



Navigating Environmental Attitudes by Thomas A. Heberlein
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While these points could have been developed further in a longer book, Kinchy provides sufficient empirical material and thoughtful conceptual framings to spark discussions spanning the disciplines of STS, sociology, and political science, especially regulatory studies. The book would work well in both graduate and upper-level undergraduate courses, particularly since it offers more nuanced insights on risk than are found in much of the recent literature and sufficient empirical case material to engage students.

Navigating Environmental Attitudes. By Thomas A. Heberlein. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. x+228. \$99.00 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

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Thomas A. Heberlein's reputable scholarly career has focused on learning "how attitudes work, how they can be changed, and what they have to do with behavior as we struggle to deal with nature" (p. 4). *Navigating Environmental Attitudes* shares what he has learned in this regard. Using the metaphor of white-water rafting, he documents how it is usually much more effective to "read the river" and work *with* attitudes rather than attempt to change them; the latter is akin to trying to move huge boulders out of the way of your raft. Heberlein uses the writings of environmental pioneer Aldo Leopold to exemplify the technical and social psychological structure of attitudes and to show how attitudes can change within certain circumstances. He uses numerous examples to illustrate characteristics that can make attitudes particularly resistant to change, including a basis in direct experience; ties to one's identity; support by one's social context; and links to strong emotions, strong attitudes about other objects, or several beliefs (as opposed to just one or a few). Attitudes can and do change, but they usually do so slowly and not in response to any planning, intentional action, or even media campaigns.

Often, in attempts to motivate behavioral change, it is assumed that we merely need to "educate the public," leading them to change their attitudes and, correspondingly, their behavior. Heberlein refers to this idea as the "cognitive fix"; the book is infused with examples of how this fix has been tried unsuccessfully numerous times in the arena of environmental protection and natural resource management. Not only are attitudes resistant to change, as noted above, but they are only weakly related to behavior. Various examples, including Aldo Leopold's behavior toward wolves, are used to demonstrate how other factors impede any direct connection between attitudes (which are usually general) and behaviors (which are quite specific and contextually dependent).

Heberlein discusses two other approaches to changing human behavior, the "technological fix" and the "structural fix." The technological fix alters

something in the environment, completely bypassing any attempt at changing attitudes or behavior. However, without an adequate understanding of how humans will react to technological change, such a fix can have unintended consequences; again this is amply documented by a mix of examples. The structural fix holds the most promise for changing behavior, in Heberlein's point of view. This fix involves changing the context within which behavior occurs, such as passing a tax on inner-city driving during peak times or removing polystyrene cups from a workplace coffee room. While people's behavior may revert back if the context changes again, this fix has the potential to change behavior in a more sustained manner, leading to a change in or the creation of new norms. Norms are the key to changing behavior because they explicitly involve a social, as opposed to purely personal, component. Although Heberlein doesn't refer to community-based social marketing, he is covering similar ground here. Heberlein notes that existing norms can be focused or activated to promote a desired behavior (such as not littering). Norms, like attitudes, can and do change, albeit usually slowly. Once again, we need a decent understanding of attitudes and norms to determine the structural fix that will be the most effective and sustained. Heberlein further notes that "real solutions . . . often require all three fixes simultaneously" (p. 164). But, ultimately, "no matter which fix we use . . . attitudes matter" (p. 8). Our job as social scientists, then, is to make sure we continue to measure attitudes and to measure them well.

Heberlein further exemplifies the complex relationship between attitudes and behavior by analyzing Leopold's idea of the "land ethic." In a chapter amusingly titled "Aldo Leopold and the Flying Horse," Heberlein notes that the land ethic was essentially Leopold's idea of a "fix," of how to change human attitudes and behaviors with respect to the land and the environment more generally. The flying horse is, of course, the land ethic; the land ethic is trying to do the impossible, namely combining a general value (we *should* treat the land better) with behavioral and normative ideas of what to do in specific situations. While the environmental movement has certainly meant an increase in proenvironmental values and attitudes, such a land ethic remains far from being dominant. Heberlein notes that we cannot wait for the land ethic to take hold as a dominant value if we wish to see positive environmental change—we need to work with current attitudes to determine the appropriate actions to take. Readers should note, though, as with any discussion of behavioral change or actions needed to fix environmental and other social problems, that the question arises as to who decides what the desired outcome is.

So, attitudes do matter, just not in the way that is commonly assumed—as something readily malleable, clearly steering behavior, and responding to targeted infusions of "better" information from a credentialed set of experts. Heberlein's book provides an extensive overview of what attitudes are and why they are important, particularly with relevance to environmental protection and natural resource management. His use of numerous examples provides ample fodder for justifying the study of attitudes when others

argue that attitudes do not matter. These examples, plus his apt use of metaphor and his folksy tone, render a potentially obtuse subject accessible not only to social scientists and other academics but also to agency personnel, natural resource managers, and environmental advocates. His use of examples from his own personal experience makes this a particularly interesting book to read. This book is appropriate for graduate and advanced undergraduate-level courses and for scholars involved in several areas of sociology, including environmental sociology, social psychology, and applied sociology; additionally it is a valuable addition to the libraries of natural resource managers and of researchers, teachers, and students involved in the human dimensions of natural resource management.

Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism. By Gino Germani. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1978. Pp. xi+292.

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Every generation discusses the great political issues. But each does so in its own way. One writes of the burdens and evils of empire, another of the possibilities and problems of democracy. Still another studies the duties and pathologies of administration. Behind them all lie questions of rights and obligations, conflict and rebellion, interest and altruism. But while these great political issues are everywhere the same, they are nonetheless everywhere experienced through the particularities of a time and a place. Politics cannot exist purely in the abstract, but is always incarnate in real interests and real conflicts.

Since the here-and-now is always changing, political knowledge of it must also change, and so in the course of their own political theorizing, generations always set aside that of their predecessors. Sometimes they ignore it; sometimes they reject it ritualistically; sometimes they enshrine it in anachronistic splendor. In the "digital age," past writers were reduced to index terms for this or that current political position, like the names of forgotten capitalists on university buildings. A complex and nuanced lifework became a few "keywords"; an impassioned life became a superficial encyclopedia entry.

To reread the past for itself, then, is to recover the complex and impassioned here-and-now of another. Our present reading requires such an exercise. Surprising as it may seem 100 years later, the second half of the 20th century was centrally concerned with the "crisis of democracy." How had formal democracy produced Fascism and Nazism? How could one understand the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? Even the few surviving

*Another review from 2052 to share with *AJS* readers.—*Ed.*