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Words speak louder than actions

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Words speak louder than actions

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This lecture was delivered on Black Friday (November 24th) 2023 in the Aula of the University of Amsterdam.

Mister Rector Magnificus,

Mister Dean,

Dear colleagues, friends and family,

“A little less conversation, a little more action please” (Elvis Presley)

...sang Elvis back in the day. In Rotterdam, people say: Geen woorden maar daden (Actions, not words). In Amsterdam: niet lullen maar poetsen (I won't translate that one into English). The expressions differ, but the gist is the same: talk is cheap. To solve a problem, so goes the wisdom, there is no use for fancy words. What you need is grit, stamina, and most of all: concrete actions.

When it comes to the climate crisis, our intuition is the same: it's not relevant whether people *say* they care about the planet. That they *say* they empathize with those who experience climate-induced floods, droughts and conflicts. **That they experience 'flight shame'**. What the climate really needs are *actions*.

People in the Global North¹ can significantly reduce their environmental impact by buying less new stuff, staying on the ground² and getting protein from plants³. The fact that people still engage in shopping sprees, holiday flights, and prefer 'real' burgers, implies according to conventional wisdom, that they don't *really* care. That, when push comes to shove, we are ultimately selfish beings who care more about ourselves than about others. **After all: actions speak louder than words.**

I will argue today that this cynical interpretation of the 'intention-behavior' gap is incorrect. Most people do care. But they face constraints that limit their ability to act. What people say – in questionnaires, to each other, online – therefore reveals more about their true desires than their seemingly unsustainable actions. Sometimes, **words speak louder than actions.**

I will also show that words possess a power that is frequently overlooked. Talking about one's desire for change can actually be quite useful. It can make it clear that unsustainable norms are not fixed and approved by everyone. That they are shifting. This awareness can pave the way for social, policy- and ultimately system change.

In the coming 30 minutes, I'll explain to you how I've come to this conclusion, and how our collective fixation on others' **actions** is preventing the transition to a greener and fairer society.

A recent survey⁴ suggests that Dutch citizens are willing to fly and buy less. Another survey found that the number of self-proclaimed meat-reducers has increased from 13% to 43% in the Netherlands⁵. Yet, we're not translating our survey answers into actions. We haven't seen a massive drop in meat consumption over the past years⁶. And the KLM, our national airline, just reported record profits. It seems our actions are not lining up with our words.

There are multiple ways to interpret this intention-behavior gap.

Here is a cartoon, that captures the intention-behavior gap in one shot.

On the left, Brenda is in a plane, without giving it much thought. This is how things used to be. On the right, you see Brenda after she had decided to adopt a more conscious lifestyle. She's still flying but now realizes that flying is 'not done' anymore.

This cartoon won an award. The fact that people still fly, despite their green intentions, is according to the jury report, a testimony to the '**hypocrisy of the environmentally-conscious individual**'⁷.



<https://nos.nl/artikel/2446270-jip-van-den-toorn-wint-inkspotprijs>

In recent months I've talked to policy makers at several Dutch ministries. There, I noticed that another interpretation of the intention-behavior gap is quite dominant: survey results, according to some, are just a manifestation of *cheap talk*.

People like to *say* they care about protecting the environment, and that they care about the welfare of animals. If you want to impress others, it is easier to say you care, instead of going through the pains of demonstrating that you do. That is the principle of cheap talk.

Economists distinguish between **stated** and **revealed preferences**. Stated preferences are what people *say*, for instance in surveys. Revealed preferences are what people actually *do*. Revealed preferences, what people do, are typically seen as more diagnostic of people's actual desires than stated preferences. After all, talk supposedly is cheap.

The widespread notion that people engage in 'cheap talk' may help to explain why we often respond cynically when polls tell us that people are worried about the climate or that they want more stringent climate policy. If people truly care about the environment, so goes the dogma, they would take action.

It is easy to become discouraged by this diagnosis. But is it accurate? Are people's unsustainable actions indeed a better indicator of their true wants than their words? Are people lacking motivation?

Let's look at the data.

In the first years of doing research, working at the Environmental Psychology department in Groningen, I focused on improving people's motivation to act sustainably. Can't we just fix things with rewards and fines? I discovered that rewards can be quite effective in motivating some specific behaviors, such as reducing speeding⁸. But I also found financial rewards often have little effect, or can even backfire⁹. This happens when rewards are not big enough to compensate for the effort that's required¹⁰.

But perhaps more importantly, I discovered that incentives are oftentimes not even needed to promote sustainable actions¹¹. Many people are already **intrinsically motivated** to protect the environment¹². People typically recycle batteries when nobody's watching. They don't need an external push. Dumping batteries would make it harder for people to think of themselves as being a

good person. It threatens their **positive self-image**¹³ and therefore feels wrong¹⁴. But it doesn't stop at recycling. In recent years, people have become concerned about how their flights contribute to climate change. For some people, this means they stopped flying altogether. For others, this means they keep flying *despite* experiencing flight shame¹⁵.

So, if people do care, **why don't they act accordingly?**

This is a question I explored next.

Let me show you some footage.



<https://www.corendon.nl/black-friday>

To be sure – this is a sample of real advertisements taken from actual commercials that were shown in Dutch media channels, compiled by my friends.

Although people often believe they are not susceptible to such advertisements, studies suggest they are. Advertisements typically work via unconscious influences that people don't recognize¹⁶. One effect for instance is that flight advertisements create the impression that many other people fly as well. That makes people feel that their individual contribution will not make a difference anyway. As a result, air travel advertisements make people feel less guilty about flying¹⁷. Other tried and tested advertising tricks¹⁸ are suggesting scarcity (Only on Black Friday!), or by creating positive associations (Live Happy).

Thanks to social media, big data, algorithms, and microtargeting, persuasive techniques have become more potent than ever¹⁹. This forces us to reflect on an uncomfortable question: to what extent are our **actions** really a manifestation of an internal need? Or are they instead the result of multiple effective marketing campaigns²⁰?

Addressing this question goes too far for today. But it does underline a point that has recently received much attention in the behavioral sciences²¹: The context we live in – **the system** – has a major influence on people's actions.

Sociology has long acknowledged that the context (i.e., the system) in which behaviors are embedded²² determines and constrains individual choice. But this insight seems to be missing in our

collective understanding of how humans make decisions^{*}. When we observe someone doing something, our intuition[†] is they did so because of an internal drive. They must have *wanted* it.

When we see someone boarding a plane, we assume they did so out of their own initiative. We forget that actions are often a manifestation of social practice²³, that has been shaped by the not-so-voluntarily-chosen **system** in which we live. If international experience is still required for academics to pass through the tenure track, and trains take more time and money, academics will continue to fly. The fact that flying is cheaper, more socially accepted and sometimes even required by employers explains why even the most intrinsically motivated individual has trouble translating their intentions into consistent action²⁴.

Given that the 'system' holds such a firm grip on what people do, one wonders, do people's (unsustainable) actions really reveal something meaningful about their true preferences?

Following this analysis, it is not surprising that people report feeling 'guilt'[‡] over flying, or express unease about animal cruelty²⁵. They live in a system that encourages them to act opposite to their values.

This is not per se a manifestation of "**hypocrisy**", as the cartoon I presented you earlier implies. In fact, as I will argue next, the fact that people report such conflicted feelings may be **a symptom of impending system change**.

You may be aware of Rogers' innovations of diffusion curve. Together with Maddie Judge, Thijs Bouman and Linda Steg, we integrated recent insights on minority influence and moralization into an updated version of Rogers' classic model²⁶. According to our model, **system change** is characterized by 5 distinct phases.

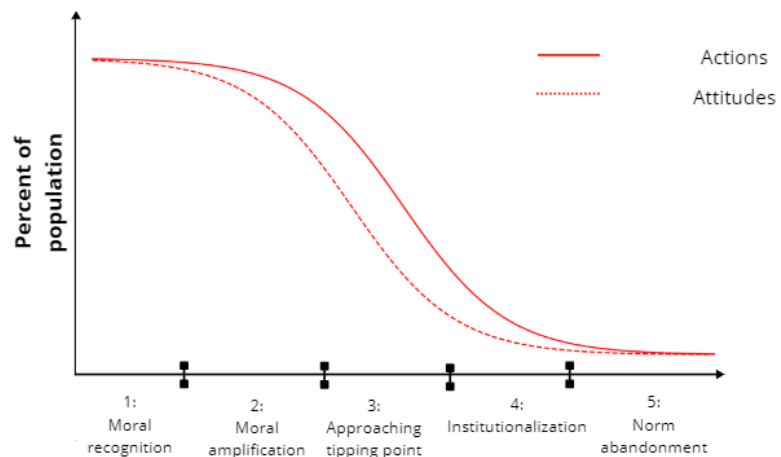
- Change always starts with a minority of people who, thanks to new information, start questioning the moral appropriateness of the current convention. For example, some people start feeling uneasy about taking short-haul flights for holidays or start protesting against Black Friday. This represents Stage 1: **moral recognition**.
- They are ridiculed at first, but by being consistent²⁷, they start planting the seed of doubt. They 'infect' others in their network. This represents Stage 2: **moral amplification**. At this stage, only very few people act on their newly emerged attitudes. For instance, switching from flights to international trains. This is because the physical or social costs of switching are too great.

^{*} Interestingly, the belief that actions are a good thermometer of one's internal attitudes seems to be more pronounced in more individualistic cultures (Kashima et al., 1992). In more collectivistic cultures, there seems to be a stronger cultural understanding that one's actions are embedded in a social context, so people understand that others' actions don't necessarily reveal much about others' motivations or private intentions.

[†] The notion that actions may reveal little about our desires is very counterintuitive to most people. I presume the same holds for many of you here today too. When participants read an essay in favor of Fidel Castro, they infer this person is a Fidel fan. When participants were told that the person writing an essay did not choose, but was assigned to write an essay supporting Fidel, they still think this person is a Fidel fan (Jones & Harris, 1967). Actions, our gut tells us, are a good indicator of people's true preferences. This phenomenon is known as the **correspondence bias**: we tend to attribute a person's actions to their internal desires, even when the external context can perfectly account for their actions (Gilbert & Malone, 1995).

[‡] Guilt is something else than shame. Shame is the uncomfortable feeling that people experience when a piece of information they'd rather keep private becomes public. Given that flying is still perceived as common, it is not surprising that only a few people experience flight *shame*. Guilt, on the other hand, is the feeling that people experience when they have done things that go against their ideals.

- At stage 3, society **approaches a tipping point**. A significant part of the population now considers the status quo to be questionable. However, they are unable to act on those attitudes, because the context (i.e. **system**) still fosters the status quo. Note at this stage, there is



no guarantee that social change will follow. Social conventions, once formed, tend to **stick**²⁸, Zan Mlakar found. If the minority is not able to get a critical number of others to follow their lead, the old convention will prevail. People will keep flying for holidays, despite growing unease.

- Stage 3 is also the time when **governments and companies have the largest potential to 'tip' society into a new, less carbon-intensive 'state'**. By introducing a tax on kerosine to fund better and cheaper international train connections, governments cater to a growing need in society. But better trains also trigger new consumer segments. This, in turn, makes it attractive for investors to fund additional train connections: a positive, self-amplifying **feedback loop** kicks in²⁹.
- Past the tipping point, in Stage 4, there is increasing room for **institutionalization**: new laws are implemented that reflect and reinforce the new reality. For instance, short-haul flights are no longer allowed once there is a sufficiently good train connection between cities. After this point, in stage 5, old conventions may become completely **abandoned**.

This model implies two important things.

First, **attitudes change before actions do**. As social change unfolds, there will be times when there is a gap between people's actions and their attitudes. This gap does not reflect a lack of true motivation ('cheap talk') or hypocrisy. Instead, it implies that the 'system' has not yet caught up with the newly emerged attitudes.

During such times, what people *do* reveals very little about what they *prefer*. There may be **momentum for system change** at this stage, but companies and politicians don't realize this because they mistake people's unsustainable actions for a lack of interest. But people can voice their unease about the status quo. By for instance expressing they experience 'flight shame'. **Sometimes, words speak louder than actions.**

This means researchers, companies and policymakers may benefit from **listening** closer: what do people *say* they want, for instance in surveys and citizens' assemblies? What **words** do people use? This is the **first avenue** I want to explore further in the next years.

Second, our model implies that **minority practices may eventually become mainstream**. People often feel they're too small to make a difference. That, as long as everyone else still flies, their refusal to fly is meaningless. But single **individuals can make a difference**. By questioning

conventions (Stage 1: moral recognition) and mobilizing **others** (Stage 2: moral amplification), they can pave the way for social, political, and ultimately system change.

This means we need to stop seeing individuals as passive 'consumers', but see them instead as 'agents of change' who can infect others around them³⁰, by **talking about change**. Finding out how we can boost 'infection rates' is the **second avenue** of my future research.

Let's start with Avenue 1.

Because we are so fixated on other people's (unsustainable) actions, and forget that the **system** prevents people from translating their sustainable values into actions, our intuitions about what other people actually want can be severely mistaken³¹.

A recent survey showed that 70% of the US population supports climate mitigation policies. However, these same people *think* that only 40% of the population supports those policies. Gregg Sparkman calls such incorrect social intuitions a **false social reality**³²: people are consistently too pessimistic about others' interest in environmental protection.

Also in the Netherlands, our social intuitions may be off. According to a representative survey³³ issued by the Ministry of Economic Affairs & Climate, a 'silent' majority of Dutch citizens are in favor of **banning all flights** under 620 kilometers and improving international train connections. That would imply that flying to Paris from Amsterdam is no longer possible. Such findings may seem puzzling, given that the number of passengers booking a flight has been increasing in the past years. People are obviously not 'practising what they preach'.

That paradox fascinates me. Why would people vote in favor of a policy that limits their autonomy? Who is voting in favor of a ban on short-haul flights? Is it people who don't fly anyway? Is it people who are willing to fly less, but only if they know others will pitch in too? Is it perhaps people who do fly, but also feel conflicted about flying? In an upcoming PhD project, I intend to unpack this '**self-regulation paradox**'.

When I say policymakers and companies can benefit from 'listening' to people, I don't just mean they should take people's self-reported answers in surveys more seriously. They can also study the **words that people use in the real world as a thermometer** of impending social change. I'll give you one example.

When you hear 'milk', you probably think of ...?

'Cow' I guess. But we humans can also digest 'milk' from almonds, soy, and – I suspect there are not many fans in the room today³⁴ – even dog. Given the environmental impact of dairy, getting people to switch to other types of milk could make a serious difference.

I told you that social change starts with Stage 1: **moral recognition**. Society enters that stage when some people start realizing that existing norms are merely social conventions - just one of many possible solutions. So, we wondered: how far along are we with this process when it comes to **milk**?

Greta Zella analyzed language – **words** - to test this. She scraped data from various Reddit discussions, from 2010-2020. One striking finding was that the words 'cow' and 'dairy' appeared more often in combination with the word 'milk' in 2020 compared to 2010. It seems people are slowly starting to realize that 'milk' does not always come from cows. To avoid mix-ups, people are starting to use the word 'cow' or 'dairy' when referring to ordinary 'milk' in conversations.

Dutch dairy consumption has not gone down over the past years. People's *actions* have not changed, it seems. But, as you now may realize, that does not mean change will not come. **Words, it seems, can speak louder than actions.**

To recap, by listening to what people say via surveys, and not getting fixated on the lack of actions, we may get a better feel of what people actually want. By analyzing the words that people use in the real world, we may be able to detect **early warning signals** for possible system change. This is the **first avenue** I want to explore.

The **second avenue** I'll continue exploring in future work is: how can we get intrinsically motivated individuals to become active agents of change, who 'infect' others around them?

You may remember that individuals who go against the stream (Stage 1: moral recognition) can pave the way for system change, provided they succeed in 'infecting' enough others to follow their lead (Stage 2: moral amplification).

But there is one catch. Some of the most effective climate actions **are not 'infectious'**. People typically will not notice another person's refusal to fly to Barcelona, unless that person brings it up in conversations. Similarly, the decision to donate to an effective climate charity will not be noticed by others if they don't post it on social media. One problem with revealed preferences is, that **they are often not revealed to others.**

To 'infect' others and to speed up social tipping points, early adopters need to take an extra step: they need to **talk** about such change. They need to **'preach what they practice'**.

Such talk, Tabea Hoffman discovered³⁵, happens at a **surprisingly low rate**. Even though the average person is concerned about the climate, they hardly talk about it. Since they also don't hear other people talk about it, they shy away from bringing up the topic themselves in conversations³⁶. There seems to be a **spiral of climate silence**³⁷.

So why do people avoid bringing up climate change in conversations?

Most people see sustainable actions as **morally good actions**. By recycling, for instance, we feel proud of ourselves. But this also means we can become defensive when confronted with others who go the extra mile. When we read about early adopters who, unlike us, refuse to fly, or decide to boycott Black Friday. These 'do-gooders' function as a mirror and remind us we could have done better too³⁸. They threaten our moral self-image. To get rid of that guilt, we sometimes lash out³⁹. We shoot the messenger.

People seem very creative in their defensiveness. Sometimes we ridicule others. Sometimes it is flat-out aggression. Benoit Monin calls this phenomenon **'moral do-gooder derogation'**.

Here's an example of the many, many examples to find online.



<https://runt-of-the-web.com/vegan-memes#26>

In sum, it seems that doing good may come with a social cost. It can even lead to ‘activist burnout’⁴⁰, Annayah Prosser found. This cost can have big consequences. It can discourage early adopters from speaking out. On a societal level, it can mean that we never enter the stage of **moral amplification**.

In a study that I conducted with Gert Cornelissen, we found that vegetarian participants no longer brought up their meat-free principles when facing a majority of meat eaters. They realized that doing so could elicit social discomfort. So, self-silenced⁴¹.

A recent study found that people worry they come across as a braggart when they **spontaneously** bring up their donations to charity when talking with others. So, they don’t bring it up anymore⁴².

But by refusing to **‘preach what they practice’**, early adopters forego the ability to ‘infect’ others in their social network, which is needed to create social tipping points. To spread a culture of effective giving, for instance, early adopters need to come ‘come out’.

A crucial question that I’m therefore tackling in new work is: how can worries over reputational concerns be reduced so that early adopters can also become ‘agents of change’ who infect others? How can early adopters be facilitated to not just do good better⁴³, but **do good louder**?

One idea that I am exploring with Jan Koch is the notion of **conversation starters**.

Early adopters may worry they’re seen as braggarts if they mention their good deeds spontaneously. When, out of the blue, they bring up their refusal to buy fast fashion. A smoother way to turn the conversation to those issues may be to create curiosity and trigger *others* to ask questions - why the hell are you wearing wooden shoes at your inaugural lecture?!

To study this idea in the real world, we are collaborating with the startup shoe brand **Nooch**.

Every year, the shoe industry produces 22 billion new pairs of shoes. Modern shoes are often made from synthetic fibres; these materials allow shoes to last longer. The problem is that, after use, more than 90% of these shoes end up in landfills (mostly in Africa and in the Global South). And they stay there for centuries to come, given that synthetic fibres don’t degrade. **Fast fashion, it turns out, is pretty slow.**

To tackle this, Nooch developed the world's first completely 100% biodegradable shoe (that is if you don't count wooden shoes). By doing so, this company has the potential, as Tony's Chocolonely did, to challenge and potentially change production conventions within the wider industry.

Whether or not they succeed in doing so depends on the first batch of customers: are those who have already ordered their shoes willing to act as change agents who 'infect' others to also buy biodegradable shoes in conversations? We are currently developing materials that act as conversation starters, which we will share and test with the first batch of Nooch customers.

In sum, words matter. Via conversation starters, we may be able to help early adopters to become 'agents of change' who can pave the way for system change.

But there is another reason why we tend to overlook the power of words, I've realized thanks to Greta and Saskia Peels.

Neologisms are new words that appear in a language to describe new phenomena. Prior to the invention of a unique word, people typically need many words to describe a new phenomenon. This hampers conversations and exchanging thoughts about the topic.

The word '**flight shame**', for instance, allows people to efficiently express to others that they are aware of the impact of flying. And that they feel bad about it. By improving **communicative efficiency**, the word 'flight shame' made it easier for people to discuss their unease about flying. It also allowed them to realize that others share this discomfort too. The word flight shame was coined in Sweden in 2016 but is now a term that people know and use globally⁴⁴.

Neologisms can also foster what linguists call '**hypostatization**'⁴⁵. A new term can make people aware of something they had not consciously recognized before. The term '**greenwashing**', for instance, alerted consumers, activists, and policymakers of the tendency of companies to make green claims (100% carbon-neutral) without backing them up. Public outrage over greenwashing has fueled support for **system-level changes**. The Dutch Authority of Consumers & Markets has recently issued explicit guidelines⁴⁶ that prevent companies from making unwarranted green claims. Such guidelines make it easier for truly green companies to be noticed and gain market share.

In sum, coining a new word – a neologism - can help to create awareness of new phenomena, and to foster conversations, which is needed for system change.

I'll end my talk today by giving you a practical example.

Replying to the news that 85.000 people attended the climate march, one person implied that "most protesters drove to Amsterdam in their SUV". By accusing someone of **inconsistencies**, it is easier to ignore them.

I consider it pretty unlikely that 85.000 people drove to Amsterdam in their SUVs – where would they park?!

But there are cases in which people say A, but do B. Where they are actually inconsistent. I've argued this is not per se 'hypocrisy', but may instead signal there is momentum for system change. Yet, the accusation of being 'hypocritical' can prevent early adopters from opening up⁴⁷. To sign and spread petitions, or to visit protests. To get their others to join too.

As far as I know, we don't have a common Dutch word for such accusations of hypocrisy. But given the power of new words, I hereby coin a new term that may help early adopters to recognize and neutralize such accusations: **moraalziften**[§].

Let's make it our goal to ensure that this word enters the official Dutch dictionary – the Dikke van Dale - by 2025.

To conclude.

The fact that climate-intensive production and consumption conventions are still in place, I hope is now clear to you, does not mean that people are happy with it. Actions can be a poor indicator of people's true desires. We should embrace the possibility that people can be sincere when they say they want to protect the environment *and* at the same time engage in actions that tell a different story. This is not just a manifestation of cheap talk or hypocrisy. Instead, it may be a symptom of social change. As I've argued today, **words can speak louder than actions**.

This means we should **listen** to what people say (avenue 1), and facilitate people to **talk** and exchange thoughts (avenue 2). For behavioral researchers to get out of the lab, and to study the words that people use in the real world. For companies and governments to just ask what people want, rather than assume. For frontrunners to not just do good better, but to **do good louder**.

There is momentum and room for change, that can be leveraged when we stop mistaking actions for preferences. When we start **talking** and **listening** to one another.

But that dialogue will not take place spontaneously, as you now may realize. To reach social tipping points, we need **new channels** for consumer researchers, citizens, policymakers and businesses to exchange ideas. To verify assumptions and test intuitions. To ask ourselves; is our 'conventional wisdom' still wise, or is it mostly just convention?

Facilitating exactly that dialogue the goal of our newly erected **Amsterdam Centre for Responsible Consumption**.

[§] I haven't found a good English translation, but have a good alternative: "to **hypocritize** someone". If you have a better alternative, shoot me an email!

That concludes my story. Before we celebrate though, I would like to express my gratitude.

I thank the Dean of Amsterdam Business School, Marc Salomon, the Dean of the Faculty of Business and Economics, Roel Beetsma, as well as the University Board for their faith in me.

Linda, you couldn't be here, but I think these words will reach you anyway. You convinced me to consider a job in academia in the first place. Under your guidance, doing science really felt like 'getting paid for doing fun stuff'. I am actively 'infecting' a new generation of scholars with the same mindset.

Koert, I feel I wouldn't be in a position and I am now without your wisdom and empathy.

Willemijn, your enthusiasm inspired me to come to Amsterdam and dive into the unknown. You've saved me from various accidents over the past months, both social and physical (I think I'm now finally getting the hang of trams by the way). I look forward to the upcoming PhD projects that we're going to supervise together!

Ward, Saskia and other members of the Young Academy Groningen Cohort. Spending time with curious people outside of your own discipline is truly one of the most rewarding things to do as an academic. One example of what such collaboration can bring is the popular science book that you will see at the reception.

Maarten, Hans, Marijke: although I'm less around than I used to, your warmth and enthusiasm make it feel as if nothing has changed. I look forward to continuing our joint projects together.

Gert, Amir and Tim, you demonstrated that working in an international team via online meetings can be both fun and productive. Thanks for your wisdom and humor!

Thijs: it feels like we're just at the start of a long joint adventure. I look forward to discover what the future has in store for us.

Zan, Jan, Janneke, Claire, Annayah, Janneke, Anna, Greta, Tabea, Julian, Joris: our fortnightly lab meetings are the highlight of every fortnight. Being an academic never feels more meaningful than during the fascinating conversations about totally random, but somehow crucial topics!

Georgia; you've prevented multiple mental breakdowns by helping me organize events for our new Centre. Thanks for keeping a cool head!

Hendrik, Marlene, Andrea, Sezin, Joris, Jonne, Shaul, Bastiaan, Joel, Natalie: thanks so much for the warm welcome you've given me to at UvA!

A special thanks to Thijs, Hans, Ward & Michel: you've helped me to translate the chaos that has been building up inside my head into the story I shared today.

Last but not least, the most talented academic of all:

My dear Geja. First. My deepest apologies for not wearing the brand-new shoes you arranged for me today. I cherish every single second of the past 22 years we've spent together and am thankful for those still ahead. I could spend an entire oratie describing how you have allowed me to blossom. Instead, I will restate what I said back in the day when I finished my PhD dissertation. **Alleen kan ik veel, maar met jou kan ik alles.**

Ties en Joep, zijn jullie nog wakker?

Jullie *echt* de aller-aller-aller-liefste kinderen ooit. Jullie zijn de toekomst en de reden waarom ik probeer er alles aan om de wereld een stukje groener, eerlijker en schoner te maken dan hij nu is. Ik heb weet niet of mijn onderzoek daarbij helpt, maar zoals de Rolling Stones al zongen: “*You can’t always get what you want. But you can try sometime, and you might find: you get what you need.*”

Ik heb gezegd.

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