Warning Fatigue: what is it and why does it matter? An exploration and critique of the literature

Brenda Mackie – PhD candidate
University of Canterbury
BushfireCRC



Monstrous storms, extreme droughts, devastating floods – evidence for climate change is now undeniable, say scientists.

Warning fatigue and what the literature says about it

 The gaps I have found in the literature and one in particular

How my research will address that gap

Cry Wolf Fable



- Boy saw wolf and cried out to villagers for help
 - Villagers came but scared the wolf away
 - After several times, villagers didn't come and the wolf ate the sheep
- Meaning/Moral has changed
 - [from] 'sooner or later the boy will be right'
 - [to] The boy is a liar

Why does it matter?

- 'more reluctant to issue warnings for fear of issuing a false alarm'
- 'panicking the public whilst running the risk of underpreparing them at the same time'
- 'reduce the problematic false alarm rate because of anticipated community complacency'
- 'in order to reduce residual risk from bushfires in the Australian context'
- 'Warning fatigue needed to be avoided'

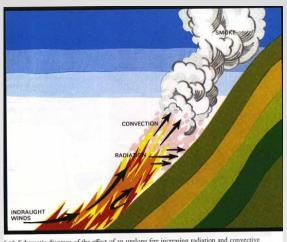
Bushfire warnings

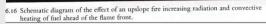














After a Warning

- Life continues as normal; not regarded as life-threatening
 - Until social and sensory cues indicate anything to the contrary
 - 'Frames of normal expectations'
 - Normalcy bias needs to be overcome
- Own evaluation of the environment to confirm warning
 - Social networks provide more clues
 - Social disorganisation
- Even when people seem to do nothing, they've paid attention to the warnings; they've just reacted to it in a different way

Literature limitations

- Breznitz (1984)
 - Warning fatigue too complicated to be studied in its natural environment'
 - Measured fear response using a threat of an electric shock
- Atwood and Major (1996)
 - Used terminology interchangeably
 - 'warnings' and 'predictions', 'false alarms' and 'near-misses'
- Cry wolf is a phenomenon that results from being 'overwarned' not 'over-predicted'
- Myths are a 'cultural explanation for events and phenomena that impact peoples lives'

Other ways of 'talking about' Warning Fatigue

- 'Repeated disaster warnings can lead to inattention, complacency and desensitisation'
- the public intuitively know that 'a false alarm is a much smaller problem than a disaster not warned about'
- 'because of these false alarms, the public will react with considerable scepticism'

False Alarms

- Alarm response is functional and productive
 - Warning fatigue.....a maladaptive response?
 - 'People are often exposed to repeated messages in the absence of an actual event'
- Statistically significant false alarm effect in areas with a high false alarm ratio
- Repeated false alarms have an effect on both response and decisions to act

Does experience influence response?

- 'A subsequent episode is automatically altered by past experience'
- 'People with prior experience are likely to experience heightened stress and anxiety as a result of remembering and re-experiencing past events'
- 'Less likely to personalize risk and respond to pre-impact warnings'
- 'Experience has a curious effect on peoples risk perceptions'
- Gamblers Fallacy: Ignore the fact that random events are equally probable

Short-lead-time (SLT) & Long-lead-time (LLT) disasters

- All disasters are not the same
- 'Short-lead-time' (SLT) come and go within a week
- 'Long-lead-time' (LLT) over months or years
- 'gradual and easy adaptation....rendered the warning less effective'
- 'length of time before a disaster a warning is issued, has considerable influence in how messages are received'
- Entire alarm 'unjustified in the first place'
- Experts 'did not know what they are doing'

Short-lead-time (SLT) & Long-lead-time (LLT) disasters cont.

Cry Wolf effect is not a faulty premise at the beginning of the process but the end result of a series of warnings

- There is a strong correlation between:
 - Trust and credibility of officials
 - Public uptake and belief of messages

'If the LLT threat has been 'anticipated by numerous antecedent warnings' then by the time a final and more urgent warning is issued, the threat is not given the attention it deserves'

Warning Fatigue?

- Long lead time (LLT) disasters
- Experience
 - severity, familiarity and consequences
- Trust and credibility
- Media
 - television, radio and newspaper?

- Risk
 - Fear and Uncertainty
- Social and cultural considerations
 - Australian bushfires
- Cognitive
 - biases of optimism, attribution
 - anxiety and anticipatory stress responses,
 - Normalisation adaptations.

References

- Atwood, L.E & Major, A.M (1998) Exploring the "Cry Wolf' Hypothesis, International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters, vol 16(3) pp.279
- Barnes, R.B., Gruntfest, E.C., Hayden, M.H., Schultz, D.M & Benight, C. (2007), False Alarms and Close Calls: A Conceptual Model of Warning Accuracy, Weather and Forecasting, vol 22, pp.1140-1145
- Breznitz, S (1984) Cry Wolf: The Psychology of False Alarms, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, London.
- Cook, G.,Bradstock, R & Williams, R (2010) Climate Change, Sea Change & Tree Change: Bushfire and Cyclone risk management, CSIRO, Paper presented at the AFAC conference, Darwin, September 2010.
- Dow, K & Cutter, S.L (1998) Crying Wolf: Repeat Responses to hurricane evacuation orders, Journal of Coastal Management, vol 26, pp.237-252
- Dow, K. and S. L. Cutter. (2000). Public orders and personal opinions: Household strategies for hurricane risk assessment, *Environmental Hazards*, 2, 143-155.
- Fischer, H.W & Bischoff, B.E (1987) Perpetrating the Community Breakdown Model: Portrayal of Behavioral Response to Natural disasters in the National Print Media, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mid-South Sociological Association.
- Gruntdfest, E & Carswell, K (2001) Impacts of a false alarm: The January 29, 2000 Ventura, California experience. M.S. thesis. Dept. of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs
- Janis, I.L (1962) Psychological Effects of warnings, in Man and Society in Disaster, G. Baker and D. Chapman (eds), Basic Books, New York, pp. 55
- Levanthal, H., Carriger, B.K., Hochbaum, G.M & Rosenstock, I.M (1960) Epidemic impact on the general population in two cities [in] *The impact of Asian influence on community life*, Leventhal et al., Public Health Service, Washington.
- Moore, D.P. & Moore, J.W. (1996) Post hurricane burnout: An island township's experience. Environment and Behavior. 28, 134-155.
- Nigg, J M (1995) Risk Communication and warning systems in T Horlick-Jones, A Amendola and R Casale (eds), *Natural Risk and Civil Protection*, E & FN Spon, chapter 33
- Reser, J (1996) Coping with Natural Disaster Warnings: The Nature of Human Response and Psychological Preparedness, Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, Gold Coast. Australia
- Rhatigan, R., Barnes, L.R & Gruntfest, E (2004) Looking Back at Superstorm '93:Perspectives of Emergency Managers in Southern Appalachia. Retrieved on 05 July 2011 from http://ccb.colorado.edu/superstorm/ss93Final.pdf
- Sandman, P & Lanard, J (2006) Bird Flu: Communicating the Risk in 2005 Perspectives in Health, *Panamerican Health Organization*, vol 10, No. 2 Retrieved on 06 July 2011 from http://ykalaska.wordpress.com/2006/03/21/h5n1-risk-sandman/#comments
- Sandman, P.M. (2008) 'The dangers of excessive warnings ... and of over-reassurance', Sandman Guestbook, Retrieved 06 July 2011 from http://www.psandman.com/gst2008.htm
- Sandman, P.M. (2011) Why U.K. nurses resisted swine flu vaccination and why health care workers resist flu vaccination, Sandman Guestbook, Retrieved of July, 2011 from http://www.psandman.com/gst2011.htm
- Sorensen, J.H (2000) Hazard Warning Systems: Review of 20 years of Progress, Natural Hazards Review, May, pp.119-125
- Simmons, K.M & Sutter, D (2009) False Alarms, Tornado warnings and Tornado Casualties, Weather, Climate and Society, vol 1 pp.38-53
- Turner, R.H (1983) Waiting for Disaster: Changing Reactions to earthquake Forecasts in Southern California, Int. Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters, vol 1 (2) pp.307-334
- Weaver, J.F., Gruntfest, E & Levy, G.M (2000) Two Floods in Fort Collins, Colorado: Learning from a natural disaster, *Bull. Amer. Meteor. Soc*, vol 81 pp.2359-2366

