

Energy for Democracy

by Jo Abbess

10 April 2011

The communication of climate change in the UK has in many cases focused on behaviour change rather than engaging people in discussion on national policy and governmental action. This essay seeks to critically evaluate the issues and barriers around engaging people on these policy issues; setting out and assessing the key issues for any communications programme that looked to develop this engagement.

Communication envisioned

"Environmental Communication...isn't that like talking to trees while you're busy hugging them ? Or being a 'grass whisperer' ?" L. R. Cole, 6 April 2011.

A verb, not a noun.

A college, not a lecture.

A network, not a packet.

A hallway, not a courier delivery.

A handshake, not a summons.

A kiss and not a hit.

A friendship, not an acquaintance.

A change of state, not a particle exchange.

A channel, a continuous connection, an ongoing relating.

Are We Committed about Climate Change ?

The scientific observations of the emergence of climate change are measurable and becoming increasingly visible in every sphere of habitat and life form (IPCC 2007), and so by definition, climate change affects everything; and yet this great alteration of the world in which we live has yet to receive serious recognition from some sections of our social democracy (Barringer, 2011). But does everybody need to believe in climate change ? (Carbon Nation, 2010). Why hold concerns about social perception of the problem (defra 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2009; Hogg and Shah, 2010; MIT, 2005) ? As long as renewable energy targets are being met, that should

constitute a robust enough response from our economic entities and our political governance (BWEA, 2009; DECC, 2011; Hansard, 2011; NewNet, 2011; Professional Engineering, 2010; Regen SW, 2011; Renewable Energy Focus, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; The Engineer, 2011; Walsh, 2010, 2011). Is the obscure science of climate change, and the environmental limit to economic growth, the most appropriate message we want to encode for citizens ? (ActonCO2, 2007; Christie, 2010; M4GW, 2009). Or should we focus on more easily grasped, tractable issues that hit people in their pockets and purses ? Climate change is an energy problem. To solve climate change we have to solve energy, which is the cause of roughly 80% of global warming. Without even mentioning the greenhouse effect, economic woes and energy security questions automatically suggest energy conservation as a suitable message, but individuals and organisations find this hint hard to take. With an unstable global economy, the development of renewable energy faces major difficulties, so wind farms and solar power are not going to solve every part of the change equation (CAT, 2010, “Powerdown” has to complement “Powerup”). Taking a duty of care perspective, in order to prevent energy austerity measures, people do need to learn that change in energy is coming, whether they like it or not, and learn to adapt - and so we still need public awareness, engagement and action.

The One-Way Ticket to Nowhere

Climate change communication can seem awkward and prone to pitfalls - rather like trying to address the embarrassing matter of human reproduction with a sullen teenager. Is it really my responsibility to do anything about this ? Is it SEP – somebody else’s problem ? Part of this discomfort, this cognitive dissonance, must be due to the commonly held assumption that climate change communication should follow a one-way arrow of information-sharing. Prescribed messaging is designed to flow between well-recognised entities : from scientific research in academia to government and parliament, then out to institutions and corporations, and in parallel via media out to the public, or rather, publics (CSUB n.d.; Quizlet, n.d.). Climate change communications mostly amounts to instructions for behavioural change, carrying the signal of

the burden of duty with the information. Climate Change communication passes the buck as it speaks. We are the experts with authority; we tell you; you hear the message that we have carefully crafted; and you alter what you are doing (Owens and Driffill, 2008; Rose, 2010). That many denounce climate change communication as propaganda or "eco-fascism" indicates that this model of engagement is inadequate. What to do with feedback ? It is time to move on from a linear "public information" pulses of communication model (Grunig and Hunt, 1984), and find a multiverse of cyclic, ceaseless dialogue. The measure of good communication must surely be in how interconnected and united people become - a democratic, political unity. To get beyond "lowest common denominator" issues, some true dialogue and feedback, a dialectic, must take place, building participation (Communication Theory n.d.). Move over, Edward Bernays and your two-way asymmetric public relations (Turow, 2009), here come Twitter, Facebook and the new media revolution !

Free Trade versus Environmental Responsibility

A number of commentators berate the consistently and uniformly poor achievements of the mainstream media in presenting both climate change and energy issues - unfactual and emotive (Carbon Brief, 2011; Climate Progress, 2011; Deltoid, 2011; RealClimate, 2011). This, perhaps, says more about the newspaper proprietors' business interests, the need to keep their advertisers sweet, foreign policy on "energy security", or simply partisanship (Jorge, 2011), than the skill of the reporters; although that too, has been questioned (Monbiot, 2010). It could be said that commentators do the dirty work of the fossil fuel energy companies by advancing the theory that renewable energy technologies don't work (Monbiot, 2011; Page, 2011). The press reflect a healthy resistance against behavioural change within the key sector in society that could be making a real difference on climate change - the energy producers, generators and suppliers. It is clear that the energy and energy-related industries have a strong influence on most channels of public communication about climate change (Hoggan, 2009; Oreskes and Conway, 2010) and energy, and their desire to micro-manage public perception could

be said to be an attempt to paper over a century-old crack in western democracy.

Energy is a social good. It is essential to social welfare. Like clean drinking water, it should have its utility recognised by effective and direct State management - tackling fuel poverty is just a token gesture. The industrial society, as conceived by James Ramsay Macdonald, should have all industrial functions, such as the energy industry, subject to democratic will : "There is to be self-administration in industry, but its powers are to be derived from the political State, and the community, as a last resort, is to impress its will upon the producing and distributing organizations through the political State. Therefore the problems of civic representation cannot be avoided whatever political or industrial theory one may adopt. It is like one's shadow. It is inseparable from communal life." (Ramsay Macdonald, 1921, "Industrial Administration"). With the Conservative Liberal-Democrat Coalition Government of 2010, the Localism Bill is being read in Parliament, which would give certain powers to local communities over commissioning renewable, indigenous energy resources, but this will not answer the central need of society for competent national energy management. As Henry George emphasised, "The primary purpose and the end of government being to secure the natural rights and equal liberty of each, all businesses that involve monopoly are within the necessary province of governmental regulation, and businesses that are in their nature complete monopolies become properly functions of the State" (Auchmuty, 1950, p. 52 "Functions of Government"). By its nature as a vital, universal foundation of modern society, supplied to everybody via grid networks and trucks, energy (particularly electricity) is a virtual monopoly (Patterson and Grubb, 1996). Energy is not a commodity like other commodities - it's not easy to substitute one energy supply for another, and it's not a product we can choose to do without - so there is no chance of a "free market". Market players are limited in number and new entrants to the highly centralised supply of energy are barred by high capital investment - even given the State subsidies for new grid infrastructure.

The energy industry provides a common good, but has the form of a capitalist enterprise. Despite this clear contradiction, privatised energy production and supply companies, even if they discharge the commission of public duties via government procurement or social contract, have their competitive and market tenure rights assured. Numerous rules at national, European and international level guarantee the right of UK companies and transnational corporations to a level playing field with other businesses, and this interferes with the setting of effective climate change regulation for this sector of society (Auchmuty, 1950, p. 41 "Civilisation, through Trade", p. 58 "Laissez faire, laissez aller !"). Just as the tobacco companies did not lose the oxygen of markets due to anti-smoking health legislation, large fossil fuel energy companies do not feel compelled to diversify, and cannot entertain the idea of an end to their business model, especially while everybody and their pension fund is invested. The power of agency to commission or procure new and revised energy systems is not nationalised, or in other ways publicly owned. Large, private engineering firms are largely responsible for energy provision in the United Kingdom, and the situation is prone to the principal-agent problem of conflicting interests between public and private sector actors - "regulatory capture", an acute concern of environmental campaigning organisations as regards proposals for new coal-fired power generation and new nuclear power generation. "As long as politics is the shadow cast on society by big business, the attenuation of the shadow will not change the substance", John Dewey said (Mitchell and Schoeffel, 2003), and this can be seen in the current privatised energy industry. Environmental fines have not stopped energy companies from local and global pollution (Levitt, 2010). They seem to regard financial punishment for damaging externalities as an operating hazard to anticipate on the overall balance sheet. A universal carbon price or carbon tax could have little impact on their incentives and obligations to produce a return for their investors, or drop their dirty carbon liabilities. Policies and measures can appear naïve. It should have been possible to work out what would happen with the Carbon Emissions Reduction Target - "light bulb lunacy" (Vidal, 2009).

There are signs of adaptation, however. The former UK New Labour Government had started down the road of the national Infrastructure Planning Commission, which would have overruled local community objections (within reason) to new energy infrastructure such as wind farms, pylons and gas pipelines. The current Coalition's Chris Huhne of the Department of Energy and Climate Change has recently said about new pylon infrastructure decisions, "Sometimes, national need will mean we have to sit down and take a tough decision about local impact" (Webster, 2011). The current wobbles in the economic framework have led the Coalition Government to tack a curious proviso into the Energy Security and Green Economy Bill, also currently being read in Parliament, a Special Administration Regime - re-nationalisation of any energy company that becomes effectively bankrupt. This provision has probably been essential because of the enormous cost of de-commissioning old nuclear power plants, and building new ones to replace them, which the UK Government seem still committed to, despite the "partial" meltdown of several reactor and spent fuel plants in Fukushima Dai-ichi, Japan. The energy industry is not investing, holding out for public financial support that may not arrive. They are not responding to "incentive" pressures to de-carbonise to low carbon forms of energy supply. Re-nationalisation of energy management in some form within some decades could become a necessity.

Returning to the core question - who is responsible for solving climate change? In one sense, it's a universal problem - everyone needs to cut their energy use. From another point of view, it's the responsibility of the industries of society to correct their high carbon errancy. The public(s) have wrongly been assigned the responsibility - I have been told I need to reduce my carbon consumption by reducing my energy consumption. But the responsibility for cutting the high carbon emissions of energy does not lie with me. I need the energy supplied to me to be low carbon in the first place. Since the energy companies are not accountable to us, and don't appear to be accountable to the regulators (BBC, 2011; Uswitch, 2011), no campaign is easily able to communicate with them. They appear to be constitutionally incapable of dialogue. And the Government has no teeth (SDC, 2007; Ofgem, 2010; Redpoint, 2010).

As long as the UK Government Treasury golden rules of "cost benefit analysis" and "value for money" are in charge, and the responsibility for capital expenditure is outsourced to energy companies, even with public subsidies, investment in de-carbonisation is unlikely to happen. As a direct result, energy consumers become the communications targets of last resort in government attempts to get some shift on climate change (ActonCO2, 2007; Futerra, 2009); but voluntary behaviour change isn't working (Blake, 1999; Pidgeon and Fischhoff, 2011). The situation makes energy almost untouchable by democratic organisations who wish to resist what they view as wrong turnings in national energy policy. Time for some proper engagement.

The National Recycling Obsession

Only microbiological diseases are reliably communicated; environmental messaging often gets genetically modified during transmission. Traction amongst the population suffers from a variety of problems, including climate change scepticism and green message fatigue (McKenzie-Mohr, 2000). People want to be treated as autonomous individuals - they don't want to do what they're told, and they can misinterpret what they're hearing. A "off switch" filter is in evidence (DG ENV, 2011; DfT, 2006; Feinberg and Willer, 2011; Hoggan, 2011; Lorenzonia et al., 2007; Shove, 2010; Uzzell, 2008; Whitmarsh et al., 2009; Whitmarsh, 2010; Whitmarsh, Seyfang and O'Neill, 2011). Everybody can be nudged a little (Phillips and Rowley, 2011), and they want to seem charitable, so join their voice to the response : "we're doing our bit" (PostNote, 2010, Box 1). In my personal experience, any kind of climate change communication seeking significant buy-in invariably meets the indignant, "but I do my recycling already", or, "I can't do without my car". People feel guilty about trashing plastic bags, but not about flying on holiday twice a year. If we all do our little bit, the sum total will be not very much at all (MacKay, 2009). However, guilt is not an appropriate means to engage anybody towards positive action.

All In This Together

Climate change is the one true existential threat that makes us "all in this together" under the "greenest government ever" (Cameron, 2009; govtoday, 2011), so climate change communication could be expected to be more potent if it becomes less about government departments (or their preferred communications agency) building a clientele for the consumption of messaging products; and more about building climate stewardship, in a partnership of ecological citizenship (EPA, 2005; Lazar, 2010; Miller and Le Breton-Miller, 2006; Saltman and Ferroussier-Davis, 2000). Climate change might be the greatest market failure in history (Osborne, 2006), but it might also be the greatest failure in governance. To bring about a green civil society (38 Degrees, 2011; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008), committed to effective common cause on climate change, the unidimensional concepts of social entities and their roles, powers and modes of interaction, such as "government", "business", "media", "public" (starting with Hobbes, 1651) need addressing and potentially deconstructing. Who's to say that these entities interact in the way we expect? Can citizens, as a "public", take on the role of "media"; and do citizen lobbies influence governance, or do corporate lobbies always overrule? Are industrial corporations so deeply intertwined with governments that they are one and the same? Political agency requires integrity, not finger-in-the-air "consultations". A broad, yet meaningful, consensus needs to emerge by integration (Hegel's Geist or World Spirit) (Hegel, 1807a), through a collective process (Auchmuty, 1950, p. 40 "The Greater Leviathan"), based on mutual observation sharing (Hegel's Phenomenology) (Hegel, 1807b) rather than instruction. Commentary rather than messaging (Van Cleve, 2002). Telling the narrative of climate change and renewable energy, as is, and as could be, without hopes or fears attached (DG ENV, 2009; O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole, 2009). As far back as the 1920s, it was recognised that people have multiple social identities: "The engineer is part of an industrial, a social and an individual whole. He works embedded in a life of much greater fulness than the life of the workshop" (Ramsay Macdonald, 1921, "The Representation of Functions and Industrial Groups"), and therefore it should

be expected and celebrated that everyone integrates a range of interests in their behaviours and political will. Yet, can we get everybody onto the same page ?

Barriers to Activism as if the Climate Mattered

You cannot force somebody to vote. And you should only try talking to those who are listening. And even if people don't automatically fall into one audience segment or another, they don't listen or feed back on the same channels, so they're not thinking out a collective strategy. Most people have problems with bandwidth - they don't have time for political activity of any kind, even if they know it's in their own interest (for an example of the time it takes to connect, see the Appendix : "Getting in touch with my MP"). The citizens' attention spans for pub, "watercooler", free newspaper or "school gates" social learning are compressed. There is evidence of a slackening in active democratic participation (HoC, 2008, Table 2, "Turnout at UK General Elections : 1918 - 2005"). People may not trust the political institutions, or don't feel that they have access to decision-making processes or authorities. People don't believe they can make a difference. People don't like top down organisation. People are maybe wary of appearing to be controversial, or lobbying negatively, or taking part in protest, which could be ineffectual or mocked, "the inability of the mass to do anything but criticize" (Ramsay Macdonald, 1921, "Political Democracy"). Climate change is a technocratic term, and can seem too complicated, amorphous, ill-defined to explain, with an irritatingly repetitious, heard-it-all-before "back story", and is prone to "political partisanship capture". Soundbites don't come easily, and the selling of "brand climate" is tainted with sweat and compromise. "Greenwash" is born of a wish to please with a small advertising budget (Futerra, 2008). "It could even save you money" smacks of desperation. There is a history of abject failure - technofixes thrown at us as bait have turned out to be hallucinogenic pipedreams (Corporate Watch, 2008). What does community mean to people who are forced to commute long distances and travel for basic services (MediaLens, 2011, Capture 3) ? Policies have become shaved - ambition is thwarted. Doom-mongers are universally scorned. Well-paid disinformants have divided the public

audiences, notably politicising climate change policy options (Ward, 2011), for example, by speaking to an agenda of Euro-scepticism in denouncing renewable energy policy (Booker, 2011; Lawson, 2010). The challenge is to find an approach that people can warm to and adopt, not passionately, but casually - a non-threatening, non-goading movement. And it's got to be real and honest, trustworthy, with authority, with aplomb. And positive. And all-knowing. But what should be the campaign ? And who should it be directed towards ?

The Power of the Powerless and the Power of Power

We have currently been reduced to chattering collectively about the solutions for climate change, in the hope that if we give a persistent, consistent testimony, the others will eventually observe it too (Baran and Davis, 2009). But maybe the Big Society can move beyond that.

"Know Your Campaign Checklist" - A Checklist of Knowing for a Climate Change Campaign Strategy

1. Know Yourself - The First Step in Campaign Design

Before anyone careers into political activity, they should "Know thyself" (Hegel, 1830; Hobbes, 1651, "Nosce teipsum"). This Hegelian (or Hobbesean) introspection is a continual process, an ongoing personal engagement. You need to know your personal communications strengths and weaknesses. For example, I'm good in written text, but not in a live TV interview. You need to know your stuff - unprepared is unheard - but knowing how you personally relate to your message lends authenticity. You need to be embedded.

Write statements about yourself. For example, "I am not a salesman, so why am I being told I have to be ?", or "I'm just a humble student with no influence", or "It's not my job to make people believe anything or do anything different than they already are". Agency means "knowing what you can do

and how" (Scott, 2010, "The shared energy approach"). Everyone believes different things about who they are, and what they are capable of and what they are responsible for. Remember, nobody's solved climate change or energy before - so nobody is, technically, an expert. We all need you.

Are you a single you, or are you many ? If so, you need to find a democratic, participatory way of collaborating. As the microcosm, so the macro world.

2. Know Your Target Audience - Know How To Create Your Audience

Who is it that needs engaging ? Should we try to use techniques of persuasion or information ? How do our audience listen ? And where ? Who's to say that our audience is legitimate ? Or even properly defined ? For example, governments assume that they have the right of access, the unwritten welcome mat to engage the public and their involvement.

If we find we are only talking to the self-selecting, can we somehow create a wider audience ? Can we create a message that they are drawn to ?

We need to know the minds of the decision-makers, big investors, Government Ministers and energy company bosses. We need to read and question the business press. Somehow we need to talk with people in charge of budgets and plans.

3. Know Your Audience Motivations and Segmentations

Knowing the public mind is important in most Government strategies, but rather hard to actually know, despite polls and much research (Walker, 2008). We don't get to vote on energy policy, more's the pity. "The antagonists may have had an imperfect notion of what public opinion was, and no foresight as to what it would do, or what consequences were to follow...the public opinion created for elections was of no permanent value, was, indeed, not public opinion at all..." (Ramsay Macdonald, 1921, "State Organization").

The Referendum for the Alternative Vote (AV) system is perhaps one of the most important proposals for profound change in the way that the UK can do political decision-casting - but people will have to agree to it first.

4. Know How To Reach Your Audience - Know Your Budget

Internet, TV, conferences, rubbing elbows at a House of Commons buffet. Writing an e-mail. Phoning for an appointment. Who you know, and why you know them. Who are the key players ? Are they and their roles clearly defined ? Do they too "know themselves" ? Can they give you answers ?

5. Know Your Message

Know what you want. You are not an eco-warrior, you are an eco-worrier. What is the "sell" ? Do you want to "sell" anything, in fact ?

Tweaking slogans from different spheres can have pleasing results. For example, the pro-choice message "every child a wanted child" can be mingled with Henry T. Ford's paraphrase "any colour you like so long as it's black" to become "Every choice a green choice" (MediaLens, 2011, Capture 1, 2). All the energy and fuel that is provided to me as a consumer should be zero carbon. An expression of expectation rather than a demand.

6. Know Your Style

The American Evangelicals recommend you "gossip the Gospel". Some prefer more of a diplomatic mission. Others, "placard time".

A mission to the Government will look distinctly different to a mission to the corporates - you can't use the same language or influences. A smart man counsels another smart man. The result ? Pure advocacy (Hari, 2011). In challenging the mainstream media's unique right of narrative, and as newly persuaded phenomenologists, why not try out some web log observation ?

7. Know Your Ambition - Know Your Budget

Outright petition or blame-gaming ? "We will if you will. We won't if you won't" (SDC, 2006). Guilt-tripping should be avoided. Governments and companies are publicising their carbon emissions reductions. But where does that take the people ? What has to happen needs to be expressed in a zero carbon policy from the top. And the bottom.

We want the people to become more aware of the decisions that are being made for them in Government policy and bills, but we do not necessarily want them to use up their free time to make themselves aware of all the material out there. We need people to write precis(es), short forms, petitions. We can't ask people to engage on the whole content of a piece of legislation. We need to offer them the key issues, packaged like sushi. People have little time - why not use online petitions and polls ? Or is that too shallow ?

8. Know Your Call To Action - Know Your Allies

Make it easy but not meaningless.

Who has agency ? Who can meet your demands ? Who has the time to meet ? Who is ready to dialogue with the busy people of influence ?

Who can you work with ? How do you keep it collaborative and avoid elites ?

9. Know When To Summarise

Do your homework, stay chilled, and make sure your spokesperson is a great face for television. Above all - keep at it - even after the budget runs out.

Change is a long and bumpy road.

APPENDIX

"Getting in touch with my MP" An Example of Democratic Engagement

A. My Aim

My aim is to engage my Member of Parliament on the subject of Climate Change.

B. My Audience

My Member of Parliament is Iain Duncan Smith, commonly known as "IDS".

C. Audience Research

I checked IDS' latest public statements and appearances, using the Internet, and local and national newspapers (Sylvester and Thomson, 2011).

Previously, IDS was helpful in a local community campaign to block an oversized Tesco superstore being built. He focused on design, traffic and public services issues, but did not respond to statements about energy conservation and sustainability made to the Town Hall Planning Meeting and to the Secretary of State's Planning Inquiry.

IDS has been very publicly involved in addressing social welfare issues, and is currently the Secretary of State for the Department of Work and Pensions and is streamlining the benefits system.

D. Preparatory Engagement

8th March 2011 - I sent a letter to IDS.

17th March 2011 - I received a letter dated 15th March 2011 from the Department of Work and Pensions (not IDS himself), telling me that my enquiry has been passed to the Department of Energy and Climate Change,

18th March 2011 - I sent a second letter to IDS regarding the Stop Climate Chaos campaign's Big Climate Reconnection, which is focused on the Energy Bill.

23rd March 2011 - I contacted local Conservative Party activists from the anti-Tesco campaign by e-mail, one of whom forwards my e-mail to a UK Parliament researcher, who e-mails me the telephone number of my MP's constituency surgery office.

25th March 2011 - I spoke to the MP's constituency office and get placed on a list to be granted an appointment - possibly at the next local surgery.

5th April 2011 - I received a letter from the MP's constituency office notifying me of the appointment.

8th April 2011 - I met with IDS at his constituency surgery, and gave him by hand a third letter stating concisely the support that Stop Climate Chaos are asking for (including the Warm Home Amendment to the Energy Bill). IDS assures me I will receive an answer in the next short period.

9th April 2011 - I received a letter from IDS in reply to my second letter, but not my third.

E. Constituency Surgery Appointment with Iain Duncan Smith MP

8 April 2011, 11.15 am, Station Road, Chingford, London E4

JA = J? A?????

IDS = Iain Duncan Smith MP, Secretary of State for Work and Pensions

JX = Assistant to Iain Duncan Smith

JA thanked IDS for agreeing to see him/her. They shook hands.

JA presented the core of his/her petition as a constituent, as stated in his/her letter of 8th April 2011, and gave the letter by hand to IDS.

S/he also presented copies of his/her previous two letters to IDS (of 8th March and 17th March 2011) which had not been replied to.

IDS apologised that no reply had been given to the letters and wondered if they way that the letters had been addressed caused them to be directed to the Department of Work and Pensions, instead of himself.

JA requested IDS to consider showing support for the demands of Stop Climate Chaos with the new focus on strengthening the Green Deal part of the Energy Bill 2011, in order to link its ambition to that of the Warm Homes and Energy Conservation Bill of 2000. This would be in order to protect citizens from increases in energy bills.

IDS mentioned that he had been approached by other people on the subject of the Energy Bill.

JA mentioned the Stop Climate Chaos campaign has 11 million supporters and described the focus of the Big Climate Reconnection demands, and the local lobbying of MPs taking place.

JA presented a copy of the Warm Home Amendment that Stop Climate Chaos are asking support for, and a copy of relevant pages from the London Borough of Waltham Forest Climate Change Strategy and London Borough of Redbridge Environmental Action Plan.

IDS explained that as a member of the Government he could not participate in campaigns in the same way as other Members of Parliament, but that he

would consider the material. JA explained that any show of support would be useful.

IDS said that the first thing he would do would be to talk to Chris Huhne at the Department of Energy and Climate Change to ask him what he was doing about the Energy Bill.

JA presented papers showing the contents of a recent college presentation on Germany's potential for Offshore Wind Power and explained s/he is studying for a Masters Degree in Climate Change Management.

IDS asked him/her where s/he was studying.

JA and IDS exchanged some views on the plans and trends for Offshore Wind Power and IDS explained that the problem was the cost. JA projected that offshore wind power in Europe and in the United States would offer direct competition to coal and nuclear onshore.

IDS said that he prefers solar power. It can be unobtrusive. JA said it is also quiet. IDS said that Germany, at the same latitude as the UK, is doing really well with solar power, and it was regrettable that the Feed in Tariffs were being cut for the larger solar power projects in the UK.

JA said that about a month ago, over one weekend, 45% of Germany's power came from renewables.

JA mentioned Greg Barker's announcements about making cuts [in the support for renewable power], and that they were regrettable. JA agreed that it would be good to have more solar power in the UK.

JA emphasised that the Stop Climate Chaos demands are not "anti", against the Energy Bill, but asking for it to be "beefed up".

IDS said that JA would have some kind of reply in about a week's time.

JA thanked IDS for his offer of a reply, repeated his/her thanks that he had agreed to see him/her, and shook his hand on departure.

F. Closing In - Leading to Closure

This stage has not yet been accomplished.

The aim is to confirm IDS' position on the Stop Climate Chaos demands and to feed it back to the Big Climate Reconnection campaign.

The approach will continue to be "with" not "against".

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Ramsay Macdonald J. (1921). "Socialism : Critical and Constructive", James Ramsay Macdonald, Cassell & Company Ltd, Pocket Library 1929, first published 1921, Chapter VI "POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION".

STATE ORGANIZATION

The State organized for police [policy] purposes, or for purposes of checking the excessive use of economic power, needs but a very simple form...

As the communal spirit grows, and the inter-relations of individuals to each other become intimate and more and more interests arise which no number of individuals separately, and no private corporation of individuals, can look after...the organization of the State has to be extended...

A further stage is reached when people begin to think of the community as something capable of serving itself and protecting itself against rivalries and disruptive forces within it. In this way we get departments concerning themselves...

For these purposes the State becomes differentiated...bodies of derived authority like municipalities are brought into being and fitted into the system.

Up to this point, the organization of the State is simple. It tries to express the general will in policy and carries out certain common civic interests of a mechanical and administrative character. Its work as to direction rests upon a general public opinion, and is made effective by a trained civil service and subordinate administrative bodies. State issues are generally raised and determined by political groups called parties, sometimes divided upon questions of principle...sometimes only on smaller points of a programme, or upon day to day disputes. Each of the groups, however, appears with historical reputations. They are clans with chiefs, dead and alive, battling with each other...sometimes for good reason, but not infrequently for bad tradition. The issues they raise do not depend solely upon their own will, but also have something to do with general interests. They can manipulate and falsify, but the material they work upon is popular psychology. What is known as public opinion is the swaying fortunes of the political clans...

The organized political groups could not offer battle-cries that were meaningless, or at which the unattached electors only yawned. Referring only to the two old parties of this country, they represented historical interests - the Conservatives - or new ideas and interests - the Liberals...If we omit side issues and incidents the real fight that these fought was whether or not public opinion was to determine State policy. The antagonists may have had an imperfect notion of what public opinion was, and no foresight as to what it would do, or what consequences were to follow. They may even have failed to see what their own words like Liberty or Conservation implied. In the end, it was settled that the supreme political authority in the State was to be the majority of a body of enfranchised citizens, and when that was settled, the political clans settled down to the task of capturing that majority by educative propaganda and electioneering skill...on the discovery that the enfranchised masses included a large percentage of people of but poor judgment and reflective qualities, and that elections were occasions when a purely artificial frame of mind could be produced by artfulness of a kind used by showmen to draw unwilling crowds into their booths, the clan machinery became more and more adapted to such circumstances, the public opinion created for elections was of no permanent value, was, indeed, not public opinion at all, and Parliament tended to drift farther and farther away from the normal life of the nation...

Whilst the political conflicts of the last century were being waged in the full light of the stage, in its obscure background other fights were being carried on upon issues much closer to the actual lives of the people than the purely political ones...Tom Paine threatened kings and aristocrats, not merely because all men were born free and equal, but because he associated political privilege with poverty...he attributed poverty to the kind of government then existing...The terrors which the Chartists inspire came not from their political, but their social,

programme; they were bogys not because they were people demanding the vote, but because they were the poor demanding political power...the discontent of the wage earners became increasingly definite, its causes were more clearly defined, its origin in the defectiveness of social organization became firmly established, and the main features of the organization which would eliminate the inefficiencies of the existing one became fixed and systematized. The function assigned to the State widened as the mass of people saw that their corporate [common, collective] concerns included affairs like a peaceable and an ample production which they had hitherto been content to leave to chance or individual profit-making. In its general features, the State was changed from being a police [policy] organization to being one of service-giving. From being only a protector of Society it became an organ contributing to the general health and well-being of Society.

When this happened, however, it was seen that the machinery of a police [policy] and taxing State was not sufficient to carry on the work of a democratic State, which was the organization of the great productive and distributive functions of the community. And at the same time, it was discovered that when the body of electors became a great unorganized mass of individuals, grouped into constituencies that were purely artificial, and living no corporate [common, collective] life, elections ceased to be of much value as indications of public need or opinion. The enormous increase in the electorate made under war pressure was like a flood of waters for which no preparation have been made, and which, moreover, came at a time when civic and political life was disrupted, and disciplining and guiding restraints had been broken down. Thus elections since the war have hardly shown political judgment, but rather the disturbed mentality of war conditions, and during the fortnight or so of the contests the aim has been to make [the man in the street] drunk rather than to enlighten and procure the verdict of a reflecting constituency. All that, however, is passing, and the attempts to build up a criticism [critique] of democracy on the assumptions that the political mind which has been ruling electoral decisions since 1918, is but founding a house [built] on the sands.

The Socialist must be a democrat, for he can discover no other foundation for his State but public support. He cannot trust to dictatorships either of force or fraud, because his Society is kept working and in harmony by attitudes of mind which are spontaneous and are beyond the power of edicts and the utterances of authority; nor can he work with those demagogic appeals to a careless people living thoughtlessly and superficially from day to day. He must buttress his State with intelligence, and secure his system in the minds of the people. He democratic creed is not only that every adult should bear the responsibilities of citizenship, but that every adult should be capable of bearing those responsibilities. The sole way leading to Socialism is the way of education, which supplies the human qualities that demand the Socialist State for their satisfaction and support, and protect those working it out.

As a reformer of the political machinery by which the Democratic State expresses itself, he addresses himself to two main tasks. He must adapt the machinery of political government and administration to a representation of millions instead of thousands, for he knows that the larger the electorate the more complicated become the interests to be represented and the difficulties of the representative, and, in consequence, the more subdivided must the machinery of representation be. He must also address himself to the problem of adapting the political machinery to the new economic tasks of the State, and of adding to it new organizations to enable these tasks to be carried on [out]. I now proceed to consider these two problems.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Democracy can only work by representation. [If only] either in the form of the mass meeting or of the referendum and initiative, modern democracy would come to a deadlock. It would be such a cumbersome mass that its movements would be too slow to secure internal peace. These direct forms of democracy cannot function in such a way as to impose upon the electors responsibility for their decisions. This is plainly seen if we consider what really happens when any important and disputatious matter is referred to a vote of trade unions, or to a town's meeting. The individual voter is hidden up in a crowd; the leader who is to be responsible for carrying out the decision and who has to bear the brunt of effecting the

settlement, and fitting it on to the possibilities of the situation, is severely handicapped by the inability of the mass to do anything but criticize. Adaptive reason cannot be exercised by the crowd, partly because its varying issues cannot be submitted, but chiefly because the crowd cannot employ the processes of judgment to control its will. Thus we have found that in trade union after trade union there has grown up, behind the official representatives, bodies of local leaders free to express opinion without responsibility, who voice crowd sentiments, but who, if ultimately they become responsible, change their minds and policies under pressure of the realities which they rose into office by flouting. These reflections must not be taken to mean that officials alone should rule. That, indeed, would be a sorry termination of the evolution of democratic methods. But they do mean that mass democracy is so unwieldy and must always be unsuited to the direct exercise of executive power along with responsibility that it is incapable of being the normal way of democratic operation. The responsibility of leaders to the mass must be secured, but democracy which gives leaders no power will soon discover that it can do nothing. The problem for democracy is how to retain leadership with authority, and yet limit the authority so that it is not a dictatorship.

Nor is the referendum of much greater value or wisdom, and that for reasons similar to those I have just stated. The complexities of modern problems require the examination of details by bodies that can act as committees, that fit them in to circumstances, and that regard them not only as the embodiment of principles, but as adaptations to going concerns. Very very few proposals worth submitting to a popular vote can be settled off-hand by a simple yea [yes] or nay [no]. Matters of fundamental importance, like whether the principle of nationalization is to be applied to mines and railways, may be settled by a popular vote. Even this is not nearly so simple as it seems at first glance, owing to the fact that in the discussion details will obtrude themselves [stick in], and the desire for change becomes weakened by divisions of opinion as to how the change should take place - or in other words, from a referendum on a simple issue cannot be eliminated considerations which at best relate to matters of secondary or unessential importance to the issue itself, and thus the die is loaded in favour of a negative decision. The settlement of detail must be left to bodies that can discuss, adapt, and fit in. The most useful and democratic form of the referendum is undoubtedly a vote of no confidence in a Government. The power of censuring a Government ought to be held by the electors. This has become all the more necessary owing to the deteriorated character of appeals to constituencies at elections, and to the fact that, under our present system of fighting in single-member constituencies, representation cannot be relied upon to give a Parliament which in its work has the support of a majority in the country. This power in the background [vote of no confidence] would be an effective corrective to Ministers tempted to abuse the dictatorial powers given to them by servile majorities in Parliament, and also to followers who, trust their political fortunes to party allegiance, show a dog-like obedience to the party Whip. A Parliamentary majority can never altogether forget outside public opinion, but it would be none the worse if it never got beyond the reach of the arm of that opinion.

The practical problems of democracy turn [depend] largely upon the meaning that is attached to "responsible". If we mean that the elector should be practically the legislator we find ourselves, in the end, pushed into an impossible position. The elector cannot be the legislator. In order to try and put him in that position, we should have to create some machinery as the witenagemot or the gemeinde, and that is no sooner done that we find that the power of action and freedom of decision, which alone can make responsibility real, cannot be exercised for the reasons I have given. Indeed the machinery we should then have to create is of such a character as to discourage responsible action and banish those frames of mind which characterize committees charged with patient detailed examination and adaptation. A crowd is the most irresponsible of actors for no reason except the sufficient one that it can be nothing else. Democratic responsibility belongs to a different order. It is the responsibility of the body of electors for policy, and policy is embodied in governments. If electors in a body allow themselves to be misled by cries and promises which in their enlightened moments they know to be false, they must reap the harvest of their folly. If the constitution makes no provision for a frequent checking of governments, but protects governments from public opinion within certain defined limits, e.g. [for example] a Parliamentary life of five years, revision may be desirable so that the deluded electors may not be punished too severely, but the fact remains that the nations makes its governments. Further, the apparent power of control and check, which some advocates of democratic forms

urge, gives the people in reality less responsibility, because the means of showing it and the circumstances under which it is exercised are such as to make it ineffective. If we cannot have the substance do not let us have the form, for if we are in that position those who have the substance can use it with less scruple. The difference between power and responsibility is that the one can be exercised by mechanical means, like a mass or a majority, whereas the other requires an opportunity for adaptive judgment, Power can show itself by the forceful breaking down of a wall[;] responsibility can show itself only in a freedom to decide whether the wall should be broken down and how it should be broken down. Power without an opportunity to use it with responsibility is useless, and may be mischievous. Democracy requires the aid of both, and it therefore has to act in two ways - through its mass and through a differentiated function of its mass, representative leadership. I am therefore perfectly content as a democrat to regard the responsibility of electors under a democracy as a responsibility for electing a Government and choosing a policy, and if they were educated to doing that well we should have a true democratic State.

When all is said and done, a democracy must work through a representative system, and its problem is how to make that system fully responsible to it. It has to select the right kind of men [people] - men [people] of knowledge and men [people] to whom public life is not merely a distinction or a pastime, but is an opportunity for service in which their hearts and their interests are. This is the supreme test of democracy's power of self-government. It does not mean that all democracy has to do is to elect representatives and then leave everything to them. It means the opposite. It means that a democracy alive and intelligent, knowing its own mind and having definite conceptions of its interests, of the Society in which it lives, of the means of securing its own well-being and happiness, having chosen its representative agents will follow their work intelligently, and pursue its own political thinking whilst allowing them the full exercise of their responsibilities as representatives - unless they have become so obnoxious that a censure by referendum is passed upon them.

The system through which democracy works hampers or facilitates the exercise of its intelligence, for systems should correspond to minds, and ought not to be devised solely for mechanical or other kind of convenience. Today, the minds of masses of men (and still truer is this of women) are necessarily circumscribed. The education they have had has not been a training in intelligence. When they can read, how many can appreciate only the most trivial and desolating stuff...as though they could not read at all, their own history is unknown to them, and the less seriously their newspapers discuss any matter of real public importance the better chance they have these sheets of making satisfactory financial returns to their proprietors. It may seem, therefore, sheer folly and perversity to allow this mass to pass important political judgments upon the highest and most complicated matters of State, and to exercise power over affairs that are very remote from its every-day experience. How can it perform such tasks with credit to itself and with safety to the nation ? When Free Trade [creating a level playing field for imported goods], for instance, has to be defended by a spectre of a dear [expensive] loaf, and Protection [taxing imports to protect the value of exports] recommended by rousing latent prejudices against the foreigner, sound national economy must surely remain on an insecure foundation...And yet the practical realities are not such as this statement suggests. It is a false statement of true facts, because it implies that the people described are, under a democracy, directly responsible for government. The truth is that the representative institution produces its own trained workmen [workpersons]. A crowd of people with no expert knowledge and no training in capacity to govern can nevertheless secure liberty for itself, and safety and honour for its community through the representative institutions, provided that some appreciable percentage of it understands the language of liberty, safety and honour, and that that language finds a way of intelligence. So, the problem comes up again in this form : Can we by the proper use of the experience of the mass enliven its political interests and intelligence so that we may be warranted in feeling that representative institutions will not fail us ? Obviously, we must consider our system of representation in relation to the psychology of the people. If we get down near enough to the fireside and the cupboard, we find that everybody is interested in political affairs. Can we by beginning there widen the horizon of interest, retaining the political mind as we do so, and thus create from the father and mother the citizens of the world ? How is that to be done ?

One proposal to secure this has arisen partly out of the social divisions and the revolutionary spirit left behind by the war, and partly out of an analysis of the life and constitution of the Society made by a school of academical thinkers. According to it, the citizen with all his many-sided interests cannot be represented by any one man. He can be represented as a producer - that is, as a workman [workperson], a manager, a doctor, a teacher : as a consumer, as a member of a party of social reformers, as one of a school holding ideas of foreign policy in common - all separately, but when these are combined no true unity is created, and representation becomes false and inaccurate. I, as an engineer, may have confidence in some engineer in whom I have no confidence as an exponent of education or foreign policy, and if I have to vote for or against him as a political candidate, I am asked to do something which is impossible because, whilst I am willing to vote for one bit of him, I want to vote against another bit of him. Twenty I's are active as a citizen and are represented by voting, but there is no candidate corresponding to that multiple personality [identity]. The conclusion from this is, that for purposes of representation a citizen's interests should be divided into groups or functions, and each of these should be the basis of constituencies from which representatives should be chosen. Thus, the sovereign political State will disappear into a galaxy of fragments. There will be Parliaments or Councils of producers, of consumers, of professional workers, like technicians, educationists and so on. The Russian Revolution and its creation of a Soviet basis of government with a restriction of the franchise to groups declared to be workers, has given this idea a special meaning and importance, and has also given it a vigour of a class political weapon. It is argued that so long as a State represents the existing order of Society with all its parasitic and capitalist interests, so long as it allows those interests to dominate elections and to use all the powers that the possession of great wealth, industrial power and the press puts in their hands, electoral results will always be favourable to that class, and democracy will never be more than a tool in its hands to give effect to its will. Further, it is argued that the complicated nature of citizen representation must rob election issues of precision and definiteness, and so increase the political power of well-organized and class conscious capitalist interests. A vague democratic representation can never be anything but a feeble opposition to very conscious capitalist interests. It is therefore proposed that only those who work should vote [that is, not the work-free capitalists and landed gentry] and that the parasitic groups and classes should be disfranchised. The constituency will then become the workshop or the Union of professional men [people], of peasants, of clerks, and the representatives chosen by these groups will be the governing authority of the State. This programme is admitted to be revolutionary, and to be capable of being carried out only under revolutionary conditions. It is a political consequence of a class war which has broken out into a crisis. It is, therefore, of minor importance to point out how impossible it is to define with any justice what a worker is, or to argue that, if the proposal were carried out, it would deprive the community of the assistance of most of the people who had made the revolution possible; that revolutionary movements divide men not into classes, but into schools of thought and action which separate workman as well as the working class from the capitalist class. It is of no importance to point this out because revolutions are not conducted by reason and system, but by detached and inconsistent actions taken energetically to meet momentary difficulties, carried through by the dictatorship of force without reference either to long visioned wisdom or justice. All that can be said is that if the calamity of a revolution happened here everything of the nature of representative government would be scrapped; if its forms retained it would not be worked [function], and forceful necessity would take its place. A revolution calls for decisive action; only when it is over can its leaders afford to survey and examine critically the means they have used. So much for revolutionary forms.

THE REPRESENTATION OF FUNCTIONS AND INDUSTRIAL GROUPS

The more purely academic theory and the claims made in support of Soviet forms [of democracy] on their alleged merits for ordinary use must not be dismissed in this way, however, [they should be] because it is claimed for both that they are built up from the nature of normal society and are quite independent of revolutionary necessity or class war ideas.

As to the academic theory of functional representation, I note at the very beginning that its method is wrong. It analyses, quite accurately perhaps, individual interests and social unity into certain activities, divisions and functions, and having completed that work, it proceeds to

assume that they separately compose individual and social unity. They do not. The engineer is part of an industrial, a social and an individual whole. He works embedded in a life of much greater fulness than the life of the workshop. He cannot act as an engineer except in relation to the miner, the steel-smelter, the marine, and the transport worker - in relation to the complete productive, transport and consuming unity of which he is a part...But whatever be the system, neither can be the representation of separate functions; both must involve the presentation of the whole. The representation of engineers or miners in society cannot avoid the necessity of what may be conveniently called the citizenship of engineers or miners, and consequently the academic school of social analysts provide us with no means of avoiding the admittedly difficult and frequently unsatisfactorily performed task of securing the representation of individuals in the full significance of their citizenship. The function upon which these theorists lay such stress does not exist. It is a metaphorical abstraction. I, as an engineer, electing a representative engineer, must consider my complete social personality [identity] as a citizen, and that brings me up against the very difficulties which this academic theory claims that it avoids.

If this argument is sound it is also a final reply to those who build up the representative State from industrial functions, Soviets, but it may be worth while to point out another result that would follow if we allow industrial groups to be the basis of political reconstruction. This conception confines the interests of the workman far too much to his own concerns, and its psychological influence is to specialize not only industrial but civic and intellectual work and interest. It seeks to put functional interest as the source of civic interest. It thus not only continues the divisive influences of Capitalism, but by placing the motive of political action too low and confining the political outlook too narrowly, makes it impossible for social instincts to rise to levels of high social co-operation and endeavour. He who appeals to economic motives only, can never expect to create the civic State. The greatest need to-day is to turn the workman into a man with all the width of mind and interest that that involved. The tendency of functional representation is in exactly the opposite direction. It would translate industrial specialization into civic specialization. The Socialist hopes to make mechanical production - the mere toiling part of life - of diminishing relative importance to the cultural part of life, the part that is true living; and as intelligence increases this demand will be made by the workmen with increasing emphasis. Therefore, we must be careful not to construct a political system based on the assumption that workshop differences are to continue to be so important as they are at present, or that the divisions created by the antagonism of capital and labour, or the excessive toil caused by capitalist expropriation and inefficiency, are to last. That, for instance, a Guild of teachers should control education to the exclusion of all other members of the community is a vilely reactionary and subversive proposal. Wherever professions, as in the law, have settled their own self-government, they have taken self-regarding views and have ranged themselves in opposition to freedom and progress [and social mobility]. However we settle this problem of the well-being of the functioning groups in Society, or of the admitted difficulty of securing an accurate representation of the somewhat complicated interests of complete citizenship, we must not abandon the view that the citizen should be regarded as the sovereign authority in the State, because this is the richest and widest personality, is, indeed, the only personality, and that the institution or institutions holding the authority in custody should be representative of citizenship and not of factories, workshops, professions, or any function whatsoever. The problem therefore remains : How are we to build up the Civic State ? How are we to secure a satisfactory representation in that State ?

THE CIVIC STATE

We must be careful to remember at the outset of our enquiry that the State is not merely the parliament or the national government, but includes both municipal government and the administration of the Civil Service, and of all those bodies created either permanently or from time to time by proper authority to carry out legislation, departmental orders, Orders in Council and such constructional work. Thus, whilst a labour committee appointed to deal with unemployment, and to see that municipal councils or Boards of Guardians do their work, is not part of the State, a local committee set up for the same purpose in accordance with the provisions of an Act of Parliament or by a decision of a competent Department, is part of the State machinery.

INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION

If the organization of the State is to extend its authority into industry as is proposed in this book, and if the community is to provide an organization of itself responsible for production and distribution, obviously the administrative organization of the State must be amplified, and new machinery created to allow the work to be carried on [out]. It is this that has compelled Socialists to move beyond the earlier phase of State Socialism, meaning by that the direct control of industry by the political organ working through a bureaucratic Civil Service, and also beyond the earlier Socialist view of Co-operation that the consumer should control production, and consumers' organizations be responsible for factories. There were temporary and makeshift improvisations quite adequate to a time when the simple Socialist idea of communal responsibility for production and distribution had to be popularized, and when Socialism was more a criticism of Capitalism than a movement responsible for proposals which at any moment might have to be carried into actual practice.

The aid which the academic school of functionalists and the Guild Socialists have given to Socialist construction is not the theories they have propounded regarding representation, which are uniformly bad, but the suggestions they have given regarding administration, which have been the most helpful...by the association of the workers with the management, production can be carried on [out] by workshops self-controlled so far as internal arrangements are concerned, linked up in districts, supplied with raw material and with all the efficiencies that science and skill can put at their disposal co-ordinated with kindred places of production, and all kept in contact with the markets which they have to supply. Not a few of the thorny questions that have been propounded regarding the relations between the industrial and political organizations of such a State have arisen from a simple error. This industrial organization is assumed to be of a legislative character necessitating Parliaments and quasi-sovereign councils, whereas it is only a machinery of administration, which, though altering the arrangement of the political Departments at Whitehall, does not change the civil character of the State itself, and does not alter the problem of democratic representation. There is to be self-administration in industry, but its powers are to be derived from the political State, and the community, as a last resort, is to impress its will upon the producing and distributing organizations through the political State. Therefore the problems of civic representation cannot be avoided whatever political or industrial theory one may adopt. It is like one's shadow. It is inseparable from communal life. When the earlier and the later Socialists, from a somewhat similar mistaken analysis, thought that the State was a capitalist institution only, they mistook one of its historical forms for its real and permanent existence.

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE

It is pretty evident that a democratic state institution must be built up from the bottom and not down from the top. We must proceed from the fireside outwards so that contact will be kept throughout between immediate experience and a more remote one, between the definitely known and the more dimly apprehended. Only in this way can we construct a system which meets the needs of reality and corresponds to the intelligence which is behind it and must work it. As opposed to the functional view, I put forward one of social contacts. We must begin to organize the political State from the smallest civic unity which men form, that is the village and town or urban and rural district. The municipal bodies which administer local affairs to-day are mean and cannot appeal to the imagination by reason of their limited powers and the Whitehall red tape which strangles them. They can embark on no great ventures of self-government, they cannot build a house or acquire an acre of land, they can do nothing to enliven the local life or make it something in which men may take pride, unless Whitehall permits them. A great many of them have none of those powers of judiciary which are so necessary to equip local authorities with dignity and to make men feel that they are living in true community and none have it to a sufficient extent. To remedy this is the first step required in order to enliven democratic intelligence and interest. Until men feel the community of their town or district, a patriotism of their locality, they cannot feel the community of their nation or the patriotism of their country, and still less those of an Empire. Patriotism then appeals to them in its lower forms of might and power, and becomes a mere heady beast or prejudice satisfying itself in the conceit of wide-flung territory and the bragging of military

strength. The patriotism which expresses a share in common life felt and valued is of a totally different quality from that which expresses a share in common power. This latter [is] the patriotism that "is not enough", that issues in no fine national spirit and no sane political judgment. It is a blinding pride, not an enlightening dignity. Therefore, political education should begin by the cultivation of the tradition, of the locality, and democratic government should be founded on the self-government of the local community. "My fathers' graves are there".

Local governing bodies must be relieved of much of the control of Whitehall. They should be allowed to develop a policy of their own and to shoulder their own responsibilities. It is far better that they should be free to make mistakes and be punished by a democratic vote than be bound to make only the mistakes imposed upon them, or permitted, by Whitehall (whose blunders in local government have been colossal), and be punished for sins which they themselves never committed. Housing should be their concern; they should be free to deal with the land within their area and to combine with their neighbours upon a common policy; they should be able to promote classes, lectures, entertainments, recreation rooms; they should have a wide discretion on matters of education provided they come up to certain standards which the national experience fixes; they should also have their own courts dealing with defined grades of criminal and civil cases and which will act, as all such popular courts do, as bodies of arbitration and conciliation and not only of punishment. Thus we should organize for self-governing purposes the smallest and most intimate civic unity, and make the very first and closest contacts of men with each other the source from which are to spring the intelligence, the patriotism, and the political instincts that are to be utilized in the government of the nation both on its domestic and external aspects. When we have our people interested as workers in their labour and vitally conscious as citizens of their local community, we have laid well the foundations of a democratic State...

Auchmuty A. C. (1950). "Henry George on Economic Justice : Being Memorable Passages from His Writings and Addresses", selected and arranged by A. C. Auchmuty, The Land & Liberty Press Ltd., 1950. Originally published in 1912, by A. C. Fifield, as "Gems from Henry George".

p. 40 The "Greater Leviathan"

George H. (1897). "The Science of Political Economy", by Henry George, Part 1, "The Meaning of Political Economy", Chapter 2, "The Greater Leviathan". [Available at] :-
<http://www.politiceconomy.org/speindex.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
http://www.politiceconomy.org/spel_2.htm [Accessed 10 April 2011]
<http://www.archive.org/details/sciencepolitica01georgoog> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

The famous treatise in which the English philosopher [Thomas] Hobbes, during the revolt against the tyranny of the Stuarts in the seventeenth century, sought to give the sanction of reason to the doctrine of the absolute authority of kings, is entitled "Leviathan". It thus begins : "Nature, the art whereby God hath made and governs the world, is by the art of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an artificial animal...For by art is created that great Leviathan called a commonwealth or state, in Latin civitas, which is but an artificial man; though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended..."

Without stopping now to comment further on Hobbes's suggestive analogy, there is, it seems to me, in the system or arrangement into which men are brought in social life by the effort to satisfy their material desires - an integration which goes on as civilisation advances - something which even more strongly and more clearly suggests the idea of a gigantic man, formed by the union of individual men, than any mere political integration. This Greater Leviathan is to the political structure or conscious commonwealth what the unconscious functions of the body are to the conscious activities. It is not made by pact or covenant, it grows; as the tree grows, as the man himself grows, by virtue of natural laws inherent in human nature and in the constitution of things...It is this natural system or arrangement, this

adjustment of means to ends, of the parts to the whole and the whole to the parts, in the satisfaction of the material desires of men living in society, which, in the same sense as that in which we speak of the economy of the solar system, is the economy of human society, or what in English we call political economy. It is as human units, individuals or families, take their place as integers of this higher man, this Greater Leviathan, that what we call civilisation begins and advances...The appearance and development of the body politic, the organised state, the Leviathan of Hobbes, is the mark of civilisation already in existence...

p. 41 Civilisation, through Trade

George H. (1897). "The Science of Political Economy", by Henry George, Part 1, "The Meaning of Political Economy", Chapter 4, "The Origin and Genesis of Civilization". [Available at] :-

<http://www.politiceconomy.org/speindex.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

http://www.politiceconomy.org/spel_4.htm [Accessed 10 April 2011]

<http://www.archive.org/details/sciencepolitica01georgooq> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

Let us try to trace the genesis of civilisation. Gifted alone with the power of relating cause and effect, man is among all animals the only producer in the true sense of the term...But the same quality of reason which makes him the producer, also, wherever exchange becomes possible, makes him the exchanger. And it is along this line of exchanging that the body economic is evolved and develops, and that all the advances of civilisation are primarily made...With the beginning of exchange or trade among men this body economic begins to form, and in its beginning begins...To find an utterly uncivilised people, we must find a people among whom there is no exchange or trade. Such a people does not exist, and, as far as our knowledge goes, never did. To find a fully civilised people, we must find a people among whom exchange or trade is absolutely free, and has reached the fullest development to which human desires can carry it. There is, as yet, unfortunately, no such people.

p. 52 Functions of Government

George H. (1883). "Social Problems", by Henry George, Chapter 17, "The Functions of Government". [Available at] :-

<http://schalkenbach.org/library/henry-george/social-problems/sp17.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

<http://schalkenbach.org/library/henry-george/social-problems/spcont.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

"The primary purpose and the end of government being to secure the natural rights and equal liberty of each, all businesses that involve monopoly are within the necessary province of governmental regulation, and businesses that are in their nature complete monopolies become properly functions of the State. As society develops, the State must assume these functions, in their nature co-operative, in order to secure the equal rights and liberty of all. That is to say, as, in the process of [social] integration, the individual becomes more and more dependent upon and subordinate to the all, it becomes necessary for government, which is properly that social organ by which alone the whole body of individuals can act, to take upon itself, in the interest of all, certain functions which cannot be safely left to individuals."

p. 58 "Laissez faire, laissez aller !"

George H. (1897). "The Science of Political Economy", by Henry George, Part 2, "The Nature of Wealth", Chapter 3, "Adam Smith and the French Physiocrats". [Available at] :-

<http://www.politiceconomy.org/speindex.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

http://www.politiceconomy.org/spell_3.htm [Accessed 10 April 2011]

<http://www.archive.org/details/sciencepolitica01georgooq> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

"They [the Physiocrats] were - what the so-called "English free-traders" who have followed Adam Smith never yet have been - free traders in the full sense of the term. In their practical

proposition, the single tax, they proposed the only means by which the free trade principle can ever be carried to its logical conclusion - the freedom not merely of trade, but of all other forms and modes of production, with full freedom of access to the natural element which is essential to all of production. They were the authors of the motto that in the English use of the phrase "Laissez faire !" "Let things alone", has been so emasculated and perverted, but which on their lips was "Laissez faire, laissez aller !" "Clear the ways and let things alone". This is said to have come from the cry that in mediaeval tournaments gave the signal for combat. The English motto which I take to come closest to the spirit of the French phrase is, "A fair field and no favour !"

MediaLens (2011). Media Lens Message Board. [Online at] :- <http://www.medialens.org/board> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

This forum platform offers a completely open, yet transient, space for information and viewpoint exchange, on the performance of media, in relation to important issues of peace, environment and justice.

Capture 1

The environment: 'the situation is even more hopeless than I feared in my darkest dreams.'

Posted by Hidari on March 6, 2011, 8:11 pm

'Given the noisy propaganda about the positive impact of renewables, or "clean energy," or "green energy" on global emissions of carbon dioxide, one expects there would be some. Unfortunately, there is none as far as I can tell. In fact, the situation is even more hopeless than I feared in my darkest dreams.....

Here is the really bad news:

The rate of energy use and carbon dioxide emissions are virtually identical and have grown exponentially over the last 40 years.
The impact of large dams and nuclear power plants has been barely visible, and disappeared by 2007.

The renewable energy sources, wind turbines, biomass cogeneration, and biofuels (photovoltaic panel area is too small to be relevant), are barely keeping up with the deforestation and general paving of the world.

Increased efficiency leads to more energy use and the ratio of the slopes has remained constant (3.8) over the last 40 years. Thus, just as Stanley Jevons predicted, higher efficiency leads to more energy use which leads to still higher efficiency.

Since the Earth is finite, this trend cannot continue and the current global economy must break down. There is nothing we can do about it, unless we fundamentally change, and the approach to breakdown is exponential.

For example, the expected period of doubling of global energy consumption is 34-37 years. Since this doubling is impossible, claims to the contrary by the IPCC notwithstanding, the global economy as we know it today will cease to exist within the next 10-20 years.'

<http://patzek-lifeitself.blogspot.com/2011/02/do-renewables-decrease-global-co2.html>

' I'm in favor of renewable development, but I don't see how renewables could possibly change our ecological predicament - the only thing that can change that is radical shifts in our behavior and way of life. It is, of course, increasingly unlikely that we will do this as a society in an organized and voluntary way. It is, of course, increasingly (in fact, the two likelihoods run

precisely in parallel) likely that we will have no choice but to change our lives radically - involuntarily and painfully.'

http://scienceblogs.com/casaubonsbook/2011/03/tad_patzek_on_whether_renewabl.php

Capture 2

Just who is responsible for "lifestyle change" ?

Posted by j? a????? on March 7, 2011, 2:08 pm, in reply to "The environment: 'the situation is even more hopeless than I feared in my darkest dreams.'"

Most people who care have already done something about their personal environmental impact.

The rest don't care.

Ordinary citizens can only reduce their carbon emissions by around 15% to 20% (30% - 40% if you are dedicated). Your Local Authority and your Government spend a lot of carbon on your behalf, whether you want them to or not.

The people are not to blame.

The governments' hands are tied.

Therefore, the responsibility for making change rests in the hands of our "hosts" (for whom we are the "parasite" consumers) - those companies and corporations, transnational and national - who supply us with the dirty energy and dirty building materials and strip the forests and plunder the soil.

It's not time for me to change my lifestyle. It's up to the BP's, the Tesco's and the Sony's of this world to change their business model, their resources of energy and materials.

All choices should be green choices.

All consumption should be zero carbon.

The consumers can't stop burning carbon when all the products available for them to consume are carbon-rich.

Capture 3

Request for help : anybody remember who first made the argument that...

Posted by j? a????? on March 22, 2011, 12:03 am

...since people are forced to be "hypermobile" in cars that they don't actually "live" where they live any more, and so can't engage in any form of community or democratic process ?

This all as a result of the centralisation of public services, the centralisation of major workplaces, the concentration of major workplaces, the out-of-town retail projects, the pressure to re-locate for work/education, the massive property price bubble pushing people further and further into commuter "dormitories", and things like after-school activities being held over a wide geographic area...

Any clues ?

Turow J. (2009). "Media Today : An Introduction to Mass Communication", 3rd Edition, Routledge.

p. 631 Edward Bernays and the "Science" of PR.

Public relations professor James Grunig describes the approach to PR that both Ivy Lee and George Creel used as a "public information" model. Grunig notes that it is a one-way model of public relations. This is, this version of PR concentrates on sending persuasive facts that benefit the client to the press, without any attempts at systematically learning about the populations whom the client wants to persuade.

The first two-way model of public relations was championed by a practitioner named Edward Bernays beginning in the 1920s. A nephew of the famed psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, Bernays believed that it was essential to draw upon the social sciences to carefully shape the responses of audiences to the client's views of the world. Bernays is generally considered to be the first PR practitioner to offer all these ideas, together with a theory of how and why they would be successful. This "scientific persuader" business model is one reason PR historians call Bernays, rather than Lee, "the father of public relations". Other reasons are that Bernays wrote the first textbook on the subject and taught the first college course in public relations, at New York University in 1923.

Borrowing from philosophers of his day, Bernays justified public relations as a profession by emphasizing that no individual or group had a monopoly on the true understanding of the world; "truth" is relative, he said, and depends on one's perspective. In his view, the role of the professional PR counselor was to lead general or particular audiences to see the truth from the client's perspective. He angered many people both inside and outside the PR business by his blunt assertions that PR practitioners could "engineer" the "consent" of audiences for their clients by learning to push the right psychological buttons.

Baran and Davis (2009). "Mass communication theory : foundations, ferment and future", Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis, Fifth edition.

Powerful media effects rarely happen as a result of exposure to a few messages in a short amount of time. Effects take place slowly, over long periods of time. At any moment, nothing may seem to be happening.

...implementation of the scientific method is difficult for those studying the social world for four reasons

1. Most of the significant and interesting forms of human behavior are quite difficult to measure.
2. Human behavior is exceedingly complex.
3. Humans have goals and are self-reflexive. We do not always behave in response to something that has happened; very often we act in response to something we hope or expect will happen. Moreover we constantly revise our goals and make highly subjective determinations about their potential for success or failure.
4. The simple notion of causality is sometimes troubling when it is applied to ourselves.

REFERENCES

- 38 Degrees (2011). "Climate Targets at Risk". [Online at] :-
<http://blog.38degrees.org.uk/2011/04/01/climate-targets-at-risk/> [Accessed 4 April 2011].
"...David Cameron is on the brink of breaking his climate change promises. He's under pressure from the Treasury to block bold new emissions targets that have been recommended by the government's own climate change experts. We can't let this happen. We need to tell him that we want him to keep his promise to lead "the greenest government ever."..."
- Act on CO2 (2007). "My CO2" ("little red dot"), one in a series of public information films by defra. [Available at] :-
<http://www.youtube.com/user/actonco2#p/u/47/hc57kkYjshg> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
"Climate change" ("If we could see...") [Available at] :-
<http://www.youtube.com/user/actonco2#p/u/48/6f3wPzawGbY> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
"Ice Caps" ("Drive 5 miles less a week") [Available at] :-
<http://www.youtube.com/user/actonco2#p/u/16/IXSKJC6CfXE> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
"Bedtime Stories" [Available at] :-
<http://www.youtube.com/user/actonco2#p/u/19/UXdUW3-7Qyk> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
[Channel at] :-
<http://www.youtube.com/user/actonco2> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Auchmuty A. C. (1950). "Henry George on Economic Justice : Being Memorable Passages from His Writings and Addresses", selected and arranged by A. C. Auchmuty, The Land & Liberty Press Ltd., 1950. Originally published in 1912, by A. C. Fifield, as "Gems from Henry George". [See Transcriptions]
- Baran and Davis (2009). "Mass communication theory : foundations, ferment and future", Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis, Fifth edition, [Available partly] :-
http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=5TAebeoDnJ4C&oi=fnd&pg=PR17&dq=communication&ots=qNp1hE0ccd&sig=CmEusPM5q_iv6QTxgPI1Vjt46Qk#v=onepage&q&f=false [Accessed 10 April 2011]
[See Transcriptions]
- Barringer (2011). "Q. and A.: Taking On Climate Skepticism as a Field of Study", Felicity Barringer, Green, A Blog about Energy and the Environment, New York Times. [Online at] :-
<http://green.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/04/09/taking-on-climate-skepticism-as-a-field-of-study/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- BBC (2011). "Ofgem to tackle 'complex and unfair energy bills'", 21 March 2011. [Available at] :-
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-12802591> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Blake J. (1999). "Overcoming the 'value-action gap' in environmental policy : Tensions between national policy and local experience", James Blake, Local Environment, 4: 3, pp. 257 — 278, doi: 10.1080/13549839908725599.
[Download at] :-
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a778130639~fulltext=713240930~frm=content> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Booker C. (2011). "When Political Fantasies Collide With Reality", Christopher Booker, The Sunday Telegraph. [Online at] :-
<http://thegwpf.org/opinion-pros-a-cons/2787-christopher-booker-when-political-fantasies-collide-with-reality.html>
[Accessed 10 April 2011]
- BWEA (2009). "England's Regional Renewable Energy Targets: Progress Report", British Wind Energy Association, now Renewable UK. [Available at] :-
<http://www.bwea.com/pdf/publications/RRETProgressReport.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Cameron D. (2009). "All in this together", David Cameron, Leader of the Conservative Party, 22 March 2009, News of the World. [Available at] :-
<http://www.newsoftheworld.co.uk/notw/news/230139/David-Cameron-All-in-this-together.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Carbon Nation (2010). "A climate change solutions movie [that doesn't even care if you believe in climate change]", DVD general release 3 May 2011. [Trailer at] :-
<http://www.carbonnationmovie.com/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Carbon Brief (2011). Search "media", Web Log supported by the European Climate Foundation. [Online at] :-
<http://www.carbonbrief.org/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- CAT (2010). "Zero Carbon Britain 2030", Centre for Alternative Technology, Chapters "Powerdown" and "Powerup". [Download at] :-
<http://www.zerocarbonbritain.com/index.php/zcbreportmenu/category/1?download=1%3A2030> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Christie I. (2010). "How to confuse friends and alienate people : mixed messages and climate change communication in UK politics", Ian Christie, in "From hot air to happy endings", Green Alliance. [Available at] :-
[http://www.green-alliance.org.uk/uploadedFiles/Publications/Hot%20Air_online\(2\).pdf](http://www.green-alliance.org.uk/uploadedFiles/Publications/Hot%20Air_online(2).pdf) [Accessed 4 April 2011]

- Climate Progress (2011). Search "media", Web Log for Think Progress, Dr Joseph Romm. [Online at] :- <http://climateprogress.org/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Communication Theory (n.d.). "Communication loop / The process of communication". [Online at] :- <http://communicationtheory.org/communication-loop-the-process-of-communication/> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Corporate Watch (2008). "Technofixes". [Available at] :- <http://www.corporatewatch.org.uk/download.php?id=88> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- CSUB (n.d.). "Situational Theory of Publics", a slideshow presentation of Grunig and Hunt (1984), CSU Bakersfield. [Available at] :- http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=2&sqi=2&ved=0CCoQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.csub.edu%2F~dsimmons%2Fcom305%2Fsituation%2520theory%2520-%2520linkages.ppt&ei=GHuJTb-iE42o8QOLyJmhAw&usq=AFQjCNGXfsDp0LGH_0_LkVu4YQsgRPYZ-Q [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- M4GW (2009). "Cap and Trade Bedtime Story", Minnesotans for Global Warming, 24 October 2009, parody of the UK Government's Act on CO2 campaign advertising. [Online at] :- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BptZ7CXHzIA> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- DECC (2011). "Feed-in Tariffs: Written Ministerial Statement by Gregory Barker, Minister of State", 18 March 2011. [Online at] :- http://www.decc.gov.uk/en/content/cms/news/fits_wms_gb/fits_wms_gb.aspx [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- DEFRA (2005). "Securing the Future : delivering UK sustainable development strategy", March 2005. [Available at] :- http://archive.defra.gov.uk/sustainable/government/publications/uk-strategy/documents/SecFut_complete.pdf [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- DEFRA (2006). "An Environmental Behaviours Strategy for DEFRA", Scoping Report, December 2006. [Available at] :- <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/social/behaviour/documents/behaviours-1206-scoping.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/social/behaviour/> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- DEFRA (2007a). "2007 Survey of Public Attitudes and Behaviours Toward the Environment", 14 August 2007, Statistical Release. [Available at] :- <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/statistics/environment/pubatt/download/pubattsum2007.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- DEFRA (2007b). "Mobilising individual behavioural change through community initiatives: Lessons for Climate Change", Report by Centre for Sustainable Energy (CSE) and Community Development Exchange (CDX), February 2007. [Available at] :- <http://www.cse.org.uk/pdf/pub1073.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- DEFRA (2008). "A Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours", Report, January 2008. [Available at] :- <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/social/behaviour/documents/behaviours-jan08-report.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
[Annexes at] :- <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/social/behaviour/documents/behaviours-jan08-annexes.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- DEFRA (2009). "Public attitudes and behaviours towards the environment – tracker survey", TNS commissioned by defra and the Energy Savings Trust, September 2009. [Available at] :- <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/statistics/environment/pubatt/download/report-attitudes-behaviours2009.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/statistics/environment/pubatt/> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Deltoid (2011). "Deltoid" Science Blog, Search "media". [Online at] :- <http://scienceblogs.com/deltoid/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- DfT (2006). "A review of public attitudes to climate change and transport : summary report", Chapter 3 "The attitude-behaviour gap", 3 August 2006. [Available at] :- <http://www.dft.gov.uk/pgr/sustainable/areviewofpublicattitudestocli5731?page=3#a1003> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- DG ENV (2009). "Fear is not the answer to communicating climate change", in Science for Environment Policy, DG Environment News Alert Service, Special Issue, Environmental Communication, Issue 17, October 2009. [Available at] :- <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/integration/research/newsalert/pdf/17si.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- DG ENV (2011). "Public not equipped to manage personal carbon emissions", Science for Environment Policy, DG Environment News Alert Service, 31 March 2011. [Available at] :- <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/integration/research/newsalert/pdf/235na1.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

- EPA (2005). "Everyday Choices : Opportunities for Environmental Stewardship", Report to Stephen L. Johnson Administrator, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, December 2005. [Available at] :- <http://www.epa.gov/epainnov/pdf/rpt2admin.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://www.epa.gov/stewardship/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Feinberg M. and Willer R. (2011). "Apocalypse Soon ? Dire Messages Reduce Belief in Global Warming by Contradicting Just-World Beliefs", Matthew Feinberg and Robb Willer, Association for Psychological Sciences, Psychological Science, 22(1) pp. 34 – 38, doi: 10.1177/0956797610391911. [Available at] :- <http://willer.berkeley.edu/FeinbergWiller2011.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Futerra (2008). "The Greenwash Guide". [Available at] :- http://www.futerra.co.uk/downloads/Greenwash_Guide.pdf [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Futerra (2009). "Sell the Sizzle", Solitaire Townsend, December 2009. [Available at] :- <http://www.futerra.co.uk/downloads/Sellthesizzle.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- govtoday (2011). "Securing the Future". [Online at] :- <http://www.securingthefuture.co.uk/> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Grunig and Hunt (1984). "Managing Public Relations", "public information model", as referenced in Grunig J. E. (1992), "Excellence in public relations and communication management", James E. Grunig, IABC Research Foundation. [Available partly] :- http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=OS_n14qbpQoC&oi=fnd&pg=PA285&dq=Managing+Public+Relations+grunig+hunt&ots=SZYebrGkKU&sig=FcaiQHszFfSCYjSZvUicz4K4b_M#v=onepage&q=Managing%20Public%20Relations%20grunig%20hunt&f=false [Accessed 4 April 2011]
[Overview at] :- <http://iml.jou.ufl.edu/projects/Fall99/Westbrook/models.htm> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Hansard (2011). "Oral Answers to Questions : Energy and Climate Change", House of Commons, Commons Debate, Daily Hansard, 24 March 2011. [Available at] :- <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmhansrd/cm110324/debtext/110324-0001.htm> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Hari (2011). "The plan to save Ed Miliband", Johann Hari, The Independent, 1 April 2011. [Online at] :- <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/johann-hari/johann-hari-could-three-key-changes-save-ed-miliband-2258737.html> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Hegel G. W. F. (1807a). "The Phenomenology of Mind", translated by J. B. Baillie, "Spirit in the Condition of being Certain of Itself : Morality". [Available at] :- <http://www.class.uidaho.edu/mickelsen/texts/Hegel%20Phen/hegel%20phen%20VI%20C.htm> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://www.class.uidaho.edu/mickelsen/ToC/Hegel%20Phen%20ToC.htm> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Hegel G. W. F. (1807b). "The Phenomenology of Mind", translated by J. B. Baillie, "Observation of Nature". [Available at] :- <http://www.class.uidaho.edu/mickelsen/texts/Hegel%20Phen/hegel%20phen%20ch%20V%20A%20a.htm> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://www.class.uidaho.edu/mickelsen/ToC/Hegel%20Phen%20ToC.htm> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Hegel G. W. F. (1830). "The Philosophy of Spirit", in "Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences Part III", Introduction, paragraph 377. [Available at] :- <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/sp/suintrod.htm> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Hobbes T. (1651). "Leviathan or the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-wealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil", Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, via Project Gutenberg. [Available at] :- <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3207/3207-h/3207-h.htm> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://www.thomas-hobbes.com> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
<http://www.thomas-hobbes.com/works/leviathan/1.html> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- HoC (2008). "Election Statistics : 1918 - 2007", House of Commons Library, Research Paper 08/12, 1 February 2008. [Available at] :- <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/rp2008/rp08-012.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Hogg M. and Shah H. (2010). "The impact of global learning on public attitudes and behaviours towards international development and sustainability", Development Education Association (DEA), in association with the Sustainable Development Commission. [Website at] :- <http://sd.defra.gov.uk/2010/03/behaviour-change-social-responsibility-learning/> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
<http://www.dea.org.uk/resources/item.asp?d=2076> [Inaccessible 13 April 2011]

http://educacioncritica.fongdcam.org/files/2011/03/Impact_of_global_learning_research_paper_web.pdf [Accessed 13 April 2011]

Hoggan J. (2009). "Climate Cover-Up : The Crusade to Deny Global Warming", James Hoggan with Richard Littlemore, Greystone Books, 29 September 2009, ISBN-13: 978-1553654858. [Download excerpt] :-
<http://www.desmogblog.com/climate-cover-up> [Accessed 13 April 2011]

Hoggan J. (2011). "Global Warming Contradicts Just World Beliefs", Jim Hoggan of DeSmogBlog.com and author of "Climate Cover Up : Exposing the PR Crusade to Deny Global Warming", Stonehouse Standing Circle, 16 January 2011. [Online at] :-
<http://stonehousestandingcircle.org/blog/global-warming-contradicts-just-world-beliefs> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

Hulme M. (2009). "Why We Disagree About Climate Change", Chapter Ten, "Beyond Climate Change", Cambridge University Press, 30 April 2009. ISBN-13: 978-0521727327.

IPCC (2007). "Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007", M. L. Parry, O. F. Canziani, J. P. Palutikof, P. J. van der Linden and C. E. Hanson (eds), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA. [Available at] :-
http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/wg2/en/contents.html [Accessed 10 April 2011]

Jorge (2011). "How does ideology frame media reporting on climate change ?", Barbara Mendes Jorge, 20 February 2011. [Online at] :-
<http://liberalconspiracy.org/2011/02/20/how-does-ideology-frame-media-reporting-on-climate-change/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

Lawson N. (2010). "The Most Anti-Manufacturing Energy Policy Of Any Government In British History", Nigel Lawson, speech to the House of Lords, 23 December 2010. [Online at] :-
<http://www.thegwpf.org/opinion-pros-a-cons/2100-nigel-lawson-the-most-anti-manufacturing-energy-policy-of-any-government-in-british-history.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]

Lazar S. (2010). "Citizenship: the Self and Political Agency", The Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH), Dr Sian Lazar (Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge), Dr Monique Nuijten (Social Sciences Department, Wageningen University) in the Conference Summary. [Online at] :-
<http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/events/1239/> [Accessed 4 April 2011]

"...The citizenship agenda has also been embraced by a wide range of policy-making institutions, from national governments to NGOs and the World Bank. In these policies the (target) population is now expected to behave as worthy citizens who take an active part in democratic governance through a variety of pre-defined models and participatory procedures. Yet, the target population often feels completely alienated from these externally imposed citizenship projects (Lazar). Thus, creating a gap between citizenship projects from above and people's actual experience of their citizenship. Accordingly, the conference also looks into the political use of the citizenship agenda..."

Levitt T. (2010). "BP oil spill : can environmental crime ever be made to pay ?", 24 May 2010, The Ecologist. [Online at] :-
http://www.theecologist.org/News/news_analysis/489060/bp_oil_spill_can_environmental_crime_ever_be_made_to_pay.html [Accessed 10 April 2011]

Lorenzonia et al. (2007). "Barriers perceived to engaging with climate change among the UK public and their policy implications", Lorenzonia, Nicholson-Caleb and Whitmarsh, Global Environmental Change 17, pp. 445 - 459, 2007. [Available at] :-
http://www.glennumc.org/clientimages/41359/etf_barriers.pdf [Accessed 4 April 2011]

MacKay D. J. C. (2009). "Sustainable Energy Without The Hot Air", Part 1, "Numbers, not objectives", Chapter 1, "Motivations", p. 3. Part 2, "Making a difference", Chapter 22, "Efficient electricity use", pp. 155, 156. [Available at] :-
<http://www.inference.phy.cam.ac.uk/sustainable/book/tex/ps/1.112.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
http://www.inference.phy.cam.ac.uk/withouthotair/c22/page_155.shtml [Accessed 4 April 2011]
http://www.inference.phy.cam.ac.uk/withouthotair/c22/page_156.shtml [Accessed 4 April 2011]
[Website at] :-
<http://www.withouthotair.com/> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
p. 3 "Every little helps? A more realistic mantra is : if everyone does a little, we'll achieve only a little."

McKenzie-Mohr D. (2000). "Promoting Sustainable Behavior : An Introduction to Community-Based Social Marketing", Doug McKenzie-Mohr, Journal of Social Issues, Volume 56, Number 3, 2000, pp. 543 - 554. [Available at] :-
http://www.stanford.edu/~kcarmel/CC_BehavChange_Course/readings/Mckenzie_socialmarket_2000.pdf [Accessed 4 April 2011]

Melo-Escribuela C. (2008). "Promoting Ecological Citizenship: Rights, Duties and Political Agency", Carme Melo-Escribuela, Research Institute for Law, Politics and Justice, Keele University, , 2008, Acme Editorial Collective. [Available at] :-
<http://www.acme-journal.org/vol7/CM-E.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]

MediaLens (2011). [See Transcriptions]

- Miller D and Le Breton-Miller I. (2006). "Best of Both Worlds : Exploitation and Exploration in Successful Family Businesses". *Ecology and Strategy, Advances in Strategic Management*, Volume 23, pp. 215 – 240, ISSN: 0742-3322, doi:10.1016/S0742-3322(06)23007-9. Figure 1. "Agency, Stewardship, Change and Performance in FCBs". [Download at] :-
<https://emeraldinsight.com/books.htm?issn=0742-3322&volume=23&chapterid=1756937&show=pdf&PHPSESSID=303anu3vv7h91hb7vj53ik9v95> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
 [Online at] :-
<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/books.htm?chapterid=1756937&show=pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- MIT (2005). "A Survey of Public Attitudes towards Energy & Environment in Great Britain", Thomas E. Curry, David M. Reiner, Mark A. de Figueiredo & Howard J. Herzog, March 2005. [Available at] :-
<http://www.mit.org/mitei/lfee/programs/archive/publications/2005-01-wp.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Mitchell P. R. and Schoeffel J. (2003). "Understanding Power : The Indispensable Chomsky", *Footnotes to All Chapter*, p. 372, Section 16. [Available at] :-
<http://www.understandingpower.com/AllChaps.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
 "...For a sample of Dewey's statements about industrial democracy, see for example, Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991..."
- Monbiot G. (2010). "Sunday Times admits 'Amazongate' story was rubbish. But who's to blame ?" by George Monbiot, *The Guardian blog*, 24 June 2010. [Online at] :-
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/georgemonbiot/2010/jun/24/sunday-times-amazongate-ipcc> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Monbiot G. (2011). "Why Fukushima made me stop worrying and love nuclear power", *George Monbiot, The Guardian newspaper*, 21 March 2011. [Online at] :-
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/mar/21/pro-nuclear-japan-fukushima> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
 "Going Critical". [Online at] :-
<http://www.monbiot.com/2011/03/21/going-critical/> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- NewNet (2011). "Binding EU 2030 target needed to secure renewable energy investment : EWEA report", 14 March 2011. [Online at] :-
<http://www.newenergyworldnetwork.com/alternative-energy-analysis/by-technology-kb/wind-power-kb/binding-eu-2030-target-needed-to-secure-renewable-energy-investment-ewea-report.html> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Ofgem (2010). "Project Discovery : Options for delivering secure and sustainable energy supplies", Consultation, UK Office of Generation and Electricity Markets, 3 February 2010. [Available at] :-
http://www.ofgem.gov.uk/markets/whlmkts/discovery/Documents1/Project_Discovery_FebConDoc_FINAL.pdf
 [Accessed 13 April 2011]
 [Website at] :-
<http://www.ofgem.gov.uk/Pages/MoreInformation.aspx?docid=73&refer=markets/whlmkts/discovery> [13 April 2011]
- O'Neill S. and Nicholson-Cole S. (2009). "Fear Won't Do It : Promoting Positive Engagement with Climate Change through Visual and Iconic Representations", *Science Communication*, 30(3) : pp. 355 - 379. [Available at] :-
<http://scx.sagepub.com/content/30/3/355.abstract> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Oreskes N. and Conway E. (2010). "Merchants of Doubt : How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming", *Bloomsbury Press*, ISBN-13: 9781596916104. [Review at] :-
http://www.bloomsburypress.com/books/catalog/merchants_of_doubt_hc_104 [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Osborne H. (2006). "Stern report : the key points", *Hilary Osborne, The Guardian newspaper*, 30 October 2006. [Online at] :-
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2006/oct/30/economy.uk> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Owens S. and Drifill L. (2008). "How to change attitudes and behaviours in the context of energy", *Energy Policy* 36(2008), pp. 4412 – 4418, doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2008.09.031, 15 October 2008. [Available at] :-
<http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/bispartners/foresight/docs/energy/energy%20final/owens%20paper%20-section%204.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Page L. (2011). "Wind power : Even worse than you thought", *Lewis Page, The Register, Biting the hand that feeds IT*, 7 April 2011. [Online at] :-
http://www.theregister.co.uk/2011/04/07/wind_power_actually_25_per_cent/ [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Patterson W. and Grubb M. (1996). "Liberalizing European Electricity : Impacts on Generation and Environment", *Walt Patterson and Michael Grubb, Briefing Paper No. 34 November 1996, The Royal Institute of International Affairs*. [Available at] :-
http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/3024_liberalising_euro_electricity_patterson_1996.pdf [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Phillips R. and Rowley S. (2011). "Bringing it home : Using behavioural insights to make green living policy work", *Rebekah Phillips and Sylvia Rowley, Green Alliance*. [Available at] :-
http://www.greenalliance.org.uk/uploadedFiles/Themes/Green_living/Bringing%20it%20home_AW_lowsingle.pdf
 [Accessed 13 April 2011]

- Pidgeon and Fischhoff (2011). "The role of social and decision sciences in communicating uncertain climate risks", *Nature Climate Change, Perspective*, 29 March 2011, doi: 10.1038/NCLIMATE1080, [Online at] :- <http://www.nature.com/nclimate/journal/v1/n1/pdf/nclimate1080.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- PostNote (2010). "Climate Change Engagement and Behaviour", Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, postnote, Number 347, January 2010. [Available at] :- <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/post/postpn347.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Professional Engineering (2010). "UK failing to meet renewable energy targets", 30 November 2010. [Online at] :- <http://profeng.com/news/uk-failing-to-meet-renewable-energy-targets> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Quizlet (n.d.). "Grunig's Situational Theory of Publics", Flashcards. [Online at] :- <http://quizlet.com/2570121/grunigs-situational-theory-of-publics-flash-cards/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Ramsay Macdonald J. (1921). "Socialism : Critical and Constructive", James Ramsay Macdonald, Cassell & Company Ltd, Pocket Library 1929, first published 1921, Chapter VI "POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION". [Transcription 9 April 2011]
- RealClimate (2011). Search "media", Web Log of Professor Michael E. Mann, Dr Gavin Schmidt and colleagues. [Available at] :- <http://www.realclimate.org/> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Redpoint (2010). "Electricity Market Reform : Analysis of Policy Options", 15 December 2010. [Available at] :- <http://www.decc.gov.uk/assets/decc/Consultations/emr/1043-emr-analysis-policy-options.pdf> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
[Website at] :- <http://www.decc.gov.uk/en/content/cms/consultations/emr/emr.aspx> [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Regen SW (2011). "Threat to the future of community renewable energy", 6 April 2011. [Online at] :- <http://www.regensw.co.uk/news/2011/4/6/threat-to-future-of-community-renewable-energy-> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Renewable Energy Focus (2009). "England behind on 2010 renewable energy targets". 15 July 2009. [Online at] :- <http://www.renewableenergyfocus.com/view/2541/england-behind-on-2010-renewable-energy-targets/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Renewable Energy Focus (2011a). "UK renewable energy supplies up 23% in Q3 2010". 4 January 2011. [Online at] :- <http://www.renewableenergyfocus.com/view/14881/uk-renewable-energy-supplies-up-23-in-q3-2010/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Renewable Energy Focus (2011b). "Comment: Is the UK Government turning its back on renewable in favour of nuclear?", 8 April 2011. [Online at] :- <http://www.renewableenergyfocus.com/view/17201/comment-is-the-uk-government-turning-its-back-on-renewable-in-favour-of-nuclear/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Rose C. (2010). "How to Win Campaigns Part I : Communications essentials", *The Ecologist*, serialisation of book. [Online at] :- http://www.theecologist.org/how_to_make_a_difference/campaigning_the_basics/655504/how_to_win_campaigns_part_i_communication_essentials.html [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Saltman R. B. and Ferroussier-Davis O. (2000). "The concept of stewardship in health policy", *Bulletin of the World Health Organisation*, 78 (6), 2000. pp. 732 - 739. Figure 1 "Comparison of agency theory and stewardship theory". [Available at] :- [http://www.who.int/bulletin/archives/78\(6\)732.pdf](http://www.who.int/bulletin/archives/78(6)732.pdf) [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Scott F. (2010). "new times, new connections : civil society action on climate change", Faye Scott, Green Alliance, 28 October 2010. [Available at] :- <http://www.green-alliance.org.uk/uploadedFiles/Publications/New%20times%20new%20connections%20FINAL11.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- SDC (2006). "I will if you will : Towards sustainable consumption", Sustainable Development Commission, May 2006, ISBN: 1 899581 79 0. [Available at] :- http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/data/files/publications/I_Will_If_You_Will.pdf [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- SDC (2007). "Lost in Transmission : The role of Ofgem in a changing climate", Sustainable Development Commission, 18 September 2007. [Available at] :- [http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/data/files/publications/SDC_ofgem_report%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/data/files/publications/SDC_ofgem_report%20(2).pdf) [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Shove E. (2010). "Beyond the ABC : climate change policy and theories of social change", *Environment and Planning A* 42(6) pp. 1273 – 1285. [Available at] :- <http://action-town.eu/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/BEYONDTHEABCrevised1.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Sylvester and Thomson (2011). "We need less finger-wagging and we need to make work pay", Rachel Sylvester and Alice Thomson, *The Times newspaper*, 19 February 2011. [Scanned]

- The Engineer (2011). "Data shows fall in UK's renewable-energy investment", 29 March 2011. [Online at] :- http://www.theengineer.co.uk/sectors/energy-and-environment/news/data-shows-fall-in-uks-renewable-energy-investment/1008047_article [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Turov J. (2009). "Media Today : An Introduction to Mass Communication", 3rd Edition, Routledge. [Online partly] :- http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=g2uVDTOctrC&pg=PA631&lpg=PA631&dq=bernays+mass+communication&source=bl&ots=HMFK0BlZf5&sig=y51Li6ZAF6HPZgmK6-GJWh6lno&hl=en&ei=MtGhTcy7Klu3hAf8uv3wBA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=10&ved=0CFsQ6AEwCQ#v=onepage&q=bernays%20mass%20communication&f=false [Accessed 4 April 2011]
[See Transcriptions]
- Uswitch (2011). "Customers told 'sign up now' as cheap energy plans are pulled from the market", 5 April 2011. [Available at] :- <http://www.uswitch.com/news/utilities/customers-told-sign-up-now-as-cheap-energy-plans-are-pulled-from-the-market-369667/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Uzzell D. (2008). "Human Behavior and Climate Change : A Social Justice Issue", presentation to the Second Annual Psychology Day at the United Nations, NY, USA, 19 November 2008. [Available at] :- <http://204.14.132.173/international/united-nations/uzzell-presentation.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Van Cleve J. (2002). "A Phenomenology of Global Climate Change", Jeremy Van Cleve, Global Climate Change and Society Summer Program, 8 August 2002. [Available at] :- http://cstpr.colorado.edu/about_us/archives/projects/gccs/2002/student_work/reflection_papers/jeremy_van_cleve.pdf [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Vidal (2009). "Cert energy-saving bulb scheme not saving power", John Vidal, The Guardian, Environment blog, 7 May 2009. [Online at] :- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2009/may/05/cert-scheme-energy-saving-lightbulbs> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Walker P. (2008). "Engaging People : Audience segmentation - just who are you talking to ?", IEMA, April 2008, pp. 28 - 29. [Available at] :- http://penny-walker.co.uk/media/2009/09/apr08_audience_segmentation_just_who_are_you_talking_to.pdf [Accessed 13 April 2011]
- Walsh L. (2010). "UK to miss 2020 renewable target", Luke Walsh, edie.net, 26 July 2010. [Online at] :- http://www.edie.net/news/news_story.asp?id=18446 [Accessed 10 April 2010]
- Walsh L. (2011). "Barker under-fire over cuts comment", Luke Walsh, edie.net, 7 April 2011. [Online at] :- http://www.edie.net/news/news_story.asp?id=19706 [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Ward B. (2011). "Has the impact of 'Climategate' worn off ?", New Scientist magazine blog, Bob Ward, Policy and Communications Director, Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change, London School of Economics and Political Science, 14 February 2011. [Online at] :- <http://www.newscientist.com/blogs/theword/2011/02/has-the-impact-of-climategate.html> [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Webster B. (2011). "Way clear for pylons to blot landscape", Ben Webster, The Times, 2 April 2011. [Scanned]
- Whitmarsh and O'Neill (2008). "Carbon off-setting behaviour : catalyst for – or evasion of – low carbon lifestyles?", Dr Lorraine Whitmarsh and Dr Saffron O'Neill, presentation to University of Exeter conference "Climate change impacts and adaptation : Dangerous rates of change", 22 - 24 September 2008. [Available at] :- http://www.exeter.ac.uk/research/excellence/keythemes/climate/conference/documents/D5Lorraine_Whitmarsh.pdf [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Whitmarsh et al. (2009). "Carbon Capability : understanding, ability and motivation for reducing carbon emissions", Lorraine Whitmarsh, Saffron O'Neill, Gill Seyfang, Irene Lorenzoni, in The Handbook of Sustainability Literacy, Green Books, 2009. [Available at] :- <http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/stibbe-handbook-of-sustainability/chapters/carbon-capability> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
<http://www.sustainability-literacy.org/> [Accessed 10 April 2011]
- Whitmarsh L. (2010). "The attitude-behaviour gap or value-action gap. Does it exist and if so how do we deal with it ?", British Psychological Society, BPS Seminar Series, Seminar 2. "Attitude-behaviour gap", conference introduction, 23 November 2010. [Online at] :- http://blogs.cf.ac.uk/whitmarsh/entry/seminar_2_attitude_behaviour_gap [Accessed 4 April 2011]
- Whitmarsh, Seyfang and O'Neill (2011). "Public Engagement with 'Carbon' and Climate Change: Towards Carbon Capability", Whitmarsh L., Seyfang G. and O'Neill S., 26 January 2011. [Available at] :- <http://www.cserge.ac.uk/publications/journal-article/public-engagement-%E2%80%98carbon%E2%80%99-and-climate-change-towards-carbon-capability> [Accessed 4 April 2011]