The Capital Ambition guide to behaviour change

the
london
collaborative

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This guide has been produced for Capital Ambition by the Young Foundation and the Office of Public Management as part of the London Collaborative. We first produced the guide in August 2009. This version in May 2010 is an updated one with new case studies.

Behaviour change is a subject of growing interest to London's public sector and we hope that you will continue to share your thoughts and experiences on this developing area of work through the Network London website, www.network-london.org.uk.

The London Collaborative ended in April 2010. For further information about the programme, its work on behaviour change and ongoing collaboration in this area please get in touch with Capital Ambition by email at
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CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

The London Collaborative was a two-year programme which aimed to mobilise talent and capacity within the capital's public sector to create a city that is greater than the sum of its parts. We identified the challenge of how public sector bodies can facilitate changes in individual behaviour to achieve social outcomes as a key work area.

Behaviour change clearly resonated with members of the London Leadership Network of some 350 people, which the Collaborative created. Over 50 people from 21 councils and other organisations signed up to work on behaviour change. This guide is a product of this work, bringing together theory and practice.

The guide highlights some of the latest academic thinking and theoretical frameworks on behaviour change, identifies their implications for practice and draws on a diverse set of case studies from across London. Most importantly, it reflects the insights gained in our workshops with practitioners. For example, participants identified a number of ethical and democratic issues around legitimising behaviour change interventions.

We have developed this as a 'rough' guide because participants in the work felt behaviour change was too complex and the track record of what works too tentative to capture in a neat toolkit. It is designed to be dipped into like a travel guide. We hope it provides good starting and reference points to policymakers and practitioners engaged in this field.

The key sections for a quick overview and advice are:
4.4 conclusions on applying behaviour change insights
5 a checklist for planning behaviour change
8 tools for supporting change in our own organisations
9 measures of success.

The London Collaborative was funded by Capital Ambition as part of its Futures Programme. We focused on articulating a shared understanding of future challenges facing the capital, on pan-London issues, and on developing resilience and adaptive capacity with a leadership network of over 350 public sector managers. We collaborated across boundaries of place, profession and organisation in exploring solutions to four specific challenges: worklessness, climate change, population flows and behaviour change. Behaviour change also featured in the second phase of the Collaborative, which focused on responses to the economic crisis and on using innovation to meet the challenge of 'more for less' public money.

For the work on behaviour change, chief executive champions Gillian Norton, London Borough of Richmond upon Thames, and Paul Martin, London Borough of Sutton agreed the following objectives:

» building capacity and thought leadership on behaviour change in London
» learning from innovative practice and developing frameworks for interventions
» developing practical projects designed by the leadership network.

Since September 2008 we have carried out background research and held a series of seminars and workshops to progress on all these fronts. We are keen that knowledge continues to develop among London's network of public sector organisations and beyond, and encourage others to join in both the experiments and the exchange of practice and to share their learning through the Network London website, www.network-london.org.uk.

2 Why behaviour change matters

IN THIS SECTION

» increasing attention to behaviour change in public policy as we come up against the limitations of simply more or better service provision

» the public spending squeeze means the balance between what public services and individuals do needs to shift

» meeting LAA and other local targets in London will rely on behaviour change

2.1 MORE FOR LESS

The increasing interest in influencing behaviours stems from a growing recognition that today's most intractable social problems cannot be solved by either government or individuals acting alone. Key priorities, from sustainability and improving public health to reducing anti-social behaviour and creating community cohesion, cannot be achieved by smarter government delivery machinery alone, but require a positive contribution from individuals and communities.

The global recession has radically changed the context in which London's public sector organisations will need to achieve their ambitious social goals. Public spending is set to fall dramatically over the next few years. Efficiency and innovation have become critical drivers for behaviour change. Much public spending 'mops up' problems created by the public's profligacy, criminal or anti-social behaviour or individual self-harm. If citizens were able to use less energy, create less waste for landfill, walk and cycle more and use cars less, improve their own health and wellbeing, and develop their own skills and resources, public agencies could concentrate scarce resources on those areas where we cannot help ourselves. In other areas the balance of responsibility taken on by the citizen and that taken on by the state are being revisited.

The London Collaborative series of events on 'tough times' repeatedly returned to behaviour change as one of the mechanisms through which services might seek to deliver desired outcomes in an environment of financial restraint. The work of participants in the London Futures Challenges, developing proposals to redesign organisations to meet the challenges of the future, suggested that a new settlement between public agencies and citizens is needed, whereby citizens have more say in what public agencies do and take more responsibility for their own actions in helping to create sustainable communities.

The true challenge is to promote desired behaviours in conversation with local people, to build on democratic mandates, and to create conditions that can help change public mindsets, expectations and behaviours.

However, prior to the onset of the financial crisis London's public sector had already begun to turn its attention to the potential of behavioural approaches, seeking new tools and approaches to tackle intractable issues and continue to improve outcomes.

In the spring of 2008 behaviour change seemed to be one of those subjects whose time had come. Certainly, sufficient London Council Chief Executives thought it important enough to be one of a limited number of areas of work we agreed to expend collaborative effort on. Despite the terminology with its connotations of big brother control, this was always conceived as something done with Londoners, not to them. It was about engaging people in identifying an issue - waste minimisation, reduction in car travel, healthy living and so on - then working with them to achieve desirable change and reducing the cost to the public purse in the process.

If it mattered then, how much more it matters now as we emerge from a profound recession into an uncertain future. The essential task facing the country, to make serious reductions in public expenditure, requires us to engage with our public and get them to take responsibility for things the state has taken to itself. In this way the state does less, good outcomes are achieved and scarce resources can be targeted at those in greatest need.

Gillian Norton, Chief Executive London Borough of Richmond / London Collaborative behaviour change champion

Sutton sees behaviour change as community engagement with a purpose. The choices made by our residents on a day-to-day basis impact on the work we do in local authorities and the cost of that work. Although 'behaviour change' has an alarmingly Orwellian ring to it, the concept is fundamental to work that all councils and our staff are doing. It is also a great way to engage our workforce. Our staff have fantastic expertise in behaviour change, and are motivated by the challenge to work with residents to achieve better, lower cost outcomes.

Paul Martin, Chief Executive London Borough of Sutton / London Collaborative behaviour change champion

2.2 THE INCREASING EMPHASIS ON BEHAVIOUR CHANGE IN PUBLIC POLICY

Increasingly public sector organisations face the challenge that the outcomes they are seeking to achieve in local areas cannot be achieved by simply more or better services. Key aspects of improved quality of life for individuals and communities will be dependent on the choices of individuals and on accessing the 'free sources' of public energy, engagement and action.

Yet conventional tools, skills and mindsets in the public sector are unlikely to achieve such ambitious outcomes unless supplemented by new thinking and practice. It is unsurprising that governments tend to rely on the most obvious tools at their disposal: laws, regulations, state spending, structural reform and taxation. Governments have conventionally tried to influence behaviour by increasing the financial cost or effort of undesired behaviours and doing the opposite to encourage desired behaviours. While all of these tools can play a useful role, they are unlikely to be sufficient in securing outcomes that require personal commitment to change rather than simple compliance or the pursuit of short-term self-interest. Behavioural theory suggests both ways that the impact of these tools can be enhanced, and new and potentially more effective ways to shape behaviour.

It is precisely because today's challenges such as obesity or climate change highlight the limits of conventional tools that behaviour change books such as *Nudge* and *Influence* have generated considerable excitement.[1] These books and other writing from diverse perspectives illuminate a wider range of human motivations than 'rational' self interest (from emotion, desire and mental shortcuts to social norms and social standing) and consider the implications for influencing behaviour.

2.3 LAA TARGETS AND BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

The ambitions of local authorities and their partners increasingly go beyond service delivery to creating good places to live and helping local people achieve aspirations for training and work, good health, safety and a sustainable environment.

It is clear that behaviour change is now on the practical agendas of most public agencies. London's Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) have chosen Local Area Agreement (LAA) targets that demand behaviour change to achieve the desired outcomes – for example targets to reduce obesity, increase recycling, strengthen cohesion, shift the mode of

transport used or reduce anti-social behaviour. Some local authorities are now moving towards a corporate approach to incorporating behaviour change methods, taking the lessons from smaller trial initiatives and applying them across a much wider range of work.

Achieving LAA targets in these areas will not be easy. Managers and staff need to develop greater familiarity with the range of approaches to behaviour change. We will also need to use intelligence with precision not only to understand problems, but to identify motivating factors, obstacles and the potential opportunities to change public attitudes and behaviour. The approaches we develop need to win consent from the London electorate and make use of the energy and commitment of Londoners. Behaviour change is about values and feelings, as well as about evidence.

3 What makes us tick– insights into human behaviour

3.1 BEYOND A RATIONAL MODEL

Although we know that social and individual factors can influence choices, policymakers have often relied on the assumption that we will respond to financial incentives or disincentives and that where we fail to make optimal choices this is due to a lack of information. Behaviour change looks at a wider spectrum of factors influencing human behaviour.

Social and behavioural sciences, including the new discipline of behavioural economics, suggest a need to pay much more attention to 'irrational' internal processes (e.g. desires,

habits, emotions and unconscious mental short cuts) and to a much wider range of external social influencers (e.g. interpersonal relationships, social norms and social systems) beyond finance and transaction costs on shaping behaviour. Figure 1 (from the Social Market Foundation) provides a useful overview of such an expanded spectrum of behavioural factors with an indicative range of options and tools associated with different types of factors.

FIGURE 1: FACTORS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

	Drivers	Options	Potential Tools
External Factors	Finance	Make desirable behaviour cheaper	eg tax breaks, subsidies, grants
		Make undesirable behaviour costlier	eg taxation, fines
	Effort	Make desirable behaviour easier	eg provision of information, labeling, facilities
		Make undesirable behaviour harder	eg limit access, regulation
Internal Factors	Habit	Routine behaviour	eg rewards, positive reinforcement, reminders
		Raise concious awareness	eg education, prompts, naming & shaming
	Cognition	Consider framing and emotions	eg public awareness campaigns with simple intuitive messages & emotional appeal
		Address personal capacity	eg automatic enrolment, reduce number of options, one-to-one & tailored advice, role models
		Account for heuristics and biases	eg advance choice, stimulation, forced choice, careful default selection
Social Factors	Norms	Foster new social norms	eg automatic enrolment, reduce number of options, one-to-one & tailored advice, role models
		Utilise existing desirable norms	eg publicise effects of behaviour, public commitments

Source: Predergrast et al, Creatures of Habit, SMF 2008

3.2 INTERNAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS THAT SHAPE INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOUR

The influence of external or contextual factors on behaviour has long been recognised. Physical factors, such as a safe and accessible physical environment, can have an effect on behaviour alongside cost or access to information. However much of the recent excitement around behaviour change has come from the popularisation of methods for identifying and influencing internal and social determinates of individual behaviour. Some illustrative examples of key concepts from the literature are captured in the boxes below.

INTERNAL FACTORS

Heuristics and cognitive biases: heuristics are approximate rules of thumb or educated guesses which we apply when making decisions or judgements that involve complex choices or incomplete information. Common examples might include taking price as an indicator of quality or assuming that 'bigger is better'.

Some kinds of heuristics can lead to patterns of deviation in judgement when weighing up the costs and benefits of options and so skew our preferences, leading to systematic biases. Effectively, these biases systematically distort the 'rational' decision-making process, but importantly they tend to do so in predictable and replicable ways. This means that so long as biases are detected, policymakers can adjust policies to take account of their skewing effects.

Important examples include:
» 'time discounting' – the tendency for people to prefer more immediate gratification and pay-offs to those which will occur later
» 'loss aversion' – the tendency for people to feel loss more keenly than gain
» 'inertia' and 'status quo' biases – tendency for people to be unwilling or unable to make the effort required to take active decisions, meaning decisions are made through inertia.

Working with the grain of these and other patterns of 'irrational' behaviour can make it easier to help individuals make choices in both their own and the community's long-term interests. Such an approach has been popularised in Thaler and Sunstein's book *Nudge*, which emphasises the importance of policymakers as 'choice architects' who can draw on habits, emotions and cognitive biases to set defaults to elicit better choices. Well-known examples include opt-out policies for pensions and organ donation, both of which use inertia for socially beneficial outcomes.[2]

Self-efficacy and confidence: self-efficacy refers to people's confidence in their ability to take action and persist with that action. If faced with a goal that is seen as either too difficult or complex, people may give up quickly or may be reluctant to try at all. Bandura's research shows setting and rewarding small incremental goals, along with overt monitoring and feedback, can increase that self-efficacy.[3] Understanding how to build self-efficacy is particularly relevant for interventions that aim to promote healthy behaviours and the management of long-term care.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Social proof and social norms: people often look to those around them, including strangers, for guidance on how to behave. This is especially so under conditions of uncertainty where people look for cues from others on how to behave. Robert Cialdini's research shows that people are twice as likely to litter if their environment is dirty because of perceived group norms, and are more likely to reuse hotel bath towels if told others have done so.[4] Mobilising 'social proof' can therefore play a key role in establishing new social norms.

Collective efficacy: in order to participate in solving collective problems, people often need to feel part of a wave of change, rather than an isolated and powerless individual. Harvard sociologist Robert Sampson terms this 'collective efficacy': we need to know not just what is right or even what is in our self-interest, but also that our participation will make a difference. This helps the possible seem probable and prevents any sense of injustice that might be associated with making the effort alone.

Social commitment and social standing: making use of common social norms, which value loyalty, commitment and reciprocity is another way of addressing gaps between attitudes and behaviours. Research suggests that once an individual expresses beliefs or commitments publicly, they exhibit a strong tendency to act in a way that is consistent with these commitments. The use of individual compacts in health and criminal justice are examples of policy tools that encourage individuals to make visible commitments about the future. MORI polling found that over 50 per cent of people say that they would do more to stop climate change if others did the same. 'Pledge banks', which mobilise political action on the premise that 'I will if you will' are another example of using social commitment to motivate behaviour.

Sources: Personal Responsibility and Changing Behaviour: the state of knowledge and implications for public policy, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit 2004; Predergrast et al, Creatures of Habit, SMF 2008

Cabinet Office research has highlighted nine of the most robust, non-coercive influences on our behaviour. These have been captured in the mnemonic MINDSPACE for use as a checklist in policy making, as shown in Figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2a: MINDSPACE

Messenger	we are heavily influenced by who communicates information
Incentives	our responses to incentives are shaped by predictable mental shortcuts such as strongly avoiding losses
Norms	we are strongly influenced by what others do
Defaults	we go with the flow of preset options
Salience	our attention is drawn to what is novel and seems relevant to us
Priming	our acts are often influenced by sub-conscious cues
Affect	our emotional associations can powerfully shape our actions
Commitments	we seek to be consistent with our public promises, and reciprocate acts
Ego	we act in ways that make us feel better about ourselves

Source: MINDSPACE: influencing behaviour through public policy, Cabinet Office 2010

The examples above draw attention to the role that habits, emotions and social norms have on individual behaviour. They do not cover the effect of wider economic and cultural systems such as the mass media, the nature of the labour market, ownership structures of high street retailers or the political system. Figure 2b below illustrates a wider range of influencers; it maps the diverse factors that have an influence on children.

Clearly those working in local government or other public services cannot influence all of these wider factors. Yet they need to understand how such factors shape behaviour and try to take them into account. In some cases influencing the media may be a route, in others there can be more direct influence, for example in shaping the nature of local retailers through planning and regulation.

FIGURE 2b: ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL INFLUENCERS ON CHILDREN
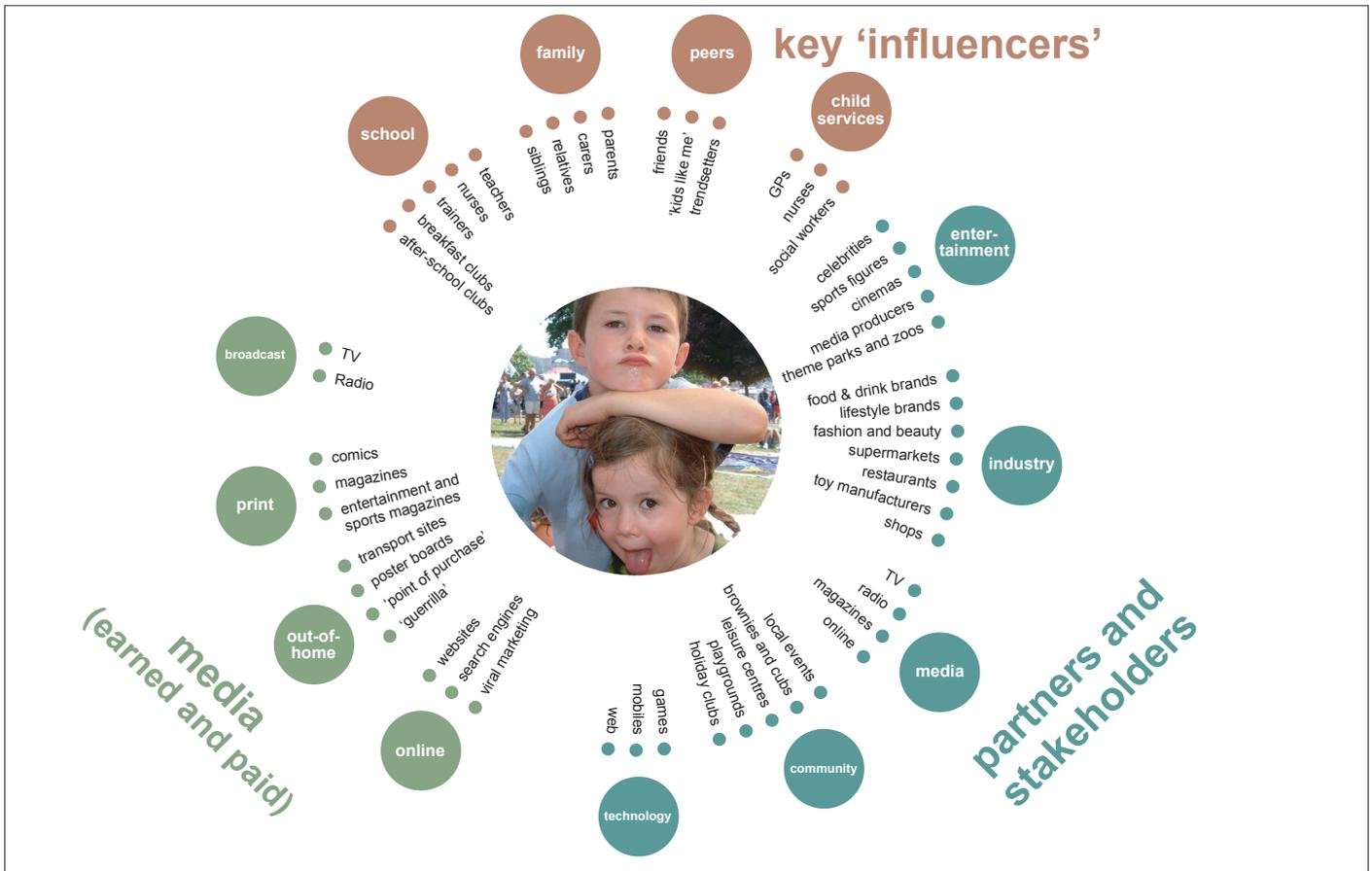
Source: Prendergrast et al, Creatures of Habit, SMF 2008

3.3 COMPLEX CAUSES OF BEHAVIOUR

One of the key insights from the work of behavioural economists such as Cass Sunstein and Richard Thaler is that people's reasons for doing what they do are multiple and complex.

The government's cross-departmental Social Research group has published research showing the interactive nature of the many foundations and causes of observable behaviour. Such models can help practitioners understand where there is scope to influence people towards more beneficial behaviours. Relevant questions to consider are:

» which causes of behaviour are fundamental to a person's life and will require deep and repeated interventions to change (e.g. habits, social identity, values)?
» which rely on a swing in social behaviour (social norms), and which are locked-in behaviours through the built world, financial constraints or day-to-day lifestyles?
» which causes of behaviour will require a rethink of working patterns, building design or community?

Any approach to influencing behaviour must incorporate multiple interventions, addressing internal and external causes of behaviour. This will often mean that the outcomes of behaviour change interventions are difficult to predict and results will not be seen in the short term.

4 **Applying new insights**

Moving from new theoretical insights to practice is challenging. A number of frameworks have been developed in different contexts to help us understand the opportunities and barriers.

4.1 RECOGNISING THE RANGE OF EXISTING APPROACHES TO BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

Each profession within the public sector has its own assumptions about how behaviour is best changed and these are reflected in policies and practice. Some professions assume that the public make rational choices based on evidence, while others are tuned in to people who are often troubled or emotional.

For example, trading standards works through regulation and enforcement, while planners may try to 'design in' behaviour change (e.g. building flats without car parking spaces to discourage car use) and those providing children's services may put more emphasis on talking, interaction, support and advice. Social marketing campaigns and tools like naming and shaming have long been used to shift littering and recycling behaviours while efforts to increase the uptake of loft insulation have been based on financial incentives. Recognising and understanding these different approaches is a first step to considering a wider range and making good choices about which approach to use in each situation.

4.2 FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND CHOOSING DIFFERENT APPROACHES

Useful frameworks that encompass a comprehensive range of assumptions, interventions and methods have been provided by the Department of Health via the National Social Marketing Centre, by DEFRA and by the Cabinet Office (see Figures 3,4 and 5). Although models have originated from specific policy areas, they can be easily adapted to develop strategies for other behaviours. The models all highlight that the appropriate methods will not come ready-made from a specific profession or service, but depend on the barriers and motivations that individuals have in relation to specific behavioural goals being sought.

The National Social Marketing Centre model was developed in relation to health issues. It maps four intervention domains of educating, supporting, controlling and designing. It is suggested that most interventions have aspects of more than one of these domains; identifying and applying the effective balance between the elements is therefore critical to a successful behavioural intervention.

FIGURE 3: AN ILLUSTRATION OF FOUR CATEGORIES OF INTERVENTION
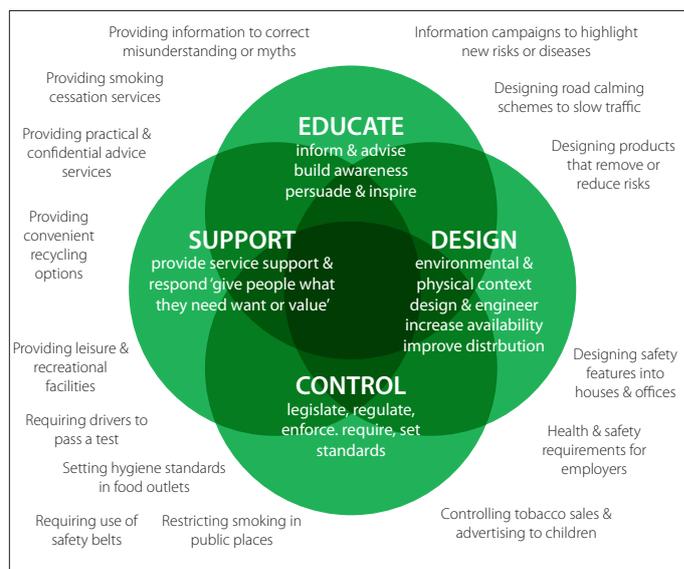
Source: Big pocket book of social marketing, National Social Marketing Centre 2007

In 2008 DEFRA published a framework for pro-environmental behaviours based on four Es, categorising interventions in terms of enabling, encouraging, exemplifying and engaging actions. Potential policy interventions are mapped in each category (see Figure 4). The Cabinet Office extended DEFRA's framework, requiring two additional actions: explore, which takes place prior to policy implementation, and evaluate, to judge the success of the policy (see Figure 5).

FIGURE 4: THE 'FOUR Es' FRAMEWORK FOR PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR
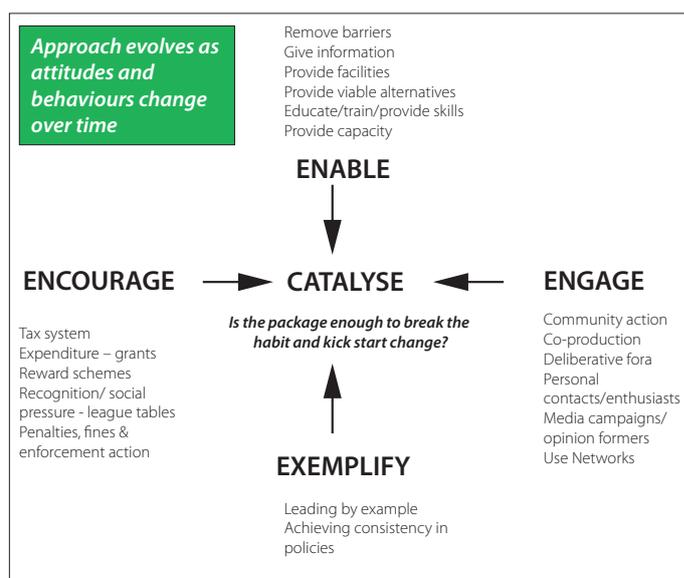
Source: MINDSPACE: Influencing behaviour through public policy, Cabinet Office 2010

FIGURE 5: THE 'SIX Es' MINDSPACE FRAMEWORK
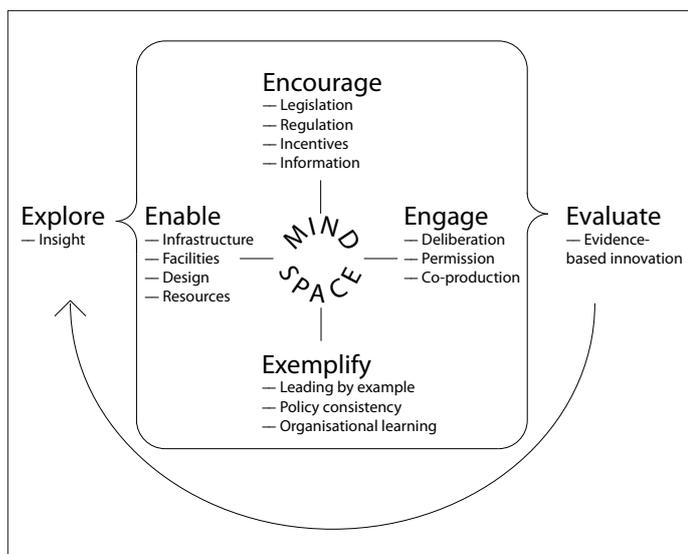
Source: MINDSPACE: Influencing behaviour through public policy, Cabinet Office 2010

FIGURE 6: AN ILLUSTRATION OF SEGMENTING AUDIENCES

Source: Framework for pro-social behaviours, DEFRA 200

4.3 SEGMENTATION IS KEY

As discussed in Section 3, people's behaviour is based upon a range of conscious or unconscious considerations. Influences might be at a collective level, for example wanting to be part of something or other social norms, or relate to individual benefits, such as health or financial outlay, or a 'feel good factor'. Similarly internal barriers such as habits, scepticism or disempowerment might be combined with external constraints such as infrastructure, cost or demands on time. The 'fit' of any behaviour change approach with individual lifestyle and self-identity can be a potential motivator or barrier, depending on where people are starting from.

Segmenting populations and audiences into different groups enables us to tailor approaches for specific groups. Segmentation can help identify the issues and attitudes, the opportunities and barriers to be considered.

A common approach for establishing which interventions might work for different people is to divide the population into groups according to both their willingness and their ability to act. The following example from DEFRA's pro-environmental behaviours research divides the population according to their motivations, barriers, attitudes, current and proposed behaviours, socio-demographic and ecological world views. Clearly the greatest challenge is in convincing individuals where there is both unwillingness and inability to change.

Mapping the segments to the four Es model (see Figure 4 above) can help to develop a strategy for identifying the most appropriate mix of interventions for each segment.

4.4 BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER – PRINCIPLES AND LESSONS

Academic theory and research and the evaluation of practice have suggested a number of common lessons and principles for behaviour change initiatives:

» be clear and specific about your behavioural goal to enable precision in your approach
» understand the behaviours. Consider social factors and drivers at the individual level, including public attitudes, beliefs, motivations, barriers, and current and desired behaviours. Consider competing influencers. Interventions adopted should build on these insights
» use key insights and segmentation models to develop targeted approaches
» draw on all the interventions available to you. Develop an intervention mix combining tools from across the policy and communications spectrum to tackle the various social and individual drivers that result in the target behaviour. Use evidence available from theory and practice to support you
» be clear about what your organisation can do as well as what others are doing, and ensure staff at all levels of the organisation are engaged in designing the intervention
» work with partners and across sectors in designing and implementing programmes – evidence shows this makes interventions more successful
» work with those whose behaviour is being targeted to design the approach, and sustain the dialogue in trialling and refining approaches
» make sure that staff have the appropriate knowledge,

skills and capacity to engage with people in delivering the initiative (see more about skills in Section 8)

» accept that the outcomes of behaviour change interventions are difficult to predict and that there is a need to take risks and to pilot new ideas

» accept that securing behaviour change is a long-term process rather than a single event

» ensure you have political and strategic buy-in, to provide leadership, articulate key messages, and lead on bringing consent and legitimacy to the behaviour change intervention

» make sure that 'success' is defined and evaluation built into design as early as possible.

There are a number of useful frameworks for practitioners to use in shaping interventions. In Section 5 below we draw together some of the key learning from these, and from practice to create a checklist for use in planning behaviour change interventions. At the heart of these are the principles of understanding the behaviours being tackled, engaging with those whose behaviours you wish to influence, and tailoring any intervention accordingly.

5 Checklist for planning and evaluating behaviour change interventions

The checklist has been developed to integrate a number of critical questions at appropriate phases of the design process. Changing the behaviour of others can never be simply a technocratic process of identifying 'what works'. Throughout the process we need to ask:

» what is the legitimate role of local government or other public bodies?
» have we built public consent?
» do we have political support?
» are we the agency to lead this? Who else do we need to make change happen?
» since we are all citizens, what role can our staff play in this change?

5.1 A MODEL FOR PLANNING BEHAVIOUR CHANGE INTERVENTIONS

A ten-step process is shown in Figure 7 and described in more detail below. The process is non-linear with many factors such as political support or customer insight coming into play at most stages. As has been emphasised throughout, segmentation and targeting are key elements of success.

FIGURE 7: A MODEL FOR PLANNING BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

Sources: Marketing bench mark criteria 2006; A framework for pro-environmental behaviours, DEFRA 2008; Behaviour Change: Practical Guide, Government Social Research 2008

5.2 TEN KEY STEPS

1 Behavioural goal
» are we clear about the specific behaviour we are trying to change and the reasons for doing so?
» have measurable behavioural goals and indicators been established in relation to a specific social good?
» are we clear how much change we want to achieve? (Will the impact on individuals be high or low? Will impact on wider community be high or low?)
» do we want to change the behaviour of everyone, or some targeted groups?

2 Understanding the behaviour
» what do we understand about the lifestyles or experiences of our communities in relation to this change? What would motivate people to change?

» what problems do people face in making this change? What are they giving up if they adopt the desired behaviour? What are the competing influencers we are up against?
» what is the interplay of different influences on behaviour – at the individual level, through family and community, wider social factors, or external constraints?

3 Segment population to identify target groups
» what are the key differences in the population in relation to motivation and barriers to change?
» how might we tailor our approach to different 'segments' of our local communities?

4 Applying theory and learning from elsewhere
» what is our 'theory in use' about how behaviour might be changed?
» what is the combination of approaches we are planning?
» what signs would we expect to see to know that our approach is working/not working?

5 Engage stakeholders, staff and community
» what conversations do we need to have with local people about this change?
» what have we learnt about their views, preferences and worries? What ideas do they have about how to make change happen?
» how are we engaging key partners in making this change? Are they on board and involved?
» how are we engaging our staff to explore how this change might be made?
» how effectively are staff from all agencies working alongside local people to design this approach? Are we 'co-designing' the approach with the people who will be affected?

6 Designing/ co-designing interventions
» is there an over-reliance on a single method? (See Section 4 for useful frameworks.) Have the four primary 'intervention domains' been considered?
  1. informing and encouraging
  2. servicing and supporting
  3. designing and adjusting the environment
  4. controlling and regulating

» what types of methods are appropriate for different stages of change?
» what mix of methods is being used to work with the differing motivations of different target groups?
» has full account been taken of any other interventions in order to achieve synergy and enhance the overall impact?
» how might services need to change their own behaviour to support this change?
» how could we model this change through our own staff?

7 Implement
» have we ensured that staff have the capacity and are empowered to deliver the intervention and form appropriate relationships with the people they need to influence?
» are the behavioural goals and the reasons for them being clearly communicated to local people, staff and partners? Are messages conveyed in language that is relevant and meaningful? Are goals realistic?
» are there feedback loops in place so that approaches can be flexible in response to local input?

8 Evaluate
» have we defined what success looks like?
» have mechanisms for measuring success been designed into the pilot stage?
» do these take account of short, medium, and long-term impacts of the intervention? What about indirect benefits?

9 Embedding/ mainstreaming the change
» if the approach is successful in changing behaviours, how will successes be sustained? Are there actions which will 'cement' the behaviour change? Is ongoing funding needed to sustain or extend the intervention?

10 Political and strategic buy-in: consent and legitimacy
» how much public support is there for this change?
» is there political support for this change – from the leadership? From all parties?
» is there support for the strategy that has been chosen?
» are there concerns about the fairness or appropriateness of the steps chosen?
» what are the costs of this approach versus possible benefits? Does this represent value for money and over what timescale?
» how are the decisions made about this? Who makes them? To whom do we account for these policy choices?

6 London Collaborative case studies

IN THIS SECTION

» six case studies from across London, covering different policy areas

  • Barnet, green behaviours
  • Southwark, tackling gang and weapon violence
  • Sutton, sustainable transport
  • Richmond's 'Competitive Edge', participation in sport
  • Step2Get walking incentives
  • Camden, energy consumption

» capturing learning points and testing the initiatives against our emerging checklist (see Section 5)

» further examples of behaviour change initiatives across London available in Appendix 1

We have held a series of London Collaborative practice exchanges on behaviour change over 2009/10. Bringing together network members from across London, we heard from boroughs engaged in exciting behaviour change experiments in order to learn from one another's experience, test the checklist and signpost to other frameworks in the complex field presented here.

6.1 CASE STUDY 1: PROMOTING A GREENER BARNET

6.1.1 Overview

Barnet decided to promote the uptake of 'green' behaviours, through two pilot projects trialled in separate areas:

» household carbon reduction
» household waste minimisation.

These were short projects intended to test how behaviour change could be encouraged, using persuasion rather than coercion, and based on understanding people's motivations and targeting action accordingly. Principles were:

» understanding the audience profile: who to target, their motivations and readiness to change
» getting the messages right: clear, specific, action-based messages, rather than a focus on information provision
» peer-led engagement: recognising the council may not be trusted by residents and using others to spread the message
» appealing to optimism rather than creating inertia through fear
» creating a wider movement for change: 'normalising' green behaviour through social proofing
» providing practical, enabling support, and work with services
» evaluating outcomes using qualitative and quantitative data
» accepting limitations.

Importantly, the work was also undertaken to inform Barnet's general approach to behaviour change, testing and developing a set of methods that could be transferred to other initiatives. The project intended to get the buy-in of council staff to new ways of working, and to encourage internal change through the evidence and stories generated.

6.1.2 Carbon reduction pilot

This pilot engaged six streets (700 households) over three months. Objectives were chosen to be achievable over a short timescale: changing habits (such as switching off lights and plugs) and seeking commitment to make a longer-term change in the future (such as changing to a green electricity provider). The pilot targeted those who are already environmentally aware and could be encouraged to do more, with the idea that these 'early adopters' can then model green behaviours to the rest of the community.

The pilot was structured in three phases.

Phase 1: waking people up to unsustainable behaviours
The council used the company Groundwork to recruit local volunteers to knock on doors, raise awareness and conduct a baseline study of motivations, attitudes and habits. This involved, for example, showing people thermal images of the area and installing smart meters if people wanted them.

Phase 2: introducing new behaviours
This stage involved further face to face conversations through volunteers, encouraging people to sign up to pledges, and signposting to useful organisations. Free gifts were offered, such as retrieval clues (e.g. stickers reminding residents not to overfill the kettle). A poster campaign featured statistics about the numbers on each street pledging to act, to build a wider movement of change and normalising behaviours. Other initiatives to reinforce messages included the Barnet Green Fair, encouraging local eco experts to talk to their neighbours, visiting local schools, and setting up an online portal 'Do the Green Thing' where people could post stories and ideas. This was an inexpensive way to maintain contact, link people with their peers and encourage a competitive approach in which people try to 'keep up with the Joneses' in terms of their green activities.

Phase 3: refreeze behaviours
Evaluation was undertaken based on an evaluation survey carried out by volunteers, energy meter readings, and qualitative evidence from partner organisations. This phase also involved a poster campaign to give feedback, thank residents, spread stories of success and label the area as 'green'.

6.1.3 Waste pilot

This pilot targeted a wider group of 1,500 households, again over three months and using a similar approach to that outlined above. The target audience were again pro-green, with potential to do more, and were engaged through door knocking, pledging, free gifts, the on-line portal, a community event, and a communications and information campaign. The behaviour change aim was to reduce waste and increase reuse (rather than increase recycling) and therefore the measure of success is a reduction in waste tonnage.

6.1.4 Success measures

Both pilots were evaluated in November 2009, using quantitative measures – energy use and waste tonnage – and surveys to measure changes in attitudes and behaviour.

The evaluation questionnaire for the carbon pilot had a seven per cent response rate. Of respondents 92 per cent said they do their bit to save the environment, 57 per cent said they did things differently as a result of the campaign, 86 per cent

had stuck to pledges, and eight per cent made further green lifestyle changes. Data from 93 users evidenced 45,000kg of carbon saved as a result of the pilot.

With a response rate of 9.5 per cent, the evaluation questionnaire for the waste pilot found that, of respondents, 57 per cent felt the pilot had helped them to reduce waste, 58 per cent reported doing things differently, 92 per cent had stuck to pledges and eight per cent had adopted new behaviours. Data on waste tonnage showed clear reductions in waste at the time of initiatives, but this was cancelled out by data from other weeks.

The evaluation concluded that the quantitative measures used may not be fine grained enough to support firm conclusions about project impact – questionnaires about self-reported behaviours are problematic - waste tonnage data cannot tell a story at household level and three months is a short period in which to identify a meaningful change. There were also challenges in measuring the impact of individual activities, and being able to analyse the longer-term benefits or knock on effects.

6.1.5 Learning from the Barnet experience

» The pilots identified five top tips for behaviour change: be bold, be local, be connected to the community, be precise about the specific behaviours targeted and be patient. But overall it concluded that 'ambitious behaviour change programmes require resources that are proportional to the challenge'
» measurement poses an ongoing challenge, both in defining what success should look like and in analysing long-term benefits and knock-on effects. Success can be in the learning itself
» need to develop new skills: the council doesn't yet have its own expertise in social marketing
» community 'intermediaries' must be nurtured as agents of behaviour change
» review the focus of communications to incorporate engaging messages that are action-focused as well as information-based. Communications and service delivery together deliver change
» evidence from short-term projects can be distorted, for example by seasonal variations.

Clear behavioural goals	Yes
Understanding current behaviour	Baseline surveys aimed at understanding motivations, attitudes, current behaviours
Segmentation of target groups	Yes, targeted early adopters
Applying theory and evidence	Yes, e.g. in methods to trigger behaviours, embed social norms
Engagement with local people	Yes, face to face communications to raise awareness, encourage pledges
Designing and tailoring interventions	Yes, based on theory, targeted audience, and evidence of current behaviours
Political/strategic buy-in	Yes, pilots designed to generate wider buy-in for new ways of working

Checklist points on implementation, evaluation and mainstreaming are discussed in the text

6.2 CASE STUDY 2: SOUTHWARK TACKLING GANG AND WEAPON VIOLENCE

6.2.1 Overview

In 2006 there was a spate of murders in South London which brought boroughs together to look at what could make behaviour change. This early research has been supplemented by continued analysis of academic research and practitioner experience to identify important influences in gang and weapon violence and key motivational factors for change.[5] The backdrop to this work is the impact that these issues have on the community, raising the fear of crime, affecting the lives of families and individuals, and increasingly involving young people. Crimes, victims and offenders are all intrinsically linked and both perpetrators and victims are usually already known to police and the council, all operating in the same 'pool'.

The aim of the project is to reduce violent crime and fear of crime and to step up effective voluntary and statutory partnership activity. One of the key ingredients of the project has been to operate at the level of individuals and deepen understanding of what is happening to these young people.

6.2.2 Understanding the behaviour

It is vital to understand what is influencing and affecting the target group's daily lives. Dominant factors related to serious violence are the illegal economy, personal conflict and feuds

(territory based assertion, respect and retribution). However the project has established that gangs are not homogeneous; at one end of the spectrum are professional gangs operating in the illegal economy, while at the other end young people hang out together in urban street groups, which offer a sense of 'family'. It is important to distinguish between the two types, however they are inter-related, and the project has identified the key influences on this relationship and looked at how these can play out in the behaviour of an individual. Much of the work has been to stop youngsters moving towards professional criminal gangs, and key factors driving people from urban gangs into organisational gangs have been identified, including a need for respect, territory and glamour and a lack of money or other inequalities.

The work has also highlighted the factors that motivate changes in behaviour. For organisational gang members influences are likely to be at the individual level and relate to elements of responsibility, re-evaluation and realisation. For urban gangs any of a range of positive influences could drive a change (e.g. role models, aspirations, family support and religion). The project has therefore identified that support for change must involve psychological and emotional elements of support for the individual and the family, as well as practical help in establishing an alternative safe and stable life.

6.2.3 The mix of interventions

Key to the project's work to change gang member behaviour is the use of mentors, providing intensive one to one support and advocacy as well as guidance on issues such as housing, access to employment or counselling. Work might also involve the wider family, especially where siblings are becoming affiliated to violence, and community-based advocates at a local level provide support and link people up with local intervention programmes. Through an initiative called SERVE the project works with housing providers to provide safe accommodation for people at risk of violence due to their association with gangs; this enables individuals, with support and mentoring for the family, to move to new locations outside the borough and away from associations that might make it difficult for them to change their behaviours.

The fundamental building block of the programme is one-to one conversation – up close and personal events. It is important for these conversations to continue over long periods of time. Change is not seen as easy. The council goes out into the community, to shopping centres, residents' meetings and into people's homes to talk to parents about how they need to be alert for signs of trouble and how they can talk to their kids. This is backed up by literature which explains warning signs to parents and suggests ways to get support.

Other interventions include: a specialist programme for ex-offenders; work with schools; a programme for girls associated with gangs; and the GATES project, which offers a free text alert service and advice line, in addition to workshops and community events, to help residents access local support organisations. Southwark has also recruited local people to provide 'bridges', drawing on the skills of people better able to talk to younger people in terms that are meaningful to them. They believe that paying people to do this is important since they are using up a lot of their valuable time, but this is far cheaper than the estimated financial cost of £1.54m per murder.

6.2.4 Success measures

» Crime figures show a reduction in knife crime
» people saying they feel safer in Southwark – increase of eight per cent at night and six per cent in the day
» reduction of A&E cases involving knife or gun wounds
» individuals saying there is a difference
» people wanting to be part of advocacy programme.

6.2.5 Learning from the Southwark experience

» Capacity to deliver: if staff are not able to follow through on promises then the trust of the community is lost
» important both to recruit staff with close relationships to communities and to train others to build those relationships: without that ability this work cannot be done
» important to draw on the skills of people from within the community – pay them to do outreach on the council's behalf
» values-driven approach: the emotional commitment of staff is important, as is a close-knit and supportive team. All staff must be confident in the judgements they make based on their values
» leadership within the council: a passionate commitment from leaders is very significant for success
» member sign-up was vital: members, as well as staff, to sit down with the community and hear their ideas in order to formulate an effective approach
» community consent: the community must be saying to the council 'work with us'.

Clear behavioural goals	Yes
Understanding current behaviour	Yes – a detailed evidence base built up by research
Segmentation of target groups	Understanding of different types of gang behaviour
Applying theory and evidence	Yes – a very careful analysis drawn from the research that based the intervention on one-to-one conversations
Engagement with local people	Yes – a lot of time and attention paid to engaging the community at all levels
Designing and tailoring interventions	Interventions have been redirected over the course of the project as better understanding has developed, e.g. more emphasis on mentoring.
Political/strategic buy-in	Yes – buy-in from all political parties

Checklist points on implementation, evaluation and mainstreaming are discussed in the text.

6.3 CASE STUDY 3: SMARTER TRAVEL SUTTON

6.3.1 Overview

The Smarter Travel Sutton (STS) three year behaviour change programme was launched in September 2006. Its aim was to test whether using marketing and travel planning techniques could lead to a reduction in car use by local residents.

6.3.2 What was done

The STS programme was allocated a £5million budget by Transport for London and delivered together in partnership with a core team based within the borough. Over 50 individual projects were carried out. Key elements included:

» Personal Travel Planning: every household visited and offered tailored advice and information on local travel options
» School Travel Planning: developed by all schools with measures to reduce car use to school
» Workplace Travel Plans: developed by over 100 businesses (with a combined staffing of over 15,000 people)
» direct marketing techniques
» major festivals, events and roadshows
» additional cycle parking
» additional cycle training for adults and children
» dedicated website with links to specific projects and general travel advice and information.

6.3.3 Application of theories and models of behaviour change

Research before, and new evidence and theories emerging during the programme, were useful in guiding the overall approach taken. Three broad areas of behaviour change modelling informed the programme in understanding how behaviours were shifting, relating to population change, stages of change and factors that influence behaviour change.

Malcolm Gladwell's *The Tipping Point* explains how change is adopted by a community as a social epidemic: at some point the epidemic explodes from affecting a small proportion of the population to almost everyone. Results showed that after only two years, almost a third of residents recognised the Smarter Travel Sutton brand, with schools and businesses accepting the programme in a short space of time and giving particularly positive feedback. Early results (Year 1 and 2 annual reports) were indicative that the programme was achieving some form of change.

Parallel to this, the Diffusion of Innovation Model explains how a new technology is adopted by a population by classifying people according to their willingness to change (Innovators, Early Adopters, Early Majority, Late Majority and Laggards). This was clearly illustrated by the growth of cycling: a small number of committed cyclists were already in the borough, but as measures were introduced to promote and make cycling more attractive and convenient others changed their behaviours.

Perhaps the easiest type of model and the one with probably the most recognition is that of Thaler and Sunstein's *Nudge*. The principle here is that preferences can be influenced by small changes to systems, processes or the environment. One of the STS examples of this was the introduction of cycle parking in prominent positions at workplaces, acting as a prompt to cycling while not restricting the option of driving.

6.3.4 Success measures

A full evaluation of the programme can be found at www.smartertarvelsutton.org. Headline results obtained through both quantitative evidence and attitudinal surveys showed that over the three years residents reported a six per cent decrease in their use of the car compared to a growth in the control group. Interestingly, cycling levels grew by 75 per cent in stark contrast to the control area in a neighbouring borough with spikes in the data corresponding to the launch of specific campaigns or events. Bus use also increased as did the overall mode share of people walking.

Sutton Council considered the longer term benefits of behaviour change early in the programme, enabling it to be retained beyond the initial three year focus. The main delivery team was mainstreamed, the Transport Planning service became Smarter Travel Sutton, and funding streams were identified through Transport for London, allowing for the most cost-effective and successful elements of the initial programme to continue.

6.3.5 Part of a wider 'smarter choices' approach

Sutton Council has developed a wide range of behaviour change initiatives, drawing upon its experiences of the Smarter Travel Sutton programme. It has adopted a positive and open approach based upon working in partnership with the community and providing incentives. As Daniel Ratchford, Strategic Director Environment & Leisure explains, 'our approach is predominantly about enabling our residents to make smarter choices for themselves.'

One example is Sutton's gritting policy, introduced following the snowy winter of 2009/10. The council is providing a small supply of grit to individual households, enabling residents to take the initiative in helping keep paths, pavements and roads clear during cold weather. Sutton's waste awareness officers also take a practical approach to encouraging residents and businesses to recycle more, talking directly to residents and businesses to explain policies and providing solutions to some of the barriers, for example more bins or different collection arrangements. The council has also found that competitions are a good way of encouraging involvement and promoting behaviour change; a successful parks photo competition encouraged residents to use and appreciate Sutton's beautiful parks, while a 'Binge Too Far' film competition for Sutton's young people encouraged them to consider the dangers of binge drinking, and to choose to drink more sensibly.

6.3.6 Learning from the Sutton experience

The Smarter Travel Sutton Lessons Learnt report (available in full on the website above) concluded:

» audience research and market segmentation are essential
» integration of the initiative with other policy objectives and processes is necessary
» a range of communication channels and tools should be developed
» a base of political support is necessary
» stakeholder engagement creates ambassadors and delivery partners
» a clear set of objectives and performance indicators are needed to steer the programme
» intervention in travel choices tends to be accepted by local people and is not met with hostility or indifference
» a behaviour change programme can usefully draw on a range of behaviour models in order to formulate its approach. In particular, it is important to address both community and individual behaviour.

HEALTHCHECK TESTING SMARTER TRAVEL SUTTON AGAINST OUR CHECKLIST

Clear behavioural goals	Yes – aimed to reduce residents reliance on the private car
Understanding current behaviour	Surveys on attitudes to and perceptions of different transport types, as well as current behaviour, generated data as a baseline and at years 1, 2 and 3 to inform intervention design and evaluation.
Segmentation of target groups	Yes – 3 distinct groups selected with focus on the hard-pressed family model
Applying theory and evidence	Yes - as discussed in the case study
Engagement with local people	STS is a community engagement programme, engaging people in their homes, schools, workplaces and on-street.
Designing and tailoring interventions	Numerous interventions delivered with many modified throughout the pilot programme to achieve better results and greater cost-effectiveness.
Political/strategic buy-in	Cross-party support throughout. Delivered in partnership with Transport for London since 2006.

Checklist points on implementation, evaluation and mainstreaming are discussed in the text.

6.4 CASE STUDY 4: RICHMOND'S 'COMPETITIVE EDGE'

Richmond has undertaken a wide range of behaviour change experiments which have been shared through the London Collaborative. They include recycling initiatives, and a campaign to reduce private car use. The project presented here is about young people's engagement with sport.

6.4.1 Overview

Richmond's 'competitive edge' project aimed to engage more young people in competitive sport, and was launched in 2004, linked to the 2012 Olympics. The ambition was to progress people 'from playground to podium'. It was well funded, with an initial investment of £50,000 over several years. The drivers behind the scheme included the drop off in physical activity between primary and secondary schools; furthermore between ages 16 and 18 there is a drop off in competitive sport. Since the programme has been going for so long it has been evaluated, and its impact can be measured.

Partners include the sports development team, local University College, the school sports partnership, Rugby Football Union, and community sports clubs.
The project has three objectives:

» to increase opportunities for young people to take part in competitive sport
» to develop lifelong participation in sport and physical activity
» to encourage talented athletes into higher performance sport.

6.4.2 Methods

Increasing opportunities: through inter-school sports; with a programme called 'Step into sport' that encouraged young people to take up lesser-known sports, linking to the London youth games; and developing targeted programmes e.g. MEND for GP referrals for obese children and RISE for young people with disabilities.

Developing lifelong participation: the council focused on sport both in and out of school, coordinating the approach with community sports partners, and offering additional activities such as tai chi, cheerleading, street dance.

Identifying and encouraging talent: the intention here was to give young people an opportunity to try different sports, and if they showed promise, to link them with clubs so they could carry on. The programme set out to identify talent in six sports (athletics, canoeing, cycling, gymnastics, rowing and swimming). Support continued once people were identified as talented through master classes, mentoring, performance assessment, and meeting elite athletes.

For each sport, the council identified a local sports club as a partner. They then paid for free 'taster' sessions, and follow-on talent sessions for promising youngsters. This was supported by some professional coaching and performance, assessment. In 2008, 47 young people took part in this of which 25 were identified as talented, 12 joined the club and one has been identified as a potential Olympic athlete.

6.4.3 Success measures

The measures are primarily impact measures:

» increase in sport at school – up from 66 per cent in 2004 to 94 per cent in 2008
» increase in participation in sport out of school – up from 17 per cent in 2004 to 51 per cent in 2008.

HEALTH CHECK: TESTING RICHMOND'S INITIATIVE AGAINST OUR CHECKLIST

Clear behavioural goals	Yes
Understanding current behaviour	Looking at evidence
Segmentation of target groups	Targeted young people of certain ages. Aimed at different ability levels – able to 'select' talented youngsters
Applying theory and evidence	Lead member had relevant practical experience as a head teacher. Evidence-based response to the drop-off of activity at certain ages
Engagement with local people	Close engagement with partners and with community sports clubs
Designing and tailoring interventions	Yes – careful planning of pathways into sport
Political/strategic buy-in	Yes, a member-led initiative from the start

Checklist points on implementation, evaluation and mainstreaming are discussed in the text.

6.4.4 Learning from the Richmond experience

» Need to offer choice – youngsters will only be motivated if they can choose an option that suits them
» capacity to deliver – the initiative depended on the network of sports clubs to make it work
» smart investment – the initial investment was made at pivotal points to generate a sustainable result. A small contribution to a voluntary organisation may help it to bid for larger amounts of funding elsewhere
» must be enjoyment as well as competitive
» it has been important to break down people's negative perceptions of sport
» cater for all ability levels – including people with disabilities
» positive role models are helpful to inspire people
» coordinated approach – have to bring in community – in this case engaging with the community sports clubs
» social ties – make part of social life
» structured competition – so individuals can see that they are improving
» supported pathways into elite sport.

6.5 CASE STUDY 5: STEP2GET WALKING INCENTIVES

6.5.1 Overview

The Step2Get walking incentive scheme is part of a programme of pilot projects that seek to demonstrate how smarter travel can provide cost effective solutions to managing demand for Transport for London's transport operations. By managing the demand for travel and influencing behaviour, the need for new infrastructure or network enhancements can be delayed or even removed.

TfL has been running pilot schemes in two separate locations: Wimbledon and Bexleyheath. These pilots are designed to demonstrate the benefits of incentivised walking schemes and to understand the potential of rolling the schemes out more widely.

Pilot 1: Wimbledon
Hundreds of school children congregated and socialised in Wimbledon Town Centre before and after school each day. At peak times this resulted in crowding on buses and at bus stops, causing operational issues for London Buses and potential intimidation for passers-by.

This pilot aimed to demonstrate that by encouraging children to walk to school or to arrive at school earlier (focusing only on the morning school run) these problems could be alleviated without increasing the capacity of bus services or increasing the levels of policing. This would be achieved by working with a local secondary school to encourage modal shift from bus use to walking.

Pilot 2: Bexleyheath
This pilot was designed to improve road safety outside a secondary school in Bexleyheath. Pupils of the school had been crossing a busy three-lane carriageway, often in an uncontrolled manner away from pedestrian crossings, to reach Bexleyheath town centre or the bus stop opposite the school. There have also been crowding issues at the bus stop where buses take many pupils on the short journey to the town centre. To make the situation worse, pupils often do not use the designated crossing to reach the bus stop. Pupils have been involved in a number of traffic accidents along this stretch of road over recent years.

The goals are similar to the Wimbledon pilot, but here the focus is on encouraging children to walk the safest route from school, as well as encouraging mode shift from bus use to walking.

6.5.2 Interventions

Following a period of research and student interviews, project deliverables were drawn up for each school to influence travel behaviour.

Pilot 1:
Step2Get uses a swipe card technology developed by a company called Intelligent Health. This allows students to record that they had walked to school by swiping three 'swipe units' on their route from the town centre or station. After walking a certain number of days, students can then redeem rewards. In total 284 students have registered on the scheme, with a peak of 123 participating a day. 35 per cent of registrants stated that they intended to change their travel behaviour by walking to school from the town centre.

Pilot 2:
To encourage walking the safest route, three swipe units were installed –the first two on either side of the safest, shortest pelican crossing, with the third located to discourage students walking through a car park. TfL's Safety & Citizenship team launched the scheme at special educational assemblies for each year group, hitting home the safety message behind the scheme with assistance from the local Safer Transport Team.

6.5.3 Success measures

Pilot 1:
The situation in Wimbledon town centre has been improved, resulting in bus demand during the pre-school peak being significantly reduced, with 42% less students at the town centre bus stop that services the school during the previously busiest half hour. The peak period was also spread with demand normalised across the morning.

These initiatives have also delivered the benefits of: increased levels of activity amongst young people, fewer students arriving late to school, opportunities for student leadership and improved stakeholder relationships.

These benefits have been reflected in positive feedback received from stakeholders, such as the schools and the Safer Transport Team (STT), who have seen the situation improve first hand. STT Sergeant Sarah Colemann noted that:

this project has been extremely successful in Wimbledon Town Centre in the mornings. There has been a significant reduction in the number of young people waiting at busy bus stops before school. PCSOs working in Merton Safer Transport Team have received positive feedback from students travelling on key bus routes. Young people have enjoyed the varied incentives on offer and taking part in the scheme. We really hope this good work can continue in the future.

Pilot 2:

At the time of writing it is too early to evaluate the Step2Get scheme in Bexleyheath, launched March 2010. To date the scheme has been found to be hugely popular at the school, with approximately a third of all students registering. The participation rate has already surpassed the Wimbledon scheme.

Although quantitative evaluation is yet to be conducted, the local Safer Transport Team have reported an improvement on the ground, particularly a significant reduction in the number of students taking the bus to the town centre.

6.5.4 Learning from the Step2Get experience

» it is important to get the incentive right: there was a steep increase in participation rates in Wimbledon when students were given a choice of rewards and more flexibility in how they earn them
» the achievement of changes in behaviour here relates to specific behaviours, at precise times and locations: targeting and clear objectives are central to success
» knock-on benefits of behaviour change are harder to quantify but may be significant, for example improved health of students.

HEALTHCHECK: COMPARING THE STEP2GET SCHEME WITH OUR CHECKLIST

Clear behavioural goals	Yes
Understanding current behaviour	Yes - formal information sources about transport and research with students
Segmentation of target groups	Focused on student body
Applying theory and evidence	Yes - in use of incentives, mix of interventions
Engagement with local people	Students engagement integral to scheme design
Designing and tailoring interventions	Yes - e.g. getting the incentive right
Political/strategic buy-in	Yes – stakeholder engagement key

Checklist points on implementation, evaluation and mainstreaming are discussed in the text.

6.6 CASE STUDY 6: HEAT METERS IN CAMDEN

6.6.1 Overview

Camden carried out a pilot with a sample of council homes in an attempt to reduce energy consumption through the introduction of a new heating system equipped with heat meters, accompanying information and support about minimising energy use, and a charging regime based on consumption.

Households were previously part of a heating pool, funded by a flat rate charge, which gave consumers no direct incentives, accountability or control over individual heating use and costs. Rising gas prices and environmental sustainability concerns led the council to pilot a new approach.

6.6.2 The approach

In 2008 Camden installed a radiator-based heating system in 158 households in Gospel Oak. The new systems, popular with residents who now have greater control over their heating, were installed with heat meters which allow residents to see how much energy they are using. The heat meters provide accurate data on carbon emissions (where information on energy consumption is often self-reported and liable to distortion). At the same time, residents were asked to pay for energy according to the consumption.

An outreach service (heat metering support) was provided to residents to assist with heating control/metering education and issues of vulnerability. It rapidly became clear that data from heat meters gave robust indications of changes in consumption, and would enable accurate measurement of the impact of the intervention on residents' behaviours. Camden has now received funding to extend the heat meters scheme to 2,500 homes across the borough, and installation of additional remote metering is underway.

6.6.3 Success measures

The introduction of heat meters has created an accurate and representative set of data that can be monitored remotely and on a regular basis for every household on the estate (avoiding self-selection bias from voluntary information provision). With one year of data now in place, a baseline exists for evaluation.

» Data from meters has demonstrated large economic savings for residents and significant reductions in consumption – for example savings of 30% have resulted from the introduction of a pre-payment system. The graphs below show how carbon emissions have reduced relative to temperature and how energy consumption fell over the first weeks of the introduction of the pre-pay system
» the use of the heat meters has also allowed system inefficiencies to be identified.

FIGURE 8: AVERAGE KWH CONSUMPTION PER HOUSEHOLD IN APRIL 2009 AT KILN PLACE, CAMDEN
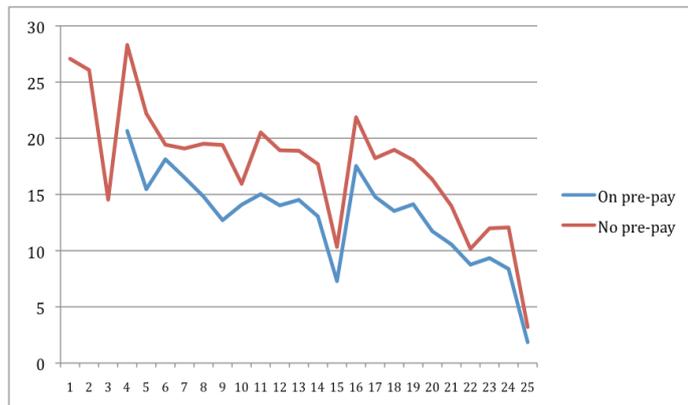
The extension of the scheme will enable an even more robust evaluation of the impact of the change on energy usage and will allow for more sophisticated analysis. For example over the medium-term this will allow consumption to be measured against resident characteristics, or evaluation of the efficacy of different behavioural change approaches in further reducing consumption, such as the impact of framing information (i.e. loss aversion) or of social norms building from awareness of others' consumption. Meters being installed in the extension of the pilot are less susceptible to external variables,such as district heating efficiency, making behavioural causal analysis easier.

Camden has partnered with academic institutions in developing its evaluation of wider lessons for behaviour change projects, and has begun to test how information to metered residents is framed, and the effectiveness of loss aversion and social norms.

6.6.4 Learning from the Camden experience

» Ensure evaluation allows you to measure what you intend to measure robustly: Heat represents 80 per cent of a property's carbon emissions, whereas meters that track electricity usage only cover 11 per cent of emissions
» policy-makers should understand what they can gain from evaluation: in a time of fiscal constraint, robust knowledge about the (cost) effectiveness of policies is particularly valuable. If evaluation is built in early, any disruptions to implementation can be minimised.

HEALTH CHECK: TESTING CAMDEN'S INITIATIVE AGAINST OUR CHECKLIST

Clear behavioural goals	Yes
Understanding current behaviour	Yes, records of impact of flat rate charging
Segmentation of target groups	Not overtly in original installation of meters in households, but over time different supporting communications on energy use can be targeted
Applying theory and evidence	Yes, adopting different approaches and evaluation by academics
Engagement with local people	Through information and support alongside the meters
Designing and tailoring interventions	Yes, different ways of showing information from meters
Political/strategic buy-in	Yes

Checklist points on implementation, evaluation and mainstreaming are discussed in the text.

FIGURE 9: CARBON DIOXIDE EMISSIONS FROM KILN PLACE RELATIVE TO TEMPERATURE
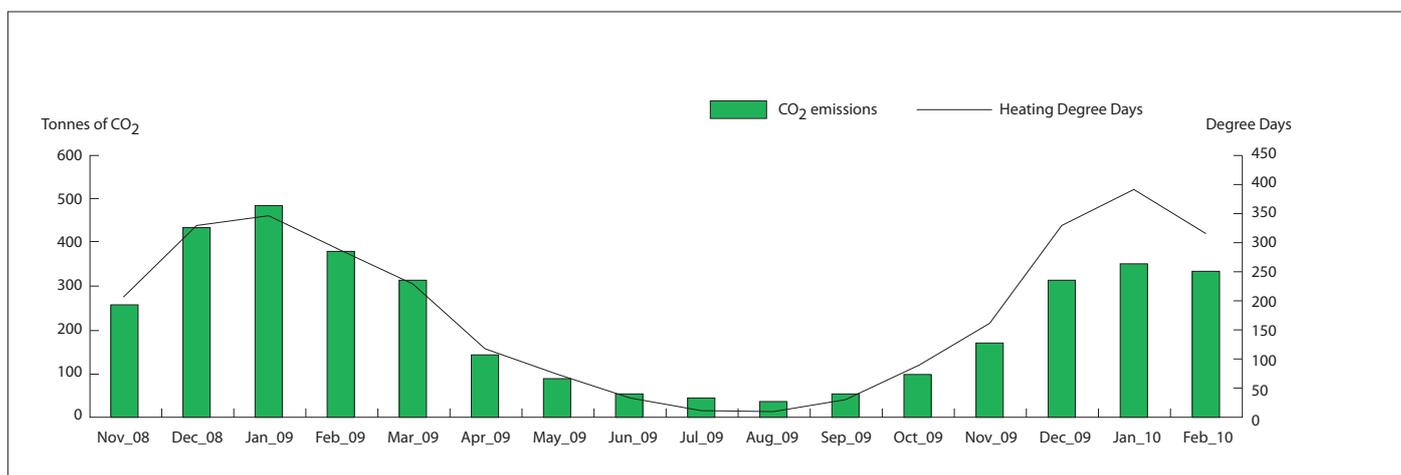
7 Dilemmas raised by behaviour change

IN THIS SECTION

» behaviour change strategies raise ethical issues and questions about legitimacy

» we need to think through the why, who and how of behaviour change

One of the strengths of this work with London Collaborative network members has been that ideas and concepts have been tested in workshops with practitioners from a range of professions and services. This has surfaced a number of questions and dilemmas facing local policymakers and public services. In our workshops a number of critical questions were raised about the ethics underlying different techniques of behaviour change, questions about manipulation and legitimacy. A number of these concerns and ways of interrogating motivation and techniques for behaviour change are presented in the pages that follow.

7.1 THE 'HOW' OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE – NUDGE OR DELIBERATE?

Different concepts of what motivates people underlie different approaches to behaviour change. Some draw upon our underlying habits, desires and conditioned responses while others treat the public as conscious deliberative individuals and concentrate on education and participation. Professor Gerry Stoker has encapsulated these differences in terms of 'nudging' and 'thinking'.[6] Nudging stems from behavioural economics, which assumes human nature is fixed, people are 'cognitive misers' who don't like to take active decisions and tend to be cost-benefit led. In contrast, thinking or deliberating stems from normative and moral philosophy, assuming that in the right setting people are capable of reasoning and reflection. The leading assumption is that people are value-led and that the state needs to develop a new institutional space where citizens can learn to behave in a new way. Any behaviour change project will need to explore the right balance between the use of 'nudge' or choice architecture and the use of conscious deliberation.

7.2 THE 'WHO' OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE – THE WHOLE COMMUNITY OR THE SOCIALLY EXCLUDED?

We all make value judgements about other people's choices. Explicit discussion of behaviour change in policy raises important questions about who defines what acceptable or positive behaviours are. There is a risk that decisions about this may reflect the perspectives of majority groups, to the exclusion or disadvantage of minority groups, and could entrench existing social inequalities. Unease has been expressed about the fairness with which we, as a society, treat the behaviours of different individuals. Bias, whether based on race, gender, class or sexuality can mean that society tolerates the behaviour of some people but not of others. For example assumptions that smoking is an unacceptable form of self-harm may reflect class bias. Although not undertaken on a comparable scale, other dangerous activities, such as skiing, motor racing or other high-risk sports are not depicted as anti-social in the same way. Are we sometimes enforcing middle-class assumptions about the good life, trying to control 'the mass' or the 'underclass' as governments have done for centuries?

On the other hand some argue that we will fail to make progress if we insist on treating everyone the same. Some sorts of behaviour are inherently 'anti-social' and if people refuse to comply with the social norms, which create civility and an atmosphere of trust and security, we need as a society to find ways to prevent them from destroying the peace of mind of others around them. Any behaviour change project will need to be based on a clear view on the balance between protecting individual freedom and the duty of care owed to those adversely affected by the anti-social behaviours of others.

7.3 DEFINING A 'SOCIAL GOOD'

Different approaches to behaviour change have embedded in them, often implicitly, assumptions about who makes decisions about 'public good'. Sometimes the assumption is that 'public good' is 'obvious'; 'right thinking people' will agree if they spend time thinking about the problems. Sometimes we assume that experts should decide. But who does decide what counts as 'public good' and what should be done about it? Is it ministers? The courts? Local communities? Individuals?

Much of what local government does – street lighting, refuse, trading standards – can be seen as almost value-neutral. While services such as education and social care often spark strong feelings, there is nevertheless a broad social consensus about the role that local government should play. Issues of behaviour change, by contrast, can be highly contentious. The values that underpin environmental or health initiatives can be the subject of vigorous debate.

Local government plays a particularly important role in behaviour change because the democratic mandate of its leadership bolsters the legitimacy of value-based decisions about what constitutes acceptable or desirable behaviour, and where the public do not concur the ballot box offers them some recourse. Section 8.1 below also discusses how organisations can build consent for interventions by engaging directly with local people and with those whose behaviour is being targeted. An open dialogue and participative process can enable practitioners to work with those affected to balance these tensions.

7.4 THE 'WHY' OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE – WHAT ARE WE TRYING TO ACHIEVE?

Concerns about behaviour change ultimately stem from uncertainty about the justification for state intervention. We need to be explicit about what we are trying to achieve in any project that seeks to change behaviour. Different approaches may have different fundamental purposes. While 'nudging' is primarily framed in cost-benefit terms, approaches which emphasise deliberation tend to stress shared social problem solving and empowerment as the preferred outcomes.

The reduction of social harm has long been accepted as the basis for state intervention. In turn cost efficiency, since at least the 1980s, has become a dominant imperative across all areas of the public sector. However this is often linked to the social benefits of reducing individual harm. But is it the role of government to protect us from ourselves? On the other hand, does society have to bear the costs of people's wilful self-harm?

The RSA is taking an explicit value dimension in its approach to this area. Its exploration of 'pro social behaviour' is underpinned by a belief that to achieve the society most of us say we want, citizens, individually and collectively, need to play a greater role and be more self sufficient, altruistic or other-regarding and engaged. The RSA suggests that strategies to deliver this will require a radical shift in approach from a government-centric to a citizen-centric model of social change. Approaches would build not only on understandings of behavioural and social psychology, but additionally on increased social activism and a recast relationship between citizens and politicians and public officials.[7]

To move forward in this context we have to have an overall sense of the appropriate balance between paternalism and encouraging autonomy, and surface assumptions about the meaning of freedom and the role of the state in securing or undermining it. Similarly, while empowering residents to solve social problems or enabling patients to better manage their health may result in cost savings, this is not necessarily the case. It is therefore critical in any behaviour change project that decision makers are clear about what they aim to achieve. As these issues are inherently political the role of politicians is also critical, as discussed in Section 8.3 below.

We have indentified four common justifications for behaviour change interventions from literature and practice, which can overlap and/or conflict in practice. These can be summarised as:

» reducing social harm or promoting social good: reducing harmful consequences of individuals' actions on other people or encouraging positive external effects of individual actions
» reducing individual harm or promoting individual welfare: reducing harmful consequences of individuals' actions for themselves or promoting their own 'best interest'
» cost efficiency: saving public money on service provision, enforcement or other state or official action, often in the longer term
» promoting autonomy: helping individuals and communities to take control of their own futures.

Tension between these four different purposes links to questions about the nature of the society we are trying to create, but we will have to find pragmatic ways of managing them in designing behaviour change initiatives.

7.5 TIME: TAKING THE LONGER VIEW

An additional complexity is that public attitudes and behaviour are not fixed; views about 'paternalistic state' intervention differ from issue to issue, change over time as we become more familiar with new sets of risks and tend to be more supportive following deliberation. For any behaviour change programme time is a key dimension as public attitudes change on particular issues, and deliberation and opportunity to think more deeply about issues can also change views on how people view interventions.

FIGURE 8: PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF STATE INTERVENTION IN BEHAVIOUR

Interventions which have not passed public acceptance tests in recent years	Interventions which appear to have passed public acceptance tests in recent years
Fat tax Rationing of NHS care e.g. for - smokers or the overweight VAT on domestic fuel and power Fuel duty escalation	Parenting interventions Banning smoking in public places Raising school leaving age to 18 Cigarette taxes

8 Changing our own organisations

IN THIS SECTION

» to successfully promote and support public behaviour change, councils and other public bodies have to change their own culture and ways of doing things

- workshops to clarify the big questions of public good and values
- an example of learning from staff evidence and 'exploring mindsets' workshops
- examples of the role technology can play

If public organisations are to become more deliberate and effective in their attempts to change behaviour then this has implications for their overall role, the way they work and for the training and development of staff. This section re-examines several of the key concepts behind behaviour change and looks at the implications for our organisations. We offer a number of outlines for workshops and exercises which could be run internally as a starting point for these changes.

8.1 BUILDING CONSENT AND LEGITIMACY

As discussed in Section 7, determining what behaviours are acceptable or desirable is not always straight forward. Local government can play a particularly important role both because of its democratic mandate and because it is local enough to engage directly in dialogue with communities about the balance of values that should underpin intervention. Local government can play three key roles in behaviour change:

» maintaining a balance between values that are in permanent tension through a democratic conversation with the local community
» creating space for, and building the relationships necessary to enable, the 'who decides' question to be satisfactorily answered
» creating the ability for communities to act collectively to implement the decisions made.

Holding a conversation with the local community and building the relationships necessary to answer the question 'who decides' on the public good is key. Public and community engagement is about creating a context in which individuals and groups within our communities feel sufficiently heard and engaged to offer consent to actions that will shape our behaviours.

WORKSHOP QUESTIONS: CLARIFYING THE PUBLIC GOOD

For any proposed behaviour change project, answer the following questions in a workshop setting:

1. what is the 'public good' (e.g. reduction in carbon emissions) that will be achieved by this behaviour change?
2. what are the values that underpin this?
3. would anyone disagree with this public good? Are there any contrary values that could be adversely affected by action to change behaviour in this way?
4. what evidence do we have that this public good is agreed upon by everyone in our community? Are there differences within the community? What would these differences be based on?
5. how would we build consensus around this public good? Who would need to be convinced? What might help to convince them?
6. to whom do we account when making choices about this behaviour change? How can we make this accountability meaningful? What would the public expect from us in accounting for this choice?

8.2 VALUES AND FEELINGS

Behaviour is strongly affected by personal values and feelings. Emotions play an important role in our commitment to protecting the environment or to improving our health. So the realm of 'behaviour change' is by definition about our deepest values and feelings. And yet the processes and traditional ways of working within local government are not well designed to deal with values and feelings. Visions for the area can be abstract, presentations tend to be technical, meetings are low key and work processes worthy but dull. Worries about equity and equality make it hard for local authorities to respond to individual circumstances and individual needs.

In our everyday life we all carry values. Public services too enshrine values in their every activity. Local government officers, NHS staff, police or fire officers are often passionate about their jobs and determined to achieve social benefits. Staff involved in working alongside the public need to be highly conscious of the values they carry, of the way they behave and of the impact their behaviour has on the behaviour of others. There is much anecdotal evidence that the most powerful impact local councils can have on the behaviours of others is through frontline staff setting an example, building relationships and generating trust and respect by the ways they behave.

The public are often on the look out for hypocrisy – if we want the public to use their cars less, how do council staff get to work? If we want communities to become tolerant and inclusive, what are we doing in our interactions with those communities to make that happen?

WORKSHOP EXERCISE: CLARIFYING VALUES

Bring together all the managers and staff involved directly in a behaviour change project for a half-day world café style workshop. Participants work in mixed groups around 'café' tables, moving between tables as the question changes to talk to as wide a group of people as possible. Each table has a 'table host' who sustains the story of the conversation on each table and helps to report back. In table groups, participants work on three questions:

1. what are the values we carry that underpin our confidence that the behaviour change will be a good thing to achieve?
2. how can we design the behaviour change project in a way that most lives up to those values?
3. what do we need to do in our day-to-day work, including our relationships with local people, to demonstrate those values in action?

8.3 THE ROLE OF POLITICIANS

Politics is inherently about values. Politicians play a major role in articulating the values and feelings of local people and in legitimising the choices based on values that are being made. Politicians are, or should be, comfortable dealing with motivations, feelings and emotions since they form a bridge between the bureaucracy or structures of service delivery and the public. As elected representatives, they are ensuring democratic legitimacy for the balance of values chosen to underpin intervention. Politicians need to play a major role in any initiative aimed at changing behaviour, both to secure consent and to create a narrative. In experimental schemes the leadership of politicians appears as a significant success factor.

Behaviour change projects need to engage with local politicians directly, asking for their help but also involving politicians in the conversations and dialogue with local people. In Southwark, this proved particularly important in building a firm basis of political support for the work with young people (see case study 2). Sessions to explore their role in behaviour change and the values and principles underpinning behaviour change projects could be part of the training, away days and other sessions for councillors.

8.4 DIFFERENT ASSUMPTIONS – DIFFERENT MINDSETS

We explored already the different underlying assumptions that different professions bring to behaviour change. It is striking that our different professional groups seldom talk to each other about the assumptions they make, or learn across services about what works.

Workshop designs for exploring different mindsets and exchanging learning across different departments are provided in the box below.

WORKSHOP OUTLINE: EXPLORING MINDSETS

Bring together cross-departmental groups of professionals involved in a range of activities within a council or partnership. This could include environmental health, planners, trading standards, housing officers, social workers, teachers, police officers, nurses, HR professionals, accountants, etc.

Session 1: in 'home groups' of like-minded professionals, talk about how you learnt to do your job, including professional training, short courses, watching colleagues, listening to managers, etc. Agree three or four key underlying assumptions that your profession or job makes about why people behave the way they do and how their

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behaviour might be changed.

Session 2: in mixed groups take it in turns to share the assumptions that you identified in professional groups. Identify similarities and differences. Explore how we might test whether or not these assumptions were right. How are they challenged?

Session 3: in the same mixed groups invent a new behaviour change project. Develop an action plan drawing on thinking that came from comparing the different approaches. Can we combine the best? Or are there contradictions to be resolved?

Session 4: share the new design ideas (you could vote on the most viable if you like competition!). Finally, ask individuals to identify ideas or assumptions they might now challenge, or new thinking they might take back to their own job.

8.5 BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS FOR BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

Any serious attempt to change public behaviour requires a deep understanding of the feelings, values and experiences of local people and yet current approaches to public engagement and consultation do not always yield this. Much of our current consultation activity seeks responses to the council's agenda or asks about the hospital's performance instead of exploring the experiences and feelings of local people about their own lives.

Relationships with the public need to be built on honesty and integrity – being open about what can be achieved and pooling the resources of local people and local organisations, working together to solve problems rather than trying to pre-empt that discussion by 'providing' solutions.

If the most successful approaches are based around listening, conversation and relationship building, then the way we engage the public has to change. Far greater stress needs to be placed on listening to the experiences and perceptions of local people, and on understanding the lifestyles, choices and values of residents. Conventional 'consultation' would give way to deeper and more interactive communication. Councils such as Barnet are experimenting with ways to understand people's real life experiences and build on this to find solutions, rather than using the bureaucratic approaches that have characterised service delivery and improvement frameworks.

8.6 DRAWING ON OUR OWN STAFF

We don't always need to consult the public to find out how people think. Our staff may not accurately represent the whole cross-section of a community but in many areas they can help us to understand why people act the way they do. They are often in day-to-day contact with service users and have a good understanding of their experiences. If we are trying to understand public behaviours in relation to universal issues such as recycling, active living and healthy eating, we can learn a lot from experiments within the council.

AN EXAMPLE OF LEARNING FROM STAFF: EXPERIENCE FOOD AT WORK

Experience Food at Work is a pilot initiative developed by Breckland Council, in partnership with the design consultancy Uscreates, aimed at improving eating behaviours in a local authority workplace.

Creative consultation methods were used to get an understanding of the culture of the workplace and the habits, needs and motivations of the workforce. Staff were armed with cameras for interviews and data was gathered via text message. Combined with more traditional statistical data collection methods, insights were used to establish the following behavioural goals:

» increase levels of lunch breaks taken away from workstations
» increase the amount of fruit and vegetables consumed in the workplace
» increase variety of food consumed in workplace.
» improve knowledge on how to make positive changes to nutritional health, and raise awareness of nutritional choices and effects on personal health and productivity.

A number of interventions were developed to target different identified segments of the workforce, with events, products and services designed to make the healthy option the easy option. These included a Visiting Chef event providing lunch inspiration, an honesty fruit bowl, health and nutrition MOTs and the introduction of communal eating facilities. Interventions were delivered at Breckland Council, West Norfolk PCT, local businesses and Uscreates.

Outcomes: Fruit and vegetable intake increased and 70 per cent of pledged actions for change were achieved. Improved eating behaviours can improve employee health, morale and productivity and reduce turnover and sick days. Research published in Charter for Health, Work and Wellbeing has shown that every pound spent on promoting health in the workplace could lead to a £2.50 saving for business.

Transferable learning: Devising and developing the interventions with the workforce is fundamental part of a successful approach, and for this a core group of employees who are able to motivate peers to continue giving their time and opinions is needed.

Source: National Centre for Social Marketing and Uscreates

8.7 CO-PRODUCTION

Conventional training and development often deals with the skills necessary to 'do the job' but staff need to develop their ability to build relationships, create a sense of reciprocity where promises made are kept on both sides, and build a deep understanding of the perspectives of others. The best solutions will always be developed from a mutual understanding about what is needed and what is possible.

Co-produced solutions can commit the energy and resources not simply of the local authority and its partners but of local people. It is the energy, attention and determination of individuals and groups in the wider community that will make change happen. We need staff to become more aware of the impact their behaviours have on the behaviours of others.

8.8 CHANGING ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE AND STYLE

Organisations have to change as well as staff. A few of the key changes we should pursue can be summed up as follows:

» to empower others, staff need to feel empowered. To generate successful shared solutions in conversation with residents they need to feel able to make promises and agree actions
» key new relationships in behaviour change are between politicians and their voters and between frontline staff and service users. At a time when efficiency is more important than ever we need to think carefully to ensure that 'more for less' isn't delivered in ways that damage the core relationship between public agencies and their service users
» public agencies will need to become more agile and more creative, learning to use evidence more accurately and using the knowledge and skill of staff and managers more effectively
» staff will have to 'unlearn' old mindsets and become more comfortable with radical challenges to assumptions and old ways of doing things.

Experiments in behaviour change point to the importance of evolving solutions through trial and error, working things out to fit local situations, and working on many levels at once, making sure that there is public consent for the change, exploring solutions in partnership with local people, finding practical ways round obstacles and applying common sense and values in complex situations.

WORKSHOP OUTLINE: CO-DESIGNING A PROJECT

Choose a key council objective involving behaviour change. Bring together a workshop group for one day, involving managers and front line staff from different agencies, service users, politicians. Make it clear that this is not a decision making event but a learning laboratory in which to puzzle out what causes the behaviours we are trying to change and good ways to respond.

Structure the workshop into four main sessions (the ones below roughly reflect the planning checklist proposed in this guide but a different mix might make sense in different circumstances). Each session should involve a mix of managers, staff, politicians and service users working on café tables. The range of techniques and approaches that could be used in the sessions includes stories, images, maps and other ways to maximise creativity and imagination to 'unlock' people's thinking.

Session 1: Sharing evidence and data: This would bring together evidence from different agencies and explore how different perspectives map onto each other, for example formal data such as performance information with insights or stories reflecting the experience of users. Tracing the experience over time or through a service from the point of view of a user, or role playing the whole 'end to end experience' of an encounter with a public agency, may be useful techniques here. The intention is to find new ways of understanding the behaviour, identifying the problems individuals might have with making change, and pinpointing the roles of public agencies in reinforcing current behaviours. What does the evidence tell us about what could make a difference?

Session 2: Segmenting target groups: Identifying the distinct experiences and motivations of different groups of people is key. We should ask questions such as: who are the people who might find it most difficult? How would we apply what we know from the evidence to understand these different experiences? What does that mean for our approach?

Session 3: Open space: Participants would be encouraged to identify the issue that they think most needs attention, and to work with other like-minded people to explore that issue. This will help ensure that problems are not being ignored or 'good thinking' wasted.

Session 4: Designing a possible set of interventions: On each table groups would develop an action plan aimed at making the necessary change in behaviour with a series of stages over time. Groups would be asked to take account of the issues raised in the open space process in their design. The designs for action could be on flipcharts and take the form of pictures or diagrams to show how the process would work. In a plenary session the different approaches are compared and some conclusions drawn

about combining the best ideas. Are ideas transferable to different projects?

Action planning and next steps: the group agrees how the thinking from the day will be taken forward.

8.9 THE ROLE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Relationships are not only created face to face. Increasingly people see the internet as the source of relationships, both social and instrumental. Councils and other organisations are experimenting with the use of new communication technologies – using the internet in ways that promote dialogue rather than conventional transactions, exploring the use of social networking sites such as Facebook to create scope for online interaction, putting residents in touch with each other so that they can evolve solutions locally, etc. Some key questions to consider are:

» are we using the internet to find out what local people say about the issues as well as trying to reach them through online consultation?
» how can we use video and photos to capture people's feelings and emotions about their locality?
» are we using social networking platforms to enable peer as well as council-led change?

EXAMPLE 1 NEW TECHNOLOGY: WHEREILIVE.ORG

Whereilive is a place for the residents of Barnet Borough Council to tell stories about the area. Residents can upload their own videos, photos and enter into discussions through online forums about their neighbourhood, the people that live there and the events that are happening. The site encourages both positive and negative stories, and offers a platform for local public bodies to engage with a wider local audience about local issues. The site is funded by the council, police and the Barnet Safer Communities Partnership. Whereilive.org amalgamates many of the features of other web 2.0 sites, such as YouTube and Flickr, into one easy-to-access site, focused entirely on the geographical area of Barnet.

Whereilive is a good example of:

» using new technology to gather insights into how people feel about their locality, often revealing views that are unlikely to be captured by standard polling techniques
» public agencies using social media at 'arm's length'

EXAMPLE 2 NEW TECHNOLOGY: PLEDGEBANK

Pledgebank describes itself as a website that helps people get things done. Developed by MySociety, the website offers a platform for individuals who want to create change in society, but need the support from other people. Support can be in the form of finances, physical action, letter or email writing, attending events or changing behaviour.

The website requires a user to make a pledge which they will fulfil as long as a certain number of other people agree to do the same. A recent successful pledge includes the commitment to donate £10 towards training a local volunteer if 10 other people did the same. The website does not focus on any particular geographical area; however, there are a number of pledges focused on specific boroughs, neighbourhoods and projects. This indicates its scope to be used at the very local level.

Pledgebank is a good example of:

» using the web to raise awareness and mobilise citizens to play a part in the solution to problems connecting people who have similar passions.

9 Focus on measures of success

» thinking about short, medium and long term measures of success at the outset

» a range of perspectives needed to indicate the likelihood of success

9.1 OVERVIEW

The case studies highlighted in this paper have different timescales and success measures. It is vital to consider and design in robust measures of success from the outset. Given the nature of the challenge and the importance of insights into the lives of different audiences and target groups, qualitative and quantitative measures need continuous refinement, with the aim of developing indicators that capture movement in attitudes, life patterns and behaviours as well as the overall impact of any changes in behaviour.

Changing individuals' behaviour to achieve social outcomes has to be seen in the medium or long term in most cases. Behaviour change is less a single event and more a process with a series of stages involved. In the early stages we might not see any actual changes in outcome. So how do we know if experiments are on track or likely to succeed?

We need to try to develop appropriate short, medium and long-term measures of success for interventions, especially for those that are experiments or pilots that haven't been tried before. We have attempted below to set out appropriate measures, which would help in identifying difficulties early on, and would give a good indication of whether experiments were worth continuing.

9.2 SHORT, MEDIUM AND LONG TERM INDICATORS

Although indicators for different phases will inevitably overlap, the key attributes which differentiate these phases from each other can be summarised as follows:

Short term: capturing insights and securing buy-in.
After six months it should be possible to assess how the groundwork is progressing against the following:

» have clear goals been set?
» is there political sign-up?
» is the organisation ready – staff are engaged and have reflected on their own behaviours?
» data and evidence have been captured and explored including baseline data
» contact with the public is underway and initial responses are positive or engaged.

Medium term: showing concrete evidence on 'soft' indicators (opinions, awareness and attitudes) and initial evidence of hard outcomes in terms of new behaviours.
After one to two years we should expect to see:
» a shift in qualitative indicators of attitudes and willingness to participate
» some shift in quantitative indicators showing that behaviour was having an impact
» raised public awareness of the behaviour change that is wanted

» early adopters have already changed behaviour
» delivery systems are able to respond to these behaviour changes
» numbers of people involved are increasing.

Long term: achieving behavioural outcomes, savings and improvements.
In the long term the change should be shifting to mainstream:

» positive shift in the impact of changed behaviour – normalisation of the new behaviour
» public agencies are able to respond to the new behaviours, delivery systems respond appropriately at scale
» adopted behaviours are becoming self-sustaining with tangible cost savings
» public acceptance of diverting resources in response to the change
» increased satisfaction and wellbeing.

It is important to emphasise that critical mass in behaviour change and possible cost savings will in most cases only emerge in the long term. Yet the measures in the short and medium term will be the building blocks to achieving such change and therefore should be assessed on what they tell us about the desired direction of travel.

More detailed measures of success for the short, medium and long term are illustrated in the following box.

SHORT TERM

» capturing insights and securing buy-in
» sense of momentu behind sharing challenges and issues
» defined aims and measures of success
» garnering political sign-up
» positioning internal change
» capturing unorthodox sources of information - 'soft data'
» changing staff attitudes
» take up - willing participation among public

MEDIUM TERM

» concrete evidence of impact - significant shift of qualitive indicators, initial shift in qualitative indicators
» raised public awareness
» early adopters of new behaviours, with delivery system able to respond
» increasing number of people involved
» projects still in place or scaled up
» delivery systems able to respond to early adopters

LONG TERM

» achieving behavioral outcomes - positive shift in quant indicators of new behaviour
» adopted behaviours become self sustaining with tangible cost savings
» public acceptance of hard incentives (ie bans fines) for late adopters
» public acceptance of diverting resources away (eg cutting spending on asb/smoking related illness)
» severity of complaints/ and or cost re problem behaviour reduced
» increased resident satisfaction and well-being

10 Resources and further reading

Theoretical frameworks

Government Social Research (2008) *Behaviour change: practical guide: an overview of behaviour change models and their uses*
A paper commissioned by Government Social Research summarising the key elements of behaviour change theory and providing guidance on selecting and using models

Strategy Unit (2008) *Achieving culture change: a policy framework*
A discussion paper that examines the role of cultural capital in influencing behaviour, establishing a policy framework to encourage behaviour change where powerful cultural factors are at play.

Thaler, R, and Sunstein, C (2008) *Nudge: improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness,* **Penguin**
An influential book, citing numerous practical examples and techniques of behaviour change and a discussion of the merits.

Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004) *Personal responsibility and changing behaviour: the state of knowledge and implications for public policy*
A discussion paper providing a comprehensive overview of reasons behind behaviour change agenda, different theories of behaviour and practical application in areas of health, education, employment and crime and anti-social behaviour.

Cialdini, R (2001) *Influence: Science and Practice ,* **Allyn & Bacon**
Examines ways that behaviours can be influenced by 'compliance professionals' in a context of information overload.

O'Leary, D (ed) (2008) *The politics of public behaviour,* **Demos**
A pamphlet presenting three perspectives from different political traditions. Andy Burnham MP, Andrew Lansley MP and Chris Huhne MP offer contrasting views on the public implications of private decisions, and what they mean for the relationships between people and government.

John, P, Smith, G, Stoker, G (2009) "Nudge nudge, think think: two strategies for changing civic behaviour" *Political Quarterly* **80:3 pp361 – 370**
Reviews the contrasting approaches of nudging citizens using the insights of behavioural economics, as opposed to giving citizens space to think through and debate solutions as indicated by proponents of deliberative democracy.

Prendergrast et al (2008) *Creatures of habit? The art of behavioural change,* **Social Marketing Foundation**
Pamphlet looking at a wide range of examples from across the international public policy spectrum to better understand the drivers behind people's choices and

behaviour; distils messages into a tool for policymakers to improve the future development and design of policy solutions.

Policy Studies Institute (2004) *Motivating sustainable consumption: a review of evidence on consumer behaviour and behavioural change*
A review of the literature on consumer behaviour and behaviour change, and an analysis of the implications of this for policy on influencing human behaviour, particularly in relation to securing pro-environmental behavioural change.

Dr Fogg's behaviour model, **available at http://www. behaviormodel.org/ accessed 26.4.10**
A behaviour model which has supported the identification of a range of rules and techniques around employing persuasive technologies, including identification of appropriate channels and triggers, and scaling up behavioural change from small, simple changes to those with more significant impact.

Taylor, M, " Pro-Social Behaviour: the Future - it's up to us", RSA, available at http://www.thersa.org/projects/ pro-social-behaviour accessed 26.4.10
Contextualises and introduces the RSA pro-social behaviour programme, which proposes a move from a government-centric to citizen-centric model of social change

Kerswell, K and Goss, S (eds) (Oct 2009) *Challenging Behaviour* **Solace Foundation Imprint**
Exploring the ethical and practical debates around local government involvement in this field, as well as some of the methods for achieving attitude and behaviour change.

Practical frameworks and guidance on segmentation

Dolan, P, Hallsworth, M, Halpern, D, King, D, Vlaev, (2010) *MINDSPACE: Influencing behaviour through public policy,* **Cabinet Office and Institute for Government**
A report focused on distilling learning from theory and practice for application by policymakers, making explicit the way that behavioural approaches can enhance policy.

NCSM (2007) *National social marketing big pocket guide*
A large but very accessible and practical collection of diagrams and tools explaining key concepts of social marketing, many of which are useful for understanding behaviour change and designing interventions.

NSMC (2009) *National social marketing benchmark criteria, a*vailable at **http://www.nsmcentre.org.uk/component/ remository/Tools-and-Guides/Social-Marketing-Benchmark-Criteria-tool accessed 26.4.10**
A short guide to key elements of the social marketing process from theory to audience segmentation and implementation. DEFRA (2008) A framework for pro-environmental behaviours

Includes 12 headline behaviour goals, consumer insight and evidence base and an environmental segmentation model that divides the public into seven clusters, each sharing a distinct set of attitudes and beliefs towards the environment.

Sport England (market segmentation) **available at http://www.sportengland.org/research/market_segmentation.aspx accessed 26.4.10**

Part of the drive to get one million people doing more sport by 2012, Sport England has developed 19 sporting segments to help understand the nation's attitudes and motivations – why they play sport and why they don't. The segments provide the knowledge to influence people to take part. Each segment can be explored at differing geographic levels. It is possible to find out what people's sporting habits are in a particular street, community, local authority or region.

DoH (2008) **Healthy weight, healthy lives: consumer insight summary**

Summary of research into families' attitudes and behaviours relating to diet and activity. Provides segmentation of families with children aged 2-10. It is intended for use by obesity/health weight teams within primary care trusts (PCTs) and local authorities, but will also be of interest to anyone involved in the commissioning or implementation of initiatives aimed at encouraging families to improve their diet and/or increase their levels of activity.

NICE (2007) **Behaviour change at population, community and individual levels,** **available at http://www.nice.org.uk/PH6 accessed 26.4.10**

Guidance on the most appropriate generic and specific interventions to support attitude and behaviour change at population and community levels. Provides a set of generic principles that can be used as the basis for planning, delivering and evaluating public health activities aimed at changing health-related behaviours.

Fostering sustainable behaviour: community-based social marketing, **available at http://www.cbsm.com accessed 26.4.10**

A website holding a catalogue of resources, including articles, case studies, discussion forums and an online book which draws together the principles and techniques through which community-based social marketing seeks to influence behaviour.

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Appendix 1
Behaviour change initiatives from across London

IN THIS SECTION

» sample of behaviour change initiatives submitted from boroughs with members involved in the work stream.

» we hope that many more will be added – please post any examples and case studies on the website

1 PRO-ENVIRONMENTAL BEHAVIOUR

Go Green Portal: Richmond upon Thames
Richmond have set up a Go Green Portal to provide practical information to help people and organisations go green and discover what Richmond Council is doing to promote sustainable development in the borough. The portal brings together advice and support for residents, schools and businesses on:

» energy and climate change
» food and shopping
» transport
» waste and recycling
» water
» wildlife and conservation.

Residents are encouraged to take a number of personal pledges related to the above categories, which provide a series of actions for people to undertake. For example under the transport category, people can pledge to join a car club, cycle or walk 10,000 steps per day.

Well London: London-wide
In 2007 Big Lottery Fund awarded the London Health Commission (LHC) £9.46 million to deliver a portfolio of projects in twenty of London's most deprived communities. Well London is a unique four year programme which aims to increase rates of physical activity and healthy eating, support culture and creativity, improve open spaces and promote positive mental wellbeing in the target areas. A rigorous research and evaluation framework has been developed and lead by University of East London in collaboration with a consortium of academic and research institutions. This has attracted significant additional research funding from the Wellcome Trust.

The programme, which has been been running since October 2007, comprises a suite of eight projects based around the above five themes and six projects to increase community participation, skills and capacity. The LHC Well London Alliance partners are: Arts Council, Groundwork, London Sustainability Exchange, South London & Maudsley NHS Foundation Trust, Central YMCA and University of East London. Some of the features of the Well London approach that combine into a unique model are that it:

» works in the most deprived communities - all target communities are in the most deprived 11 per cent in London as measured by the indices of multiple deprivation.
» works at the very local level in areas that have approximately 1,500 to 2,000 residents
» works in a joined up way across social cultural, economic and built and natural environmental determinants of health,

health inequalities and wellbeing – removing barriers and increasing support for health and health behaviours
» uses a community development approach
» uses an integrated, holistic approach which joins up and adds value to existing local work on healthy eating, physical activity, mental health, open spaces and culture and tradition
» commissions local organisations wherever possible to deliver activities
» has a rigorous research and evaluation programme running alongside and is linked directly to the LHC with the potential to influence policy and practice across London and beyond.

For more information go to www.london.gov.uk/welllondon or contact Alison Pearce, Well London Programme Manager, email: Alison.Pearce@london.gov.uk

2 HEALTHY BEHAVIOUR

Go London!: London-wide
Go London! is a shared movement led by the NHS and key partners to create a city where physical activity is a normal part of Londoners' lives and contributes to making London a more liveable, sustainable and healthy city. It will maximise the health benefits of the 2012 Olympic Games, using it as a lever to generate a sustained increase in the number of Londoners participating in physical activity. NHS London published the Go London! strategy in Summer 2009 with a number of core themes structuring activity to support behaviour change:

» making local use of the 2012 'festival effect': building a sense of community involvement so that people want to get involved in activities just to feel part of the occasion
» energising local systems, such as health commissioning and PCT activity, to focus on activity which will build a 2012 health legacy
» targeting the inactive using social marketing techniques: early work includes community roadshows and a walking campaign
» promoting physical activity for 2012 through workplaces, especially public sector employers
» exploring the use of incentivisation and new technologies.

Taking an innovative approach, the movement has used an online competition to stimulate engagement and inspire fresh ideas about the best ways to overcome barriers and get Londoners active. Top ideas will compete at a workshop in May 2010 hosted at City Hall for the opportunity to be developed into reality, with in kind support to launch the winning project. For more information please see www.go.london.nhs.uk.

Achieving Healthy Schools Status: London-wide

The Healthy Schools Programme supports the links between health, behaviour and achievement; it is about creating healthy and happy children and young people who do better in learning and in life. All boroughs are now participating in the Healthy Schools Programme; to date 99 per cent nationwide have joined the Healthy Schools programme and 85 per cent have achieved Healthy School Status. Several London Boroughs have now achieved 100 per cent of their schools with Status. The impact of the programme is based on a whole-school approach to physical and emotional wellbeing focused on four core themes:

» personal, social and health education
» healthy eating
» physical activity
» emotional health & wellbeing.

The whole school approach involves working with children and young people, parents, school staff and the whole school community to provide a solid foundation from which developments and improvement are embedded in a systematic way. These processes contribute to the physical and emotional development of all members of the school community.

Mini-MEND: Lewisham

Mini-MEND is a health promotion programme for two to four year olds and their parents/carers. Families attend 90-minute sessions consisting of physically active games, healthy snack time and parents' workshops for 10 weeks. Mini-MEND helps to encourage young children to try new things and shows parents creative ways to get their children to taste and enjoy different fruits, vegetables and other healthy snacks. The active play sessions give parents ideas and tips for games which will keep their child moving and occupied. As well as helping to improve agility, balance and coordination, it also works on building their confidence. The following results were gained during the pilot phase: "Taking part in Mini-MEND has helped me to":

» play more (89 per cent)
» cut down on the amount of time my child spends watching TV (72 per cent)
» give my child a wider range of fruit and vegetables than before (94 per cent)
» manage my child's behaviour more effectively (94 per cent)
» cut down on the amount of milk, juice or sugary drinks I give to my child (83 per cent)
» understand appropriate food portion sizes for my child (83 per cent)
» deal better with fussy eating at meal times (72 per cent)
» be more structured/use a routine at meal times (61 per cent)
» read food labels properly (94 per cent)
» change my eating habits to be a better role model for my

child (70 per cent).

Forward steps: Ealing

The Forward Steps Project is a crime prevention and diversion project that works with young people to educate and inform them about the consequences and repercussions of getting involved with crime and anti-social behaviour.

The project runs interesting and informative sessions, programmes and workshops around relevant topics related to youth crime, such as law and consequences, which allow the young people to explore their own attitudes and behaviours around crime. The project also runs a peer education programme, which works with young people who have experience of the criminal justice system to help engage other young people into positive activities.

Street Outreach: Hammersmith and Fulham

£50,000 has been secured over two years from the John Lyons Charity for a youth worker to start a pilot project on a completely new way of engaging with young people involved in gangs. The project is to be delivered through HAFPAC, Hammersmith and Fulham Partnership Against Crime, a partnership charity involving the local authority and private sector companies based in the borough.

The street outreach service will identify young people involved in gangs and develop effective working relationships with them and their own community support systems. This will be done by finding places to meet and build relationships on the young person's territory. The worker will identify who the young people regard as their supporters in the community – who is there who will stand by them through thick and thin?

Street Violence Ruins Lives: Greenwich

On 23 August 2008 Charlton Athletic Community Trust launched a new 'Street Violence Ruins Lives' Campaign in partnership with Greenwich Council. Charlton Athletic FC played Reading FC on Sat 23 August and focused on the reduction of weapon-enabled youth violence, which was televised live on Sky Sports. Sky TV also produced a TV feature for the week preceding the match to include players and interviews with key people and families affected by knife crime and senior police officers. This is now dovetailing into existing programmes running in Greenwich and Bexley as well as Kent, which focus on improving the behaviour, attitudes and lifestyles of the young people involved.

The launch day, shaped around awareness and reassurance, is now followed by long-term intervention programmes. The existing programmes which Charlton Athletic run with young people aim to divert young people away from ASB and also aim to promote healthy living and enrich local communities. The programmes involve extensive coaching in estates and wards, which are identified by local agencies. Coaching also takes place in alternative curriculum programmes and Pupil

Referral Units. The programmes are not restricted to football; dance, drama and boxing sessions are also delivered, as well as sessions on healthy living, teenage pregnancy and more Charlton are also linking up with missdorothy.com, which will be delivering awareness programmes in primary and secondary schools across the borough.

Young Leaders for Safer Cities: Haringey
In response to requests from schools for a programme to change students' mindsets and to influence positive change through personal development, the Young Leaders for Safer Cities Programme has been set up. The aims of this accredited programme, funded by the police and developed by the Metropolitan Black Police Association are to:

» nurture young leaders aged 13 and 14 from local communities to support and improve their communities
» help young people navigate their way through the issues of governance, leadership, community social responsibility and citizenship
» ensure that the voices of young people are heard and listened to and that they are seen as contributors to successful community life that supports racial harmony, community and cross-borough cohesion.

Two programmes involving 40+ young men and women started in August 2008.

3 PREVENTING YOUTH CRIME AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR (ASB)

Restorative justice in the community: Lewisham
The Restorative Justice in the Community project is a multi-agency project that seeks to establish a 'restorative justice neighbourhood' in the New Cross Gate New Deal for Communities (NDC) area. A restorative justice neighbourhood will mean that criminal and anti-social behaviour will be challenged by the individuals and the community that suffer it, and that victims and the community as a whole are empowered and at the heart of the process.

Relevant workers, from both the statutory and voluntary sectors, who have a stake or remit around crime and community safety are being trained in restorative justice and helped to deploy them with the long-term aim of reducing crime and anti-social behaviour (ASB). The project started working in April 2008 and funding was available until March 2010. Victims of all low-level crimes, who either live in the NDC area or are a victim of crime within the area (up to a level of around actual bodily harm, nuisances, ASB and disputes) are offered the opportunity to pursue a restorative solution to an incident rather than a conventional criminal justice outcome (or no outcome at all).

There has been anecdotal evidence of a change in the way that trained agencies deliver their services. The Anti-Social Behaviour Action Team are delivering their Acceptable Behaviour Contracts using restorative techniques in order to explore with the harmer the impact they have had on the person or people they have harmed. Housing officers are using the restorative enquiry technique when taking a complaint from residents. When the restorative approach is used instead of their previous investigation techniques, they are noticing improved outcomes.

Education programme on knife crime: Bexley
This initiative aims to reduce knife crime by educating young people and breaking down negative perceptions. It was developed in response to public and media outcry at knife crime involving young people, including the murder in Bexley of Robert Knox.

An interactive workshop has been developed, for delivery to schools and youth or community groups. The aim is for young people to identify within themselves the need to change their views and actions and realise the impact of their choices. The workshop is designed to be a 'reality check' for young people, unlocking their perceptions about knives and gangs and getting them to think about the consequences of knife crime.

The workshop includes a hard-hitting DVD with case studies of individuals and families affected by knife crime, as well as information about the law, and discussion about concerns and issues raised. Workshops involve a relative or friend of Robert Knox attends to describe the effects of his murder on them, the Head of Community Safety who has relevant personal experience of being stabbed and stopped and searched, and a local doctor or ambulance crew member to talk about their experience of the effects of knife crime. These inputs help to both get the interest of young people and to make a personal connection. Workshops are also an opportunity for the Safer Neighbourhoods Team to meet the young people and break down barriers.

4 BUILDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE

Southwark Circle: Southwark
Southwark Circle is a membership organisation for older people that provides on-demand help with life's practical tasks through local, reliable Neighbourhood Helpers and a social network for teaching, learning and sharing. It does this by introducing members to each other and to local, reliable Neighbourhood Helpers. Southwark Circle services have a preventative impact, improving outcomes for older

people living in the community by focusing on facilitating interactions to build social networks and leveraging local resources to provide little bits of practical help, as and when members request it.

The organisation was co-designed with older people and their families, and developed by Participle Ltd, and its partners at Southwark Council, Sky and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). They began by learning from, and understanding, older people and their families, and worked with over 250 people in Southwark through an iterative process of user research, idea generation and prototyping. They found that many services were not equipped to respond effectively to smaller, more episodic needs in older people's lives, which can often spiral to greater need. The approach relies on and builds up social capital/networks and promotes participation and contribution by all members of the community.

In April of 2009, Southwark Circle was launched as a social enterprise (CIC). It has received three years' grant funding from Southwark Council, has been growing ahead of targets in its first year and is now building towards becoming a self-sustaining enterprise. Southwark Circle is the pilot project for a national membership organisation of 'Circles' that will be launched in other locations, starting in the summer of 2010. For more information please see www.southwarkcircle.org.uk

Better Together: Harrow
Better Together is part of the London Borough of Harrow's 'Better Deal for Residents' Transformation Programme. It is a partnership initiative with a vision to build a vibrant civic culture in the borough with residents participating in decisions, taking responsibility for assets and behaving in ways that improve personal quality of life, build social capital, ensure sustainability and prevent long term increases in calls on the public purse.

The approach taken to behaviour change is an unusually comprehensive one, exploring a wide range of themes and outcomes, and considering potential roles for residents in service transformation on both individual and collective levels, through the exercise of choice and through more active involvement in delivery.

The borough has commissioned a detailed analysis of key areas where resident behaviours can be influenced, based on mosaic data, interviews, focus groups, and a resident survey. This rich set of data has enabled the Better Together group to identify a set of themes to be further investigated to allow for the development of business cases for behaviour change initiatives. Areas include physical activity, anti-social behaviour, neighbourhood responsibility (environmental), community assets and tenant responsibility.

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