

**LU Investment Programme
(LUIP) communications
development**

10026

September 2010

Confidentiality

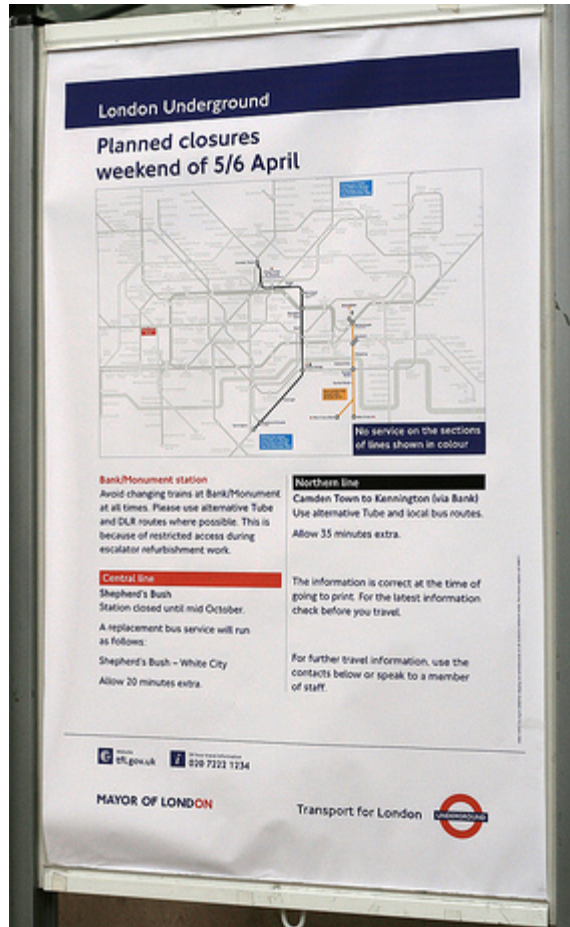
Please note that the copyright in the attached report is owned by TfL and the provision of information under Freedom of Information Act does not give the recipient a right to re-use the information in a way that would infringe copyright (for example, by publishing and issuing copies to the public).

Brief extracts of the material may be reproduced under the fair dealing provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 for the purposes of research for non-commercial purposes, private study, criticism, review and news reporting.

Details of the arrangements for reusing the material owned by TfL for any other purpose can be obtained by contacting us at enquire@tfl.gov.uk.

Research conducted by 2CV

Contents



Background and objectives

Methodology and sample

Stimulus

General findings

Response to the campaign elements

Appendix

Research objectives

Previous objectives from Stage One:

- *The first stage of research sought to understand why tolerance for closures has decreased and identify opportunities for improving advocacy and LU's reputation as a whole*

Stage Two:

- *The second stage of research sought to assist in the development of a proposed integrated marketing campaign*

Methodology and Sample

- 8 x 1.5 hour groups (mix of genders and opinions on LU and all ABC1)

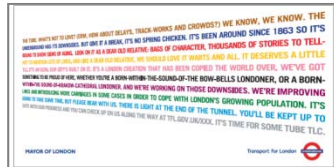
	Age (years)	Main use of LU	Line usage
1	20-30	Commuter	Spread with representation from North West London and Jubilee line users
2	31-44	Leisure	Spread with representation from North West London and Jubilee line users
3	31-44	Commuter	Spread with representation from North London and Northern line users
4	20-30	Leisure	Spread with representation from North London and Northern line users
5	20-30	Commuter	Spread with representation from South London and Northern line users
6	31-44	Leisure	Spread with representation from South London and Northern line users
7	20-30	Leisure	Spread with representation from East/West London and District or Central line users
8	31-44	Commuter	Spread with representation from East/West London and District or Central line users

Stimulus

Stories



Colours



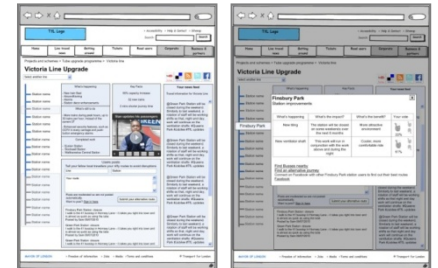
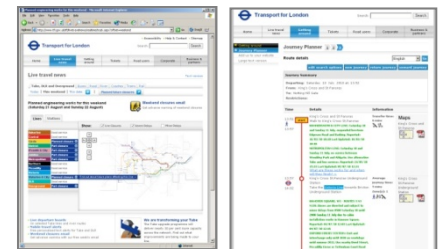
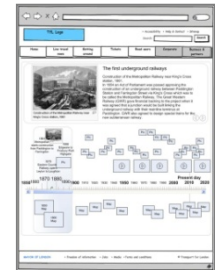
Man with a plan

Alongside the poster ads, LU want to work with the media across London, alongside information on the TfL website, to tell people about the LU Investment Programme and to let them know what is being done to make the Tube, and their line, better.

This would be delivered through newspapers, TV and online news stories, online video, blogs, web chats and interviews.

e.g. You may meet Richard, a senior member of LU talking about the reason the Investment Programme...

New media





General findings



Positive and negative opinions of the Tube hang in a delicate balance

Positive

Negative

I'm a reasonable man, I can understand it's under a lot of pressure

It's a shame because when it's good, it's good

Don't mistake my tolerance for stupidity

I like to learn about the Tube – it always comes up in conversation down the pub

These works have been going on since I've been taking the Tube – and I don't see how it's getting any better

For being so old, it does a pretty good job

I care about the service, not how the station looks

I can't take it any more – where's the light at the end of the tunnel?

It is easier to trigger a negative reaction than a positive reaction

As a driver of advocacy, ROI is ever more critical

- In the current climate, expectations for financial accountability and transparency are high
- Customers are wary of where their money is going

Everything is getting more expensive – I'm thinking of starting to cycle if the fares go up again

Fares just keep going up and up – what do we get in return?

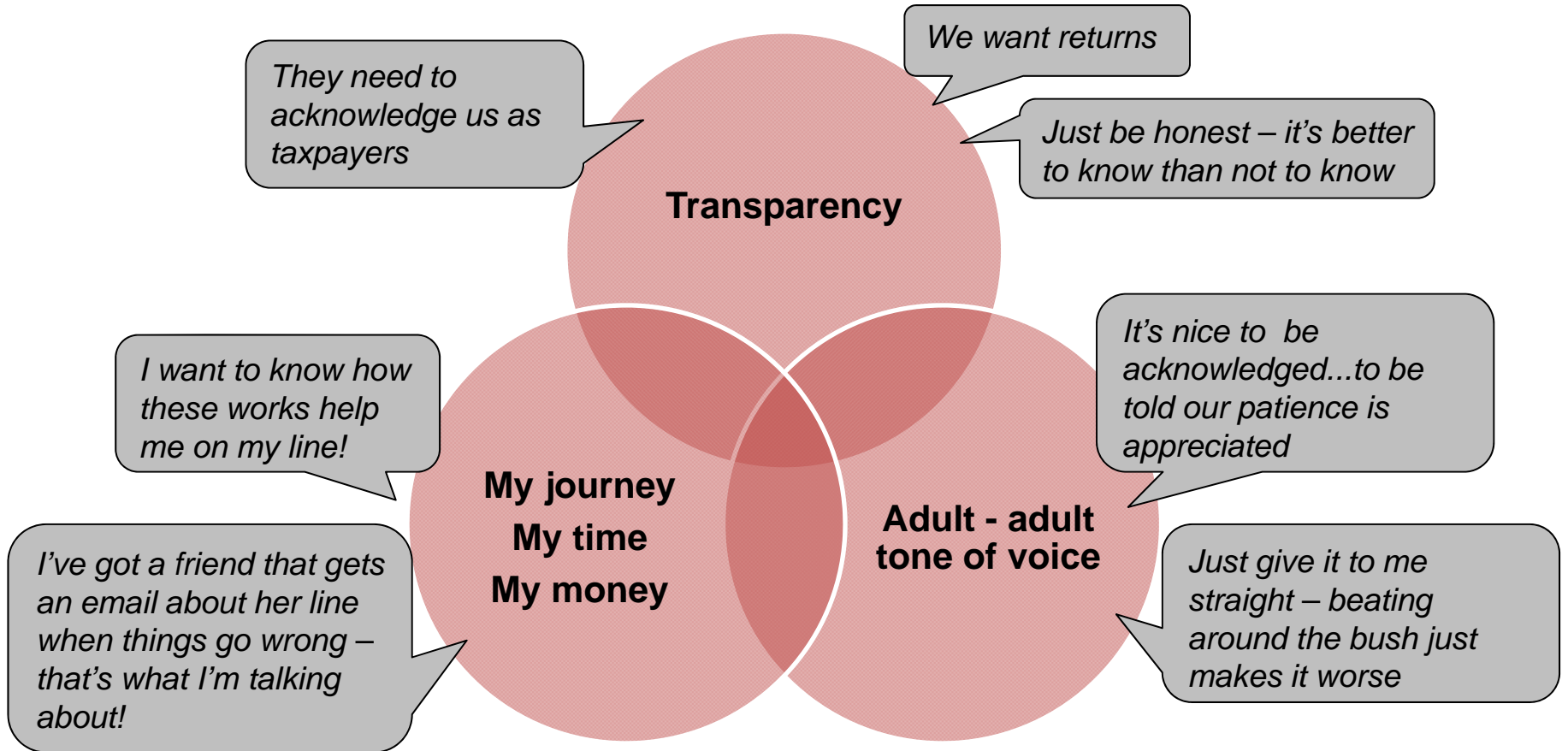
I want to know what's going on and who's in charge of all of this

How are they spending our money? I take the Jubilee line and I don't understand why it needs so much work as it's the newest line?

Aren't they planning another fare hike? It feels like we are always paying for their mistakes

Customers are sensitive to anything seen to be 'wasting my money'

Customers demand to be treated as stakeholders



A sense of involvement can help ease customers' frustrations surrounding the LUIP



Response to the campaign elements



Stories stimulus

General Eisenhower planned D-day from under Goodge Street Station. Now we're planning a rather bigger operation on all 275 stations.

Housing Eisenhower's strategic command centre was not the Tube's first contribution to history. Just a few years earlier, it sheltered up to 17,500 people a night from the Blitz.

Way back before that in 1863, it became the world's very first Underground. And in 1911, introduced the world's first underground escalator. (A one legged man, named Bumper Ham, was hired to go up and down on it to calm the public's fear of the new fangled contraption with mixed success.)

All of which makes for an impressive and unparalleled history. But an equally impressive and unparalleled maintenance headache. One which our team are attacking with as much resource and energy as Eisenhower and Merty showed in 1944. The London Underground Investment Programme



is happening to make sure it's future is as proud as it's past and that the system can handle it's ever growing number of passengers. (More than a billion last year alone). We're upgrading every line, introducing new trains, signalling and track, totally rebuilding some stations and improving others.

All while keeping the service running for the millions of you who use it every day. It's a huge but necessary programme. And yes, one, which, we're afraid, will cause some unavoidable disruption. We hope you understand that London needs this upgrade. You'll be kept up to date with our progress and you can check up on us along the way at TfL.gov.uk/ux. Working towards another 150 years

MAYOR OF LONDON

Transport for London 

Ours was the first tube in the world. We just don't want it to feel that way.

There is a disadvantage of being first though - you never get the benefit of learning from others' mistakes. Not that the planners of the world's first underground made that many (it was perfectly designed for 1865 (yes, it's 142 years old). It's just that London today is nothing like the London of 1865.

The demand for the underground has quadrupled. A system designed for 4 million people is now carrying 12 million. And London's only getting bigger.

So a major upgrade is desperately needed. In fact, it's already underway. Over half of the Tube's 270 stations have

been improved, a whole new station has been built at Wood Green, brand new trains are running on brand new track.

But there's still a long way to go. Disruption will be caused on some of your journeys, and we're doing everything we can to minimize the impact. We hope you understand that London needs this upgrade. You'll be kept up to date with our progress and you can check up on us along the way at TfL.gov.uk/ux.

Working towards another 150 years



MAYOR OF LONDON

Transport for London 

Queen Victoria had just lost Prince Albert when Victoria station was opened. (No wonder we have to work to keep it alive and kicking.)

The station was designed for 40,000 of her people to use every day. Victoria could never have imagined that 142 years later more than that would pass through it every hour.

On the surface everything may look okay, but dig a little deeper and Victoria station is still Victoria's station. The years have really taken their toll. Essential upgrades are urgently needed.

Our plan is to enlarge the existing ticket halls and create a whole new one beneath Bressenden Place. Nine new escalators and seven new lifts will be fitted, improving access to all parts of the station as well as improving the link from the national rail station.

It's a major job. A huge undertaking. So hopefully you'll understand that we have to close from time to time. Disruption will be caused on some of your journeys, and we're doing everything we can to keep the impact to a minimum. We hope you understand that London needs this upgrade.

The good news is we're on track to complete the work by 2018. And in the meantime, please remember we'll be

beavering away underground on your behalf. You'll be kept up to date with our progress and you can check up on us along the way at TfL.gov.uk/ux.

Working towards another 150 years



MAYOR OF LONDON

Transport for London 

Overall response to Stories – content



I didn't know it was so old – that placates me immediately

The fact grabs my attention, but then it needs to go straight into what's happening with the works – it takes too long to get there at the moment

Working together for the next 150 years puts things in perspective.

The headline on Victoria is morbid...and what does it have to do with the works?

So what? I don't care about Wood Green station

I don't care about the next 150 years..I'll be dead!

Who's General Eisenhower?

Ok, fine. But I want to know what this means to me now, not what happened in the past

It would be far more uplifting if the ads talked more about the future

The war analogy is disrespectful – do they really want to compare this to what people felt in WW2?

I wouldn't have time to read the whole thing when I'm waiting for my train... and I wouldn't bother reading it again

2018! Oh god, that's even more depressing than I thought

Overall response to Stories – content

What's working

When relevant to the LUIP, heritage facts can be hooks that make people want to read more

- Works well in the headline to catch attention
- 'Ours was the first Tube in the world'
- 'The station was designed for 42,000 of her people...142 years later more than that pass through every hour'

Useful to learn works are part of a bigger plan

- 'Now we're planning a bigger operation on all 275 stations'

What's not working

The copy over-emphasises the past

- Respondents suggest starting copy immediately with information about the works

Too much to read and does not compel people to finish reading at a later point

Difficult to provide relevant and motivating specifics for all customers

- E.g. 2018, Wood Green – throws up more questions than provides answers

'Working together for another 150 years' end line received a mixed response

- For some, demonstrates scale of the works
- For others, '150 years from now' does not give a sense of there being immediate benefits

Overall response to Stories – tone of voice



This feels different to the normal TfL style of writing – it's nice

I can imagine Boris talking in this ad – it rambles on!

Sometimes it can feel a bit sales-y... like when they say 'it makes for an unparalleled history and one which our team is attacking with blah blah blah...I mean just get to the point'

What's working

Clear and direct tone of voice is appreciated

- *E.g. 'We hope you understand that London needs this upgrade'*
- *E.g. 'The demand for the Underground has quadrupled – a system designed for 4 million people is now carrying 12 million people'*

What's not working

Language too sales-y

- *E.g. 'All of which makes for an impressive and unparalleled history. But an equally impressive and unparalleled maintenance headache'*
- *E.g. 'One which our team are attacking with as much resource and energy as Eisenhower and Monty showed in 1944'*
- *E.g. 'Please remember we'll be beavering away underground on your behalf'*

Overall response to Stories – style



I like the headline and the pictures – they catch my eye

I like the Eisenhower picture. It implies action

'Ours was the first' is better since there's less words

I'd gloss over this – it's boring, looks like lots of other ads out there

Why don't the pictures show what's coming, what's new? Like before and after shots?

What's working

Easy to digest headline; layout catches the eye

- *Victoria and first tube: appropriate length*

What's not working

Pictures that look to the past

- *Suggestions to show models of new stations/trains etc. or before and after pictures*


Similar to other advertising



Colours stimulus

THE TUBE. WHAT'S NOT TO LOVE? (ERM, HOW ABOUT DELAYS, TRACK-WORKS AND CROWDS?) WE KNOW, WE KNOW. THE UNDERGROUND HAS ITS DOWNSIDES. BUT GIVE IT A BREAK, IT'S NO SPRING CHICKEN. IT'S BEEN AROUND SINCE 1863 SO IT'S BOUND TO SHOW SIGNS OF AGING. LOOK ON IT AS A DEAR OLD RELATIVE: BAGS OF CHARACTER, THOUSANDS OF STORIES TO TELL- NOT TO MENTION LOTS OF LINES, AND LIKE A DEAR OLD RELATIVE, WE SHOULD LOVE IT WARTS AND ALL. IT DESERVES A LITTLE TLC. IT'S AN ICON, OUR CITY'S BUILT ON IT, IT'S A LONDON CREATION THAT HAS BEEN COPIED THE WORLD OVER. WE'VE GOT SOMETHING TO BE PROUD OF HERE, WHETHER YOU'RE A BORN-WITHIN-THE-SOUND-OF-THE BOW-BELLS LONDONER, OR A BORN-WITHIN-THE-SOUND-OF-KRAKOW-CATHEDRAL LONDONER. AND WE'RE WORKING ON THOSE DOWNSIDES. WE'RE IMPROVING LINES AND INTRODUCING MORE CARRIAGES IN SOME CASES IN ORDER TO COPE WITH LONDON'S GROWING POPULATION. IT'S GOING TO TAKE SOME TIME, BUT PLEASE BEAR WITH US. THERE IS LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL. YOU'LL BE KEPT UP TO DATE WITH OUR PROGRESS AND YOU CAN CHECK UP ON US ALONG THE WAY AT TFL.GOV.UK/XXX. IT'S TIME FOR SOME TUBE TLC.

MAYOR OF LONDON

Transport for London 

DRIVER ANNOUNCEMENT ONCE HEARD ON THE NORTHERN LINE: 'HELLO THIS IS YOUR CAPTAIN SPEAKING. WE'LL BE DEPARTING SHORTLY, AND CRUISING AT AN ALTITUDE OF APPROXIMATELY ZERO FEET. THE TEMPERATURE IN MORDEN IS APPROXIMATELY 15 DEGREES, AND MORDEN IS IN THE SAME TIME ZONE AS MILL HILL EAST, SO NO NEED TO ADJUST YOUR WATCHES.' CLASSIC. YOU NEED A SENSE OF HUMOUR WITH A LINE THAT'S HAD ITS FAIR SHARE OF, SHALL WE SAY, UPS AND DOWNS. TOO OFTEN IT HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A 'SORRY TO INFORM YOU...!' ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS IS TO BE EXPECTED, AFTER ALL IT'S BEEN AROUND SINCE 1890, IT CARRIES MILLIONS OF PEOPLE A WEEK, AND COVERS OVER 200 MILLION MILES PER YEAR. IT'S HAHA HEAVY WORKLOAD, AND IT SHOWS. SO WE'RE DOING SOMETHING ABOUT IT. WE HAVE A PLAN: A HUGE UPGRADE TO CATER FOR CURRENT AND FUTURE DEMAND. THERE'LL BE A NEW SIGNALLING SYSTEM INSTALLED. TRAINS WILL BE FASTER AND MORE FREQUENT. WORK WILL BE ONGOING UNTIL EARLY 2012, HOWEVER, ALONG THE JOURNEY, PARTS OF THE LINE WILL HAVE TO BE CLOSED SOME WEEKENDS, PLUS WE'LL HAVE TO CLOSE A LITTLE EARLIER NORTH OF STOCKWELL FROM MONDAY TO THURSDAY. WE'LL ALWAYS TRY TO MINIMISE DISRUPTION AND ENSURE THERE ARE ALTERNATIVE ROUTES FOR YOU. YOU'LL BE KEPT UP TO DATE WITH OUR PROGRESS AND YOU CAN CHECK UP ON US ALONG THE WAY AT TFL.GOV.UK/XXX. IT'S TIME FOR SOME TUBE TLC.

MAYOR OF LONDON

Transport for London 

IF ANY LONDON CHARACTER DESERVES A BIT OF THE OLD GOK WAN TREATMENT, IT'S SURELY THE TUBE. THE THING'S AN ICON AFTER ALL PART OF THE FABRIC OF LONDON. IT'S BEEN SHUTTLING PEOPLE AROUND TOWN SINCE LONDON'S POPULATION WAS A THIRD OF WHAT IT IS NOW. AND IT'S THE ORIGINAL THAT'S RIGHT, THE VERY FIRST UNDERGROUND RAILWAY IN THE WORLD. NEW YORK? TOKYO? MOSCOW? PAH. UPSTARTS. BRATS. COPYCATS. AT 150 YEARS OF AGE - AND WITH LONDON BEING THE FASTEST-GROWING CITY IN THE WORLD - THINGS HAVE TAKEN THEIR TOLL. SO STAND BACK: FULL UPGRADE APPROACHING. WE HAVE A PLAN FOR THE ENTIRE NETWORK TO RECEIVE A SHAKE-UP IN ORDER TO MEET FUTURE DEMAND. WE'RE ALREADY SOME WAY DOWN THE TRACK, OVER HALF OF THE TUBE'S 270 STATIONS HAVE BEEN IMPROVED. A WHOLE NEW STATION'S BEEN BUILT AT WOOD GREEN, AND A WHOLE NEW LINK FOR HEATHROW TERMINAL 5. DISRUPTION WILL BE CAUSED ON SOME OF YOUR JOURNEYS, AND WE'RE DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO KEEP THE IMPACT TO A MINIMUM. WE HOPE YOU UNDERSTAND THAT LONDON NEEDS THIS UPGRADE. YOU'LL BE KEPT UP TO DATE WITH OUR PROGRESS AND YOU CAN CHECK UP ON US ALONG THE WAY AT TFL.GOV.UK/XXX. WE THINK YOU'LL AGREE, IT'S TIME FOR SOME TUBE TLC.

MAYOR OF LONDON

Transport for London 

Overall response to Colours route – content



The waves and Northern line ads talk about the specifics – that's useful

I didn't realise there is a bigger plan until seeing this ad

(Northern Line) It's good to know when your line will be closing early

Is London the fastest growing city in the world? I doubt it

Tube TLC is catchy. It implies we are all in this together

Everything you want to know is at the end

It's time for some Tube TLC – that makes it sound like it's just starting

The middle is very repetitive. Its goes on and on.

I don't care about a whole new link at Terminal 5

What's working

Understanding and acknowledging customers' patience is appreciated

- *E.g. 'It's going to take some time. But please bear with us.'*

Useful to learn works are part of a bigger plan

- *E.g. 'We have a plan: a huge upgrade to cater for current and future demand'*

Specific information about service is appreciated

- *E.g. 'We'll always try to minimise disruption and ensure there are alternative routes for you'*
- *E.g. 'Parts of the line will have to be closed some weekends...'*
- *E.g. 'There'll be a new signalling system installed'*

What's not working

Text is repetitive and wordy

- *E.g. 'Born within the sound of bow-bells Londoner...'*
- *E.g. 'And it's the original. That's right, the very first Underground railway in the world'*

Specifics that are not about 'me and my journey'

'Time for some Tube TLC' end line can be misunderstood

- *Can imply new works are only starting now*
- *Most feel they have been patient and shown care already*

Overall response to Colours route – tone of voice



I like it – it's punchy and to the point, like they're trying to include us

It feels aimed at a younger person, like me!

It's waffling – why are they trying to be my friend?

Some of this is way too pally – they're trying way too hard

Mentioning Gok Wan is trying too hard to be cool. It's a bit cheesy

It's all fine having a joke but when I'm reading this in rush hour with my face in someone's armpit I'm not going to be laughing

What's working

Direct and youthful tone of voice works well

- E.g. 'The Tube. What's not to love?'
- E.g. 'We hope you understand that London needs this upgrade.'

What's not working

Seeming as 'trying too hard' to be modern

- E.g. 'Gok Wan'
- E.g. 'You need a sense of humour with a line that's had it's fair share of, shall we say, ups and downs'

Over-claim

- E.g. 'With London being the fastest growing city in the world'
- E.g. 'New York? Tokyo? Moscow? Pah. Upstarts. Brats. Copycats'

Overall response to Colours route – style



This design looks more modern than standard TfL advertising and is eye catching

(The Tube, What's not to love?) This one feels like it's moving forward, like progress...

I like that the colours represent the different tube lines

There's all this fluff – like they just need some words to fill in the 12 colours

(Waves) What is that, is it supposed to be the Thames? What does that have to do with the works?

I find it really hard to read the text as it waves

I can't read the yellow

Oh I didn't get that the black line represented the Northern line. I thought the black letters would spell out a word

I can't follow the text on the Northern line ad

Overall response to Colours route – style

What's working

Different colours for each line of text is eye catching

Using the colours that represent the different tube lines

Visual device works well when it links to the LUIP

- *'The Tube. What's not to love' design implies forward movement , progress*
- *'Waves of text interpreted to be the Thames and does not relate directly to the programme*

What's not working

Design that is difficult to read can cause people to quickly opt out of the message

- *Legibility an issue across all executions*
- *Waves and Northern Line make it difficult to follow the lines of text*
- *Yellow on white background is difficult to read*

Posters – what’s working well

■ **Clear and direct tone of voice**

- Acknowledging customers’ patience – many are hearing this message from LU for the first time.
- People like being thanked (like getting an apology without having to apologise)

■ **Works are part of a bigger plan**

- Most customers were unaware that there is a plan behind what they witness on an individual basis
- Important to avoid the impression that there are new works starting now (as opposed to in progress)

■ **Personalised information**

- Information specifically relating to a customer’s journey is appreciated (information on lines or key stations)

■ **How to find out more**

- Making people aware that they can find out more information about station/line/journey through the website leaves a positive impression
- Suggestion to replace: ‘Find out how your station/line is affected’ vs. ‘Check up on us’
- Halo effect – even people who don’t check feel reassured that the information is there if they want it
- Suggestion to include specific information about lines/stations as leaflets handed out at stations for people who are unlikely to go online and act as reminders for all customers

Posters – what’s not working

- **Overly friendly tone of voice**
 - Customers can project what it would feel like to see the ads during a bad journey
 - Overly friendly or mate-y tone of voice is a stretch too far given the reality of what it can feel like when things go wrong
- **Repetitive and long winded copy**
 - Causes people to switch off
 - Long copy *can* be effective if it immediately grabs people’s attention with facts about the LUIP/their specific journey
- **Specific information that does not relate to ‘my journey’**
 - Detailed information about the works have the potential to create a negative response (Terminal 5, Wood Green) unless the customer regularly uses these stations
 - Anything that isn’t specific to ‘my journey’ can quickly come across as irrelevant
- **Dates are difficult to communicate on a poster**
 - Customers generally want to know what’s happening with their journey in the next 2-3 years, not a longer timeline (e.g. 2018)
 - However, emphasis on ‘2012’ can provoke a negative response that the works are ‘only happening because of the Olympics’

Man with a plan has the potential to create a more transparent LUIP

- On the whole this idea was well received

These stories help separate the gap between them and us

Feels like a two way conversation

It reminds me of the Halifax ads and getting to know their workers. I liked them

These workers could keep you up to date on your station in travel update emails perhaps



- However, a few things to watch out for

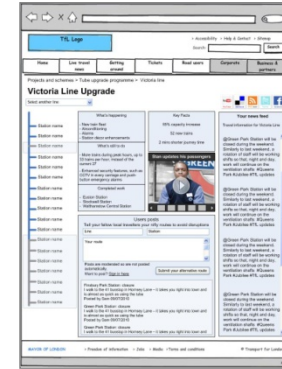
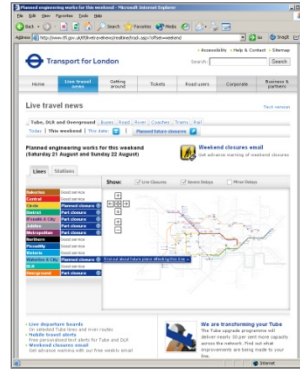
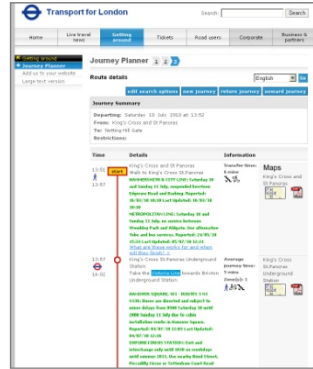
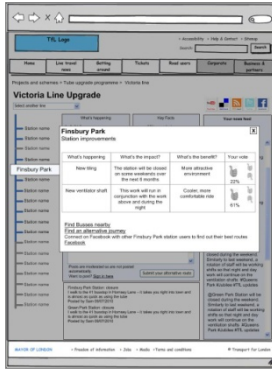
Would these be real workers or actors? I'd be annoyed if they were trying to pull the wool over my eyes

I don't care about Raj's job – unless it affects me and my commute

I just want the facts. I don't want to watch videos or read blogs

Believability and relevance is key to the success of this idea - it is crucial that staff come across as genuine, honest and caring about customers' needs

The online elements treat customers as stakeholders



This feels much more personal and I can see the information for my station – I would vote!

This is a much better use of money. It's giving me tools rather than an apology

Even if I didn't go on and take a look I feel better knowing the specific information is available

It would be good to have a comment section

This is the best of what I have seen so far. It gives me the information I want on my line

I think it needs its own dedicated section on the TfL website but it makes sense to link to the journey planner and live travel news too

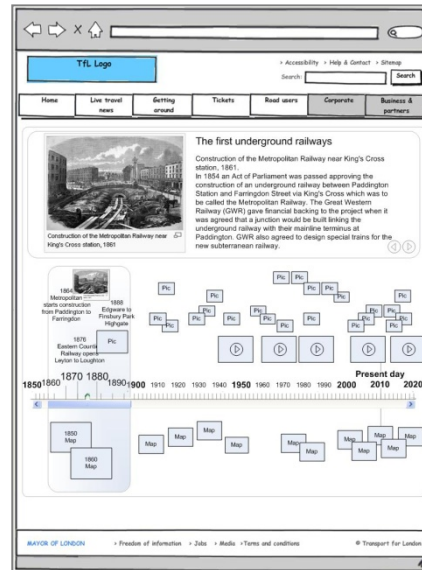
The social bits are too involved for me but maybe for teenagers

These ideas provide customers with the opportunity to check the works specific to them, in detail and feel involved

However the history timeline does not feel like money well spent

I think it makes more sense to have the history online than the focus of the ads so those interested can search for it

I'm really interested in history so I would probably play around with this in a lunch hour



I can't see myself ever having the time to look at this

I'm not fussed about the history of the Tube in this much detail

How much will this cost!? Is this what my fares are going towards?

Tube timeline has the potential to spark negative opinions about the use of resources. More pertinent information is needed at this stage

Additional material: leaflets can be of use

- **Leaflets handed out at stations were generally well received, mostly by older customers**
 - Not all customers are comfortable with going online
 - Expected to include information specific to their journey/station/line
 - Can provide a useful tool for staff to hand out at stations
- **However, kiosks are seen to be a waste of customers' money**
 - Ostentatious way of spending funds
 - Perceived to be a costly PR exercise
 - Better, more low key options available to reach customers

TfL should make leaflets showing the information on my station if they want to involve me. I can read it on the Tube

My mum won't go online so these leaflets would be a good idea

It's nice to have something on paper. Maybe they could print the information on the back of the Tube map leaflets

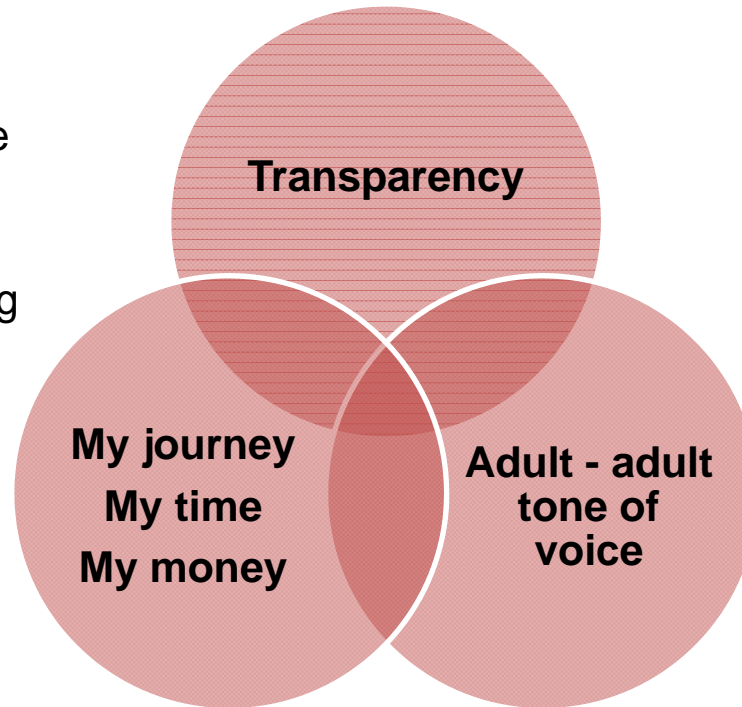
How much will this cost?

Can you imagine the queues!

Leaflets at stations help to ensure a wide audience is reached

The different campaign elements can meet customer stakeholder needs

- New media: provides the whole story, not only some aspects of the programme
- 'Man with a plan' can play an important role in helping people see behind the scenes



- Posters: direct tone of voice and acknowledgement of patience has the potential to create empathy

- New media: integrate ideas in regular web activity (e.g. Journey Planner) to give relevant details to customers
- Posters/leaflets: share specifics about their journeys and guide online for more information

Creates involvement and increased advocacy

Implications for marketing campaign

Does the proposed campaign work as an integrated campaign?

- **Success criterion: does it treat customers like stakeholders?**
- **Man with a Plan – YES**
 - Humanises and explains
 - But has to be right man/woman
- **New Media – YES**
 - Explains and shows what's in it for the customer
 - But not Tube timeline
- **Advertising – YES**
 - Big picture
 - But watch tone of voice
 - Beware of being seen to be profligate spenders (e.g. kiosk)

Getting the right balance – tone of voice

- **Negative reactions easy to trigger off by using over-friendly, colloquial tone**
- **But simple neutrality will be ineffective because**
 - It leaves an emotional vacuum which will be filled by negative feelings about fares, strikes, crowding, etc
 - It reinforces the organisation as alien and faceless
- **Middle way – give it to them straight, and show empathy**

Getting the right balance - specificity

- **Macro and micro messages required**
 - **There is a plan**
 - **This is what the plan is**
 - **This is how it affects YOU**
 - **This is how YOU will benefit**
 - **This is what YOU need to do to avoid disruptions**

Will it work?

- **Advocacy affected by many other factors, e.g.**
 - **The Tube mythology**
 - **Fares**
 - **Media**
 - **Strikes**
 - **Service quality**

- **But understanding is a step towards advocacy and can help offset and eventually alter the prevailing mythology**