. They key challenge is to find the right messengers, as not everyone trusts the current government.

#### Nuanced views on oil

Canadians seem to be open to a future where oil plays a less important role (i.e. diversification). At the same time, many continue to believe that oil development is necessary in the current context (thus, not quite a transition). Navigating this nuance – across segments with different views on this very question – is a primordial challenge if we are to have an honest conversation in Canada about the future of climate change and the country people want.

# The rub of Canadian identity

Canada is rich in natural resources, and Canadians see themselves as good managers and developers of these, in particular, oil and gas. Any conversation on climate change will have to address this in some way, and try to find other aspects of Canadian identity is threatened by climate change or that can be expressed through positive engagement with climate action. Experiments exploring the influence of narratives on support for carbon pricing and energy system change suggest the following:

#### Speak to values

Canadians are generally predisposed toward egalitarianism (fairness, equality and collective concerns). Egalitarianism is strongly correlated with an environmental ethic.

#### Regions differ

The same values exist across regions, but they are more concentrated in some than in others. For instance, the equalitarian worldview varies by region, with Quebec the most egalitarian, while traditionalism (hierarchism) is greater in other regions, such as the Prairies. There is also evidence of different narratives resonating with some regions relative to others. Take for example "diversification," which is a better label in most, but not all, Canadian regions. While crisis and transition work in British Columbia, it works less well in the Prairies where diversification and "can-do" are more persuasive. Workshops should discuss these differences more fully.

#### Values matter

Egalitarian values are strongly associated with higher perceived risk from climate change. The role of egalitarian values suggests communicators have opportunities to tie energy and climate choices to egalitarian themes. Ideas around cost, efficacy, fairness, and health move people.

#### Words matter

A price on pollution label received significantly more support (about 14 percentage points) than a tax label especially among men, older Canadians, those living the Prairies and Atlantic Canada. Most communicators will likely want to avoid the tax frame, but workshops might want to discuss the idea of pricing pollution.

#### Costs matter

Canadians are sensitive to the costs of climate policy, and this is true for even the most engaged segments. Even a specified cost of 2 cents more per litre at the pump has a discernable influence on support. Communicators should not be dismissive of these costs, but instead reframe as making other choices less costly. The rebates also ensure no one is any worse off because of the policy.

# Overview narrative quantitative summary

This section of the report dives deeper into the raw data to examine the distribution of values in Canada and the relationship between these values, on the one hand, and climate change attitudes, on the other. We further examined the efficacy of different frames and narratives that have been tested. The objective was to highlight what we know about what works, what doesn't, and to identify research gaps to fill. It draws on a variety of proprietary data sets including:

- 1. Risk and values survey (2016)
- 2. Canadian Surveys on Energy and the Environment 2015
- 3. EcoAnalytics 2016 Climate of Change survey
- 4. EcoAnalytics 2017 Climate of Change survey
- 5. EcoAnalytics 2018 Climate of Change survey
- 6. EcoAnalytics 2018 Panoramic survey
- 7. Comeau and Lachapelle (2018) Inoculation survey

The review of quantitative results of narrative experiments suggests the following:

#### Fighting fire with fire

A populist attack might require a populist response. Countering with carbon taxes make alternatives (e.g. renewable energy, more fuel efficient appliances, or electric vehicles) relatively more affordable attenuates the effect of cost specification on levels of support and perceptions that the policy is unfair or ineffective.

#### Narratives shape cognition

On its own, the "polluter pay" ("tax grab") narrative significantly increases (lowers) support for carbon taxes, as well as perceptions that they are (un)fair and (in)effective. Men are particularly sensitive to the tax grab narrative.

#### Inoculation

The inoculation counter-narrative that mentions the "economist consensus" while countering with the Polluter-pay and relative price arguments is effective in blunting the effect of the "tax grab" narrative, while also increasing perceptions of policy fairness and effectiveness. The different narratives are most effective among ideological moderates, undecided and unaligned Canadians, as well as women.

# Segmentation

Further segmentation reveals interesting sets of patterns across egalitarian, hierarchical, individualistic, and "middle of the road" Canadians. Of these groups, hierarchical and "middle of the road" Canadians – both of which are composed of some conservative values – are most amenable to changing their attitudes of carbon pricing when exposed to the inoculation narrative mentioning the economist consensus.

### The health narrative may provide a bridge

While it is not common for people to associate health and climate change or the energy transition, Canadians have a somewhat more positive opinion about energy transition after exposure to this narrative, compared to other narratives tested. Moving quickly, however, to a "health emergency" frame may be premature (given the low "availability" of this frame), especially in the absence of extreme weather emergencies. In other words, this frame is relatively unfamiliar and may be more difficult to "prime," requiring more sustained effort at simple, repetitive messaging around climate and health.

#### Words that move

Generally, narratives that avoid the term "transition" perform better than narratives that use synonyms, like renew, diversify and accelerate.

#### Trust

Beyond generalities such as university scientists are most trusted across groups, we know little about which messengers are best suited to key audiences. However, research suggests that messengers and messages must align with people's values if they are to be perceived as authentic and credible.

#### More research is needed

The factors that influence the perceived credibility of messengers is less understood than the efficacy of different message frames. We need to know who best motivates women, youth, progressives, and new Canadians. Further, among these segments, who might help garner sympathy from the broader public and spark a broader movement?

From a more immediate communications perspective, we know that one-time priming does not generally have long-lasting effects. To influence public opinion a coordinated, well-defined effort is required to deliver pointed, repetitive, and consistent frames by trusted messengers.

The highly competitive context in which communicators on the topics of climate change and the energy transition operate demands nothing less. Communicators might also wish to employ egalitarian themes, as a way of activating support from segments with these values.

The evidence strongly suggests that when speaking to Canadians – especially in Alberta – it is better to speak about economic diversification (a security frame) than to speak about a transition. The latter implies a shift away from something, which many people are not quite ready for. Meanwhile, economic diversification is a long-standing and familiar part of Canadian political discourse.

# Focus groups

From January 30<sup>th</sup> to February 7, 2019, 42 Canadians participated in two-hour electronic focus groups to discuss topics covering perceptions of changing weather to carbon pricing. Quantitative analysis suggesting that women, Millennials, and new Canadians are among the strongest supporters of action on climate change guided focus group recruitment. Sixty-seven percent of focus group participants were women and 38% Millennials. Regional focus groups in Lower Mainland, British Columbia (BC) and 905, Ontario (ON), as well as in the national focus group of young women, included New Canadians (at least 3 in total). Quantitative analysis also suggests that women and Millennials span the political ideological spectrum and our participant recruitment reflected this breadth, with 48% placing themselves between four and six on a 10-point scale, where zero is very liberal and 10 is very conservative.

"Extreme weather", understood as climate change, is on people's minds causing "anxiety" and "concern", and a sense of "powerlessness" to do anything about it, particularly articulated by younger female participants. Weather is also "fluctuating", and "bipolar" and has "flipped". People say they rarely discuss climate change itself. Instead, people are talking about extreme weather, with personal experience of forest fires, heatwaves, flooding, summer droughts, and winter mildness/snow changes packaged within this category. While agreeing that climate change is happening and urgent, participants are mostly unaware of the scale of change required to address climate change.

Discussion of environmental action or citizenship remains focused on questions of recycling, plastic and waste, with only a couple of participants noting the contribution of cars to greenhouse gas emissions and none attributing greenhouse gas emissions to flying or meat eating. More participants said they favour Canada planning for a rapid change of our energy system than an incremental approach ("Canada should stick with the current approach allowing growth in current energy sources and new pipelines") in the focus group poll, but these results mask the fact that most participants seems to consider rapid and incremental change similarly. When asked participants leaning toward incremental change say Canada needs to start now and accelerate over the next five to 10 years. Concerns relate to the cost of rapid change and

the cost of doing something when the United States is not. Analogies like describing the scale of action required to solve climate change in World War II or Great Depression New Deal terms is somewhat supported by participants but it was not always clear they understood the implications. Greenhouse gases associated with consumption and waste represent an opening for engaging Canadians, particularly women.

There is an often-cited perspective that Canadians are doing well on environmental protection and that we perform better than China, India or the United States. As is typical of a conservative worldview and narrative (as identified in scholarly work but also the scan completed as part of this project), Canada is a small player and a country (or province) that should not bear an undue burden to cut greenhouse gas emission when our contribution to the global problem will be insignificant. This lack of urgency, whether expressed through a sense of powerlessness or worldview, is a concern that warrants attention in any ongoing communication and engagement initiatives.

Importantly, when the focus group facilitator told participants in two of the five focus groups that Canada is a top 10 global greenhouse gas polluter, and even higher in terms of per capita greenhouse gas emissions (GHG), the outcome was that some participants became more open to a Canadian role, individual responsibility, and to pricing carbon. There is evidence, particularly in Ontario, that polluter-pay and economist consensus frames can neutralize tax-grab messaging. Focus group poll results, similar to recent inoculation survey research, demonstrate that the process of exposing people to tax grab, then polluter-pay, then economist-consensus/polluter pay narratives stimulates reflection leading to a shift to neutral or soft support.

Citizenship engagement is weak with few participants saying that inaction on climate change would influence voting patterns, and that while a politician speaking against climate action or being silent on the topic would be "odd", it would influence voting for only a few participants. Speaking positively about climate action, on the other hand, did not seem to garner vote support. Participants say that climate change is one, among many considerations in deciding for whom to vote.

It will surprise no one that participants believe households and individuals are small polluters relative to big polluters in industry and business. Consistent with years of quantitative research and other focus groups, participants assessed carbon pricing through a fairness, effectiveness and cost of living lens. Cost of living was particularly important to participants in the Lower Mainland and the 905 region. In Ontario participants reacted well to learning about the federal carbon pricing incentive rebate. BC participants demonstrate greater polarization, compared to other participants especially around questions of the Trans Mountain pipeline and climate action. New Brunswick participants are surprisingly knowledgeable about the carbon pricing incentive, with a third of participants correctly describing, without prompting, many incentive details.

Trust in government, an issue with many participants, is associated with wanting more transparency with respect to the allocation of carbon tax revenue and assurances that big industry will not be getting special treatment. In addition to fairness considerations, participants want more information about revenue allocation and on how effective carbon pricing is (i.e., estimated greenhouse gas reductions that will result from carbon pricing). Results suggest that communicators, in addition to explaining how Canada and Canadians contribute to greenhouse gas emissions and where they come from, should also highlight how carbon pricing will apply to industry, how that compares to households and consumers, why the system is fair to households and industry, and that clearly itemizes revenue intake and spending or redistribution. Participants say carbon tax rebates will help pay bills or cover day-to-day expenses.

Responses to narratives show a desire for plain talk, targets, timelines and a plan that does not overstate the potential for renewable energy or how far along the path Canada is in cutting GHG emissions and changing the economy. There is strong support for accelerating change, for diversification of the economy. People want passion, clear explanations of why claims are true (i.e., how is health affected by climate change, how climate action reduces poverty, the plan for accelerating change, training workers). Participants show little patience for overly promotional or "fluffy" narratives that whitewash challenges (overstate "can-do" or Canadian pride). Participants did not understand the term "low-carbon economy". A "clean economy" is an overstatement as it is impossible to achieve. "Green economy" is preferred as a term that is "tactile", according to one participant. Participants interpreted "managed decline" to mean actually managing the decline of the Canadian economy, clearly a term to avoid.

National group participants viewed the For the Love video. Reaction was positive, with participants saying a Canadian version could contribute to educating Canadians, but that a new version should reflect a greater sense of urgency, provide more detail about causes and solutions, and be a "conversation starter" included as one piece of an overall public engagement campaign.

Some focus group results suggest an interpretation somewhat different from previous research. Quantitative research suggests Canadians are uncomfortable with "crisis" or "emergency" language, and favour softer language like "harmful to human health" or "diversification" of Canada's energy resources, rather than "transition". When asked which words focus group participant's favour to describe energy change in Canada, "accelerate", "move toward" and "transition" ranked highest in session polls, consistent with the desire for incrementalism. There appears to be a tension between a desire for plain talk about climate change, facts about Canadians' contribution, the scale of the challenge and change required, and targets, timelines and a plan on one hand, and a desire for incrementalism, softer language on the other. It may be that quantitative results have more to do with cognitive dissonance meaning that if someone admits that climate change is an emergency requiring a World War II-scale

deployment, then it is difficult to support an incremental, staged solution where Canada, over time, "does more of the good stuff and less of the bad stuff".

Perhaps a solution lies in whom we trust to speak about climate change. When asked which attributes people most wanted to see in spokesperson "knowledgeable", "truthful" and "ethical" ranked highest. One participant defined a trusted spokesperson as "Someone who is charismatic but not party-affiliated, who is knowledgeable and competent to bring the science to people, and is ethical enough to push what needs to be done."

# Discussion and next steps

There is an opportunity to refine narratives to emphasize scale, pace of change, challenges and opportunities based on concrete details, timelines and targets. An integrated narrative can be passionate, urgent not despondent, and realistic, not overly optimistic. There is a need to better articulate the scale of the challenge and to find analogies that characterize that scale across audience segments. Reaction to the World War II and New Deal (as a New Green Deal) may be promising but need further testing.

An integrated narrative needs to provide enough detail to back up claims and to create confidence. Highlighting health risks from climate change and the sources of carbon pollution, as well as the health benefits of solutions is useful to engaging women, especially those with young children (as noted in these focus groups). Economic opportunity, if backed up with detail, is important to planning and being prepared for the changes ahead. The goal is to put Canada and Canadians on a good path toward a green economy and good quality of life.

When talking about carbon pricing, we can be confident that a polluter-pay message, perhaps combined with economist consensus can be effective in neutralizing tax-grab framing. It is important, however, to combine these frames with detail that explains why the carbon pricing system is both effective and fair to households and industry, while protecting people from cost of living effects. Governments need to be transparent about carbon pricing revenues and distribution of that revenue, perhaps going so far as specifying how much they expect to collect, from which sectors, and the proportion of this going back to households.

The output of this qualitative and quantitative research informs the strategic directions report by Climate Outreach, as well as workshop format and content. This integrated report is a contribution to this strategic report. Workshops provide an opportunity to share findings that reflect focus group feedback, but to do so in a way that allows participants to use research-supportive narrative elements to write their own narrative in their own voice. Particularly important is to ensure narratives that reflect women's and younger people's voice and perspective. There is a risk of narratives written by older researchers sounding like they are for "older people," as one respondent put it. These workshopped narratives will then be subject to national omnibus polling to test for effectiveness in influencing support for climate action.