

Local Environmental Quality in Times of Austerity

Prioritisation & Behaviour Change

a London Councils & Keep Britain Tidy research project

JULY 2011



About Keep Britain Tidy

Keep Britain Tidy is an environmental charity working to achieve cleaner, greener places for everyone. We campaign in England against litter and neglect, providing advice and leading others by inspiring practical action and better policy. With our origins in the 1950s anti-litter campaigns, we now focus on the range of issues affecting where people live including fly-tipping, fly-posting, graffiti, anti-social behaviour and abandoned vehicles. We run programmes such as Eco-Schools, Blue Flag and Quality Coast Awards for beaches, and the Green Flag for parks to demonstrate practical action. We are part funded through Government and other income is secured through training, consultancy and sponsorship. For more information on how you can make a change visit www.keepbritaintidy.org

About London Councils

London Councils is committed to fighting for more resources for London and getting the best possible deal for London's 33 councils. We develop policy, lobby government and others, and run a range of services designed to make life better for Londoners. For more information visit www.londoncouncils.gov.uk

**Prepared for London Councils and Keep Britain Tidy
by Keep Britain Tidy's Evidence and Research Team**

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For further information on the work of Keep Britain Tidy and London Councils, please contact us at:

Keep Britain Tidy
Elizabeth House
The Pier
Wigan WN3 4EX
Tel: 01942 612621
Fax: 01942 824778
www.keepbritaintidy.org

London Councils
59½ Southwark Street
London SE1 0AL
Tel. 020 7934 9999
www.londoncouncils.gov.uk

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Implications

Conclusions

The journey to prioritisation: we have evidence, collected qualitatively, to suggest that street cleaning and community safety are a significant driver of dissatisfaction when standards slip or services are cut.

Factors affecting the likelihood to get involved: Residents will more often than not be looking for activities that are already underway and that have a clearly localised focus. There was some evidence to suggest that awareness of funding cuts was inspiring a desire to get more involved but this was minimal and depended on a number of factors.

Attitudes towards enforcement (fines): The majority of those consulted for this research agreed that fixed penalty notices (FPNs) were most effective as a preventative measure *after the fact*.

More carrot? Techniques used to draw people towards more positive behaviours were queried on the basis that they didn't always come with a promise of loyalty to the new behaviour they encouraged. It was for this reason that education was the preferred technique overall.

Recommendations

1. Appreciate that factors leading to dissatisfaction do not always correlate with what drives satisfaction.
2. To ensure you are focusing on the right things – ask 'do local perceptions meet with local realities'?
3. Be aware that not all behaviour change techniques sustain loyalty to the new behaviour.
4. Enforcement must be considered proportionate to the issue, consistent and transparent.
5. Opportunities for engagement should be 'patch' specific and incremental.

Executive summary

Local environmental quality (LEQ) comprises all those environmental issues that are readily sensible to most of us as we go about our everyday lives. For the most part these are visible, mainly physical, issues, which also (directly or indirectly) affect the quality of our lives. LEQ and related anti-social behaviour (ASB) issues can encompass anything from litter to dog fouling to young people hanging around on the streets.

In times of austerity, when cuts to local government funding appear almost daily in the news headlines, how do residents of London prioritise public services? And, are these priorities changing in the face of this increasingly challenging financial climate?

This research, co-funded by London Councils and Keep Britain Tidy, considers London residents' priorities for spend in these times of austerity. In particular, this research explores where local environmental quality (LEQ) and related anti-social behaviour issues feature in this list of priorities.

The research looks at how changing resident priorities on public sector spend impact on the ways in which Londoners would like authority bodies to address local environmental quality. Putting the residents in charge of their own 'budgets', the research explores: the degree to which residents see fines for local environmental quality and related anti-social behaviour offences as an acceptable source of revenue; what residents are willing to contribute towards the issues personally (time, for example); and what other approaches and techniques are most likely to change poor environmental behaviours and encourage people to 'do the right thing'.

While the research mainly focuses on the results of five focus groups conducted with residents from across Greater London, our findings are complemented by a short series of quantitative queries included on a regularly conducted London-wide online survey and is contextualised by our existing knowledge.

Prioritising services & local environmental quality issues

Residents were asked to allocate a budget over ten services (loosely modelled on how their current council tax is distributed) so we could determine how residents

prioritise street cleaning and community safety. Put in charge of London's local government budget for six months, they were simply asked, "How will you spend it?"

- Residents told us street cleaning in particular was "essential".
- Street cleaning and community safety are 'hygiene factors':
 - When performing well they are taken for granted and do not drive resident satisfaction;
 - When standards slip or the service is cut it will significantly drive resident dissatisfaction.
- To this end, 59% of Londoners think that stopping street cleaning services in their local area would lead to an increase in anti-social behaviour, while 53% believe that property prices might fall and 51% think that residents might feel less safe. Only 9% of Londoners felt that there would be no immediate consequences if local street cleaning services were stopped.
- Street cleaning and community safety are 'hygiene factors':
 - When performing well they are taken for granted and do not drive resident satisfaction;
 - When standards slip or the service is cut it will significantly drive resident dissatisfaction.
- Looking at average spend across the focus groups, street cleaning and community safety were the 8th and 9th priorities, out of ten services respectively, overall.

Given the opportunity to offer a 'helping hand' to each of the services, residents were most likely to assist in education based initiatives but the desire to help did not impact on how they prioritised spend – London residents argued that anything they could do to help out was simply no substitute for the 'real thing'.

The application of 'helping hands' to specific services was usually driven by one or more of five factors:

- **Ability & Confidence** – residents with special skills and the confidence to apply them to specific activities.
- **Funding Proxy** – there was some evidence that a minority of residents with the skills and confidence would be prepared to step in to help where funding had already been cut to specific services.
- **Momentum Motivator** – residents are much more likely to get involved in activity that is already underway and much less likely to initiate activity themselves.

- **‘Patch’ Proximity** – residents are much more likely to engage in localised activities.
- **Activity Alignment** – if residents can align engagement with current interests and activities they will be much more likely to get involved.

Residents were then asked to disseminate their budget over twelve local environmental quality (LEQ) issues. People using or dealing drugs in public places and young people hanging around on the street emerged as the top two priority issues, while graffiti was given the lowest priority.

- Prioritisation tended to be led by the residents’ proximity to the issues – in other words, prioritisation was largely driven by personal experience of the issues.
- The frequency of an issue is an important part of how residents determine what LEQ issues are a priority in their area. For example, although fly-tipping was considered one of the most serious enviro-crimes it only was only ranked sixth in the list of LEQ priorities as it was an issue that the majority of the respondents had not directly come across that often.
- Following the *‘what’s on my patch’* instinct described above, residents would be guided by causation or the *‘knock-on effect’* – looking at where they could tackle the ‘smaller’ issues by prioritising the ‘bigger’ ones (for instance, rightly or wrongly some thought they could tackle litter and graffiti by dealing with young people hanging around in public places).
- With some issues, such as fast food litter, prioritisation was as much about getting businesses to take responsibility for the issue as it was about tackling the issue directly.
- Street urination was fairly low down on London residents’ priorities for spend, with the majority of residents agreeing that urination was somewhat inevitable and that the provision of more public toilets would be the only real solution to the issue.

The application of ‘helping hands’ to specific issues was frequently issue-specific, with some of the LEQ challenges simply considered too ‘dirty’ or too dangerous to tackle hands-on. Additional factors included:

- **‘Patch’ specific** – offers to help were frequently only valid in the residents’ local area usually due to personalised motivations or, in a broad sense, a positive experience of community spirit at this level.

- **‘Help’ incrementally defined** – Some saw intervention or a willingness to intervene (and challenge poor behaviour) as a kind of engagement, while others considered reporting issues to the authorities to be ‘help’. With this in mind, ‘action’ was actually a contentious term – for some, not contributing to the problems (not littering or participating in anti-social behaviour) was positive action. For others this kind of passive activity didn’t do enough to solve the issues long term.
- **Beliefs around responsibility** – debate on ‘helping hands’ centred on the respondents’ beliefs and ideals concerning *who* is actually ‘responsible’ for dealing with the issues. Perceptions as to who should be responsible varied from those who contribute to the problems (e.g. litterers) to the businesses that supply the materials that are littered (e.g. fast food outlets). However, there was no clear correlation between residents assigning help to issues on this basis.

Enforcement & other behaviour change techniques

‘Enforcement’ in this context refers to the use of a fixed penalty notice (FPN) or fine.¹ Enforcement is the behaviour change technique residents of London most readily applied to LEQ and related anti-social behaviour (ASB) issues overall, but fixed penalty notices (FPNs) were not always considered proportionate or appropriate to environmental offences.

- For issues such as cigarette-related litter FPNs can be considered a disproportionately excessive response. This is compounded when residents feel as though their environment limits their choices and encourages poor or bad behaviour i.e. no litter bins or public ashtrays.
- For other issues, like fly-tipping or drugs-related littering, FPNs were simply not considered tough enough. Fly-tipping in particular was seen as a very serious enviro-crime and residents were unanimously comfortable with significant fines for this offence.
- Dog fouling was the issue that garnered the most emotional support from residents, with a significant number agreeing that fines were an appropriate

¹ Fixed penalty notices (FPNs) can provide enforcement agencies with a way to deal with low-level environmental crimes (like dog fouling, littering and graffiti). FPNs may be issued when an enforcing officer believes that an offence has been committed and give the offender an opportunity to avoid prosecution by payment of a penalty which is, on average around £75 but that varies according to the offence. FPNs can be issued by anyone with delegated power from the local authority. This list can and does include Police, Police Community Support Officers, LA enforcement officers, neighbourhood wardens, dog wardens and some Parish Council officers.

measure and many respondents indicating that an increase in the amount offenders are expected to pay would be acceptable.

The perceived limitations of FPNs challenge their effectiveness as a behaviour change tool and, for many, these limitations make them preventative only *after* an individual or someone very close to them has been issued with one. The perceived limitations of FPNs include:

- The perceived threat of being caught in the act is considered minimal.
- Awareness of financial and resource cuts lead residents to believe that the risk of being caught is even lower – the inevitable impact of fewer authority representatives on the streets.
 - 84% of Londoners think its likely (very or fairly) that there will be no consequences for dropping litter in a public place while around three quarters (76%) think it is unlikely someone would be given a fine for the same offence.
- Finally, the ability for authorities to ensure that the offender provides them with their correct personal details was perceived to be limited, if not impossible in some cases.

Moving from tackling environmental offences to encouraging more pro-environmental behaviours in residents, **education** was deemed to be the most effective, long-term tool overall. Other approaches to behaviour change were discussed and the following summarises our findings.

‘Education’

- Considered the most effective approach for long-term change.
- The majority of respondents agreed that education was most effective when undertaken with young people.
- Preference for educational messages to be localised and to visualise impact of poor behaviour (e.g. how many football fields could you fill with the litter you collect?).

‘Incentives’

- Incentives were only thought to bring short-term change and low levels of loyalty to the new behaviour.

- Incentives were considered more appropriate for young people with some respondents questioning why you would reward positive behaviours in those who should already be behaving in this way.
- Many asked if incentives were actually affordable in the current financial climate.
- Consensus that incentives or rewards were more suited to organised and structured engagement activities rather than ad hoc contributions.
- Incentives might be better suited to corporate or private sector organisations as opposed to public sector bodies.

‘Nudges’

- The theory that explores how we make choices and how environments and situations can be developed to ‘nudge’ people in to making better decisions for themselves was well received in the context of making behaviours more fun.
- However, there was some concern that it does very little to change the values and attitudes that underpin behaviours.

‘Campaigns’

- Obviously closely related to educational approach but there was a general agreement that campaigns will only be as effective as they are good and of a certain quality.
- Coverage was considered important – residents agreed that they needed to see campaigns regularly in order for them to be effective.
- Having someone high profile to spread the message was preferred.

Introduction

Background

In times of austerity, when cuts to local government funding appear almost daily in the news headlines, how do residents of London prioritise public services? And, are these priorities changing in the face of this increasingly challenging financial climate?

This research, co-funded by London Councils and Keep Britain Tidy, explores in some detail London residents' priorities for spend. More specifically, we investigate where local environmental quality (LEQ) and related anti-social behaviour (ASB) issues feature amongst a set of broader public service priorities and ask why this might be.

Of course, we know that understanding the priorities of a population is only half the story. Indeed, at the heart of this research project is a desire to understand how these changing priorities impact on the ways in which residents would like authority bodies to go about tackling the issues. Are the general public more or less likely to tolerate the use of fixed penalty notices (fines), for instance? Do they see fines as an acceptable (and successful) route to behaviour change in a 'cuts' prevalent political environment?

Putting the residents in charge of their own 'budgets', the research explores the degree to which residents see enforcement as an acceptable source of revenue, what residents are willing to contribute towards the issues personally (time, for example) and what other approaches and techniques are most likely to change poor environmental behaviours and encourage people to 'do the right thing'.

Aim of the research

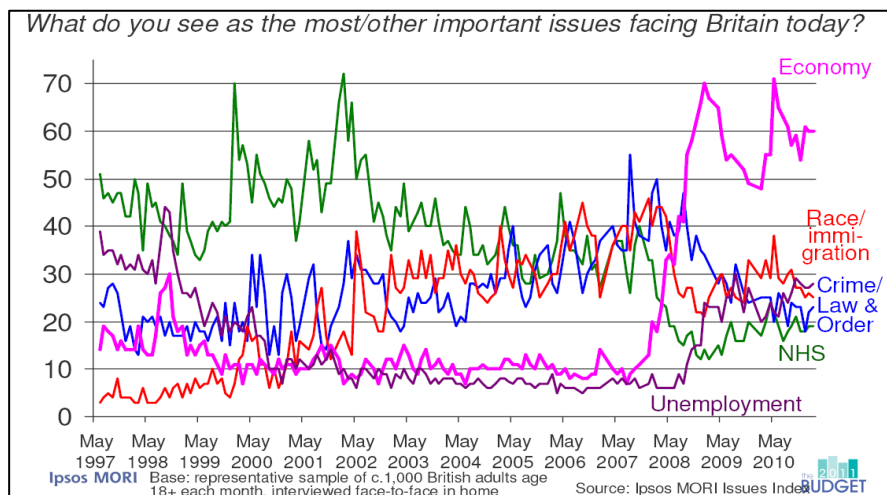
This piece of research aims to help London Councils and Keep Britain Tidy understand how residents of London prioritise local environmental quality and related anti-social behaviour issues and which approaches to behaviour change in this arena are likely to be the most effective, and the most appropriate, as a way of dealing with these issues. Within this we will aim to explore further:

- Prioritisation of LEQ and related ASB issues against other 'topical' areas where central and local government target resources.

- Prioritisation of LEQ and related ASB issues against one another for resource allocation.
- Which LEQ and related ASB issues are more likely to inspire residents to 'engage' and offer a 'helping hand' and why.
- Awareness of specific LEQ and ASB issues and what issues people are more likely to consider to be explicit 'enviro-crime'.
- Awareness and reception of the use of enforcement to tackle enviro-crime (e.g. FPN's).
- Awareness and reception of other behaviour change techniques (e.g.: education, 'nudge', incentives, messages, awareness raising and the use of social norms).
- If residents feel different behaviour change techniques are appropriate to specific LEQ and related ASB issues and, if they do, what the drivers to this variation are (e.g. heavy fines for dog fouling are appropriate because it can damage your/your children's health).

What we know already

Research conducted by Ipsos MORI, around the time of the 2011 Budget, plainly demonstrates that the economy has been a primary concern for the British public as recently as March 2011. Indeed, Ipsos MORI have explored this same area repeatedly and is able to confirm that the economy has been considered the most important issue facing Britain today since September 2008.²



² 'The Budget 2011: A Reuters / Ipsos MORI Briefing' March, 2011
<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/Assets/Docs/Polls/Budget2011briefing.pdf>

² Ipsos MORI (2011) *The Budget 2011: A Reuters / Ipsos MORI Briefing*. Accessed April 2011.
<http://www.ipsos-mori.com/Assets/Docs/Polls/Budget2011briefing.pdf>

Interestingly, Ipsos MORI's budget research also found that the cuts are actually affecting different people in different ways. For instance, women and people from C2DE social grades (or less affluent groups) were much more likely to report that they (or their family) had been affected by the cuts undertaken so far. Furthermore, the research determined that 55% of the British public thought that the Government was making the wrong decisions about where spending cuts should be made.³

So what impact, if any, do these views have on the ways in which communities in London prioritise services? And, how do these concerns about the economy impact on their views about how best to deal with LEQ issues?

Importantly, local environmental quality comprises all those environmental issues that are readily sensible to most of us as we go about our everyday lives. For the most part these are visible, mainly physical, issues, which also (directly or indirectly) affect the quality of our lives. LEQ and related ASB issues can encompass anything from litter to dog fouling to young people hanging around on the streets and, in London, we know that cleanliness in particular has remained at a consistent level over the last two years.⁴

Keep Britain Tidy's work to date has gone some way towards demonstrating the ways in which LEQ-related issues can drive overall quality of life. In particular, our three-year, Defra funded, Quality of Life research programme found that a person's neighbourhood (and the area's LEQ) had a significant effect on a person's overall quality of life.⁵ As part of this we have also been able to demonstrate how significant the relationship between positive LEQ and a person's overall feelings of safety can be. Most recently we determined that members of the English public who are satisfied with how their local area looks are significantly more likely to be satisfied with how safe they feel in their area.⁶ Unfortunately, we know that these levels of satisfaction are all too often aligned with levels of deprivation and through our comprehensive research programme, Keep Britain Tidy have found that deprived areas tend to suffer the most from poor LEQ and that those living in more deprived

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Keep Britain Tidy (2009/10) *Local Environmental Quality Survey of England*. The ninth in a series of Annual Reports from the Local Environmental Quality Survey of England produced by Keep Britain Tidy on behalf of the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs to provide a report on the Cleanliness State of the Nation.

⁵ Keep Britain Tidy (2007) *Measuring Quality of Life: Does Local Environmental Quality Matter?*

⁶ Keep Britain Tidy (2011) *The Word on our Street: A national survey measuring the public's perceptions of their local environment*.

areas are much less likely to feel satisfied with the appearance of their local area than those living in more affluent areas.⁷ And to compound these issues, Keep Britain Tidy knows that those living in more deprived areas are far less likely to know who to contact about dealing with the LEQ and related anti-social behavioural issues they endure.⁸

Of course, we also know that improvements in local environmental quality can have a positive benefit for regional and local economic growth as well as for the people who live in these areas. Keep Britain Tidy recognises that LEQ is very much intertwined with the wider public realm and overall quality of life issues. Importantly then, when local government is seeking to achieve large cashable and non-cashable savings in public services, Keep Britain Tidy believes there is real scope to invest more effectively in LEQ by making these links more explicit. For instance, can improvements to LEQ be generated through partnerships with those working in green infrastructure (and the links to health benefits) or by calculating and disseminating the costs of not maintaining public spaces properly?⁹ Indeed, a significant number of local authorities are looking to pool their resources and tackle some of these issues as a collective.¹⁰ Equally, perhaps sharing the benefits of providing spaces for community/leisure activity with external organisations would encourage more private investment in the public realm?¹¹

In the drive towards localism, and with an increased focus on prioritising the services that matter most to communities, it is certainly important to consider the ways in

⁷ Keep Britain Tidy (2009) *London: Its People and their Litter*.

⁸ Keep Britain Tidy (2009) *London: Its People and their Litter*. Report prepared for Capital Standards. Copies of this report are available via the Keep Britain Tidy website – www.keepbritaintidy.org

⁹ For example, the recent UK National Ecosystem Assessment (UK NEA) determined that, if the UK's ecosystems are properly cared for, they could add an extra £30bn a year to the UK's economy. The UK National Ecosystem Assessment (UK NEA) is the first analysis of the UK's natural environment in terms of the benefits it provides to society and our continuing economic prosperity. The UK NEA is the first analysis of the UK's natural environment in terms of the benefits it provides to society and our continuing economic prosperity. For more details see <http://www.defra.gov.uk/environment/natural/uknea/>

¹⁰ For more information please see the *London Procurement Strategy 2009 - 2012* which explains how the 'Capital Ambition' funded project will help London local authorities to transform the regional procurement landscape and deliver cashable savings over the coming years: <http://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/capitalambition/projects/londonprocurementstrategy.htm> See also East London Solutions (ELS) which creates a range of opportunities for East London authorities to work together to achieve demonstrable improvement and efficiencies in service design, management and delivery and/or procurement and market management: <http://www.eastlondonsolutions.org>. Finally, GeoCommons shares some useful maps detailing which local authorities currently share services – including procurement, front office, and waste services: <http://geocommons.com/maps/46714>

¹¹ For more information see Keep Britain Tidy (2010) *This is Our Home - The Economic Value of LEQ Research Report*.

which *residents*, rather than just the authorities, can co-opt and collaborate on local solutions. One of the many ways in which they can do this is formal volunteering.

The 2008-2009 Volunteering England Citizenship Survey observes a strong core of volunteering activity happening within communities (with those who volunteer regularly, volunteering more). However, just 26% of people actually volunteered formally at least once a month.¹² With this in mind, those authorities looking to capitalise on community engagement (and link more practically with the Big Society agenda) would greatly benefit from resident consultation / listening exercises like the one detailed within this report.

¹² Volunteering England (April 2010) '*Citizenship Survey 2008-09: Volunteering and Charitable Giving - regular volunteers volunteer more*': <http://communities.gov.uk/documents/statistics/pdf/1547056.pdf>

Methodology

London Councils and Keep Britain Tidy discussed possible methodologies and agreed a qualitative approach would be the most appropriate given the sensitivity of the issues and the overarching desire to understand *why* people think and feel the way that they do.

The research consisted of five focus groups conducted with residents from across London. Respondents were selected in order that they represented a broad geographical and demographical base and so that differences in experience and opinion may be determined from across the entire Greater London area.

The focus groups were conducted in Hammersmith on 11th April 2011.

To ensure the views ascertained were representative, residents were invited to participate via door to door canvassing in the area and were offered a small cash incentive to participate. Each group was an hour and a half hour in length and was semi-structured by the use of a discussion guide. This meant all respondents were queried on the same issues but were also free to discuss matters that were felt to be important to them. Keep Britain Tidy used focus group enabling techniques to get to the root of the issues and to cover topics that people sometimes find difficult to talk about directly – this enabled us to facilitate sensitive discussions around the potential limiting or loss of services without putting residents under significant pressure or raising concerns about the ‘real-world’ impact of their discussions.

Each group was made up of between 8 and ten respondents and was mixed in terms of gender, ethnicity and lifestage.¹³ In order that the groups were broadly representative, and determined the impact of existing behaviours on behaviour change techniques, the groups were further split as follows:

¹³ All respondents had lived in London for at least six months. Residents were screened out of the recruitment process if they had participated in any other market research exercises in the last six months or if they worked in marketing, market research or any industry directly related to the research, including local government.

GROUP ONE	<p>Over 18 years old, SEG ABC1, Inner London residents</p> <p>50/50 gender split and good mix of ethnicity</p> <p>Good mix of smokers/non-smokers and 2-4 dog owners</p> <p>50/50 residents with dependents under 18 living at home and residents with no children or no children of any age living at home</p>
GROUP TWO	<p>Over 18 years old, SEG C2DE, Inner London residents</p> <p>50/50 gender split and good mix of ethnicity</p> <p>Good mix of smokers/non-smokers and 2-4 dog owners</p> <p>50/50 residents with dependents under 18 living at home and residents with no children or no children of any age living at home</p>
GROUP THREE	<p>Over 18 years old, SEG ABC1, Outer London residents</p> <p>50/50 gender split and good mix of ethnicity</p> <p>Good mix of smokers/non-smokers and 2-4 dog owners</p> <p>50/50 residents with dependents under 18 living at home and residents with no children or no children of any age living at home</p>
GROUP FOUR	<p>Over 18 years old, SEG C2DE, Outer London residents</p> <p>50/50 gender split and good mix of ethnicity</p> <p>Good mix of smokers/non-smokers and 2-4 dog owners</p> <p>50/50 residents with dependents under 18 living at home and residents with no children or no children of any age living at home</p>
GROUP FIVE	<p>18-25 year olds, good mix of SEG and Inner and Outer London residents</p> <p>50/50 gender split and good mix of ethnicity</p> <p>Good mix of smokers/non-smokers and 2-4 dog owners</p> <p>50/50 residents with dependents under 18 living at home and residents with no children or no children of any age living at home</p>

It was agreed it would be beneficial to the overall research programme to gather some quantitative measures of the attitudes and opinions shared during the focus groups. As such a brief series of omnibus questions were scheduled for the week

commencing 9th May 2011 with TNS Research International's London focused online omnibus survey, *LondonBus*.

Invitations to complete the questionnaire are emailed out to a sample of London online panellists who have agreed to participate in market research. The survey is open for a limited time period and then closed off a few days later when the required sample profile has been achieved. The final sample consists of 1,000 adults, aged 16+ to be representative of London with quotas set on age and gender. Weights are applied to ensure representation.

Prioritisation.

Put in charge of the London budget for the next six months, London residents were asked to distribute a fixed spend over ten key service areas and twelve local environmental quality specific issues. This section looks at what took priority overall and how those decisions were made.

Prioritising services

Which services do London residents prioritise?

In market and social research practice, projective or enabling techniques are frequently used to get beyond the 'rational' response to what can otherwise be considered private or difficult to communicate.

Projective or enabling techniques are indirect forms of questioning that are sometimes deliberately vague and ambiguous. In participating in these techniques it is hoped respondents will share ideas, feelings and attitudes that they may not have been able or willing to communicate through direct questioning.

Irrespective of the degree to which a researcher attempts to create a group dynamic that promotes a sense of security in the respondents (recruiting people of a similar age, from proximate locations for example), all group discussions tend to go through recognisable stages of development which can impact on the degree to which respondents feel comfortable sharing their thoughts. With this in mind it is important that projective techniques are utilised at the most appropriate times.

So, before the groups had time to settle down, or time to determine what specific views they might concur and disagree on (which in turn can create a general air of agreement on any number of issues or can allow dominant group members to 'turn' opinion), London residents at each of the focus groups were asked to participate in an exercise designed specifically to extract their most fundamental and uninhibited views.

Firstly, residents were asked to consider the ten service areas detailed over the page in Figure 1. Collectively, they were told they were in charge of the London budget for the next six months and were supplied with money (£40) to spend over each of the service areas accordingly. They spent time discussing how best to allocate the money to each of the areas which eventually led them to decide which services they would choose to prioritise overall.

Figure 1: Service areas

Welfare (including benefits for those unable to work)	Health (the provision of quality health care for all and the provision of public green / open spaces for people to enjoy)
Community Safety (tackling low level anti-social behaviour like people being drunk or rowdy in public, graffiti and dog fouling)	Transport (including highways and roads)
Housing (including social housing or council houses)	Street Cleaning (including picking up litter and clearing fly-tipping)
Education (the provision of quality education for those under 18)	Environmental Services (including waste collection and recycling)
Investments for the Future (including planning, developments and things like tourism)	Policing (tackling crime)

The service areas identified for the focus groups were based loosely on areas covered by tax contributions although for the sake of simplifying the task certain areas were amalgamated and others modified slightly. The resulting ten areas were initially assessed by each of the groups at which point some decided they would consider policing and community safety as one category and environmental services and street cleaning as another together. This was an interesting development as **the overall aim of this exercise was to see where street cleaning and community safety featured in residents' lists of priorities.**

There were very few significant differences across each of the groups in terms of priorities. Investments for the future tended to rank slightly higher amongst those aged 18-24 although those of a social grade C2 and below were also likely to rank this as relatively high on their list of priorities.

Street cleaning

Key to this research exercise was the exploration of how (and why) residents of London tend to prioritise street cleaning services. The vast majority of respondents agreed that the service was, in fact, essential.

'That's got to be quite high.'

'Well you don't want dirty streets – no one will come into where you live.'

'It's an essential thing – street cleaning'

This is interesting as street cleaning was ranked 9th out of the ten service areas - in apparent contrast to many of the comments the respondents made on the service in general.

Discussions around the placement of the service tended to be led by the fact that street cleaning is often seen as something we would call a 'hygiene factor'. A hygiene factor in this context is a service that consistently performs well and is (as a result) frequently taken for granted. The reality of street cleaning services is that residents rarely talk about the quality of output or notice the 'value' of the service more generally until standards slip or the service itself ceases. As a result street cleaning is a service that does not tend to actively drive up satisfaction with a local area when performing well (unlike, for instance, leisure services or excellent schools). However, when street cleaning services cease to exist or when standards fall, it can cause a significant increase in levels of dissatisfaction.

'You don't really notice anyway because you're going about your business.'

'I think I'd notice if they didn't come and pick up my litter for a week...you'd notice it massively!'

'The thing about tidy streets and quick refuse collections – it gives the area a lift. I suppose really you (only) notice if it's very good or it's very bad.'

In order to explore the real impact of a potential loss or cut to street cleaning services at a neighbourhood level we asked our online sample of London residents what they

thought the likely consequences of such a move would be. Their responses are detailed in Figure 2.

Figure 2: The consequences of stopping street cleaning services



Base: 1007, London residents

59% of London residents thought that stopping street cleaning services in their local area would lead to an increase in anti-social behaviour. 53% believed that stopping street cleaning services would lead to a decline in property prices and 51% thought that residents might feel less safe.

Just under 1 in 10 Londoners (9%) thought there would be no immediate consequences to stopping street cleaning services in their local area. It is unclear as to whether this is a result of already very low standards of local environmental quality or, by contrast, a result of already excellent standards and there were not significant differences among those who thought this would be the case.

59% of Londoners think that stopping street cleaning services in their local area would lead to an increase in anti-social behaviour.

However, we did observe some differences among the various demographic groups we approached. For instance, residents with children were significantly more likely to opt for more positive consequences to any change in service while those without children were significantly more likely to opt for the more negative. Equally, residents under 35 were significantly less likely than those 35 and over to think that stopping street cleaning services would lead to an increase in anti-social behaviour.

Interestingly, those from more affluent groups (ABC1) were significantly more likely to think a fall in property prices was a likely consequence than those in the less affluent groups (C2DE).

Meanwhile, despite the clarity of the possible connections between community safety (anti-social behaviour and feelings of safety) and a good standard of local environmental quality observed in our survey, the residents in our focus groups were less likely to make the links between street cleaning and other services (health or community safety for instance). Only a small minority were attuned to the impact poor standards of street cleanliness might have on the other services within their budget and they clearly saw positive LEQ as an indicator of other neighbourhood attributes.

‘Graffiti is an indicator of crime.’

On average, across all of the groups, services were ranked by the focus groups as follows (see Figure 3 on page 26 for a quick visualisation).

1. Education

Education came out as a top priority for all but one of the groups (C2 and below, Inner London).

‘Education is very important.’

Indeed, the vast majority asserted that a good educational system was one of the key aspects required to denote the mark of a civilised society. By extension, many presciently noted that a good education can act as a key preventative measure – one that enabled the authorities to pre-emptively deal with issues related to many of the other services they are required to deliver – particularly around community safety.

'Everyone wants to put so much money into education because it's about getting the youth while they're still (young).'

Arguably this related to the pervasive tendency among all of the groups to cite young people as the source of many issues – particularly place-based issues. There will be more on this later.

2. Health

Health services ranked highly for all the groups with appearances in the top two priorities of all but the 18-24 years old group where it fell in to the third rung of priorities along with transport and housing. (Education, investments in the future and policing all preceded these issues as priorities in this group).

3. Policing

Policing rated very highly with most of the groups. Overall, the majority saw policing as crucial but some were keen to express a desire to see more police (as opposed to Police Community Support Officers) in their neighbourhoods.

'I'd like to see more police on the street personally.'

4. Investments in the future

Investments in the future was a top priority for just one of the groups (C2 and below, Outer London) and the second highest priority for another (18-24 year olds). The primary motivation for this rating was an apparent 'return on investment', with many recognising that investment now was likely to be reciprocal in the long term.

'I think that encourages money back into the boroughs.'

5. Housing

Only featuring in the top two priorities for the C1 and above, Inner London group, housing falls in the middle of London residents' priorities overall. Nevertheless, for the majority, good housing was considered fundamental in the development of a good quality of life over time.

'Housing is the start. A roof over your head.'

Indeed, many argued that without investments in housing, a significant number of London residents would suffer limitations in anything from education to community safety. In short, decent housing was considered by many to be a basic human right.

'Everything can suffer if you haven't got a decent place to live.'

6. Transport

Transport was rated most highly by the C1 and above, Inner London group. (Members of this group were the most likely to spread their budget evenly across the priority issues.) Whilst transport was considered important, many agreed London already had an excellent system so as a service, the priority here was maintenance as opposed to improvement. The only exception was noted where the Tube was unavailable to certain residents.

'We've got a good transport system in London.'

'In my borough I would like to see transport because we don't have the Tube.'

7. Welfare

Discussions around welfare were quite impassioned with a number of residents quick to suggest that the current welfare system is a particularly important feature of the English social and political landscape and one of which they were proud.

'Welfare is one of the basics of living in this country. And it's going to become more important.'

'And you've got to help out like the people you know unable to work; you know we're a civilised nation.'

'That's very important.'

Rated by many as an important service but not a priority there was some concern that the current system did not work for everyone and that claiming welfare could be a demeaning process for many to go through.

'I lost my job, worked all my life and I was really surprised with how I got treated honestly. I felt like a filthy rotten scrounger.'

8. Community safety

As one of the services we were observing closely, community safety was for many a worthy service but not one they particularly ranked as a priority. For some, policing had already done much of the work and by prioritising this service they saw little reason to heavily fund community safety as well.

'I think the money should go (to policing) but then to help (community safety).'

For others, community safety was simply a 'soft' approach to issues that should be dealt with via more 'formal' policing channels. Nevertheless, community safety for many was more emotive as a service than policing, with some wishing to put a more significant amount of their budget here because of its apparent proximity to 'home'.

'Community safety I suppose because it's your community isn't it?'

9. Street cleaning

See above for details of the discussions around street cleaning.

10. Environmental services

The lowest priority in the average London budget across each of the groups, environmental services seemed to suffer the same limitations as street cleaning (with two of the groups classifying and budgeting these services together). The majority of the respondents we consulted agreed that these services were essential but it would seem the 'everyday' status environmental services enjoy lead many to assign them minimal budget and to only refer to their value in terms of any potential 'loss'.

'Yeah, they were on strike for a couple of weeks in the summer and it was horrible.'

In short, it would seem both street cleaning and environmental services are services that currently, in the main, do well. As such, they are frequently taken for granted.

Helping hands?

Where residents feel they can *contribute* to services

With the aim of enhancing our thinking around the service priorities – and with a view to seeing if resident contributions led to a potential 're-think' of their allocation of budget – residents were given the opportunity to contribute 'helping hands' to each of the service areas. Figure 3, on page 26, details where helping hands were placed and how many of the groups applied hands to each service area.

Allocations of helping hands tended to be driven by five key factors (detailed here in no particular order).

1. Ability & confidence:

Those residents confident that they had something to contribute were much more likely to place helping hands on service areas – most commonly education.

'I have done voluntary work before in one of the Richmond Borough Schools when I dealt with boys with anger management. Yeah and it made a difference, it did make a difference.'

'That's something I'm able to do. I'm not a health professional but I have done teaching.'

There was some concern however that the impact of helping hands was limited and should be recognised as such. The primary caveat was that nothing was as good as the 'real thing'.

'It's not the same. I'm not a trained teacher, I can sit and read with a kid but it's not the same as having a trained teacher teaching, absolutely.'

'There's like a certain amount of professionalism (sic) comes with the community officers it's not something you could do.'

'You need trained psychologists to help those people, I could talk to some of them and make an old person have a nice afternoon but I couldn't help someone with a serious psychological problem.'

2. Funding proxy:

There was some evidence to suggest that the already fairly active residents would be prepared to step in and contribute to areas where cuts to funding are already starting to happen.

'I'd like to put (a helping hand) in education because I work in education and I know how bad the cut backs really are – it doesn't matter how affluent the areas are.'

3. Momentum motivator:

A phrase coined by Keep Britain Tidy in our 2011 study into Perceptions of Place¹⁴, the momentum motivator states that residents (particularly those from more deprived communities) are more likely to engage in activities designed to enhance their community, if they feel things are already beginning to improve.

'I wouldn't start it up but I'm happy to stay. That's probably the same with most things to be fair.'

'I wouldn't think, "Oh I want to do that!" But if someone said, "Do you want to get involved?" I'd say, "Yeah, okay."'

4. 'Patch' proximity:

For the majority of residents, the desire to get involved in services was, to a great extent, dependant on the proximity of the related issues to their home or 'patch'.

'Yeah if (Neighbourhood Watch) is in your area and it's where you live you might (get involved).'

¹⁴ Keep Britain Tidy (2011) *Whose Reality Is It Anyway? Understanding the Impact of Deprivation on Perceptions of Place*. See p 24 & p 39

'I'd litter pick my road to keep it clean and tidy.'

5. Activity alignment:

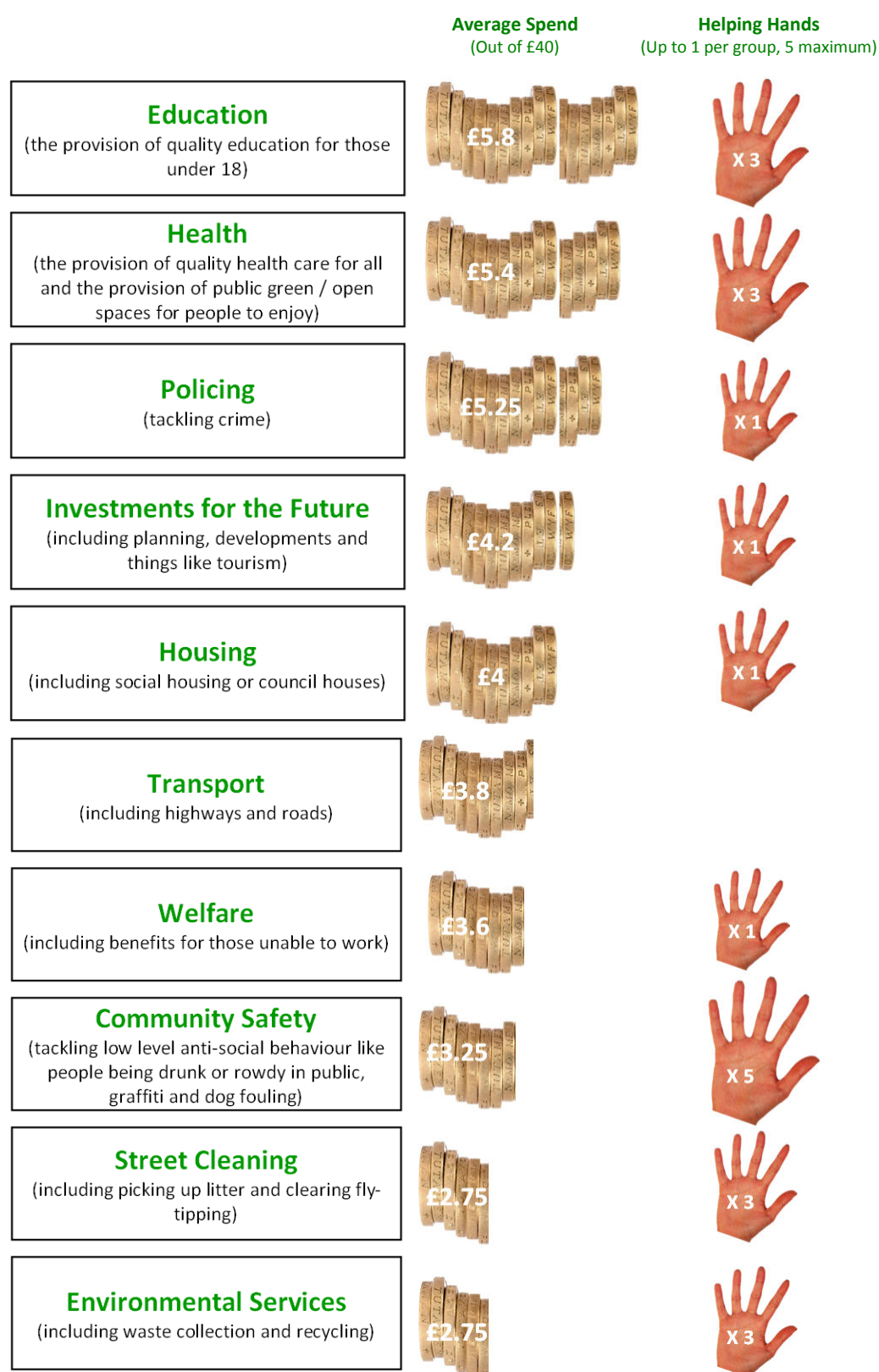
Finally, a small majority of residents were keen to specify that their likelihood to contribute to specific services depended entirely on their ability to align it with activities they were already committed to – most obviously their employment. Many were concerned they simply did not have the time to contribute to issues and specifically stated that they would give time to services if their employer enabled them to do so on company time.

'Well I'm a member of a housing co-op so I devote quite a lot of time to that.'

'But then if that's voluntary then how would I do that with my job?'

'My company let me take an hour out of my time to go to do that. I'd definitely do that if they let me out of my job.'

Figure 3: Service Priorities of London Residents



Prioritising local environmental quality & related anti-social behaviour issues

Which local environmental quality issues do London residents prioritise?

Residents were asked to consider the twelve local environmental quality (LEQ) and related anti-social behaviour (ASB) issues detailed below in Figure 4. Again, they were told they were in charge of the London budget for the next six months and were supplied with money to spend over each of the issues accordingly. Each group spent some time discussing how best to allocate the money across the issues which eventually led them to decide which issues they would prioritise overall.

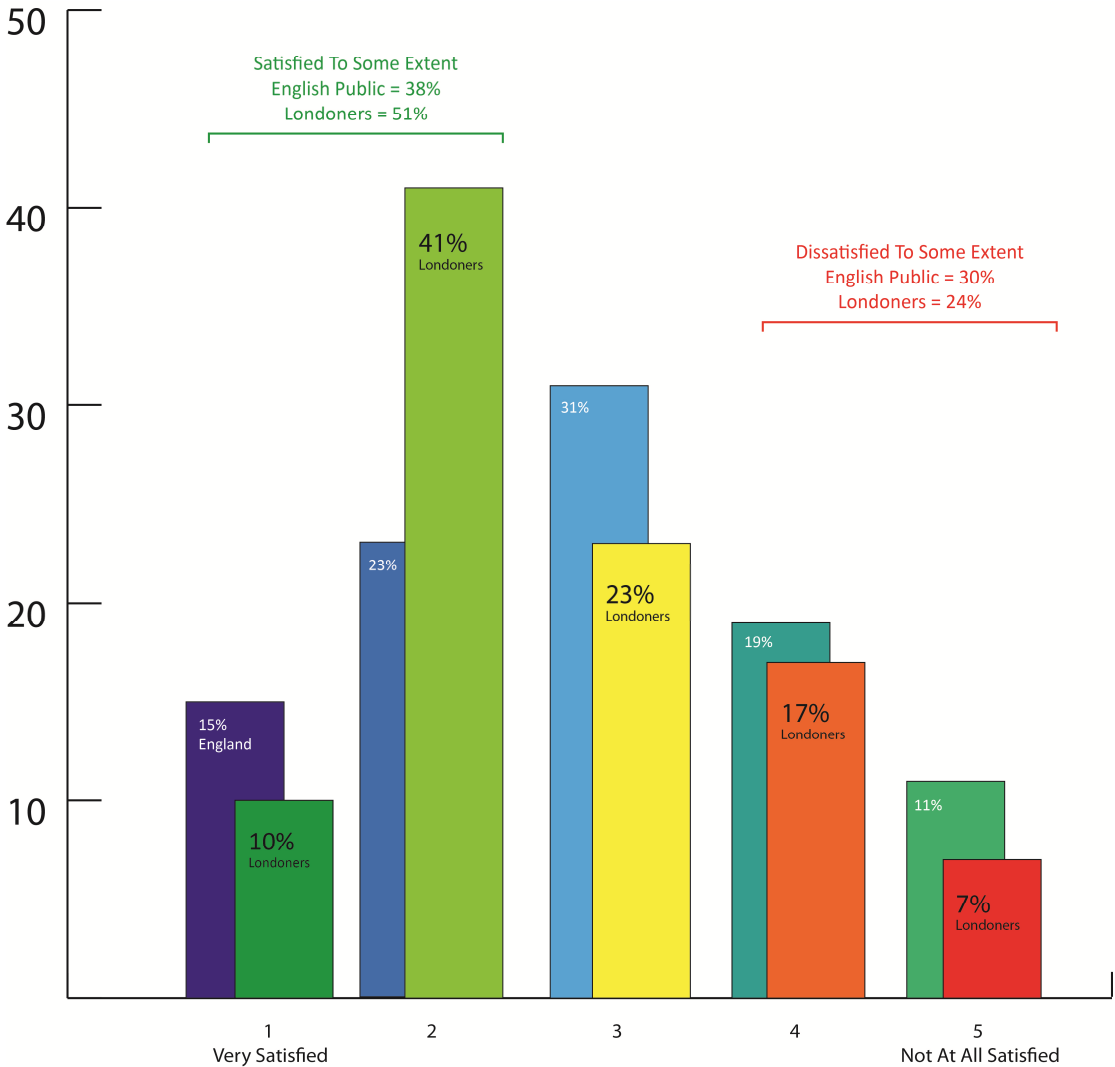
Figure 4: Local Environmental Quality Issues



To contextualise our findings from this section of the focus groups a little better, we wanted to see how Londoners' levels of satisfaction with how their local areas look overall compares with the English population as whole. To do this we ran a question

in the London based survey that Keep Britain Tidy runs annually in our Word on the Street survey.¹⁵ The results are depicted in Figure 5.

Figure 5: How satisfied you are with how your local area looks?



Base: 1007, Residents of London
1135, English Public (Word on the Street, 2011. Keep Britain Tidy)

On the whole residents of London are more satisfied with how their local area looks than the English public as a whole. Indeed, over half of the London residents surveyed said that they were satisfied to some extent, compared to just 38% of the English public.

¹⁵ Keep Britain Tidy (2011) *The Word on our Street: A national survey measuring the public's perceptions of their local environment*. Q: Please tell us how satisfied you are with how your local area looks (e.g. that it is free from things like litter and dog fouling)?

There were very few significant differences among the different demographics. However, those dissatisfied to some extent with how their local area looks were significantly more likely to be over 35.

In the focus groups, after initial assessment of the twelve LEQ and related ASB issues we asked them to consider, some of the groups were unclear as to why the distinctions between the various different types of litter had been made (e.g. fast food, drugs, cigarettes, alcohol). Although the separation became more pertinent later, when each of the groups focused on approaches to behaviour change, some of the earlier discussions around prioritisation considered litter to be one singular issue. Litter is clearly an issue for residents of London as results from the 2011 Greater London Authority (GLA) annual survey demonstrate. The survey showed that dealing with litter was of greater importance to Londoners this year, with 24% of residents stating that it should be the main priority for improving the quality of the city's environment.¹⁶

'But why is there such a great differentiation between all the litter? I don't want litter on my streets full stop.'

Other groups considered drugs-related litter to be inextricably linked to people using or dealing drugs so discussed these as issues where they might allocate resources jointly.

Again, there were very few significant differences across each of the groups in terms of priorities with just two, fairly pronounced, exceptions. Firstly the C2 and below, Inner London group allocated a considerable amount of resource to the issue of people using or dealing drugs stating that they saw a causal link between this and other issues in their budget.

'If you don't sort this it leads to crime anyway and it's just a vicious circle isn't it?'

Secondly, respondents in the younger group (18-24 year olds) allocated a substantial amount of their budget to dealing with the issue of young people hanging around on the street. Again the decision to allocate more resources to this particular issue was a result of their belief that many of the other issues in their budget were related in

¹⁶ A survey summary can be located online:
<http://www.london.gov.uk/get-involved/consultations/annual-london-survey>

some way to this. Indeed, a sentiment echoed in many of the groups, some felt that this resource should go towards educating young people about their local environment in order to encourage more pro-environmental behaviours (more on this later). This was clearly derived from a belief that young people are often the culprits.

‘On some level if young people were given more (budget) – if people were given that sense of respect for their environments and stuff like that you would be eliminating (many other things).’

‘I think you should be teaching the kids to put their rubbish in the bin.’

Both these budgetary decisions impacted the averages and made people using or dealing drugs in public places and young people hanging around on the street the top two priority issues overall. The complete list of issue priorities was, overall, as follows (see Figure 6 on page 41 for a quick visualisation).

1. People using or dealing drugs in public places

People using or dealing drugs in public places came out as a top priority in just two of the groups overall (a top two priority in three groups altogether) but the significant amount of resource allocated by the more deprived Inner London group makes this the top priority on average.

For many the apparent causal links between using or dealing drugs and the other issues they were asked to consider in their budget was a key factor in their decision to allocate significant resource here.

‘Drugs create a lot of mess.’

However, the 18-24 year old group spent significantly less resource on the issue and some even intimated that specific types of (softer) drug dealing was not problematic for them at all.¹⁷

‘If someone was casually selling cannabis outside my door I don’t know, that wouldn’t really offend me.’

¹⁷ For a complete breakdown of the differences in priorities from each of the groups (more and less deprived and those aged 18-24) please see appendix 1.

2. Young people hanging around on the street

Featuring in the top two priorities of each of our groups more often than any other issue, it became clear throughout our discussions with the respondents that many felt young people were actually responsible for many of the other LEQ and related ASB issues in their budget. With this in mind, nearly all of the groups agreed that the best use of their resources was to deal with the issues at the root and invest in more education and facilities for young people.

'I mean you don't see many grannies and 40/50 year olds out doing that do you?'

'That's where the litter comes from and the smoking and drinking.'

'Youths hanging about on the street – that just encourages violence so I think that's quite important.'

'It's just the young boys hanging around and terrorising people, really that's the main issue.'

Nevertheless, a minority of respondents were keen to defend young people and argued that the propensity to assume young people cause these issues can actually become a self-fulfilling prophesy – pushing young people to 'act out'.

'Yeah a lot of people spread the hate. You get loads of police and community support (officers) going up to these kids and dispersing them, then they get upset and go and get in trouble.'

'They don't give them the respect that they deserve and then they behave that way because they're expected to.'

3. Dog fouling

Of all of the local environmental quality specific issues, dog fouling was the top priority for many. However, the younger respondents (aged 18-24) were much less likely to allocate significant resource to tackling the issue. This is most likely due to the fact that the primary motivation for tackling the issue was, to a large extent, lifestyle specific – ensuring the safety of young children.

'I think dogs mess because of the danger to young kids.'

'That's even more dangerous, that can make you blind.'

4. Fast food litter

Interestingly, fast food litter was determined the highest priority out of all the litter types described within the budget. For many, however, this prioritisation was as much about getting businesses to take responsibility for the issue as it was about tackling the issue directly.

'McDonalds do pay a lot of money (to help tackle fast food litter) in areas.'

'I think the fast food chains should have tax as well.'

5. Drugs-related litter

Drugs-related litter featured in the top two priorities for three of the groups overall with respondents in the younger group (those aged 18-24) far less likely to consider drugs-related litter (and people taking or dealing drugs) a priority for their budget. Again, it is possible that this distinction is lifestage relative, with those in other groups prioritising drugs-related litter because of the potential hazards it causes to children.

'How dangerous is this for young kids to be able to pick up syringes and things.'

'Syringes, I definitely don't want to be surrounded by syringes.'

6. Fly-tipping

Fly-tipping was the first of the issues not to feature as a top priority for spend for any of the groups. Although fly-tipping was considered one of the more serious enviro-crimes, it was an issue the majority of the respondents had not directly come across that often. As a result, many simply felt that the issue did not require sizeable resources. In particular, the more affluent Inner London residents did not deem fly-tipping to be a priority within their budget at all.

'Yeah don't need too much on fly-tipping.'

'You don't see so much.'

The rationale here is important as it exemplifies that the *frequency* of an issue is an important part of how residents determine what local environmental quality issues are a priority (and by association a significant problem) in their area.

7. Vandalism

Vandalism was frequently discussed in the context of other issues, particularly young people hanging around on the street with many seeing young people as the culprits. That said, vandalism only featured in the top two of one group – C2 and below respondents from Outer London.

'Our bus stop gets smashed up the whole time.'

8. Cigarette-related litter

People did not generally rate tackling cigarette-related litter as a main concern and as such this is the first issue in the average overall budget not to feature in any of the groups top two priorities. There was a tendency to see this particular problem as an inevitable consequence of the poor provision of facilities rather than as a direct result of poor environmental behaviours. In short, the majority agreed that with the increased provision of ashtrays or similar the problem would significantly diminish.

'A lot of people don't provide ashtrays.'

'All they've got to do is supply ashtrays and stuff like that and then you wouldn't have it but if you're standing outside a pub (having) a cigarette, what do you do? There's nowhere (to put it), you just throw it in the kerb.'

9. Street urination

Street urination was fairly low down on London residents' priorities for spend but there was some divide observed between men and women with women more likely to consider instances of street urination problematic.

'There are certain things you can walk past and they just stink.'

'I don't want to see anyone urinating. I really don't.'

Interestingly though, the majority of residents actually agreed that street urination was somewhat inevitable and they argued that the provision of more public toilets would be the only real solution to the issue.

'If you can't hold it, you've had it.'

'I don't think I'd report someone for peeing in the street. I wouldn't have a problem with it.'

'I'm thinking of my son and I'm thinking you know there's times when you know we've been out and he's bursting so I have to take him into a corner and he has to do a wee and there's no way I'm going to let him wee himself.'

'I think there should be more public toilets.'

10. Alcohol-related litter

As with many of the issues gravitating towards the lower end of this list of priorities, alcohol-related litter was not considered to be an important aspect of the London budget overall. As previously mentioned, many respondents were keen to think of litter as one issue and as such it is possible that many saw this as just a slightly less problematic aspect of the complete littering problem. However, a minority of residents were keen to stress that they saw a role for retailers (and anyone else who sells alcohol) in dealing with the issue when and where it did occur.

'I always thought they should, the people who sell alcohol should have a separate citizens' tax to help.'

11. People being drunk or rowdy in public

People being drunk or rowdy in public garnered slightly more polarised responses from the residents. Respondents from the more affluent groups were uniformly more likely than the other groups to rate it as a high priority (for both the Inner and Outer London groups this issue featured in their first two rungs of priorities).

'People puking up on a Saturday night.'

In direct contrast, the younger group (those aged 18-24) and the more deprived Inner London group decided not to apply any budget to the issue at all.

'That wouldn't bother me.'

'Winos don't bother people; they just sit there minding their own business.'

12. Graffiti

The last on the London residents' average list of priorities for spend, graffiti was given no budget at all by the more deprived Inner London group. Not considered particularly problematic by the remaining groups, it consistently featured in the lower rungs of budget allocation.

For many, graffiti was actually considered to be positive adornment for some areas but this was entirely dependant on the perceived 'quality' of the artwork and the site on which the graffiti was located.

'Some of them are lovely; they should find them and give them a job.'

'If it looks good its' great but if its just somebody tagging the top of a railway line out in the middle of nowhere you think what's the purpose of that? It doesn't even look good.'

'It totally depends what it's on, if they did it on a really amazing historical building then that's (not ok).'

'I mean I wouldn't want it all over my house but...'

For the majority it was agreed that solutions are relatively simple – namely, the provision of areas where graffiti is acceptable and input from mentors who can assist them in improving the quality of their output. As a result, the vast majority of respondents did not see a need to allocate the issue a lot of resource.

'I used to work with graffiti artists; I used to teach truants in Portobello Road and Kensington. It started to really shrink when they gave them places to do it, one of which still exists, and people like me are employed to teach them how to do it so they get better at it.'

Helping hands?

Where residents feel they can *contribute* to LEQ and ASB issues

Once their budget was complete, residents were once again offered the chance to 're-think' their approach based on their ability or desire to contribute towards tackling specific issues (Figure 6, on page 41, details where helping hands were placed and how many of the groups applied hands to each issue).

Discussion varied a little from the themes observed when reviewing their likelihood to apply 'helping hands' to the *services* (see page 26). The differences were primarily driven by the specificity of the issues listed – in other words the likelihood to 'help' was frequently issue-dependent (which is why we don't observe a significant spread of 'helping hands' in Figure 6) and in some cases issues were simply considered too 'dirty' or dangerous to health.

*'Why should we pick up someone's rubbish? I'm not being funny – I'm not picking up dirty syringes or cigarette ends or dog s***.'*

'I wouldn't help (pick up) syringes but you know I'd help drug addicts and do things like that.'

'I would do it begrudgingly but it would be the fly-tipping because it would just drive me nuts. Yeah I'd stick it in my car and take it to a dump if I could.'

This issue-lead approach was further driven by the following themes.

1. Likelihood to 'help' is frequently 'patch' specific:

The vast majority of residents who felt they could add 'helping hands' to the budget were keen to specify that this offer was limited to areas in close proximity to their home. Opportunities to get involved needed to be neighbourhood focused

in order to best align with these localised and personalised motivations to improve an area.

'If it's outside your door – that's different.'

Despite this observation, a minority of the respondents consulted were concerned that this approach usually came from having a sense of community spirit or pride that they felt was simply not that prevalent across London.

'(This won't work) unless you've built up a community spirit – I don't think in London there's much pride in your area.'

2. 'Help' is incrementally defined:

An important theme when considering engagement in LEQ and related ASB issues, it is vital communities are given incremental opportunities to get involved in improving an area. Indeed, the residents consulted demonstrated a desire for very different levels of input to specific issues and this was best observed when they explained what the 'helping hands' they had offered meant to them.

In the first instance, residents offering 'helping hands' described this offer best as a willingness to intervene. **Intervention** can be characterised as a readiness to point out and query poor or irresponsible environmental behaviours in others.

'I actually stop people and tell them to pick (dog fouling) up.'

Nevertheless, and perhaps unsurprisingly, there was significant concern for personal safety raised by several respondents with regard to intervention. As such this was not a particularly popular contribution.

'I'm not sure yeah that I would want to get involved. Problem is once you start becoming a community policeman for want of a better word – we don't really have any powers to enforce any of this. We're all being well meaning and everything else but you can put yourself in danger.'

For others, the 'helping hand' demonstrated a willingness to report poor or irresponsible environmental behaviours to the proper authorities.

'I would report it.'

'I'd report all of these actually. Every single one of them, I wouldn't have a problem with it whatsoever.'

Reporting was not a problem-free approach. A minority of residents actually demonstrated some concern with the kind of commitment (and, potentially, profile) reporting LEQ and related ASB issues would require.

'The problem with fly-tipping, fly-tipping is quite a high level crime, so if you witness somebody fly-tipping and you phone up the council they'll turn around and say to you, "We need a statement off you. Are you willing to attend court?"'

One respondent also noted that reporting requires that residents have a good understanding of which avenues to use. Echoing findings summarised in the Keep Britain Tidy Scale of Deprivation¹⁸, there was some concern that traditional reporting mechanisms catered best for those from *less* deprived communities.

'Because the more middle class (they are) the more likely they are to have some kind of social connection with the people who run these things and they can directly complain to them. If say English is not your first language (and) you're still fairly new to the environment then you don't know how to work the system, you've got no idea.'

Finally, a small minority of respondents talked about the 'helping hands' in the context of taking **action**.

'I take my dog for a walk and someone's chucked litter in the park I'd always pick it up.'

However, *action* was a contentious term for some. Indeed, many felt that they were actively participating simply by behaving responsibly and subsequently argued that unprompted and unpublicised action actually does very little to tackle the issues long-term.

¹⁸ See appendix 3. The Keep Britain Tidy Scale of Deprivation is taken from our 2011 publication, *Whose Reality Is It Anyway? Understanding the Impact of Deprivation on Perceptions of Place*.

'I do my part by not littering.'

'That doesn't solve the problem though does it?'

Furthermore, many residents queried why they would participate in activities to improve the areas where they lived without reward.

'I would (help) if I was getting paid for it'

Perhaps unsurprisingly, opportunities to engage in activities to improve the local environmental quality in the areas where they lived were also frequently gauged according to how 'dirty' they might be.

3. Likelihood to 'help' driven by beliefs around responsibility:

The vast majority of the debate around 'helping hands' and specific LEQ and related ASB issues came from the respondents' beliefs and ideals concerning who is actually 'responsible' for dealing with the issues. Beliefs varied – some stated that the individuals who drop litter or let their dog foul in public places were responsible while others argued that fast food outlets should be held accountable for the littering of their produce. Again, more often than not, beliefs were issue-specific.

'That should be the responsibility of the outlets that sell (fast food).'

'In terms of dog fouling it's the owners really. '

'I think you need to take personal responsibility. It shouldn't be like, "Oh I'll just chuck my litter because someone will pick it up after me."'

'I wouldn't pick up someone's rubbish.'

'Community officers should be enforcing it.'

Interestingly, many of the residents stated that poor environmental behaviours were actually going some way towards supporting those people employed to clean streets and keep neighbourhoods free from LEQ and related ASB issues.

'But then if we didn't (drop litter) where would their jobs go? They won't have a job.'

'I don't want to put them out of a job. I am guilty I've left a carton and a thing inside quite neatly on the bottom of the wall, I'm guilty you know. I have.'

Despite being given the opportunity to shift resources to other issues once 'helping hands' had been applied, very few respondents actually did this and very few saw 'helping hands' as a sufficient additional resource.

Figure 6: Local environmental quality & related anti-social behaviour priorities of London residents



The decision making landscape

How London residents start to prioritise services

Research conducted by Keep Britain Tidy has confirmed that the general public are just as concerned about the appearance of their local area as they are about wider global issues.¹⁹ It is for this reason we considered placement of street cleaning and environmental services at the bottom of the overall priority list to be a rather conspicuous illusion to their position as ‘hygiene factors’.

With this in mind, we have taken some time to review what other factors tended to influence the priorities of London residents. We have already seen the impact personal experience of the issues can have and we have seen how people tend to prioritise issues they have endured in their own neighbourhood.

‘It’s quite different if someone’s dealing outside my front door. I don’t want that at all but if they’re taking drugs in their household, it doesn’t bother me really.’

‘I guess (I haven’t prioritised it) because we don’t really see that.’

Additional influences we observed in the decision making landscape included:

The knock-on effect

Residents displayed considerable awareness of the potential relationships between the LEQ and related ASB issues they were asked to review. While they were making decisions about which issues to prioritise we observed the knock-on effect rationale in all of the groups.

The grimmest (sic) areas tend to be the messiest. They do tend to be because people have lost interest and no one’s really that bothered. If a place looks ugly it gets uglier (sic) up more.

So, residents were keen to prioritise issues that they felt were most likely to bring about or amplify other issues. This was most typically observed when residents prioritised tackling young people hanging around on the street because they, almost

¹⁹ *The Word on our Street*, Keep Britain Tidy (2009)

uniformly, considered young people to be the culprits behind many of the other LEQ and related ASB issues.

I think there'll be a greater increase in anti-social behaviour (if we don't tackle these LEQ issues) which affects most of us really.

Funding

It is worth noting that discussions regarding 'helping hands', and the subsequent offers to 're-think' their budget as a result, did raise significant concerns about the threat of financial cuts to the services currently in place to tackle these issues.

'They've taken all the funding out of like youth work, I actually do it myself.'

'You start to think is this a kind of Big Society exercise actually to see how many of us will give our free time to replace the people they're sacking.'

'The youth will get disillusioned because they haven't got the support that they need and you have more people doing graffiti because they haven't got the space and you'll probably end up losing the parks because they'll probably build over them. I'm not very optimistic about the economy in general really and the government.'

'It's not distributed fairly at the moment – they're cutting back here and they're cutting back there.'

So, although the funding issues had little impact on how residents prioritised the issues within their budget, knowledge of the Big Society initiative (which was, on the whole, met with considerable scepticism), when combined with the current political climate of public spending cuts, did impact significantly on how residents felt about engaging in tackling the issues at an individual level.

Behaviour change.

Residents of London were asked to discuss five different approaches to behaviour change. This section reviews which they felt were the most effective and why, with special consideration given to fixed penalty notices. We wanted to know, how do residents of London feel about fixed penalty notices, particularly in these times of austerity?

Enforcement²⁰

The use of fixed penalty notices to tackle local environmental quality & related anti-social behaviour issues

In research recently conducted by Ipsos MORI for and on behalf of Keep Britain Tidy, 75% of the English public stated that they were aware that environmental offences can result in a person being issued with a fixed penalty notice (FPN).²¹ Indeed, awareness of enforcement as a way to tackle the various LEQ and related ASB issues included in their budget was relatively high within the groups we conducted with London residents and several respondents raised fines unprompted when discussing how best to allocate their resources.

‘Yeah if you’re caught... you get fined.’

‘You get fined round there if you drop a cigarette butt.’

To explore opinion of FPNs in more depth and to see whether FPNs were only considered an appropriate behaviour change technique with a portion of the issues under discussion – the residents of London were given the option to include the application of Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs) in their budget. A visual breakdown of how FPNs were allocated can be observed in Figure 7.

Every group we conducted applied the use of FPNs to fly-tipping, cigarette-related litter, fast food litter, vandalism and dog fouling. Fly-tipping in particular was seen as a very serious enviro-crime and residents were unanimously comfortable with significant fines for this offence.

‘Fly-tipping, definitely.’

²⁰ Enforcement refers to fixed penalty notices (FPNs). FPNs can provide enforcement agencies with a way to deal with low-level environmental crimes (like dog fouling, littering and graffiti). FPNs may be issued when an enforcing officer believes that an offence has been committed and give the offender an opportunity to avoid prosecution by payment of a penalty which is, on average around £75 but that varies according to the offence. FPNs can be issued by anyone with delegated power from the local authority. This list can and does include Police, Police Community Support Officers, LA enforcement officers, neighbourhood wardens, dog wardens and some Parish Council officers.

²¹ Keep Britain Tidy (2011) *A Study of the Effectiveness of Fixed Penalty Notices in Reducing Low Level Environmental Crime*. UNPUBLISHED AT TIME OF REPORTING. The study also revealed some interesting demographic differences. Respondents from DE social grades were less likely to be aware of FPNs and only half (51%) of BME respondents were aware of FPNs for environmental offences compared to 79% of the white respondents. Interestingly, those who had heard about FPNs through newspapers were significantly more likely to believe they were effective.

Dog fouling was the issue that garnered the most emotional response from the residents with a significant number agreeing that fines were an appropriate measure and many respondents actually indicating that an increase in the amount offenders are expected to pay would be acceptable. This was primarily related to the health risks associated with dog fouling and the risks to young children in public places – specifically parks and open spaces.

‘If someone sees (people getting fined), it will stop them doing it next time.’

‘I think personally there should be stricter fines.’

‘I think it should be more for certain areas.’

Cigarette-related litter was perhaps the most contentious despite the fact that all the groups voted to apply FPNs to this offence. A minority of respondents, particularly those who smoked, protested that the built environment did not assist them in disposing of their cigarette-related litter responsibly and that FPNs were therefore a disproportionate response to the issue overall.

‘I think the cigarettes is a bit much really.’

‘I can’t actually bring the cigarette with me to my house or put it in my pocket.’

‘I think that’s excessive yes.’

‘Sometimes we haven’t got places to put it, what do you do? You can’t put it in your pocket.’

‘One of my friends (was) outside a club – he went for a smoke and to get some fresh air, dropped his butt and a guy came along (and gave him a) £60 fine. And ... that’s just like, huh? I think it’s disgusting to be honest, I think that if anything the club should take the initiative in that situation.’

But it is worth noting that not all smokers agreed with this point of view. Indeed, some took the responsibility of disposing of their cigarette-related litter very seriously.

'If you choose to smoke it's your responsibility to clean up after yourself. I smoke myself but I never drop my cigarette butts I always go and find somewhere or I keep like a little (ashtray).'

Figure 7: Acceptable use of fixed penalty notices to tackle specific local environmental quality & related anti-social behaviour issues



The largest issues saw all five of the groups agree that FPNs were an acceptable way to tackle the issues

The smaller the issue the less the groups agreed FPNs were an acceptable way to tackle the issues

Four out of the five groups agreed that graffiti and alcohol-related litter could be tackled using FPNs. Graffiti was exceptional only in so far as people did not consider the issue itself to be particularly problematic in many areas.

'I'd say graffiti in certain places.'

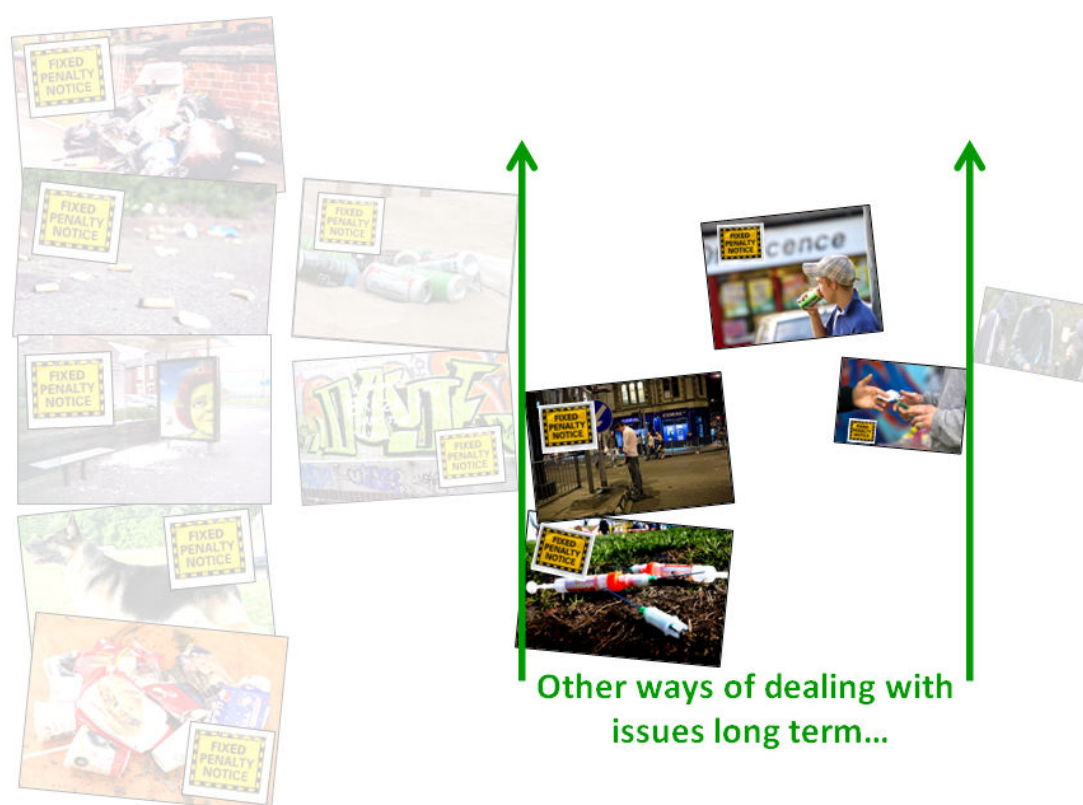
The group comprised of 18-24 year olds was the only group not to apply an FPN to alcohol-related litter.

Three of the five groups applied FPNs to people urinating in public places and drugs-related litter. The increased variation between the groups at this stage was very

much reflected in their likelihood to discuss alternative solutions to the issues. In the case of street urination in particular, many agreed that if the facilities were unavailable to people, it was unfair to fine people.

'I'm sure even the police do it if they can't find a toilet.'

Figure 8: Where acceptance of the use of fixed penalty notices to tackle local environmental quality & related anti-social behaviour issues decreases



With this same level of reflection on the actual severity of the issues (and alternative ways of tackling them) the majority of the residents of London we spoke to agreed that people being drunk or rowdy in public should not be dealt with using FPNs. Indeed, many felt this was not a particularly significant problem anyway.

'I wouldn't expect to be fined for drinking beer in a street; I don't see the problem with that.'

'I don't know. I think that's nanny state stuff to be honest.'

Finally, FPNs were applied to the issue of people taking or dealing drugs in public places by just one of the groups (C2 and below, Inner London). In fact, the majority agreed that FPNs would be an entirely ineffective way to deal with an issue of this magnitude.

'Dealing drugs should be, you should be put in prison not given a fixed penalty notice, that's no deterrent.'

'Dealing there's no point even fining anyone. They come back the next day.'

'It's not going to stop it.'

The groups commonly agreed that FPNs were a disproportionate response to the issue of young people hanging around in public places.

Fixed Penalty Notices: a financial resource?

As budget holders, respondents were asked if they considered FPNs to be an appropriate form of 'income' – an income that helped them as a budget holder to tackle the issues. The majority agreed that FPNs were entirely appropriate as a revenue source.

'Maybe in a park you could make it more beautiful? Have funding to go into that. Yes and it'll bring the community more together.'

'I don't really care where that money goes I'm just glad that they've had to pay up you know.'

Furthermore, around half of the respondents overall wanted to ensure the money was ring-fenced as a resource allocated specifically to deal with these same issues.

'I would rather personally the money went back into community education because what you really need to do is educate people about this whether it be through videos, through the media, through the papers, whatever, it's educating people to realise the impact they're having on their own environment.'

'That money that they're fining hopefully goes back into the community doesn't it? '

Perhaps unsurprisingly, discussing FPNs in the context of income did raise some concerns. Residents were quick to ensure that the exercise of issuing FPNs remain one that is focused on tackling the issues, not on bringing in money. In fact, many felt that framing FPNs in this context could undermine the effectiveness of FPNs as a behaviour change tool.

'You don't want to become kind of a profit making thing. That undermines respect for it.'

'It's got to be a deterrent rather than a revenue source.'

Furthermore, the discussion raised questions for many about where the income from FPNs goes at present.

'You know when we get fined or if anyone gets a fine, where does the money actually go? Because if it went back to government I wouldn't be happy with it, it wouldn't be changing anything.'

'I see them personally as a way of making money for the government, there's no evidence that the money (is) coming in.'

Equally, discussing FPNs in the context of revenue encouraged some people to question the value of the process against the cost of administering them.

'How much is it going to cost us to have the people to enforce it? That's the thing as well.'

Fixed Penalty Notices: an effective behaviour change tool?

At Keep Britain Tidy we know that just 40% of the English public believe that fixed penalty notices are an effective tool in tackling environmental crime.²² Our research with London residents enabled us to explore this statistic in some depth. In particular, it enabled us to explore the perceived limitations to this technique.

Despite the fact that some of the residents we consulted had received FPNs in the past (two respondents in particular admitted to receiving FPNs in the past for leaving

²² Keep Britain Tidy (2011) *A Study of the Effectiveness of Fixed Penalty Notices in Reducing Low Level Environmental Crime*. UNPUBLISHED AT TIME OF REPORTING.

waste out early and for urinating in a public place) the vast majority of our respondents felt that the threat of enforcement was still considerably low.

'But I don't think anyone goes around fining people do they?'

'You see lots of signs up saying you know if you're caught but who's watching?'

Importantly, residents of London expressed some distrust in an authority body's ability to follow through with the threat of enforcement. In particular, residents were unclear as to how an authority could ensure they had gathered the correct information from offenders and as a result they were not assured that non-payment of a fine could be addressed.

'I mean how are you supposed to get information out of people?'

'How do they take your details? How do they know who you are?'

'(Offenders) are not going to hang around and say, "Oh yes please. Can you verify my name and address through your radio or something?"'

'You wouldn't pay attention to them, how are you going to stop them just walking off?'

Furthermore, residents were concerned about *who* would be issuing the FPNs with a small majority vocalising concerns that potential cuts to the numbers of police on the streets will have a considerable impact on how successful the application of FPNs will be in the future.

'But the only people that (offenders) are really going to take any notice of are the police. 'Plastic police' (PCSOs) as they call them – they don't take any notice of them.'

'I want police out there stopping crime, I don't want them writing out notes. I'd rather see someone else doing it.'

'They can only be (issued by) the police can't they? And we're cutting their numbers enormously.'

The majority of those who agreed FPNs would be an effective way of tackling environmental offences saw it as preventative after the fact. That is to say they agreed that if you had been fined for an offence directly or knew someone who had been fined then you would be much less likely to (re)offend.

'It is preventative because I think if someone was collared in the street because their dog was fouling, they'd think twice about letting them do it again.'

'I think it's a deterrent and if you get fined once you're probably not going to be that likely to get fined again because it's in your head.'

'That's what they're doing, they're fining people and making people think about what they're doing.'

'There's no bigger education than fining someone a little bit of money.'

Finally, there was some concern about the implications on non-payment. This was fairly issue-specific with the majority of respondents assessing the severity of the offences (and frequently imagining who the likely offenders would be) before expressing serious reservations about the fact that people in receipt of an FPN could end up with a criminal record if they failed to pay a fine.

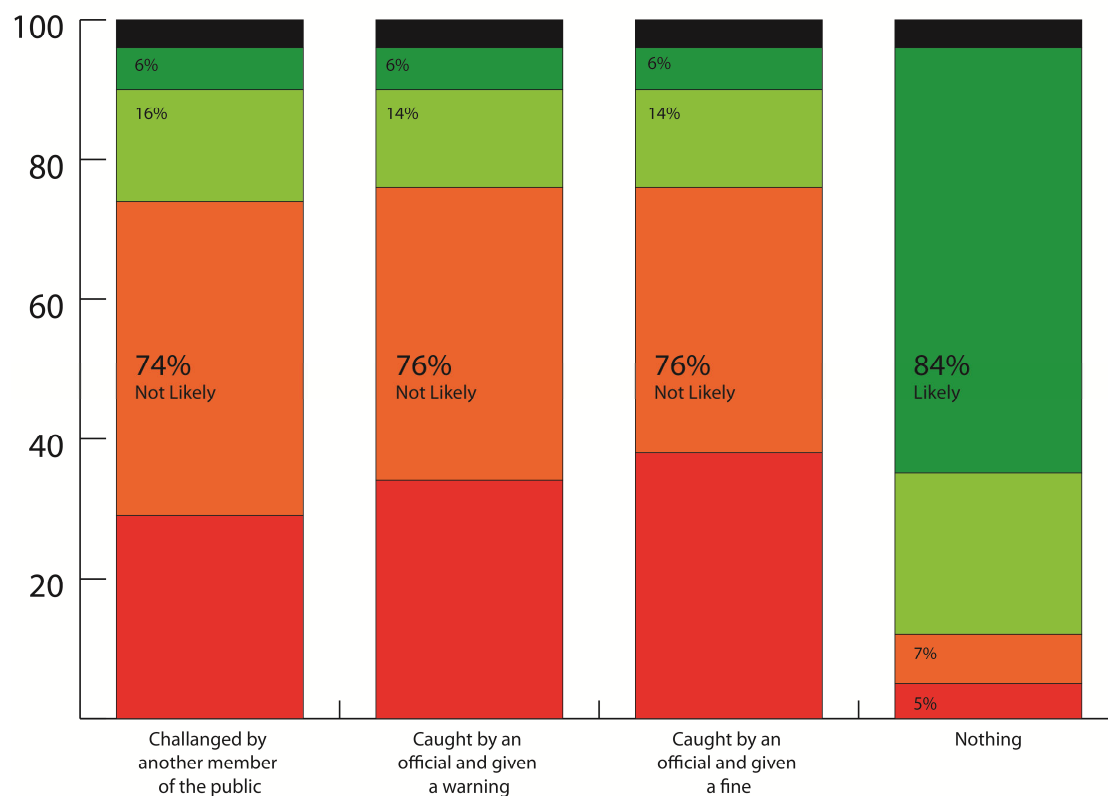
'I don't like that. I don't think you should be a criminal. (For) some of the stuff maybe but not all of it – certainly not throwing cigarette wrappers. (That) doesn't make you a criminal. Does it?'

'These are people who are really still children to some extent and you don't want to stigmatise them because a lot of them are just kids and (graffiti) is their only form of expression.'

We wanted to explore this perception that the threat of being given an FPN is quite low in a little more detail with the participants of the online survey. To do this we asked them what they thought the likely consequences of someone dropping litter in a town centre would be. The results are charted in Figure 9 over the page.

Figure 9: Likely consequences of dropping litter

Sam is walking through the town centre and drops some litter on the floor.
How likely do you think it is that each of the following will happen to Sam next?



Base: 1007, Residents of London

In fact, 84% of Londoners think it is likely (very or fairly) that there will be no consequences to dropping litter in a public place. Equally, around three quarters of London residents think it is unlikely (very or fairly) that someone dropping litter will be challenged by another member of the public or caught by an official and given a warning or a fine.

Interestingly, younger respondents (those under 44) and those with children were significantly more likely to think being challenged by another member of the public was likely than older respondents (those 45 and over) and those without children.

84% of Londoners think it is likely that there will be no consequences to dropping litter in a public place.

When weighing up the likelihood that someone would be caught and given either a warning or a fine, those from more affluent social groups (ABC1) were significantly less likely to think this would happen than those from less affluent social groups (C2DE). Indeed, those from the more affluent groups were much more likely to think that there would be no consequence at all to dropping litter.

Incentives

The effectiveness of incentives in encouraging more pro-environmental behaviours

The residents of London involved in this research were all asked to think about what kinds of techniques might encourage people to behave in more positive way towards other people and the environment where they live. Unprompted, incentives (or rewards) was the most commonly recalled across all of the groups. Especially popular was the concept that you might get a reduction on your council tax for contributing towards your local community.

‘Some sort of reward system for those people that do more for the community and look after it. I don’t know, if you’re doing your bit, reduce your council tax or something.’

‘If you wanted to do youth groups and get 2% off your council tax or something – I think there are certain things I’ll definitely do. Litter picking and stuff like that. But things that are going to take up my free time – that’s just so limited – then I think I’d need an incentive.’

‘Rewards, especially for teenagers.’

Incentives and rewards are increasingly being considered as an effective way to encourage behaviour change in people. Heavily reported in the mainstream press, incentives are frequently considered in the field of healthcare in particular where, for instance, consideration has been given to the concept of rewarding mothers-to-be who give up smoking with gift vouchers and beauty treatments.

Incentives to draw people away from certain negative behaviours seem to be less common in the field of LEQ and related ASB than incentives to encourage pro-environmental behaviour. Orange RockCorps is perhaps the most successful and highly publicised example of the latter. The pro-social production company, RockCorps was launched in the US in 2005 and rewards volunteers with, traditionally, tickets to festivals and gigs, using music to inspire engagement. It appeals to a very specific demographic – young people primarily. Mobile phone company Orange sponsors the UK branch of the organisation.

Incentives in action

The Orange *Do Some Good* App lets people volunteer just five minutes of their time a day via their mobile phone. They have teamed up with Orange RockCorps to offer appropriate rewards for this activity.²³



The majority considered incentives to be a very effective way to encourage people to do more for their communities – particularly young people. However, there was some reservation towards to concept in the groups we conducted. For instance, a minority of residents asked why otherwise everyday ‘responsible’ behaviour should be rewarded.

‘But hang on isn’t the reward a cleaner, safer neighbourhood? Isn’t that the reward really?’

‘I don’t think it should be offered to adults because I think you lot should know to put your rubbish in the bin.’

‘Shouldn’t we be doing that as human beings anyway because that’s the decent thing to do?’

²³ Orange reported in the Metro newspaper recently that 67% of the UK had donated money in the last 12 months, while less than a quarter (23%) gave their time to a good cause. 25% agreed they would volunteer five minutes everyday if they could use their mobile phone. Poll by Orange UK in METRO, Wednesday 20th April 2011

Additionally, some were concerned that in these financially challenging times it might be questionable to offer rewards for pro-environmental behaviours.

‘There’s not enough money for rewards and incentives.’

With this in mind, the common consensus appeared to be that incentives or rewards were more suited to organised and structured engagement activities rather than ad hoc contributions and that the approach might be better suited to corporate or private sector organisations as opposed to public sector bodies.

Equally, it was agreed by the majority of residents that this technique did not have the longevity required to change behaviour for the long-term.

‘If you give and then you take it away then they’ll think, “Sod it! Why should I do it?”’

'Nudges'

The effectiveness of nudge theory in encouraging more pro-environmental behaviours

At the root of this theory is exploration of how we make choices and how the environments we live in can influence these choices in both explicit and clandestine ways. Nudge theory concerns itself with what's called 'choice architecture' – the method by which situations, environments and so on can be developed to 'nudge' people in to making better choices for themselves.²⁴

'Nudge' in action

Schiphol International Airport in Amsterdam installed small images of a black house fly in their urinals to encourage men to 'hit the target' instead of the floor.

Spillage declined by 80% as a result.



²⁴ For more up to date information on nudge theory see <http://www.nudges.org>
To see how central government is using behavioural economics to influence public policy see the Institute for Government *MindSpace* report available online at:
<http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/2/>

This is obviously a fairly complex idea and to explore this with each of the groups in the short space of time we had available we employed the use of stimulus material to act as a kind of shortcut to explaining the theory in full.

We showed each of the groups a video of a litter bin placed in a public park that makes the sound of something falling into a deep underground well when any litter is thrown in to it. The bin was designed to make the choice of disposing of your litter responsibly more fun and it was developed as part of a Volkswagen initiative – The Fun Theory.²⁵

Unsurprisingly, the Fun Theory litter bin was liked by the majority of residents and many thought it was an effective tool to encourage pro-environmental behaviours in the short term.

‘If you make things fun, it’s worthwhile.’

‘Well they’re trying to make feeding a bin a bit of fun. I can understand that and that’s not a bad thing. Even if it makes 20% of the population put stuff in the bin rather than throw it on the floor I think it’s a good thing.’

Although thinking about the broader application of the nudge theory was a challenge for the respondents, the majority questioned the long-term impact of this approach on the values and attitudes that underpin poor environmental behaviour and they subsequently questioned whether ‘nudge’ would really solve the issues under discussion.

‘But that gimmick only lasts for so long’

‘It’s definitely a good idea but is it going to solve these problems?’

²⁵ To see the video and learn more about the impact the bin had on littering behaviours go to <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cbEKAwCoCKw>

Education

The effectiveness of education in encouraging more pro-environmental behaviours

An educative approach to behaviour change assumes that, given the right context and framing, citizens can *think* themselves towards a better understanding of problems and more effective, collective solutions.

Education in action

TV chef Jamie Oliver started his school dinners campaign five years ago. His aim was to educate children, their parents and the schooling authorities about the importance of providing children with healthy school dinners. A recent study published in the Journal of Health Economics shows a marked improvement in national curriculum tests at the school where he launched the campaign as well as a reduction in absenteeism from sickness of around 14%.



Education was unanimously believed to be the most powerful behaviour change technique particularly in context of how lasting (frequently assumed to be permanent in this instance) the change in people can be.

‘Education – it kind of empowers you doesn’t it?’

Education was also, after incentives, one of the most recalled techniques without prompting and was the one approach to behaviour change that the respondents felt

could actually work to not just shift behaviours but also to change the attitudes and values that underpin that behaviour. However, the majority of residents consulted agreed that it was most effective when undertaken with young people – either at school or at home.

‘If you’re older already it doesn’t change habits, like when you get older it’s so hard to change your habits. You need to tell kids.’

‘It needs to start (at school).’

‘I think parental education is very important.’

There were two key recommendations for how educational behaviour change initiatives be approached. The first was to ensure people understand the impact of poor environmental behaviour preferably by visualising the effects (e.g. communicating the scale of an issue by using recognisable symbols like a football pitch full of waste).

‘People would need visuals; they would need to see the impact it has.’

The second preference was for messages that *personalise* LEQ and related ASB issues (e.g. localised campaigns that demonstrate the impact of an issue on an individual’s street, neighbourhood or ward).

‘Because we’re quite selfish people – I think it always has to be about something that would affect you.’

Campaigns

The effectiveness of public messages and campaigns in encouraging more pro-environmental behaviours

Marketing campaigns can be an effective way of influencing public perceptions and changing behaviour. Over the past five years, Keep Britain Tidy has delivered a number of highly successful campaigns that have resulted in measured improvements in environmental quality. The effectiveness of these campaigns has been down to strategies that engage with audiences on a personal level and offer them an alternative to their negative behaviour. By combining advertising with a high level of press and media coverage, Keep Britain Tidy has been able to demonstrate that campaigning really can make big difference.



Campaigns in action

Cigarette litter is one of England's biggest litter issues and is found on 81% of all streets. A Keep Britain Tidy campaign to tackle the issue resulted in an overall 35% reduction in discarded cigarette butts, with some areas such as Bristol recording up to an 80% reduction. A significant increase in public awareness of the problem was also recorded.

Our recent *Dog Poo Fairy* campaign (run in 2010) reached just under a third (29%) of our sample and saw a reduction of dog fouling by 43% in key locations.

The majority of the London residents we consulted were keen to stress that campaigns were only ever going to be effective if they were of a high quality, were professional and the messages were clear. Indeed, one resident put it best:

'If they're good (they'll work). And if they're not, they won't. It's that simple isn't it? Seriously if you do a thing well it tends to work. You remember really bad ads and really good ones and then there's an enormous quantity you don't remember at all.'

Equally, several residents noted that campaigns needed a certain degree of coverage in order to be successful. Nationwide was a preference for broader messages but typically this is what the general public expects and is used to.

'If they do that nationwide – it will just drum in people's heads.'

A large number of the residents consulted also referenced how important the *tone* of a campaign or public message is to inspiring changes in behaviour but it was quickly observed that preferences varied considerably with no significant correlation to any particular group or 'type' of respondent. For some, campaigns needed a strong, serious message that highlighted the impact of poor environmental behaviours on others.

'I think the really like dramatic ones (work).'

'A child's gone blind through your actions, through your carelessness.'

For others there was a preference to appeal to people's sense of humour. For these residents there was a distinct desire for campaigns not to appear to be accusatory or overly moralistic.

'I think if you appeal to people's funnier side they're more likely to trust you.'

'I think humour is the nicest way to do it rather than always being told off.'

There was some discussion about what kinds of people they would like to see or hear promoting a LEQ or related ASB campaign. It was agreed by the majority of residents that someone high profile – a well liked celebrity for instance – was the best approach.

'You need someone high profile to promote something.'

'I adore him and a lot of other people do but (if) Beckham did some sort of litter campaign, would that make a difference to some of the youth?'

Conclusions and recommendations

Conclusions

The journey to prioritisation

The factors affecting how residents of London prioritise local environmental quality and related anti-social behaviour issues are varied and complex. Sometimes the issues are considered in isolation from one another – usually where residents are unlikely to have had personal experience of specific issues – and in these instances, residents find it particularly difficult to prioritise any one issue over another. It was in precisely this situation that residents (usually those from more affluent backgrounds) were more likely to spread the resources they had in their imaginary London budget evenly across the many services and issues they were asked to consider.

In contrast, the ten public service areas that London residents were asked to review were considered by some as though they were linked intrinsically to one another – some of the issues harbouring the potential to bring about or exacerbate others. We discovered was that this rationale was very often the motive for determining which services or issues needed to be prioritised overall and why. For instance, education was deemed the most important service primarily because many believed that without a proper education people would be more likely to commit offences against the local environment. This causation (or ‘knock-on’) relationship was the overriding rationale for the prioritisation in each of our focus groups.

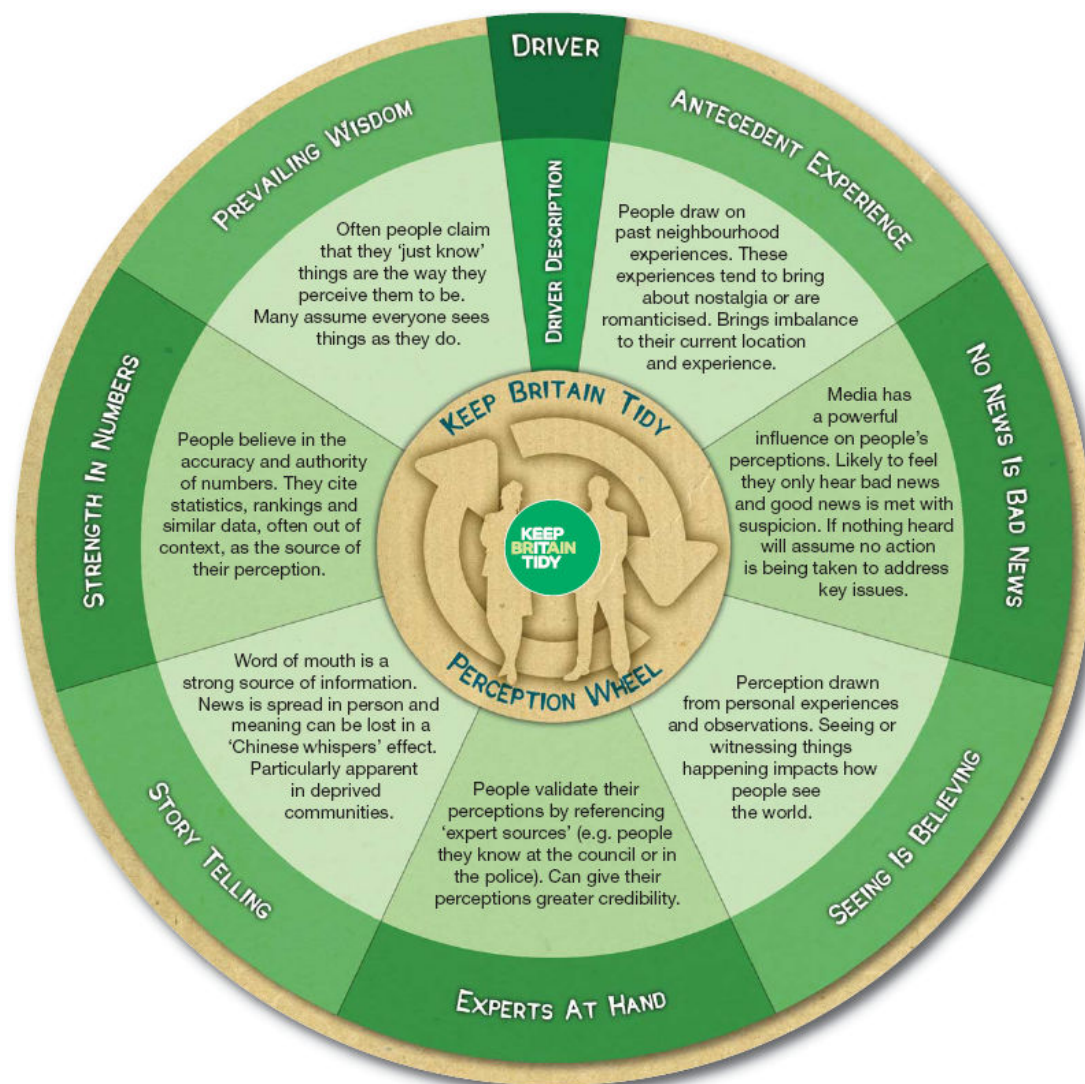
Equally, the residents involved displayed clear and pervasive tendencies to assume that young people were the primary perpetrators of many local environmental quality and related anti-social issues and this too had a significant impact on their priorities. In fact, this tendency raised queries about the potential impact of the so-called *perception/reality gap* on how residents prioritise local services more generally.

There is little doubt that resident perceptions of place (including the extent to which an issue was perceived to be a problem) and resident perceptions of enviro-crime offenders can be inaccurate and although we accept that young people may well be presenting some local areas with challenges, we also know that just 30% of anti-social behaviour orders were given to young people in 2009 while 71% of press

coverage of young people was negative. We also know that only 2% of young people see hanging around in public places as an anti-social activity.²⁶

Elsewhere Keep Britain Tidy has been able to identify what other factors, aside from the reality of a situation on the ground, drive perceptions of place and what can sometimes skew opinion and create the gap between the perception of an issue and the reality²⁷. The Keep Britain Tidy Perception Wheel (pictured below) identifies seven drivers of perceptions of place that operate in conjunction with actual experience and we would argue it is increasingly important to be aware of these drivers in the move towards localism and the Big Society agenda.

The Keep Britain Tidy Perception Wheel



²⁶ Audit Commission (2009) *Tired of Hanging Around: Using sport and leisure activities to prevent anti-social behaviour by young people*.

²⁷ 'Whose reality is it anyway? Understanding the effect of deprivation on perceptions of place' Keep Britain Tidy 2011: http://www.keepbritaintidy.org/imgLibrary/PoPP-FINAL%20Report_2889.pdf

Needless to say, priorities determined in ways similar to the methods used in our focus groups – that is to say at a *local* level – will need to be filtered to ensure they represent the *reality* of the situation on the ground. This is vital to make sure that budgets are spent effectively and the right issues are addressed, in the correct order. We must also consider the fact that street cleaning and community safety appear not to be priorities for residents of London when fiscally assessed. However, we have evidence, collected qualitatively, to suggest that these factors are a significant driver of dissatisfaction when standards slip or services are cut.

Clearly delivered, for the majority, to an acceptable standard at present, the services are what are known as ‘hygiene factors’ and when performing well they have little to no impact on satisfaction levels overall. As a result, authorities must be careful not to make cuts in this area assuming that satisfaction will be relatively steady through the transition. It is highly likely that levels of dissatisfaction will, in fact, very quickly and very significantly rise with such a move.²⁸

Factors affecting the likelihood to get involved

How residents of London prioritise local environmental quality and related anti-social behaviour issues does not appear to be hugely influenced by their ability or willingness to ‘get involved’. Indeed, given the opportunity to reassess their priorities after the assignment of ‘helping hands’ to various services and to various issues, residents very rarely did.

The factors affecting the likelihood to assign ‘helping hands’ to various services and issues varied but for many the trigger was simply feeling like they had something to offer (e.g. a pre-existing skill or a activity-specific ability). More often than not this translated into residents of London being willing (and feeling able) to offer assistance in educational services or with education-based activities. However, this *ability and confidence driver* triggered a willingness to engage in activities across the many

²⁸ See Iacopini, G. (2009) *Word on the Streetscene: Transforming local neighbourhoods*. London: New Local Government Network. Iacopini asserts, “Ipsos MORI’s research over the last twenty years consistently highlights that, alongside communications, value for money and staff responsiveness, street scene and public realm are *“the core set of issues and services that if most or all authorities delivered well, would improve the reputation of local government”*. Similarly, a survey conducted for the Standards Board for England in 2005 again found that discontent with road sweeping or street cleaning topped the list of reasons given for dissatisfaction with the Council.” Iacopini references the LGA Reputation Campaign (2006) and Ipsos MORI (2005): *Report for the Standards Board for England on the Public Perceptions of Ethics*, cited in LGA (2008): *The Reputation of Local Government*

different services and issues discussed. And it was this overarching desire to ensure they had something valuable and worthwhile to contribute to an issue that led the vast majority of residents to leave their overall budget untouched regardless of their levels of engagement. Frankly, they all agreed, there was simply no substitute for the 'real thing'.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, people were much more likely to get involved in activities that were already underway (something we call the 'momentum motivator') and get involved in activities that were for, and happening on, their '*patch*'. In other words, we now know that residents will more often than not be looking for activities that are already operational and that have a clearly localised focus. If the activity can also align with a resident's current interests (e.g. the gym, painting, children and so on) then it is likely to be even more of a success.

There was some evidence to suggest that awareness of funding cuts was inspiring a desire to get more involved in activities to support services (and local environmental quality and related anti-social behaviour issues) but this was minimal and depended greatly on the factors described above. One possible solution is to conceptualise opportunities to get involved as incremental – to appreciate that where some people see something as simple as reporting poor behaviours or challenging others as formal engagement, others might want more prescribed and traditional engagement avenues to follow. With local environmental and related anti-social behaviour issues in particular, much of this is further dependent on who the general public feel is ultimately responsible for dealing with the issues and, importantly, how 'hands-on' the engagement is likely to be – residents were certainly less likely to want to undertake tasks that could be perceived as 'dirty'.

Attitudes towards enforcement (fines)

Attitudes to enforcement were greatly shaped by the degree to which residents thought of receiving a fixed penalty notice (FPN) for local environmental quality and related anti-social behaviour issues as a real threat. In actual fact, on the whole the threat was considered to be very low indeed. With this in mind, the majority of those who participated in this research agreed that FPNs were most effective as a preventative measure *after the fact* (or after they or someone they knew had been given one for a qualifying offence).

The local environmental quality and related anti-social behaviour offences that were seen to 'qualify' as fixed penalty notice appropriate did vary and even those issues that all of the groups labelled as 'acceptable' provoked debate. Dog fouling and fast food litter appeared to be the exceptions with people stating that they would almost expect to pay if they were caught in the act. However, residents argued that FPNs might not be a strict enough for offences like fly-tipping and vandalism.

Figure 10: Ensuring enforcement is proportionate



More carrot?

When asked to consider the ways in which people could be encouraged to behave more pro-environmentally, incentives and education were approaches the majority of the groups mentioned unprompted by researchers. However, techniques used to draw people towards more positive behaviours were queried on the basis that they didn't always come with a promise of loyalty to the new behaviour they encouraged. In other words, there was significant concern that without addressing the values and attitudes that underpin poor behaviour, individuals would only momentarily demonstrate the changes being promoted and would quickly revert back when the technique – a nudge or incentive, for instance – had been withdrawn. It was for this reason that education was the preferred technique overall; the longevity and depth of

information implicitly supplied with this approach was thought to not only empower the individual but also was seen to really address the underlying values and attitudes that bring about positive changes to behaviour.

Recommendations

1. Appreciate that factors leading to dissatisfaction do not always correlate with what drives satisfaction

Communities can and often do take services (and interventions) that perform well for granted. Residents of London are highly likely to expect London authorities to maintain acceptable standards (in line with current activity) of local environmental quality irrespective of spending cuts. Indeed, they are highly likely to expect London authorities to maintain acceptable standards of local environmental quality irrespective of their apparent tendency *not* to prioritise street cleaning and community safety among the many other services provided at local government level.

So, although the services in place to maintain acceptable standards of local environmental quality and community safety do not appear to drive levels of satisfaction overall, London authorities must acknowledge that in the event that they are cut, levels of *dissatisfaction* among London residents will rise significantly.

2. To ensure you are focusing on the right things – ask, do local perceptions meet with local realities?

With drive towards localism, and the increased focus on needs determined at a local level, practitioners must appreciate that there is often a substantial gap between resident perception of enviro-crime and the reality. Needless to say, before tackling the issues that residents prioritise we are duty bound to determine how much these priorities reflect the reality of the situation on the ground. And we should ask, are there efficiencies to be made in tackling perceptions first? Will tackling the perceptions shift the priorities and enable authority bodies to focus on the right things with endorsement from the communities they represent?

Put simply, local priorities determined according to local perceptions, may mean that money is spent ineffectively on tackling issues or on tackling the wrong issues altogether. Authorities must bridge the perception / reality gap to ensure that they focus on the right things and, perhaps more importantly, to ensure communities think and feel that authorities are tackling the issues that matter most to them.²⁹

3. Be aware that not all behaviour change techniques sustain loyalty to the new behaviour

When reviewing behaviour change techniques practitioners should consider the requirements of the overall strategy for change and improvement to an issue or area first. Is the change required short-term or long-term? What are the budgetary limitations? How wide spread is the issue? What demographic are you trying to reach? Most importantly, recognise that the implications for adopting the different behaviour change techniques reviewed in this document are varied and it is highly likely that the effect of these techniques will vary too.

In particular, it should be observed that a shift in underlying values and attitudes is really the only thing that will bring about a lasting and sustainable change in behaviours. So, while incentivising behaviour or nudging individuals towards making better choices for themselves might encourage relatively quick changes in behaviour, it is true they might also fail to sustain loyalty to the new behaviour. This failure to sustain loyalty is highly likely to mean that, when the initiatives are withdrawn, individuals simply revert to their old behaviours again.

4. Enforcement must be considered proportionate to the issue, consistent and transparent

Attitudes towards enforcement are shaped by the degree to which FPNs are seen as a significant threat. To increase the efficacy of enforcement as a behaviour change tool, this must be addressed.

The only way to do this really is to increase communications on enforcement successes at a local level and to talk increasingly about the impact of FPNs on a community's collective behaviour and their attitudes towards environmental

²⁹ There are several examples of how to do this detailed in the Keep Britain Tidy report '*Whose reality is it anyway? Understanding the effect of deprivation on perceptions of place*' (2011) http://www.keepbritaintidy.org/ImgLibrary/PoPP-FINAL%20Report_2889.pdf

offences. In short, we know that the stories we tell about enforcement matter – people who have seen or read about the successful delivery of FPNs are significantly more likely to see them as effective behaviour change tools.

Equally though, local authorities tell us that enforcement alone is not effective. Enforcement must be managed with integrity and is only really going to impact on people's underlying values and beliefs when authorities address situations where environment and infrastructure encourages poor behaviour (a lack of litter bins or public ashtrays for instance) and apply it in conjunction with education – individuals should be empowered to make the right choices before they are punished for making the wrong ones. In situations where this strategy is not applied, authorities risk considerable damage to their reputation.

5. Opportunities for engagement should be 'patch' specific and incremental

While there doesn't appear to be a particularly overwhelming appetite for engaging in activities to improve the local environment, it is clear that London residents conceptualise engagement in different ways and that they are much more likely to get involved in localised activity in general. As a result, residents can often consider themselves to be engaged even when they are not following traditional routes to engagement (when they are not littering or when they challenge someone who does, for example) and we would encourage local authorities to recognise and celebrate this with their residents.

At Keep Britain Tidy, we believe an effective understanding of the ways in which people think about engagement, and how they define 'getting involved', will enhance an authority's ability to get their residents on the first rung of the engagement ladder. What does engagement look like to your authority and are you able to give the communities you work with multiple routes to engagement (both the traditional or hands-on and the less tangible)? Can you encourage activity that incorporates engagement on a scale from simple intervention to reporting and then, finally, action?

Contact Information

Please do not hesitate to contact us should you have any questions or would like to discuss any element of this report.

Evidence and Research Team

Keep Britain Tidy

Elizabeth House

The Pier

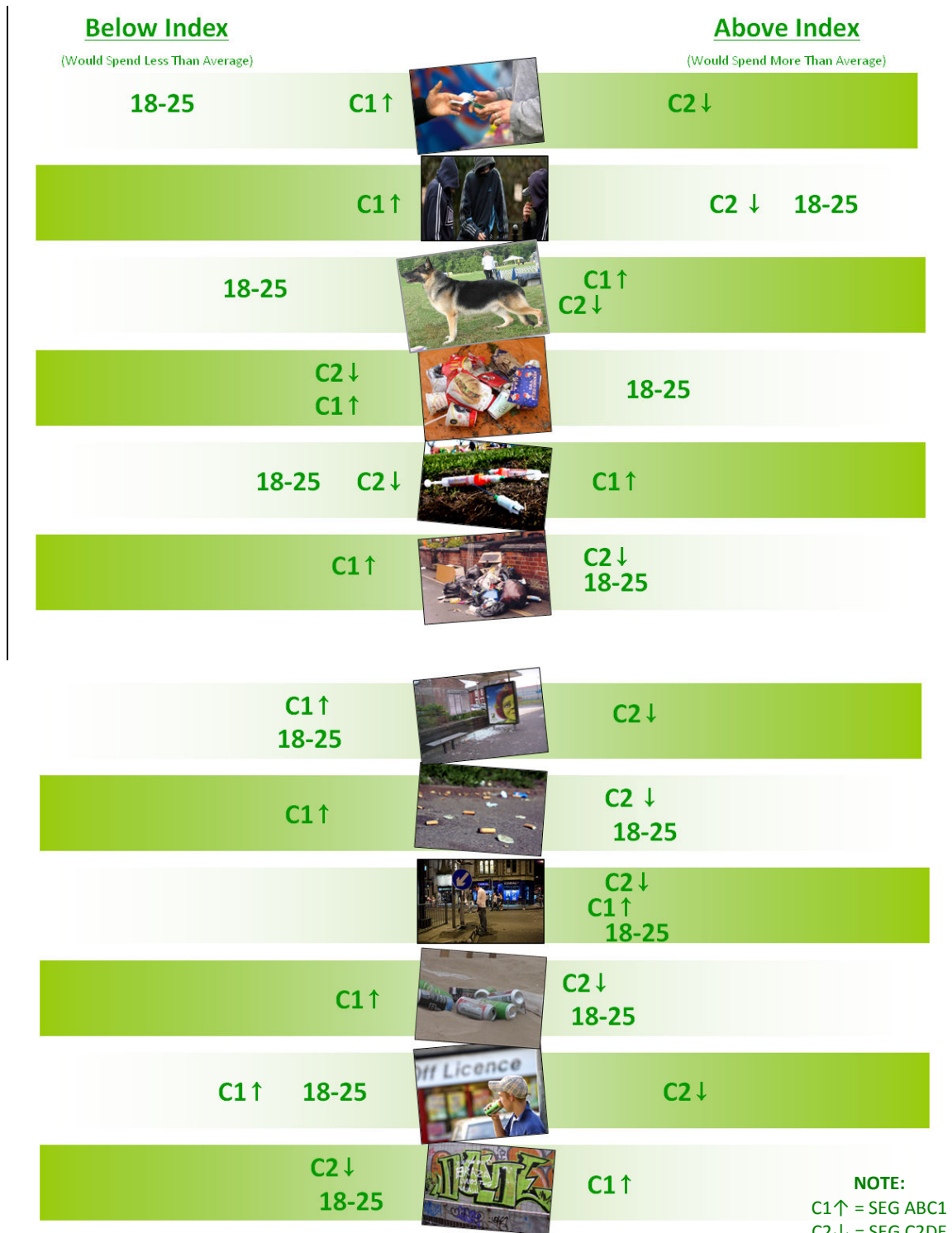
Wigan

WN3 4EX

Tel: 01942 612621

Email: market.research@keepbritaintidy.org

Appendix 1: Understanding London residents' LEQ priorities & exploring LEQ & related anti-social behaviour priorities by type of respondent



Appendix 2: Behaviour change technique preferences



Taking & Dealing Drugs
Education



Young People Hanging Around
Education, Incentives



Dog Fouling
Fines, Education, Campaigns



Fast Food Litter
Fine



Drugs-related Litter
Education



Fly-tipping
Fine



Vandalism
Fine, Education, Campaign



Cigarette-related Litter
Fine



Street Urination
Fine



Alcohol-related Litter
Education

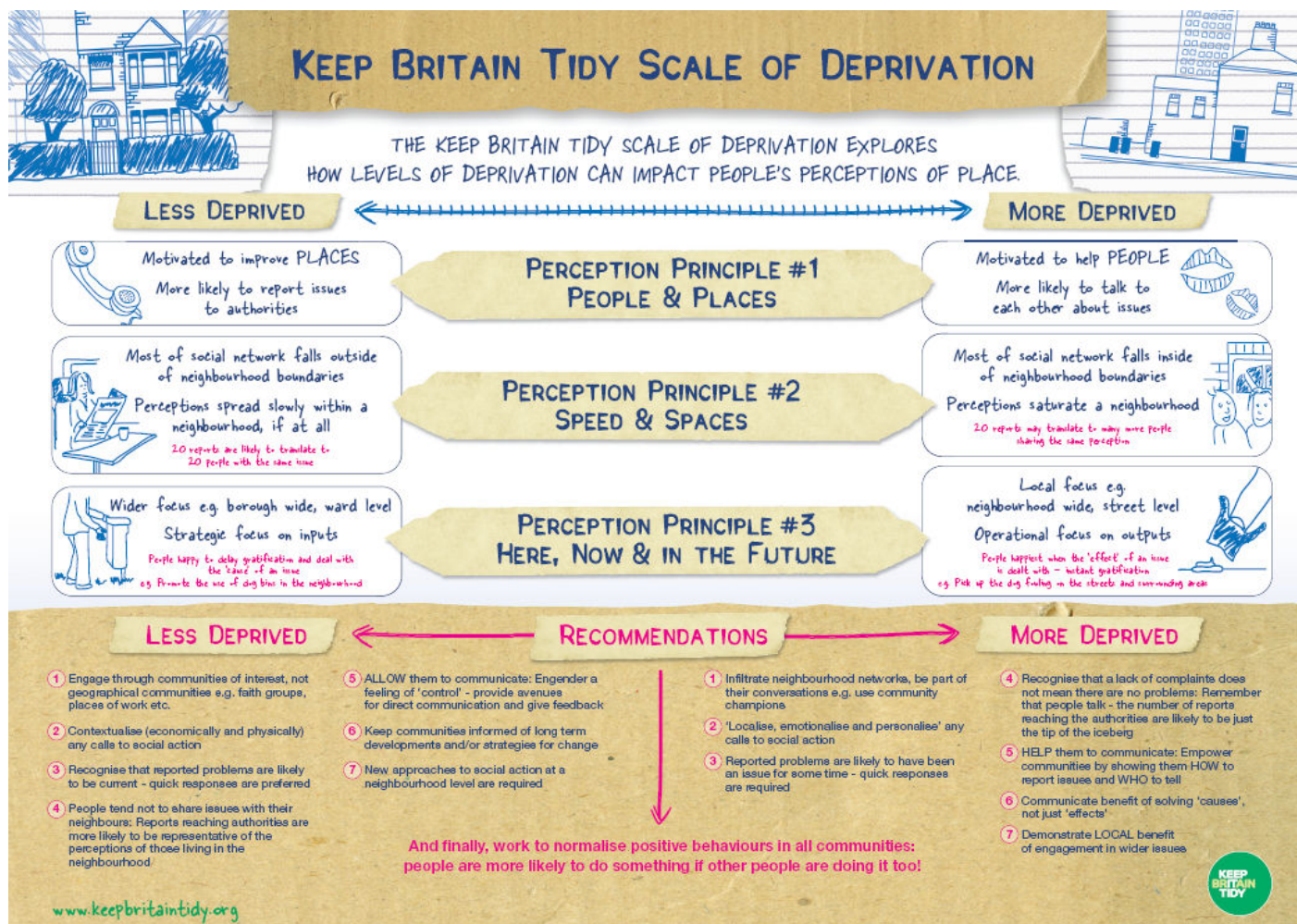


Drunk or Rowdy on the Street
Fine



Graffiti
Fine, Education

Appendix 3: Keep Britain Tidy Scale of Deprivation



Appendix 4: Omnibus demographic breakdown

The following tables provide classification data relating to the omnibus respondents.
Due to rounding some totals may not add up to 100.

Sex	% Respondents
Male	38
Female	63

Base: 1007

Age	% Respondents
16-24	15
25-34	24
35-44	21
45-54	15
55-64	15
65+	10

Base: 1007

Working status	% Respondents
Working	61
Not Working	39

Base: 1007

Social grade	% Respondents
ABC1	60
C2DE	40

Base: 1007

London borough	% Respondents
Barking and Dagenham	3
Barnet	6
Bexley	3
Bent	4
Bromley	6
Camden	1
City of London	2
City of Westminster	2
Croydon	4
Ealing	4
Enfield	5
Greenwich	3
Hackney	2
Hammersmith and Fulham	2
Haringey	3
Harrow	3
Havering	2
Hillingdon	3
Hounslow	3
Islington	1
Kensington and Chelsea	1
Kingston upon Thames	3
Lambeth	3
Lewisham	4
Merton	2
Newham	3
Redbridge	3
Richmond upon Thames	2
Southwark	4
Sutton	4
Tower Hamlets	3
Waltham Forest	3
Wandsworth	4

Base: 1007

