




Changing Behaviours

Opening a new conversation with the citizen

Nigel Keohane

The background of the page is a dark blue color with a pattern of lighter blue gears and speech bubbles. The gears are of various sizes and are scattered across the page, some overlapping. The speech bubbles are also of various sizes and are scattered across the page, some overlapping. The overall effect is a complex, interconnected pattern.

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Nigel Keohane, NLGN

April 2011

Executive Summary

Local government is facing twin challenges – to renew public services and their relationship with citizens, and to manage grant reductions of 28 percent. It is clear that the state and the citizen will have to engage in radically new conversations in the years to come.

But there remains little evidence of how these two challenges can be tackled simultaneously. Behaviour change approaches – popularised by Thaler and Sunstein’s recent book *Nudge* - offer a crucial means to pursue these goals.

As this research paper will show, the argument is not about whether or not the state should try and change the way citizens behave. Instead, we need to learn more about how government can use these techniques to develop a new, more sustainable operating model for public services.

Drawing on evidence from innovative behavioural change pilot schemes, this research charts a practical approach to behaviour change. The paper demonstrates that:

- A traditional ‘one-size-fits-all’ model of public services both accumulates cost and leads to a mismatch between public service provision and what citizens ultimately want and need.
- Our focus must therefore shift to developing an in-depth understanding of how to engage with the public’s underlying values and motivations.
- By re-designing services in ways that fit with citizen motivations, local government can significantly reduce the costs of services – cost reductions emerging from projects detailed in this report are yielding 15-20 percent.
- The practice of government must change radically to enable these discussions to take place, to communicate effectively with clients and to understand where citizens may be ready to play a part.

1 *Why behaviour change?*

The financial situation means that public services have to develop a new relationship with citizens, whether that is to discuss which functions to cut back or, more positively, to find new ways to engage people in shaping their local areas. Behaviour change techniques are likely to be a very important part of local government’s toolkit over the coming years.

These techniques are not new – councils have tried to discourage smoking and fatty foods for a generation – but they now need to be applied to all services in more ambitious and radical ways.

The relationship between the citizen and the state

The relationship between the citizen and the state is at a crucial departure point. Wider societal changes suggest that citizens are coming to expect a different relationship with the state. Many now expect not only high levels of quality but also more personal choice and input into what they receive.¹ Citizen expectations continue to rise whilst satisfaction with services has flat-lined.

It has become increasingly clear that policy-makers require a new way of working and interacting with service users and communities more generally. A public service reform model that saw citizens as passive consumers proved unable to engage citizens as partners in tackling problems such as welfare dependency, rising demand for health and social care and climate change.

Therefore, there has been a growing desire to build a system based on co-production and co-design where responsibility for, and input into, services is shared between government and the citizen. The Government’s Big Society philosophy and the new ‘Right to Challenge’ in the Localism Bill are the latest iteration of this shift.²

¹ Natcen, *British Social Attitudes 25th Report* (2009)

² See also Cabinet Office, *Building a Stronger Civil Society* (2010)

Behaviour change approaches have become a key part of the debate.³ Academics and innovators have established the philosophical, political and theoretical underpinnings of behavioural economics, social conditions and network theory.⁴

Councils are uniquely-placed to lead on behaviour change approaches.⁵ New markets in healthcare and education should see councils adopt a radically different type of leadership in their area, where they understand and shape citizen preferences. As NLGN has argued recently, this is likely to see councils move to evolve new models of community leadership.⁶ But, in this area as in others, councils must take the lead in owning the problems, in understanding citizen motivations and shaping their preferences. If councils do not, then it is likely no-one will.

Scale of reductions and implications for behaviour change

Some councils face budget reductions of nearly nine percent in 2011-12. Collectively, local authorities confront reductions in central grant of 28 percent over the period of this parliament.

Facing a funding shortfall of £6.5bn in the next financial year, local authorities are being forced to look at a wide range of cost-reduction approaches.⁷ However, the scale and speed of budget reductions means that traditional ‘salami-slicing’ and efficiencies will be insufficient. Neither will councils be able to manage the cuts through service cuts to discretionary or marginal services.⁸ Therefore, local authorities will have to take fundamental action to change the shape, structure and delivery of local services.

³ Prime Minister’s Strategy Unit, *Personal Responsibility and Behaviour Change* (2004); Institute for Government, *MINDSPACE Influencing behaviour through public policy* (2010); Cabinet Office, *Applying behavioural insight to health* (2010)

⁴ Foley et al., *Creatures of Habit? The Art of Behavioural Change* (SMF, 2008); Sunstein and Thaler, *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness* (2008); Gerry Stoker and Alice Moseley, *Motivation, Behaviour and the Microfoundations of Public Services* (PST, 2010)

⁵ Foley, *Creatures of Habit?*, p.110.

⁶ Simon Parker, *Next Localism: Five trends for the future of local government* (NLGN, 2011)

⁷ <http://www.lga.gov.uk/lga/core/page.do?pagelid=16571833>

⁸ Hope et al, *Scanning Financial Horizons* (NLGN, 2010)

Exhaustion of supply-side reforms

Supply-side reform has dominated efficiency programmes in the past. Throughout the Gershon review implementation and the Operational Efficiency Programme, productive efficiencies dominated. Supply side reforms continue to have merit: e-auctions, economies of scale, bulk purchasing and shared services can all contribute significant cost reductions.⁹

However, it is becoming clear that this kind of efficiency has severe limitations. The rationalisation of back offices through shared services will make only minor inroads into the savings needed next financial year alone, let alone the years to come – recent NLGN research has suggested that the top estimate would be under four percent of expenditure. Ambitious councils will, therefore, be forced to consider far more radical service transformation if wishing to share frontline services.¹⁰ Bulk procurement may run counter to the localism agenda and the Government’s desire for a diversity of provision.

In a period when investment was increased and supply-side efficiencies dominated, ONS figures show that public sector productivity dipped across public services.¹¹ To put it bluntly therefore, government failed to increase the outputs to the degree that it increased the inputs. Conversely, evidence suggests that the real financial savings are to be realised at the interface with the citizen rather than simply re-organising the services behind a curtain. It is here that behaviours can be shaped and upstream demand managed and resources allocated to need.¹²

The roll out of personal budgets in adult social care, the shift towards reablement and prevention and the government’s desire to see personal budgets rolled out in social care and introduced in health services reflect a growing interest in demand-led reform.¹³ Evidence from the personalisation agenda demonstrates the deep level of waste endemic in the current structure of services – resources are not allocated sensibly. Without citizen participation, this waste will continue.

⁹ Nigel Keohane, *People Power* (NLGN, 2009); Nigel Keohane, *Procuring for Place* (NLGN, 2009)

¹⁰ Tom Symons et al, *Shared Necessities* (NLGN, 2011).

¹¹ ONS, *UK Centre for the Measurement of Government Activity: Total Public Service Output, Inputs and Productivity* (2010)

¹² Nigel Keohane and Geraldine Smith, *Greater than the Sum of its Parts* (NLGN, 2010)

¹³ HMG, *The Coalition: our programme for government* (2010)

Financial savings through behaviour change

Councils are currently making only limited use of behavioural change techniques to re-design services and reduce costs. However, when approached correctly, behaviour change responses can yield significant savings.

- As this research evaluation will explore, iMPower's work using value modes in Coventry City Council and London Borough of Croydon's SEN transport services has identified savings of between 15-20 percent on the budget. This includes demand-led savings through recruiting travel trainers to work with parents and children to make the child less reliant on state transport and the initiation of personal budgets.
- The London Borough of Sutton has reduced expenditure on its SEN transport service. The behaviour change involved encouraging parents and carers to make a contribution to the service by escorting their children to agreed pick-up points. This is projected to save approximately £1/3m or nearly 10 percent of the cost of the service.¹⁴
- Research into personal budgets in adult social care – where citizens are encouraged to take on responsibility for managing their own – has estimated savings of between 7 percent and 9 percent, and potentially more.¹⁵
- Behaviour change programmes have led to significant financial savings in waste services through the reduction of landfill charges. Somerset Waste Partnership collection policy 'Sort It' has seen costs reduced by 20 percent.¹⁶

If these examples can be built on then behaviour change could become a major contributor to cost reduction and service reduction in the years ahead.

¹⁴ <http://sutton.moderngov.co.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=7759>; www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/.../EPPEarlyAdopter%5B1%5D.ppt

¹⁵ S. Carr and D. Robbins, *SCIE Research Briefing 20: The implementation of individual budget schemes in adult social care* (2009); Nigel Keohane, *People Power* (NLGN, 2009).

¹⁶ Hope, *Scanning Financial Horizons*, pp. 97-8.

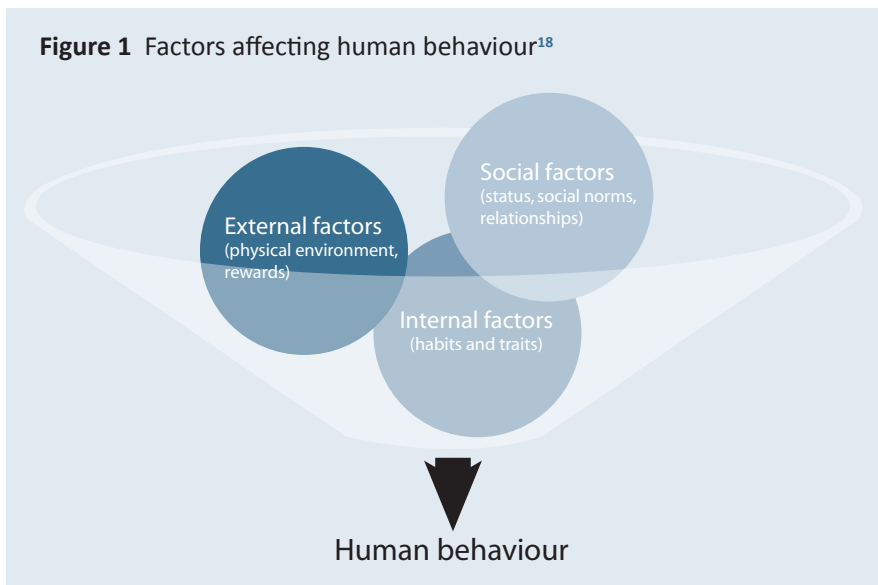
Conclusions

The Government's focus on localism and the 'Big Society' provides a clear policy context within which to seek to re-open the debate on behaviours and where responsibilities lie in society. With fiscal consolidation, there is a major danger that government uses this opportunity to retrench and to absolve itself of influence in societal problems rather than take them on head-on and engage in a new interaction with the citizen.

2 Introducing 'value modes': understanding what makes people 'tick'

Behaviour change tactics

There are a huge range of tactics which can be deployed to shift behaviours. The drivers of people's behaviour can be set out in three categories of levers: External, Internal and Social factors.¹⁷



- **External** factors are the familiar tools of policymakers: tax, rewards, regulation and subsidies; the environment and infrastructure.
- **Internal** factors include personal habits and traits and reflect humans' inherent predictability when it comes to certain choices (e.g. benefits

¹⁷ Foley et al., *Creatures of Habit? The Art of Behavioural Change*, (SMF, 2008).

¹⁸ http://www.youngfoundation.org/files/images/YF_NF_Behaviour_Change.pdf

now against costs later, infrequent decisions, aversion to loss). Policymakers can use “choice architecture” to shape decisions.

- **Social** psychology underscores the collective and inter-relational dynamics which shape behaviour such as status, social norms, reciprocity and networks.

Intelligence, but what type of intelligence?

But, how can government decide which tactic to deploy?

The dizzying range of tactics is almost overwhelming. Selecting the appropriate intervention and understanding which is likely to gain traction or buy-in requires sophisticated understanding and intelligence of citizens' motivations and values. Different people respond in different ways to the same messages, to the same stimulus or to the same offer of support.

Although a common characteristic of successful behaviour change schemes is the level of intelligence possessed by the authority about the client group,¹⁹ there have been criticisms that current behaviour change programmes often simply present information to the public.²⁰ They therefore make assumptions about what information is likely to influence people; may make the problem appear impossibly big and distant from the individual; or assume falsely that information can fill the motivation gap. As a Cabinet Office paper has previously acknowledged, ‘several decades of research have conclusively shown that knowledge alone often fails to change behaviour.’²¹ Conversely, academic research has indicated that where behaviour change schemes are attuned to the needs and circumstances of citizens themselves that they are likely to be well-received.²²

Customer and citizen data in local authorities trails far behind the private sector in terms of its collection and usage. Not only are systems such as

¹⁹ IfG, *MINDSPACE*

²⁰ Chris Rose, Pat Dade & John Scott, *Research into motivating Prospectors, Settlers and Pioneers to change behaviours that affect climate emissions*, p.1.

²¹ Cabinet Office, *Personal Responsibility and Changing Behaviour: The State of Knowledge and its Implications for Public Policy* (2004)

²² Rebecca Askew, Sarah Cotterill and Stephen Greasley, ‘Citizens’ reflections on behaviour change policies’ in Catherine Durose et al, *Changing local governance, changing citizens* (Policy Press, 2009), pp. 157-76.

MOSAIC rarely maximised to their full effect, but they also offer insight only into actual customer behaviours.²³ The answers we need go much deeper:

- What causes the behaviours which are fundamental to a person's life?
- Which behaviours are shaped primarily by social norms and the habits and expectations of peers?
- What activities are locked-in by the built environment, financial constraints or inflexible lifestyle issues and how could these be released?²⁴ For instance, research has shown that the level of traffic on a road has a significant impact on how likely residents are to say their neighbours are helpful.²⁵
- What interventions are likely to shift behaviours?

These are complex questions. Many relate to underlying motivations and values. Understanding what would make a person or a group 'tick' or shift an engrained behaviour requires deep insight. As will be shown below, such techniques exist, even if they have been rarely used by government.

Segmenting by motivations and 'value modes'

'Value modes'

Behaviours are not a representation of underpinning values; they are responses to circumstances. 'Value Modes' is one tool to allow policy makers to plan services and to understand citizens in a far deeper sense and relate to them more closely. 'Value Modes' is based on the insight that behaviours are more significant than opinions, but that values are more important than behaviours.²⁶ The 'value modes' methodology maps systematically the values that underlie behaviour in relation to personal characteristics and traits which affect whether people are quick or slow in the adoption of a new idea. Armed with this knowledge, government can better predict how citizens would behave and make informed judgements as to their preferences in

²³ NLGN Event on Customer Insight, January 2010.

²⁴ The Young Foundation, *The Capital Ambition Guide to Behaviour Change* (2009), p.14.

²⁵ David Halpern, *Mental health and the built environment: more than bricks and mortar?* (Taylor and Francis, 1995), p.122.

²⁶ Chris Rose, Pat Dade & John Scott, *Research into motivating Prospectors, Settlers and Pioneers to change behaviours that affect climate emissions*

future scenarios and what would stimulate different behaviour.

'Value Modes' has been developed by Cultural Dynamics as a tool for the past thirty years to understand citizen motivations and values. The matrix draws on the academic and theorist Maslow and his 'Hierarchies of Need'. The model maps approximately 90 attributes, which draw on some 418 questions to elucidate specific life-stances or motivations.

It has been used in a number of local authority and public policy projects including shifting behaviours on climate change in the West of England and seeking to understand how citizens would like to engage with government in London.²⁷ IPPR also recently used the methodology in its recent report on climate change and consumer power.²⁸

What type of person are you? A Pioneer, Prospector or Settler?²⁹

'Value Modes' differentiate between:

Settlers (security driven) – their needs are Safety and Security; and Belonging.

Prospectors (outer directed or esteem driven) – their needs are Esteem of Others; and Self Esteem.

Pioneers (inner directed) – their needs are Aesthetic cognitive; Self Actualization.

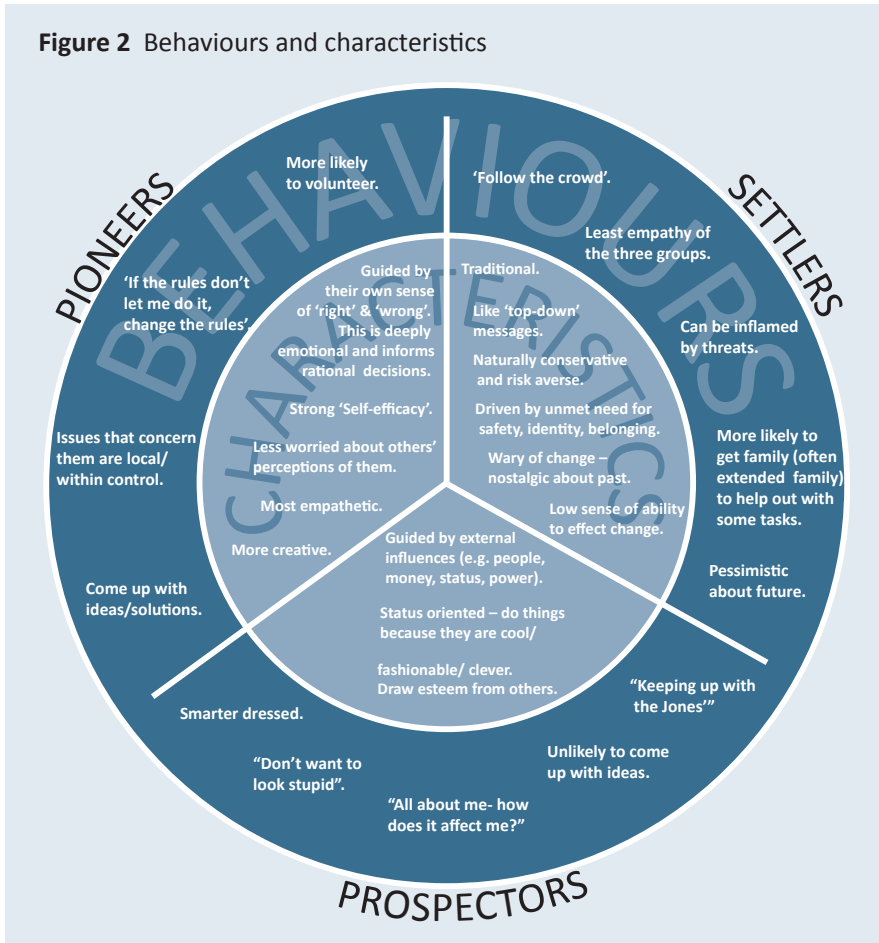
Value Modes are therefore broad in scope as they take into account how very different individuals are influenced to change their behaviour, not only those who do the influencing. These modes in no way refer to moral judgements, but simply the motivations of that individual.

²⁷ London Civic Forum, *Evaluation of the Targeted Support for Empowerment and Participation Improvement Programme in London, 2009/2010* (2010); Chris Rose and Pat Dade, *Research Into Motivating Prospectors, Settlers and Pioneers To Change Behaviours That Affect Climate Emissions*.

²⁸ IPPR, *Consumer Power, How the public thinks lower-carbon behaviour could be made mainstream* (2010), see Appendix for summary.

²⁹ Chris Rose and Pat Dade "Using Value Modes", Campaign Strategy, available online at www.campaignstrategy.org

Figure 2 Behaviours and characteristics



As the research below sets out, this level of knowledge and insight allows councils to shape services around the fundamental values as well as needs of citizens. Without insight and targeted communications, government is likely to over-ride essential underpinning values held dear by citizens, including fairness, tolerance of risk and status and perception. Not only can government mitigate these objections, it can also identify a suite of values which can be mobilised to change behaviour such as 'keeping up with the Joneses'; creativity; empathy and 'following the crowd'. Which is most likely to trigger responses from different people?

Below we explore how these techniques can be used to inform the re-design of services and cost reduction through behaviour change.

3 *Using 'value modes' in local public services: introducing the pilots*

Two recent innovative pilot studies have used 'value modes' techniques to understand how a new debate could be opened on services and how behaviours could be shifted. These give clear indications for how behaviour change approaches can be taken forward on the ground.

Background

Over the last nine months, iMPower has worked with Cultural Dynamics taking forward pilots with two local authorities - Coventry City Council and London Borough of Croydon - using the 'value modes' methodology and informing the fundamental re-design of Special Educational Needs transport services.

Context and aims of the Coventry and Croydon pilots

The councils were seeking to significantly reduce costs and open a discussion with parents on how the service could be reformed:

- Coventry City Council had a projected overspend of 20 percent in its SEN transport budget for 2010/11. Croydon's costs were rising year on year.
- Parents entered the system with extremely high expectations of what the council would provide and there was insufficient engagement with them.
- The service deals with vulnerable children and families often under stress and the councils wanted to understand how to re-balance services.
- Existing expectations for transport provision were becoming increasingly unsustainable and a conversation needed to be opened on what type of support would be most valuable in the future, and what could encourage clients to play a fuller role in services themselves.

Process of the pilots

Each client group was segmented into different value modes through initial quantitative research.³⁰

Three second-stage focus groups were held, one each with groups of Pioneers, Prospectors and Settlers, to gain a much deeper understanding about motivations and values.

This intelligence was designed to gauge where residents would be receptive to specific messages, interventions and new types of support. Participants were asked to comment on a range of questions including readiness to volunteer, views on personal budgets, travel advice and parents escorting children to school, and improvements to the service generally.

There were a number of overarching common themes which reflected general feedback on expectations in this service area and attitudes to how the service could be improved:

- A desire to see a more responsive and empathetic services with frustrations in relation to the service and how the council related to them.
- Issues of trust were of significant concern to participants.
- Participants put significant emphasis on the independence and normalisation of their child.
- The needs of families are extremely important, especially within this service where families may live stressful lives.

These constitute important and valuable insights in their own right to inform the re-design of services. However, the tools and methods offered much deeper intelligence.

30 This took the form of a 16-point Value Modes survey.

31 iMPower, *Future Council: SEN transport: Enacting sustainable behavioural change- saving money case study* (2011).

The analysis that follows draws on the focus group in the Coventry and Croydon pilots and the insights that were gathered about citizen's motivations.

4 *How can we use value modes to drive behaviour change and re-design services?*

The focus group research indicates the value of tools such as the ‘value modes’ methodology, and provided key opportunities to test and devise new government interventions to reduce costs and match services better to citizens’ expectations, with different groups often expressing radically different views towards proposals.

The real value of such tools in driving behaviour change remains the ability to understand and test which triggers, interventions or support could be designed to shift behaviours. These motivations give policy-makers the ability to develop a suite of new interventions and supports to drive behaviour change.

Below we analyse key findings of how value modes can be used to drive behaviour change and re-design services.

To recognise the starting point: even opening the debate and raising the prospect of change requires careful engagement

Participants were asked directly and indirectly about current services and how they could be reformed.

Far more than other groups, *pioneers* were ready to come forward with creative suggestions to reform the service and referenced previous instances of being proactive.

“They [the council] have no idea about the nature of the special needs of my child. Therefore I feel more secure now by doing it [escorting] myself.”

Ideas included taxi-sharing, using energy efficient cars, better utilisation of bus lanes on main streets, more interaction with councils, having forums for engaging with other parents and more efficient route planning. Members possessed clarity and confidence about what government would need to do to facilitate these new solutions. *Pioneers* also expressed the clearest

concern about the impact of any service re-design on the child. For this and other reasons they were more open to discussing alternative service options which retained or enhanced this focus.

Conversely, when presented with suggestions or proposals that the service may change, *settlers* responded with very defensive answers and complaints, suggesting their experience of the service was different and their ability to play the system less.

“Once you get the statement out [i.e. the child is statemented] ... then the battle is with the system that is controlled outside of the parameters of the school. You just keep battling away till you get what you want.”

“It’s just so draining because its always a fight. You cant find any piece of information out ... They won’t tell you because it is going to cost them money.”

“Basically you keep putting it all on us. That’s what you’re doing.”

“The council want us to come up with the idea.”

“[The Council needs to] stop seeing our kids as a nuisance.”

Settlers persistently felt that they had to battle against the authorities to get the needs of their child met. Crucially, in terms of scope for behaviour change, *Settlers* tended to see the service settlement as closed to discussion. Their responses also illustrated their reliance on top-down messages and frameworks.

This indicates that the prospect of change to public services is perceived as a threat by some and that the existing public service settlement is deeply entrenched among some parts of the client group. Reform of services requires significant concerted communication and engagement.

To acquire crucial knowledge of what lies underneath surface comments

Many of the service options that the councils were testing with clients required an element of volunteering, either in giving up time to escort their child – or other children – to school, or taking responsibility for personal

budgets. Although attitudes to volunteering were broadly in line with the expected behaviours of different value modes, the methodology provided vital nuances to the data which must be reflected in service re-design decisions. Below we explore attitudes to volunteering and the underpinning values which shaped these.

Pioneers and volunteering

Pioneers were more likely to look positively on the concept of volunteering to help run a service. It was clear that they were ready to work alongside the council and schools, but also that they needed flexible options.

“There are certain days that we could do it- and we would do it. And they would not have to pay me a thing honestly. But some of the days I would not be able to and if I had more faith and they were more organized we could do it on a week to week basis.”

“I would be willing to do it (get children to school on my own sometimes) as long as they know that every week it is going to change. If they are willing to deal with that constant change- then I have no problem with it.”

In one pilot, *Pioneers*, were partly motivated by fairness: *“I’d rather take responsibility myself. It’s not fair on other parents”*. However, for the same people, the concept of fairness emerged also as a potential obstacle. This included fears that provision might be less organised than state provision and *“If we’re delayed it’s not fair on other parents.”* Concerns were raised that it would be unfair for them to volunteer whilst others simply sat back and received a traditional full service; and that *“our children cannot go on public transport but they can still be entitled to free transport”*. This illustrated the highly ethical nature of some *Pioneer* views.

Settlers and volunteering

Settlers were frequently entirely uninterested in discussing potential volunteering and in some instances spent long periods of time circling the issue. In part this stemmed from a predominant attitude that the child’s transport was the responsibility not of the parent but of the council or the school. On the few occasions when they expressed a theoretical readiness to be involved, this was often caveated with the fact that they could not help in actuality.

"[We] cannot drive and cannot walk child to school due to the weather. It always rains at 8 in the morning and 3 in the afternoon."

"I would volunteer to be an escort if I could. But I can't."

"Even though I have a willingness to do it. When I put it into my head and juggle it around it doesn't really work."

"Children would not go to school without transport. I mean I would try but we would probably be there late, we would probably be frustrated. It would definitely be giving them a bad day, stress me out. We do need the transport."

While *Settlers* spoke frequently of putting the child's needs first, they often did not find themselves in a position, were unable or were unwilling, to make personal contributions. Service quality was an important driver. As one *Settler* put it: "volunteers aren't as reliable" as paid employees. Views of service quality possibly reflected levels of responsibility which parents were ready to take – with many regarding volunteering as a formal employment.

Prospectors and volunteering

In contrast, *Prospectors* displayed reservations about volunteering in favour of preserving their current lifestyles and mitigating disruption to their current ways of living.

"Wonder what the liability of that would be?"

"I would have to give up work won't I [to take my child to school]? So are they also going to reimburse me my yearly salary so that I can do it?"

"Consistency is important in transport, same driver and escort."

As one *Prospector* noted in response to the idea of personal budgets:

"It's adding more stress on us. Yes I would be happy if I could do voluntary but sometimes it's not always the way it is. We also have to think of our own personal health and our own personal lives and that quality of life - not only for the children but also for us."

Prospectors valued the sense of normalcy and social inclusion that the transport provided to their children. They also appreciated the stability that the routine provided to the lives of their children but also their own lives (to enable them to pursue their daily activities). They also came across as very-involved parents. In relation to personal budgets, their main concerns included the child's education and safety, trusting relations with frontline staff and consistency in service.

These findings suggest that different groups value different elements of the same service. Therefore, care has to be taken in decommissioning any service based on limited intelligence as you could be withdrawing core supports or services which are highly valued.

To understand that groups possess very different motivations and may respond to very different triggers or interventions to change their behaviour

Focusing policy simply at the surface is unlikely to shift behaviours. Other research using value modes has also suggested that the media may have to vary significantly when seeking to influence *Prospectors* as opposed to *Settlers* or *Pioneers* as they often have to be reached through an experience or attraction (such as a shopping trip).³²

The focus groups illustrated the danger of the 'educational fallacy' in public policy. Policy makers often believe the lack of action is indicative of an information gap, especially where there may be a strong ethical reason to change behaviours (e.g. climate change). In other services, this educational fallacy may relate to the nature or extent of the budget cuts. In one group, *Pioneers* responded well to the financial context as a rationale for reform.

'I am sympathetic to the council and personally I would do something. It's a climate where we have to be together.'

However, *Prospectors* were not responsive to financial motivations.

'[Personal budgets] still leaves all those issues [around trust]. It isn't the money really. At the end of the day it's your child's education and safety,

³² Rose et al, *Research Into Motivating Prospectors, Settlers and Pioneers To Change Behaviours That Affect Climate Emissions*, p.27.

trusting the escorts, consistency and also what price can you put on your child's head at the end of the day?'

This reminds us that just because something is true or a fundamental dynamic does not mean it can be used to influence behaviours. Blanket interventions or hypotheses of how citizens may respond are unlikely to get an optimal response, and intelligence remains key.

To appreciate that ends may be the same but motivations may vary considerably

The research demonstrates that, although different value modes may desire the same end, the means to reach the desired outcome may differ markedly. For instance, despite interest across all groups in the idea of 'travel training' (where each child is given in-depth advice and support to increase their ability and confidence in getting to and from school), the motivation and rationale varied significantly between the groups:

- *Pioneers* looked for the potential to increase the independence of their children;
- *Prospectors* were more focused on the 'normalising' of their child;
- *Settlers* felt it represented a proposal whereby there was a chance to give greater independence of the child but were largely apprehensive to the workability of this approach due to the special needs of their children.

Government needs to become much more reflexive and responsive to citizen values and motivations. There is a danger in using data which provides only a proxy measure for people's motivations (e.g. consumer behaviour) as individuals are likely to have radically different reasons for adopting that behaviour or changing it.

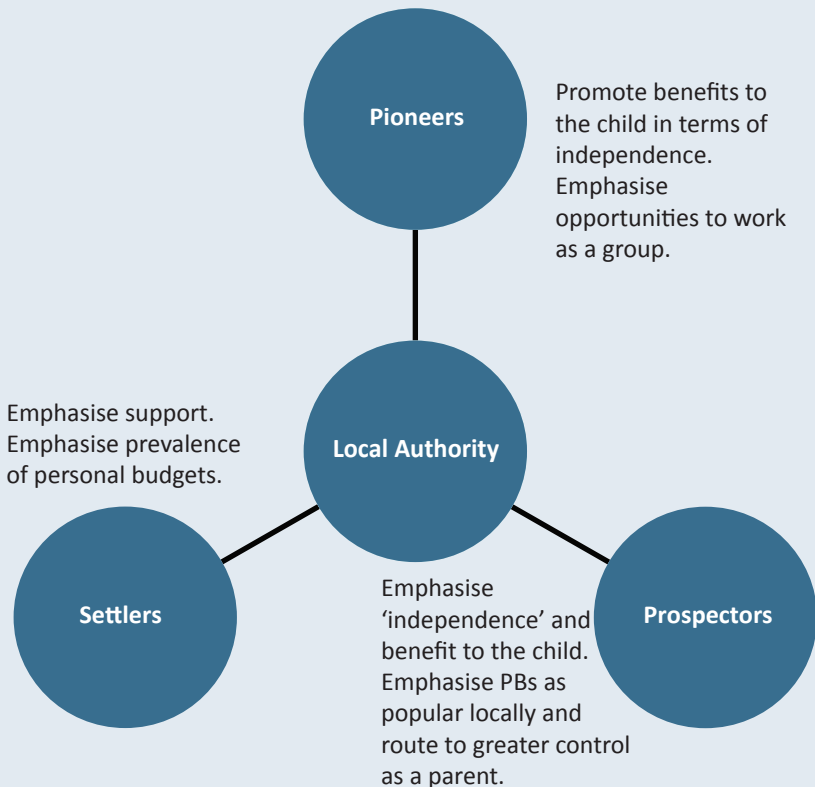
To tailor targeted messages and support that fit with clients because what seems a reasonable justification to some may not be to others

Different groups possess very different motivations and are therefore likely to require very different triggers, interventions and messages to change their behaviour.

The research offers crucial insights into what might encourage different citizens to engage in the debate in different ways. In re-designing the service, specific options may be completely unpalatable to some clients and highly attractive to others.

A suite of options and techniques can help but this may heighten sensitivities over messaging (see further information in Chapter 7 on the steps taken). This suggests that communication must be tailored and tightly controlled and that both the policy and the justification must be thought-through.

Figure 3 Encouraging take-up of personal budgets in SEN transport – varying the messages



To identify potential early adopters and understand how these can interact with other clients to facilitate cascade

Attention is focusing on how behaviours can be shaped and ‘cascaded’ across communities.³³ There is widespread acceptance and evidence that **individuals respond to innovation or change at varying speeds** and with differing levels of enthusiasm and commitment. Tools such as ‘Value Modes’ offers means to gauge these underlying motives and systemitise the change. Many behaviour change schemes seek to mobilise community champions or **identify behaviour change ‘leaders’ or ‘pioneers’** (see for instance the Barnet case Study).

Case Study

Barnet Council and ‘Green Champions’

The Council developed a range of pilot schemes in an attempt to change the lifestyles of Barnet residents. The schemes aimed to break bad habits, introduce desirable behaviours and re-freeze the desirable behaviours on their adoption. The carbon pilot targeted 700 households in West Finchley (6 streets) over a 3 month period. It sought to change ‘habits’, for example turning off lights and plug sockets when not in use through persuasion rather than coercion.³⁴

Residents were introduced to new behaviours through face-to-face engagement with local volunteers. This involved showing residents thermal images of their area and providing smart meters to those who wanted them. A total of 239 households (35%) were visited and 40 households received a smart meter, questionnaires were circulated, meetings held at local schools and an online portal set up to facilitate discussion. Residents received personal feedback and posters provided statistics on the level of carbon savings by street and information on the numbers involved. This helped facilitate a benign form of competition in which neighbours – and streets –

³³ Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler, *Connected: The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives* (Little, Brown and Co, 2009), p.32.

³⁴ Futerra Sustainability Communications, *Evaluation Report: Barnet’s Behaviour Change Pilot Programme* (2009)

competed with each other to use less carbon, as well as a perception of a broad-based “movement for change”.

Nearing the pilot’s completion, local ‘Green Champion’ volunteers undertook an evaluation survey, discussing with residents about the successes, failures and potentials of the project. Strategies that deploy local volunteers in such a way serve at least two purposes: they recognize that local residents tend to be trusted more than council representatives and also provide social proofing.

Subsequent surveys indicate that the pilot had some success: 57% fed back that they had changed their behaviour as a result of the campaign; 86% of those who had made pledges purportedly stuck to them; and 8% made further ‘green’ lifestyle changes following their pledges.

However, in the absence of meaningful insight into the values and motivations of citizens, agencies may fall back on ‘the usual suspects’ or simply identify those who already display ‘positive practice’.

The principle of ‘cascade’

Experts increasingly argue that, because humans learn through “observing and copying others”, for a behaviour change to be successful, it is necessary for it to ‘reach a tipping point’ so that it can “**cascade**” across a given network.³⁵ This is how momentum for ideas or innovation passes through communities or communities of users. Individuals, by virtue of their personal characteristics, exert influence in their communities and are, therefore, crucial to change.

Individuals vary according to the speed in which they adopt innovations. Factors include age, socio-economic status, values and approaches to risk. Rogers has developed **five categories of adopters**: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards, with the latter the eldest, of the lowest social class and having limited social connections and networks.³⁶

For policymakers, each type of character can play a part as advocates, agitators and actors of change. Behaviour change programmes therefore often seek to identify those who would be able to lead the change.

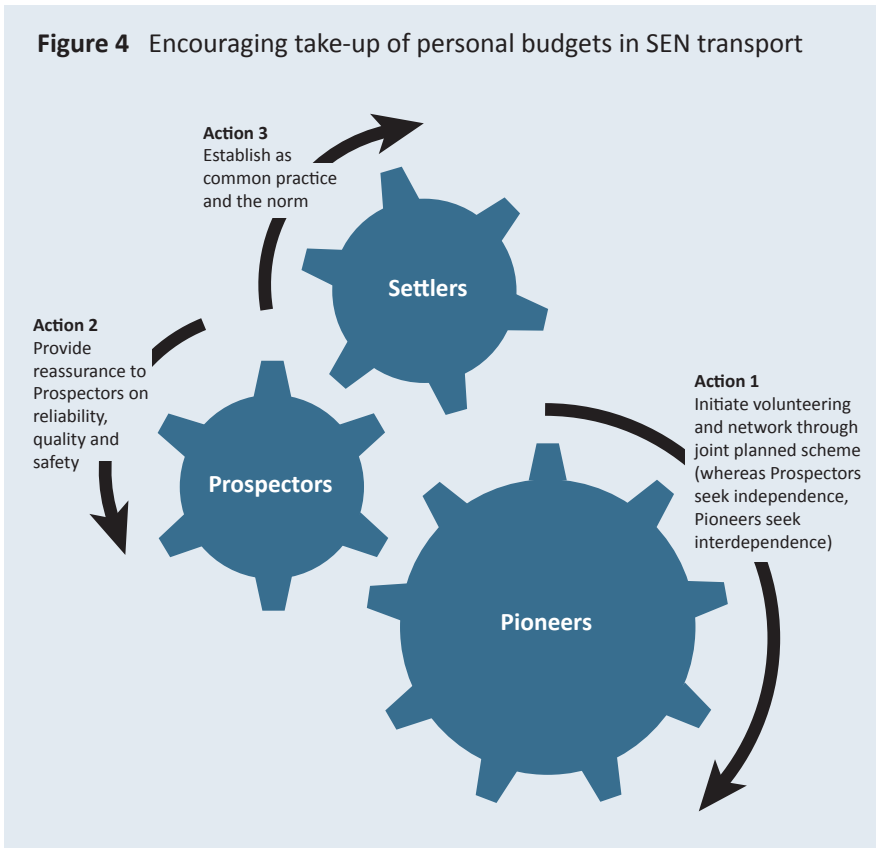
Under a Value Modes methodology of cascade:

- *Pioneers* act as ‘early adopters’ (motivated by creativity, novelty and self-choice),
- *Prospectors* follow second as ‘early majority’ (motivated by achievement, status as leaders, adventure and power); and
- *Settlers* follow behind as ‘late majority’ and ‘laggards’ (motivated by conformity, security and safety).³⁷

³⁵ Jonathan Rowson, Steve Broome and Alasdair Jones, *Connected Communities: How social networks power and sustain the Big Society* (RSA, 2010); Paul Ormerod, *N Squared Public policy and the power of networks* (RSA, 2010), p. 14; Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How little things can make a big difference* (Little Brown, 2000).

³⁶ Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations* (Glencoe, 1962)

³⁷ Rose and Dade, “Using Value Modes”

Figure 4 Encouraging take-up of personal budgets in SEN transport

A series of motivations may be able to be inter-locked to facilitate a cascade across a community. There may be overlapping and complicated motivations which need to be targeted simultaneously (for instance, prospectors may be unlikely initiators but they may wish to stand out in the crowd). Community leaders should be selected not simply on the basis that they express or execute the desired policy as this has nothing to do necessarily with their motivations.

To acknowledge that trust remains a key underpinning condition of effective behaviour change programmes.

Pioneers are the most 'inner directed' (i.e. they rely the least of all the groups on external assurance or support). However, even pioneers set a significant

stall on trust, with concern expressed that the Council was moving the goal posts in terms of the role of the council and what was expected of citizens. Concern was raised also about what would happen to those who would be unable to volunteer.

Many comments from other groups also referred directly or indirectly to trust – for instance, concerns regarding quality and safety (*Prospectors*); lack of confidence in the council and what its part of the bargain would be (*Settlers*). Therefore, as others have suggested, there are strong arguments for authorities to build ‘political and public support’ and to build ‘consent and legitimacy’³⁸ – the spirit of reciprocation or pledges works not only between citizen and citizen but between citizen and state. This is likely to put a greater onus on the state to fulfil its part of the bargain in the eyes of citizens.

Trust is a necessary contextual condition of the environment which the council must develop as a condition to foster behaviour change. It was one of the few dynamics which had resonance in different ways with all value modes. However, trust in government in Britain remains consistently low with only 43 percent of the public trusting councillors to tell the truth and even fewer trusting senior officials.³⁹

Conclusions

The differences between the value modes groups indicate that the methodology could act as a useful tool to build a deeper understanding of citizens. It is also clear that the ability to go beneath the surface and understand motivations opens up a whole suite of new opportunities to enact change. Below we set out the actual changes to the service in one of the pilot areas (Coventry) which flowed from this work.

³⁸ The Young Foundation, *The Capital Ambition Guide to Behaviour Change* (2009), p. 29, diagram, 30.

³⁹ Simon Parker et al, *how to build better relationships between councils and the public* (Demos, 2008), p. 10.

5 *How findings informed the new service*

Below we set out how these methods informed a major re-design of services in Coventry and Croydon which is now underway and which is reducing costs significantly and developing service solutions much more in tune with the motivations and values of citizens. As well as a series of supply-side reforms, reconfigurations of the process are being carried out to facilitate and enable different and more cooperative interactions with the citizen.

How did the methodology inform the service re-design?

Among other things, the tools were used to test client attitudes to travel training and personal budgets. As the research above indicated and the table below details, attitudes to escorting children to school and travel training support varied considerably between the groups, with Pioneers most positive. The same group displayed a similar openness to personal budgets not witnessed in the other groups.

This knowledge allowed Coventry and Croydon to develop a service where the offer is being tailored to specific groups, where messaging to specific groups is tightly controlled and where the new offer could be rolled out across the rest of the client-group in future years. Therefore, the new service introduces travel training and personal budgets for Pioneers. There is an expectation that as Prospectors and Settlers see the service underway and relevant messages can be conveyed to them, that this will lead to wider take-up and greater cost reduction in subsequent years. The table below provides a summary of some of the responses from the focus groups, how they responded and what interventions, support and new services are necessary to re-design the service effectively. (In the right-hand column, black text relates to services and support; white text relates to messages and communications).

Group	Key Objections	Favourite Ideas	Least favourite ideas	<i>Implications for re-designing the service and managing objections</i>
Settlers	Least likely to accept change and often	Some interest in travel training. This appeared to stem from desire for greater independence for their child but also partly because the council would provide this and it would benefit the child	Unwilling to take responsibility for arranging things themselves. No interest in escorting or driving their own or others' children	<i>Emphasise support through networks Emphasise prevalence of personal budgets Offer flexibility to fit around their requirements</i>
Prospectors	Transport is key milestone in day and separates family time from personal time Value the time which they have as a result of not having to take responsibility for their child's transport Concerns re service quality	Travel training: child would become more 'normal' and independent	Unlikely to volunteer – avoid responsibility and less likely to be community spirited	<i>Offer training to reassure them Emphasise 'independence' PBs as popular locally and as route to greater freedom and control as a parent and carer. Emphasis quality of new service offers</i>
Pioneers	Concern about unethical 'goal-post moving' and issues of fairness	Travel training as provides education and is part of education Most likely to volunteer and want PBs More social networks than other groups Most receptive group to change		<i>Promote opportunity for them to get together with other parents Core issue of trust and social justice Receptive to arguments on the 'cuts' Very child-orientated Willing to work alongside council Able to debate and work as a group</i>

To achieve these objectives requires the service to be transformed to provide the correct lines of controlled communication with citizens, to provide reassurance and support where needed and to maximise the contribution of those who are more ready to adopt change.

The re-designed services: Core changes to the service

To ensure control of communications and targeted messaging, manage expectations and a more responsive service:

- Mapping a new customer pathway, establishing a new structured 'First Contact' procedure with the SEN Team and managing messages and communications more tightly. This includes significant changes to client-facing processes to ensure that expectations are managed at the outset. (see Chapter 6 for details)
- Introducing annual reviews of transport needs to keep the debate and assessment 'live' rather than locked in.

To provide networking opportunities

- Encouraging networking and forums to provide platforms for cascade of behaviours to take place and for early adopters to influence their peers. This is also likely to lead to greater confidence in collective volunteering, peer-to-peer trust and support mechanisms.

To provide support, assistance and reassurance to parents and children:

- A new travel advice service to support parents escorting their children to school.

To roll out new policies such as personal budgets

- Using more interested parents to pilot the changes and become early adopters
- The introduction of personal budgets for new entrants to the scheme, including setting up Self Assessment Questionnaire (SAQ) and Resource Allocation System (RAS) to calculate budgets.

Re-orientating the service operations

Re-designing a service in these ways requires a new service model in the council. The key changes include:

- Shift to enabling and facilitating services (such as parents groups) rather than delivering a one-size fits all service.
- Integration of the supply and demand elements of the council services.
- Integration of the budget in one place to ensure that communication costs and approaches are properly resourced and controlled as part of the service re-design.
- Being ready to encourage citizens and clients to lead some of the change themselves.
- Proper investment in communications and training.

Impact on service costs

Being ready to engage in-depth with the client-group and to re-engineer the services has led to significant cost reduction as well as greater responsiveness.

iMPOWER's work using value modes in Coventry and Croydon's SEN transport services has identified savings of between 15-20 percent on the budget in the first year. This includes approximately eight percent of demand-led savings through recruiting travel trainers to work with parents and children to make the child less reliant on state transport and the initiation of personal budgets. There is an expectation that further savings can follow in future years as personal budgets and travel training are rolled out to other clients.

6 *Implications for public services and local government*

The pilots and other research referenced in this work indicate that behaviour change schemes can drive significant cost reduction whilst re-connecting local government with its citizens. However, to implement the types of practices set out above requires radical transformation of local government.

Behaviour change approaches offer a significant suite of new alternatives to new renew the relationship with the citizen and reduce demand and costs of services. Therefore, as the Institute for Government has argued, behaviour change should be part of everyday policy-making rather than additional or a 'novel alternative' which can be bolted on or adopted as a discretionary extra.⁴⁰ Putting behaviour change into practice and establishing it as part of the everyday toolbox of public managers and commissioners requires widespread and radical change to the way that government works: to its priorities, to the way it resources services, to its organisations and skills-sets, to the way it communicates with citizens and to political and civic leadership. It is nothing short of a wholesale inversion of the traditional model of supply-driven public services.

Local authorities must re-shape their activities and priorities to become communicating organisations. This must provide the conditions for two-way interaction with citizens to understand their motivations and needs and send out coherent and targeted messages. Engraining this in the way councils work requires three big shifts:

- Establish the underlying conditions for behaviour change by developing a clear value-led civic and managerial leadership and the requisite trust.
- Resource and prioritise behaviour change programmes effectively: and proactively move behaviour change from experimentation to the mainstream through a range of reforms.
- Move to a communicating, facilitating and enabling state with major implications for culture, skills and organisational design.

⁴⁰ IfG MINDSPACE theory, p.9.

Establishing the conditions for behaviour change: Civic leadership, trust and values

Civic behaviour is the product of dispositions, orientations, motivations and values of citizens combined with the facilitating environment and conditions established by democratic institutions.⁴¹ As the democratically-elected agency locally, and in close proximity to the community, councils are uniquely placed to drive and lead behaviour change in their community by establishing the environment and conditions for civic behaviour through its values, ethos and the interactions with citizens.

Case Study

London Borough of Sutton and civic leadership

Sutton's approach is based on an open dialogue and engagement with residents. Sutton's behaviour change programme has focused on providing information and advice rather than sticks. It is underpinned by an openness and clear political commitment from the Leader downwards, including a commitment to 'helping people to help themselves' and 'take part and take pride'. There is, therefore, a significant emphasis on the community taking part and delivering public services. Sutton has employed a whole host of behavioural change approaches through this prism.

Smarter Travel Sutton: *STS aimed to create conditions in which sustainable travel patterns are adopted by early adopters and early majority through the use of advertising showing cycling as a 'normal' mode of travel. People were targeted at home, work school, shopping and leisure. Key aspects included: personal travel planning advice; workplace travel plans; additional cycle parking; dedicated website'. Outcomes included a 75% increase in cycling over the 3 years, whilst neighbouring areas saw an increase and a decline in mode share*

⁴¹ Cotterrill and Richardson, "Ask me - I won't say No - How could I?" An Experiment to Encourage Civic Behaviour Among Callers to a Local Authority Contact Centre (2008)

of car from 58 to 52 percent.⁴² The council is also leading behaviour change projects in SEN transport, through its University for Life and encouraging citizens to grit their local roads in winter.

As the Sutton example indicates, the language and narrative should be driven by ‘social good’ with a clear indication to citizens of how they are contributing to a better community, taking on responsibility or lessening the demands on a finite resource.⁴³ Transparency and honest dialogue should overarch this.

At the same time, behaviour change approaches may be politically sensitive. Councils may need to understand the values, views and motivations of non-client groups to ensure that the ethics of the scheme chime with local values of fairness or aspiration.

Case Study

London Borough of Harrow Tenant Management Services: shifting responsibility onto tenants to maintain standards

The council wanted to question the assumption which dominated in its social housing that tenants had less responsibility towards their property than private-rented tenants did. Clear financial benefits could be foreseen in a context where social tenants took greater responsibility to ensure that their properties were appropriately maintained.

A number of potential initiatives were considered, including a reverse deposit scheme in which tenants would be rewarded for meeting specific conditions. However, this was tested in focus groups against wider citizen opinion: this suggested that tenants should not be rewarded for merely meeting the terms of their tenancy conditions. The decision was therefore taken to develop a project to encourage outgoing tenants to leave their properties in a better condition, thus reducing the void turnaround time (because there was less repair/

⁴² Daniel Ratchford and Lee Parker, ‘New development: Behaviour change in action – Smarter Travel Sutton’, *Public Money and Management*, January 2011,

⁴³ SIF, p.30; Halpern et al., *MINDSPACE: Influencing behaviour through public policy*, Institute for Government (2010), pg 71.

clearance work to be done). All outgoing tenants are visited before they leave and reminded of their obligation to leave the property in good condition, as defined by the returnable standard. If they fail to comply with this standard outgoing tenants will now be charged for any additional repairs costs incurred by their neglect.

From experimentation to the mainstream: Resourcing and prioritising behaviour change programmes

Behaviour change schemes have received comparatively little funding historically. In the period of resource expansion, behaviour change schemes were often funded to support additional complementary services. However, as this research demonstrates, effective programmes yield significant financial savings. Councils will have to be ready to take a different type of risk and make a different type of service investment. Councils should make behaviour change part of their core activity.

Experimentation is a necessary part of innovation. However, it is what flows from experimentation and how its lessons are inculcated into the operations of the organisation which ultimately determines its value. Making the shift from marginal experimentation to the core of public policy and commissioning requires a profound shift in how the public sector views itself.

To embed these approaches, councils can develop a series of approaches as set out below.

- 1.** Establishing protocols for client engagement to which all services have to comply (West Sussex Council's 'Customer Appraisal Form')⁴⁴
- 2.** Assigning specific pan-council leadership of behaviour change approaches to a senior council officer (London Borough of Harrow and London Borough of Sutton).
- 3.** Integrating teams across the organisation to bring together those who manage delivery of services alongside those who are in charge of the messaging and communications (see the example from the pilot below).

⁴⁴ See Keohane, *People Power*.

4. Establishing internal financing measures or research capacity to innovate systematically

Making behaviour change part of council operations also requires serious reflection on resource prioritisation. As the pilot examined here establishes, in-year budget reductions can be achieved but only if the investments are made into communications and process re-design. To achieve these levels of savings, councils will have to shift investment into behaviour change processes such as communications, enablement and BPR. Communication budgets should not be identified as an easy target in the cuts.

Behaviour change approaches are applicable to all areas of public services. However, in prioritising change a number of criteria may help councils reflect on where investment would yield the highest returns financially and socially. These criteria are likely to include:

- where citizen participation is important;
- where statutory requirements exist in terms of service provision but where there are some freedoms as to how the service is executed (for instance in the use of volunteers);
- where participation rates are currently low;
- where the services are resource intensive and where demand pressures are being felt.

From consultation to communication and engagement: culture, skills and organisational design

Previous research has found that ‘local government tends to regard people primarily as consumers of services, so participation exercises focus on consulting about service delivery rather than engaging citizens in decision taking.’ Local government is often more used to formal consultations on council proposals.⁴⁵

Communication and engagement are going to become core management

⁴⁵ Cotterill and Richardson, “Ask me - I won’t say no”

skills in the years ahead. But, it is unclear that local authorities have the skills, culture or organisational design to achieve this. Transforming the relationship between citizen and state involves putting managers in new positions. Hierarchical structures that dominate local government are not conducive to the empowerment of frontline staff.⁴⁶ For instance, Swindon's Life programme for families has seen social workers and other professionals encouraged to develop relationships based on trust, respect, non-judgmentalism and openness.⁴⁷

As behaviour change becomes engrained in council services, the culture and skills of staff will have to reflect new competencies: engagement, innovative design, communication and facilitation. These should be systematised into the organisation, as Lambeth is doing through its cooperative council model.

Case Study

Shifting culture and skills - The Co-operative Council

Lambeth is seeking to create a model of cooperation and mutualism between local government and communities. As the Council recognises, this requires fundamental change to the way that the state relates to citizens with significant need to transform the culture of the organisation, re-skill the workforce and communicate in very different ways with communities. As the council admits, the skills and culture required in the future will be radically different from the past, with a significant reliance on communication and engagement skills.

Changes to reform culture and skills in the organisation include:

- *Reviewing all job specifications for forthcoming positions at the Council, and amending to include required new competencies.*
- *Incorporating the specific skills necessary for delivering the Co-Operative Council (or behaviour change) objectives into training programmes.*

⁴⁶ Nigel Keohane, *Leading Lights* (NLGN, 2008).

⁴⁷ See reports to council. 'Tough love for troubled families', *Guardian*, 11 February 2011.

- *Amending the appraisal process in line with the new working model.*
- *Revising the hierarchical management structure to give staff more freedom to innovate, engage and communicate.*

Organisational change: Linking supply and demand and controlling communications

Communication and facilitative skills have not conformed to the traditional structure of local authority management. Communication often sits in a separate team through which campaigns are run, with levers over demand and supply in effect unable to inform each other. One of the main challenges in Sutton and in the pilots was to invest in communications skills and to integrate this with delivery.

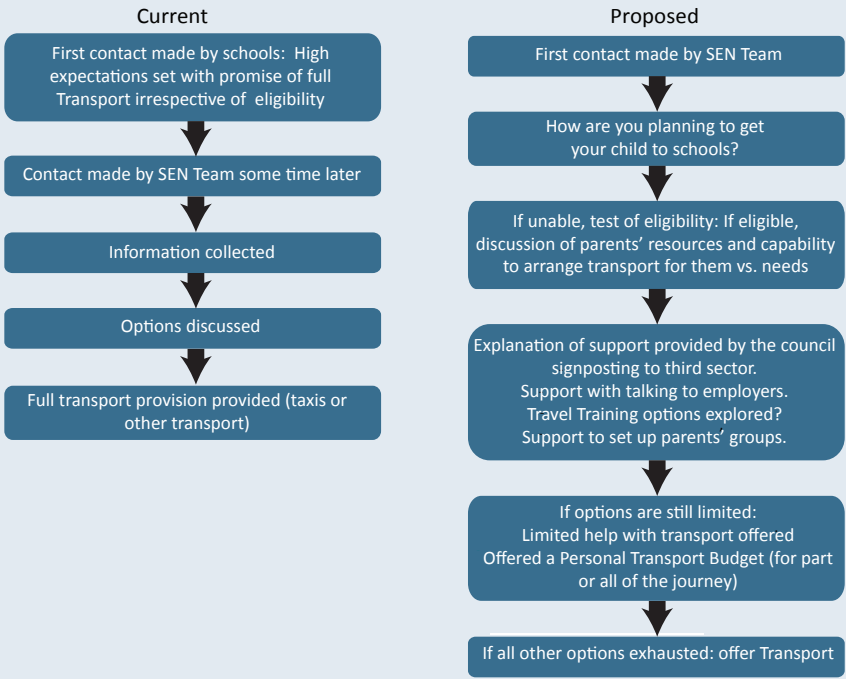
Coventry Pilot: Holding messages and communications tight

One of the aims of the pilot was to open a new discussion with citizens on what they expected the council to do. Contact was previously initiated by the school. This meant that expectations were raised and the conversation was ‘how can the state get your child to school?’ rather than ‘how can we help you get your child to school?’

Under a revised system parents and carers would only be offered transport if all other options were unviable (such as signposting to third sector providers, discussions with employers, travel training, linkages into parents groups; and travel budgets).

This meant forming a better understanding of the citizen journey through the service and taking a much firmer control over the lines of communication. The citizen journey has been revised to the following diagram.

Figure 5 First Contact with Parents



Conclusions

Behaviour change can make a major contribution to the major challenges facing local government: these techniques can save significant money and open new conversations with citizens themselves.

However, this can only work if councils move beyond experimentation and take seriously the engagement and communication methods which behaviour change relies on. This research indicates that 'value modes' can offer public servants a tool to capture the underlying motivations and values which the state must understand in order to design effective support, communications or service strategies.

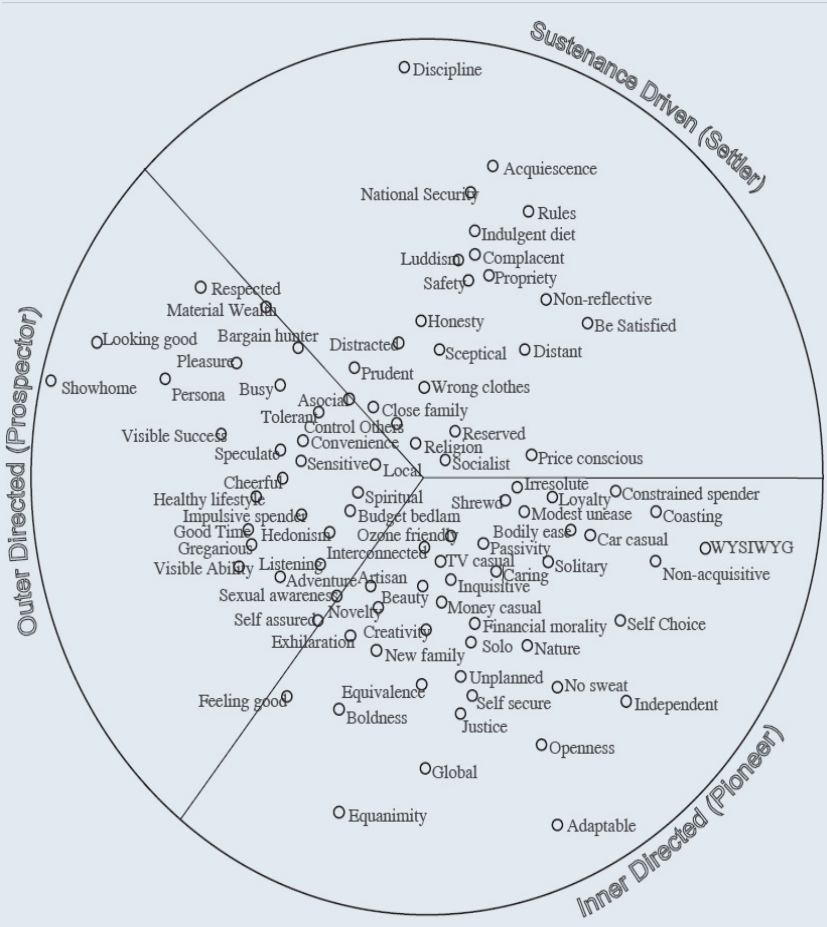
This research has been applied to a small client group who receive an intensive service. There is a whole host of parallel service user groups to which these methods might be directly applied – children and adults with learning disabilities, social care clients, and resource-intensive families.

But the lessons may have much wider application. Understanding citizens' motivations and values could help government interact in new ways across a whole suite of services. One option would be to limit the analysis simply to the initial survey but apply it to a far wider client group. If the right medium can be found (council tax form, GP or school registration), such a snapshot of values could revolutionise the way that councils communicate with their citizens. This could see major shifts in major universal service areas such as waste collection, recycling, litter collection and involvement with community services.

This is an exciting prospect. In times of financial hardship and when public services so often fail to match with the aspirations of citizens, it is also necessary.

Appendix

Figure 6 Value Modes - Map of attributes and population sizes



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Local government is facing twin challenges – to renew public services and their relationship with citizens, and to manage significant budget reductions. It is clear that the state and the citizen will have to engage in radically new conversations in the years to come.

Behaviour change approaches offer a means to tackle these challenges simultaneously.

This report explores a number of innovative pilots and case studies which are seeking to use new approaches and tools to change behaviour and open a different conversation on services.

To take these forward, the report concludes that major change is needed within government to develop a more open, facilitative, communicative and enabling state.