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Investigation of Italian consumers attitudes
towards the nudging innovation in social
marketing communication

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1. Introduction

In the panorama of today's society, social marketing communicators are challenged with the difficulties of reaching their consumers overloaded by information. These consumers are distracted by the numerous available media platforms, that continuously bombard them with diverse and contrasting messages. The results of a communication so abundant are evident in warning signs not noticed, health campaigns overlooked and litter control signs barely seen.

As a result of a fragmented media landscape and a busy consumer lifestyle, it is observed that even the important social messages, aimed at helping people or encouraging social responsibility, disappear in the immense amount of mixed messages. Seen that traditional social marketing communication strategies are not taken seriously as in the past, governments started to consider employing other strategies to engage and attract the audience.

In this evolving panorama, Thaler and Sunstein suggested their own method of communication in a 2008 book named "Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth, and happiness". Despite the unusual name nudging had always existed, but only now it is defined in the marketing context as pushing someone gently in a certain direction, that is giving a "nudge". In this light, nudging is strictly related with attitudes and behaviors changing campaigns, as its aim is shaping the options set available to the consumer.

Creative nudges are present in people lives from hundreds of years, whether they were verbal or visual, but only in the last few years the concept was analyzed in depth. Marketing consultants and politicians are now familiar with nudges effectiveness because various experiments demonstrated that this method of communication does work in practice.

For instance, Pelle Guldborg Hansen and his team (iNudgeyou, 2013) conducted several experiments during a Danish executives meeting to prove the validity of nudges potential in positively influencing people behavior through subtle changes in the environment. The experiments supported the initial hypothesis that the mere presentation of food plays an important role for intake in real life settings. In fact the results were shocking with a total consumption of unhealthy food (brownies) lowered by 30,2% per person while healthy food consumption (apples) was increased by 83,9% per person at the intervention buffet compared to the control. Also Calzolari and Nardotto positively tested the effectiveness of nudges in a research published in May 2014. Their purpose was investigating how people behavior is influenced by reminders, aimed at driving individuals to perform their investment activities. They chose to monitor the attendance rate in a gym and the

effect of their reminders, intended to act as nudges, proved to be significant, as demonstrated by the increased monthly attendance.

These experiments and many others showed that nudging has the potential to really affect positively people's choices. Given that all these proofs demonstrated nudging as far more effective than conventional social marketing campaigns, one could be lead to think that consumers have a positive attitude towards communication that employs the nudges. However there is almost no research that could support the hypothesis that consumers consider this new method as more effective respect to the traditional ones. This lack of research may be related to the concept of nudging, that as explained in this thesis is nor unitary neither shared among the scholars. If the definition itself is not unique, it is very difficult to assess what are the effects of the strategies. Furthermore it has to be reported that the objectives of the past researches made on this topic were about the measurement of the effectiveness of nudging, more than on the investigation of people opinion and attitudes about the theme.

The purpose of this thesis is therefore trying to confirm or deny the hypothesis that Italian consumers are positively inclined towards social marketing communication that employs nudges respect to methods that do not nudge. Moreover it will be analyzed the debate that surrounds the topic of nudging in light of Sunstein and Thaler initial point of view and further studies and analysis undertaken by other scholars. There is the attempt to give an understandable structure to the world behind nudges and in particular to two of the main concepts that constitute a cornerstone of this method of communication: libertarian paternalism and choice architecture.

2. Nudging and its origins, a theoretical background

2.1. Debate definition and nudge functioning

2.1.1. The nudge debate

The term nudge has become quite popular since 2008 when it was forged by law scholar Cass Sunstein and behavioral economist Richard Thaler in their book “Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth, and happiness”. The book was perceived of interest for the society and as well for the decision makers. But, the theme gained great visibility when in 2010 Prime Minister David Cameron in United Kingdom followed after a while by the United States president Barack Obama admitted to employ these techniques to accomplish their respective domestic policy goals and shaping public opinion. The two governments hired the authors of the book to successfully implement their ideas.

In the UK it was created, under the supervision of Thaler hired as an advisor for the UK PM, a Behavioral Insights Team (BIT), better known with the name of “Nudge Unit”, which through a process of fast and continuous experimentation (using the technique Test, Learn, Adapt), has “identified and tested interventions that will further advance priorities of the British government”.

The controversial program was soon started also in the US, where Sunstein became an advisor on regulatory affairs for the US President and applied his ideas to over a dozen of federal agencies and department. Among the others are included Department of Labor, Department of Education, Department of Treasury and Social Security Administration. It is reported that, similarly to the English case, the federal government it’s creating a team “to experiment these approaches and to scale behavioral interventions that have been rigorously evaluated, using, where possible, randomized controlled trials”.

Both in the US and in the UK the critics marked this program as another tentative of extreme overreach from the central government on people. Despite the initial idea to use behavioral sciences to help the designing of public policies that cost less to the citizens and that work better, growing attention it is focused on some psychologists claiming that the problems of such practices are overwhelming respect to the benefits.

Ethical implications, manipulation of the freedom of choice and of the individual ability to decide are increasingly perceived as a very important issue partially forgotten by Sunstein and Thaler. It is remarkable to remember that the assumption “government knows best” it is an affirmation that it’s proven to be disastrous and tragic on more than in few situations.

Supporters of this behavior modification theory claim that nudging is better than forcing people, implicitly suggesting that individuals must submit to the government for their own good.

However despite all this success and critics, there is quite unexpectedly little agreement in the literature and in the public debate on what is represented by the metaphor of a “nudge.” In their book Sunstein and Thaler (2008) do not give a precise and detailed definition of what is a nudge, but reconstructing their viewpoint a nudge is:

“Any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people’s behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives. To count as a nudge, the intervention must be easy and cheap to avoid”

2.1.2. A broad concept

Most of the scholars think that Thaler and Sunstein’s definition is too much broad, ambiguous and vague to be of any use, including almost anything but coercion. According to this description, it is almost impossible to recognize years of old social marketing campaigns from a nudge (Bonnell et al. 2010). In fact sticking to this concept, a nudge could be any non-forced action that does not imply strong incentives, from the simple giving information to the good design of user-friendly products.

According to Marteu et al. (2011) “There is no precise, operational definition of nudging. This may reflect a reality – namely that nudging is at best a fuzzy set intended to draw attention to the role of social and physical environments in shaping our behavior and not to inform a scientific taxonomy of behavior change interventions.”

Also the recent critical report (2011) of the “Nudge Unit” developed by the British House of Lords remarks this point. The report claims that the definition of a nudge is the following: “it prompts choices without getting people to consider their options consciously, and therefore do not include openly persuasive interventions such as media campaigns and the straightforward provision of information”.

However, this UK government commission do not use the term consistently either because in an earlier paragraph, they catalogue “provision of information” under the “nudge” category (2011).

Others believe that “nudge” refers to any action architected by behavioral economists (Blumenthal-Barby and Burroughs, 2012) such as the employment of default options that assign automatically to a predetermined choice if the individual doesn’t choose by himself.

2.1.3. Second-order preference definition

In any case, the definition of what is a nudge is at least very broad and debatable. Trying to have a clearer and unique idea of the concept, Marteau et al (2011) proposed to use second-order preferences definition. It is a preference over preferences such as the desire of healthy food while eating a greasy hamburger, it is a deeper order of preference. The reasons because prevailed the first-order preference must be researched in the circumstances under which the decision process occurred. Snap decisions are more likely to follow first-order preferences while more considered judgments are more likely to follow our second-order preferences.

Marteau suggested that “nudging could be defined as increasing the chances that people act in ways that, on reflection, they would have chosen themselves; this is variously described as acting on preferred preferences [i.e., second-order preferences] or acting consistently with deeply held preferences” (Marteu et al. 2008).

However, this interpretation fits better with what Thaler and Sunstein meant by libertarian paternalism than by their notion of a nudge. This is a recurring misunderstanding (error, mistake) in the literature and often “libertarian paternalism” and “nudge” are used interchangeably. According to Wheeler (2011) a libertarian paternalism strategy is an intervention that allows patients to opting out the preferred choice.

Thaler and Sunstein in their book refuse the definition of nudges always in-line with influence preferences, but sometimes they suggest that nudges can drive only actions that are performed on individuals second order preferences. A classical example of an intervention performed according to a second order preference is the “deposit contract” provided by some dieticians, that accept to keep an agreed-upon sum of money of their patients. They will give it back to them in small amounts whenever they accomplish certain agreed objectives (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008).

But it has to be remembered that Thaler and Sunstein sustain that nudges do not always coincide with the second-order preferences (preferences about other preferences, creating a hierarchy among preferences) and are unlikely to benefit them.

2.1.4. Nudges theory according to Sunstein and Thaler perspective

In this paragraph it is reported the story of the origin of the nudge theory. The theoretical framework that the authors of Nudge use to build their ideas comes from the behavioral economics field.

Behavioral economics is a school of thought which belong to economics and is intended to be a bridge toward psychology. Dominant economists has conceived principal models of consumer

choice and decisions following the laws of expected utility maximization. Fundamentally a rational individual aim at maximizing his utility considering the consequences of his choices and their associated probabilities.

This model is funded upon normative assumptions and axioms (in fact theory predicts individual behavior), which is the contrary of behavioral economics that is grounded on evidences from psychological experiments about actual patterns of reasoning and decision making of average individuals. Such experiments demonstrate that quite often individual behavior is not really approximated by normative theories of decision making (Wilkinson 2008). Kahneman (1994) claimed even that these experiments can demonstrate the fact that individuals are irrationals because their reasoning and their final conclusions totally deviate from main economic theories.

In order to highlight these differences Thaler and Sunstein create the contraposition between “Humans” and “Econs”. The firsts are described as the average individuals, while the seconds are the utility maximizing ideal economic agents. The explanation of this difference between Humans and Econs can be retrieved in a dual-process theory of reasoning (Thaler and Sunstein 2008). According to this theory individuals analyze information with two different systems.

The first system involve automatic answers to an easy situation, similar to the ones already met, quick response in known environments, unconscious and uncontrolled replies. If it is requested to take decisions in a unusual setting it can have substantial problems. The typical expression of the first system is the automatic fear reaction to a threat. On the contrary the second system it’s intended to be used for responses that need to be more accurate, which demand a controlled and reflective analysis of the issue. This system is governed by rules and it’s slower, but, keeping fixed some predetermined goals, can be more adaptive to unknown situations. It allows people to face more difficult decisions, planning an action and taking care of the consequences. An expression of this system is the decision that individuals face when they decide which college they want to go.

Coming back to the experiments mentioned above, individuals who gave answers that correspond to economic theories rely on the second system, while those who differentiated from mainstream economic rely on the first system.

2.1.4.1. Involving first system in convincing people

Despite the fact that people have two different systems to take decision quite often some important choices are made just using the first system causing normatively inadequate decisions. In the case an individual face a problem that involve a trade-off between short and long term gratification or a decision that require probability calculations the outcome will be likely “irrational”, in the sense that the choice is suboptimal respect to the standard of utility maximization.

Observed this fact, Sunstein and Thaler thought that the governments should use the effects of system 1 in their public policies and laws. In practice the central idea of nudging is to externally activate the first system to increase the success probability of a determined behavior.

At the beginning nudge theory was theorized to solve the problem of the economy's regulation by the government. The greatest part of the economists sustain a logic of free market and think that the economic system should be built according to individual preferences (made explicit by people choices).

However it should be considered that what people choose is substantially affected by the context in which decisions are taken, by framing effects and many other aspects. Whenever choices are different from preferences because the latter have some problems being ambiguous, unstable or disordered, then it results that the free market approach to the regulation of the economy is questionable from within.

Therefore Thaler and Sunstein (2003) aim at finding a policy that is in the middle from the free market approach and interventionism, because they want that also supporters of freedom of choice can accept their viewpoint. This is the reason why they created the term libertarian paternalism: to drive people in a direction that promote their welfare as they were fully rational like Econs in their choices and also keeping their freedom of choice. In this sense their policy was intended to be focus on interventions that steer people's choices in a subtle way.

Thaler and Sunstein define a nudge as any factor that significantly alters the behavior of Humans, even though it would be ignored by Econs. The pure economic agents answer to incentives, such it could be taxes, in their decision process. If the government decides to raise taxes on personal computer Econs will buy less computers but they won't be driven in their buying choice from the arrangement of PC on the shelves of the supermarket. On the contrary Human respond to incentive, but they can be steered by nudges too.

2.2. What is behind “Nudge”

As it is stated in a previous paragraph the interpretations on the real meaning of the word nudge are numerous and in some cases contrasting. Given all these differences it is difficult to assign a homogeneous meaning to Thaler and Sunstein theories. In this light the remaining part of this chapter is intended to provide an analysis of what is behind nudges, starting from the same definition provided before and previous publications of the creators on the issue. Attention will be devoted to the interpretation of two important cornerstones in Sunstein and Thaler theories such as “libertarian paternalism” concept, related to rationality and freedom of choices, and “choice

architecture” that describes the way in which decisions may be influenced by how the choices are presented in order to influence the final outcome.

2.3. Libertarian paternalism

As it is previously stated the concept of nudging people sinks its roots in the experimental literature of behavioral sciences and it is justified by the “libertarian paternalism”, an expression coined by the same Thaler and Sunstein in their 2003 article published in the American Economic Review. It was defined in this fashion because it was paternalism in the sense that “it tries to influence choices in a way that will make choosers better off, as judged by themselves” and it was libertarian because “people should be free to opt out of specified arrangements if they choose to do so.” The possibility to opt out was said to “preserve freedom of choice”.

2.3.1. The rationality of choices

Thaler and Sunstein started their reasoning from debunking the common false myth that individuals always make choice for their best interest. This supposition it’s grounded in the idea that people at least do a better job than others parties could do for them. However this claim has very little support in everyday life. For instance everybody knows that a balanced and healthy diet is the best choice, but looking at real data the rate of obesity in the US is 20 percent while 60 percent of Americans are overweight (Mokdad 2001). Even considering that people look also for food they like and that it’s tasting it’s very difficult to sustain the claim that Americans choose the best diet for their health although there are numerous proofs that obesity often lead to serious problem and premature death. Similar reasoning can be done for other risk-related behaviors including, but not only, smoking and drinking.

Psychologist and economist in the last thirty years tried to analyze in a scientific and systematic way if people judgments and decisions are made according to rationality. In their 2003 article Thaler and Sunstein stated that “people do not exhibit rational expectations, fail to make forecasts that are consistent with Bayes rule, use heuristics that lead them to make systematic blunders, exhibit preference reversals (that is, they prefer A to B and B to A) suffer from problem of self-control and make different choices depending on the wording of the problem. Furthermore, in the context of intertemporal choice, people exhibit dynamic inconsistency, valuing present consumption much more than future consumption.” Someone may think that people react better in real life than in psychologist laboratories, but it is not the case also with many important behaviors. Here, as an exemplification, it is reported a typical case of a saving choice analyzed by Thaler and Benartzi (2004).

Some volunteers agreed to show their investments by sharing their last statements to the investigators that wanted to find out how much people like their past choices.

Then the researcher show them the final outcomes of three investment plans marked as A, B and C at their retirement. Changed of just few exterior aspect portfolio A was their own, B was the average portfolio of the total voluntary pool and C was the median. Expected returns were calculated by the software of Financial Engines, the financial information company founded by William Sharpe. It came out that participants judged investment B like their while investment C far better than their own portfolio. Only one fifth of the volunteers liked better their own portfolio respect to the median.

According to this experiment, seems that the interviewed don't think that their earning are significantly influenced from the fact that they are choosing their portfolio or not.

Although in a different scenario, a similar case at least for the results obtained can be retrieved in people decisions and willingness in taking precautions. The examination of this phenomenon can be performed through the analysis of the insurances for natural disaster.

Usually people decide to make such an insurance because they are still frightened by a recent event particularly devastating. A cost benefits analysis or a probabilistic study of the event's likelihood it's not even considered in most of the cases. If it is passed a long time from the last eruption of the local volcano usually people who live close or even on its slopes (considering that it's allowed by the law) won't contemplate the idea to purchase an insurance. Finding on this topic shows that the level of insurances it is maximum just after the natural disasters, while decrease almost to zero as time passes and individuals are not anymore frightened by the past event.

The two example just reported don't want to mean that people are totally incapable of taking decisions or that third parties can do always better than them. The aim is simply showing that sometimes individuals don't choose in the wisest way possible, even when they have strong interest in the question.

Learning from errors and delegating decisions to others can be two systems to overcome individual's limitation. But still, most fundamental decision in life (such as choosing which university or job applying, buying the house, choosing friends) occur without the help of impartial experts and the possibilities of learning are scarce to ensure that people always choose the best option or that they decide better than third parties can do.

Libertarian paternalism sustains that shouldn't be reduced the set of possibilities people can choose from but just steer people toward welfare-promoting directions while maintaining freedom of choice. Evidences just reported of individuals bounded rationality should be enough to suggest that

something has to be done especially when there is the possibility to improve people's lives and at the same time preserving their freedom.

2.3.2. Freedom of choice

Coming back to the initial Thaler and Sunstein definition, they sustain that a nudge is an influence attempt a spontaneous cognitive process, rather than a rational and reflective reasoning, while keeping intact individual freedom of choice. The type of nudges proposed by libertarian paternalists have not only to preserve freedom of choice, but should also be to people own benefit and matching their informed preferences (Thaler and Sunstein 2008).

According to many scholars, Thaler and Sunstein failed to give sufficient justifications to demonstrate that influencing individual's choices, by activating automatic cognitive processes that ignore our deliberative capacities, is conceptually compatible with freedom of choice (in a substantive sense). Hausman and Welch (2008) claim that since nudges activate automatic cognitive processes, personal conscious determination is bypassed without any justification. Christian Rostbøll (2008) states that given the fact that nudges don't allow to their target to deliberate decide about his choices they could be defined as "mere objects that react in a calculable way to default rules, framing effects and so on"

These scholars assert that, even though not directly coercive, in this way it is threaten "deliberative autonomy". They continue saying that nudges communicate disrespect for people that have values and opinion different from the ones of the nudger. Also the paternalistic perspective can't be a justification for them, assuming paternalism can ever be benign. Under this train of thought nudges influence insidiously choices and can be equated to insulting people intelligence, they are ultimately seen as an "assault to human dignity" and create the illusion of choice (White 2011).

2.3.2.1. Conditions for the Preservation of Freedom of Choice

Previously it has been reported that according to Thaler and Sunstein (2008) point of view the nudge should preserve freedom of choice. But it is not clear if nudges activate automatic cognitive processes (marked as first system), they might be controlling people who are subjected to them. However, freedom of choice implies various acceptations (Carter 2004). Choosing the right conception depends on the personal morality that individuals have. Here, it is considered in the light of preventing interference with people choices.

The Choice-Set Preservation Condition

It is possible to say that when people have different alternatives in front of them, an influence does not affect their possibility of choosing freely.

Alan Wertheimer (1987) sustains that it is not possible to claim more than that. In the sense that it's impossible to state that individual can benefit of freedom of choice, if and only if the influence leave them with unlimited choices or even with the same set of choices they had before. Given the fact that people can only make decisions from a list of options, interacting with others will change this set because they will try to drive individuals toward what they think it's better for them or because unintended influences affect of their actions. The choice-set must be preserved in a relative sense. In fact the condition is that:

“A keeps intact *B*'s choice-set whenever the choice-set is not modified or at maximum enlarged, matched with *B*'s situation prior to *A*'s influence attempt.

The possible reply to this condition is that individuals have to measure if the choices are initially available in order to judge if their choice-set is safeguarded or if it is narrowed. However such operation can be hardly performed and is more reasonable to assume that the set of the available option can be approximated, rather than precisely quantified because possibilities of actions are not discrete (Berlin, 2002).

When it is possible to precisely individuate the number of options it is not straightforward to understand if the reduction of the set lead to an effective loss of choice power from the consumer. Consider these two cases:

- 1) A reduces from 30 to 20 the number of cigarettes brands B can choose from
- 2) A reduces from 30 to 20 the number of universities B can choose from

In the second case it appear clearly that the chooser has less possibilities to find a suitable university while in the first case it is not perceived an effective reduction of the choice-set even though in both cases at a first look are proposed the same fewer choices.

The reason why people feel a substantial difference between these two cases is the qualitative aspect of the two set of options: individual judge significantly more relevant the range of universities they can choose from respect to the various cigarettes' brands option they can smoke. However it's not just the difference in the set of options but also in the qualitative difference between the two choices. Some decisions lead to other consequences such as selecting which university to attend that it's strictly linked with the different career perspectives. It's therefore defined a fecund option because it's associated with further options and if someone narrows the upstream set of options automatically restricts the downstream choices.

On the contrary limited options don't take anywhere. In the example taken in consideration cigarette brand decision is the endpoint of the decision tree.

This is the reason why limiting fecund choices has a bigger weight than restricting limited choices in people estimation.

There is no reason to adopt a libertarian standard to safeguard freedom of choice. If it is determined as a standard that people can't interact, unless they explicitly gave consent to, every interaction could be interpreted as a source of influence and therefore an attack to people freedom and human dignity. Such an high standard would prevent most part of people practices and since it's impossible to make every influence explicit the role of critical dialogue is bringing to people those influences who bother them.

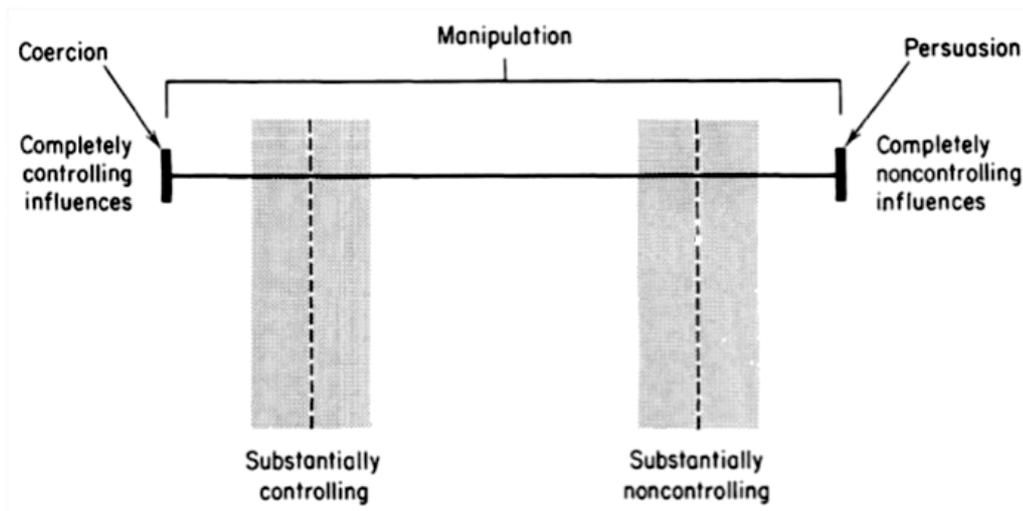
Coming back to Thaler and Sunstein definition of a nudge they define the intervention as "easy and cheap to avoid". They intend to measure the avoidability of the nudge in terms of the costs correlated with the choice. But they do not give the specifics of the costs, which in the light of an economic analysis of their theory is rather fundamental. They just say that the cost to avoid the nudge has to be trivial, that is very low or null.

Some scholars think that in effect the two authors of Nudge have no idea of the way that people can avoid nudges, because these influences alter unconsciously the way that individuals perceive the options in front of them either more attractively or repulsively.

For this reason could be wiser to suggest a different condition for the preservation of freedom that in this thesis is marked as substantial non control of the influenced individual through the nudge.

The Substantial Non control Condition

As marked out in the previous paragraph it is shown that choice preservation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for preserving freedom of choice. Faden and Beauchamp (1986) stated that an influence shouldn't encourage people to act against their own will. If the influence take individuals to behave against their thinking it's called a controlling influence while in the opposite case it's non controlling. According to them "person A's action is controlled by person B when the influence of person B is determinant in choosing or not if performing that action. The influence is marked as determinant when person A wouldn't decide in any way to do the action, if alone."



These scholars propose a continuum that goes from controlling to non controlling influences to define the characteristics of the different nudges.

When the influence is controlling it means that the individual in question is dominated by the will of another. In this model this condition is called coercion.

On the contrary when the influence is non controlling there is persuasion, that is accepting the advice of the other because the arguments are convincing.

Faden and Beauchamp identify a third category that is in the middle of this continuum half-way between coercion and persuasion. It's called manipulation and involve both reasons and threats, it is characterized by influences less controlling than coercion but more controlling than rational persuasion and it's more or less difficult to resist.

The two authors of this theory described two limits on the line that goes from controlling to non controlling: they mark some influences are substantially controlling while others are substantially non controlling. The fact that there is an area delimited by the two threshold and not a single line means that is impossible to establish a clear demarcation on the continuum.

Summing up the two conditions, it is possible to define that there is freedom of choice if and only if the nudge analyzed is substantially non controlling and furthermore doesn't narrow the choice-set of the chooser.

2.4. Choice architecture

The first thing described by Sunstein and Thaler in their definition of a nudge is the "choice architecture" concept, substantially it's the idea that there are many possible ways of presenting a choice to individuals, but at the end what is chosen by the decision-maker is often related to the presentation of the choices. Given that is unavoidable to arrange things in a disposition and there is

no neutral architecture, Thaler and Sunstein sustain that the architect should design choices and options in ways that improve people well being.

Everyone, from a dad presenting sport options to his child to the municipality allocating government funds to different projects, can be defined as a choice architect. Johnson et al (2012) claim that choice architect have a power to influence people choice, such as a building architect can affect the behaviors of the inhabitants through the placement of doors, bathrooms and staircases.

2.4.1. The cafeteria example

The most famous example of a choice architect provided by Sunstein and Thaler is Carolyn, the cafeteria manager of the school. She faces the dilemma of disposing food in the cafeteria knowing that not only price affects people choice, but also different arrangements of the food on the bar counter. Substituting the cake next to the cash register with a basket of fruit, this raises the consumption of fruit and less people buy the cake. Given that an architectural choice has to be made, Carolyn has to choose which criteria is the best to dispose the food.

Carolyn may decide to maximize cafeteria profits (1), or even exploit the situation and maximize her own gains through retailers bribes (2).

If she wants to be neutral she could decide to arrange food randomly (3). Otherwise if she wants be even more subtle, she could try to organize the bar counter in such a way that consumers bought what they would have chosen without any architect nudges (4).

All choices considered, Thaler and Sunstein claim that Carolyn should try to maximize the consumers' well being (5).

Option 1 has some appeal to a manager who is given incentives according to the level of profit reached, but, since the school district must follow a list of priorities that is different from the typical firm, this choice couldn't be a viable solution. The result of this policy would be children less healthy and all things considered more costs to the administration.

Option 2 might appeal to a corrupt cafeteria director and arranging the order of food would be another method to exploit power, but if the person is honest this choice would not have any appeal.

Option 3, organizing the food randomly, could be theoretically considered as a fair principle, but from a practical perspective it doesn't make any sense to scatter the food all through the line without any logical or separate the buns from the hamburger!

Option 4 seems to be a good solution to avoid intrusion in the students choices. But, reflecting a bit, this option couldn't be implemented because any arrangement of the food in the cafeteria leads to

give a preference to something. In fact, since it has been proved that kids choose according to the order in which the food is displayed, in practice, they have not a true preference.

Option 5 at the first sight may look controversial, a little intrusive and paternalistic. But very few people would complain if their kids eat more fruits and vegetable instead of French fries and sweets for the simple reason that the children would be better off respect to the other options.

As it is stated by this simple example a choice architect has the duty to careful design the environment in which individuals make decisions. Obviously, in some cases, choice architect do their own interest and not the best interest of people they are influencing. An example of a selfish architect could be the writer of the menu of a restaurant that print in bold expensive dishes.

This new kind of architects can affect people decisions through a careful definition of the proposed choices for the users, varying the presentation order of alternatives or the order of attributes. The options just described are some of the alternatives choice architect have and in the next paragraphs will be provided some examples of effective application of their tools. It won't be analyzed why choice architecture affect people choices but will be simply provided a categorization and description of the tools employed.

The presented tools will be divided into two main categories, in the first one there are those adopted to structure the choices (what to present to decision makers) while in the second those who have the purpose to describe the options (how to present to the decision makers).

2.4.2. Structuring the choice task

2.4.2.1. Considering the number of alternatives

One of the most fundamental point a choice architect has to decide is the number of alternatives to present to the decision maker. Sometimes people have almost no choice, such as in the case of the I-phone available in just two colors at the beginning. In the opposite case there is a phenomenon called tyranny of choice (Schwartz 2004) or choice overload (Iyengar and Lepper 2000). Take the example of an average US supermarket soap and detergents growing offer from 65 in 1950 through 200 in 1963, to over 360 in 2004.

Generally, the trend is to give more choices to the final consumer respect to fewer and in some cases this can be really complicated.

The choice architect to find the ideal number of alternatives needs to balance two contrasting criteria:

- more choices mean to increase the chance to meet consumer preferences.
- more options can be confusing because the consumer has to compare the various choices.

To solve this tradeoff it has to be analyzed the willingness of the decision maker to face the choice process, the complexity of the decision and individual specifications of the decision maker. For example young adults seem to prefer more choice than older adults (Reed et al. 2008).

Despite a lot of researches have been made on the right number of alternatives to present to the consumer (Scheibehenne et al. 2010), the problem of balancing contrasting criteria has led to difficulties in finding some consistent recommendations that could be valid in all the cases.

However it is possible identifying some guidelines. It is desirable to have the lowest number of options possible, but these should be sufficient to allow a reasoned consideration on the topic. But narrowing the set of choices should not lead to a phenomenon called specific preference, which consists in influencing the consumer through the presence or absence of an options.

A recommendation, that accounts for the considerations made previously, is that four or five non-dominating options can represent a reasonable initial set of alternatives. Otherwise it is possible to start with this restricted set of choices, but with the possibility of providing more options to the consumer, whether desired.

2.4.2.2. Technology and decision aids

The information technology is increasingly involved when people make choices and most of the times it is employed to help in the decision process. People decide which restaurants they want to go with TripAdvisor, plan their routes with ViaMichelin or Google Maps and choose which activities to do according to their events calendar on Facebook.

These are just few exemplification of the intense use of technology-based tools in everyday choices. It has been demonstrated that they are beneficial to enlarge or filter the set of available alternatives, to compare their attractiveness in terms of different features (Häubl and Trifts 2000) or to reflect individual preference through automatic personalization (Hauser et al. 2009). However technological support to decision could be designed in such a way that it drives consumers towards socially desirable or marketed products without limiting their possibility to choose.

2.4.2.3. Defaults

Thaler defined defaults as “what happens if you do nothing, such as leaving your computer unused until the screen saver appears”.

Default configurations are the initial settings of a product or a service that a consumer meet at the first use and that stay unvaried if individuals do not take action to modify them (Brown and Krishna 2004). A vast amount of researches has been made on defaults and it has been proved that they have

strong effects on real-world choices in different areas including investment (Cronqvist and Thaler 2004), insurance (Johnson et al. 1993) and marketing (Goldstein et al. 2008).

Defaults can have various appearances and they range from simple defaults (selecting one option for all), forced choice (negate the product or service to the customer by default until he makes an active choice), sensory default (defaults that change according to what can be supposed about the consumer), persistent defaults (where past choices are remembered), predictive defaults (which employ smartly observation on the user) or even random defaults (attribute one setting randomly).

Defaults are seen as one of the most popular and powerful tools that can be employed by the choice architects since libertarian paternalists look at them as the preferred means to guide choices preserving individual ability to choose. Choice architects should take care of the ethical implications associated with defaults, as a matter of fact their acceptability is strictly related to the effect they have.

On the other part consumers that are well-aware of defaults double contrasting use, as recommendations and manipulation, seem to have sufficient autonomy and freedom of choice (Brown and Krishna 2004). Therefore are identified two explanation to have a default. The first is to help users that could have trouble with the customization while the second is sending unwanted spam to the unaware people.

It is remarkable to note that not all the defaults are realized with the intention to make chooser's life easier or better, but there are some choice architect that fall back into the self-serving category.

Defaults, being such a powerful tool, request that choice architects design them very accurately also because they are the path of least resistance for the consumers. It's very likely that individuals will choose this option for laziness, distraction or fear whether or not it is good for them. Furthermore this natural tendency towards "doing nothing" can be reinforced if the default choice is suggested as the recommended course of action.

It is reported (Thaler, Sunstein and Balz) that most of the individuals don't change default settings even after a long time. In fact, after 3 years of use 70% of the computers have the same time lag and screensavers proposed by the manufacturer.

The power of default options has been exploited by many organizations. For instance automatic renewal of magazine or gym subscription can lead people to pay for a periodical they actually don't read or for a service they don't use.

But, on the contrary, consider the good default policy that affect organs donation in Austria (Goldstein et al. 2008). There, all the citizen are donor by default and they have to actively opting

out from this choice if they want. 99.98% of Austrians have decided to stay in the pool of organ donors. In the very close and culturally similar Germany, citizens have to decide by their own whether they want to be donor or not and only 12% of Germans are donor. This example wants to show that even though culture and personal effort can have some effect in implementing a policy, the possibility to use a default have astonishing results.

In some cases, as the one just highlighted, people have no idea what is the preferable option and they just need a default that could tell them in an easy and quick way the best approach. They simply don't want to spend a lot of time and efforts in informing themselves, when the choice is very difficult they want a clear default.

However, if defaults are effective just because the high cost of the other options or because the users don't know the alternative choices they have, defaults can invade individual freedom of choice.

A policy sponsored by Johnson et al. (2012) to solve this problem consist in setting the default as the alternative chosen by the majority of a sample group that made the choice without any constriction of time and in absence of a predetermined default.

2.4.2.4. Opt-in/Opt-out policies

The two authors of "Nudge" reported a case occurred in their university in order to explain the difference between an opt-in and an opt-out policy adoption through the use of two different and opposed defaults. It happened that the tax law was modified so that employees could pay for the parking provided by their employers on a pre-tax basis while before this parking was intended to be paid with after-tax wage. After the introduction of this new rule the university could adopt two ways of proceeding.

Choice 1 it's leaving everything as it was, just notify the change of the law to the employees through a public announcement and, if requested, accept the new payment method. This possibility leaves all the freedom and responsibility of choosing to people that could decide what they prefer to do. In this case the default it's the current situation and it's referred as an opt-in policy because individuals who want to benefit from the new tax situation have to take care in first person of the issue. people who work for the university

On the contrary the alternative would be deciding that professors and others faculty members have to provide for parking expenses with their earnings before paying taxes. In the case they don't like this new policy they were free to pay the parking with after-tax dollars. According to this alternative the default it's the new option. It's called an opt-out policy because individuals find themselves in a

situation that it's thought as beneficial for them, but in the case they prefer the old rule they are free to have it.

In this context it's easy to understand that university decision it's not really important because in the second choice the cost savings (an average of \$1200 per year) are substantial and every employee would choose to pay parking with pre-tax dollars. But there are cases where this choice is not so straightforward, where benefits are more subtle to understand and individuals may gain from a libertarian paternalistic policy.

Also in this situation, if the university had decided to adopt the first choice very busy professors would hardly noticed the possible savings and would still pay more for the parking.

In any case, to successfully implement a policy, the using of defaults is highly positive influencing behaviors because they are "sticky" and individuals difficultly opt-out from the predetermined choice. This is the reason why such policies have to be carefully designed in such a way that people are happy, or at least don't desire to change their choices.

2.4.2.5. Expecting errors

It has been demonstrated that 82% of the "critical incidents" are caused by human error rather than by machinery failure.

Given that people usually do mistakes for their own nature, choices architects have the duty to design systems around them to prevent the most common-made errors.

An example of a real good design is the Paris subway system that can receive the ticket in either way the user insert the ticket because its magnetic strip it's perfectly symmetric. Such a simple device prevent the possibility that people make mistakes that can cause easily queues. Since the solution is so easy it should be scaled up everywhere individuals have to insert a card in a machine, but the adoption of this kind of techniques that avoid mistakes it is a long process.

Another typical error is forgetting to reinsert the cap that lock the gas tank of the car, this is called a "postcompletion" error (Byrne and Bovair, 1997). According to them whenever the main task is performed people tend to leave behind actions related to previous steps. People make this kind of error when they perform these actions in the moment that the load on working memory is high, but when the load is low they complete without any problems the task.

Other famous similar error are leaving the original in the copying machine or forgetting the credit card in the ATM after withdrawing cash. To prevent such kind of errors should be adopted a forcing startegy: before accomplishing the desire another step must be done (e.g: remove the card before the ATM give to the user the cash).

Making mistakes is always bad, but in some environments particular care is required, because it can lead to severe consequences. For instance in health care one of the major problem is “drug compliance”, that is taking regularly drugs and in the correct dosage.

The firm that produce the drugs have to design the best method suited to remember to the costumer to take the medicine.

The solution adopted by the big pharmaceutical companies are numerous, but one of the more effective involve the activation of the Automatic System. If taking pills become an habit, with individuals taking pills every day (before breakfast for instance) they will have less chances to forget it.

This option is surely more attractive respect to twice a day or once every meal or once every two days. If the medicine has to be taken in a smaller dose the best choice is taking it on Sundays because for most of individuals it is a day somehow different from the working ones.

A particular kind of pills are those ones used to control birth, in fact they need to be taken for three weeks and then paused for one week. In order to facilitate women usually are sold in a package of twenty-eight, one for each day. The pills are numbered and colored in a different way depending from being part of the first three week or of the last week. The last seven are in effect just placebos with the only aim of maintaining the habit.

2.4.2.6. Giving feedbacks

It has been shown in the previous paragraph individual propensity to make errors or to forgive things. Nonetheless if they are given a feedback some mistakes can be avoided or at least greatly reduced. The feedback notify to the individual if something is wrong or if something is going to be wrong.

With the digital revolution, photographer can solve lot of the problems they had before the introduction of these last machines. They are provided with a small screen where they can visualize the picture they have just taken and this allow them to solve focusing errors and many others. These digital machines are much more user friendly respect to the old ones but at the beginning they were failing in notifying to the photographer if the picture was done or not. Soon was introduced a fake “click” to fix this aspect. Some mobiles, expressly made for old people, have a fake dialing for the same reason.

When a system give feedbacks to the users, it needs to dispense the right amount of them. If the system continuously annoys the consumer with useless warnings, the individual will not take care of them anymore and will just close the informative box without even reading it. Consider instead when the laptop advise the user that the battery level is too low and need to be recharged. This kind

of warning is the prototype of the ideal feedback. It is popping out only when really needed and the user can take immediately action to solve the problem.

The last feedback reported in this thesis it is aimed to help painters, highlighting the fact that everywhere individuals need help. When painting a wall or a ceiling there is often the doubt if a part is already done or it is a new one, given the fact that almost all the walls are white printed. This problem was overcome when someone invented a new paint that is pink when wet, but it turns white when dry.

2.4.2.7. Choice over time

Individuals quite often have to make choices that are lasting for a long period of time, or that will end in the future. It is observed that, for this kind of decisions, people have three important biases that affect in a substantial way their judgments. The first fact is that individuals tend to be myopic, appreciating much more positive results in the present and evaluating poorly future outcomes. But future is always perceived as unclear and can cause systematic over or under evaluation of certain events. The last remarkable point is that people mostly have over optimistic estimate about future, they assume they can do much more they actually can achieve, they think to have more money and time than in the present. For every intertemporal prejudice the choice architect may use a tool to solve the corresponding problem. For instance he can decide to bring decision maker attention on the future options, having therefore a more distributed pattern of choices (Weber et al. 2007). A tool used to contrast the idea that in the future are available infinite opportunities, is giving to the consumer only a definite set of chances to satisfy the need. Shu and Gneezy (2010) proposed to reserve to the inhabitants of big cities some limited opening to visit sightseeing close to them. To conclude this intertemporal analysis, it is noted that the most successful tools are the ones that transform future aspect of the choice into an immediate result respect to those that discount future cost and benefits(Soman et al. 2005).

2.4.2.8. Task structure effects on the searching process

The arrangement of the options affects not only current consumers decision of their preferences, but also the way they evaluate in a later stage the choices in the case they want to narrow down the option set.

Consumers may face two kinds of decisions: a simple single choice or a more complicated series of configuration decisions in product highly customizable like cars. It is observed that consumers prefer using defaults in the case they have to confront themselves with a lot of configurations options respect when they have a limited set of alternatives (Levav et al. 2010).

Another remarkable point is that consumers first do a quick review of the options searching for a subset of characteristics they judge as important and only after they decide among the remaining alternatives with that particular attribute. According to this finding, if the choice architect makes easily comparable some options on an attribute he's automatically favoring those choices.

The classical way to classify search information is to analyze their relative costs. Generally the decision process begins with an examination of the total set of the available options and of the cost to analyze each choice, then individuals match the best alternatives with their own reservation value to decide whether they are satisfied of the outcome reached and eventually stop searching (Weitzman 1979). However, recently it has been observed that consumers are likely to take sub-optimal decisions in this searching process.

An effective tool to solve this bias could be changing the layout of the decision task, for instance through reordering the choices according to their expected appealing (Häubl and Trifts 2000).

2.4.3. Describing choice options

2.4.3.1. Partitioning options and attributes

In different fields it has been reported that the partitioning of options and attributes in equal chances has a strong impact on individuals choices and is an effective tool in the hand of the choice architect to influence people. There are numerous examples of an even allocation of resources among the various categories in the literature. Thaler and Sunstein (2008) recorded that employees decide to invest their savings evenly among the different categories of assets when they are listed separately. On the contrary when they are put together in an investment fund, people tend to diversify the portfolio with other assets such real estates. It's a fact that in personal investment people allocate their limited resources over a constrained set of possibilities in equal parts (Benartzi and Thaler 2001). In decision analysis individuals usually accredit same chances to the probability that each event could happen (Fox and Clemen 2005) and also in consumer choice, people look for different products in choosing goods for future consumption (Read and Loewenstein 1995). Choice architects can exploit this tendency toward an even distribution of people preferences since they know that the categories into which the set of possibilities are partitioned have impact on the choices. They can nudge people toward their desired choice through the creation of some predetermined categories that make people decide in favor of an option rather than the others. As a proof, Bardolet et al. (2009) report the propensity of the investors to take some particular categories of investments recommended by the sellers.

Fox et al. (2005) describe the same behavior by the people who are in charge of writing the menu categories: they usually decide to put together all the unhealthy dishes in one menu, while splitting the healthy options in the others menu. It is observed that people understand the nudge and choose in great part the healthy options.

Similarly, when the consumer it's choosing between the characteristics of two personal computers, concentrating less important attributes (e.g. design, style) in one single category, it results in emphasizing the most important features of the product (e.g. processor, motherboard, ROM, warranty) that are separated in different categories.

Fox et al. (2005) determined that the use of partitioning to influence people has better results when the decision makers have little knowledge on the topic and when they have a weak preferences or beliefs. As an example, they report that in a wine tasting sommeliers don't diversify their choosing per categories when the wines were presented according to region of origin or grape. Instead novices, since they need a guide on the field they tend to be influenced from this paternalistic advices.

2.4.3.2. Designing attributes

When individuals have to take a decision, they choose between different products or services by weighing pros and cons on different features. Choice architects have the power to influence significantly people choice by highlighting some attributes or giving them less attention.

Coming back to the computer example made in the previous paragraph, when people need to buy a laptop they evaluate some features such as ROM, warranty, processor, design and many others. The perfect decision should involve the analysis of all these attributes and of their relative weights in the final choice, but for people it's often a difficult task and they tend to forget some aspects. Choice architect's job is to help people in the decision and therefore they take care that attributes are in the right number, easily comparable and evaluable.

The number of characteristics shown to the customer is the first aspect of the product presentation that the architect can decide. The aim should be from one part being parsimonious and reducing the cognitive effort of the decision maker and from the other part including all the product's attributes. Too many attributes can lead to information overload and make the decision more difficult, but on the contrary too little can be considered disinformation.

The possibility to compare and evaluate easily the attributes is another remarkable tool that choice architects can manipulate. When there is a difference between two or more products/services in time period, cost, currency, context or other, having them on the same scale increasingly help the decision maker comparison. Further help can be given if information are provided in a easy and

understandable way, clarifying numbers interpretation and labeling categories as good or bad. According to Peters et al. (2007) consumers are able to process and judge better more information when the latter are shown with an evaluative labels that facilitate their processing. In many case people are not confident which is the good level of carbon dioxide emissions but a tag “good”/ “bad” on the car can resolve the problem.

The last important aspect that the attributes have to show it’s linearity with some parameters. In fact decision makers need to be able to compare not only different products characteristics, but also correlate the product attributes with other measures important for them. For instance, when consumers want estimate energy savings of their cars they use some measure of energy efficiency such as “miles per gallon” that are in a reciprocal form respect to energy consumption measures. This problem can be solved transforming the measures used in a way that they become linear in energy savings.

Sometimes the choice architect want to emphasize some attributes that according to her are undervalued by the consumer. Since the decision maker, on average, consider just half of the product’s characteristics it’s important to drive attention toward relevant attributes. The causes can be numerous: individuals may not relate gas consumption to carbon emissions or they may not be able to translate the numbers because they are not confident with the math or they may simply not remember the issue without a reminder.

A possible solution could be changing the scale on which the characteristic is expressed.

According to Burson et al. (2009) if the number is larger it is perceived as more important and receive more attention by the consumer in the decision process.

2.4.4. Issues in implementing choice architectures

2.4.4.1. Individual differences

According to choice architecture, individuals can achieve better outcomes in their lives if they decide to follow the architects proposals. But it’s not always the case that these nudges have success in their aim, because individual differences can play a major role in the decision process.

A long time ago Mowrer affirmed that “to understand what a rat will do in a maze, one has to know both the rat and the maze”. And this is precisely the same case, since choice architects have to design the environment in which people take decisions but have to take care also of the single characteristics of the individuals who actually face the decision.

If the architects don’t adjust their actions to individuals’ exigencies they may fail their job or produce unintended consequences. Therefore, depending on individuals peculiarities, different architectures have to be prepared and tested in diverse populations of interest.

Extensive studies were done on this topic and it is already known how people difference may influence decisions.

Numeracy in choice determination is one of the most analyzed issue in this context. Peters et al (2006) found that people with lower ability in dealing with numbers are more confident in understanding information that require less cognitive effort. Giving a clear label or meaning to the number increasingly help the decision process and allow to those individuals to process more information. But, on the contrary, highly numerate decision makers are negatively affected from these additional explanations.

It's therefore difficult to propose a unique approach to choice architecture, especially in environments with profound differences.

2.4.4.2. Evaluating outcomes

The evaluation of choice architecture intervention is surely the most challenging task for the architects. A possible criterion for them could be considering consumer judgment of the choices undertaken. This method presume that the utility of the outcome ex post and ex ante are the same but actually it's not always the case. In fact there are numerous situations in which individuals fail to forecast the outcomes of their choices. For instance Kahneman et al. (2006) reported that people usually overestimate changes of disposable income on family overall wellbeing, while Gilbert (1998) claimed that people consistently overestimate their reactions after the end of a love story.

However, individuals that have already gained experience in a determined context are prone to make more precise expectations about the future outcomes.

To solve this problem during the decision process, choice architect should try to focus consumers attention on buying a product or a service that suits better to their future exigencies, when they will experience the use of the purchase.

2.4.5. Applications of the tools of choice architecture

Choice architecture tools have been implemented in numerous fields but inhere are proposed applications taken mainly from three spheres: decisions that have effect on eating habit, environment and personal investments.

Considers firstly decisions that have impact on eating habits. People spend lot of time, money and thinking about their diet but the great part of their behaviors are acquired unconsciously. Given the fact that individuals make around 200 decisions per day on this field (Wansink and Sobal 2007) it is quite normal that not all of them are aligned with their intended health desires. People can resort to heuristics or others odd decision systems to steer their food preferences because they want to

diminish the cognitive burden of their choices. And it can be the case that these extemporaneous and unconscious decisions become a rigid and recurring behavior. A typical example of this practice can be found when a pizzeria all you can eat double its prices. People react to this eating more pizza to compensate the increased price, even though they were already satisfied with the portions they had before. This and other similar behavior are the reasons that make eating habit one of the preferred field of intervention of behavioral economics.

Second domain of interest are the decision that have an impact on the environment. This encompasses many choices from energy consumption to water and land use that can significantly affect the nature in a long run perspective.

For instance GHG emissions reduction it's one of the main topic in this field and can have positive effect on both consumers and society in a win-win situation. Individuals would benefit from a financial point of view while society can gain from the environment perspective. According to Weber (2012) this is one of the themes where behavioral economics can have a good appeal respect to traditional economic solutions, especially because the psychological prejudices toward the social acceptance.

Finally, the last domain analyzed in this session is the financial decision making area. Thaler and Benartzi (2004) proposed an innovative saving method according which the members agreed to sign a documents where they promise that a portion of their future salary increases would be dedicated to saving. In this way participants to the plan don't reduce their current consumption level, but moving the decision to the future they decide to make saving their default option. Before 2009 banks accepted that their clients could use credit cards over the account limit at the price of substantive fees. Clients didn't know that they have to actively opting-out from this predetermined choice, generating large profits for the banks.

In 2009 the modification of this default, turning the possibility of withdraw money without effectively having an opt-in decision, led to significant savings for the unaware customers.

Generalizing, all the ready-made solutions provided by the classical economic analysis can be ineffective or even detrimental if they don't consider all the set of issues previously discussed. For instance, informing people about a topic for sure raises attention on that topic but it can create unexpected problems on other related issues. It can be case that it decreases visibility about other important aspects or that it even preclude other possible corrective actions (Weber 2006). For this reason it can be a good idea to consider integration of standard utility theory with psychological processes combined with economic incentives. A possible device could be disclosing the design of the decision system to the decision maker describing potential influences that may have the policy

adopted. A disclosure as this one is almost never carried out, but its effects deserve further study from choice architects.

Before the appearance of choice architecture were employed essentially three policies: changing prices, informing people and prohibit the behavior (such as the purchase of a product). But the great part of these actions were not completely effective in convincing people because often classic “financial motivation” it’s not enough to improve choices. Also eating habit can be difficultly changed by adjustment in prices of the products or by informing people. Coming to the environment, old procedures, included building codes and carbon quotas, led to substantial no positive outcomes out of some rare exceptions.

Recently extensive researches have been done on psychology influences into economic models of choices in the three domains analyzed but it’s just a starting point. In fact much part of the work it’s still there, especially finding individual data to calibrate the models.

It has to be remarked that behavioral interventions are not unpleasant for the consumers even when they are not informed of the architectures. On the contrary individuals think that they are better off if these interferences with their own decisions don’t restrict the total set of possibilities they can choose from, but only sustain good behaviors without forbidding bad ones.

Summing up environmental, financial and eating decision touch people lot of times in a day. With the help of choice architecture the same reasons that drive individuals toward poor choices can be converted to their own benefit. In this sense behavioral economics provide the means that influence people toward good behaviors without having those refusal effects associated with prohibiting approaches (Just and Wansink, 2009).

3. Social marketing approach to nudging and interpretation of consumer attitudes

3.1. The advent of nudging in marketing

The introduction of nudges to the world since 2008 has affected various aspects such as businesses, societies and the governments. It has been influential in the area of marketing as well, where organizations have accepted this form of behavioral economics and utilized it practically to “nudge” customers.

It has also revolutionized the way organizations carry out their marketing functions. While traditional companies employ the use of nudges to increase their market share, also a particular kind of organization, such as governments, require it to improve participation from the society for social matters. For the same reason, behavioral economics that are related to the social, cognitive and emotional factors are being taken more seriously and are being studied in more depth.

Most organizations were previously restraining from using the nudging principles as they were set out in theory and wouldn't risk applying them until practical scenarios had succeeded. However, now that various political bodies and businesses have tested and implemented these principles, more organizations are willing to adopt them.

The companies that are now using these techniques have employed them in various ways, for instance Dominos implemented it to influence “where customers click” on online web pages, while on the other hand, LBi has used it to influence customers and the general society to save energy.

According to Soman (2014) “People make decisions that are emotional, distracted, impulsive and inconsistent”. The role of nudges has increased since its introduction because, as opposed to prior beliefs that the consumer is rational in his/her decisions, it has now been widely accepted that the choice of the consumers is based on how the question is asked, how the product is offered, etc. Also, these principles are not applicable only to the larger organizations as smaller ones have used the strategy as their engine for growth and to compete better in the market.

Due to the rapid increase in its success, it is believed that nudging will soon become an inherent part of marketing and be more naturally incorporated in the functions. In other words, it will be included in the policies of the organizations without being separately stressed upon.

3.2. The contemporary customers

To understand the customers, the businesses are constantly analyzing data such as past trends, researching and carrying out surveys including the behavior and responses of consumers. However, the marketing techniques previously used that have been successful are no longer giving to the businesses the results that they expect. This is mainly due to the fact that the consumers are evolving and adapting to various factors around them constantly which has led an increase in the complexity of the consumer society and an improvisation of the traditional marketing techniques.

The most drastic change to the consumer society has been the advent of digital information. One of the major effects is that the accessibility of all products and services has now been spread across the globe as opposed to only the country people are living in. This has been associated with the postmodernism idea. A relevant perspective of postmodernism is related to how the fragmentation of the society started. The innovation and development of information and communication technology meant that all the individual countries were now connected into one single world. However, soon the society realized that the concept of one world would mean there was a reduction in differentiation, which led to fragmentation to provide the personal touch.

The era of digital information has been brought about by the increasing use of internet, phones which has led to acceptance of diversity. However, it created a perspective that generally ended up with consumers trying to seek a personal identity. This is one of the direct factors that has influenced the way in which the nudging principles are being used.

Also, postmodernism has increased the importance of the human intervention as opposed to mechanical intervention in communication. This means that the nudge that will be provided, in the modern society will be more effective when it is done using human intervention, as opposed to if the nudge would have been used in the pre-postmodernism world.

Another major effect of this tendency has been that individuals that are always online have the ability to decide by themselves the information that will be displayed and marketed to them (Herbig & Kramer, 1994). For instance, Facebook has implemented relevant rules in their web page which results in the information being shown to the user as per his previous activities on the site such as liking and commenting. In this way the users have only view of the information that is most appealing to them. The digital age has also revolutionized the medias through which the information is put across to the consumers, especially by making it cheaper and faster to communicate. These factors have to obviously be kept in mind while discussing nudging as they directly change the way the techniques are applied in practical life since the whole concept of nudging is based on how the information is communicated to the consumers.

The change in marketing due to postmodernism has generated another idea as the hypermodern customer. It basically focuses on the behavior of the customer that is constantly changing with respect to the way communication is being carried out and the methods that are being used for marketing.

In other words, it explains that the consumer reacts only towards communication that he believes to be authentic, appealing and as per their tastes, which varies for all the consumers. Therefore, the marketing to be effective has to be personalized based on each consumer. Since, personalization at a consumer level is not possible, the market has to be segmented accordingly and customization has to be done at that level by considering the preferences of the general customers in each particular segment.

Marketers, in their communication choices, have to consider carefully individuals ability to choose, since freedom is that thing that express individual's autonomy as human beings. (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). Consumers today want to feel that they should be able to avoid the communication easily. They also demand that they don't want to be forced by the marketing techniques to make any choice, but instead consumers want to have the ability to make their choice based on their free will. Once again, this point is important when talking about the topic of nudging, since nudging can easily turn to pushing and would have a totally opposite effect by demotivating the customer. Since there is a very thin line between nudging and pushing, it needs to be considered carefully.

Pushing, as opposed to nudging is when the consumer is being diverted towards an option in a way that he will be forced to consider that option and will reduce the importance of the other options. Whereas, it is clearly defined in the case of nudging, that there will be no situation where the probability of choosing any other options by the consumer is diluted.

Another recent development is the marketing that is done by the consumers themselves by providing feedback and inadvertently communicating their views about products to other potential consumers. Ways in which this marketing is being done, for instance with big success by TripAdvisor, is users posting online reviews of products and services and their feedbacks. Since this information is spread across the internet and is available by the whole world, positive reviews easily influence the other consumers. Other developments are blogs, where people usually ask about services and products to obtain more information such as the quality, the availability etc.

3.3. Conventional marketing communication

Contrasting with the topic mentioned in the previous paragraph is the traditional marketing. It is a more normative and structured approach to marketing that has been developed over the years. Despite the advent of the newer techniques, traditional methods are still in place and provide the base for the new techniques used.

The concept of personalized marketing for example that is used for the modern customer is derived from traditional marketing and slightly adapted for a better impact.

The approaches used in the past were to understand the needs of consumers before the development of the products by way of research and surveys that would suit these needs, and thereafter they would promote the products to ensure these consumers were aware of the product.

Another approach that was employed widely was mass communication, wherein the personalized effect was negated (while it is an important principle of nudging) and instead the aim was to reach out to as many consumers as possible through as many media channels as possible. This was believed to be cost effective and a larger market was being captured.

Overall, the traditional methods focused more on what the consumer required and less on how the communication and advertising was directed towards the society. In other words, a product was created based on the requirements of the consumer. In contrast, in the modern days, the approach is towards creating innovative products first and then marketing them to the society in a way in which will encourage them to respond positively and create the necessity.

3.4. Applications of nudging in social causes

Since social marketing purpose is to realize a better life and society, the methods that employ nudges aspire to drive individuals towards better choices (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). Although it is believed that nudging is changing the perspective that individuals have on a topic, the actual concept is that it is just an authentic method to communicate messages since that the interpretation of the message is left to the people that are not forced in any direction (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). This fact needs to be explained and re iterated to clear the misconception.

In other words, it is altering the view of a person indirectly without using coercion in any way to change his opinion, but still ensuring he is aware of his other options.

Also, this is considered an important aspect of social marketing as not all consumers are aware of what is best for the society as a whole. Therefore, using nudging techniques, it is possible to influence the consumers into buying the right products, using the right services and acting in the

right manner to achieve the best possible outcome for the society without the individual consumers losing out. It results in a win-win situation and improvement of the overall welfare of the society.

Another area where the principles of nudging can be used beneficially are environmental and sustainability matters. Examples are saving water, electricity, reducing pollution and so on. The consumers usually aren't asked about matters that do not directly influence them, and therefore it would be a perfect situation if nudging principles can be used to change the consumers behavior towards these aspects.

An alternate argument that has been made against nudging to improve the social welfare is that who actually knows what is best for the society. An example to illustrate this matter is the use of nudging in political campaigns. The governments and political parties have adopted this technique since it was introduced initially. The political parties use the principles of nudging to divert the choice of the society to what is best for them as a political party instead of what is best for the society.

3.5. Persuasive and informative marketing strategies

There are two categories of marketing strategies, namely, informative and persuasive. Informative marketing is based on the concept of making the consumer aware of the product and services that the organizations are offering by simply providing basic details and increasing awareness of the products/services. This technique was used initially by organizations and was most effective when products/services were developed based on the customer requirements.

Due to the fact that now most products/services are innovated and customers are usually not aware of these products, and also because of the general change in the society towards more attractive and less descriptive marketing, the usage of persuasive marketing strategies are now implemented in place of informative marketing.

For example, previously cell phones were advertised by displaying technical specifications as opposed to currently where the companies simply advertise by slogans and attractive features. This usually catches the attention of consumers much faster and thereafter the informative details can always be obtained easily in case the shopper is not aware about them.

In most cases, due to the widespread of information globally, the informative aspects are already well known by the society which means that the organizations don't have to spend time and money to advertise them.

According to Gass and Seiter (2007) persuasion signify affecting thinking or actions of the target. Nudging, essentially is made up of the same principles, as it is used to influence the consumers. Persuasion is used in our day to day lives by each one of us, however due to education and experience, the society is now able to determine that the other person is trying to influence them which then results in the opposite effect of persuasion. In other words, it brings about a negative effect instead of actual persuasion.

For this reason, nudging is defined in such a way so as to distinguish it from pushing. This ensures that there is no negative effect.

Another topic that is important to mention while discussing about persuasion techniques is the effect of visual communication during their use. The majority of people are aware about the strength of verbal communication being used for persuasion and it is actually taught while teaching topics of communication. However, underestimates the effect of the visual communication in persuasion.

The fact has been proven that images are easier to remember than words, and therefore organizations are now more inclined towards using visual communication as it is easier for the consumers to remember. Also, it is easier to incorporate the persuasive technique/nudging principles without clearly notifying to the consumer.

Considering both the sub topics together, organizations can ensure that the visual techniques are used to persuade the consumer along with ensuring that the consumer is not aware that he is being nudged/influenced.

3.6. The communication process and attitudes

Communication is a two way process. The information being communicated needs to be accepted in an equally comprehensive manner for it to be effective and the right outcomes to be derived.

Due to this it is invariable that the attitude, expectations and experience of the consumer has to be perfect for the marketing strategies to be effective. The experience of the consumer depends on his historical background and the environment he has been living in. This factor, therefore, cannot be altered by the organizations sending the messages.

Also, the expectations of the consumers are derived from their present surroundings and by their prior experiences. These will be different for each of the consumers and once again, cannot be altered by the organizations.

On the contrary, the attitudes of the consumers can be affected by organizations and describe their behavior towards different scenarios or toward the approach adopted by a determined body. There are two types of attitudes that need to be confronted by the organization, namely, positive and negative.

In the case that a consumer has a positive attitude prior to the communication, it is easier to persuade him as opposed to if he had an initial negative attitude when the exact same communication is used.

However, in case the organization is aware of the initial attitude of the society, then it is able to adapt their communications in such a way that the chances of their effectiveness increase. Especially in the case where the initial attitude is negative, the organizations need to adapt the communication to ensure that the consumer is interested and involved in the communication.

3.7. Consumers attitudes

As described above, the organizations need to identify the attitude of the consumers and of the society. The easiest way to understand the attitude is by what the consumers say or how they respond to a specific questions about a topic. Referring to O’Cain and Liebscher studies (2011) attitudes can be related to a set of identity practices and the language it is the best expression of such practices. To determine the attitude of an individual in a certain language, it need to be examined positive and negative expressions in his speech (Argyriou and Melewar, 2011). Also according to Eagly et al. (1991) people’s utterances can be employed to identify attitudes. Specifically these utterances contain some words that reflect if a certain thing is good or bad, valuable or useless, positive or negative, pleasant or unpleasant.

Following Eagly’s ideas in 1991 a research has been carried out by Batra wherein a list of positive and negative adjectives have been identified to understand individuals attitudes. The list was build using the answers of people participating to an experiment, that were asked to consider their attitudes towards some brands.

These lists provided by Batra are further expanded by the author of this thesis, using the more diffused synonyms, to have greater possibility of matching the words of people participating to the focus group with the linguistic adjectives of Batra that specify the corresponding attitudes. The more synonyms included in the lists, the easier it will be to identify the attitudes of the respondents through their use of words. All the following synonyms are found in the online synonym and antonym dictionary. The list of Batra along with their synonyms is reported below:

Positive list - beautiful (attractive, curious, clear, wonderful), beneficial (advantageous, clean (pure, neat), good (nice, beneficial, favorable), comfortable (easy, soothing), happy (cheerful), harmonious (compatible, balanced), important (essential, valuable), intelligent (clever, smart, prehensile), interesting (tempting, exciting, stimulating, engaging), like (care for, sensible for, love, enjoy, prefer), meaningful (important, purposeful, significant), nice (beautiful, pleasant, enjoyable, cool), ordered (logical), pleasing (good, elegant, delightful), pleasant (nice, good), positive (optimistic), profound (intense, strong), reputable (honorable, polite, good), rewarding (motivating, incentive, pleasing, profitable), safe (secure), sane (rational), smooth (simple, fine), sociable (outgoing), soothing (comfortable), successful (fortunate), useful (utile, dynamic, effective), valuable (precious, important), wise (all-knowing, informed).

Negative list - aggravating (intensifying), annoying (irritating, pestering, insistent), awful (bad, filthy, dreadful), bad (unfavorable, uncool, awful), boring (uninteresting, tiresome), chaotic (disorganized, wild), dangerous (unsafe, insecure), dirty (filthy, unwashed, nasty), disagreeable (annoying, irritating, nervous), dislike (detest, hate, resent), disreputable (dishonorable, unrespectable), dissonant (unresolved, different, inharmonious), foolish (silly, unwise, ridiculous), harmful (intimidating, offensive, bad), insane (crazy, irrational, unacceptable), meaningless (insignificant, purposeless, unimportant), negative (unfavorable, bad), punishing (arduous, gruelling), rough (harsh, uneven, unpolished), sad (depressing, sorrowful, pitiful, mournful), superficial (insignificant, careless, shallow), ugly (repulsive, unattractive, displeasing), uncomfortable (uneasy, bad, irritating), unfavorable (bad, negative, uncomplimentary), unintelligent (stupid, headless), unpleasant (awful, offensive), unsociable (antisocial, unfriendly), useless (ineffective, unprofitable), unsuccessful (defeated, unfortunate, unprofitable), worthless (purposeless, rubbishy, superfluous, exaggerating).

As exposed previously these lists will help to categorize the words pronounced by the participants to the focus group in positive or negative attitudes. In fact attitudes can be categorized on the basis of the adjectives employed in the utterances. The present list is therefore fundamental in the analysis of Italian consumer point of view towards the different social communicative strategies.

3.8. The meaning of the emotions in people attitudes

Apart from using words and adjectives, individuals use other forms to communicate such as gestures, movements, actions and so on to show their attitudes. When a person does not employ a language that is directly linked to attitudes it's very likely that it refers in some way to emotions to

indicate how he feels about an object or a situation. In fact it has also been proven that emotions are strictly related to people's attitudes (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1989) since they play a communicative function and are expressed as attitudes with gestures, face mimics and verbally with emotional terminology. This wording has the aim to explicit the interpretation and understanding of an experienced object situation or person. For these reasons emotions can be considered as an alternate way in which organizations can identify people's attitudes.

According to Johnson-Laird & Oatley there are five fundamental emotional elements and they are respectively happiness, sadness, anger, fear and disgust. These are just the essential modes that people can experience because it exists an extensive terminology that refers to these key emotions. According to Johnson-Laird and Oatley all those expressions that refer to the basic "happiness" are considered as positive while those that are related to the others key emotions are defined as negative. And since in this reconstruction emotions are the expression of a cognitive evaluation, it is possible to assert that positive and negative emotions correspond to similar positive or negative attitudes.

Since it is confirmed by numerous scholars that the presence of emotional terms in individual's utterances notify that the person is experiencing that particular emotion the framework developed by Johnson-Laird and Oatley is employed in the analytical part of this thesis. The list of words that denote emotions and a further explanation of the framework is provided in Appendix 1.

4. The boundary of the research

4.1. The problem statement

As it is stated in the first chapter the concept of nudging has gained great visibility, and one of the reason is surely because it enable a new method to effectively communicate with consumers. However, according to the author of this thesis point of view, there is a point in the study of this topic that was not analyzed enough and precisely is the consumer opinion of the nudging strategies. This lack means that there is a space for further examination of the effect that nudges communication strategies have on individuals.

In fact the effectiveness of nudges has already been proved, but what is interesting is how they are considered by consumers and specifically if they prefer these new methods respect to the traditional ones.

Further, it is remarkable to understand if some specific social marketing campaigns are more effective just because they are carried on with nudging techniques.

In Italy, these new methods to affect consumer behavior are not very diffused yet. However, they could be soon introduced in some situations if it is proved that Italians consider these techniques as positive. This is the reason that lead to focus the attention of this research on Italian consumers attitude respect to the communication developed with the help of nudges, defining the problem statement at the basis of this thesis as follows:

This thesis want to confirm or deny the hypothesis that Italian consumers are positively inclined towards social marketing communication that employ nudges respect to methods that do not nudge. Furthermore it will be examined to what extent nudging instill in the consumers a more positive mind-set and emotional associations contrasting with the approaches that do not rely on nudging.

Therefore this thesis will try to consider and explore the problem raised through an explorative and empirical analysis that involve the study of the results of an interview made to a group of Italian consumers about their opinion on some campaigns that employ nudging techniques. Through this analysis will be assessed the validity of the hypothesis made at the beginning.

4.2. Delimitations

In this thesis are considered as nudges only those ones that don't constrain in any way consumers and leave to them the possibility to choose whatever they want without narrowing their choice set, accordingly with the definition provided by Thaler and Sunstein (2008) and described in details in the first chapter.

However some kind of nudges are not considered in this analysis because they could not be presented in a satisfying way to the focus group, specifically those that employ smells, gravity and other physical influences. Moreover the investigation of such influences would be too difficult for neophytes to the topic, as probably most part of the group is.

This research is instead directed toward the analysis of the cognitive signals and of the opinions that consumers have on social marketing communication techniques. This is the reason that drive the nudges selection process to adopt only the strategies that comprehend those tools that are related to social marketing.

In fact the messages promoted by all the selected campaigns are aimed to goals that are not mainly connected with the research of an economic gain, such could be improving the lifestyle of citizens through positioning some footprints towards the fruit shelves of a shop. This campaign can also have the effect of increasing the sales of fruits and vegetable of the supermarket but the main dimension of the message is still social.

The last consideration is that this thesis don't want to provide a in depth research of non nudging techniques since the main focus is the analysis of nudges influence on the attitudes of consumers.

4.3. Methodology

This paragraph is intended to explain the scientific approach that drove the writing of this thesis, the methodology employed and the foundation of empirical research data.

As previously highlighted, the aim of this thesis is to analyze nudging and non-nudging social marketing strategies influences on the attitudes of Italian consumers. Therefore the objective is to explore new aspects of the nudge topic and not providing definitive answers.

The theoretical ground on which is built the thesis is composed by different studies about consumers attitudes and emotions in the social marketing field.

Instead empirical data will be gathered in a focus group interview with some Italian consumers, accordingly with the qualitative approach of this research.

Those data will be studied in two different way. Firstly they will be studied inductively, since the data will be associated to different semantic categories coming from the same data. Later on, when models, categories and patterns would be visible, it will be implemented a deductive approach to test data in relation to the semantic themes.

The process of this analysis is intended to be iterative, as there is a continuous interaction between the analysis and the data collection.

The author of the thesis has not a pre-made point of view before dealing with data, being open to new ideas and outcomes during the experimentation.

However, since I have a previous knowledge both of nudging and of more classical social marketing strategies the data will be described and analyzed also according to the background context.

The result of the focus group conversation will be the basis for the analysis using as starting point the emotional expressions and the consumer attitudes treated in the paragraph 3.8.

Given the problem statement of this thesis is the determination of the focus group position in relation to the attitudes of the components, the answers of the interviewees will be classified into a positive or negative category on the basis of the lists of attitude factors in paragraph 3.7 (Batra) and emotional terminology in 3.8 of this thesis (Johnson-Laird and Oatley).

Given the lists of attitude factors and the relative synonyms, it is possible to determine the corresponding attitudes exhibited by the respondents.

In the case the interviewees does not use any of the listed attitude factors, but still shows a position on the topic, it will be employed Johnson-Laird and Oatley framework to detect the emotions expressed from the respondents. These utterances that explicit a certain level of emotional expressions will be classified and defined as negative or positive.

In order to further explain the mode of operation of the framework of attitude factors and emotional terminology employed in this analysis, following will be reported an example that explicit how interviews are interpreted.

[5:23] I: *I like the fact that the other one has not a single written word, but it says much more things with just some numbers. You are doing a reasoning by yourself and you are finding out what does it mean the message while here you find everything there, it's much more trivial at a communicative level. The other one make you **curious**, **surprise** you much more.*

In this utterance it is possible to apply both the frameworks introduced in the last two sections of chapter 2 and better analyzed respect to the methodology employed in this thesis in this current section. In fact, in the first part of the sentence it's clear that the respondent "I" is positively positioned towards the campaign that employs the nudges since he uses the verb *like* (described as feeling happiness in relation to someone or something) that belong to the positive list made by Batra. Furthermore it's possible to recover a positive attitude towards this example because the respondent states that the campaign is meaningful to him, even though the campaign is not paired to any explanatory text.

It is possible to understand his positive approach also through the emotion words pronounced at the very end of the phrase. The respondent assert to be *curious* and *surprised* by the campaign. According to the list of emotion words written by Johnson-Laird and Oatley both this adjective are related to a positive attitude. In fact surprise is said to cause an unexpected onset of an emotion, that is actually what the creators of this campaign wanted to provoke in people. If individuals start thinking at the problem, this means that at least they are considering the issue and they are stimulated to reflect on it. The other word used by the respondent "I" permits to explain in depth the functioning of the list written by Johnson-Laird and Oatley. Here curiosity is described as desire to know that is not self explanatory by itself. This is because in this occasion the word is defined on the basis of another emotion word in the list, remarkably desire in this case that refers to having a goal, which if attained cause happiness. Happiness is surely a positive emotions, therefore the respondent is definitely performing a positive attitude towards this example considering both the frameworks.

As shown in the two above examples, the two frameworks employed in this analysis are able to define the interviewees position using some specific words in their utterances. In particular the attitudes are revealed by Batra's attitude factors while the emotions by Johnson-Laird and Oatleys list of terminology that permits to classify positive and negative emotions.

According to this procedure is therefore feasible to determine interviewees opinion regarding their attitudes and their emotions in respect to the social marketing strategies proposed, grounded on their utterances during the focus group.

However, given the fact that not all the emotion can be translated in words during the conversation, it is possible that some physical expressions will be lost during the transcription. This is surely a limitation of the method employed, but it does not diminish the relevance of the claims that are pronounced during the focus group.

4.4. Empirical data

Since the main objective of this thesis is to determine consumers perception about social marketing campaigns that employ nudges respect to previous methods that don't rely on this system, the investigation method involve a focus group with Italian consumers as respondents.

This procedure was selected because it enables an in-depth and holistic comprehension of the mechanisms used to communicate as they are observed and understood by people (Daymon and Holloway, 2011). The focus group interview was introduced by some initial questions aimed at driving the beginning of the conversation, since an idea of what looking for by the participants was already in my mind. Nevertheless they were totally free in their answers since the intent is just guiding and not leading them, in fact the final aim of the focus group method is allowing open discussion about the phenomenon in question.

Therefore the intention of these first questions is jointly breaking the ice and starting a discussion about the interviewees ideas on the different communication strategies showed to them. The presenter position in this group is marginal to favor the flow of opinions and will step in asking simple questions such as "What do you think about this example?" , "Would you like this strategy?" and "Why/ Why not?".

This kind of questions are thought to investigate the respondents tendency to like or not the proposed campaigns as well as helping them in the development of the conversation, but surely are not intended to drive the debate towards a specific outcome.

On the basis of interviewees utterances and reflections expressed during the focus group, it will be studied whether any cyclic opinion about the communication strategy proposed appears. The

possible presence of such a recurring pattern in the answers will be examined in depth in section 5.13.

A PowerPoint presentation will be associated with the questions presented, showing to the respondents five social marketing campaigns about different issues. For each theme it will be proposed a method that employs the nudges and another one that does not nudge.

The proposed themes are:

- Promoting healthy living by making people take the stairs
- Speed reduction in residential areas
- Promoting hygiene in public toilets
- Promoting of decorum in public areas
- Encouragement to pay taxes in time.

To ensure that respondents don't differ in their answers just because of the themes chosen there will be proposed communication examples of both methods for each campaign.

Furthermore, given that the examples are about the same social marketing theme, this makes it easier to compare interviewees opinion about the two strategies. In fact in this way it is possible to analyze consumer position about the communication strategy itself and not just towards the theme of a particular campaign.

The ten communication examples with their classification and their relative themes are reported in the below table:

Theme	Non-Nudging	Nudging
Promoting healthy living by making people take the stairs	Example 1: A campaign poster with the image of a man taking the stairs with the wording "Burn calories, not electricity. Take the stairs."	Example 2: The numbered amount of calories burnt per step written on each step of a stair.
Speed reduction in residential areas	Example 3: A signpost with the wording: "Slow down, life is not a race".	Example 4: The cardboard figures of children attached to the signposts
Promoting hygiene in public toilets	Example 5: A panel with the imagine of a tap with two washing hands paired with the wording: "The germs stop here, practice good hygiene".	Example 6: A soap dispenser with the wording "Germ alarm, press button to stop".
Promoting of decorum in public areas	Example 7: A text-based "Please use the bins provided" sign, with a drawing of a man putting litter in a bin.	Example 8: Green footprints painted on the pavement and directed towards a waste bin.

Encouragement to pay taxes in time	Example 9: The wording in a letter for later tax payers: “Give back to society, pay your taxes in time”.	Example 10: The wording in a letter for late taxpayers: “90 per cent of your fellow citizens pay their taxes in time”.
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The focus group interview is conducted on the 16/01/2015 in a conference room in Mestre (Venice). Before the group conversation the respondents filled a questionnaire indicating their age, sex, marital status, profession and past knowledge about the employing of nudges in social marketing communication. The intent of this questionnaire is understanding if the interviewees’ answers were based upon any prior grasp of nudging or not. In this case everybody answered to have not any prior knowledge about nudges. However during the conversation it will result that almost everyone has been subjected to nudges in the past, even though they didn’t linked those experiences with nudging.

4.5. Respondents

Since typically focus groups are composed from 8 to 12 participants it has been decided to select the higher margin, considering also the possibility of some last minute commitments that could have prevented someone to come and would altered significantly the experiment. Luckily all the 12 people who confirmed to come actually showed up.

The most diffused method to select participants for focus groups is purposive sampling, that means selecting those that will provide best outcomes for the research in question. The selection process does not necessarily require randomness; on the contrary a random sample may be inappropriate for the purpose of the research.

It was agreed to choose one male and one female for each ten years range to better develop the issue and in the meanwhile having greater variability in the point of views. It resulted in having respondents from 18 to 65 years old.

As focus group give better results when people have something in common to share, and therefore talk more openly, it was decided to call just persons from the local Christian community through an announcement on its weekly newspaper. The group resulted from this selection it is heterogeneous in its composition since it gathers people with very different age, but all of them share same catholic background and experiences.

However it must be remembered that focus group results cannot be used to represent the point of view of an entire population since different respondents will give different results.

The selected group is surely too well educated to represent the entire Italian population since all its component have a degree or are studying to earn one. Nonetheless probably this fact allowed a fairly ordered discussion, with little swerves from the main path of the conversation. It is remarkable to highlight that all the participants were neophytes of the focus group technique, but despite this fact they tried to contribute to its success contributing in an almost even way to the conversation.

Following is reported the list of interviewed respondents.

Females:

- 'A' – 19, nubile, student
- 'B' – 26, nubile, personal trainer
- 'C' – 32, married, business consultant
- 'D' – 45, married, clerical worker
- 'E' – 58, married, fashion designer
- 'F' – 65, married, retired

Males:

- 'G' – 18, single, student
- 'H' – 25, single, PhD student
- 'I' – 35, married, business consultant
- 'L' – 50, married, lawyer
- 'M' – 56, single, manager
- 'N' – 62, married, retired

In the transcription, the author of the thesis, being the presenter is listed as 'Me'.

4.6. Transcriptions

The discussion made during the focus group is in Italian since it is the mother tongue of the respondents. However, since this dissertation is intended to be available for English readers the author takes care about reporting in the thesis meaningful part of the conversation translated from Italian to English. On the contrary, in Appendix 2 will be just reported in Italian all the conversation.

The interview will be recorded with the help of a Dictaphone and then its translation will be reported in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

4.7. Critique of the method

It is very important to highlight the limitations of the procedure adopted. The first point that has to be remarked is the fact that the respondents are dealing with a PowerPoint presentation and not a real life situation. This results in an experiment that does not completely replicate the attitudes and emotions that can arise in front of an authentic nudge and therefore investigate the opinions of the interviewees in the context.

Despite this fact, the respondents are asked to carefully examine what they get about the different communication forms and this is assumed as realistic as a real life situation.

Another weak point of the present analysis surely regards the fact that the focus group is realized in Italian while the frameworks employed to perform the analysis and the analysis itself are in English. The English translation of some Italian utterances can be difficult, especially some particular expressions typical of the language. However, the author of the thesis will treat this problem with maximum care towards the English writers, trying to explain wherever the translation is not sufficient.

Conclusively summarizing the present section, this thesis will provide an analysis of the opinions stated by some Italian interviewees during a focus group about the nudging method of communication. The utterances of the respondents will be classified as positive or negative through the use of Batra list of attitudes categorization and Johnson-Laird and Oatley list of emotional words. In this way it is possible to determine the approach of Italian interviewees towards nudging strategies and to what extent.

5. Analysis and discussion

This fourth chapter is intended to provide an answer to the problem statement of this thesis in practice through a qualitative discourse analysis of the empirical data collected in the conducted focus group interview.

Firstly the present section will illustrate the practical complications of analyzing data collected during such interviews. Secondly will be described the approach and outline of the analysis in order to guide and introduce the reader to the content of the analysis. Thirdly the utterances illustrating essential positive or negative values will be analyzed according to the frameworks presented in the theoretical sections (2.7 and 2.8). Finally, the essential findings of the analysis will be presented and deliberated in the discussion section leading to the conclusion in the final section of the thesis.

5.1. Practical Complications

The first kind of complications in analyzing and discussing the results of the focus group regards the method itself since according to Vicsek (2010) the employed method is not standard. In fact the answers of a random group are by definition different from the results of another focus group on the same topic, because the persons involved are not the same. Even considering to have the exact same individuals in two different groups it is possible that the theme is expanded in different ways depending on how the discussion is developed. In fact it has to be remarked that focus groups are one shot case studies, so their validity is limited unless they are repeated in time and with different respondents.

Another issue regards the setting. In the case the focus group is held in a very formal room with an obtrusive Dictaphone the interviewees may respond and interact according to what they think the moderator want from them. To solve this issue in the present experiment was created an informal atmosphere where people can be confident to express their point of view.

Furthermore it is hard to establish if the dynamics of the group have influenced the interviewees opinions, or if alone they would have answered to the questions in the same way. To analyze this aspect the members of the group have to express their viewpoint about the first campaign, that will be later on presented and discussed during the group. The aim of these questions is determining interviewees opinion before entering in the group and discovering possible discrepancies. The preparatory questionnaire also ask whether the participants to the group were aware of nudging communication methods. The questionnaires are overall reported in Appendix 3 of this thesis.

In this case everyone answered to have no conscious knowledge of the concept, even though they may have been subjected to nudging before. As far as regards discrepancies between conclusion of the group and personal conclusions, this matter will be treated later on in this Analysis section whether will occur such problems.

Another typical recurring problem of the groups identified by Vicsek (2010) is the group tendency to agree on a common conclusion known as “groupthink”, even though it is clearly stated that the aim of the focus group is just gathering the different opinion about the topic. This tendency may lead to answers that are less differentiated than in the case of an individual interview.

In this case the focus group did, however, come to some disagreements. It must be reported and highlighted the deplorable fact that in most of the cases the minority point of view and its related arguments were presented with less aggression and persuasiveness respect to the majority opinion. In these occasions of contrast inside the group, there was the attempt by the interviewees to distract the attention from the problems and continue the discussion in another direction.

5.2. Approach and outline of the analysis

The subsequent qualitative analysis will be aimed at answering my problem statement. It will be operated an analysis of the phrases and discourses pronounced by the participants to the focus group, in particular it will be assessed if their utterances express a more positive attitudes towards the campaigns that employ the nudge or the ones that don't do it.

The present section will be divided in ten parts, accordingly to the ten social marketing communication example proposed. Each part will contain the most relevant utterances, chosen accordingly with the identification of any expression transmitting attitudinal or emotional position towards the referring campaign.

The reported utterances will be contextually commented and analyzed on the basis of the two framework proposed in sections 3.7 and 3.8 of this thesis to assess their positivity or negativity. Relevant words included in the reported quotes and connected to those frameworks will be marked by using bold characters. These bold terms will be clearly the expressions of respondent positive or negative attitude factors (Batra, 1991) and emotional terminology (Johnson-Laird and Oatley, 1989), their close synonyms or phrases that refer to a term of those lists. Furthermore it will be individuated both recurring patterns in the respondents answers and changing of opinions due to the group interactions respect to the communication strategies proposed.

The complete discussion in Italian language made during the focus group is reported in Appendix 2 of this thesis. Since the thesis is totally wrote in English, in the present section will be presented just the English translation of the corresponding Italian sentence pronounced during the focus group.

To start the conversation on each single example it was asked by the moderator to the respondents whether they liked or not the campaign, their opinion on the communication strategy and whether they would pay attention to it in any way.

5.3. Example number one – Non-nudging

The first strategy showed to the focus group is the one previously presented in the individual questionnaire. It was adopted this procedure to have the respondents already prepared to answer with something they had already reflected about, breaking also the ice of initial suspect about the experiment.

The campaign can be described as a non-nudging informative message aimed to the promotion of an healthy lifestyle. The communicative product is a campaign poster with the image of a man taking the stairs with the attached wording “Burn calories, not electricity. Take the stairs.”

It was further explained that this poster was attached next to an elevator inviting people to not use it but instead taking the close stairs.

When asked what the respondents thought about this strategy, key utterances were stated as in the following:

[1:38] D: ...*a person that intend to take the elevator **doesn't care** about this. There is the risk to ignore those little words, I think the message is **not particularly engaging**.*

This utterance illustrate the attitude of the respondent towards the campaign and manifestly the intention of not following the given indication. This can be grasped by the fact “D” is using the expressions *not care* and *not engaging*. Both these words would fall in the positive list by Batra respectively as synonyms of *like* and *interesting*, but they are employed with a negation in front of them that obviously give the opposite connotation. It is relevant to highlights that she thinks the wording is too little to be even noted by people. This point of view is sustained also by the respondent “I” who stressed the fact that the wording part of the sign it’s hardly readable and most part of the focus group components agreed on this issue.

[0:53] I: ...*For instance the text part on the bottom I can **hardly** read it, a person who see this sign will never read everything.*

[2:15] G: *I see **everywhere signs of this kind**, you barely notice them, they don't catch anymore people attention.*

[4:53] F: *You see this sign in front of you but you don't read it, it is like the don't smoke sign that you **continuously see**, what is the **meaning** of reading it?*

“F” and “G” way of expressing towards the strategy encourage to think that their indifference is significant of a negative emotional outcome of the message. Furthermore, they state that they will not register the message in itself, but purely note that there was a sign. Thus, the problem of the message is in the transmission process, since the target is positioned neutrally or negatively towards the communication method. These kind of people would not be attentive to this communication as they regards the sign as something they have seen lot of times before, and therefore they unconsciously ignore it. However, at this point when it seemed that everybody were negatively positioned towards this campaign, respondent “M” disagreed with the rest of the group and stated clearly his contrary opinion. He judges as important this simple poster since to describe his attitude he uses the positive words *valuable* and *sensible* in Batra’s list. It seems that the value this respondent attach to this communication’s strategy is mainly due to its simplicity and linearity.

[2:20] M: *I regard this sign as **valuable** because of the low profile, it gives you the information next to the elevator and if you are **sensible** to the issue you take the stairs, if not you take the elevator...*

In the questionnaire he said to be a 56 technical manager and its opinion about this strategy is the following:

“It’s a good win-win strategy, both for the firm who saves electricity and for people who can train.”

In his interpretation of this communication system he’s very pragmatic, maybe reflecting its technical mentality typical of his job. Probably he is just thinking about the legibility and clearness of this strategy and not about the effectiveness of the communication. However further analysis will be done on this respondent since he is the one that more often move away from majority opinion. This behavior seems to convince the other participants of the focus group to think again to the issue in question and sometimes to change their minds. In fact from this moment started to intervene all the people that were silent in the first part of the conversation, but who actually liked the campaign as respondent H that highlights its educational message.

[6:15] H: *In this sign there is an educative message...*

Summing up the opinions expressed in the questionnaire it is possible to notice that this communication strategy is judged as positive by a total of 5 people out of 12 participants, and they were all over 50 with the single exception of respondent “H” that is 25. A generalization of this

finding is not possible given the small number of participants to the experiment, but this opposite orientation of the younger part of the group respect to the older one can be observed during all the conversation. Therefore it will be provided further attention to this issue in the conclusion section of this thesis.

5.4. Example number two – Nudging

The second presented campaign is always regarding the promotion of an healthy lifestyle, but this time employing nudges. It is noteworthy to specify that this communication example coupled with the corresponding non nudging campaign also appeared in the preparation questionnaire that was handed out and filled in before the interview. It was adopted this way of proceeding because the participants to the focus group were able to analyze the two different strategies one after the other and provide also an opinion on the comparison between them. This approach also prevents the possibility to have different opinions on nudging and non nudging approach just because the topic of the campaign. This second example reports a nudge employed in Japan, that after the Fukushima nuclear disaster and the consequence closure of all nuclear power station, decided to make saving electricity one of the top priorities. In Kyoto subway station each stair has the numbered amount of calories burnt per step written on the steps. This should encourage people to keep fit, burn calories, climbing the stairs and saving electricity all at the same time exactly as in the first example.

In the light of the general overview proposed in the first chapter of this thesis, communication example number two can be interpreted as a system that gives feedbacks to the users while being used. In fact the calories consumed while doing the stairs can be assimilated to a constant feedback. Furthermore this communication example try to transform future aspect of the choice (taking or not the stairs) into an immediate result (losing weight) as exemplified in section 2.4.2.7 about choices over time.

When asked for the respondents opinion about this method several of the interviewees responded quickly:

[2:51] B: *It's more effective...., every step you are doing you read the kilocalories. It incentivizes to take the stairs respect to the elevator.*

Stating clearly that making the stairs does not mean losing kilocalories but just few calories, it is important to remark the word *effective* related to this strategy that is included in the positive list made by Batra. Moreover, 'B' refers to the strategy as *an incentive*, indicating the positive attitude inspired by the campaign.

[5:23] I: *I like the fact that the other one has not a single written word, but it says much more things with just some numbers. You are doing a reasoning by yourself and you are finding out what does it mean the message while here you find everything there, it's much more trivial at a communicative level. The other one make you **curious**, **surprise** you much more.*

In this utterance it is possible to apply both the frameworks introduced in the last two sections of chapter 2 and better analyzed respect to the methodology employed in this thesis in this current section. In fact, in the first part of the sentence it's clear that the respondent "I" is positively positioned towards the campaign that employs the nudges since he uses the verb *like* (described as feeling happiness in relation to someone or something) that belong to the positive list made by Batra. Furthermore it's possible to recover a positive attitude towards this example because the respondent states that the campaign is meaningful to him, even though the campaign is not paired to any explanatory text.

It is possible to understand his positive approach also through the emotion words pronounced at the very end of the phrase. The respondent assert to be *curious* and *surprised* by the campaign. According to the list of emotion words written by Johnson-Laird and Oatley both this adjective are related to a positive attitude. In fact surprise is said to cause an unexpected onset of an emotion, that is actually what the creators of this campaign wanted to provoke in people. If individuals start thinking at the problem, this means that at least they are considering the issue and they are stimulated to reflect on it. The other word used by the respondent "I" permits to explain in depth the functioning of the list written by Johnson-Laird and Oatley. Here curiosity is described as desire to know that is not self explanatory by itself. This is because in this occasion the word is defined on the basis of another emotion word in the list, remarkably desire in this case that refers to having a goal, which if attained cause happiness. Happiness is surely a positive emotions, therefore the respondent is definitely performing a positive attitude towards this example considering both the frameworks.

When respondent "M", the most critical towards the nudge communication method, intervened saying that the strategy would provide a negative attitude in people who face such a stair, as it is possible to observe in "M" following reported utterance, almost all the women in the room reacted. In particular "M" employed the word *annoying*, present in Batra's list and *insistent*, a very close synonym of the first term.

[2:20] M: *...I perceive it as **annoying** and **insistent**, every step you are doing you read the calories.*

[3:35] E: *I don't think so*

[3:36] C: *When I arrive to the top I know that I burned 100 calories.*

[3:40] D: *For people interested to those kind of objectives, a stair like this one gives you some objectives, i know that to do this i have to go there. I think it's **tempting**. You see this stair several times per day, sooner or later you realize it's there.*

[4:38] F: *If i have to take the stairs I have to be **motivated**, this gives me a **motivation** to do it and it says step by step what I lose in the meanwhile.*

This common women reaction was in some way expected by the author of the thesis since the promotion of an healthy lifestyle is a topic that is a common interest between the female part of the population. In particular “D” highlighted the fact that the strategy is tempting (Batra, 1991) and the fact that it gives some objectives to be reached. For each intermediate objective reached people are somehow compensated by seeing how much calories they actually lost. Furthermore respondent “D” and more in details “F” introduced the concept of *motivating* people (Batra, 1991). According to the group this strategy of communication gives incentives to people to do things and to think about the issue in question. The mix between inner motivation and intermediate objective makes this strategy particularly appealing to the eyes of the respondents. Respondent B introduced the possibility of associating to each step an image of the calories consumed.

[7:15] A: *It would be **cool** associate the image of a corresponding food to the calories lost, for instance you know that after ten steps you digested an hamburger!*

This possible modification suggested by “B” would have made even more evident the feedback for the receivers of the message as marked at the beginning of this section. However this change couldn't be realized, since probably the calories consumed in a single stairs don't correspond to a food big enough!

Final sentence about this campaign summarize group thinking through the word *dynamic*. Respondent “C” highlights also the fact that in this campaign the consumers were taken to question themselves, contrasting with first example proposed where the communication was perceived as *old* and *static*.

[7:05] C: *The first one appears to be like website used to be once: **old** and **static**, like a showcase. While this one is **dynamic**, the consumer is involved in the communication.*

5.5. Example number 3 – Non Nudging

The third presented strategy example is defined as a non nudging message pursuing speed reduction in residential areas. In particular it is a standard yellow signpost with a child crossing the road coupled with the wording: “Slow down, life is not a race”. As this is a standard sign, often used in the streets to reduce car speed, all participants to the conversation clearly recognized the sign, and were not surprised or astonished by its form or message in any way. The discussion was initiated asking if the respondents would pay attention to the presented sign. The most essential reactions to this question are reported in the following:

[8:35] I: *There are too many signposts along the streets, to take care about each one. I personally just care about the general situation.*

[8:45] L: *I mean, every 50 meter there is a signpost signaling that there is a potential danger. Most of them are just **useless**.*

Respondent “I” and “L” expressed common opinion in the group saying that in Italy this kind of signposts are overused and people are so familiar with their presence that think they are almost *useless*. Batra categorized this adjective in his negative list highlighting the fact that taking for granted something it’s the best way to starting ignoring it. This fact of ignoring the signpost is remarked also by respondent “E” in her intervention

[8:30] D: *It’s just a standard signpost saying “Slow down”... It’s quite **boring** – it’s obvious.*

[8:39] E: *You can’t clearly see each one also because you have to drive, you are not there to observe signposts...and after a while you automatically **ignore** them.*

Respondent “D” answer does not directly communicate her reaction, but it does state that the presented campaign *bores* her. According to Johnson-Laird and Oatley framework *boredom* is defined as a “mild depression of one that has not goals” which automatically excludes it from the category of positive emotions, and therefore, it is argued that the term defines a negative emotion caused by the interviewee’s cognitive evaluations of the text sign. Furthermore, his way of expressing his indifference towards the example indicates a negative emotional outcome of the message processing: *just a standard signpost*.

[9:00] G: *...While the other one is a normal slow down signpost that do not involve any emotion.*

Again it's possible to observe boredom of the respondents that in this case employed the term *normal slow down signpost* to share with the group the routine feeling communicated by the example. However respect to the previous utterances it is interesting to denote that "G" observed that this signpost transmit just a message and not an emotion. This can be interpreted both positively because it doesn't distract the driver and negatively since the message does not move the receiver. According to the group conversation, and considering the great quantity of negative terms employed to describe the campaign seems to prevail this second connotation in the interpretation of this campaign.

5.6. Example number 4 – Nudging

The fourth presented strategy example is defined as a nudging message pursuing car speed reduction in residential areas. The communication is implemented through some cardboard figures of children attached to the signposts along the roads. These figures should work as a deterrent to drive fast for drivers who see in their proximity children playing around.

This method of communication aim at involving first system in convincing people as explained in detail in section 1.1.4.1 of the first chapter of this thesis. In fact first system works good when people have to give an automatic answers in an easy situation, similar to the ones already met, quick response in known environments, unconscious and uncontrolled replies. It's the surely the case of slowing down in residential areas when appear some kids on the streets. In practice the central idea behind this nudge is to externally activate the first system to increase the success probability of a determined behavior.

When asked for the respondents opinion about this method there was an initial request for clarification as stated by the following utterances.

[10:30] I: *Honestly I would not understand it immediately, seeing these children cardboard figures it makes me think to some macabre images.*

[10:37] E: *...They look like some targets*

[10:39] H: *Are you saying that on my way I can find these figures attached to the signposts?*

[10:42] Me: *Exactly, there are these figures attached to the signposts.*

[10:46] H: *But...Is it explained somewhere the meaning?*

[10:48] Me: *No, it is not.*

[10:51] H: *Therefore I would have not ever understood.*

[10:52] L: *But you definitely have to slow down.*

[9:33] N: *This is surely a campaign with a **better impact**, maybe too much respect to the objective, however respect to the first one (referring and comparing respect to the slow down signpost) the consumer receives a **stronger message**.*

As this campaign was showed some participants were quite surprised from this communication method. “H” even asked for clarifications since he was not sure how the method should have worked. The fact that the example is not completely self explanatory is surely a weakness of the campaign but it is remarkable to note that only 3 out of 12 people raised concerns about the functioning of the campaign in question. Furthermore surprise it is described in the list written by Johnson-Laird and Oatley as the causing of a sudden unexpected onset of an emotion. It can be inferred that such an emotion has positive implications on the attitudes of people exposed to this campaign. After the first questions respondents “L” and “N” intervened clearing that, at least for them, the message was clear enough. Contrarily to the first respondents, for them the example is very convincing as highlighted by the terms employed to describe the effectiveness: *better impact* and *stronger message*. It is possible to find both this terms among the synonyms of the adjectives present in the Batra’s positive list, denoting a positive attitude. Throughout all the discussion of this campaign emerged these two opposed perspectives: people who were confused and surprised and people who were confident in the positive effect of this communication method.

After this initial approach to the issue the first concern discussed was surely regarding the long term effectiveness of the campaign, as time passes and individuals see for the nth time the cardboard figures.

[11:01] M: *I have seen in other places similar cardboard figures, but they were policemen. The first time you pass through that village you slow down because you think it is really a policeman. The second time you already know it is not, so you do not slow down anymore.*

[11:11] E: *You speed up and run over the policeman.*

(everybody laughed)

[11:14] L: *But the objective is different: policeman's aim is giving fines while the child signals that a life is danger. With the cardboard policeman you risk a fine if you exceed the speed limit and it is okay. But if you see such a cardboard the risk is to kill someone and should take you to slow down.*

At the beginning respondent "M" sustained the opinion of one-shot effectiveness of this kind of figures, by comparing the proposed campaign with another one already seen in the past which employed the cardboard figure of a policeman. After a short discussion group thinking can be expressed by "L" utterance where the interviewee highlighted the difference between the two campaigns. In fact the proposed example, contrarily to the cardboard figure of a policeman ready to give a fine to fast drivers, concerns the risk of running over a child and therefore the risk of killing someone. Despite the similarities the two campaigns were therefore perceived as diametrically opposite one from the other since the two associated risks could not be compared.

[13:43] A: *According to me the effectiveness of this campaign does not lower as time passes because you see the figures and they make you reflect. When you see them you definitely slow down.*

Respondent "A" motivates the long term effectiveness of the campaign with the fact that seeing such figures make people *reflect* to the deep reasons which took the municipality to employ these figures. Such thinking is further expanded by respondent "L", sustaining that is not important the meaning of the figures but the effect provoked, as detailed by the following reported utterance.

[11:56] L: *I think that the problem is not understanding what is the meaning of the figures but the effect that they provoke on you. The first effect is seeing a potential danger, and when you see a risk is the instinct that works. After that you start reasoning...they positioned such figures because there is a school, a crosswalk. But at the beginning is just the instinct that works: there is a danger, therefore slow down!*

It is therefore introduced by this participant the concept of instinctive action in front of the campaign. This is the very inner concept of nudging: driving people to do "good" things altering the architecture around them. In fact it is remarkable to note that according to respondent "L" the action would come before any reasoning, reaching the objective of the campaign of activating first system reaction.

Respondent "N" pointed out the fact that an explanation of the campaign was absent. He thought that if the figures would be coupled with a motivation panel the effectiveness of the nudge would be increased as expressed by his following utterance.

[14:42] N: *Here there isn't any other indication, but in the mountains I have seen the drawing of a child with the motivation, in this way the message become more meaningful. According to my experience people slow down when there is the motivation. I think that people can be very influenced by this motivation.*

Integrating the message with a motivation wording can surely be a possible improvement to this nudge. However it is to be considered that the wording has to be suited to car drivers exigencies.

As highlighted at the beginning of this section some participants were confused by the communication method employed and also later on in the conversation they maintained their point of view, even though they admitted the effectiveness.

[12:43] I: *Comparing with the very traditional signpost (previous non nudging campaign) that most of the people don't even read, this method is surely more effective. But I will ask myself: "Why are those kids here? Was there an infanticide?"*

[13:04] H: *I would slow down, the method is effective. But it would feel **uncomfortable**.*

As pointed out by "I" and "H", the receiver of the message can also experiment a negative emotion that reflects itself in a negative attitude. The term *uncomfortable* is categorized in Johnson-Laird and Oatley framework as "feeling embarrass", that is surely an emotion not researched by the creator of the campaign. The danger is that such a misinterpretation of the message can distract people from the real aim of the nudge.

Last point touched in the conversation is the comparison between the effectiveness of the different methods. Respondent "C" argued that the best method considering the two proposed is the nudging one, but everything considered a speed bump would be more indicated to the situation given it achieves the objective of reducing speed and does not affect in any way people sensitivity.

[14:30] C: *If I have to compare the signpost and this, I think that the latter is more **effective**. But if you put a speed bump is even more effective.*

5.7. Example number 5 – Non nudging

The fifth presented strategy example is defined as a non nudging campaign aimed at promoting hygiene in public toilets.

The communication is implemented with a blue sign with the image of a tap and two washing hands paired with the wording: “The germs stop here, practice good hygiene”. The panel is positioned in proximity of the toilet sinks.

This kind of communication is pretty similar to the non nudging method already presented since it is a traditional sign with a wording and an image. Given it was already diffusely discussed about this kind of communication, reactions were scarce and were mainly comparing the nudging method with the traditional one. For this reason and to ensure better understanding of the debate, the author of the thesis decided to comment the two campaigns together in the next session.

5.8. Example number 6 – Nudging

Also the sixth presented strategy example was aimed at promoting hygiene in public toilets, but this time through a nudge. The communication in this case is implemented with a soap dispenser with the wording “Germ alarm, press button to stop”. The dispenser in question is connected to the toilet’s door in such a way that it starts to play when someone exit from the toilet. The only way to stop the dispenser is pressing the button and therefore releasing some soap on the hands. Each of the dispensers also has a guide alongside it that teaches people how to wash their hands properly.

People subjected to this nudge are in some way forced to wash their hands. It was presented such a strong nudge to understand people’s reactions to a substantial variation of the environment around their choosing process. In this paragraph are reported also the comparisons made between the two methods since it was not analyzed in the previous section.

As soon as the presentation of the nudge was ended people autonomously started to express their point of view. Key utterances are following reported.

[18:17] I: *This is not a communication, it is an obligation!*

[24:09] N: *This one is **offensive!***

[18:24] M: *This is the exaggeration of the message, **unacceptable** for my culture. It forces me to do something, as I wasn’t able to think by myself, to evaluate what I did in the toilet, I find it **coercive** and **worthless**.*

In commenting this campaign respondents reaction was at the beginning unanimously negative. They were shocked from this communication that according to them could not work at all in Italy as in every civilized country. The terms used to describe this example were *offensive, unacceptable, worthless and coercive* that make immediately clear the negative attitude expressed by “I”, “M” and

“N”. These words are directly included in Batra’s list, but also *obligation* and *exaggeration* express the group point of view that was not limited to only these three respondents. Such a negative attitude towards the nudging campaign is counterbalanced by the preference for the other method of communication that was defined as *civilized* by respondent “E”.

[24:01] E: *This first one is more civilized.*

Such an acceptance is employed in a comparison with the other campaign, highlighting the fact that a sign is more suited to those countries where it is already present a common sense of hygiene in the population. However the proposed sign was not satisfactory enough because it was too simple and with the risk of not being noted by people.

[23:30] G: *But it is too simple, I would find more **effective** a sign that shows the effects of not washing hands. If it would be a sign saying how many germs I have on my hands and what could happen if I won’t wash my hands. I will find it more **useful** respect to one that says what to do, but without giving any explanation of the why.*

Respondent “G” would have better appreciated a more complete sign, more interacting with the receiver, maybe with an impressive image and a detailed wording. Despite all the initial negativity the participants started to think more in depth about the campaign that employs the nudge. Respondent “H” started this revaluation underlining the playful aspect of the nudge, that may be interpreted also under this light.

[21:50] H: *Do you know those WC where there is the new automatic dryer? As I like to dry my hands there, here I would wash my hands because I would be **curious** to experience the new system. I would not think just to the obligation of the mechanism, I will be curious, it will be like a game.*

Respondent “H” remarked his *curiosity* towards the nudge, that is a positive attitude according to Batra. Proceeding further in this direction it was tempted to analyze the reasons that took the creators of this dispenser to use it to promote hygiene.

[19:30] L: *The message is directed towards the receiver. It is never neutral, you have to calibrate and drive it toward the right kind of receiver. If in Philippines they thought to employ this system, maybe it’s because they have a problem of public hygiene. In other places where there is an high level it could not be used for the reasons all you said previously, and it could be considered as **offensive**. Maybe it depends from the interlocutor and the target you have*

[20:12] I: *Maybe also from the context, somewhere else could be considered even **positively!***

Respondent “L” and “I”, surely two of the more active in the conversation, considered that the campaign is often built up according to the exigencies of the receiver of the message. In their opinion this is the reason that drove creators of the campaign to adopt such an intrusive method. Culture of people has to be carefully analyzed when proposing a determined communication because cultural differences can be particularly strong. In fact a successful campaign in Philippines where people have a perception of space and time can turn in a offensive violation of individual’s rights in Europe where there is an opposed perception. The target of the nudge has to be considered either, in fact in some cases it is impossible to propose the same method to everyone, but the campaign has to be personalized accordingly to the characteristic of the receivers.

[21:46] B: *In an elementary school it would be **super cool***

In fact, as remarked by respondent “B”, the effectiveness of this campaign would be totally opposed in the case it would be addressed to another target. Children could be able to catch the playful connotation of the campaign, and could be able to learn an important behavior while having fun.

Conclusion of the conversation about this campaign is “M” utterance that wanted to analyze a numeric parameter to assess the validity of the method.

[24:23] M: *If someone would count the number of hands washed per unit of time, I think this one is more **effective**.*

According to him, despite the offensive method employed already highlighted before in the conversation, the nudge would be able to convince most of the people to wash their hands mainly because the forcing connotation of the communication.

5.9. Example number 7 – Non-nudging

The seventh proposed campaign is a text-based non-nudging *Please use the bins provided*-sign combined with the drawing of a man putting litter in a bin. Given the fact this is a standard sign often employed in Italy to reduce litter in the streets, all the participant to the conversation clearly recognized it, and were not surprised by its form or message in any way. The discussion was opened with the question if the respondents would take care to the issue and notice the presented sign. The most remarkable reactions to this question are reported in the following utterances:

[25:02] B: *Yes! I think dirtying is terrible!*

[25:03] A: *Exactly*

[25:05] N: *And I will tell anybody to use the bins, if I see them littering*

As it is possible to perceive from these first initial intervention respondents “B”, “A” and “N” expressed positive interest and emotions towards the aim and theme of the message. Despite this initial position subsequently the group specify his point of view respect to the communication method as “G” clearly stated.

[25:08] G: *I personally don't litter, but these kind of signs don't work at all. People still soil. The problem is that people know that they should not litter but they don't use the bin either.*

According to “G”, the presented example is regarded as *worthless* (Batra, 1991), for this reason the utterance has to be considered the expression of a negative attitude.

Another respondent intervened saying that don't littering should be something already learned by the great majority of people, therefore meaning that such a sign is unnecessary.

[25:10] C: *We **don't need** a sign that specify such an obvious thing*

[25:14] B: *You know since when you are a child that you have to throw the rubbish in the litterbin, such a sign is simply **superfluous**.*

[25:16] F: *I personally **ignore** those signs since they are almost everywhere*

Respondent “B” highlights the same concept using the negative term *superfluous* in Batra's list. “F” shows a negative attitude too, as she states that she does not pay attention to the signs and consciously disregard them since they are omnipresent.

All the precedent responses clearly state a negative opinion of this method of communication mainly for two reasons. Firstly the sign is ignored by the consumers and secondly is perceived as something superfluous by most of them since this behavior should be common sense to all people.

Subsequently to these first interventions it was asked from the moderator what was respondents perception about signposting used for littering control. Reactions were mainly positive as proved by the following reported sentences that show positive interviewees attitude factors according to the framework employed in this analysis.

[25:19] A: *I think it is a **good** idea!*

[25:20] F: *Informative signs are always **nicer** respect to banning ones*

[25:25] E: *I think people are **used to** this kind of signs. I mean there is a drawing and it is **wonderful**, so if it is the first time you meet the sign you actually may think about it. But considering that we are grown up with this, it's **time to change** now. You know, to be impressive on people's mind.*

Despite the positive impression of using informative signs it is perceived among the respondents the need to move on and to change. Even though drawings are associated to a positive attitude by respondent "E" she believes that this method of communication is old fashioned given the fact people are too used to this signage. Individuals have processed so many times this signal that now they don't care to it anymore.

Summing up, this communication example number seven was perceived as redundant in its form as it is expected that most people know that littering is wrong. Despite the ineffective sign proposed the interviewees showed a positive orientation and interest towards the subject of littering control.

5.10. Example number 8 – Nudging

Example number eight revolves around the same theme as the campaign illustrated previously that is reducing litter in the streets. However this time the message is not publicized through a traditional sign as before but with a nudge. Some green footprints are painted on the pavement and directed towards the nearest waste bin.

According with the definition of nudges provided in the first chapter the footprints on the pavement constitute a very classical example. In fact a nudge should not narrow the choice-set of the chooser or at maximum enlarge it (named the choice-set preservation condition in section 1.3.2.1.1 of this thesis) while being not determinant in people decision of performing an action (named as the substantial non control condition 1.3.2.1.2 of this thesis).

. If and only if these two conditions are respected it is possible to say that the nudge preserve freedom of choice of the consumers. The painted footprints surely do not constitute a determinant influence nor restrict the possible places among which people can choose to throw the rubbish. Their aim is just helping giving a possible further indication to the receivers. This is the reason of their use in multiple field and of their diffused success and application worldwide. Having respondents discussing on this kind of nudge will be meaningful of the Italian's opinion about this method employed by a lot of countries and municipalities.

Just after showing and explaining the slide of the PowerPoint presentation respondent "H" intervened and "E" answered him.

[25:30] H: *Come on, we have understood that the first method it is always the **worst***

[26:05] E: *Those are the two categories of **cold media** and **hot media**, where there is an exemplification, the calories counting or a sound...The second option is hot while the first one is cold because is **stylized** and **abstract**.*

Such an intervention made clear to the author of the thesis that the components of the focus group were understanding the logic of the presentation, with the proposal of a traditional method firstly and then a nudge on the same topic. The criticality of this understanding is the favoring of the nudge option coupled with the debasement of the traditional method. This can be deduced from the fact that “H” employed the term *worst*, obviously belonging to Batra’s negative list, to define the first method. Such a behavior from the respondents was regarded as the greatest fear from the moderator of the focus group. In fact a bias towards one of the two methods would have lead to biased results of the analysis.

However, despite this premature understanding, respondents were critical towards both the methods in the same way as will be demonstrated by the comments on this and next campaigns.

Since “E” had not a prior knowledge of nudges as demonstrated by the questionnaire filled at the beginning of the session, she differentiated the two methods defining the first *cold media* while the second *hot*. This definition comes from the fact that the first example was always *stylized*, traditional and everybody had already experienced such a communication before. On the contrary the second was said to be an *hot media* because they looked for the participation of people to the message. This is not completely true, but is surely a part of the functioning of nudges. At least this was what was understood by “E”, so it is important to highlight this aspect.

After this first introductory part not strictly regarding this campaign, it was asked the opinion of the respondents about this technique. “F”, the more aged participant to the group, attacked the method eliminating the moderator’s fear of a biased conversation.

[26:30] F: *I think the first method is **more effective** (referring to the traditional sign previously seen). If I see those footprints on the pavement a I will ask myself what is the meaning of this? I wouldn’t follow all the suggested path. It is more **meaningful** if coupled with the footprints there is written where the path is going, like in Venice where is written “WC” . So if someone is looking for the toilet can follow the directions on the pavement. This one could be also an artistic installation, it is **not clear** that if I have to throw the rubbish I have to follow those footprints. While if I read the signpost **I know** where I can throw my rubbish.*

After criticizing the first method, now that was asked for the opinion of a totally different communication “F” considers the first *more effective* because according to her there is not a clear link between the footprints and the place where they are directed to. However it is possible to find an important contradiction in her own sentence. In fact she said that the footprints can be confused for an artistic installation while saying that she has already seen a similar method employed in Venice and therefore she presumably knows the meaning. In fact with the continuing of the conversation “F” position was marginalized in favor of an appreciation of the proposed nudge, even though the author of the thesis thinks that the suggestion of coupling the footprints with an indication of their arrival has to be revalued. An interesting intervention was made by “H” that highlights the effectiveness of the method as people understand the purpose of the footprints.

[27:35] H: *While before with the cardboard figures we were saying that the first time is **useful** and then less and less as people see it more often here it is the contrary. Maybe the first time you don't get it, but once you understand that the green footprints lead to the litterbin it is **more effective**.*

As sustained by respondent “H” the usefulness of this nudge grows considerably as people become conscious of their presence. The concept is further analyzed by “M”, remarking that the footprints are useful in some places while in other they lose their effectiveness.

[28:20] M: *If someone explained you...for instance if they are in the school garden and the teacher said you that the green footprints lead to the litterbin it is **useful** because they signal the path to reach the litterbin even if you don't see physically it. But they are totally **useless** for the one time passing visitor that is not opportunely informed.*

“M” makes explicit the idea that the usefulness of this nudge is strictly correlated with the setting in which it is placed. Specifically places that are visited by the same people every day like university campus are perfect for the location of footprints while places with an high number of occasionally visitors are not indicated because such persons can't be used to this method of communication.

[34:51] B: *This example reminds me that, when I was at the primary school, we had those bins that looked like animals. Everybody really wanted to throw their rubbish in those bins just because they were **funny** and if something is funny you want to use it! And in this case it looks like the same, it's like orienteering.*

[34:59] G: *I always wanted to do that when I was there! And in this case you don't even need to force kids using the bins because they want to do it!*

These utterances show that it is possible to find a tendency of remembering *funny* strategies respect to traditional ones. Since *fun* is defined as an activity provoking positive emotion (Johnson-Laird and Oatley, 1989) it is possible to say that funny activities are linked with positive attitudes. It is therefore demonstrated that this method is effective also because involve amusement of participants in the communication as remarked by the term *funny*.

For this reason including a fun component in the communication it is appreciated by the receivers that will associate that memory with positive thoughts and feelings. The effect is not limited to the good experience lived, but it will be reflected in the future behavior of the person that will be encouraged to repeat that experience again in the future.

Summing up the reaction about this communication example they were generally positive, with the almost uniform appreciation for the footprints respect to the traditional signpost by all the participants expressed with the terms *nice idea* and *cool*.

Despite this substantial appreciation the context and setting of this campaign are particularly relevant. In fact positioning this communication in areas where people come back very often give better results respect to places that are visited once in a while. Also the positioning of the footprints is important: in fact respondents perceive as negative the fact that such footprints are located in elegant residential areas where they disturb the balance of the cultural context. They have to be located in places where there is also the ideal surrounding background to have a positive effect on the receivers.

5.11. Example number 9 – Non Nudging

The last two campaigns proposed to the participants of the focus group were about a theme already studied in the United Kingdom: make people paying taxes on time. The research was made in 2011 by Michael Hallsworth, a doctoral candidate at Imperial College London and adviser to the famous Behavioral Insight Team lead by one of the two authors of the book “Nudge”. In particular this team studied the behavior of a group of one hundred thousand later taxpayer that were sent a letter advising to pay taxes. The letters were of two kinds, one using a nudge while the other was a standard message (Sunstein, 2014). In this section is analyzed the latter. The text of the letter is the following: “Give back to society, pay your taxes in time”.

It has to be remarked that both the letters were exceedingly effective. The receivers of such letters were four times more likely to pay their tax bill than those who did not.

In a period shorter than one month, this experiment was able to generate about \$15.24 million in additional tax revenue. It is important to note that the cost of producing and sending the letters was almost null, so the benefits of the intervention were easily justified.

The discussion was opened asking to the respondent their opinion about the letter method and if they would take care to the tax issue. The most remarkable reactions to this question are reported in the following utterances:

[31:35] D: *If the community works good, you will be **incentivized to pay** the taxes.*

[31:40] I: *I doubt that in Italy **it could work**.*

[31:42] E: *It is very Anglo-Saxon.*

[31:45] C: *It's the **opposite**: the last year I paid taxes and I have not received anything back therefore now I do not pay. But it depends from the contest, in the Nordic countries, where everything works perfectly and people are civic-minded, you feel to be part of something that works. In Italy it is **worthless**, you will be **nervous**.*

[33:30] N: *For this message being effective it is needed an advanced society, the **sense of community** that there is in the North countries is totally different from ours. The message is **effective** in the north countries, but **useless** in Italy.*

The reaction to the message per se is positive as symbolized by the fact that “D” thinks it is a good *incentive*, that is a synonym of rewarding in Batra’s positive list. However it is possible to perceive a diffused skepticism on the possibility that the message could be positively replicated in Italy. In fact the respondents think that is fundamental a background culture that is absent in Italy and that they define as *Anglo-Saxon* or *Nordic*. There is the diffused idea among the participants to the focus group that in North Europe the State provide better services to people and this is a good reason to pay taxes. Actually they think there is not even a sense of community in Italy. As respondent “C” states, it is *worthless* sending such a letter when the State itself do not give anything back to citizens because they will feel *nervous*, that according to Johnson-Laird and Oatley is synonym of a bad mood that reflects back in a negative attitude.

This overall negative impression is surely associated with the theme of the letter, usually people are not very happy when they are remembered they have to pay taxes as respondent “L” says in the following utterance.

[33:20] L: *It's the tax theme what people don't like*

Everything considered there were just few utterances directly referring to the method of communication, not considering the country in which the communication is undertaken. And those were contrasting. Respondents "M" thought that the message was *polite* (synonym of respectable in Batra's positive list) because it didn't make any referring to people personal situation, it is perceived just as a reminder that is useful in the case you forgot a deadline.

[34:50] M: *This message is very **soft** and **polite***

[36:50] L: *Honestly, the first one was more **elegant**. It remembers very kindly that you forgot to pay taxes to this community that likes you so much*

Also respondent "L" was positively positioned towards the message since he employed the term *elegant* (Batra, 1991) to define it. Others respondents instead have a totally opposed point of view as "I" and "B".

[38:22] I: *This is directed to you with the **pointed finger!***

[36:12] B: *I **don't like** either the message "Give back to society"*

Respondent "I" highlights his perception that the message is intimidating, that is provoking fear according to Johnson-Laird and Oatley. Also "B" *disliked* the message, that is remarkably a negative factor in Batra's list. In the analysis of this communication it is therefore almost impossible to give a positive or negative connotation since the respondents were equally divided in their opinions.

It is to consider that this theme involve deeper the participants into the discussion respect to prior ones, since they are touched in something that regard them in first person. However, it is observed that only the respondents in age to pay taxes were involved in the discussion, while the younger part of the group kept almost silent. Despite this involvement in the discussion the attention was not directed towards the communication method proposed but in most part to the sense of frustration and depression given by the taxes, that is not what this research was intended to analyze.

Summing up in general the participants seemed negatively positioned towards the overall theme of taxes and therefore they described the communication as *depressing*. This term can be retrieved both in the negative attitudes list in paragraph 2.7 and in Appendix 1 as negative feeling related to sadness. All these linkages to negative attitude factors and emotions found in the phrases

pronounced by the interviewees state clearly that they want communicate a conflict with the theme proposed.

5.12. Example number 10 – Nudging

As example 9, also the last proposed campaign was taken from the research undertaken by Michael Hallsworth and the Behavioral Insight Team in 2011 (Sunstein, 2014). As prior example the campaign consisted in a letter sent to later taxpayer advising to pay taxes. However this time the text of the message consisted in a nudge: “90 per cent of your fellow citizens pay their taxes in time”. As highlighted in the previous section both the letter were effective in convincing contributors to pay taxes, but the letter that included the nudge obtained far better results respect to the other one. According to the Team the exceptional result can be explained with the “moral cost” perceived by citizens who had not pay the taxes with the receiving the letter. When the letter arrived to them they were able to realize that almost all their neighborhood had already paid the tax bill and if the moral question was salient to them they hurried up doing their duty towards the State.

The interesting fact is to note the approach adopted by the Team to recover the taxes due to the State. Usually the government threaten to punish delinquent taxpayers, but threats can create a political backlash, and enforcement is in most cases very expensive. Instead in this case were adopted descriptive norms rather than the habitual injunctive norms and turned out that a gentler approach can sometimes pay bigger dividends.

The reasoning behind this choice is that lamenting about an undesirable behavior can be counterproductive, because in some way the wrong behavior is emphasized. For instance, if the goal of the government is to reduce alcohol abuse, it may not be the best idea to announce that alcohol abuse is rapidly increasing, because people might think that heavy drinking is the social norm (and for that reason acceptable). The idea is to underline the good behavior and the fact that the great majority of people follow that direction.

When it was asked respondent opinion about this strategy some respondents immediately noted this sense of exclusion and diversity.

[35:17] F: *This makes you feel **different***

[35:40] H: *I think it is more **effective** than the other one It is like at high school when **you got a bad mark and everybody did well**. It is totally different respect to when you got a bad one, but also everybody performed poorly.*

The strategy perceived by “F” and “H” in the message of the letter is called social influence. People are influenced by what is happening around them, if the context is positive and they are the only

black sheep in the flock they are stimulated to improve their performances because they feel guilty. This is highlighted by “F” using the term *different*, a negative attitude factor in Batra’s list, and by “H” with the classical student’s justification to poor school performances. Actually the sense of exclusion from the society is the message that the creators of the campaign wanted to communicate to the receivers of the letter and this was understood by the components of the group. “H” judged this strategy as *effective*, synonym of a positive attitude towards the communication employed (Batra, 1991). However at this point the discussion, similarly to the prior one, remarked the presumed differences between Italian and British taxpayers.

[35:29] M: *If the correlated percentage is true it is more effective*

[35:36] I: *If it is written 20% or 90% is different...*

[35:38] N: *In Italy it would be 20%!*

Most of the respondents in fact thought that in Italy the percentage of citizens who pay taxes in time is just around 20%, therefore such a statement as the one proposed in the message is simply unrealistic. This common thinking about taxes payment makes the communication unbelievable for Italians and this is the reason why they consider it not very incisive. A further remark on this example was made on the communication itself.

[37:10] D: *But I think it’s different saying “I want that phone” because everyone has that phone and I want to pay taxes because everyone is paying their taxes... **You have to do that anyway!***

Respondent “C” argued that it is not possible to adopt the social influence strategy in this case mainly because of the theme. According to her is much harder convince people to pay taxes respect to following a new trend or buying something. She considers that paying taxes is something due and therefore could not being affected by the behavior of the others.

However, respect to the previous message conversation, this time the participants to the focus group were more attracted by the message of the letter and less distracted by the theme of taxes probably because the message was more appealing. In particular the sense of belonging to a determined society is felt as a good way to communicate the tax issue.

[35:56] G: *There is the idea of **belonging to a society**. 90% of the population did something while you are out of the society because you don’t fall in this 90. It is an implicit way of saying the thing, but in a smarter way!*

[36:12] B: *This message would encourage me to **belong to the people who pay taxes in time**.*

[36:23] I: *It appeals to your civic sense*

In these three reported utterances it's clear that the idea of belonging to something is appealing to the respondents. This term in Johnson-Laird and Oatley list is defined as "evaluation that self is happy in relation with the others and vice versa". Since this positive emotion turns back in a positive attitude, therefore it's possible to conclude that the receiver of the letter should be driven to pay the taxes because of the sensations and of the *civic sense* evoked by the message. The result of the conversation made in this focus group in some way traces the result of the experiment made by the Behavioral Insight Team in 2011, where they had better results for the letter with the persuading nudge respect to the standard one. However, since the different perception of Italians respect to those people defined "Nordic" about the tax theme, the components of this group judged as ineffective both the letters. Therefore the results obtained in the discussion of this examples are purely theoretical given the fact that according to the respondents a practical application could not be realized.

Considering therefore that the conversation has just hypothetical grounds since the method could not be applied in Italy, an interesting conclusion reached is the fact that nudging don't provide to people a descriptive message but something that people can think about it.

[38:10] M: *This message force you to activate some mental processes, while the other one gives you the complete message.*

[38:22] I: *This message asks you where you want to stay, you can decide if preferring the 90% or the 10% side.*

In fact, as respondent "M" highlights, the receivers of the nudge message are forced to reflect about the issue because it is not complete. Whenever people have seen the message they are free to choose whether they prefer following the indication given or just ignore it. As all the nudges also this one preserves freedom of choice, but the context in which the person take the decision is altered towards what is supported by the creator of the campaign. People are driven in a direction but are not forced.

Summing up, this last campaign, similarly to the previous one, is regarded as ineffective mainly because of the theme of tax payment. For this reason, the participants attitudes were moderately negative, due to the message transmitted and to people associations with it. However respondents vaguely showed a slightly more positive attitude towards this campaign because it was employed a social influence strategy making the message from one part more appealing and motivational and from the other part less forcing than example nine.

5.13. Discussion

During the conversation was self-evident the diversity in interviewees answer and point of view between the examples that employ nudges and the conventional ones.

In this discussion section it will be recapped main differences and will be highlighted main findings obtained through this research.

The first campaign can be described as a non-nudging informative message aimed to the promotion of an healthy lifestyle, the communication was realized through a campaign poster with the image of a man taking the stairs with the attached wording “Burn calories, not electricity. Take the stairs.” The utterances analyzed illustrated the negative attitude of the respondents towards the campaign and manifestly the intention of not following the given indication. In particular it was sustained that the wording part of the sign it’s hardly readable and that people would not be attentive to this communication as they regards the sign as something they have seen lot of times before. Respondent “M” disagreed with the rest of the group representing a positive attitude as he judges this communication’s strategy simple, linear and readable. Moreover it must be highlighted the opposite orientation towards this first example by the younger part of the group during all this first discussion.

When considering the form and content of communication example number two, and first nudge presented to the focus group, it was expected a more positive reaction since this campaign sustains the promotion of an healthy lifestyle through a smart device. The fact that each stair in Kyoto subway station has the numbered amount of calories burnt per step written on the steps was regarded as an incentive to do things. Moreover the fact that this strategy is coupling inner motivation and intermediate objectives was particularly appealing to the eyes of the respondents. Finally was appreciated by the interviewees that the aim of the campaign is meaningful to them, even though is not paired to any explanatory text. In particular if the communication is perceived as new and create surprise between the receivers their attitudes would more positive contrasting if they were used to seeing it.

The third presented strategy example is a standard yellow signpost with a child crossing the road coupled with the wording: “Slow down, life is not a race”. All the participants to the conversation clearly recognized the sign, and were not surprised or astonished by its form or message in any way. Respondents illustrated that in Italy this kind of signposts are overused and people are so familiar with their presence that think they are almost useless. Furthermore, they expressed an indifference towards the example indicating a negative emotional outcome of the message processing since it does not move the receivers. According to the group conversation, and considering the great

quantity of negative terms employed to describe the campaign seems to prevail a negative connotation in the interpretation of this campaign.

The fourth presented strategy example is defined as a nudging message pursuing car speed reduction in residential areas, the communication is implemented through some cardboard figures of children attached to the signposts along the roads.

Since respondents were quite surprised from this communication method and this emotion is considered to provoke positive implications on the attitudes of people it can be inferred that the message was successfully transmitted. It is furthermore introduced by the respondents the concept of instinctive action in front of the campaign that is strictly related with one of the fundamental concepts of nudging: driving people to do “good” things altering the architecture around them. In fact, according to the interviewees, in this campaign the action would come before any reasoning, reaching the objective of the campaign of activating first system reaction.

The fifth presented campaign is defined as a non nudging campaign aimed at promoting hygiene in public toilets through a conventional sign positioned in proximity of the toilet sinks. Reactions to this campaign were scarce since it was very similar to the previous conventional examples with also similar drawbacks. Further, it has to be highlighted the fact that the respondents were not satisfied by the proposed sign because it was too simple and with the risk of not being noted by people.

Also the sixth presented strategy example was aimed at promoting hygiene in public toilets, but this time through a nudge for children. It has to be noted that the interviewees weren't communicated this fact, therefore their initial reactions were unanimously negative as the nudge looked offensive. In particular they were shocked from this communication that according to them could not work nor in Italy neither in every civilized country. Further discussing on this communication partially reevaluate the nudge, underlining its playful aspect. The respondents ended the discussion about this nudge highlighting that every communication is build up according to the exigencies of the receiver of the message, therefore knowing the target and his culture is fundamental to personalize the campaign in the best way.

The seventh proposed campaign is a text-based non-nudging *Please use the bins provided*-sign combined with the drawing of a man putting litter in a bin. Respondents expressed positive interest and emotions towards the aim and theme of the message. However, despite this interest for the theme, the participants clearly state a negative opinion for this method of communication mainly for two reasons. Firstly the sign is ignored by the consumers and secondly is perceived as something superfluous by most of them since this behavior should be common sense to all people.

Example number eight revolves around the reducing litter theme, but this time communicated through some green footprints painted on the pavement that should nudge the receiver of the

message towards the nearest waste bin. At the beginning of this discussion was proposed a categorization by the respondents defining the first displayed strategy a cold media, while the second hot one. As far as regard the communication it was perceived as effective, and this efficacy grows considerably as people become more conscious of the nudge presence. In fact positioning this communication in areas where people come back very often give better results respect to places that are visited once in a while. Further, it is highlighted that including a fun component in the communication it is appreciated by the receivers that will associate that memory with positive thoughts and feelings. The effect is not limited to the good experience lived, but it will be reflected in the future behavior of the person that will be encouraged to repeat that experience again in the future.

The last two campaigns proposed to the participants of the focus group were about paying taxes on time. The main difference respect to the previous messages is that this time both the communication employed a lettering examples. However the results of these two last example were similar, even though they were based upon two different strategies. The reasons behind this similar perception must be researched in the theme proposed, that was perceived as negative by the respondents. Further, the interviewees showed a diffused skepticism on the possibility that those message could be positively replicated in Italy. In fact the respondents think that is fundamental a background culture that is absent in Italy and that they define as *Anglo-Saxon* or *Nordic*. The text of the first message “Give back to society, pay your taxes in time” was considered as positively by some respondents and negatively by others. It has to be observed that there were just few utterances directly referring to the method of communication, not considering the country in which the communication is undertaken. The text of the last example “90 per cent of your fellow citizens pay their taxes in time” was perceived more positively as a tentative to social influencing people. However a respondent thought that it was not possible to adopt the social influence strategy in this case mainly because of the theme of the communication. As in the previous lettering example it was observed a common thinking about taxes payment that makes this communication unbelievable for Italians. Despite to this fact, respect to the previous example, this time the participants to the focus group were more attracted by the message of the letter and less distracted by the theme of taxes probably because the message was more appealing. In particular the sense of belonging to a determined society is felt as a good way to communicate the tax issue. Final conclusion reached was the fact that nudging don’t provide to people a descriptive message but something that people can think about it. This fact in some way force the receivers of the nudge message to reflect about the issue because it is not complete in itself.

Starting from the presented considerations about the examples proposed and discussed, it is possible to say that consumers have a more positive disposition towards strategies that employ nudging respect to conventional methods. In this final discussion section it is stated that consumers are attracted by this new method of communication since it is more informative than prohibitive. Given the fact that people usually don't like to be told what to do or what not do, it was observed that indirect communication strategies are better accepted and shared.

Moreover it was noticed that nudging methods often employ creative visuals that are appreciated by consumers because they create a link between the campaign and a real life situation, allowing therefore to the consumer to better understand the message.

These elements catch in a better way consumer attention, since they are perceived as new and different respect to traditional social marketing strategies. These conventional communication methods are so deeply rooted in people's mind that nowadays they are almost ignored.

Another strength of the nudging strategies is surely in the component of fun and astonishment that some of them transmit. It is possible to observe that littering nudges as well as conventional social marketing don't convey this message. This fun factor is important to be included in the communication because it is associated with long term memory and engages better the consumer. If the receiver of a campaign is surprised, interested or amused by it, usually positive opinions and emotions are connected to this method. This behavior was mainly monitored in the nudging examples. However particular care must be dedicated to construct fun nudges that could be perceived as offensive towards some specific groups.

This research showed that consumers were not particularly attracted by the textual nudges, but despite this fact it has to be considered that the tax theme was not particularly engaging. These two latter findings are symptomatic to assume that consumers are not attracted by all the nudges in equal way, with some of them preferred while others are not understood or negatively positioned.

Moreover it is possible to draw that, in the case consumers become too acquainted with some specific communication, it will result in a negative attitude that could lead also to ignore the abused strategy. In fact one of the main findings of this thesis is that people have to be continuously stimulated by being subjected to messages and communication's methods different from the ones they are used to.

Unfortunately this way of proceeding could lead to an overuse of nudges by governments, such as was done with traditional methods in the past. This inconsiderate behavior would generate consumers indifferent also to this communication in a world where it is impossible to distinguish from important nudges and unnecessary ones. This perspective was considered also by Sunstein and Thaler in their book and defined as a slippery slope where it is better not to fall.

For this reason it is sustained the idea that marketers should be very attentive in using nudging and employing such techniques only when they are for better people decisions.

It would be a pity do not exploit this new method of communication, given its effectiveness, but it would be even worst making it useless exploiting it too much.

It is argued that, in order to lengthen the employment of nudges, they should be modified every few years to maintain their curiosity halo that surrounds them.

6. Conclusion

As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the purpose of this research is trying to confirm or deny the hypothesis that Italian consumers are positively inclined towards social marketing communication that employs nudges respect to methods that do not nudge. Furthermore it has been examined to what extent nudging instill in the consumers a more positive mind-set and emotional associations contrasting with the approaches that do not rely on nudging.

In order to answer to this problem statement, a scientific theoretical approach of social constructivism was chosen. This perspective allowed to delineate that consumers choices are a function of their interactions with the other members of the society. Furthermore, this approach enabled to explain the consumer reactions to determined strategy of communication. Previous studies and investigations on this topic showed that conventional social marketing strategy were not able to satisfy the consumer request for an appealing and captivating communication. On the other hand, it has been demonstrated that nudges encompass in their communication such attributes coupled with a greater effectiveness in delivering the message towards the consumers.

The causes of this impressive efficacy are thought to come from the higher inclination and attitudes of consumers to prefer unconventional methods of communication. Therefore, through the methods incorporated in this thesis, the starting hypothesis were analyzed.

The methodology in question included two frameworks, that allowed to identify the attitudes and the emotions in the language of a person through a qualitative analysis.

A focus group was organized with the purpose of obtaining the data needed to perform this analysis. During this session five nudging and five non-nudging social marketing communication campaigns were showed to the interviewees, encouraging the participants to discuss about the phenomenon even though they were not conscious of it before.

Their most significant opinions were reported and analyzed through these two frameworks which enabled to provide a clear categorization whether the opinions were positively or negatively positioned. Throughout this qualitative analysis it was shown that the participants disclosed a positive attitude respect to the great part of the nudging examples.

Considering that there were ten examples about five different themes coupled two by two, with the contraposition each time of a nudging example with a non nudging example, it was possible to eliminate the consumer preference bias. This choice was made in the case consumer preferences would be different from theme to theme, therefore resulting in a distorting bias.

Even though the conventional strategies insisted on the same themes of the nudges, the great part of them were associated to negative attitudes by the interviewees. The main reason certainly is the people's overexposure to such traditional communication techniques.

Participants to the focus group judged the proposed examples on the basis of the characteristics that were important for them. These characteristics included the capability to catch people's attention, the ability of creating engagement and the innovative content. All the proposed nudges were able to evoke at least one of these conditions according to the interviewees opinion. The more negative impression rose from one example was due to the fact that the nudge was designed for children rather than for adults. In another case the negative opinion was related to the theme of the campaign itself.

Furthermore, the before mentioned conditions, judged as relevant by the respondents, were not present in the great part of the conventional social marketing campaign proposed. The reason of such insensitivity towards those examples is thought to be the inability to create engagement among the receivers of such campaigns coupled with the fact that most of the signs proposed are very diffused to be normally overlooked by people.

These reasons could be considered as an explanation of the negative attitudes communicated by the respondents.

The present qualitative analysis of the interviewees utterances has therefore demonstrated that Italian consumers are more involved towards social marketing messages in the case they use nudging techniques. This is especially because it was noticed that nudging methods often employ creative visuals that are appreciated by consumers because they create a link between the campaign and a real life situation, allowing therefore to the consumer to better understand the message.

Conclusively, it is also demonstrated that Italian consumers are led to ignore and be generally negative towards conventional forms of communication. In this light it is suggested either to limit the use of nudges and to renovate them every now and then, in order not to lose their essential properties that are also their main value.

Further, considering that the parameters according to which consumers judge a communication are continuously changing, it would be interesting to study how long people can be exposed to nudging before their effect will be vanished due to overexposure.

However it must also be remarked that the conclusions reached are subjected to the scarcity of the available data, coming from a single focus group, with all the limits to the research expressed in section 3.7 and the practical complications of dealing with a focus group analyzed in section 4.1 of this thesis.

For these reasons the obtained results cannot be generalized, but in any case it has been observed, through the focus group employed, a strong tendency of preferring nudging strategies from interviewees' profound reflections.

Concluding, nudging is surely a new tendency in marketing, with the ambition to give an answer to consumers needs for more original and captivating communication methods. The employment of nudges in social marketing communication is still at its beginning, so there is not a profound knowledge of consumers reactions to these techniques, this thesis at hand is intended to offer some observations of consumers attitudes and opinions about this new emerging communication trend.

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7. Appendix 1

This list written by Johnson-Laird and Oatley in 1989, as specified in section 3.8 of this thesis is intended to provide a semantic classification of any word that denote an emotion in one of the following categories: happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and disgust.

Building up this corpus was adopted the criteria of writing the morphologically simplest word such as “happy” instead of “happiness”. Additionally when a term has two meaning it is reported just the one that refers to the emotional sphere. Finally in the list it is not included any of the information that can be found in a traditional dictionary.

Specifically each entry of the corpus is composed of four components:

1. The emotion word.
2. The type of emotion word identified. It can be: generic emotions, basic emotions, emotional relations, caused emotions, causatives, emotional goals, or complex emotions.
3. A paraphrase of its meaning in relation to the five basic emotions. In this definition it is used directly a basic emotion or another word (written in italic) that belong to the list of terms that are analyzed as a basic emotion. For example, “conceit” is paraphrased as “*pride* that the speaker regards as unmerited”, and “pride” in turn is paraphrased as “happiness with self as a result of a high opinion of self in relation to others”.
4. A code (F,C,T) indicating in which one of three main sources employed to write the list it can be recovered the word in question. F = Fehr and Russell’s corpus; C = Clore et al’s corpus; and T = Tiller’s corpus. In the case there is not such a letter the term was not included in any of these corpora.

Words Denoting Emotions

Abandon	Generic: uncontrolled emotion.
Abashed	Complex: <i>ashamed</i> .
Abhor	Relation: to <i>hate</i> .
Abominate	Relation: to <i>hate</i> intensely.
Admire	Relation: to take <i>pleasure</i> from another's achievements or characteristics (or to think that one ought to). (F, C)
Adore	Relation: to <i>love</i> . (C)
Affect	Generic: <i>emotion</i> .
Affection	Relation: <i>liking</i> or <i>love</i> . (F, C)
Affinity	Relation: mutual <i>liking</i> .
Afraid	Caused emotion: fear for a known reason. (F, C, T)
Afraid of	Relation: fear in relation to someone or something. (F, C, T)
Affront	Causative: to <i>offend</i> .

Aggravate	Causative: to anger. (C)
Aggrieve	Causative: to anger. (C)
Agitate	Causative: to cause fear. (C, T)
Agony	Caused emotion: intense <i>pain</i> . (C)
Alarm	Causative: to <i>frighten</i> . (C)
Alienate	Causative: to cause to cease to <i>like</i> . (T)
Alienated	Complex: mild <i>anxiety</i> or <i>depression</i> as a result of an evaluation of self as not in emotional relation with others. (T)
Alleviate	Causative: to reduce <i>pain</i> .
Amaze	Causative: to <i>surprise</i> . (F, C)
Ambivalent	Generic: an uncertainty about which emotion one feels. (F)
Amorous	Emotional goal: <i>desiring love</i> . (T)
Amuse	Causative: to <i>entertain</i> , perhaps by way of humour. (F, C)
Anger	Basic emotion. Causative: to cause anger in someone. (F, C, T)
Angry	Basic emotion. (F, C, T)
Angry with	Relation: to feel anger towards someone or something. (F, C, T)
Anguish	Caused emotion: intense <i>pain</i> . (F, C)
Animosity	Relation: <i>hatred</i> for someone that may be expressed in anger. (F, C)
Annoy	Causative: to anger. (F, C, T)
Antagonism	Relation: <i>hatred</i> , or its expression.
Antipathy	Relation: <i>dislike</i> .
Anxious	Basic: fearful, mood. (F, C, T)
Apathy	Basic: mild <i>depression</i> or lack of response. (C)
Aplomb	Complex: <i>self-confident</i> .
Appal	Causative: to <i>horrify</i> .
Appease	Causative: to <i>calm</i> anger by <i>satisfying</i> a demand.
Appreciate	Relation: to <i>enjoy</i> . (F, C)
Apprehension	Caused emotion: mild fear about possible future events. (F, C)
Approbation	Relation: <i>approval</i> .
Approve of	Relation: to <i>admire</i> or <i>respect</i> . (C)
Ardour	Relation: <i>love</i> for someone.
Ashamed	Complex: <i>self-disgust</i> as a result of evaluation of self in relation to own and others' standards. (C, T)
Assuage	Causative: to <i>relieve</i> .
Assured	Complex: <i>confident</i> .
Astonish	Causative: to <i>surprise</i> . (C)
At-ease	Basic: <i>relaxed</i> . (C)
At-peace	Basic: <i>peaceful</i> . (C)
Attached to	Relation: <i>liking</i> or <i>love</i> .
Attract	Causative: to cause to <i>desire</i> . (F, C)
Avarice	Emotional goal: intense <i>greed</i> for money.
Aversion	Relation: <i>dislike</i> . (C)
Awe(-struck)	Caused emotion: <i>astonished admiration</i> . (C, T)
Bad blood	Caused emotion: angry for a known reason.
Bad-tempered	Basic: <i>irritable</i> .
Beguile	Causative: to <i>charm</i> or <i>entertain</i> .
Belonging	Complex: evaluation that self is happy in relation to others and vice versa. (F)
Bewilder	Causative: to cause mental confusion and perhaps <i>anxiety</i> . (C)
Bewitch	Causative: to <i>charm</i> intensely.

Bitchy	Basic: <i>irritable</i> or <i>hateful</i> . (C)
Bitter	Complex: suppressed anger as a result of evaluation that one has been wronged. (F, C, T)
Bleak	Basic: <i>depressed</i> . Causative: causing <i>depression</i> .
Blessed	Caused emotion: happiness for a known reason.
Bliss	Basic: intense happiness. (F, T)
Bliethe	Basic: <i>cheerful</i> .
Blue	Basic: sad, mood. (C)
Boldness	Relation: <i>courage</i> .
Bore	Causative: to cause <i>boredom</i> . (F)
Boredom	Complex: mild <i>depression</i> as a result of feeling that one has no goals. (F)
Bother	Causative: to <i>upset</i> .
Brave	Relation: having <i>courage</i> .
Broken-hearted	Caused emotion: <i>heart-broken</i> . (C)
Browned off	Caused emotion: angry or <i>depressed</i> for a known reason.
Buck up	Causative: to <i>cheer up</i> .
Bug	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Buoy up	Causative: to increase <i>confidence</i> or <i>hope</i> .
Burdened	Caused emotion or mood: <i>anxious</i> or <i>depressed</i> for known reasons. (C)
Calm	Generic: not in extreme state of emotion. Causative: to reduce intensity of emotion. (F, C, T)
Caprice	Emotional goal: sudden <i>wish</i> .
Captivate	Causative: to <i>charm</i> .
Care	Caused emotion: fear or sadness for a known reason. (F, T)
Care for	Relation: to have <i>affection</i> for. (F, T)
Carefree	Basic: <i>cheerful</i> . (C)
Careworn	Basic: fearful or sad, mood.
Chafe	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Chagrin	Caused emotion: sadness or anger for a known reason.
Charge	Caused emotion: <i>excitement</i> .
Charm	Causative: to <i>please</i> or to <i>attract</i> . (C)
Cheer up	Causative: to cause happiness in someone previously sad.
Cheered	Caused emotion: to experience happiness, where previously sad, for a known reason. (C)
Cheerful	Basic, happy, mood. (F, C, T)
Cheerless	Basic: sad, mood. (C)
Cherish	Relation: to have <i>affection</i> for. [to look after]
Chill	Causative: to <i>frighten</i> intensely.
Choleric	Basic: angry, mood.
Closeness	Complex: evaluation of oneself as feeling mutual happiness and <i>empathy</i> in relation to someone. (F)
Comfort	Causative: to reduce <i>pain</i> . (C)
Comfortable	Complex: <i>belonging</i> . (C)
Compassion	Complex: <i>pity</i> . (F, C)
Complacent	Complex: happiness from evaluation of one's current state, and, from speaker's point of view, ignoring dangers or difficulties. (F)
Composed	Basic: <i>calm</i> and <i>unworried</i> .
Compunction	Complex: <i>guilt</i> that inhibits action.
Conceit	Complex: <i>pride</i> that the speaker regards as unmerited.
Concern	Caused emotion: fear for a known reason. (F, C)

Concern for	Complex: <i>anxiety</i> or <i>sympathy</i> for someone else. (F, C)
Confident	Complex: a mild happiness as a result of evaluating that one can cope with a situation. (F)
Conscience-stricken	Complex: <i>guilt</i> . (T)
Console	Causative: to reduce someone's <i>sorrow</i> by expressing <i>sympathy</i> . (C)
Consternation	Caused emotion: <i>anxiety</i> for a known reason.
Contempt	Relation: <i>hatred</i> for a known reason. (F, C, T)
Content	Causative: to <i>satisfy</i> . (F, C)
Contentment	Caused emotion: happiness for a known reason, not <i>desiring</i> more. (F, C)
Contrite	Complex: to feel or to express <i>regret</i> about one's actions. (C)
Convivial	Caused emotion: happiness caused by the company of others.
Covet	Emotional goal: to <i>want</i> something that belongs to someone else.
Courage	Relation: control, or lack, of fear in relation to danger. (C) [a lack of an emotion]
Cowardice	Relation: inability to control fear, or actions motivated by it, in relation to danger. (C)
Crabby	Basic: <i>irritable</i> . (C)
Cranky	Basic: <i>irritable</i> .
Crave	Emotional goal: to <i>want</i> .
Craven	Basic: intensely fearful.
Cross	Caused emotion: angry for a known reason. (T)
Crotchety	Basic: <i>irritable</i> .
Crush	Relation: intense immature <i>desire</i> or <i>love</i> .
Curiosity	Emotional goal: <i>desire</i> to know.
Dampen	Causative: to reduce happiness or <i>enthusiasm</i> .
Dander	Basic: anger.
Dash	Complex: <i>self-confident</i> .
Daunt	Causative: to <i>frighten</i> .
Defeated	Complex: <i>depression</i> from an evaluation of oneself as unable to cope. (F)
Deflate	Causative: to cause to feel less happy or less <i>confident</i> . (C)
Degrade	Causative: to <i>humiliate</i> .
Dejection	Caused emotion: <i>depression</i> for a known reason (F, C, T)
Delectation	Caused emotion: <i>pleasure</i> .
Delight	Caused emotion: happiness for a known reason. Causative: to cause to feel happy. (F, C)
Demoralise	Causative: to cause to have less <i>courage</i> or <i>enthusiasm</i> . and to feel <i>apprehension</i> . (T)
Depress	Causative: to cause <i>depression</i> . (C, T)
Depression	Basic: sadness and lack of responsiveness, or psychopathological state including sadness (C, T)
Desire	Emotional goal: to have a goal, which may be sexual, and which if attained causes happiness. (F, C, T)
Desolate	Caused emotion: intense sadness for a known reason. Causative: to cause intense sadness.
Despair	Complex: intense sadness and lack of <i>hope</i> as a result of inability to achieve goals. (F, C, T)
Despise	Relation: to <i>hate</i> . (C)
Despondent	Basic: <i>depressed</i> . (C)
Determined	Emotional goal: having a <i>desire</i> with no intention of allowing oneself to be prevented from achieving it. (C)

Detest	Relation: to <i>hate</i> . (C)
Devoted to	Relation: to <i>love</i> . (F, C, T)
Disaffected	Complex: <i>alienated</i> as a result of <i>dissatisfaction</i> .
Disappoint	Causative: to sadden someone by failing to do something that they <i>wanted</i> (or doing something that they did not <i>want</i>). (F, C, T)
Disappointment	Emotional goal: sadness caused by failure to achieve goal. (F, C, T)
Disapprobation	Relation: <i>disapproval</i> of.
Disapprove of	Relation: not to <i>approve of</i> . (C)
Discomfit	Causative: to <i>discomfort</i> .
Discomfort	Causative: to cause sadness or <i>embarrassment</i> .
Discomposure	Caused emotion: mild <i>anxiety</i> for a known reason.
Discontent	Emotional goal: mild <i>frustration</i> . (C)
Discourage	Causative: to cause to lose <i>hope</i> or <i>courage</i> . (C) [to try to persuade not to do something]
Disdain	Relation: to lack <i>respect</i> for.
Disenchant	Causative: to cause to lose <i>desire</i> or happiness. (C)
Disfavour	Relation: <i>disapprove of</i> .
Disgrace	Complex: <i>shame</i> . Causative: to <i>shame</i> . (C)
Disgruntled	Caused emotion: <i>irritation</i> for a known reason.
Disgust	Basic emotion. Causative: to cause disgust in someone. (F, C, T)
Dishearten	Causative: to <i>discourage</i> . (C)
Disillusion	Causative: to <i>dampen</i> by revealing the truth. (C)
Dislike	Relation: not to <i>like</i> , or to <i>hate</i> . (F, C)
Dismay	Causative: to <i>discourage</i> . (F, C)
Dispirited	Caused emotion: <i>depressed</i> . (T)
Displease	Causative: to anger. (C)
Disquiet	Causative: to cause <i>anxiety</i> .
Dissatisfied	Emotional goal: <i>frustrated</i> . (C, T)
Distaste for	Relation: <i>dislike</i> .
Distraught	Caused emotion: intense <i>grief</i> , or <i>anxiety</i> for a known reason. (T)
Distress	Caused emotion: to feel sadness or fear for a known reason. Causative: to cause someone to feel sadness or fear. (F, C, T)
Disturb	Causative: to <i>upset</i> . (F, C)
Divert	Causative: to <i>please</i> by distracting from sources of sadness or <i>anxiety</i> .
Doldrums	Basic: sad, mood.
Doleful	Basic: sad, mood.
Dolour	Basic: intense sadness.
Dote on	Relation: to <i>love</i> .
Down	Basic: sad. [also "down in the dumps"]
Downcast	Basic: sad.
Downhearted	Basic: sad. (C)
Dread	Relation: intense fear of someone or something (F, C)
Dreary	Causative: causing <i>boredom</i> or <i>depression</i> .
Dudgeon	Caused emotion: anger for a known reason.
Dull	Causative: causing <i>boredom</i> .
Eager	Emotional goal: strongly <i>desiring</i> to do something (C)
Ease	Causative: to make less <i>anxious</i> .
Ecstatic	Basic: intensely happy. (F, C, T)
Edgy	Basic: <i>anxious</i> . (F)

Elation	Basic: intense happiness. (F, C, T)
Embarrassment	Complex: mild <i>fear</i> or <i>shame</i> as a result of evaluating self in relation to others. (F, C, T)
Embolden	Causative: to cause to feel <i>courage</i> .
Emotional	Generic: feeling or causing emotions. (T)
Empathy	Complex: sharing and understanding the same emotion as someone else as a result of imagining oneself in their situation. (F, C)
Enamour	Causative: to cause <i>love</i> or <i>desire</i> for.
Enchant	Causative: to <i>charm</i> intensely.
Encourage	Causative: to increase <i>courage</i> or <i>hope</i> . (C)
Endear	Causative: to cause <i>liking</i> or <i>love</i> .
Engaging	Causative: causing <i>pleasure</i> or <i>attraction</i> .
Enjoy	Relation: to take <i>pleasure</i> in an activity (F, C)
Enjoyment	Caused emotion: <i>pleasure</i> for a known reason, as a result of an activity. (F, C)
Enliven	Causative: to make happier.
Enmity for	Relation: feeling or expressing <i>hatred</i> . (F, C)
Ennui	Complex: <i>boredom</i> .
Enrage	Causative: to anger intensely.
Enraptured	Caused emotion: intense happiness or <i>attraction</i> for a known reason. (T)
Entertain	Causative: to <i>please</i> someone by an activity.
Enthrall	Causative: to <i>attract</i> or cause intense <i>pleasure</i> . (T)
Enthuse	Causative: to cause to feel <i>enthusiasm</i> . (F, C, T)
Enthusiasm	Emotional goal: strong <i>desire</i> to do things. (F, C, T)
Entice	Causative: to <i>attract</i> , or to get someone to <i>desire</i> to do something.
Entrance	Causative: to <i>attract</i> or to make intensely happy.
Envy	Complex: <i>hatred</i> of someone because one <i>desires</i> some of their properties or possessions. (F, C, T)
Equanimity	Generic: <i>calm</i> in a difficult situation.
Esteem	Relation: to <i>admire</i> .
Estrange	Causative: to cause people to cease to <i>like</i> one another.
Euphoric	Basic: intensely happy. (F, C, T)
Exaltation	Caused emotion: intense happiness for a known reason.
Exasperate	Causative: to anger or <i>frustrate</i> . (C)
Excite	Causative: to cause an emotion or excitement. (F, C, T)
Excitement	Caused emotion: intense happiness in anticipation or experience of events. (F, C, T)
Execrate	Relation: to feel or express <i>hatred</i> .
Exhilarate	Causative: to cause intense happiness. (F)
Exuberant	Basic: happy, mood. (F, T)
Exultant	Caused emotion: feel or express intense happiness for a known reason. (T)
Fancy	Emotional goal: to <i>desire</i> .
Fascinate	Causative: to <i>attract</i> .
Favour	Complex: to <i>prefer</i> .
Fear	Basic emotion. Relation: to feel fear of someone or something. (F, C, T)
Fed up	Basic: sad, mood. Relation: anger in relation to object, or person. (C, T)
Feel for	Complex: to have <i>sympathy</i> for.
Feelings	Generic: emotions or bodily sensations. (F)
Felicity	Basic: happiness.

Fervent	Generic: intense emotions. (T)
Fire	Causative: to <i>inspire</i> .
Flabbergast	Causative: to <i>surprise</i> intensely. (C)
Flush	Generic: sudden feeling of <i>anger</i> or <i>pleasure</i> .
Fluster	Causative: to cause to be <i>nervous</i> .
Fond of	Relation: to <i>like</i> . (C)
Foreboding	Caused emotion: <i>apprehension</i> .
Forgive	Complex: to cease to <i>resent</i> someone who has wronged one. (C)
Forlorn	Complex: sadness from evaluation of self as alone in relation to others.
Fractious	Basic: <i>irritable</i> .
Freak out	Basic: intense <i>excitement</i> or <i>anxiety</i> . [perhaps caused by drugs]
Frenzy	Generic: intense emotion to the point of losing control or of madness. (T)
Fret	Caused emotion: <i>worry</i> .
Friendly	Relation: feeling or expressing a <i>liking</i> for someone. (C)
Frighten	Causative: to cause fear. (F, C, T)
Frisson	Caused emotion: brief experience of <i>excitement</i> or fear.
Frustrate	Causative: to anger someone by preventing a goal or <i>desire</i> from being achieved. (F, C, T)
Frustration	Emotional goal: anger as a result of inability to achieve goal or <i>desire</i> .
Fulfil	Causative: to <i>satisfy</i> . (F, C, T)
Furious	Caused emotion: intensely angry for a known reason. (C)
Gall	Causative: to anger.
Gay	Basic: happy, mood. (F, C)
Glad	Caused emotion: happiness for a known reason. (F, C)
Glee	Caused emotion: happiness for a known reason. (C)
Gloomy	Basic: sad, mood. Causative: causing sadness or <i>depression</i> . (C, T)
Glum	Basic: sad, mood. (C)
Good-humoured	Basic: happy, mood.
Good-tempered	Basic: happy, mood.
Gratify	Causative: to <i>satisfy</i> . (C)
Greed	Emotional goal: an intense <i>desire</i> for something, more than one needs to be <i>satisfied</i> . (F)
Grief(-stricken)	Relation: to feel sadness as a result of loss of someone to whom one is <i>attached</i> . (F, C, T)
Grouchy	Basic: <i>irritable</i> . (C)
Grudge	Complex: <i>resentment</i> for someone, and <i>desire</i> to harm them.
Guilt	Complex: <i>shame</i> as a result of evaluating one's past performance as morally wrong. (F, C, T)
Gusto	Caused emotion: <i>eager enjoyment</i> .
Hanker	Emotional goal: to <i>wish</i> for something.
Happy	Basic emotion. (F, C, T)
Hard feelings	Relation: <i>dislike</i> or <i>hatred</i> .
Hassle	Causative: to <i>annoy</i> .
Hate	Relation: to feel intense disgust towards someone or something. (F, C, T)
Hatred	Relation: intense disgust towards someone or something. (F, C, T)
Heartache	Caused emotion: <i>grief</i> .
Heart-broken	Caused emotion: <i>grief</i> . (C)
Hearten	Causative: to <i>encourage</i> . (C)
Heartsick	Caused emotion: <i>grief</i> . (C)
Heartsore	Caused emotion: <i>grief</i> . (C, T)

Heart-stricken	Caused emotion: <i>grief</i> . (C)
Heated	Caused emotion: angry for a known reason.
Heavy-hearted	Basic: sad. (C)
Helplessness	Complex: <i>depression</i> from evaluation that one is unable to cope with events. (F).
High	Basic: happy, mood. (F, C)
Hilarity	Caused emotion: <i>mirth</i> .
Hold dear	Relation: to be <i>attached</i> to.
Homesick	Emotional goal: <i>longing</i> for home. (C, T)
Hope	Complex: <i>optimism</i> in relation to one's goals. (F, C, T)
Hopelessness	Complex: sadness from evaluation that events in relation to one's goals will not occur. (F, C, T)
Horrify	Causative: to cause <i>horror</i> . (C)
Horror	Caused emotion: intense fear or disgust for a known reason. (C)
Hostile	Relation: feeling <i>enmity</i> for. (F, C, T)
Hubris	Complex: <i>pride</i> which the speaker regards as unmerited.
Huff	Caused emotion: brief anger for a known reason.
Huffy	Basic: <i>irritable</i> .
Humble	Complex: lacking <i>pride</i> as a result of having a low opinion of oneself in relation to others. Causative: to cause to feel <i>humble</i> . (C)
Humiliate	Causative: to cause to feel <i>shame</i> . (C, T)
Humility	Complex: lack of <i>pride</i> from a low opinion of oneself in relation to others. (F).
Hurt	Causative: to cause <i>pain</i> . (F, C)
Hysterical	Generic: intense and uncontrollable emotion. (T)
Idolise	Relation: to <i>love</i> as a result of evaluating other's achievements or characteristics.
Ignominy	Complex: <i>shame</i> .
Ill-at-ease	Basic: <i>anxious</i> , mood. (C)
Ill-humoured	Basic: angry, mood.
Ill-tempered	Basic: angry, mood.
Ill-will	Relation: <i>hatred</i> .
Impassioned	Caused emotion: feeling or expressing intense <i>excitement</i> , anger, or <i>hatred</i> .
Impassive	Generic: without emotion.
Impatient	Emotional goal: <i>irritable desire</i> to do something. (C)
Impulse	Emotional goal: sudden <i>wish</i> .
In love	Relation: <i>love</i> . (C, T)
Incense	Causative: to anger intensely. (C)
Inclination	Emotional goal: <i>wish</i> .
Inconsolable	Caused emotion: having intense sadness for a known reason and that cannot be <i>consoled</i> . (T)
Indifferent	Relation: not <i>caring</i> for.
Indignant	Caused emotion: angry for a known reason. (C, T)
Infatuate	Causative: to <i>attract</i> intensely. (C, T)
Inflame	Causative: to cause intense anger, <i>desire</i> , or <i>hatred</i> .
Infuriate	Causative: to make <i>furiously</i> .
Injure	Causative: to <i>hurt</i> .
Insecure	Basic: <i>anxious</i> , mood. (F, C, T)
Insouciance	Basic: happy, mood.

Inspire	Causative: to <i>enthuse</i> . (T)
Intimacy	Complex: evaluation that self and other feel mutual <i>empathy</i> in relation to one another. (C, T)
Intimidate	Causative: to <i>frighten</i> . (C, T)
Irascible	Basic: intensely angry, mood.
Irate	Basic: angry. (C)
Irk	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> . (C)
Irritable	Basic: mild anger, mood. (F, C, T)
Irritate	Causative: to cause mild anger. (F, C, T)
Jealousy	Complex: <i>hatred</i> for someone who is evaluated as supplanting oneself in relation to an <i>attached</i> person. (F, C, T)
Jittery	Basic: <i>anxious</i> . (C)
Jocund	Basic: happy, mood.
Jolly	Basic: happy, mood.
Jovial	Basic: happy, mood.
Joy	Basic: intensely happy. (F, C, T)
Joyless	Basic: sad. (F, C, T)
Jubilant	Caused emotion: intense happiness for a known reason. (F, C)
Keen	Emotional goal: strongly <i>desiring</i> to do things.
Keen on	Relation: to <i>like</i> .
Kick	Caused emotion: <i>excitement</i> .
Languor	Basic: relaxed mild happiness, mood.
Letcherous	Emotional goal: <i>feeling or expressing lust</i> .
Let down	Causative: to <i>disappoint</i> .
Libidinous	Emotional goal: <i>feeling or expressing lust</i> .
Lighten	Causative: to make less sad or <i>worried</i> .
Light-hearted	Basic: happy, mood. (C)
Like	Relation: to feel happiness in relation to someone or something. (F, C)
Livid	Caused emotion: intensely angry for a known reason. (C)
Loathe	Relation: to <i>hate</i> intensely. (C)
Lonely	Complex: sadness from evaluation of self as not in emotional relation with others. (F, C, T)
Longing for	Emotional goal: feeling sad as a result of <i>unfulfilled desire</i> for someone or something. (F, C, T)
Lovable	Causative: causing <i>love</i> . (F, C, T)
Love	Relation: to experience intense happiness in relation to object, or person, who may also be object of sexual <i>desire</i> . (F, C, T)
Lovesick	Emotional goal: state of <i>longing for attached</i> person, with possible adverse effect on health. (C, T)
Low	Basic: sad, mood. (C)
Lust	Emotional goal: intense <i>desire</i> for sex. (F, C, T)
Mad	Caused emotion: angry for a known reason. (F, C)
Madden	Causative: to anger. (F, C)
Malice	Emotional goal: <i>desire</i> to harm someone. (F, C)
Mawkish	Caused emotion: intensely <i>sentimental</i> .
Meekness	Relation: lack of anger or aggression in situations likely to cause them.
Melancholic	Basic: sad, mood. (F, C)
Merry	Basic: happy, mood. (C, T)
Miserable	Basic: sad, mood. (F, C, T)
Miffed	Caused emotion: mild anger for some reason.
Mirth	Caused emotion: happiness caused by humour.

Miss	Relation: to feel sadness as a result of separation from <i>attached</i> person or thing.
Mollify	Causative: to make less angry.
Moody	Generic: sad or <i>irritable</i> moods. (F)
Mope	Basic: to be in a sad mood.
Mortify	Causative: to cause intense <i>shame</i> . (C)
Mourn	Relation: to feel or to express <i>grief</i> . (F, C)
Mournful	Basic: sad, mood. (F, C)
Move	Causative: to cause to feel an emotion. (C)
Nark	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Nausea	Basic: disgust. (C)
Nauseate	Causative: to disgust. (C)
Need	Emotional goal: to have a goal which if attained causes happiness (or makes good deficiency). (F)
Needle	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Nervous	Basic: <i>anxious</i> . (F, C, T)
Nettle	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Nostalgia	Complex: to feel mildly sad as a result of remembering one's happiness in past situation. (C, T)
Nuisance	Causative: cause of <i>irritation</i> .
Obnoxious	Causative; causing disgust or <i>hatred</i> .
Odium	Relation: <i>hatred</i> .
Offend	Causative: to anger or disgust. (C)
On-edge	Basic: <i>anxious</i> .
Oppress	Causative: to <i>depress</i> or <i>worry</i> .
Opprobrium	Complex: <i>shame</i> .
Optimism	Complex: <i>happiness</i> from positive evaluation of events in relation to one's goals. (C, T)
Outrage	Causative: to <i>offend</i> intensely. (C, T)
Overconfident	Complex: <i>confident</i> to a degree judged to be excessive by the speaker. (C)
Overjoyed	Caused emotion: intense happiness for a known reason. (C, T)
Overwhelm	Causative: to cause an intense and uncontrollable emotion. (C, T)
Pacify	Causative: to make <i>peaceful</i> .
Pain	Caused emotion: sadness or fear for a known reason. [also bodily sensation] Causative: to cause sadness or fear. (F, C)
Panic	Caused emotion: intense uncontrollable fear for a known reason. Causative: to cause intense uncontrollable fear. (C, T)
Panicky	Basic: intense fear, mood. (C, T)
Partial to	Relation: <i>liking</i> .
Passion	Generic: emotion. (F, C)
Passionate	Generic: feeling or expressing intense emotions. Emotional goal: <i>amorous</i> . (C)
Patience	Emotional goal: lack of <i>frustration</i> in a situation likely to cause it. [lack of an emotion]
Patriotic	Relation: <i>love</i> of country. (T)
Peaceful	Basic: mild happiness, mood; not in an intense state of emotion. (F, C, T)
Peeve	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> . (C)
Penitent	Complex: <i>repentant</i> .
Pensive	Basic: sad, mood, having sad thoughts. (F)
Perk up	Causative: to <i>cheer up</i> .
Perplex	Causative: to <i>worry</i> as a result of confusion.

Perturb	Causative: to <i>frighten</i> .
Pessimism	Complex: lack of <i>hope</i> from negative evaluation of events in relation to one's goals. (C)
Pester	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> by continual requests, etc.
Petrify	Causative: to cause intense and paralysing fear. (C)
Petulant	Basic: angry, mood.
Pine for	Emotional goal: to <i>long</i> for, with possible adverse effect on health. (C)
Pique	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Pissed	Caused emotion: to feel angry for a known reason (in American English)
Pissed-off	Caused emotion: to feel angry or sad for a known reason (C)
Pity	Complex: sadness for someone from an evaluation of their situation in relation to one's own. (C)
Placid	Basic: <i>peaceful</i> . (C)
Plague	Causative: to <i>pester</i> .
Please	Causative: to cause happiness. (F, C, T)
Pleasure	Caused emotion: happiness for a known reason. (F, C, T)
Poignant	Causative: causing sadness or <i>pity</i> . (T)
Prefer	Complex: evaluation that someone or something is more satisfying than other instances.
Pride	Complex: happiness with self as a result of a high opinion of self in relation to others. (F, C, T)
Provoke	Causative: to cause emotion.
Put off	Causative: to cause mild disgust.
Qualm	Caused emotion: brief feeling of <i>anxiety</i> or disgust.
Queasy	Basic: mild disgust.
Quiet	Basic: <i>peaceful</i> . (F)
Radiant	Basic: intense happiness. (T)
Rage	Caused emotion: intense anger for a known reason. (F, C)
Rancour	Relation: <i>hatred</i> or anger for someone.
Rankle	Causative: to cause (to be recalled with) anger.
Rapture	Basic: intense happiness. (F)
Ravish	Causative: to cause intense <i>pleasure</i> .
Reassure	Causative: to reduce <i>apprehension</i> . (C)
Regale	Causative: to <i>entertain</i> .
Regard for	Relation: to <i>like</i> .
Regret	Complex: sadness as a result of evaluating one's past action as harmful or wrong in relation to one's current standards. (C, T)
Rejoice	Caused emotion: to feel (or to express) intense happiness for a known reason.
Relax	Causative: to cause to cease being <i>tense</i> . (F, C)
Relief	Caused emotion: happiness as a result of something that brings to an end fear or sadness. (F, C, T)
Relieve	Causative: to cause <i>relief</i> . (F, C, T)
Relish	Caused emotion: to experience happiness as a result of an activity.
Reluctance	Emotional goal: lacking <i>enthusiasm</i> .
Remorse	Complex: sadness as a result of evaluating one's past performance as morally wrong. (F, C)
Repel	Causative: to cause disgust.
Repentant	Complex: <i>remorse</i> with <i>desire</i> to make amends. (C)
Repose	Basic: <i>composed</i> .
Repugnance	Relation: <i>hatred</i> .

Resent	Complex: to feel anger or <i>hatred</i> for someone from a belief that they have harmed one. (F, C, T)
Resignation	Complex: sadness as a result of accepting future <i>pain</i> to oneself, and deciding either not to pursue its avoidance or that such a goal is impossible.
Respect	Relation: to judge that someone deserves to be <i>admired</i> (F, C)
Revel in	Caused emotion: to take intense <i>pleasure</i> in an activity.
Revere	Relation: to <i>admire</i> intensely. (C)
Revolt	Causative: to cause intense disgust.
Rile	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Roil	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Romantic	Emotional goal: <i>amorous</i> . (T)
Rueful	Caused emotion: feeling sadness for a known reason.
Sad	Basic emotion. (F, C, T)
Sadden	Causative: to cause sadness. (F, C, T)
<i>Sang-froid</i>	Complex: <i>courage</i> and <i>self-confidence</i> in dangerous or difficult situations.
Sanguine	Complex: having <i>optimism</i> .
Satisfy	Causative: to <i>please</i> someone by an action that meets their <i>desires</i> . (F, C)
Scandalise	Causative: to cause intense anger or disgust in someone by violating their standards.
Scare	Causative: to <i>frighten</i> . (F, C)
<i>Schadenfreude</i>	Caused emotion: <i>pleasure</i> from observing others' misfortunes.
Scorn	Relation: to feel (or to express) anger. (C)
Secure	Complex: <i>confident</i> .
Seethe	Caused emotion: to be intensely angry for a known reason. (T)
Self-assured	Complex: <i>self-confident</i> .
Self-confident	Complex: <i>confidence</i> in self as able to cope.
Self-conscious	Complex: <i>anxiety</i> caused by awareness of one's self in relation to others. (C)
Self-disgust	Complex: disgust with self as a result of a low evaluation of self.
Self-esteem	Complex: <i>pride</i> . (F)
Self-hatred	Complex: <i>self-disgust</i> .
Self-love	Complex: <i>pride</i> .
Self-pity	Complex: <i>pity</i> for self, judged to be excessive by speaker. (C, T)
Self-possessed	Complex: <i>self-confident</i> .
Self-satisfaction	Complex: <i>conceited</i> . (C)
Sensuous	Caused emotion: <i>pleasure</i> in sexual behaviour. Causative: to cause sexual <i>desire</i> . (T)
Sentiment	Generic: emotion.
Sentimental	Caused emotion: excessive <i>pleasure</i> in observing mildly <i>poignant</i> situations. (F, C, T)
Serene	Basic: <i>peaceful</i> . (F, C)
Settle	Causative: to <i>calm</i> .
Sexy	Emotional goal: having sexual <i>desire</i> . Causative: causing sexual <i>desire</i> . (F)
Shake	Causative: to cause sudden <i>insecurity</i> . (C)
Shame	Complex: <i>self-disgust</i> as a result of evaluation of self in relation to own and others' standards. Causative: to cause such <i>self-disgust</i> . (F, C)
Shock	Causative: to cause intense <i>surprise</i> . (C, T)
Shook-up	Caused emotion: feeling anger or fear for a known reason. (C)

Shy	Complex: <i>self-conscious</i> and <i>embarrassed</i> . (F, C, T)
Sick	Caused emotion: disgust for a known reason.
Sick-at-heart	Caused emotion: sad for a known reason. (C)
Sicken	Causative: to cause disgust. (C)
Smug	Complex: <i>conceited</i> . (C)
Solace	Causative: to <i>comfort</i> .
Sombre	Basic: sad, mood.
Soothe	Causative: to make less angry or <i>anxious</i> . (C)
Sore	Caused emotion: angry for a known reason. (C)
Sorrow	Caused emotion: sadness for a known reason. (F, C, T)
Sorry	Caused emotion: sad for a known reason. (F, C, T)
Sorry for	Complex: to <i>pity</i> . (F, C, T)
Soulful	Basic: sadness, mood. (T)
Spirits	Generic: happiness or sadness.
Spite	Emotional goal: <i>desire</i> to harm or to <i>annoy</i> someone. (C, T)
Splenic	Basic: intensely angry, mood.
Startle	Causative: to <i>surprise</i> .
Stew	Basic: <i>anxious</i> .
Stir	Causative: to cause intense emotion.
Stress	Causative: to cause extreme <i>anxiety</i> (or bodily sensation such as pain.) (F)
Stun	Causative: to <i>surprise</i> intensely.
Stupefy	Causative: to <i>surprise</i> intensely.
Suffer	Caused emotion: to feel <i>pain</i> . (C)
Sulk	Basic: to be angry (in silence), mood.
Sullen	Basic: angry (in silence), mood.
Surprise	Causative: to cause a sudden unexpected onset of an emotion. (F, C, T)
Suspense	Caused emotion: <i>anxiety</i> prolonged for a known reason. (C)
Sympathy	Complex: sadness for (and understanding of) someone as a result of imagining oneself in their situation. (F, C, T)
Take to	Relation: to come to <i>like</i> .
Tantalize	Causative: to cause an unsatisfiable <i>desire</i> .
Tantrum	Caused emotion: brief intense display of anger for a known reason.
Tease	Causative: to <i>annoy</i> , especially by jokes or by being <i>frustrating</i> .
Tedious	Causative: causing <i>boredom</i> .
Temper	Caused emotion: anger for a known reason.
Tenderness	Relation: <i>love</i> or <i>sympathy</i> for someone. (F, C)
Tense	Basic: <i>anxious</i> . (F, C, T)
Terrify	Causative: to cause <i>terror</i> . (F, C, T)
Terror	Caused emotion: intense fear for a known reason. (F, C, T)
Testy	Basic: <i>irritable</i> .
Tetchy	Basic: <i>irritable</i> .
Thankful	Caused emotion: feeling <i>relief</i> . (C)
Threatened	Caused emotion: to feel fear as a result of a known danger. (C)
Thrill	Caused emotion: intense <i>excitement</i> for a known reason. Causative: to cause <i>excitement</i> . (F, C, T)
Timid	Basic: mild fear, mood. (C)
Titillate	Causative: to cause mild <i>excitement</i> or <i>lust</i> .
Togetherness	Complex: <i>closeness</i> .
Torment	Caused emotion: <i>anguish</i> . Causative: to cause <i>anguish</i> , anger, or bodily pain. (C)
Tortured	Caused emotion: <i>anguish</i> . (T)

Touch	Causative: to cause someone to feel happiness or sadness. (C, T)
Touchy	Basic: <i>irritable</i> . (C, T)
Tragic	Causative: causing intense sadness. (T)
Tranquil	Basic: <i>peaceful</i> . (F)
Transport	Causative: to <i>delight</i> .
Treasure	Relation: to be intensely <i>attached</i> to.
Trepidation	Caused emotion: <i>apprehension</i> .
Triumphant	Complex: to feel or to express intense <i>pride</i> in achieving a difficult goal. (C, T)
Trouble	Causative: to cause <i>anxiety</i> or <i>annoyance</i> . (C, T)
Try	Causative: to <i>worry</i> or <i>annoy</i> .
Umbrage	Caused emotion: anger for a known reason.
Uncomfortable	Complex: to feel <i>shy</i> or <i>embarrassed</i> . (C)
Unconcerned	Caused emotion: not <i>worried</i> in a situation in which one is likely to be.
Unconfident	Complex: lacking in <i>confidence</i> .
Uneasy	Basic: <i>anxious</i> . (C, T)
Unemotional	Generic: lacking emotion. (T)
Unfulfilled	Emotional goal: sadness or <i>frustration</i> as a result of failing to achieve goals. (C)
Unhappy	Basic: sad. (F, C, T)
Unnerve	Causative: to <i>frighten</i> or to cause to lose <i>confidence</i> . (T)
Unsatisfied	Emotional goal: sadness or <i>frustration</i> as a result of failure to achieve a goal.
Unsettle	Causative: to <i>upset</i> .
Unworried	Basic: not <i>worried</i> .
Upset	Caused emotion: sadness, anger, or disgust for a known reason. Causative: to cause sadness, anger, or disgust. (F, C, T)
Uptight	Basic: angry, mood. (F, C)
Vanity	Complex: <i>conceit</i> .
Vengefulness	Complex: <i>hatred</i> for someone and <i>desire</i> to harm them in return for harm they have done to oneself. (C, T)
Venerate	Relation: <i>idolise</i> .
Venomous	Emotional goal: feeling intense <i>malice</i> .
Vex	Causative: to <i>irritate</i> .
Want	Emotional goal: to have a goal, which if attained causes happiness. (F, C)
Warm(-hearted)	Relation: happy in relation to others. (F, C)
Warm to	Relation: to become happy in relation to someone or something. (F, C)
Weepy	Basic: sad, mood, prone to tears. (T)
Whim	Emotional goal: sudden <i>wish</i> .
Wild	Caused emotion: anger for a known reason.
Wish	Emotional goal: to have a goal, which may be unrealistic but which if attained causes happiness.
Wistful	Basic: mild sadness, mood.
Woe(-stricken)	Caused emotion: sad for a known reason.
Wonder	Caused emotion: <i>surprise</i> , <i>awe</i> , or <i>admiration</i> . (F, C)
Worry	Caused emotion: <i>anxiety</i> for a known reason. Causative: to cause <i>anxiety</i> . (F, C, T)
Worship	Relation: <i>Idolise</i> .
Wound	Causative: to <i>hurt</i> .
Wrath	Caused emotion: intense anger for a known reason.
Wretched	Basic: intensely sad.

Yearn	Emotional goal: <i>long</i> for someone or something. (C, T)
Zealous	Emotional goal: strongly <i>desiring</i> to do things.
Zestful	Basic: happy, mood. (T)

8. Appendix 2

In this following appendix is reported the Italian conversation registered during the focus group. In the thesis are reported just the relevant utterances translated in English.

Campaign 1&2

0:53 I: Molto tradizionale, non buca lo schermo. La trovo molto un messaggio non diretto anche se condivisibile ovviamente. Per esempio la parte testuale la sotto è difficilmente leggibile cioè uno che lo vede non si metterà mai a leggere per filo e per segno tutta quella sbrodolata la sotto.

1:17 Me Ho capito, quindi nonostante ci sia scritto cosa devi fare e perché dovresti farlo...

1:20 I: C'è scritto troppo

1:38 D: Condivido quello che dice lui nel senso che sì il messaggio è chiaro, però già il fatto che sia posizionato vicino ad un ascensore... uno che ha intenzione di prendere l'ascensore lo prende comunque a mio modo di vedere e quelle parole in piccolo rischiano di essere completamente ignorate cioè non è particolarmente accattivante come tipo di messaggio.

2:15 G: anche perché di cartelli così ce ne sono in giro dappertutto, li vedi e non li vedi, non ci fai neanche attenzione

2:20 M: Per me il valore è invece di profilo basso, ti do l'informazione e te la metto vicino all'ascensore e dopo di che se sei sensibile vai e se sei una cozza prendi l'ascensore. Viceversa l'altro mi sembra troppo invasivo e martellante, ogni gradino che fai ti leggi le calorie

2:50 I ride

2:51 B: Però è più di effetto cioè è un cartello e rimane fine a se stesso, lo leggi di passata così e invece facendo gradino per volta se leggi le kilocalorie ti incentiva di più a prendere i gradini che a prendere l'ascensore.

3:11 M: No perché la decisione di fare le scale la prendi all'inizio e poi non puoi più tornare indietro e se la scala è piena di gente non leggi nessun gradino. Mentre stai facendo le scale hai questo messaggio che ti martella e secondo la mia sensibilità tende a infastidire.

Reaction by all the woman in the room against M and common agree between them

3:35 E: Per me no invece.

3.36 C: Arrivo alla meta e ho bruciato 100 calorie

3:40 D: Per chi è interessato a quel tipo di obiettivo pone degli obiettivi quella scala fatta così, io so che per fare questo devo andare là. Secondo me è più invitante. Poi si suppone che sia un luogo dove ci torni più volte quindi lo vedi prima o poi, te ne rendi conto.

4:10 Me Sì anche perché è su tutte le scale della metro

4:12 E: Questo ha un doppio messaggio (riferendosi alla prima campagna) mentre il japo brucia le calorie questo dice anche no electricity quindi è anche un risparmio energetico ha una doppia funzione. È più completo

4:38 G: Se io devo fare le scale io devo essere motivato a farlo quindi questo cartello è qualcosa di banale che dice vabbé fai le scale e dimagrisci mentre quell'altro mi dà una motivazione a farlo e mi dice passo per passo quello che perdo

4:53 F: Lo guardi però non lo leggi è come il divieto di fumare che lo vedi di fronte sempre e quindi che senso ha leggerlo? Mentre un cartello di tipo diverso dove hai un immagine ti trasmette qualcosa di completamente differente. Magari anche lo stesso cartello ma con l'immagine della conseguenza che potresti avere dal non fare le scale e prendere l'ascensore ti dà un'idea diversa

5:23 I: A me piace il fatto che quell'altro non ha neanche una parola scritta ma ti dice molte più cose con dei numeri cioè sei tu che fai un ragionamento e scopri cosa vuole dire quel messaggio mentre qua trovi tutto scritto è molto più banale a livello comunicativo l'altro ti incuriosisce ti stupisce molto di più

5:42 E: ...è molto giapponese scrivere il messaggio dei consumi progressivi...

6:15 H: Con questo cartello qua c'è un messaggio più educativo che nell'altro non c'è. C'è un semplice conteggio, poi spetta al singolo fare altri ragionamenti. Qui ci sono due messaggi che uno è bruciare calorie e l'altro è risparmiare elettricità. Posso capire un messaggio ma nell'altro manca il secondo messaggio.

6:49 M: Questo mi ha fatto pensare ai messaggi win-win, vinci tu che bruci calorie, vince chi l'ha messo che risparmia energia

7:05 C: A me sembra come un sito internet di una volta, vecchio e statico, una specie di vetrina. Mentre l'altro è dinamico quindi l'utente anche senza grandi scritte è coinvolto nella comunicazione

7:15 A: Sarebbe bello associare l'immagine di un cibo corrispondente alle calorie perse, per esempio tu sai che dopo 10 gradini hai digerito un hamburger

Campaign 3&4

8:30 D: E' solo un normale cartello che dice rallentare.. E' abbastanza noioso, è ovvio

8:35 I: Ci sono troppi cartelli lungo le strade per prestare attenzione a tutti. Io personalmente tengo d'occhio solo la situazione generale.

8:39 E: Non puoi chiaramente vedere tutti I cartelli perchè devi guidare, non sei là per osservare I cartelli,... dopo un po' li ignori

8:45 L: Ci sono cartelli ogni 50 metri che segnalano un potenziale pericolo. La maggior parte di loro è inutile

8:47 E: Tipicamente usato in nord Europa

8:50 Me io l'ho trovato in Australia

8:53 F: Dobbiamo dire cosa ne pensiamo anche di questo?

8:55 Me La cosa che mi interessa è sempre sapere la vostra opinione su questa campagna

9:00 G: Questo secondo metodo mi dà delle emozioni rispetto all'altro cartello cioè qui vediamo delle persone e una persona secondo me rallenta perché implica l'aspetto emotivo della cosa. Cioè passano dei bambini quindi c'è un pericolo. Mentre l'altro è un semplice cartello di rallentare che non implica emozioni

9:33 N: Questo è di maggiore impatto sicuramente anche forse un po' troppo rispetto all'obiettivo rispetto al primo ma passa un messaggio molto più forte.

9:52 E: Quelli che ho visto io in Danimarca, Norvegia, Svezia c'erano...

9:54 Me Quindi sei stata soggetta a delle nudges senza saperlo?

9:56 E: Yees, ma davano il primo messaggio che avevo capito io Quanti bambini erano morti dall'eccesso di velocità nella strada. Il fatto di vedere un bambino così schiacciato su un cartone mi aveva dato quel primo messaggio

10:30 I: Io sinceramente non lo capirei subito, vedendolo delle sagome di bambini mi vengono in mente delle cose più macabre

10:37 E: ...Tipo un bersaglio

10:39 H: cioè lungo le strade ci sono queste bambini appiccicati sui pali?

10:42 Me Esatto sui cartelli ci sono queste sagome

10:46 H: Ma è spiegato da qualche parte?

10:48 Me No non è spiegato

10:51 H: Allora io non lo avrei mai capito

10:52 L: Però rallenti per forza

10:55 A: Però una volta che sai quello è un omino di cartone poi la volta dopo corri comunque

11:01 M: In altri posti ho visto la sagoma di un poliziotto. La prima volta che passi per quel paese vedi la sagoma e rallenti perché pensi sia un poliziotto. La seconda non rallenti più.

11:11 E: Acceleri e prendi il poliziotto

11:14 L: Però l'obiettivo è diverso, l'obiettivo del poliziotto è dare la multa mentre il bambino ti segnala il pericolo di una vita, con il poliziotto di cartone rischi la multa ci sta se superi il limite. Ma se vedi un'immagine del genere Il rischio di mettere in pericolo la vita ti dovrebbe portare a rallentare penso io.

11:43 Me Ti senti coinvolto da questo messaggio?

11:45 L: Io mi sentirei più coinvolto da un messaggio...

11:54 Me Lo capisci? Capisci il significato delle sagome?

11:56 L: Credo che il problema non sia capire le sagome credo che sia importante l'effetto che ti dà. L'effetto iniziale è che vedi un pericolo al di là del ragionamento ragiona l'istinto Con un messaggio del genere. Poi ci sta il ragionamento mi hanno messo questo perché c'è un passaggio pedonale, ci sono le scuole... al primo momento ragiona l'istinto : c'è un pericolo quindi rallenta

12:27 M: Effettivamente se è la prima volta che passi per un posto del genere e da lontano vedi una sagoma non sei in grado di capire sembra un bambino quindi scatta l'istinto c'è qualcosa di non chiaro cominciamo a rallentare poi si vedrà.

12:43 I: Poi rispetto all'altro che praticamente neanche si legge ed è molto tradizionale sicuramente più efficace però mi domanderei cosa sono questi bambini qua? C'è stato un infanticidio?

12:58 H: Io stessa identica cosa

13:00 Me Ma ti distrarrebbero dall'obiettivo di rallentare?

13:04 H: Rallenterei sicuramente, l'efficacia ce l'avremo ma creerebbe un disagio e direi ma cosa mi significa?

13:11 E: ...Io invece rallenterei per capire cosa servono queste cose, sarei quasi distratta

13:20 G: Forse con il tempo perde l'efficacia nel senso so già che c'è il bambino di cartone...una volta che lo conosco... di primo impatto rallenterei ma una volta che riconosco che là c'è il cartello ha la stessa efficacia dell'altro

13:43 A: Secondo me l'efficacia non svanisce nel tempo perché anche se vedi le sagome ti fa riflettere, le vedi e comunque ti fermi non è che ci passi

14:01 Me Comunque questi cartelli sono in una zona residenziale e potenzialmente ci potrebbero essere davvero dei bambini

14:08 D: Secondo me non sminuirebbe l'efficacia in momenti successivi perché mi dà il messaggio qua ci sono dei bambini che possono sbucare da un momento all'altro e quindi mi viene da rallentare Non sarebbe solo la prima volta

14:30 C: Se devi paragonare il cartello e questo, secondo me è più efficace questo. Ma se metti un dosso artificiale è più efficace ancora

14:42 N: Qui non c'è nessuna indicazione (al nord) ma in montagna da noi c'è il disegno del bambino con la motivazione e quindi diventa più interpretativo. Io credo che il motivazionale conti moltissimo, credo che la persona reagisca e si faccia influenzare molto da un eventuale spiegazione, probabilmente con la spiegazione sarebbe ancora più efficace.

15:28 Me Però pensa che sei in macchina

15:31 N: è molto grande la scritta, è molto visiva e dalla mia esperienza la gente rallenta fortemente quando c'è. Già il disegno è frenante perché è accompagnato dalla motivazione, qui in effetti hai la fotografia. Un pò di anni fa mettevano la morte per terra, il teschio oppure la persona che sembrava

schiantata. Dal punto di vista emozionale ti faceva riflettere. Dopo se io ci passo tutti i giorni so di cosa si tratta

16:25 F: Però potrebbe avere anche effetti negativi, io sono in macchina vedo un bambino, mi distraigo e magari vado addosso ad un'altra cosa.

16:35 H: All'inizio vedo che è un bambino poi mi avvicino vedo cos'è e probabilmente avrei questa reazione

16:45 I: Poi li vedi alle tre di notte e ti chiedi ma cosa ci fanno questi bambini?

Risata collettiva

16:50 Me: direi che con questo possiamo passare alla prossima campagna

Campaign 5&6

17:40 N: Questo dove lo hai pescato scusa? Germania?

17:43 Me: Corea

17:58 I: E se non premi il pulsante continua a suonare?

18:00 Me Esattamente, quando premi qui esce il sapone e il segnale sonoro smette

18:17 I: Più che una comunicazione è un obbligo!

18:24 M: Questo è decisamente l'esagerazione del messaggio, inaccettabile per la mia cultura che mi costringe a fare una cosa come se io non fossi in grado di pensare, di valutare cosa ho fatto in bagno, magari sono andato a buttare via la temperatura della matita, un aspetto coercitivo che è per me inaccettabile.

Discorso sul fatto che il dispenser è pieno di sapone

19:30 L: Però probabilmente il messaggio va graduato al tipo di xxxx il messaggio non è mai neutro, si calibra e si dirige ad un certo tipo di interlocutore. Se in questa nazione usano questo sistema c'è un problema di igiene pubblica forse questo è l'unico sistema che hanno trovato probabilmente in altri posti non potrebbe essere praticato per il motivo che diceva lei, c'è già un alto livello e potrebbe essere considerato offensivo forse dipende dal tipo di messaggio, dall'interlocutore che hai, dal tipo di bersaglio che hai

20:12 I: Anche dal contesto, magari in un ospedale è diverso

20:14 E: Ma anche nei supermercati dove tutti mettono le mani sul carrello per spingerlo c'erano i sanitizer quei distributori di sapone ma non suonavano erano opzionali

20:30 Me: qui sei in qualche maniera "obbligato" a insaponarti le mani

20:34 M: E oltretutto non sai perché, non c'è scritto altro...

20:40 Me Affianco a questo dispenser c'è un cartello che spiega il perché ma non c'è sulla slide

20:45 F: Non si può paragonare ridurre la velocità al lavarsi le mani, l'urgenza di trasmettere il messaggio di lavarsi le mani è diversa da quella di ridurre la velocità.

21:30 A: Secondo me un conto è vedere le calorie e sei tu a decidere, qui è un po' imposta. Una cosa è un messaggio ed un'altra è un'imposizione

21:46 B: Però in una scuola elementare andrebbe alla stra-grande

21:50 H: Non so se avete presente quei bagni dove c'è l'asciugatoio automatico mi piace asciugarmi le mani là, e qui mi laverei le mani perché sarei incuriosito dal sistema come con l'asciugatoio dove mi piace me le laverei per vedere come funziona la cosa, non penserei subito all'obbligazione ma sarei incuriosito, sarebbe un gioco

22:30 C: La prima volta e poi la seconda?

22:40 H: Poi magari andando avanti se lavorassi in quel posto lì e mi lavassi le mani tre volte al giorno ed ogni volta suona sta roba probabilmente diventerebbe pesante. Ma se fosse in un ristorante o dove c'è tanto passaggio o ci capitassi per caso non mi dispiacerebbe, sarebbe quasi un giochetto.

23:05 F: Però potrebbe disturbare gli altri, se sei vicino al bagno e ogni due minuti senti l'allarme

23:10 E: Comunque direi che è molto sorpassata l'idea di avvisare con una sirena

23:30 G: Forse troverei più efficace un cartello che mi mostri cosa provoca se non mi lavo le mani. Tipo se ci fosse un cartello che mi dice guarda quanti germi hai sulle mani, guarda cosa succede se non ti lavi le mani magari assieme ad una foto di una mano con. Lo troverei più efficace di un cosa che mi dice cosa fare senza spiegarmi il perché

24:00 Me: Ma cosa pensate sia più efficace tra i due sistemi?

24: 01 E: Più civile questo (Il primo)

24:04 I: Più efficace il secondo, più civile il primo. Il secondo è una coercizione inaccettabile

24:09 N: Anche offensivo questo

24:16 H: Il secondo ti dice lavati le mani punto, l'altro lavati le mani perché

24.23 M: Ma se uno sta valutando il numero di mani lavate per unità di tempo è più efficace questo

24:28 I: Ma qui stiamo valutando il metodo di comunicazione

24:32 H: Ma quell'altro non è un metodo di comunicazione!

24:38 I: Mettono uno con una frusta ed è fondamentalmente la stessa cosa

Campaign 7&8

25:02 B: Sì! Penso che sporcare sia terribile!

25:03 A: Esattamente

25:05 N: Ed io dico a tutti di usare I bidoni della spazzatura se li vedo sporcare

25:08 G: *Io personalmente non sporco in giro, ma ci sono questi segnali dappertutto. E le persone sporcano ancora. Il problema è che le persone sanno che non dovrebbero sporcare ma non usano i bidoni lo stesso.*

25:10 C: *Non c'è bisogno di specificare su un cartello una cosa così ovvia*

25:14 B: Lo sai fin da quando sei un bambino che devi buttare l'immondizia nei cestini, questi cartelli sono semplicemente superflui.

25:16 F: *Io personalmente ignoro questi cartelli, visto che sono praticamente dappertutto*

25:19 A: *Io penso sia una buona idea!*

25:20 F: *I cartelli che informano sono sempre più carini di quelli che vietano*

25:25 E: Io penso che le persone sono abituate a questi cartelli. Intendo che c'è un disegno ed è bellissimo, quindi effettivamente se è la prima volta che vedi un cartello del genere tu ci potresti pensare. Ma considerato che noi ci siamo cresciuti con questi è ora di cambiare. Per rimanere impressi nella mente delle persone.

25:30 H: Dai abbiamo capito che il primo fa sempre schifo ...

26:05 E: Sono le due categorie di media caldo e di media freddo, dove c'è un'esemplificazione un suono un conteggio calorico... La seconda opzione è sempre più calda, la prima è più fredda perché è graficizzata è astratta

26:25 A: Ma dove è messo il cartello?

26:28 Me: Sopra il cestino

26:30 F: Io trovo più efficace il primo, io vedo le impronte per terra e mi chiedo a cosa servono? Non mi metto a seguire il percorso che mi fanno fare. Un conto se vicino al disegno della scarpa c'è scritto a cosa si riferisce come a Venezia dove c'è scritto wc e quindi uno che deve cercare il bagno segue le frecce per terra, potrebbe anche essere un'opera artistica. Non mi fa capire che devo andare al cestino e buttare via la carta. Magari io ho la carta da un'altra parte dove non ci sono le impronte. Mentre se leggo il cartello vado a buttare via la carta

27:20 E: Questa è inefficace decisamente

27:22 H: Ma quindi ci sono solo queste impronte che vanno al cestino?

27: 28 Me: Ci sono delle impronte a raggiera che convergono sul cestino

27:30 I: Io penso ai Ris vedendo sta cosa

27:35 H: Mentre prima con le sagome di cartone dicevamo che la prima volta serve e poi le altre no. Qui è l'opposto la prima volta non serve però una volta che impari poi vedi una città con le impronte verdi che ti portano al cestino e poi alla lunga è più efficace

28:05 D: Bisogna spiegarlo, bisogna spiegare il fine di questo. Viste la prima volta non si capiscono

28:10 Me È stata contrapposta alla campagna di prima dell'allarme, quella di prima molto più invasiva questa non la noti nemmeno

28:20 M: Qui se qualcuno te l'ha spiegato ... sono nel giardino della scuola, la maestra ti ha detto che le impronte verdi portano al cestino è utile perché ti marcano la strada da seguire anche se non vedi fisicamente il cestino ma se non sei stato informato opportunamente per il viaggiatore di passaggio sono completamente inutili.

29:00 M: Molte persone hanno detto che sono utili all'interno di un campus universitario

Campaign 9&10

30:48 C: Sarebbe un sollecito?

30:50 D: Sì esatto ma è accompagnato anche da un messaggio più approfondito, questo riportato è solo il banner

31:01 G: Il messaggio è chiaro qua, se non paghi le tasse non fai parte della società

31:10 L: Fa leva su senso su senso collettivo, se vuoi appartenere alla comunità può darsi che il sentirsi dichiarato escluso possa avere effetto

31:35 D: Se la comunità funziona bene ti sentiresti incentivato

31:40 I: Dubito che in Italia Funzionerebbe

31:42 E: Molto anglosassone

31:45 C: Anzi all'incontrario: l'anno scorso ho pagato e non ho ricevuto niente quindi adesso non le pago. Nel senso dipende dal contesto, nei paesi nordici dove tutto funziona alla perfezione hai più senso civico e ti senti parte di un qualcosa che funziona. Da noi non ti sentiresti incentivato anzi ti viene il nervoso

32:10 E: Sono due gli atteggiamenti chi non le ha pagate le tasse Non è questione del ritardo, le due opzioni sono o è uno in ritardo o è una decisione presa ci sono dei gruppi in Italia che hanno deciso di non pagare le tasse quindi anche un sollecito sarebbe inutile in questo caso. Per uno che non le ha pagate perché si è dimenticato invece per me è inutile

Discussione fuori tema sul bollo

33:20 L: È il tema delle tasse che non piace

33:30 N: Ci vuole una società evoluta da noi non va assolutamente bene, il senso di appartenenza che c'è al nord è diverso dal senso che c'è da noi. Ha efficacia al nord ma nessuna da noi

33:59 Me: Comunque c'è scritto che bisogna pagare le tasse in tempo quindi è scontato che bisogna pagarle le tasse

34:10 D Forse pensarlo applicato alla realtà italiana è fuori luogo

34:13 F: È come la pubblicità del canone della rai

34:17 C: Però uno si può offendere come tu prima in quello per lavarsi le mani. Lì è ovvio, tu hai il tuo senso di igiene e ti lavi le mani. Se uno del nord ricevesse una lettera devi pagare la mora perché ti sei dimenticato di pagare le tasse si sentirebbe quasi offeso perché una volta nella sua vita si è dimenticato.

34:50 M: Questo messaggio è molto polite

34:51 B: Questo esempio mi ricorda quando ero a scuola , noi avevamo quei bidoni a forma di animali. Tutti volevano buttare via la spazzatura in quei bidoncini perché era divertente e se qualcosa è divertente vuoi usarla! In questo caso è la stessa cosa, è come se fosse orienteering.

34:59 G: Io ho sempre volute farlo quando ero alle elementari! E in quel caso non dovevi nemmeno forzare i bambini ad usarlo!

35:10 E: Non ci credo

35:12 A: Questo è meno offensivo però

35:17 F: Però ti fa sentire diverso

35:22 H: Secondo me è più efficace

35:26 A: Anche secondo me

35:29 M: Se la percentuale è vera secondo me è più efficace

35:32 Me Dato per assodato che la percentuale è vera

35:36 I: Se c'è scritto 20% o 90% è diverso

35:38 N: In Italia sarebbe 20%

35:40 H: é come quando a scuola prendevi un brutto voto e tutti erano andati bene mentre quando prendevi un brutto voto e tutti gli altri erano andati male è diverso

35:56 G: Diciamo che anche qui c'è l'idea di appartenenza ad una società:nel senso 90% ha fatto così mentre tu sei fuori dalla società perché non fai parte di quel 90% . è un modo implicito per dirti la stessa cosa però solo più efficace

36:12 B: Neanche a me piaceva il messaggio di prima “ritorna alla società” invece questo mi invoglierebbe di più a rientrare a fare parte nelle persone che pagano in tempo

36:23 I: Richiama di più al tuo senso civico

36:30 M: Io avrei detto il contrario invece perché l'altro senza dirti un numero era molto soft, questo più preciso martellante ricorda 13 14 calorie 90% e questo è più invasivo

36:40 N: Questo tira fuori un senso di colpa

36:42 L: Un senso di contrapposizione

36:43 E: Appartieni a quel nefando 10% che non paga le tasse

36:50 L: Il primo era più elegante onestamente, ti ricorda molto gentilmente che ti sei scordato di pagare le tasse a questa comunità che ti vuole tanto bene. Questo invece ti dice che fai parte del 10% dei cattivi della popolazione

37:10 D: Ma qui è diverso dire “Voglio quel cellulare” perché ognuno ha quel cellulare e dire di voler pagare le tasse perché tutti pagano le tasse...Devi farlo per forza!

37:20 A: Per me è il contrario invece

37:30 Me: Questo messaggio non ti dice che devi pagare le tasse

37:45 L: Ma tu sai che se te lo mandano e tu non le hai pagate in tempo.. Fai parte di quel 10% di negativi. A me non piace

38:10 M: Questo qui ti costringe ad attivare dei processi mentali, mentre quell'altro ti dice il messaggio già cucinato

38:22 I: L'altro si rivolge a te “ritorna alla società” con il dito puntato, questo ti chiede dove vuoi stare e poi vedi te se essere nel 90 o nel 10.

9. Appendix 3

In this appendix are reported the questionnaires filled before the focus group interview in order to analyze respondents starting position about the nudging phenomenon.

Età: 20

Sesso: F

Stato civile: NUBILE

Professione: STUDENTESSA

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? si

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

L'IDEA NON È MALE, HA SENSO MA SECONDO ME QUESTO CARTELLO NON ATTIRA L'ATTENZIONE, E QUINDI PASSA INOSSERVATO



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

È UN METODO EFFICACE E VELOCE CHE SALTA ALL'OCCHIO E QUINDI SICURAMENTE PIÙ EFFICACE DEL PRECEDENTE

Età: 26

Sesso: F

Stato civile: NUBILE

Professione: SCIENZIATA

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? sì ~~no~~

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

POCO EFFICACE, RIMANE UN CARTELLO APPESO IN UN LUOGO E NON VIENE RICORDATO PASSO PER PASSO DEL BENESSERE FISICO



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

C'E' PIU' IMPATTO, CON LE KCAL SCRITTE SI INCENTIVA DI PIU' A FARE I GRADINI A PIEDI. INOLTRE SI RICORDA SU OGNI GRADINO LE KCAL

Età: 32

Sesso: F

Stato civile: coniugata

Professione: consulente aziendale

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione?

si

~~no~~

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

Interessante, ma può essere scambiato x un cartello "tecnico". E' esplicativo ma poco intuitivo. Spiega le motivazioni di una scelta. E' statico.



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi? coinvolgente, l'utente viene incentivato ad arrivare ad un obiettivo e sentirsi premiato. L'utente è al centro della comunicazione. E' interattivo anche senza usare nessun messaggio scritto o preparazione.

Età: 45

Sesso: F

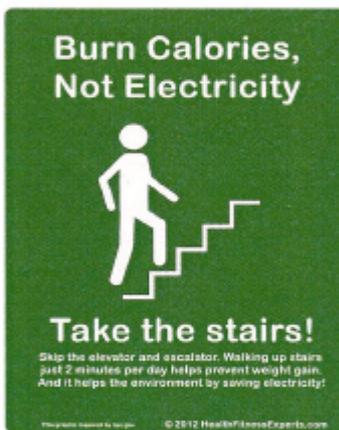
Stato civile: CONIUGATA

Professione: IMPIEGATA

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? si no

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

MESSAGGIO CHIARO MA POCO INVITANTE -
LE SPIEGAZIONI IN PICCOLO RISCHIANO DI
ESSERE IGNORATE - POSIZIONE ~~PIU~~ VICINO
ALL'ASCENSORE NON MI PALE UNA
BUONA IDEA



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

IL MESSAGGIO È IMMEDIATO ED INVITANTE,
COSÌ COME L'AMPIETÀ DELLE SCALE

Età: 58

Sesso: F

Stato civile: CONVUGATA

Professione: FASHION DESIGNER

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? si ~~no~~

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

GIUSTO PERFETTAMENTE COERENTE CON UNO STILE DI VITA SANO - ACCETTAREI L'INVITO SUBITO



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

MOLTO GIAPPONESE; LORO SONO FATI COSÌ
DANNO SEMPRE INDICAZIONI ESTREMAMENTE PRECISE...

Età: 65

Sesso: femmina

Stato civile: sposata

Professione: pensionata

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione?

si

~~no~~

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazione? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

Cartello efficace ma tende ad essere sottovalutato. Lo leggerei ma deciderei comunque di prendere l'ascensore.



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

È utile sapere quante calorie si bruciano salendo le scale ma sarebbe più opportuno indicare a cosa corrispondono le calorie in modo da rendere più diretto e realistico il messaggio.

Età: 18

Sesso: MASCHIO

Stato civile: SINGLE

Professione: STUDENTE

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? si ~~no~~

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazione? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

QUESTO METODO DI COMUNICAZIONE SECONDO ME È
MENO EFFICACE DELL'ALTRO POICHÉ PIÙ BANALE
(SEMPLICE CARTELLO)



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

SEMBRA UN METODO PIÙ EFFICACE POICHÉ INNOVATIVO
E STIMOLA LA CURIOSITÀ DELLE PERSONE

Età: 35

Sesso: M

Stato civile: SPOSATO

Professione: CONSULENTE AZIENDALE

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? si no

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

CONDIVIDO IL MESSAGGIO ANCHE SE COME EFFICACIA POTREBBE ESSERE PIU' "DIRITTO" (TRAPPA LUNGA E SCRITTA IN PICCOLA LA PARTE TOSTUAG)



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

DECISAMENTE PIU' EFFICACE DEL PROCEDIMENTO, STIMOLA CHI LA GUARA ED INCURIOSISCE! MOLTO SIMPATICO

Età: 50

Sesso: M

Stato civile: coniugato

Professione: zingaro

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? si no

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

Messaggio semplice e diretto. Associa il risparmio energetico al proprio interesse alla salute.



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

Di difficile comprensione se non associato ad un messaggio generale. Rischio di passare inosservato.

Età: 56

Sesso: M

Stato civile: SINGLE

Professione: DIRIGENTE INGLE

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione? si no

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

è una buona cosa, win-win, l'azienda risparmia elettricità, le persone si allenano



Età: 62

Sesso: M

Stato civile: CONIUGATO

Professione: PENSIONATO

Hai mai sentito parlare delle nudges come metodo di comunicazione?

~~no~~

~~no~~

Cosa pensi dei seguenti metodi di comunicazioni? Esprimi un breve giudizio/opinione (non più di due righe)

In queste due campagne viene promosso uno stile di vita sano, sostenendo che bisogna fare le scale.



Cartello appeso affianco all'ascensore che invita a prendere le scale.

Traduzione: Brucia le calorie, non l'elettricità. Prendi le scale. Non prendere le scale mobili o l'ascensore. Fare le scale due minuti al giorno aiuta a non mettere su peso. Ed aiuta anche a risparmiare elettricità!

Cosa ne pensi?

LA SALUTE E' VITA, LA TUTELA DELL'AMBIENTE DOVREBBE ESSERE LA PRIMA PREOCCUPAZIONE PER UNA PERSONA.



Sui gradini delle scale della metropolitana di Tokyo è indicata la quantità di calorie che si consumano facendo le scale.

Cosa ne pensi?

UN OTTIMO MODO PER FAR PENSARE IL PUBBLICO VARIEGATO CHE FREQUENTA UN GRANDE MAGAZZINO. BASTEREBBE USARE DI QUESTO METODO IN FOROLATIVO CON PIU' LARGHEZZA. DIVENTEREBBE ANCHE UN SERVIZIO SOCIALE.

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