Behavioural modification as a transaction between individual, behaviour and environment

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1. Introduction

Introducing the fourth part of this book, two assumptions should be formulated. First, changing a form of behaviour is seen as a transaction between the individual, the behaviour and the environment. Second, in order to change a behaviour, the behavioural determinants, the individual’s disposition and cognitions on the one hand and the environment on the other should be manipulated simultaneously.

Behavioural change can take place very quickly, in a given situation, even without any change in feelings and cognitions. But often behavioural change takes time, when it is fed by beliefs, cognitions, feelings and motivations, that means by a change of mentality (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). It can manifest itself after many years, as part of historical development.

Behavioural change can be achieved over the long term and short term. They form a dialectical relationship. Short-term behavioural change has to be embedded in a change of mentality in the longterm, to have a sustainable effect in society, while a change in mentality, should be reinforced by short-term behavioural changes, for example rewards and punishments.

Ultimately, behavioural modifications should be internalised by individuals and institutionalised in the culture of a society. Smoking is a good example of this. Many people have stopped smoking. Non-smoking behaviour has been internalised and simultaneously there have been institutionalised many non-smoking areas in societies. Institutions are a necessary vehicle to sustain changed behaviours and innovations in the longterm.

Behavioural modification and a change of mentality should similar. Attitudes and feelings should be consonant with behaviour, be a determinant of behaviour and eventually have the potential to predict behaviour (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). A behavioural change can take more time, both because of the diffusion in society, the slow adoption of new behaviours by individuals, and the absence of institutions. When this goes hand in hand with a change in mentality and institution building, it will produce a longer-lasting effect.

But behaviour does not always change without external pressure from governments and institutions. From a sociological point of view, seven basic types of influence governments can implement, can be distinguished: power, money, authority, consensus, image, credibility and socialisation. At the individual psychological level, these sources of influence can be translated into seven modes of behavioural change. They are basic mechanisms of behavioural modification and renewal, respectively conditioning, imitation, identification, compliance, conformity, reflection and internalisation. As well as these modes of behavioural modification, four types of behaviour can be distinguished. Each type of behaviour is influenced by different determinants. In order to influence behaviour one should ultimately manipulate the determinants of behaviour. We will distinguish two general determinants of
behaviour: individual dispositions (knowledge, attitudes, motivations) and the environment (situations, occasions and the physical and man-made environment). In this Chapter four issues will be discussed:

1. Three basic elements: individual, environment and behaviour.
2. Typology of behaviour.
3. Interaction between individual, environment and behaviour: inventing the wheel.
4. Modes of behavioural change.

1. Three basic elements: individual, environment and behaviour

If behaviour is largely the product of a disposition, then actions should be fairly consistent across situations and over time (Bandura, 1986, p. 5). As we all know from our own experience, behaviour can vary for several reasons. People try to act and think consistently, but this does not always happen (Wicker, 1969), because similar occasions can trigger divergent behaviours in different people and even in the same individual. And attitudes towards the same individual can vary, depending on the occasion, as LaPiere demonstrated in 1934. Schuman and Johnson (1976) concluded that certain behaviours depend so much on the given situation that they are basically unpredictable from measures of attitude. Behaviour is a function of the individual and the situation (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). Behavioural change can be realised by influencing individuals (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1980) and changing the environment (Skinner, 1971) not simply by influencing the behaviour. Influencing behaviour takes place by manipulating the determinants of the behaviour, as described in the theory of reasoned behaviour (Fishbein & Ajzen 1980; Ajzen, 1996) and in the NOA model of Charles Vlek and Linda Steg in Chapter ....... in this volume. For a discussion of the model of reasoned behaviour of Fisbein and Ajzen, I refer to Chapters .........

In day to day life, people are exposed to a variety of stimuli and must make choices between them. Human beings have selective perception and a relatively small capacity to process information (Solso, 1995). Their attention can only be focused on a small amount of stimuli at one time. People do not always perceive stimuli in a passive way, but often actively select stimuli which have a certain meaning for them, and they neglect those stimuli which do not have any meaning for them (See Chapter .... of Jan Theeuwes).

Between stimulus and response there exists a thinking and feeling individual, who gives content to the black box of the behaviourists: Stimulus → Individual → Response (Markus & Zajonc, 1985; Shaw & Constanzo, 1977; Bandura, 1977; Wood & Bandura, 1989). In the S → P → R model appears the first contours of the wheel: Environment, Individual and Behaviour (E → P → B).

\[ S \rightarrow O \rightarrow R = E \rightarrow P \rightarrow B \]
In our view, behaviour is a function of the individual and the situation, i.e. the joint influence of situational (environmental cues) and dispositional determinants (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). Individual and situation are called by Lewin the ‘lifespace’ of human beings, which includes both the individual and her psychological representation of the environment (Shaw & Constanzo, 1982). It is the situation as construed by the subject that is the true stimulus (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). It is important to focus on the subjective interpretations of the stimulus (situation), i.e. the definition of the situation of an individual (Thomas, 1928; Merton, 1967).

**Reciprocal relationships between individual, environment and behaviour**

Individual, environment and behaviour have a reciprocal relationship. A change in one element will have effects on the other elements too. The fact that individual, environment and behaviour can cause modifications in each other, is a basic argument to distinguish them. In the works of the pioneers of sociology interaction between individuals and their environment is significant. Karl Marx believed that human consciousness is conditioned in a dialectical process, in which man shapes his environment and at the same time the environment determines his consciousness (Marx, 1890; Lipschits, 1970; Giddens, 1971). Human beings are born into a society, which has a specific structure and culture, which shapes individuality (Durkheim, 1965). Skinner believes that ‘almost everything that human beings do, is the result of the historical circumstances people are exposed to’ (Skinner, 1973, p. 51). ’Environments act in an inconspicuous way: it does not push and pull, it selects, and behaviour is shaped and maintained by its consequences’ (Skinner, 1971, p. 22-23). But at the same time behaviour operates upon the environment to produce consequences (Skinner, 1971, p. 24). Bandura (1977, p. 9) assumes that ‘it is largely through their actions that people produce the environmental conditions that affect their behaviour in a reciprocal fashion’. He also states (1978, p. 344) that the environment is an autonomous force that automatically shapes, orchestrates and controls behaviour. In contrast to Skinner, Durkheim (1965) believes in the interaction between the individual and society. In his opinion society shapes individuals more by means of internalised norms and values, than individuals shape society, but human beings are, in a sense, autonomous beings: ‘Society cannot make its influence felt unless it is in action, and it is not in action unless the individuals who compose it are assembled together and act in common. It is by common action that it takes consciousness of itself and realises its position: it is before all else an active co-operation’ (Durkheim, 1915; Nisbet, 1965, p. 34).

In spite of the norms, rules, orders and prohibitions enforced by society, the motivation of individuals to conform to them is decisive for carrying out types of behaviour, as Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) think. If somebody is not motivated to conform to societal norms, he will probably calculate the consequences of his neglect of rules and norms. Laws not longer have a direct impact on behaviour, because laws are not as strongly anchored in social norms. Internalised norms leads to automatic behaviours, when they are followed by individuals. But when they are not internalised they lead to calculation and deviant behaviour.
Behavioural change by means of communication

Communication is primarily directed at people, but it could have an indirect effect on the social environment, if many people accept a given message and adopt a new behaviour. When communication is the only instrument to influence behaviour, which is common, the question however is where to start. Normally one begins with increasing knowledge and then with improving the attitude and, finally, improved knowledge and attitude will influence the behaviour (learn → feel → do). Elsewhere we stated (see Chapter ... of Bartels & Nelissen) that there are six ways to change behaviour, when combining knowledge, attitudes and behaviour, for example do → learn → feel, or feel → do → learn. However, the usual route to influence behaviour starts with knowledge; learn → feel → do or the sequence learn → do → feel. Other combinations are rarer, but could be equally or even more successful (See Chapter ... of Gordon Foxall, and Chapter ... of Teddy McCalley & Cees Middenden). For example, one can start with the behaviour, than improve and adjust the attitude to the modified behaviour and finally increase the knowledge, according to Bem’s (1972) theory of self-perception. People infer their feelings from their behaviour: ‘people do not run away because they are afraid, but they are afraid, because they run away’ (Skinner, 1971, p. 18). Skinner (1974) cites Karl Marx, who raised a similar question. ‘It is not the consciousness of man that determines his existence, rather it is his social existence that determines his consciousness’ (Marx, 1859). Acting is followed by knowing or feeling.

The innovation-diffusion cycle in Chapter ... (described by Paul Driessen & Bas Hillebrand) could be viewed as proof that all six combinations of the learning hierarchy (learn → feel → do) can be used in a communication strategy, as displayed in Table 1. The innovation-diffusion cycle tells us that people do not adopt an innovation or a new behaviour at the same time. Some people pick up innovations very quickly, like the innovators, who are fond of trying out new and innovative products, while others lag behind (Rogers, 1983). When introducing new products to a market, different adoption segments should be distinguished because they show different learning hierarchies. Innovators continually reflect before and during the testing of a new product (learn → feel → do). Early adopters sometimes spontaneously adopt a new product by trusting blindly their gut feelings (feel → do → learn). The late majority does not deliberate about the purchase of a new product. They simply test a new product and think about its benefits afterwards.

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<tr>
<th>Adoption segments</th>
<th>Learning hierarchy</th>
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<tr>
<td>Innovators</td>
<td>Learn → feel → do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early adopters</td>
<td>Feel → do → learn or Learn → feel → do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early majority</td>
<td>Learn → do → feel or Feel → learn → do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late majority</td>
<td>Do → learn → feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggards</td>
<td>Do → feel → learn</td>
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The innovation-diffusion cycle is based on the segmentation of behaviour. There are however two approaches for segmentation: forward and backward segmentation. Forward
segmentation starts with knowledge, attitudes or demographics. In this procedure knowledge (high versus low) or attitudinal segments (positive, neutral and negative) are constructed. The bizarre fact is that between attitude and behaviour there need not be a (strong) correlation (Wicker, 1969).

Using backward segmentation, on the other hand, one concentrates on behaviour, for example to distinguish between buyers and non-buyers. Because of the fallacy of backward segmentation, Rossiter & Percy (1987) claim backward segmentation is preferable to forward segmentation. When using behaviour as a segmentation base, it is reasonable to ask oneself which types of behaviour do exist. It is essential to realise that each type of behaviour has its own determinants, and is influenced in different ways.

In the next section we will present a typology of behaviour, in which four types of behaviour are distinguished along two dimensions: is the behaviour intended or not and are the behavioural consequences recognised by an individual or not?

2. Typology of behaviour: four patterns of behaviour

In psychology two different patterns of behaviour are distinguished: behaviours which are consciously controlled and behaviours which are automatic, and which are not intended, planned or consciously chosen (Bargh, 1984, 1989; Zanna & Rempel, 1988, Fazio, 1990). See also Vlek & Steg in Chapter 22.

Automatic processes are unconscious, involuntary, uncontrolled, unintended, autonomous, relatively effortless and do not attract someone’s attention (Bargh, 1989). On the contrary, controlled processes are conscious, voluntary, controlled, intended, ask a cognitive effort, and draw attention (Bargh, 1989). In sociology a frequently used distinction is between actions that are meaningful and purposeful on the one hand and actions that are determined by the (social) environment on the other hand. Max Weber and Emile Durkheim have done much work on this distinction.

Bridging the gap between sociological and psychological approaches, Merton’s theory of manifest and latent functions can be used to develop a typology of behaviour. Manifest functions are ‘those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the social system which are intended and recognised by participants in the system, and latent functions, correlative, being those which are neither intended nor recognised’ (Merton, 1967, p. 105). The collective effects of behaviour are often not recognised. Johan Gouwsblom (1998) believes that environmental problems are ‘a classic example of processes that are caused by human behaviour, but are not intended or planned as such’. Moreover, the effects of environmental pollution are often not recognised by those who have caused them. ‘Blind’ societal processes, those which come about in an unintended and unplanned way, are good examples of the interactions between people and their environment, which develop almost unconsciously, often automatically.

Manifest (intended and recognised) and latent (unintended and unrecognised) functions can be inserted into a matrix, in which the rows are recognised versus not recognised and the
columns intended and unintended. Each cell of this matrix consists of four cells, which are characterised by four different types of behaviour: goal-oriented, (purposeful, rational and strategic); spontaneous, which is impulsive and sometimes emotional; rule based, (traditions and rituals), and automatic (routines). This typology dates back to Max Weber (Giddens, 1971), who distinguishes four types of social conduct orientation: purposely, rational conduct, value rational action, affective action and traditional action. When an individual behaves in a purposely rational way, ‘he assesses the probable results of a given act in terms of the calculation of means to an end’. Value rational conduct, contrasts with purposively rational behaviour, in the sense that it is ‘directed towards an overriding ideal, and takes no account of any other considerations as relevant’. Affective action is carried out under the sway of some sort of emotive state and as such is on the borderline of meaningful and non-meaningful conduct. Traditional action is driven by customs and habits. It is automatically performed (Giddens, 1971, p. 152, 153).

In Chapter.... Jan Theeuwes makes a distinction between skill-based, rule-based, and knowledge-based behaviour. ‘Skill-based behaviour’ is performed automatically and represents sensory-motor performance during activities, which take place without conscious control, as smooth and highly integrated patterns of behaviour. Shifting gears and steering control are examples of this type of behaviour. Rule-based behaviour consists of a sequence of subroutines controlled by a stored rule or procedure which is developed over time during repeated practice in a particular situation. When a particular situation occurs, the rule or procedure is retrieved from memory and is executed, like following a recipe in a cookbook. It is retrieved from memory simply on the basis of previous successful experiences. Knowledge-based behaviour occurs in unfamiliar situations when there is no rule for control from previous experiences. The behaviour is performed at a higher conceptual level, involving deductive reasoning and understanding of the situation, for example, finding the appropriate road to a particular destination. Knowledge-based behaviour is required when faced with unusual situations or/and when the individual does not have much experience with a situation’.

There is some overlap between our typology and Weber’s: rational, value rational, affective and traditional action correspond with respectively goal oriented, rule-based, spontaneous and automatic behaviour. However Weber gives no clear distinction between the different orientations of social conduct, except the distinction between meaningful and non-meaningful. In our typology the basic question is whether the behaviour is intended or not, and whether the effects of the behaviour are recognised, or not. Two important functions of behaviour have been discounted in the distinction we make in our typology: individual behavioural goals (intentions) and reinforcement/ feedback (recognised effects of behaviour). Different types of behaviour require different instruments to influence them, and also need different communication strategies, because every type of behaviour has different behavioural antecedents to influence.
Table 2: A typology of behaviour

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<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>Recognised</th>
<th>Not recognised</th>
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<tr>
<td>Intended</td>
<td>Goal oriented behaviour</td>
<td>Rule-based behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unintended</td>
<td>Spontaneous behaviour</td>
<td>Automatic behaviour</td>
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Goal-oriented behaviour is rational and instrumental (Habermas, 1984); it is reasoned, planned behaviour, based on a rational choice (Ajzen, 1996). It is essential for an individual whose actions are goal-oriented that he has a target in mind, can choose between alternatives, has the option of feedback about the effects of his actions and exerts behavioural control. Behavioural effects are used to exercise control over the behaviour (Bandura, 1997; see also Gordon Foxall in Chapter ....). As soon as a behavioural goal is not realised, the behaviour should be adapted by an individual, according to the goal he has in mind, or else the goal is changed. Because goal-oriented behaviour is oriented towards the environment, its effects have an impact on the environment, and the relationship between the individual and his environment is at stake (P → B → E).

Influencing goal-oriented behaviour starts with the individual who makes a trade-off, for example, between his negative (costs) and positive beliefs (benefits). Often goal-oriented behaviour has some risk for the actor, which makes it necessary to develop a behavioural strategy. For example choosing a new job or buying an old house, buying sustainable goods, establishing a relationship with another individual, or maintaining self-esteem and self-image. Goal-oriented behaviour sets the stage for a chain of intertwined actions and decisions, and often determines the nature of the chain of decisions and actions, which can have both negative and positive effects on the environment. It could be especially important to influence those behaviours that leave a mark on any subsequent decisions and actions in the chain of behaviours. Social dilemmas, described in Chapter ...., start from individuals’ rational choices, who, acting in their own interests, lose sight of the collective interests of the society in which they live.

Spontaneous or impulsive behaviour is unintended, because it was never the intention of an individual to perform that kind of conduct. However the effects of spontaneous and impulsive behaviour are recognised by the actor himself and by other people in his or her environment. Sometimes those effects are embarrassing, sometimes they are amusing and often they are unexpected, both to an actor and any bystanders. Spontaneous behaviour can be automatically generated by an association or an event in someone’s environment, for example by identifying with a trend.

Spontaneous and impulsive behaviours can be institutionalised and internalised after some time. This can occur if an individual recognises that his spontaneous behaviour leads to positive effects, which are rewarding and eventually reinforce the originally spontaneous behaviour; or if an individual realises that the effects reinforce behaviour that avoids any problems (negative reinforcement, see Foxall, Chapter .... and Donovan & Rossiter in Chapter ....).

Spontaneous and impulsive behaviour can be characterised by the sequence B → E → P.
Governmental organisations can only react to spontaneous and impulsive behaviours with hindsight. Transactional instruments and institutional renewal are appropriate policy instruments to react after this type of behaviour. Communication often has a contrary effect, while regulation usually comes too late.

Rule-based behaviour is intended and goal-oriented and, in that respect, rational, but one characteristic of this type of behaviour is that its effects are not discounted by an actor and there are no behavioural alternatives. Rule-based behaviour lacks feedback. If this is not the case, rule-based behaviour would be the same as goal oriented-behaviour. Bureaucratic behaviour is one of the most typical forms of rule-based behaviour. It is goal-oriented and tries to apply the rules in a rational way, but it does not consider alternative patterns of behaviour. However, the effects of rationally applying the rules are not observed or recognised by bureaucrats. This recognition is neither institutionalised in organisations, nor internalised by the bureaucrats themselves. In many governmental organisations, there are no or few feedback mechanisms which enable bureaucrats to recognise and monitor the effects of the implementation of rules and policy measures. Lacking feedback mechanisms in large organisations leads to rule-conforming behaviour by bureaucrats, because rule-based behaviours, which are problem-avoiding, and institutionalised, are rewarding for them. In contrast, it is not rewarding for them to notify and sound the alarm in the organisation when policy targets are not realised within the appropriate time schedule. Problem avoidance is rewarded, and problem solution often not. So, lacking institutionalised feedback mechanisms, causes an internalisation of bureaucratic rules and a rigid implementation of policy measures. Institutionalisation and internalisation are two sides of the same coin: what has been institutionalised at a societal or organisational level is also internalised.

All behaviours that only can be performed by means of norms, laws, values, ideals, rituals and traditions are rule-based. For example, ritualistic behaviours are maintained in order to reach a religious goal. What the effects are of this kind of rule-based behaviour is not easy to say, because the ultimate rewards cannot be measured or even observed. Weber calls this type of behaviour value-rational action. It is directed towards an overriding ideal, and takes no account of any other considerations, in contrast with goal-oriented behaviour, which considers alternatives and recognises the consequences, which are fed back to the actor (Giddens, 1971, p. 152). Goal-oriented behaviour is in that respect more rational than value-rational behaviour. In any social organisation where no feedback mechanisms are institutionalised, rule-based behaviour is the usual way to act rationally. It is characteristic for traditional institutions, such as religions, to rely heavily on rituals. Rule-based behaviour and Weber’s value-rational action are part of the culture of societies and organisations and do have conserving effects on them. Because people can give reasons for rule-based behaviour and traditions, without recognising their effects, communication can play a role in making people more conscious of the effects they do not recognise. Other policy instruments, with the exception of coercion, play no role in influencing rule-based behaviour. Rules are firstly communication vehicles.
Automatic behaviour is neither intended, nor recognised. It is a mindless type of behaviour in the sense that people do not think about the behaviour before they perform and they do not consciously recognise or anticipate the effects of their behaviour. Automatic behaviour is not consciously controlled by an individual and there are no conscious feedback mechanisms involved. Instead of feedback mechanisms, modifications in the environment or social control could be used to adapt or change such behaviour. Automatic behaviour is stimulated by cues from the environment, which activate the proper associations, scripts and cognitive schemas in memory (E→B→P). Driving style is a typical example of automatic behaviour. Experienced drivers automatically react to stimuli from the environment, and often find that they recall little of journeys they have made. An other example is the escalator. Standing at the foot of an immobile escalator, people become conscious of their automatic behaviour. People expects escalators to be in motion, so when they come across an immobile escalator, they often stumble on the first few steps, before realising that they have to walk up it, even though they have observed that the escalator is stopped. It is remarkable that automatic behaviour and expectations suppress the observation that the escalator is not moving.

3. Inventing the wheel

People, the environment and behaviours influence each other (Wood & Bandura, 1989). A diagram of the ‘wheel’ can visualise this transaction. Bandura (1978, p. 346) gives an example of the interlocking relationships between people, the environment and behaviour. ‘Personal preferences influence when and which programmes, from among the available alternatives, individuals choose to watch on television (P→B). Although the potential televised environment is identical for all viewers, the actual televised environment that impinges on given individuals depends on what they select to watch. Through their viewing behaviour, they partly shape the nature of future televised environment (B→E). Because production costs and commercial requirements also determine what people are shown, the options provided in the televised environment partly shape the viewers’ preferences (E→P). Here, all three factors, viewer preferences, viewing behaviour and television offerings, reciprocally affect each other.’ There is a continuous transaction between the viewer, the televised environment and viewer behaviour. These transactions set the stage for continuous changes in the relationship between individual, environment and behaviour. Because of the reciprocal relationship between individual and environment, human beings are both products of their environment and producers of the environment (Bandura, 1994). Berger and Luckmann (1976) consider society to be human product and at the same time an objective reality, while they see man as a social product. Another example of the reciprocal relationship between individual and environment is the normative influence the (social) environment exerts on an individual and, at the same time, the motivation of an individual to comply to these norms (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). The relationship between the individual and his behaviour is also reciprocal: in order to perform goal-oriented and planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1996), people should be consciously perceived and given feedback on the impact of their
behaviour on the environment. Feedback is the behavioural mechanism responsible for the realisation of the intended effects of the behaviour. With this feedback people can exert control over their behaviour and have the capacity to perform goal-oriented behaviour and plan their actions (see Chapter ... of Teddy McCalley & Cees Midden. Finally, the relationship between behaviour and the environment is also reciprocal. The environment maintains automatic behaviour by providing the necessary stimuli, but meanwhile behaviour operates on the environment. Environments are shaped in such a way by human beings that they enable people to react automatically to them. Social institutions are good examples of those reciprocal transactions: man-made, they continuously influence, after they have been internalised, the behaviour and mentality of individuals.

1. **Person → Behaviour (P → B)**

The Fisbein and Ajzen (1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen, 1996) model of reasoned and planned behaviour as described in Chapter ... of Rob Holland, Ree Meertens and Mark van Vugt, is a good example of the influence individual dispositions exert on their behaviour. The Fishbein and Ajzen model is ‘reasoned’, because people make a trade-off in advance between the costs and the benefits of the behaviour they intend to perform. Dependent on this trade-off, they will choose one of the alternative behaviours. Reasoned behaviour is goal-oriented. It is directly influenced by behavioural intentions, and indirectly by three dispositional determinants: attitude, social norm and perceived behavioural control (Ajzen, 1996). These dispositional determinants exert a direct influence on behavioural intentions. The Fishbein and Ajzen model is step by step constructed, starting with attitude (including beliefs), social norm and perceived behavioural control and finishing with the performance of the intended behaviour. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980, p. 54) define an attitude as ‘a general feeling of favourableness or unfavourableness’ towards the behaviour they consider and plan to perform. Attitudes are composed of beliefs about the likelihood of the perceived and desired outcomes of the intended behaviour. So beliefs are a kind of risk estimate of costs and benefits in order to choose from among behavioural alternatives.

The subjective norm of an individual is his or her ‘perception that most people who are important to him think he should or should not perform the behaviour under consideration. And the more an individual perceives that others who are important to him think he should perform a behaviour, the more he will intend to do so’ (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980, p. 57). In the model of reasoned behaviour, the individuals’ motivation to conform to the norm is in combination with the social norm, also an important determinant of the behavioural intention. Perceived behavioural control is defined as an individuals ‘perception of how easy or difficult it is to perform the behaviour’ (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 186). This is similar to Bandura’s self-efficacy, i.e. the belief that one can successfully execute the behaviour and can exercise control over the events that affect their lives (Bandura, 1989; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

It has to be kept in mind that only 10% of all behaviours human beings perform are reasoned (rational, strategic or planned); i.e. all the behaviours that people think about in advance. A
good example of making trade-offs is the hierarchy of excuses to perform sustainable behaviour, described by Fred van Raaij in Chapter ……:

1. Ignoring the problem and stating it as irrelevant;
2. Changing knowledge and attitudes, but not changing behaviour;
3. Blaming other actors, attributing this to their own motivation;
4. Trusting technological solutions;
5. Distorting the problem, minimising one’s own opportunities;
6. Accepting one’s own lack of motivation and feeling guilty;
7. Partial yielding, only to changes with small behavioural costs;
8. Changing behaviour, even where behavioural costs are involved.

2. **Behaviour** → **Environment** (B → E)

People are the products of their environment, as well as the producers of their environment (Bandura, 1978). In Chapter …… on Consumer behavioural analysis and social marketing, Gordon Foxall discusses two forms of conditioning, classical and operant conditioning. Operant conditioning takes place when the behavioural response operates on the environment to produce the consequences that come to control the behaviour. Such behaviour does not occur in a vacuum: it always takes place in a certain context, the ‘occasion’. This is the physical and social setting or environment in which the behaviour takes place, which is composed of stimuli.

3. **Environment** → **Behaviour** (E → B)

Almost 90% of human behaviour is automatic and consists of habits. Automatic behaviour is very efficient, because it is not necessary to make a decision or to think before performing the behaviour. Deliberating and decision-making before acting takes up a lot of memory (Anderson, 1995).

Automatic behaviour is stimulus driven. Environmental cues can elicit an association which automatically triggers the behaviour. Chapter …… describes the way in which associations are formed by classical conditioning. A great deal of marketing effort is directed towards building associations between particular brands and enjoyable events that the consumer has encountered on other occasions. An attractive man or woman, or a beautiful scenery, arouses emotions, and your favourite music (Gorn, 1982) evokes positive feelings which a marketer wants to transfer to the brand he tries to sell. Chapter …… treats the strategic and tactical aspects of transformational communication. When a consumer encounters the advertised brand in the shop, and that stimulus retrieves the association between the brand and the attractive man or woman, the beautiful scenery or the evocative music, that association means an individual is likely to feel good about the brand, and will purchase it.

4. **Individual** → **Environment** (P → E)
People activate different environmental reactions, apart from their behaviour, by their physical characteristics (e.g. size, race, sex, attractiveness) and socially conferred attributes, roles and status (Bandura, 1978, p. 346). Moreover, human beings construct their environment, using schemas, heuristics and definitions, in reaction to the environments, situations and occasions they are confronted with: ‘If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences’, according to the Thomas theorem (Zijderveld, 1973; Thomas, 1928). If definitions of situations are real in their consequences, ‘it is the situation as construed by the subject that is the true stimulus’ (Ross & Nisbet, 1991, p. 11). On many occasions the subjective interpretation of the stimulus is more important for behaviour than the objective circumstances. Definitions of the situation, cognitive schemas and subjective interpretations of stimuli are used by individuals to construct the relevant environments and to give meaning to their environments. This is an example of rule-based behaviour.

In Chapter …… Jan Theeuwes assumes that, based on the general notion that human beings try to structure their world, they will categorise their (traffic) environment. It is not the individual objects nor the individual environments that will be stored in a driver’s memory, but an abstract representation of the world, which contains a basic set of typical properties. These typical representations develop through experience. In order to ensure unity in the way people structure their world, an institutional arrangement (sometimes ordered and legitimised by governments) is necessary to guarantee consistency in the physical appearance of an object or environment, and a normative and rule-based consistency with respect to the behaviour displayed in relation to that object or environment. When these conditions are fulfilled, the prototypical representation of certain (road) environments is more or less the same for everyone. The prototypical representation of the road environment that is the basis for the categorisation process contains ‘information’ regarding the typical spatial relationships between the road elements and road users, so-called cognitive schemas; and ‘information’ regarding the typical sequences of events in time, so-called scripts (Abelson, 1981). Drivers will therefore rely on their experience with the driving task, which is often a visually demanding task, and perceiving the road environment correctly will rely on top-down expectations. Classification of a road environment activates particular scripts and schemata which, in their turn, induce where ‘in place and in time’ other road users and elements can be expected. If the environment induces inappropriate expectations, errors are likely to occur. It is necessary to design a (road) environment that takes into account the expectations of the (road) users (see also Chapter …… by Jochum Stienstra).

4. Environment → Person (E → P)

Contrary to the Environment, Behaviour relationship (E→B) which is based on automatic behaviour, the Environment, Individual relationship (E→P) is based on goal-oriented, reasoned behaviour.

In Chapter …….. Mieneke Weenig describes the social network approach. This is a small-scale, interactive community intervention. The target group’s existing social
network, the social environment, is used explicitly for the purpose of information diffusion and influencing individuals. This approach is effective in reaching the target group and in stimulating attitude and behaviour change in individuals. The network approach shows, according to Weenig’s research, that for the diffusion of information the number of ties a person has, is more important than their strength, but with respect to the effectiveness of the programme it is the strength of ties that is more important than the number of ties. In other words, information diffusion is dependent on the quantity of contacts, especially weak ones, whereas the effectiveness of the programme is mainly dependent on the quality of contacts, i.e. their closeness. So both the quantity and quality of contacts in a social network exert influence on individuals (see also Chapter on the innovation-diffusion cycle).

A second example of the influence of the environment on the individual is described by Rob Holland, Ree Meertens & Mark van Vugt in Chapter .... The introduction of a car-pool lane in one Dutch motorway appeared to have an influence on drivers’ perceptions of the time costs involved in car-pooling. Individual drivers as well as car-poolers thought carpooling to be less time-consuming after the implementation of the lane than before it. However, the results also showed that individual drivers on the experimental route changed their preferences and the associated views on car-pooling after the introduction of the car-pool lane. Self-justification also became evident in another way. After the introduction of the car-pool lane, individual drivers placed more importance on the flexibility of their transport while they placed less importance on the financial costs of the car than before. Flexibility is strongly associated with individual driving, while cheap transport was strongly associated with car-pooling. Because individual drivers were reluctant to try car-pooling, they bolstered their car habit of driving alone by emphasising the benefits of individual driving and downplaying the benefits of car-pooling, after the opening of the car-pool lane. A change in beliefs did not occur in the control group, suggesting that car drivers adjusted their beliefs to the new situation. Holland et al. conclude that processes of self-justification can undermine policy measures, so it is important to take them into account in future policy.

6. **Behaviour → Individual** (B → P)

The Behaviour → Individual relationship is characterised by feedback. Two chapters describe behavioural feedback: Teddy McCalley and Cees Midden report the results of an experiment on technologically mediated feedback in Chapter .... and Paul Harland and Henk Staats conducted a field experiment in which they tested the effects of the Eco-team Programme, based on social and written feedback (Chapter ...).

Feedback is different from reinforcement. Reinforcement manifests itself when a particular behaviour is repeated, by rewarding it frequently. The Environment → Behaviour relationship is at stake (E → B). Feedback is aimed at adjusting the displayed behaviour by comparing it to a standard, a behavioural goal. In the case of feedback the Behaviour → Individual
relationship is at stake (B → P). It is best if feedback is provided at the same time as the performed behaviour, in meaningful terms and in comparison to a relevant standard. According to McCalley and Midden, frequent and specific feedback is a successful way of encouraging energy conservation, provided that people set a goal. Those with an energy-saving goal will save significantly more energy than people without such a goal. When people can choose their own energy-saving goals, they save more energy than those who were assigned a goal. Pro-social society-minded individuals will save significantly more energy than the self-interested, and pro-social individuals will save significantly more energy when a goal is assigned to them, while selfish individuals save more energy when they are allowed to set their own goals.

Chip technology makes it possible to build appliances that show the user exactly how much energy each appliance is using at a given time or for a given task. This feedback is the information a user needs to assess where he stands in relation to his goal. Energy conservation results only when an individual forms a specific goal to save energy, which is matched to the energy feedback. Product-integrated energy-use feedback, which is specific and immediate, is more useful for people than the monthly utility bill.

Eco teams follow a programme, that exploits group mechanisms in order to achieve behavioural targets directed at improving the environment. As Paul Harland and Henk Staats describe in Chapter ..., one characteristic of eco teams is, that people are directly informed about their own efforts and the efforts made by other participants. This not only eliminates people’s uncertainty, but may also it could even stimulate them to do more themselves. Social uncertainty reduction refers to the fact that people are usually uncertain, if not sceptical, as to whether other people make an effort to achieve a better environment (see also Chapter ..., on social dilemmas). In the long term, the eco team programme seems to be a successful intervention in changing behaviour. It was found that half of the 93 behaviours that were targeted showed an improvement that was maintained or even increased up to two years after the eco team intervention had ended.

4. Modes of behavioural modification

Governments are involved in managing and directing societal developments, social arrangements and social institutions. Basically, they use their (legitimate) power in order to run the country. Governments influence societies in a variety of ways, by using different sources of control: (legitimate) power, money, authority, image, consensus, credibility, and socialisation agencies. However, influencing society is yet not a one-way street. There always is some kind of interaction and transaction between a government and its citizens, i.e. between source and recipient. Kelman (1958) distinguishes three ways to influence behaviour in dyadic relationships, e.g. between governments and citizens: compliance, identification and internalisation. We add four psychological mechanisms to Kelman’s typology. These modes
of behavioural modification are: conditioning (i.e. reward and punishment), imitation, conformity and reflection. 

But asking how to influence and change behaviour is the same as asking how behaviour originates. Table 3 shows that there is always interaction between a source and a recipient: ‘It takes two to tango.’ A source, for example government agencies, wields power and a recipient complies; a source develops an image that a recipient can identify with, a model can be imitated, a source can socialise by means of educational programmes and a recipient can internalise that education. Conditioning, imitation, identification, compliance, conformity, reflection and internalisation are the psychological mechanisms by use of which the sociological mechanisms money, authority, image, power, consensus, credibility and socialisation can change individual behaviours.

Table 3.: Universal mechanisms of influence: interactions between governments and citizens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communication mode</th>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Behaviour</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Associative/transactional</td>
<td>Conditioning</td>
<td>Automatic</td>
<td>Money</td>
<td>Transactions, tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction/informational</td>
<td>Imitation</td>
<td>Goal-oriented</td>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Models/transactional</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Spontaneous</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td>Advertising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propaganda/informational</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
<td>Rule-based</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Law and coercion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach/transactional</td>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>Spontaneous</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance/informational</td>
<td>Reflection</td>
<td>Goal-oriented</td>
<td>Credibility</td>
<td>Dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schema’s/transactional</td>
<td>Internalisation</td>
<td>Rule-based</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
<td>Institutional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the table 3 we use two concepts, informational and transformational communication, that Donovan and Rossiter use in Chapter 1.

Every type of behaviour, whether goal-oriented, rule-based, spontaneous or automatic, can be learned and influenced by a specific mode of behavioural modification. Internalisation and compliance are the best mechanisms to learn rule-based behaviour; goal-oriented behaviour is learned by reflection and imitation; spontaneous behaviour is evoked by identification and conformity, and automatic behaviour by means of conditioning. These distinctions should be seen as tendencies. Spontaneous behaviour is often evoked by conformity, when people conform to majority opinions without thinking about them for themselves.

*Conditioning* is a learning mechanism that modifies behaviour by means of classical and operant conditioning. Classical conditioning is the development of associations between two events, for example, between pleasant music and a certain product. The pleasant music becomes an association transmitted to the product and eventually becomes an attribute of the brand (Gorn, 1982; see also Chapter 1).

Behaviour is reinforced by operant conditioning. Reinforced behaviour that is followed by rewarding consequences is more likely to be repeated on similar occasions in the feature, and behaviours that are followed by punishments will not be performed in similar situations.
Reinforcement leads to behaviour being repeated because of the pleasing and strengthening effects of the behavioural consequences (Skinner, 1986).

Behaviour is never performed in a vacuum: it always takes place in some context, situation or occasion which provide the cues to perform a specific behaviour, provided that the behaviour has rewarding consequences, i.e. the behaviour is reinforcing. Whether an individual performs a behaviour to obtain a reinforcer depends not only on his knowledge that his behaviour will emit a reinforcer (learning), but also on his desire to obtain that specific reinforcer (motivation). Motivation, in turn, depends partly on deprivation and partly on the attractiveness of the reinforcer (Lieberman, 2000). Reinforcing behaviour depends both on knowledge and motivation. This assumption is also valid for behavioural feedback, as described by Midden in Chapter...

In Chapter..... Gordon Foxall treats the use of rewards and punishments in influencing the behaviour of consumers. He gives several examples of how to influence behaviour in a sustainable way.

*Imitation*, vicarious or social learning (Bandura, 1977) is a strong mechanism for learning new behaviours. Many learning phenomena resulting from direct experience occur on a vicarious basis by observing other people’s behaviour and its consequences for them. The capacity to learn by observation enables people to acquire large, integrated patterns of behaviour without having to form them gradually by tedious trial and error. The more costly and hazardous the potential mistakes, the heavier is the reliance on observational learning from competent examples. Imitation is an important behavioural mechanism in the socialisation of children, in order to learn (social) skills. Imitation is normally goal-oriented behaviour and, can sometimes be spontaneous.

*Identification* is a person’s need to look like another individual, and to compare oneself with a celebrity, a relevant other or a reference group. Besides identification with a celebrity or people who represent a social trend, social comparison with reference groups is even important in identification processes. People like to identify or compare themselves with celebrities or reference groups, to obtain status, in order to develop and enhance their self-image. Identification reveals itself at the attitudinal and emotional level, unlike imitation, which is directed at learning skills and behavioural patterns, as part of a socialisation process. Identification is spontaneous behaviour, and the self-image of an individual is at stake. The feedback of the behavioural consequences is very important for an individual’s self-image. Identification will be maintained as long as one actor is attractive to an other actor and the relationship is beneficial to both parties (Kelman, 1958). A celebrity who is unfashionable or out of favour is no longer a celebrity (see Chapter...... of Verhue & Verbeek).

*Compliance* can sometimes be enforced through physical means, by the compliers themselves, perhaps to avoid punishment or to generate a positive impression with the people with whom one complies. Power is only effective in the short term, because compliance disappears like snow in the sun as soon as there is a lack of social control to enforce social norms. A recent...
example is Afghanistan. A small likelihood of being punished when people break the law or deviate from rules and social norms makes non-conformist behaviour attractive in today’s social climate of diminishing personal motivation to comply with social norms (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

Conformity is a strong social mechanism. People conform to the prevailing societal and political consensus, group norms and public opinion. In order to belong to referent groups, people try to conform with the opinions of relevant others. People often compare themselves with other people, to gain more status. To satisfy that need, people try to accumulate income, possessions, power and image, as Charles Vlek states in Chapter...

According to Cialdini and Trost (1998, p. 162), individuals ‘conform to others when perceived or real pressure from them causes an individual to act differently from how he would act alone.’ Individuals do have three individualal goals to conform to group norms and social consensus. First, it enables an individual to believe that he sees things more accurately; second, to gain the approval and acceptance of relevant others, and third to avoid a self-conception as different, deviant or intransigent (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). These goals can function as cognitive schemas that generate spontaneous behaviours.

Reflection is the mode of behavioural change, characterised by forethought, and which needs the deepest cognitive elaboration both of the behaviour to be changed and the consequences of the (changed) behaviour. It supplies the building blocks for internalisation, but it is more limited than internalisation. Reflection is a complete conscious process, unlike internalisation, which also has unconscious elements. As a behavioural mechanism it is volatile, and is accompanied by uncertainty. Automatic processes, like conditioning, can play a role in the internalisation of attitudes, norms and behaviour, but not in reflection. Free associations are the only reflective associations. Goal-oriented behaviour is always reflective. An open intra personal, as well as an inter personal, dialogue is essential for reflection. A dialogue between governments and citizens is essential for a viable and legitimate democracy.

People learn the most complex and abstract behavioural patterns by means of internalisation. Internalisation finally results in cognitive schemas, that give an individual the opportunity to function as a responsible social being, able to interact in a variety of social situations, occasions and institutions. Internalisation takes place when an individual is convinced that his attitude or is behaviour is desired and is connected with his values; that is to say, things which he finds important in his way of life. Things which are internalised belong to his individualality and self-image. His upbringing has an effect on his thinking, feeling and doing. A person’s physical relationship with his parents and educators may be broken, but the bond between children and their parents and educators still exists during the course of life. Their minds and ways of thinking and beliefs have been transmitted to their offspring by socialisation and have been internalised in their consciousness. Illustrative is that ‘many people have alienated from their church, but religion has not alienated from their minds’.
Behavioural modification needs a change of mentality, in order to internalise the behaviour in a long-lasting way. Finally, internalisation is reflected in social institutions, which offer the signals and the cues that reinforce internalised behaviours.

**The hierarchy of modes of behavioural modification**

Conditioning (rewards and punishments), imitation, identification, compliance, conformity, reflection and internalisation have a hierarchical relationship with each other. Internalisation is positioned at the end of the chain, while conditioning as the most basic form of behavioural modification, is at the beginning. Imitation is a higher level of learning than conditioning, because human beings learn relatively simple behaviours in the conditioning mode and more complex behavioural patterns in the imitation mode. Conformity is a more complex mode of behavioural modification than compliance, because conformity is spontaneous behaviour that people learn through interaction with other people, while compliance is based on obedience and lacks a feedback mechanism. Internalisation is the highest level of learning. However, they are all necessary steps to internalise behavioural dispositions or new behaviours. So conditioning and learning attitudes or a new behaviour is not done by internalisation, and identification is not the proper mechanism for conditioning behaviour, whereas conditioning could be a necessary mechanism for identification, and identification for internalisation, as shown in the next figure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditioning</th>
<th>imitation</th>
<th>identification</th>
<th>compliance</th>
<th>conformity</th>
<th>reflection</th>
<th>internalisation</th>
<th>Institutionalisation</th>
<th>conditioning</th>
<th>imitation</th>
<th>identification</th>
<th>compliance</th>
<th>conformity</th>
<th>reflection</th>
<th>internalisation</th>
<th>Institutionalisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Communication and advertising strategies compared to modes of behavioural modification**

In Chapter 6, Donovan and Rossiter apply the Rossiter-Percy grid to drink driving. They use positive or transformational motives and negative or informational motives on the one hand, and low and high involvement on the other hand in order to formulate four different approaches to develop communication strategies. These motives fit in with the modes of behavioural modification, shown in table 4. If communication is the one and only instrument implemented, the Rossiter-Percy grid (1987; 1997) serves as an adequate model to develop communication strategies. However, our modes of behavioural change assume, that in order to change behaviour, one should influence both the individual and the environment. Normally communication is only targeted at people.
Table 4: Rossiters and Percy’s positive and negative motivations (Chapter [431x437]) and Bas van den Putte’s advertising strategies (Chapter [363x369]), compared to modes of behavioural modification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Energising mechanism</th>
<th>Goal direction (see Chapter [194x246])</th>
<th>Mode of behavioural modification</th>
<th>Advertising strategies (see Bas van den Putte, Chapter [451x469])</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Negative or aversive origin</td>
<td>A. Drive reduction</td>
<td>Imitation / reflection</td>
<td>Self-efficacy strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Current problem</td>
<td>Solve problem (Removal or Escape)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Persuasion strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Anticipated problem</td>
<td>Prevent problem (Avoidance)</td>
<td>Reflection</td>
<td>Sales-response strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Incomplete satisfaction</td>
<td>Continue search</td>
<td>Conditioning</td>
<td>Persuasion strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mixed approach – avoidance</td>
<td>Reduce conflict</td>
<td>Compliance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mildly negative origin</td>
<td>B. Drive maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Normal depletion</td>
<td>Maintain stable state</td>
<td>Internalisation</td>
<td>Relationship strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Positive or appetitive origin</td>
<td>C. Drive increase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sensory gratification</td>
<td>Enjoy</td>
<td>Conditioning</td>
<td>Emotions strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Intellectual needs</td>
<td>Explore, master</td>
<td>Reflection</td>
<td>Variety seeking strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Social approval</td>
<td>Achieve personal recognition, status</td>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>Symbolism strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Individualal values</td>
<td>Act consistent with personal values</td>
<td>Internalisation</td>
<td>Relationship strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Mildly positive origin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Social conformity</td>
<td>Affiliate</td>
<td>Identification / conformity</td>
<td>Symbolism strategy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In Chapter [107x288] seven advertising strategies are distinguished. These strategies can be connected with the modes of behavioural modification, shown in Table 4.

The first strategy Van den Putte mentions is the persuasion strategy. Campaigns using the persuasion strategy stress what the brand can do for the consumer, for example by product demonstrations, user testimonials and product comparisons communicated by models, such as doctors, celebrities, ordinary people or TV presenters, who stress the attributes of products and their benefits. The persuasion strategy fits into the identification mode of behavioural change.

The second strategy is the sales-response strategy. This strategy adds a temporary discount to the other product benefits. Also, benefits that are not intrinsically related to the product can be added, such as joint promotions, free gifts, lotteries, etc. The underlying behavioural mechanism of the sales-response strategy is operant conditioning (see Chapter [107x288] of Foxall).
The third strategy is the **symbolism strategy**. It is very important to an individual how his relevant others react to the products he has purchased. At the same time, a consumer wants to show that he belongs to a certain subculture, lifestyle or social class, sometimes by conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1979). Brands symbolise the social group people want to belong to or conform with and advertising stresses symbolically the lifestyle and personal characteristics the consumer wishes to communicate to relevant others, as well as group values and group symbols.

The fourth advertising strategy is the **self-efficacy strategy**; an example of use of this advertising strategy is the recent Dutch Tax campaign. The Dutch tax authorities advertised their help facilities to citizens by saying that ‘we can’t make tax-paying more fun, but we can make it easier.’ Other examples are convenience food advertisements which show how to prepare the food. Imitation is a behavioural mode which helps to improve the self-efficacy of people’s behaviour in order to solve or avoid problems.

The fifth strategy, the **relationship strategy** aims at relating products to individual identities and individual values by communicating a clear brand individuality. In this strategy the brand is seen as a personality, that people can identify with and relate to. Consumers can achieve their own (ideal) identity by buying the brand. Communicating one’s identity to others is not pivotal, in contrast to the symbolism strategy. **Internalisation** is the behavioural mechanism responsible for the connection between individual values and the brands one chooses to buy.

The sixth strategy, the **emotions strategy**, is an often-used strategy, directed at associating the brand with certain emotions, for example evoked by favourite music, a beautiful scenery or an attractive man or woman. Especially when there are no real functional differences between brands, they can differentiate themselves by emotional value. Classical **conditioning** is the behavioural mechanism responsible for associations between brands and relevant emotions. The final advertising strategy described by Van den Putte is the **variety-seeking strategy**. Consumer behaviour can be guided by variety seeking, especially with food products and drinks, but also with electronic equipment. Reflection is often needed to take up a new challenge. Innovators and early majorities (see Chapter ...) are especially attracted to explore new and innovative products, to satisfy a need for cognition (see Chapter ... of Petty & Briñol) and intellectual needs (see Chapter ... of Donovan & Rossiter).

Finally, as Paul Harland and Henk Staats emphasize in Chapter ..., the power of information and advertising campaigns (Geller, 1989) to directly improve environmental behaviour will probably increase, provided that:

1. The behaviour is easy to perform;
2. The information is specified precisely on a behavioural level;
3. Convenient pro-ecological alternatives are available;
4. The information is delivered in close proximity to the target behaviour;
5. The information does not constitute a threat to perceived individualal freedom.
5. Conclusions

In order to formulate a strategy to influence behaviour, the following recommendations should be kept in mind.

- Changing behaviour is seen as a transaction between the individual, the behaviour and the environment. Develop and use policy measures to influence behaviour in the short term as well as the long term.
- To change behaviour, influence both the individual and the environment simultaneously.
- Determine the type of behaviour that should be influenced: goal-oriented, rule-based, spontaneous or automatic. Each type of behaviour needs its own policy instruments and targets.
- Realise that not every individual adopts a new behaviour at the same time and or at the same pace.
- Determine what kind of behavioural mechanism works best: compliance, conformity, conditioning, identification, reflection or internalisation.
- Find reinforcers of behaviours to be changed;
- Behavioural feedback is effective if it is matched to an appropriate behavioural goal.
References


