Cabinet Office

Achieving Culture Change:

A Policy Framework

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A discussion paper by the Strategy Unit

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Making government work better

Achieving Culture Change: A Policy Framework

This paper has been written by the Strategy Unit to facilitate discussion and debate. It is not a statement of Government policy.

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Executive summary

Chapter summary

- Cultural capital – our attitudes, values, aspirations and sense of self-efficiency – has an important influence on the actions and behaviour we choose.
- While governments have traditionally used incentives, legislation or regulation to encourage behaviour change, this paper sets out the state of knowledge on culture change, offering practical tools for policymaking.
- The paper argues that policymakers should take a greater account of the social and cultural interactions individuals pass through in reaching decisions.
- There are a range of tools that have been shown to help support and encourage people into the behaviour required to reach the long-term outcomes they want – whether in relation to education, healthy living, or environmental sustainability.
- These approaches include:
    - Supporting people through the most immediate influences to them, such as interventions that promote parenting, peers, and role models.
    - Supporting people through wider social influences, such as the role of national dialogue or government leading by example.
    - Enabling people through providing capacity and alternatives for different choices alongside support, guidance and advice.
    - Encouraging people through incentives, recognition of success, or use of legislation and regulation.
- Packages of support should be personalised to different populations. Finally, culture change is not about seeking short term results, but rather investing in securing big change, secured over the long term.

The concept of culture change

Many policy outcomes depend on how we – as individuals and groups – behave. Our actions are important determinants of whether we will live productive and healthy lives, in clean and sustainable environments, in communities free from fear or isolation. Unfortunately all too often we fail – collectively and individually – to behave in the way required to achieve the outcomes we would like.

In such cases governments have traditionally used a combination of incentives, legislation and regulation in an attempt to encourage and persuade the public into adopting different forms of behaviour. In many cases these have proved effective. However, there is an increasing recognition that 'cultural capital' factors – our attitudes, values, aspirations and sense of self-efficacy – are also important determinants of our behaviour. We know that goals relating to educational attainment, social mobility and opportunity, healthy living, environmental sustainability, and maintaining thriving communities depend as much on cultural capital as they do on government action to provide investment and opportunity.

This discussion paper sets out the state of knowledge about "culture change" and a framework to show how this can be practically used to inform policy development. This framework recognises that:

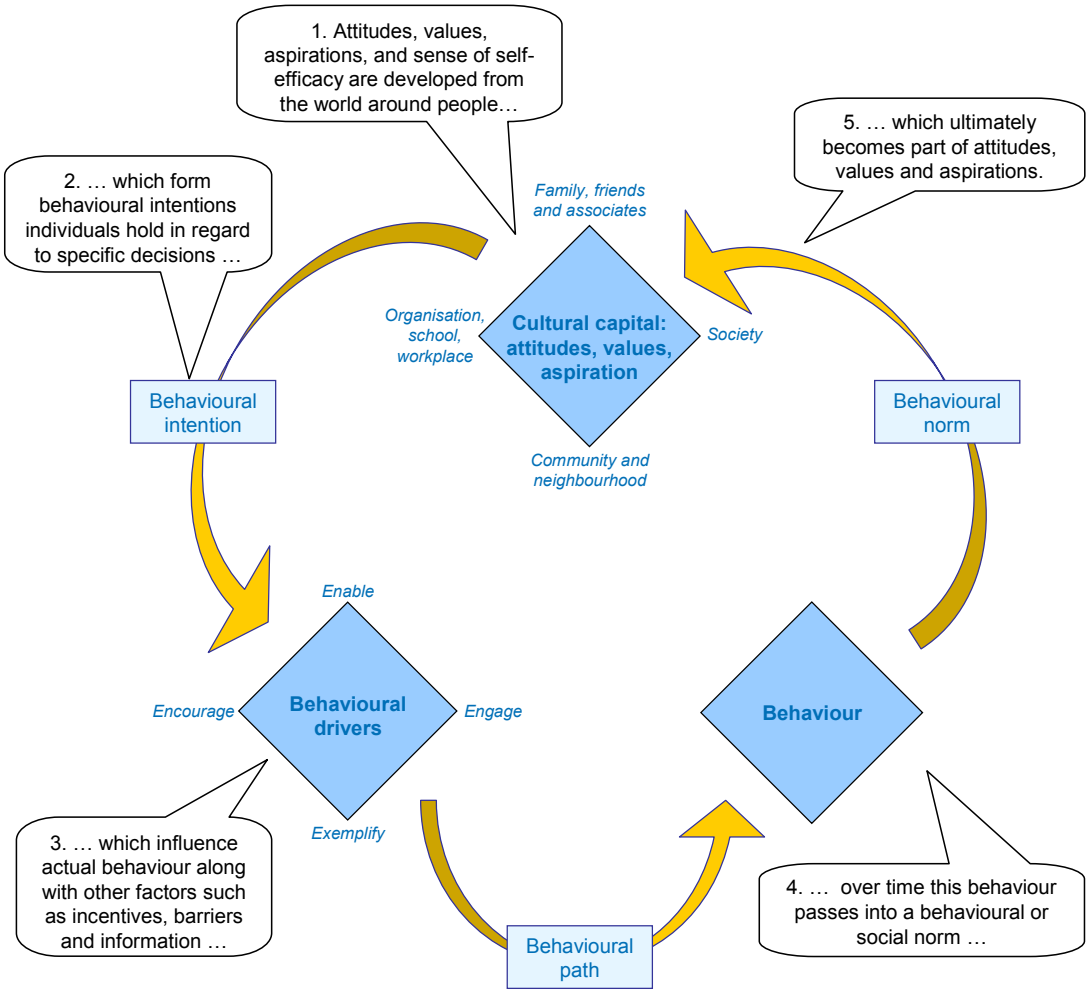
- 'Cultural capital' – attitudes, values, aspirations and sense of self-efficacy – is important because it has an important guiding effect on the actions or behaviour that we can choose in life.[1]
- This cultural capital is developed by our interaction with the immediate environment around us (our parents, peers and role models, neighbours, schooling, and workplace) and the wider society-wide influences acting upon us (such as the economy, technology, media, and development of new ideas and innovations).

[1] The use of the term 'cultural capital' builds on the Bourdieu concept (1973) – discussed further on page 24. In this paper it specifically refers to the evolving stock of attitudes, values, aspirations and sense of self-efficacy held by individuals and society

- The extent to which cultural capital affects behaviour depends on two factors. First, the strength of attitudes, values, aspirations and sense of self-efficacy in relation to the particular goal. Second, the influence of other drivers of behaviour: such as incentives, regulation and legislation, as well as the information and awareness we have about different choices or courses of action.

- Finally there is an important feedback from behaviour into cultural capital. This 'normalising' process occurs as we settle into new ways of acting and behaving. For example, wearing of seatbelts is today more associated with underlying social attitudes than with the original legislation that enforced it. This requires a sustained and long-term approach to policymaking.

Fig 1: The cultural capital framework



The relationship between culture change and behaviour change

The concept of cultural capital and culture change complements existing research on behaviour change, attempting to provide a fuller explanation of why people behave in certain ways. It places emphasis on understanding the environmental circumstances in which cultural capital is formed, how it evolves over time and influences behaviour. It provides a frame for policymakers when developing policy where there are pronounced cultural capital effects.

For example, many government policies have a clear goal of switching behaviour, such as encouraging young people outside of education, employment or training into one of these. The concept of cultural capital emphasises the need to understand the social and cultural determinants of why the individual came to be outside education, employment or training. In this example, the required policy response may include working with the young person to develop stronger attitudes and aspirations toward these choices in addition to more traditional approaches such as using incentives, legislation or regulation.

Using tools to encourage culture change will not always be appropriate or necessary. For example:

- Where people are already behaving in the way required to reach their goals, there is no need to use culture or behaviour change levers (expect in cases where continued behavioural support and guidance is needed).
- Where people are not behaving in the way required to reach their goals, but it is related to factors such as habit-forming rather than deep-rooted cultural factors, then classic behaviour change levers will be appropriate. There is a strong existing literature on how to achieve behaviour change in such circumstances, and a suggested reading list can be found on page 63.
- In cases where cultural factors do have a greater impact on the behaviour, then policy should look to both classic behaviour change and culture change approaches. This paper's relative focus is such on situations where cultural factors predominate.

Approaches to developing culture change policy

This paper sets out a practical step-by-step approach to designing culture change policy. There are three main steps to this. The first is to identify and segment target populations. This requires combining psychological techniques with more traditional methods such as demographic or epidemiological profiling to develop a detailed map of what motivates different people. The purpose of this is to understand how different groups respond to policy interventions and how such interventions can be tailored accordingly. For example, smoking cessation services have proved most effective when they have been based upon a robust profiling of different types of smokers in order to calibrate and personalise the interventions to help them most.

The second step is to examine the path to the particular behaviour for each of these target populations. This requires building up a detailed picture of the different cultural influences on these groups in addition to mapping out the other drivers of behaviour that they face (e.g. incentives, legislation, regulation, information). For example, if cultural factors for a particular population are aligned with the particular policy goal this suggests policymakers should focus attention on ensuring that the other drivers of behaviour are also pointing in this direction. If cultural factors are not aligned, but other behavioural drivers are, this suggests policymakers should focus attention on working to build the necessary cultural capital with the target population. Finally, if both appear misaligned, policymakers will need to both build cultural capital and align other drivers of behaviour in order to achieve the particular policy goal.

The third step is to assess appropriate policy interventions, based on the behavioural path built up for each target population. For example, we have strong evidence that policy can help build positive attitudes, aspirations and values through some of the most immediate influences to an individual:

- Parenting interventions have been shown to improve the quality of parental involvement and ultimately child educational outcomes, and are almost three times as effective as punitive measures at reducing crime.

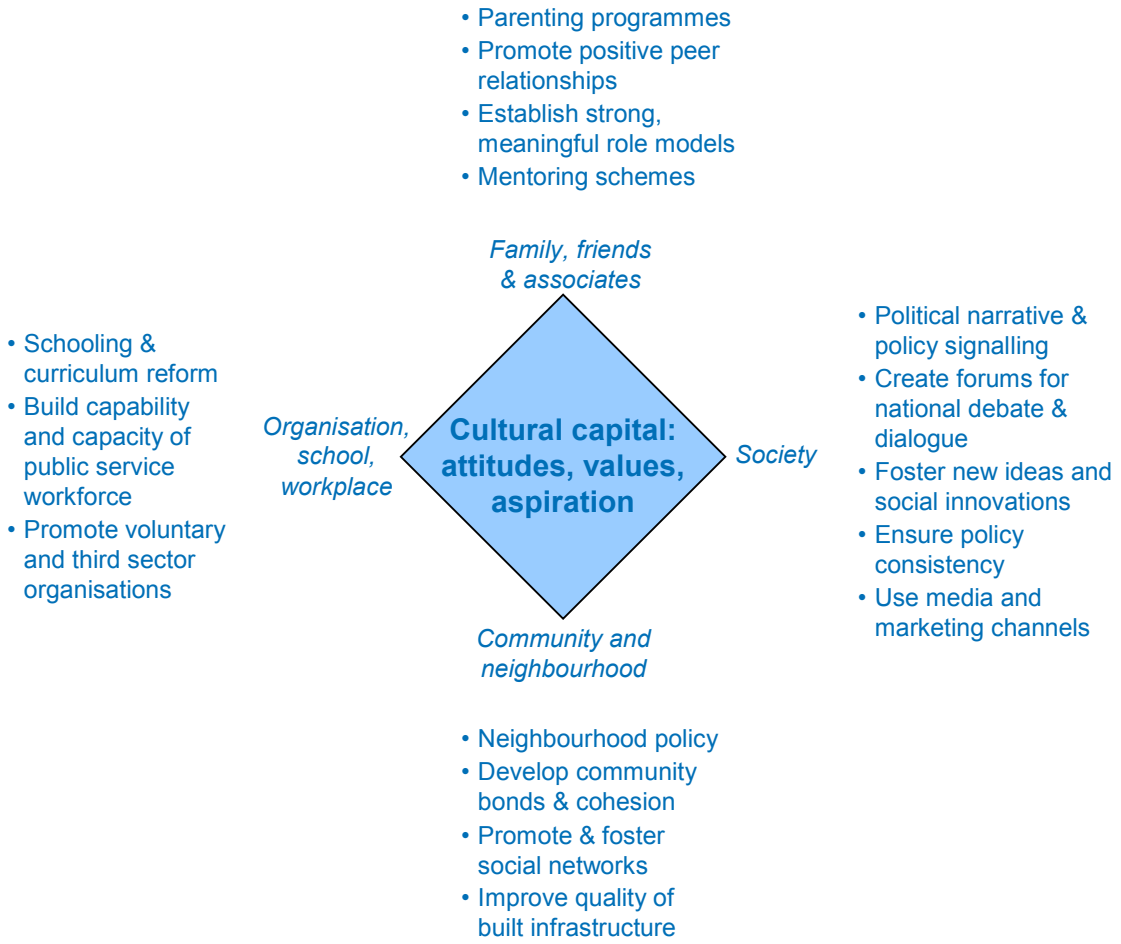
- Peer and role model interventions to promote positive and reduce negative influences have been effective at increasing levels of attainment and personal aspiration.
- Mentors and adult advisers can raise life aspirations for people and help show them pathways for these aspirations to be realised.
- Improving the quality of the built environment such as school infrastructure or community regeneration can send a powerful signal to neighbourhoods to raise levels of aspiration.
- The quality and scope of schooling and the curriculum, and the extent to which this is personalised to the needs of individual learners, is important to building cultural capital associated with a wide range of social objectives.
- Building the capacity and capability of the public service workforce to transmit high aspirations to the public with which they daily interact – these aspirations have been shown to have a strong impact on outcomes, particularly in education.

These can be combined with interventions to build and develop cultural capital in society at large. For example through:

- Consistency of policy narrative that reflects, refines and reinforces social norms and values.
- Signalling these in a coherent manner throughout all policy decisions, and ensuring that government itself leads by example.
- Creating national forums for debate and dialogue on important contemporary issues.
- Creating the conditions for new ideas and social innovations to be developed, nurtured and diffused across society.

- Encouraging open debate and dialogue in society, such as through the role of the Government's Chief Medical Officer and Chief Scientist in building consensus on issues such as healthy living and environmental change respectively. It also means recognising the role that specialist institutions, such as think tanks or action groups can play in leading social norms and actively engaging with such organisations.

Fig 2: Example policies to build and align cultural capital



There is similarly strong evidence on how to translate cultural capital into actual behaviour. This can be achieved through policies that enable and encourage individuals to switch

behaviour, actively engage with them, and clearly and consistently exemplifies the behaviour.[2] 'Enabling' measures include:

- Providing capacity and alternatives for different courses of action.
- Removing any barriers to choice (e.g. transport).
- Putting in place support and brokerage services to help those most in need.
- Developing the skills and capabilities of service users to enable them to make informed choices.

'Encouraging' measures include:

- Financial incentives such as taxes, subsidies, or user charges operating at the individual, group and provider level.
- Legislation and regulation to sanction certain actions or behaviour.
- Contracts and codifications to establish or frame expectations about behaviour.
- Recognition and rewarding of success, such as through public awards or league tables.

'Engaging' measures include:

- Putting citizen engagement at the heart of service delivery, such as through new mechanisms for co-production.
- Creating deliberative fora for debate and dialogue on certain issues, such as citizen

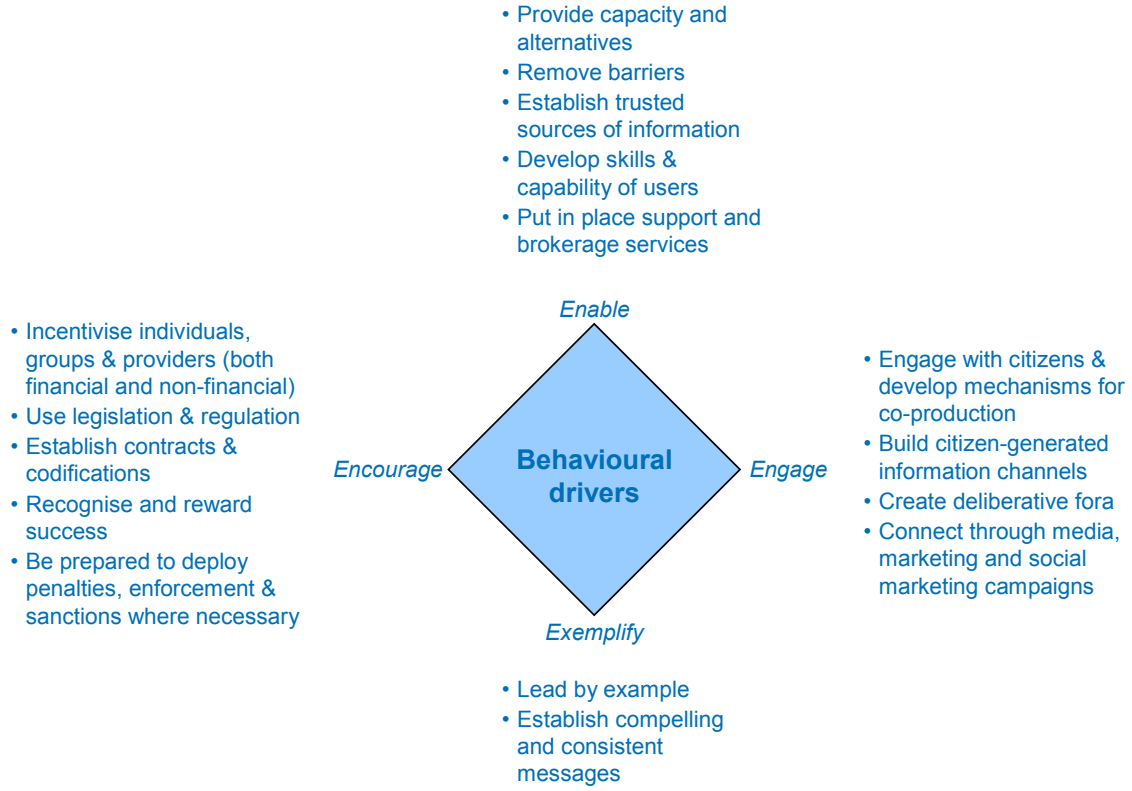
[2] The 4 E's model was first developed for the report "*Securing the Future – the UK Government's Sustainable Development Strategy*", (2005) – available at www.sustainable-development.gov.uk

forums.

- Use of social marketing techniques to promote new or adaptive forms of behaviour.

And finally, 'exemplifying' measures including factors such as ensuring visible figures lead by example and establish compelling and consistent messages.

Fig 3: Example policies to smooth and drive behaviour



The menu of policy tools set out in figures 2 and 3 can be calibrated to the particular policy goal. In part this will depend on how much we know about the effectiveness of the different interventions. In addition, while there may be a strong rationale for government intervention in the achievement of economic and social objectives, there will be limits to its role. For example, public views on the appropriate balance between the right of the individual to self-autonomy and the responsibility of the state to protect individuals and

secure social outcomes will be important. Circumstances under which there is a more acceptable case for government intervention include where:

- the individual involved is deemed vulnerable or in need of support (e.g. children);
- one person's actions have an impact, or 'externality', on others (e.g. smoking in public places); or
- where there are trusted intermediaries to help the individual in making choices about actions or behaviour (e.g. GPs).

However, this paper also recognises the concept of the shifting 'social zeitgeist' around what the public see as acceptable or unacceptable roles for government. This zeitgeist constantly shifts and evolves, and so it is incumbent upon governments to test and explore where these boundaries lie. Banning smoking in public places or establishing parenting programmes to help develop parental skills would both have been deemed unacceptable only a decade ago – yet now they are seen as integral components of helping people live healthy and productive lives.

Case studies and lessons in applying culture change

The final chapter in this discussion paper brings the topic to life through three case study examples – on ensuring children receive strong and stable childhoods, on reducing levels of obesity, and on promoting sustainable use of environmental resources. These provide a practical guide to how this cultural capital and culture change framework can be used by policymakers, and highlight some areas for further exploration.

Finally, the paper concludes with some observations about the theoretical and empirical requirements for culture change policy to be developed more widely. It also draws out some key lessons from the paper. The guiding principle is that policymaking needs to step up to the challenge of achieving culture change, and that it is possible to do so in a systematic and analytical manner. The specific lessons are to:

1. Recognise the importance of *cultural capital* in how people make decisions. This requires policymakers to work from a richer, ecological model of human behaviour that bridges the cultural and social determinants of behaviour with more traditionally recognised drivers of behaviour such as incentives, legislation and regulation. Hard-wiring this into policymaking and assessment will have profound implications for the skills and capability of policymakers, the time horizons they focus on, and the toolkits available to them.

2. Be clear about who the population target is and precisely how their behaviour is affected by cultural factors (e.g. whether it relates to a specific attitude or broad set of attitudes).

3. Use *segmentation* and *profiling* techniques to build up a detailed cultural capital map of different target populations.

4. Tailor and personalise policy interventions to these profiles:

    - through policies and programmes that build the necessary cultural capital such as parenting, mentoring, role models, community, schooling and curriculum interventions; and

    - through policies and programmes that enable and encourage individuals to switch behaviour, actively engages with them, and clearly and consistently exemplify the desired behaviour.

5. *Communicate* and *engage* with the public. This recognises that Government can't do it alone and establishing mechanisms for citizen involvement and co-production will be important. At the same time the 'social zeitgeist' constantly shifts and evolves, and so it is incumbent upon governments to test, explore and develop where these boundaries lie.

6. And finally… don't seek or expect short-term results – invest in securing *big change* over the *long term*.

At a glance: key terminology used in the paper

- *Aspiration:* the desire, aim or ambition of achieving something.
- *Attitude:* the position held toward a fact or action comprising of knowledge, emotional, and motivational elements.
- *Behaviour*: a specific action or reaction by an individual or group, driven by the interaction of cultural factors with incentives, regulation, legislation, and levels of information and awareness.
- *Behavioural intention*: an intention to undertake a specific course of action, a function of the attitudes and social norms toward it.
- *Cultural capital*: a broad set of influences on how individuals, groups and society see the world and react to it (see page 24 for delineation of the concept). Cultural capital comes from both immediate influences on individuals (e.g. parents, peers, role models, mentors, neighbours, schools, workplace) together with wider society-wide influences (e.g. the economy, technology, media). Relevant proxies for cultural factors include aspirations, attitudes, self-efficacy and values.
- *Culture change:* refers to both (i) interventions to influence underlying attitudes, values and aspirations and how these manifest into behaviour (ii) the dynamic process by which behavioural patterns become established as part of underlying attitudes and values.
- *Self-efficacy:* an individual's estimate, judgement or perception of their own ability to achieve a specific goal.
- *Social norm*: certain expectations about behaviour which may be either formally or informally sanctioned.
- *Values:* the ideals, customs, or norms held by individuals, groups and society toward a fact or action. These are closely related to attitudes, but are seen as having a more lasting nature.

1. Introduction

Chapter summary

- This discussion paper reviews the evidence on achieving culture change and assesses its implications for public policy. It provides a practical step-by-step guide to how policymakers can develop and implement culture change policy.
- It will be relevant for policymakers working in a variety of fields, particularly those where cultural factors have a strong influence on behaviour.
- The paper applies the concept to case study examples from two policy areas: education and healthy living.

Many policy outcomes clearly depend on how we – as individuals and groups – behave. How we choose to act or behave will be an important determining factor in whether we will reach the goals we want, whether about having a productive and healthy life or living in a sustainable environment. Unfortunately all too often we fail – collectively and individually – to behave in the way required to achieve the outcomes we would like.

Our attitudes, values, personal aspirations and self of self-efficacy are important determinants of behaviour. We know that in many cases policy that seeks to influence the development of attitudes and social norms will be more effective in encouraging positive behaviour than using incentives, legislation or regulation alone. For example we know that achieving social mobility relies on more than just providing life chances alone – a culture of high aspirations is necessary alongside increased opportunities.

Developing a framework for government interventions to encourage “culture change” in attitudes, values and aspiration has become increasingly important:

- There is a degree of consensus that while investment and systemic reforms over the last decade have delivered improved outcomes for many there remain a number of

areas that require a policy approach to address underlying attitudes, values and aspirations.

- A range of policy areas which have strong attitudinal drivers – such as climate change, healthy living, social mobility, and educational attainment – have become increasingly prioritised by the public and policymakers alike.
- There is an increasingly strong research base that has improved our understanding of the ways in which people make decisions and, importantly, the efficacy of different policy interventions in encouraging change in attitudes, values and aspiration and ultimately behaviour.

This discussion paper reviews the state of current knowledge about culture change and assesses its implications for public policy. It establishes a practical guide for thinking about how to build cultural capital in order to achieve the outcomes we as citizens want.

It will be relevant to policymakers working in varied fields – including education, public health, social mobility and individual aspiration, crime, environmental sustainability, and pro-social behaviour – who often face common challenges in helping to encourage changes in behaviour and personal responsibility. The paper provides case studies of the varied innovative thinking occurring in public services and examines their applicability elsewhere.

Chapter 2 begins by looking at what we mean by culture change and why it matters. It argues that there is a clear role for government based on achievement of both efficiency and social objectives. There will, however, be limits to the role of government including public acceptance and this chapter sets out some of these parameters. The chapter also introduces the concept of the shifting 'social zeitgeist' – meaning that public attitudes around the acceptability of government interventions constantly evolve. It ends by assessing the areas of public policy that culture change thinking will be most applicable to.

Chapter 3 looks at the drivers of culture change. It starts by reviewing the theory of culture change and looks at the relationship between behaviour and attitudes and values. It finds a twofold process.

- First, our cultural capital drives our behavioural intentions which, along with other drivers of behaviour we face, determine our actual behaviour.
- Second, this cultural capital is constantly evolving: through our interaction with the immediate environment around us (our parents, peers, role models and mentors, neighbours, schooling, workplace); through the broader social forces affecting everyone in society (e.g. economy, technology, media); and through our actual behaviour itself.

The latter point is found to be important. When policymakers talk of 'behaviour change' the ultimate aim is to turn behaviour into a cultural or social norm. We wear seatbelts today not because of the legislation that initially drove seatbelt adoption, but rather because wearing one has now passed into a universally accepted social norm. This process of behaviour 'normalising' into our underlying attitudes, values and aspirations provides the final stage in the loop of culture change.

Chapter 4 sets out a practical guide for policymakers to use when designing culture change policy. It develops a 7 stage process: filtering issues to the relevance of culture change policy; identifying rationale and objectives; segmenting different target populations; assessing the drivers of attitudes and behaviour; determining the suitability of different policy interventions; establishing baselines to monitor progress and effectiveness; and rolling out, implementing, and refining over time.

Chapter 5 applies the guide to three case study examples – on ensuring children receive strong and stable childhoods, on reducing levels of obesity, and on promoting sustainable use of environmental resources.

2. The concept of culture change

Chapter summary

- 'Cultural capital' – attitudes, values, aspirations and self-efficacy – matters because it influences behaviour crucial to many policy outcomes.
- There is a strong case for government intervention to promote culture and behaviour change based on a range of efficiency, value for money and social objectives.
- However there will be limits to the role of government requiring a continual assessment of where the boundary between individual liberty and state responsibility lies.
- Nonetheless there is a constantly shifting 'social zeitgeist' – whereby public attitudes around the acceptability of government interventions constantly evolves
- Culture change is particularly relevant to policy areas where attitudes, values and aspirations are a strong influence on behaviour, and where there are externalities (or network effects) from behaviour.

2.1 What is culture change and why does it matter?

The term culture can have various meanings to different audiences. In public policy circles it is most commonly used to refer to the set of influences on how individuals, groups and society see the world and react to it. It is in this sense that the term is used throughout this paper.

Cultural values comprise ideas about what seems important in life. At the societal level these are often manifested as social norms, which are the rules and guidelines that steer human behaviour. These can vary from informal norms to those supported by more formal

sanctions or rewards. At the individual level the cultural values that people hold determine their attitudes to specific ideas and activities. In turn these influence the decisions about actions and behaviour that people take.

Where does the term 'cultural capital' come from?

The term was first used by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction* (1973). For Bourdieu, the concept related to the forms of knowledge, skill, expectations, norms and attitudes that impacted on educational attainment. As such, cultural capital is embodied in both an individual's inherited and acquired, or socialised, properties of self.

Used in this paper it does not refer to symbolic or objectified culture (e.g. works of art). Nor does it imply any value comparison between different cultures. Rather we use it to analyse the broad set of influences on how individuals, groups and society see the world and react to it. This cultural capital comes from both immediate influences on individuals (e.g. parents, peers, role models, mentors, neighbours, schools, workplace) together with wider society-wide influences (e.g. the economy, technology, media). Relevant proxies for cultural factors include aspirations, attitudes, self-efficacy and values.

It is hence complimentary, but distinct, from research into other forms of capital, such as social capital (e.g. community networks), human capital (e.g. productive skills), or natural capital (e.g. water resources).

Cultural attitudes and values are important because they are a key determinant of behaviour along with the incentives and information we face in any given situation.[3] The affect of our attitudes and values is often the key bridge between what we should do to achieve positive outcomes and what we actually do. Whether that outcome be in relation

[3] This relationship is examined in more detail in chapter 3

to climate change, obesity, personal aspiration or community cohesion our attitudes clearly manifest themselves in our behaviour.

Traditionally 'behaviour change' research has focused on downstream policy interventions that use incentives, legislation, regulation and information to influence behaviour. The term 'culture change' builds on much of this research but is distinct in three main ways:

- First, it places greater emphasis on understanding the environmental circumstances in which cultural capital is formed.
- Second, it places greater emphasis on the dynamic process by which behaviour normalises into cultural capital.
- Third, it places greater emphasis on understanding the influence of cultural capital on behaviour and how policymakers should respond to this challenge.

The concept of culture change takes the view that the 'demand side' is not given but is rather shaped by public policy interventions. The traditional focus of public policy has been to correct 'market failures' associated with public goods such as information asymmetries. According to this approach the role for government in relation to individual or community actions is then to adjust the costs and benefits associated with particular choices and ensure there is full information and awareness about these. This discussion paper will argue that this is only one half of the story.

Meanwhile, a number of factors have come together that raise the importance of developing culture change as a strategic framework:

- There is a degree of consensus that, while investment and structural reforms across the public services over the last 10 years have delivered improved outcomes for many, several issues remain that require a policy approach routed in cultural capital theory. For example, while education attainment levels have significantly improved at

all levels over the last 10 years, there are still many who do not achieve to their full potential.

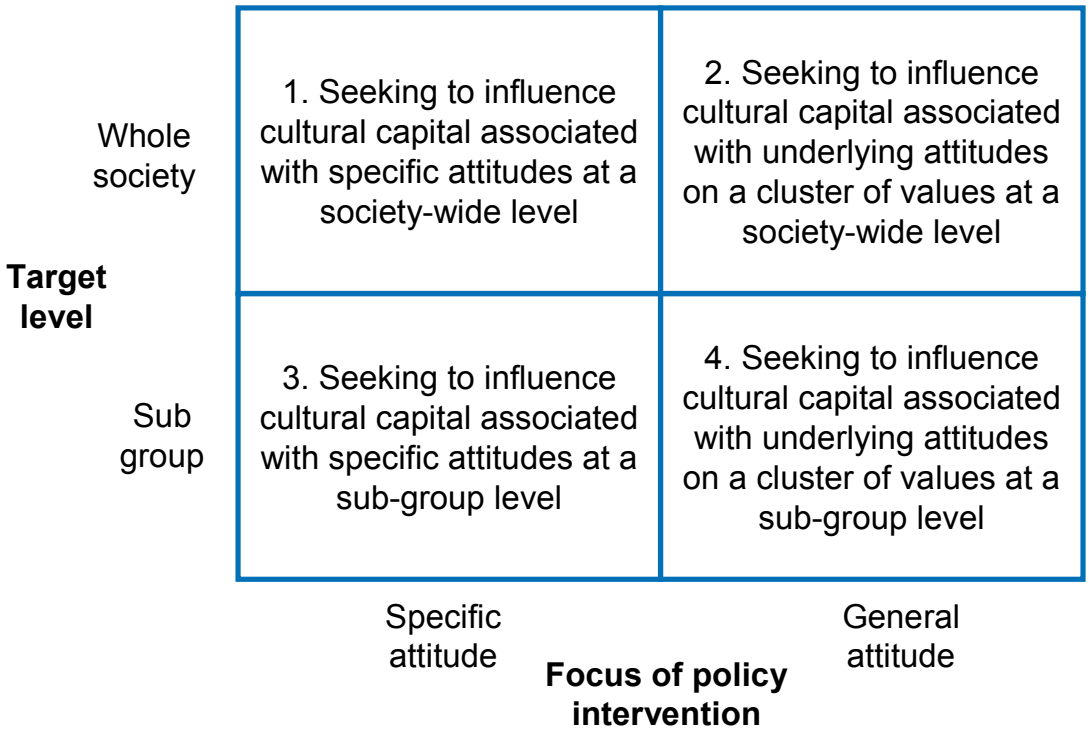
- There is a strong and growing research base in the area relating to:
    - the environmental circumstances in which cultural capital is formed;
    - how this cultural capital influences our behaviour; and
    - the role of other influences on behaviour, such as incentives and information. For example, we know that incentives will be significantly less powerful if they move in the opposite direction to underlying cultural attitudes.
- Policy areas particularly that depend on culture change – such as climate change, community cohesion, obesity, and educational retention rates – have become increasingly prioritised by the public and policymakers alike.

Broadly, there are four types of (interrelated) circumstances under which achieving culture change is of relevance to public policy makers. These are where government:

1. Seeks to influence cultural capital at a society-wide level, such as towards diet, exercise, or seat-belt wearing.
2. Seeks to influence underlying cultural capital relating to a cluster of attitudes and values at a society-wide level. For example the overarching narrative played a crucial role in determining attitudes towards lasting peace in Northern Ireland over the last decade.
3. Seeks to influence cultural capital relating to specific attitudes among sub-groups of the population, e.g. teenage pregnancy and reporting of pain.

4. Seeks to influence cultural capital relating to a cluster of attitudes at a sub-group level of the population, such as educational and employment aspirations among more disadvantaged socio-economic groups.

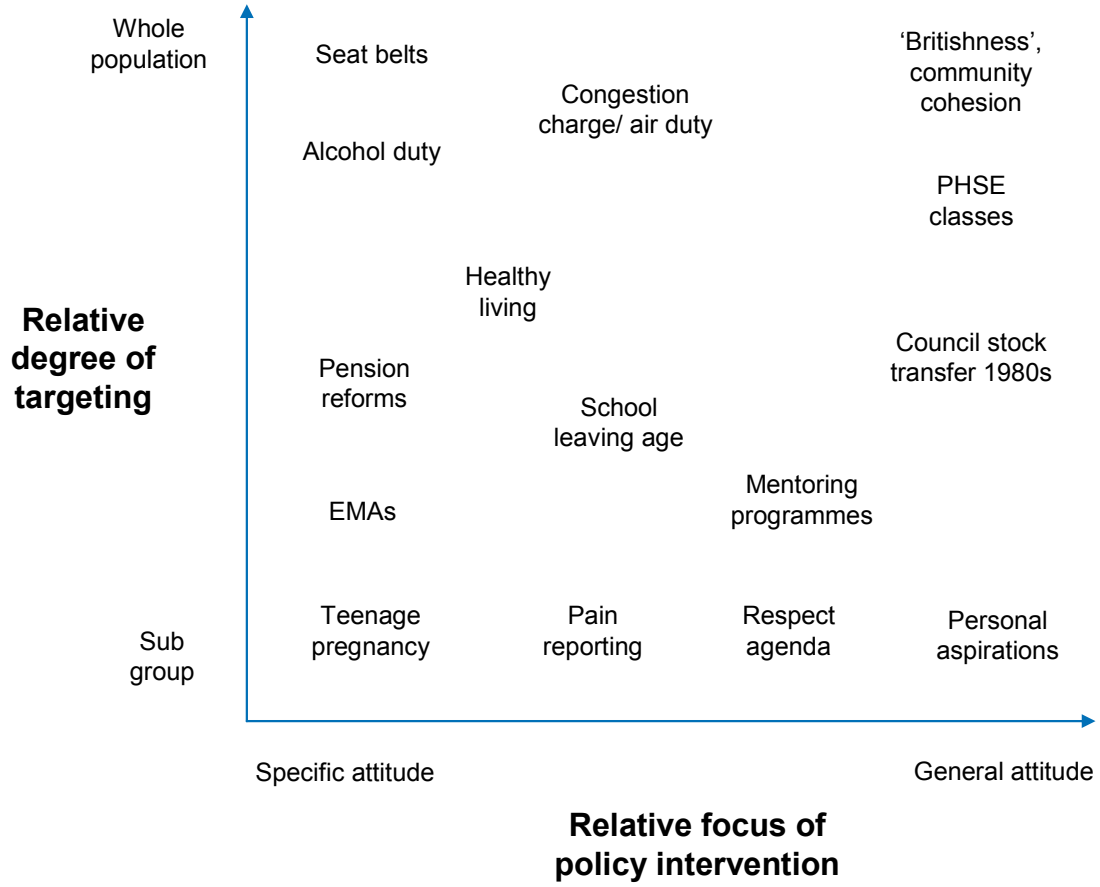
Fig 4: Spectrum of potential focus for culture change



For example, in the upper left quadrant seat belt legislation was aimed at the whole population and based on a very specific attitude. Moving rightwards policy such as air tax duty is directed toward a specific attitude (use of flights) but also has a goal of sending a wider signal about attitudes toward the environment. In the top right, policy toward community cohesion and 'Britishness' is geared toward broad attitudes and values.

Fig 5: examples of culture change interventions

(NB: some of these spread across both dimensions)



Moving down the quadrant, policy interventions to promote healthy living are geared to a sizable section of the population, and relate to both specific attitude (diet, exercise) but also to a more general attitude (investing in health). Moving to the right the transfer of the council house stock into private ownership in the 1980s had the explicit value aim of promoting a culture of individuality and personal responsibility.

Finally toward the lower left policy interventions relating to teenage pregnancy are generally focussed toward particular groups and relate to a specific attitude (safe-sex). Whereas moving rightwards policy interventions relating to personal aspiration focus on certain sections of the population but at a much broader level of attitude (e.g. self efficacy, entrepreneurship).

2.2 What is the role for government?

The UK Government's 'rationale for government intervention'[4] is twofold:

- The enhancement of economic efficiency by addressing problems with the operation of markets and institutions.
- The achievement of a social objective, such as promoting equity.

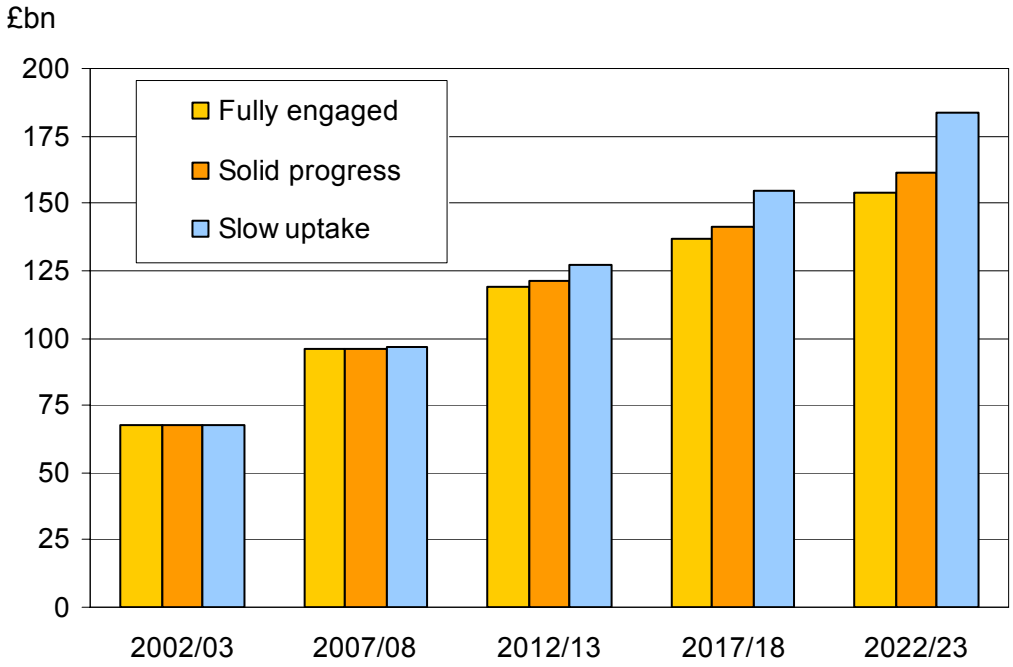
In relation to the first, economic efficiency, there are powerful reasons for government intervention to promote culture change on the grounds of cost effectiveness of public expenditure. At the microeconomic level detailed cost benefit analyses in health, crime and education have shown that attitudinal interventions can be very much more effective than traditional service delivery. For example, smoking cessation programmes deliver around ten-fold more quality adjusted life years than expenditure on drugs to reduce cholesterol.[5] Similarly, parenting interventions in the United States have been demonstrated to have around three time the cost effectiveness in terms of crime reduction compared to the punitive 'three strikes' policy.[6]

Similarly there are strong public expenditure arguments for culture change objectives. This argument was at the heart of the Wanless Review of the NHS conducted in 2002. Using detailed scenario based modelling Wanless estimated that by 2022 NHS expenditure would have to be £30bn higher (equivalent to 1.9% of GDP) if the population remained relatively unengaged in their health rather than becoming fully engaged in it. The report reads: "the benefits of such a [fully engaged] situation are large: significantly better health outcomes for the same or lower expenditure".[7]

[4] *Green Book*, Chapter 3, HM Treasury (http://greenbook.treasury.gov.uk/)
[5] '*Personal Responsibility and Changing Behaviour: the state of its knowledge and its implications for public policy'*, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office(2004) – available at www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy
[6] *Diverting Children From a Life of Crime: Measuring Costs and Benefits*, RAND Research Brief, Geenwood P *et al* (1996)
[7] *'Securing Our Future Health: Taking a Long-Term View'*, Wanless Final Report (2002)

Fig 6: Projected NHS health expenditure under different health behaviour scenarios

(£bn, excluding expenditure on private care)



Source: Wanless – Securing our Future Health(2003)

Early interventions that seek to encourage greater personal responsibility can also provide good value for money. For example across a wide range of policy areas we know that remedial public spending for high need individuals and families can be disproportionally high - as the below example in health demonstrates. Targeted early interventions will require identifying groups most at risk and understanding how their attitudes and values manifest into actions and behaviour at later points in life.

In relation to the second rationale for intervention – social objectives – it is clear across a range of policy areas that government is unable to deliver the outcomes that the public want without greater engagement from the public.

For example:

- Reducing historical health inequalities will rely on promoting change in public attitudes and values towards health lifestyles and behaviour of the public.

- Achieving social mobility and life opportunity is as much dependent on attitudes and individual aspiration as it is about facilitative investment, structural and socio-economic policy.

- Reducing crime and anti-social behaviour is affected by the values and behaviour of individuals and communities as well as the activities of the police and criminal justice system. There is compelling evidence[8] that, over the long term, investment in interventions at the attitudinal level is more effective at reducing criminal behaviour than punitive measures.

- Ensuring a sustainable and equitable use of environmental resources depends on attitudes and behaviour towards energy efficiency and recycling among many other factors.

- Maintaining a productive and competitive economy depends in part on attitudes toward entrepreneurship, personal aspiration and levels of social trust.

In addition, there may be a case for increasing individuals' self efficacy in achieving the outcomes they want through positive behaviour rather than government action of 'last resort':

- High personal aspirations and self-efficacy increases individual character and moral capacity (which is positively correlated with life satisfaction[9]).

- Personal responsibility reduces dependency on tax-funded health care.

- Pro-social behaviour reduces the need to depend on coercive arms of the state and judicial system.

[8] For example, see *Diverting Children From a Life of Crime: Measuring Costs and Benefits*, RAND Research Brief, Geenwood P *et al* (1996)
[9] *Life Satisfaction: the state of knowledge and its implication for public policy*, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office (2002) – available at www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy

Finally, many argue there is a role for government in seeking to achieve cultural objectives as an end in itself. For example there may be a strong argument for government to promote the notion of a 'good society', a cohesive nation state, or a society appreciative of the arts irrespective of whether or not they contribute to further government objectives.

2.3 What are the limits to government intervention?

There will be limits to government intervention in the domain of culture change relating to public acceptance, ethics and efficacy.

Public acceptance

The public acceptance challenge relates to the appropriate balance between the rights of the individual (liberty) and the responsibility of the state to protect individuals and secure social outcomes. 'Liberty' here refers to the extent to which individuals have full control or autonomy over their decisions. This, however, often has to be balanced against the responsibility of the state to protect under two circumstances:

- Where one person's actions has costs or benefits that fall onto other people (referred to as 'externalities').
- Where one person's actions has costs or benefits that accrue largely to them alone, but where they are unable to exert full agency (for example, children).

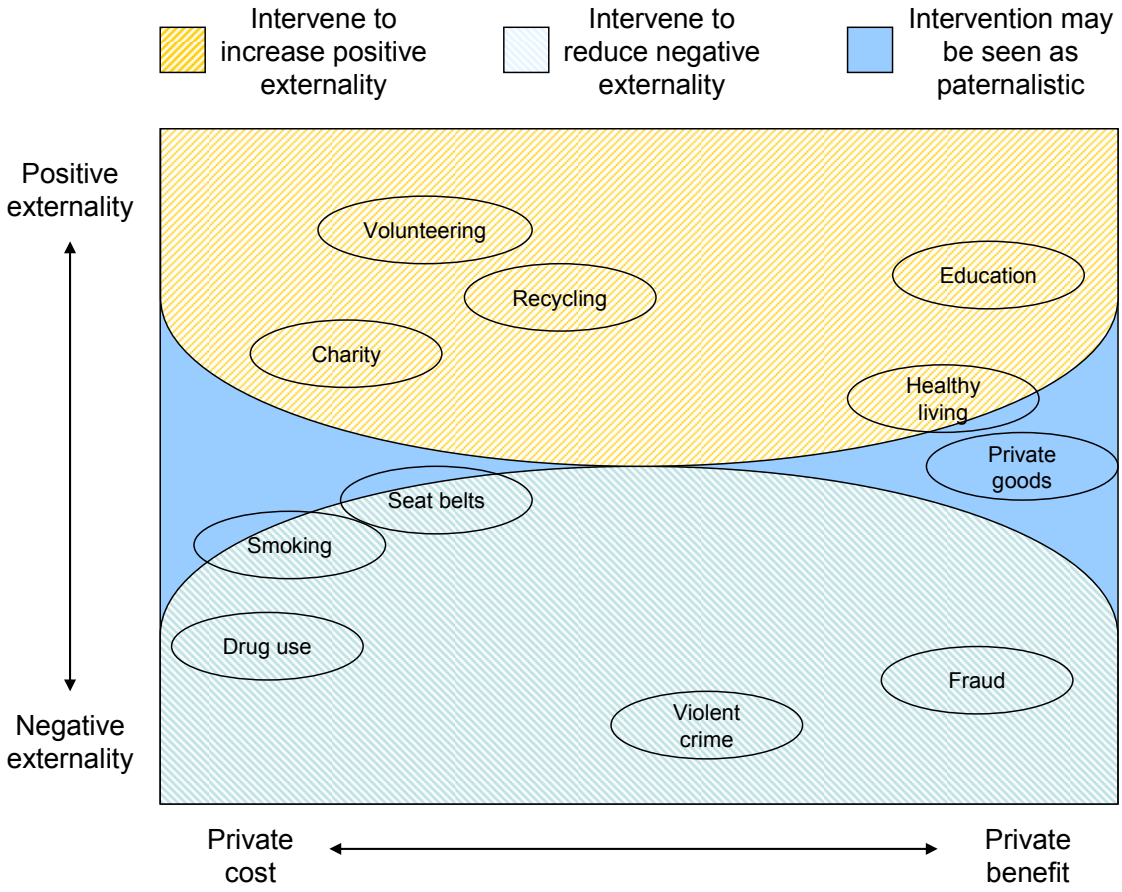
In general there is greater public acceptance of interventions in the first category of externalities. For example, the case for the recent legislation to ban smoking in public places was made explicitly on the grounds that one individual smoking can cause secondary harm to others (especially those working) in the vicinity. Externalities can obviously also have a temporal aspect in that individual actions now may have impacts on future rather than current generations (e.g. use of environmental resources).

Public acceptance of interventions in the second group tends to be more qualified. There appear to be four conditions under which the public may accept 'paternalistic' interventions:

- Where the individual concerned is deemed vulnerable or not capable of making individual choices without substantial support, with the state having a 'duty of care' role – for example children.
- Where the costs or benefits to the individual are particularly high and there is a clear neurological decision process subverting the rational best interest of the individual (such as drug addictions).
- Where there are highly trusted agents able to support the individual in choosing – for example GPs are deemed acceptable to push and agree lifestyle change with patients whereas local authority officers are likely to be seen as not acceptable to enforce and sanction households' energy consumption.
- Where equity concerns in the area are particularly compelling – for example there is clearly a more acceptable paternalistic role for government in helping parents with education choices than with choices over where to go on holiday.

The table below indicates where some of these boundaries may (currently) lie. For example, drug interventions may be acceptable to the public because of the very high cost to the individual along with negative externalities to society more generally. Interventions relating to smoking and seat belt wearing however have fewer externalities and hence may be on the boundary of public acceptance. More clearly outside the domain of government intervention will be in areas such as the purchase of private goods – for which the immediate benefits accrue almost entirely to the individual.

Fig 7: Public acceptability of government interventions

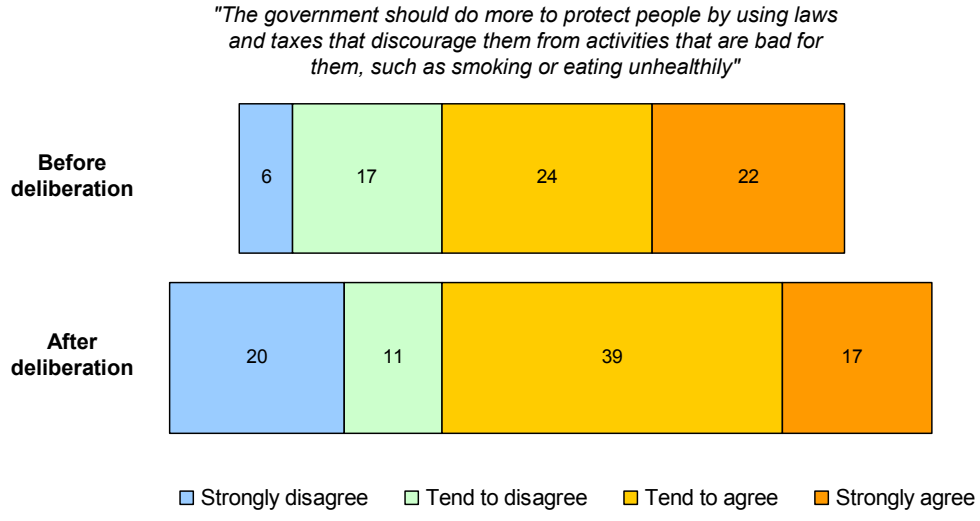


Where interventions lie in respects to this public acceptance boundary will change and evolve over time. This 'social zeitgeist' effect might come from readjusting our understanding of the costs and benefits relating to an action based on new evidence. For example, several years ago there was strong resistance to parenting classes, which were seen as an unnecessary intervention into private lives. However it is now more commonly accepted that the government has a role in helping develop parental skills and there is strong evidence on the efficacy of such approaches. It may also come from readjusting at the margins the tradeoffs we are prepared to make between liberty and the role of the state to protect. For example, there has undoubtedly been some rebalancing of this in relation to the threat of terrorism in recent years.

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

Interestingly, after deliberation, public views on where this balance lies become clearer, as evidence gathered by IPSOS MORI during the UK Government's recent Policy Review[10] suggests. Initially those agreeing to paternalistic interventions had a majority of 46% to 23% (with 31% unsure). After deliberation the proportion agreeing to such interventions rose to 56%, but the proportion opposed also rose to 31% (with now only 13% unsure). Deliberation reveals these public views about the appropriate role of government. Hence there is unlikely to be any overarching consensus on where the line should be drawn. This reinforces the importance of deliberation on such interventions on a case-by-case basis.

Fig 8: Public deliberation about the appropriate role of government



Source: http://www.ipsos-mori.com/citizensforum/finalreport.shtml

[10] see: www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/policy_review

Ethics

There will also be ethical considerations around the appropriate role for government in encouraging behaviour and culture change. These build on some of public acceptance issues, specifically relating to the ethical acceptability of government interventions that may influence an individual's cultural or social identity. The British Sociological Association and British Psychological Society both have statements of ethical good practice[11], from which a number guidelines can help frame ethical considerations for policymakers. In terms of:

- the concept of cultural capital, policymakers should take account of individual, cultural and role differences when weighing up the impact of policy interventions, including (but not exclusively) those involving age, disability, education, ethnicity, gender, language, national origin, race, religion, sexual orientation, marital or family status and socio-economic status;
- how decisions based on this framework are developed and assessed, policymakers should weigh up interests of different groups and the potential harm caused by alternative courses of action *and* inaction; and
- in relation to some of the practical research steps this guide discusses, policymakers should recognise and limit any impacts that primary research may have on individuals.

Effectiveness

The actual or perceived effectiveness of interventions may be an additional limit on the role of government. However, it appears public attitudes relating to interventions are only very loosely associated with the actual effectiveness of government interventions. For

[11] *Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association* (available at http://www.sociology.org.uk/as4bsoce.pdf) and *The British Psychological Society: Code of Ethics and Conduct* (available at www.bps.org.uk/)

example there was initially staunch public opposition to parenting programmes despite their demonstrated efficacy while at the same time public opinion exhibited strong support for punitive interventions to crack down on illegal drug use despite their proven relative ineffectiveness.

Both efficacy and public acceptance concerns highlight the importance of the democratic system to check and refine what the role appropriate role for government is in seeking to change attitudes and behaviour. As we will see this boundary has constantly shifted and evolved over a long period.

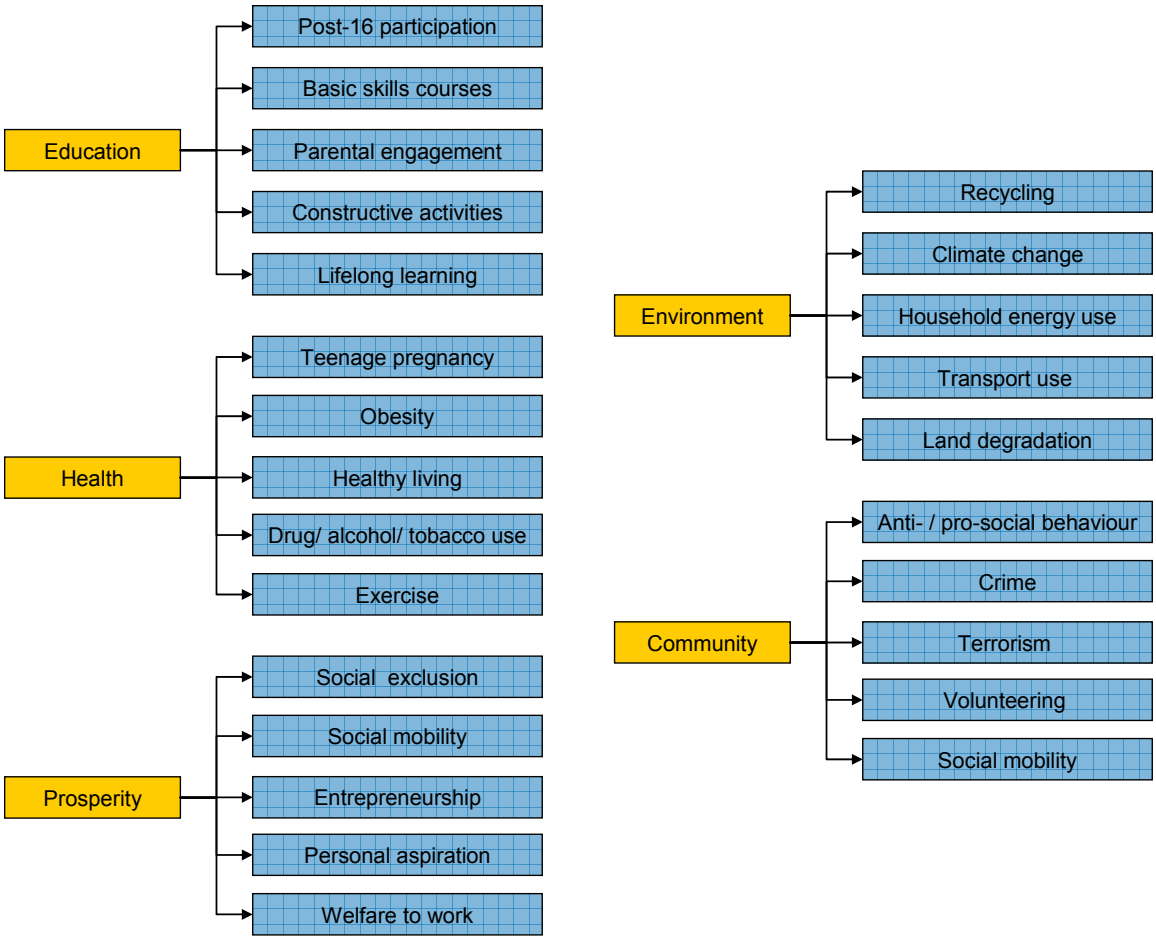
2.4 Which areas of public policy is culture change relevant to?

Culture change objectives are clearly important in a wide range of policy areas. In particular they are relevant where:

- The achievement of outcomes is strongly dependent on the behaviour of individuals;
- Attitudes have a strong influence on our behavioural intentions;
- There is strong 'externality' to individual behaviour, or where there are very high costs/ benefits to individuals relating to their behaviour;
- Incentive, legislative, regulative and information approaches have proved insufficient to drive required changes in behaviour;
- Policy is seeking to embed behavioural shifts into lasting attitudes and values.

Examples of policy areas where the concept of culture is change is particularly relevant are set out below (these are discussed further in chapter 5).

Fig 9: Example policy areas where culture change policy might be applied



3. The drivers of culture change

Chapter summary

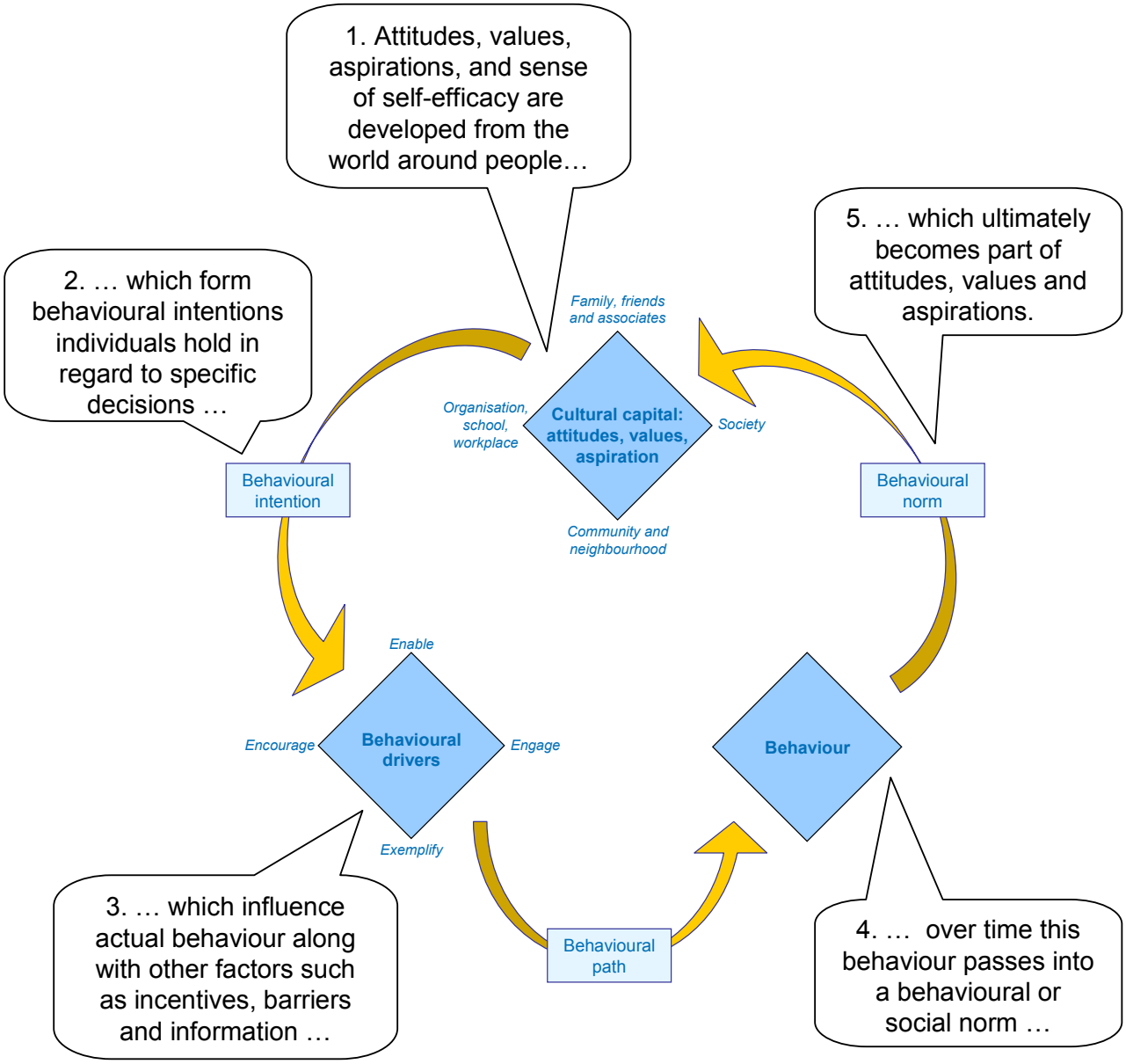
- The relationship between cultural capital – attitudes, values, aspiration, sense of self-efficacy – and behaviour is an ecological one
- First, our cultural capital is constantly evolving: through our interaction with the immediate environment around us (our parents, peers, role models and mentors, neighbours, schooling, workplace) along with the influence of broader society-wide forces (including economic and technological forces; the political and legal structure; the media; and the process by which ideas and innovation are formed and disseminated).
- Second, cultural capital has an influence on our behaviour which, along with our response to the incentives, barriers and level of information and engagement we face in any given situation, determine our actual behaviour itself
- Third, over time our behaviour can 'normalise' into underlying attitudes, values and aspirations

In understanding behaviour we should start with looking at the development of our cultural capital. This arises from our interaction with both the very immediate world around us and broader society-wide forces. Cultural capital forms the behavioural intentions we have in regards to the specific decisions and choices we can make. For example, an individual may have the attitude that it is sensible to remain in education or training after the age of the 16; this would form a specific behavioural intention to seek opportunities to do so. In some cases cultural capital will have a very strong influence on our behavioural intentions, in other cases less so. It is then how these behavioural intentions interact with the

incentives, legislation, regulation, and level of information and engagement we face in any given situation that determines our actual behaviour.

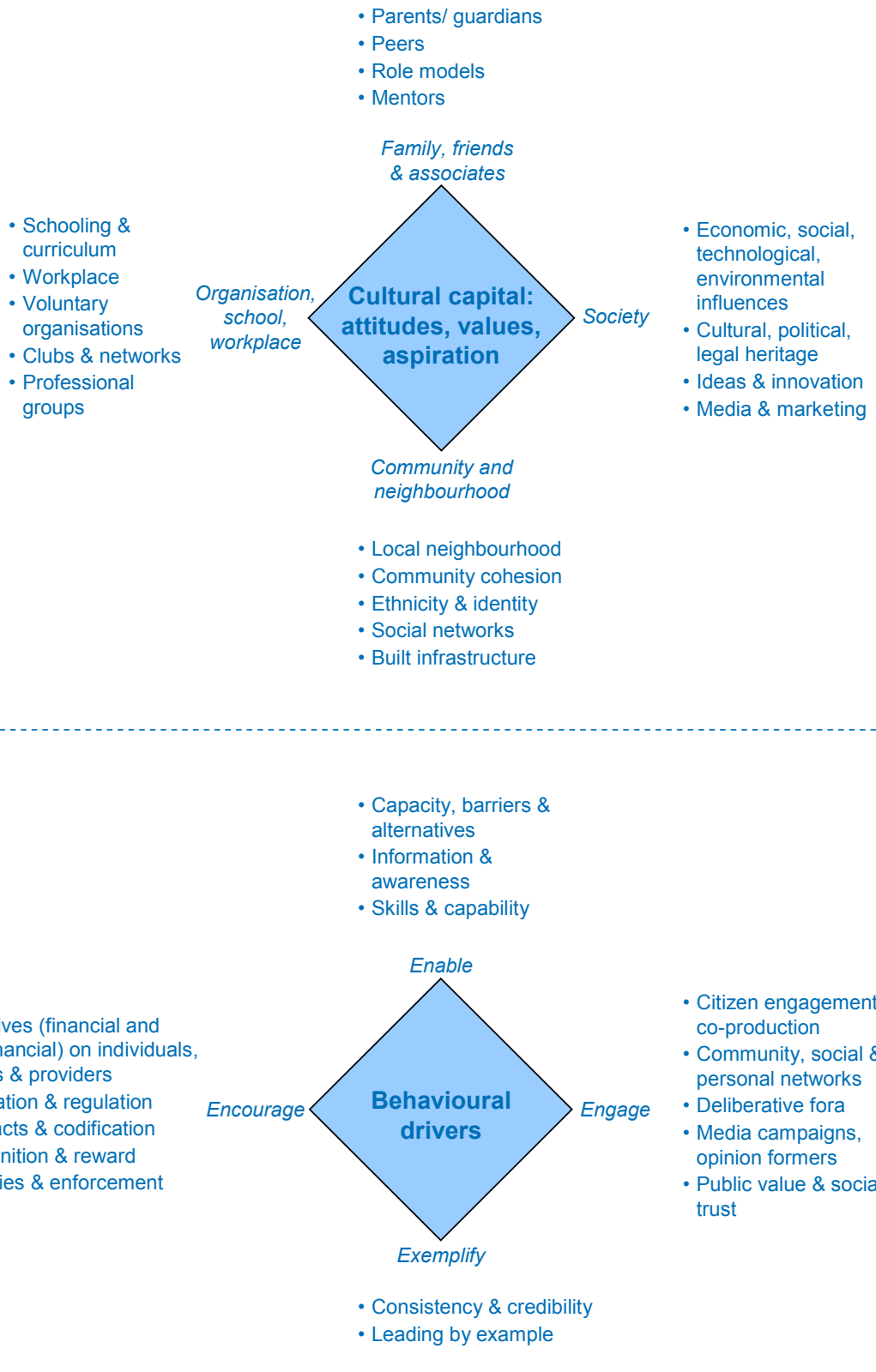
Over time our behavioural patterns regularise into our new default. Over the long term this feeds back into our cultural capital – for example in forming new attitudes or values about the choices we have experienced.

Fig 10: The cycle of culture change



There are several external factors that influence the relationship between cultural capital and behaviour. The development of attitudes, values, aspirations and sense of self-efficacy are driven by our interaction with the immediate environment around us (our parents, peers, role models and mentors, neighbours, schooling and workplace) along with the influence of broader society-wide forces (including economic and technological forces; the political and legal structure; the media; and the process by which ideas and innovation are formed and disseminated). In turn other factors such as the incentives, legislation, regulation, and barriers we face determine how this cultural capital affects our behaviour. These factors are set out in the schematic overleaf and are then discussed in turn throughout the chapter.

Fig 11: Factors influencing cultural capital and behaviour



3.1 Where does cultural capital come from?

There is a lengthy literature on the origins of cultural capital. This typically makes a distinction between influences at a society-wide level and the influences from our interactions with the immediate world around us, which are necessarily more personal to each individual. Taken together these form the sense of identity an individual develops, which in turn manifest in the attitudes and values they project.

Society-wide influences	Immediate influences
I. Economic, social, technological, environmental II. Cultural, political and legal heritage III. Ideas, innovation and thought leadership; media and marketing	I. Family, friends and associates – parents, peers, role models, mentors II. Community and neighbourhood III. Organisation, school, workplace

Society-wide I: economic, social, technological, and environmental

This strand of the literature argues that how we think and go about our lives will be influenced by the economic, social, technological, and environmental forces that surround us. While many cultural and social theories acknowledge the importance of these to the development of attitudes and values there is some divergence as to the extent to which they do so.

At one extreme, *determinism*, as defined by the American economist and sociologist Theorstein Veblen (1899[12]) to cover Marxian and related schools of thought, argues changes in these forces *exclusively* determine attitudes and are largely predictable. For example economic determinism and technological determinism argue that social change occurs exclusively by economic or technological forces respectively.

[12] *The Preconceptions of Economic Science*, The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 13 (1899)

Adherents to technological determinism would argue that social change was primarily driven during the industrial revolution by the invention of the steam engine. Others point out this is rather misleading given that it fails to account for the social changes required for the invention of the steam engine in the first place. In addition Feenberg (2004[13]) notes that social reforms – such as the protection of labour and citizens – themselves trigger reform and evolution in the social structure in order to meet the new norms and standards in an economically efficient way.

A challenge to determinism comes from *structuration* theory as introduced by Anthony Giddens (1984). [14] This argues that the social structure and action or social changes are closely and necessarily symbiotically linked. Social structure remains important but there is an equal role for free will and cultural agency. Structuration presumes a 'duality of structure' in which social structures are both produced by human action and are the medium of human action.[15]

Adaptive structuration theory (DeSanctis and Poole, 1990[16]) and *systems theory* (Hughes, 1992[17]; Luhmann, 2000[18]) both develop this by noting the strong feedback loops between social and cultural norms and the social structure, emphasising the connections between the development of the social structure and the social and cultural factors that drive it.

The debate is essentially about two things. First, the extent to which the social structure is the *exclusive* determinant of changes in cultural capital. On this aspect most – with the notable exception of classical determinists – acknowledge the importance of other factors outside these forces. Second, the extent to which attitudes and values have a *feedback* loop to the social structure, at the extreme conceptualising the process as a two-way ecological system.

[13] *Democratic Rationalization*, Readings in the Philosophy of Technology (2004)
[14] *The Constitution of Society*, Anthony Giddens (1984)
[15] NB: the framework set out in this paper has its roots in structuration theory but places greater emphasis on the role of attitudes, values and aspirations reflecting the more recent evidence from of psycho-social research
[16] *The Theory of Adaptive Structuration*, DeSanctis and Poole (1990)
[17] *Technological Enthusiasm*, Hughes, Thomas P (1990)
[18] *The Reality of Mass Media*, Luhmann, N (2000)

A parallel distinction is found in the field of economics between adherents of *exogenous* growth in neoclassical economic models (where growth is exogenously determined by the rate of technological progress or the savings rate) and adherents of *endogenous* growth models (where factors such as social, cultural and human capital act inside the production function to drive growth).

The conclusion this paper takes from the literature is that economic, social, technological and environmental forces clearly influence attitudes and values, (although they are not the exclusive determinants of it). Case studies where changes in the social structure have led to apparent changes in cultural and social norms are not hard to find. For example:

- The demographic shifts that occurred in Britain from the late 18th century onwards (and in particular the rapid urban growth) are argued to have played a key role in changing cultural and political attitudes towards poverty, inequality and deprivation in society.[19]

- The invention of the oral contraception pill in the early 1960s is credited as giving women more control and freedom over their personal and family lives and thereby helping trigger change in cultural attitudes toward gender and family roles.[20]

- The invention of modern information technology such as the internet and mobile phone are seen as already having a major impact on attitudes and social interactions across the world.[21]

- The widespread adoption of capitalism as a form of economic distribution is often closely linked with cultural norms and values associated with personal freedom, individual agency and free will – with the causation arguably in both directions.[22]

[19] *The Social Implications of Demographic Change*, Anderson from *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, Thompson, F.M.L (1990)
[20] *On the Pill : A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950-1970* - Watkins, Elizabeth (1998)
[21] *Computers and Social Change: Information, Property, and Power* - Perrolle, Judith (1998)
[22] for example see: *Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren,* Keynes, J.M. (1930) and *Capitalism and Freedom*, Friedman, M (1962)

Society-wide II: cultural, political, legal heritage

The second strand of the literature looks at the influence of the political and legal structure on cultural capital. For example, the level at which political governance operates may influence the attitude that individuals adopt in respect to behaviour at a local community level. Similarly the sophistication of the legal system will have an impact on attitudes and values towards settlement of disputes, and in fact the actual manner in which interactions and exchanges across a wide range of domains occur in the first instance.

Society-wide influences III: Ideas, innovation, thought leadership; media and marketing

The third strand looks at the role of innovation and thought leadership and the process by which these diffuse across society more generally. Ideas can begin with individuals such as political leaders, theorists or philosophers as they discover something new, or indeed a new way of looking at things already in existence. Over time these ideas shape and transform society's evolving moral *zeitgeist*.

Religious leaders such as Jesus Christ and Siddhartha Gautama have both had a clear social and cultural influence across the Christian and Buddhist world respectively. Equally, political leaders such as John F Kennedy, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Nelson Mandela are popularly cited figures as having encouraged social and cultural change within a single generation.

Party political movements are also often linked with shifts in cultural attitudes and values. In the post-war period the creation of a more collective culture under the Attlee government, a more permissive culture under the Wilson government, and a more individualist culture under the Thatcher government are all seen as political epochs delivering a lasting cultural legacy.[23]

[23] *The Prime Minister: The Office and its Holders since 1945*, Hennessy P (2001)

Similarly government can act as an incubator of new ideas and innovations. For example the establishment of the Open University by the Labour Government in the 1960s transformed the way in which successive generations of students would undertake higher education. The Open University was an innovation that acted as a trigger for wider changes in attitudes towards adult, part-time and remote learning to the extent that from its initial 25,000 enrolled students it has grown to become one of the world's largest universities with 180,000 students in the UK, and has spawned similar creations worldwide.

A more regular stream of ideas and innovations changing cultural norms come from groups or social movements. For example, social movements such as the US civil rights movements in the 1960s and the green movement in the 1970s have incubated ideals that, over time, have become widely accepted and passed into the social and legal fabric.

Random shocks to society can also be a catalyst to the development of new ideas and ways of looking at things. This is based on Ogburn's (1957[24]) concept of 'cultural lags', where ideas about certain things have not, at least explicitly, kept pace with wider social changes. According to this theory new ideas can emerge quite rapidly following specific shocks or trigger events which force a 'social check' on attitudes. Examples might include changes in attitudes following the Hillsborough disaster, the Dunblane school shooting, Hurricane Katrina in the US or the more recent murders of five prostitutes in the Suffolk area.[25]

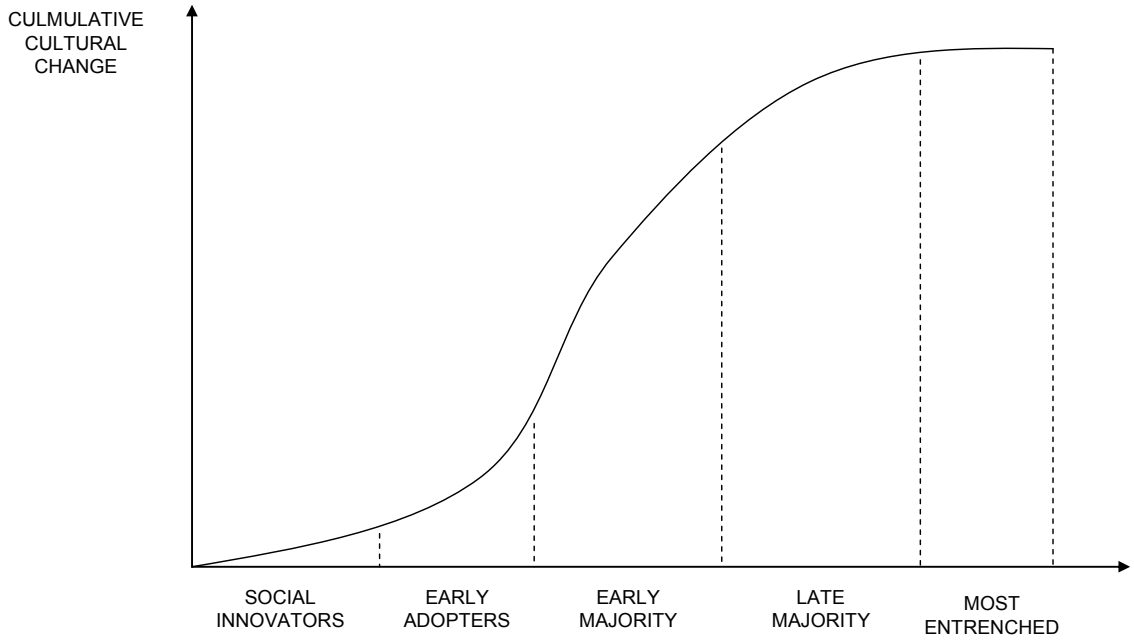
Others cite the rather significant changes in cultural attitudes often triggered by war. For example, many point to the two World Wars as fundamentally altering attitudes towards the role and efficacy of the state, towards taxation and its acceptability, and towards the role of women in the workplace. However, it is difficult to disentangle whether such trigger events actually change the cultural attitudes themselves or rather act as catalysts for the political process to respond, with the underlying cultural values remaining the same. In any case driving culture change through such unforeseen trigger events is clearly not in the

[24] *Cultural lag as theory, Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 41 pp.167-74
[25] see http://society.guardian.co.uk/socialexclusion/comment/0,,1971685,00.html

hands of government. What this does however point to is the need for greater recognition of when attitudinal shifts are occurring and how policy can build on and refine these.

Whatever the source of new ideas and innovation, of particular interest is the process and speed by which these ideas diffuse more widely (and of course whether they do indeed diffuse at all). *Diffusion theory*, originating with Rogers *et al* (1972[26]), examines how ideas and social practices spread within a society or from one society to another. Rogers argued the pattern of diffusion can be categorised as having five distinct periods.

Fig 12: Typical diffusion pattern of new ideas and innovations



They begin with a small group of 'innovators' – generally venturesome, creative individuals willing to take high risks. They are followed by 'early adopters', with perhaps less willingness for risk. Next are the 'early majority' and 'late majority' groups – the former typically with a range of informal social contacts and the latter typically with smaller and more traditional networks of contacts. Finally are the most entrenched group of 'laggards' – those with well-formed habits and significant aversion to risk or new ideas.

[26] *Inducing Technological Change for Economic Growth and Development.* Michigan State University Press. Rogers, Everett M., Solo, Robert A. (1972).

Of course, not all new ideas or innovations that become widely accepted are inherently sensible. For example the herding behaviour that often occurs in financial markets is often erroneously based on assumptions by the early and late majority groups about the judgement or wisdom of the first innovators. Such herding behaviour has been noted as far back as the South Sea Bubble of the early 18th century.

The time period over which diffusion of ideas and innovations occurs is thought to be dependent on a number of factors:

- The *relative advantage* that the innovation has vis-à-vis existing ideas, practices, and norms.
- The *compatibility* of the innovation with existing values, habits and norms that complement the innovation.
- The ease with which people can *understand* the innovation.
- The ability that individuals have to *test and trial* the innovation.

This diffusion process is of course particularly important from a public policy perspective. Two things follow. First we must acknowledge that whenever culture change occurs in society there is a strong chance certain groups may be left 'behind' the wider attitudinal shift. This effect has been noted in policy areas such as individual aspirations towards education and healthy living, and in social attitudes towards immigration and race relations.

Second, and following from the first, is the recognition that where these lags have implications for social objectives, policy must be tailored towards such high need groups. For example, aspiration and belief in self-efficacy varies markedly between social groups. Evidence shows that the percentage of people agreeing that they "have significant control

over their own lives" is much higher in groups with higher levels of income or education.[27] Similarly, the anthropologist Mary Douglas identifies four different types of individuals in relation to attitudes towards risk. These include 'fatalists' who are characterised by having a sense of living in a world with external constraints and without the power to overcome these.[28] Responding to such fatalist and low self-efficacy groups may lead to a spectrum of interventions – from lighter touch for easier to reach groups to more involved interventions for particularly entrenched groups.

The role of mass media may also be important for the development social attitudes and values. However there are different views about the extent to which media and marketing have to *follow* existing attitudes (and how these manifest in consumption patterns) rather than *shape* attitudes themselves. For example although many commentators have suggested a relationship between levels of violence on television and in society most studies tend to find little or no correlation between the two. Many also argue that the proliferation of new media forms – such as satellite television and the internet – have increased the pressure for the media to be ever more responsive to the demands of their consumers.

The relationship between marketing and attitudes is similarly complex. In mainstream economics the role of marketing in promoting consumer attitudes is generally seen as neutral (with supply and demand independent). Marketing, however, has the function of matching consumer wants with supply and making consumers aware of products in the marketplace. Marketing techniques have become increasingly sophisticated, particularly at segmenting consumer profiles and targeting marketing accordingly. Yet despite the perception that the level of marketing and advertising in society is increasing, relative to the total size of the economy advertising expenditure has remained fairly constant at between 2% and 2.5% of GDP over the last century.[29]

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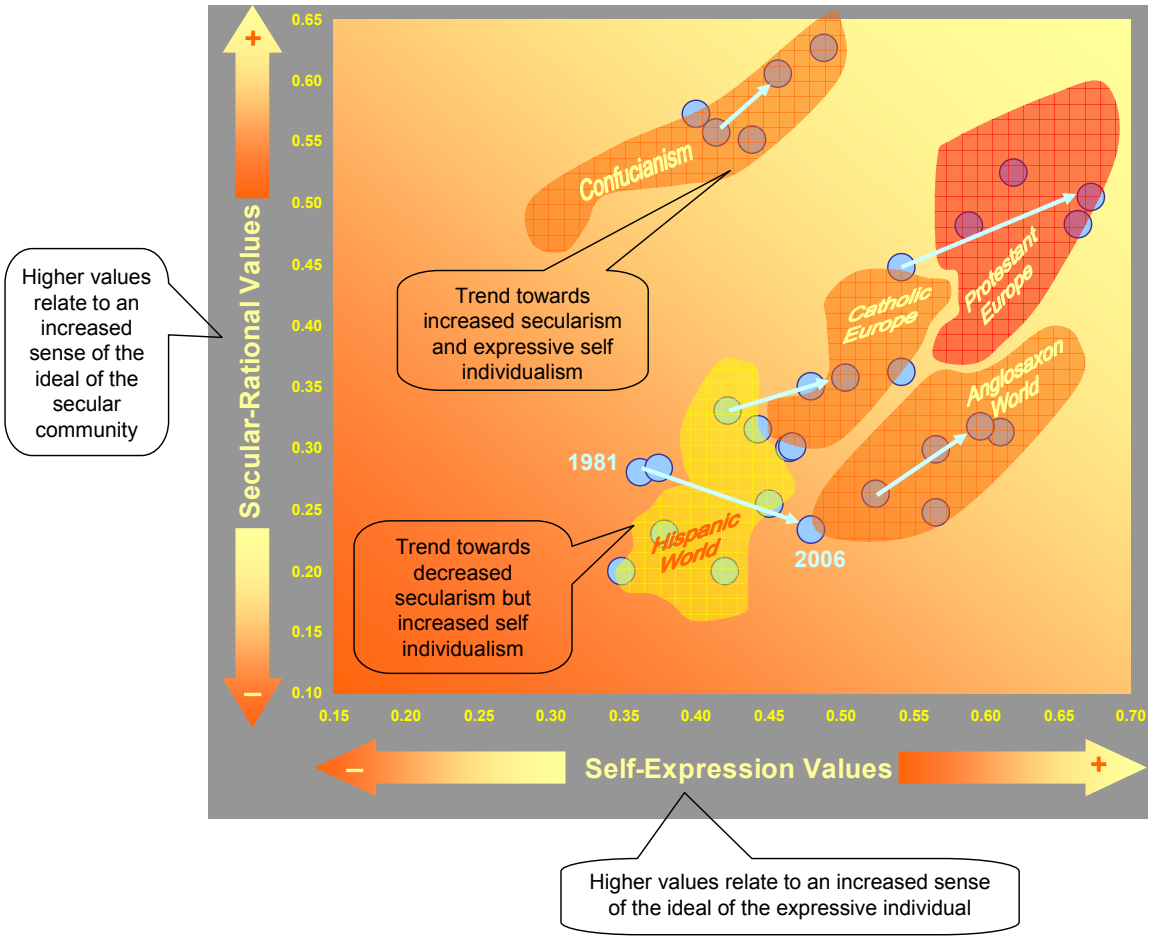
[27] *World Values Survey* (2000)
[28] *Risk and Culture*, Douglas, M and Wildavsky, A. (1982). The other groups include 'individualists' characterised by having a sense of being entirely unconstrained; 'egalitarians' characterised as relying on strong voluntary associations; and 'hierarchists' characterised as relying on structures, systems and rules
[29] *Convergence Fulfilled*, Mermingas, D (2005)

Society wide influences: summary

This section has looked at the influence of three different drivers of cultural capital at the whole society level. There is a wide-ranging literature on each of these which it has not been possible to cover in depth here. While some will argue structural factors are the most relevant driver of social and cultural change others will point to factors such as new ideas, and social innovations. What is clear, however, is that this cultural capital is constantly shifting at the whole society level – as the evidence on values associated with secular rationalism and self-expression demonstrate.

Fig 13: Shifting cultural capital at the society level



Source: *A Human Development View on Value Change Trends* (1981-2006), Christian Welzel

Immediate influences: parents

The second area that influences the development of our attitudes and values is the immediate environment that surrounds us. These are likely to be quite personal to the individual – being based on the influence of one's parents, peers, role models and mentors, local environment, neighbours, and schooling. Taken together they form the sense of identity an individual has.

Parents clearly have a vital role in shaping their child's development. In particular, educational attainment, teenage pregnancy and childhood obesity are strongly influenced by parental effects. For example:

- Parental expectations and aspiration for their children are important predictors of educational attainment. Although aspirations are, on average, lower in lower socio-economic groups, they are highly significant even after controlling for socio-economic factors. The level of parental aspiration has a strong influence on pupils' own motivations, which in turn are also central to attainment.

- The level of parental engagement in their child's learning is more important in determining educational achievement than their background, size of family or level of education.[30] Higher levels of positive interest from parents give children a greater belief in their own competence (controlling for their actual competence level).[31]

- More stimulating home environments are found to be significantly related to higher scores on children's cognitive, social, and fine and gross motor development.[32]

- Parenting styles that provide structured support for children to develop autonomy are found to be associated with higher aspiration and motivation.[33]

[30] *Every Parent Matters*, DfES (2007)
[31] *Illusion of incompetence and its correlates among elementary school children,* Learning and Individual Differences Vol 14 No 1 Bouffard, Boisvert and Vezeau (2002)
[32] *Parenting Behaviours and Children's Development from Infancy to Early Childhood: changes continuities and contributions*, DfES Research Brief RCB02-07 (2007)
[33] *Psychosocial origins of achievement motivation* Sociometry Vol 22 No 3 Rosen and D'Andrede (1959); *Mastery motivation and self-evaluative affect in toddlers: relations with maternal behaviour* Child

- The children of parents who have low authority or low belief in their ability to achieve changed habits are more likely to be obese.

- Teenage pregnancy is significantly more likely in girls whose mothers have low expectations for their education (again controlling for socio-economic factors).[34]

Immediate influences: peers, role models and mentors

Peer and role model effects also have a significant impact on attitudes:

- School performance has been shown to be highly correlated with the relative strength of 'egghead' peer groups verses other peer groups such as 'jock' or 'duggie' groups.[35]

- Evidence from the evaluations of the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMAs) suggests positive peer effects from the scheme increase staying on rates above and beyond the financial incentive: "Some people don't stay on because their friends leave, but the money means that there's now a larger group staying on."[36]
- The level of educational aspiration of close friends is more aligned then would be expected from purely looking at their social background.[37]

- Young people are much more likely to take up smoking if their peers smoke – one study finds a 1000% increase in smoking likelihood if 2 peers smoke and 2400% if 3 or more peers do so (compared to 26% if they have a parent who does so). [38]

Development Vol 71 No 4 Kelly, Brownell and Campbell (2000); *Parental predictors of motivational orientation in early adolescence: a longitudinal study* Journal of Youth and Adolescence Vol 34 No 6 Bronstein, Ginsburg and Herrera (2005)

[34] Ibid

[35] *Peer effects on adolescent girls' sexual debut and pregnancy*. Washington DC: National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy

[36] Quote from a young person in the *Evaluation of Maintenance Allowance: Evaluation of the East Ayrshire Pilot*, Scottish Executive, www.scotland.gov.uk

[37] Dudley , Haller and Portes "Peer influences on aspirations: a reinterpretation" American Journal of Sociology 1968 Vol 74 No 2

[38] *Influence – the Psychology of Behaviour,* Robert Cialdini (1993)

- Having a sibling, spouse or friend who is overweight significant increases an individual's risk of being obese as well. The study showed risk was increased by 57% if a friend was obese, by 40% if a sibling was and 37% if a spouse was.[39]

There is also an important feedback loop between parenting and reaction to peer influences, with certain approaches to parenting (especially authoritarian approaches) making children more or less likely to respond to peer behaviour.[40]

Immediate influences: neighbours and community

Local environment and neighbourhood effects also play an important role in determining attitudes. For example, the recent Hills Review[41] noted that the unemployment rate among social housing tenants was twice the national average. Even after controlling for a very wide range of personal characteristics the likelihood of someone living in social housing being employed is significantly lower than in other tenures.

One explanation for this is that there are strong 'neighbourhood' effects occurring from the concentration of deprivation feeding into entrenched attitudes and values toward personal aspiration. For example social housing has often been linked with the development of 'dependency culture' characterised by lack of agency and reliance on welfarist forms of housing management.[42] Promoting a sense of tenant agency has therefore been of high priority to government.

[39] *The spread of obesity over large social networks,* New England Journal of Medicine (2007)
[40] For example, Curtner Smith and Mackinnon-Lews (1994) found that authoritarian parenting made children more susceptible to peer pressure for anti-social behaviour, controlling for the child's underlying values concerning such behaviour
[41] *Review of Social Housing*, Hills (2007), by the London School of Economics for the Department for Communities and Local Government
[42] *The Responsible Tenant: Housing Governance and the Politics of Behaviour*, Flint J (2004) – available at www.neighbourhoodcentre.org.uk

The built infrastructure can also play an important part in determining attitudes and values. For example both quantitative and qualitative research has found a link between the design of school buildings and pupil performance. [43] The effect works through three channels: pupil motivation (raising educational aspirations through the visible signal that their education is valued by the teaching staff, and society in general), teachers' motivation and increasing the amount of learning time available.

The quality of the local environment can send a strong signal to communities about how the value and respect they should show to it. For example Cialdini has shown that people are almost twice as likely to litter if their immediate environment is littered as opposed to being relatively clean. This observance is driven by the powerful effect of perceived group norms.[44]

Immediate influences: schooling and curriculum

Schooling is obviously an important influence on developing our attitudes and values in several ways. Across the curriculum, education is the tool that enables young people to think critically with reason and rationality about their lives and how they relate to wider society. Parts of the curriculum are specifically geared to developing and testing values and attitudes, such as classes on personal, social, and health education and citizenship (PSHE). These have three interrelated components: social and moral responsibility; community involvement; and, political literacy.[45] Clearly, and as the recent curriculum review of diversity and citizenship states, these are vital components to developing young people's sense of personal efficacy, and community cohesion.[46]

The school as an institution is also an important influence on young people's attitudes and

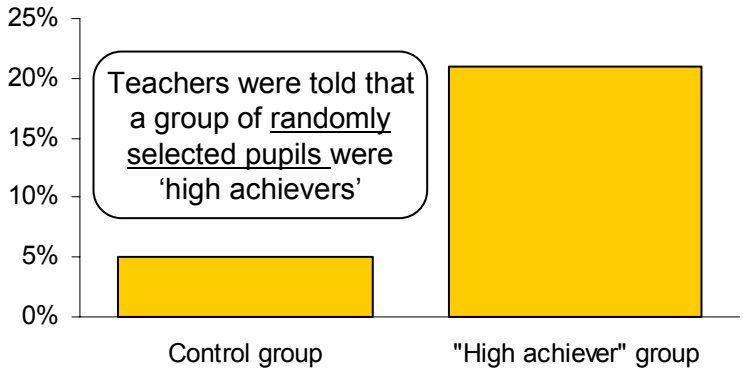
[43] *Building Performance: an empirical assessment of the relationship between schools capital investment and pupil performance*, PricewaterhouseCoopers for DFES, Research Brief No 242 (2001)
[44] *Science and Practice* Robert Cialdini (2001)
[45] *The Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*, DFES (1998)
[46] *Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review*, DFES (2007)

values. Schools are often the first place where young people learn about adult interaction and appropriate behaviour. Additionally schools are important sources of mentoring roles for young people. Many adults are able to point to particularly inspirational teachers that helped broaden their aspirations in life: nurturing their talents and guiding them towards the channels to realise these.

For example, the recent *Gilbert Review – 2020 Vision* is based on an agenda of harnessing the positive effect that individual teachers can have on pupil aspiration.[47] The review demonstrated the importance of teachers' aspirations and expectations about their pupils. It has been shown that where teachers have high aspirations for individual pupils the extra support and guidance they provide improves their academic performance by a factor more than suggested by their ability alone.

Studies have indicated dramatic effects of teachers' expectations for pupils. In one famous study Rosenthal *et al* informed teachers of the names of the top 20% of their class that had been identified as showing the most potential for academic success.[48] Unknown to the teachers the names of these 'high achievers' had been randomly selected. Over the course of the school year these 'unusual' children showed significantly greater gains in academic performance compared to the control group of children – with 21% of the 'high achievers' improving scores by over thirty points compared to only 5% of the control group.

Fig 14: The Rosenthal study
(increase in attainment gains of thirty points or more over the course of the year)



[47] The review sets out mechanisms for individual pupil progress measures, and giving those not adequately progressing additional support.
[48] T*eachers' expectancies: Determinants of Pupils IQ gains*, Psychological Reports, Rosenthal et al (1966)

Immediate influences: workplace and organisation

Finally, for many the environmental interactions that occur within our daily place of work have a profound influence on our attitudes and values. Similarly our involvement in social networks and voluntary organisations can have an impact on cultural capital. On one level there is a degree of self-selection occurring – for example individuals with strong values associated with public value and service are more likely to be found within public sector institutions than private sector ones. Equally individuals with strong entrepreneurial values are less likely to be found in public institutions.

At a more subtle level however the cultural norms and values embodied within these institutions do pass off onto the individuals that work within them. For example several studies have shown that strong organisational culture has positive effects on employee productivity and morale – including in schools, hospitals and the private organisations more generally.[49]

Experience of organisational redesign has demonstrated the effect that the workplace has on the cultural capital on the staff and users that interact with it. For example, Newham University Hospital Trust has recently successfully rebuilt and rebranded itself. A campaign launched in 2005 emphasised the trust as a listening organisation, retraining over 600 staff and redesigning the hospital infrastructure. This delivered in partnership with the local authority, community groups and staff. The most recent national patient survey showed a 17% increase in the perception of its health services.[50]

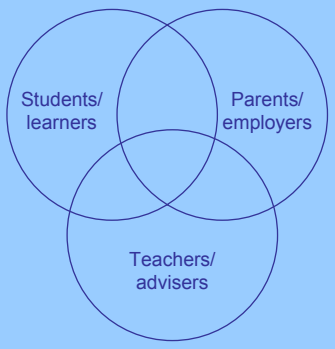
[49] See for example: *Profiles of Organizational Culture and Effective Schools* Cheng, Yin Cheong. SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS AND SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT 4, 2 (1993): 85-110; *Management Practices Across Firms and Nations*, CEP, LSE, Nick Bloom et al (2005); *The Strategic Power Of Corporate Values*: *Long Range Planning*, Vol 27, No 6, 28-42 Humble, J; Jackson, D and Thomson, A (1994)

[50] National Patient Survey 2007, The Healthcare Commission – available at www.healthcarecommission.org.uk

Culture change and the public service workforce

Public sector professionals are clearly central to achieving culture change objectives. Professionals are at the centre of citizens' user pathway in public services. Hence they play a key role in forming the attitudes that drive behaviour.

Thus culture change policy needs to start with an understanding of the underlying attitudes, values and motivations of all the key agents involved in delivering public services. For example in education this includes students and learners, parents and employers, and teacher and advisers:



A key part of the Government's ongoing public service reform objectives is to work with professionals to drive continuous improvement: which starts with a detailed understanding their values and motivations. Specifically there are two aspects relevant to the public service workforce:

- First, ensuring the rationale for the reform programme and desired outcomes are fully communicated to staff, and that they feel engaged in the process.
- Second, in relation to the role of professionals in transmitting attitudes and aspirations, there are potential policy interventions around how to work with and mentor professionals to promote the positive and mitigate the negative attitudes they may transmit. This is likely to mean encouraging more personal and 1-to-1 interactions in public services.

3.2 How do attitudes and values influence behaviour?

A significant volume of research has investigated the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. A key concept running through the work is the distinction between behavioural intentions and actual behaviour. *The Theory of Planned Behaviour* (Ajzen, 1985, 1991)[51] was originally created in order statistically to predict the likelihood of someone *intending* a specific behaviour based on their response to a series of attitudinal statements. It finds that they are driven by:

- attitudes and general beliefs about the consequences of the behaviour;
- attitudes as to how others will consider the behaviour (i.e. in relation to what the social or cultural norm is);
- attitudes about the extent to which we perceive we have control over the outcome of the behaviour (i.e. self-efficacy).

Therefore attitudes and values will have a relatively greater impact on behaviour:

- the fewer the perceived other implications or constraints (e.g. financial implications);
- the more that the attitude relates to a specific behaviour (for example, an individual's attitude towards respect for elderly people affects their behavioural decision whether to go out of their way to help them cross the road);
- the more that the behaviour is based on a reflex response with an underpinning attitudinal driver (for example, an individual's attitude towards the police will determine their response about whether or not to run when confronted about a minor offence).

51 *From intentions to actions: A theory of planned behaviour*. Springer series in social psychology (pp. 11-39) Ajzen, I. (1985); *The theory of planned behaviour*, Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes, 50(2), 179-211. Ajzen, I. (1991).

Conversely attitudes will have less predictive power over behaviour in cases of cognitive dissonance (where attitudes, values or aspirations are in conflict with one another *or* with incentives); where there are many other influences at play (e.g. incentives); where there are strong neuro or psychological aversions (such as addictions); and where the behaviour in question can be influenced by a process of long-term reasoned deduction.

Evidence from over 700 academic and policy studies confirms the robustness of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour:

- Research exploring the barriers to take up of the Minimum Income Guarantee (MIG) and Pension Credit found that around twenty per cent of older people stated that encouragement from family and friends was the reason they applied for MIG.[52]
- Attitudes toward condoms strongly predict condom use (Albarracin et al).[53]
- Attitudes toward recycling (but not general attitudes toward environmental issues) predict participation in recycling (Oskamp).[54]
- Changing health habits through social marketing has proved most effective when targeted towards altering people's attitudes towards specific practices (Courneya).[55]

3.3 What else drives behaviour?

The distinction between behavioural intentions and actual behaviour is important because there are other influences that affect actual behaviour. From our attitudes and values we may have the *intention* of undertaking higher education yet not actually going on to do so. We must therefore look at the other factors that drive individual behaviour. This includes

[52] DWP *Research report 197: Entitled but not claiming?* Pensioners, the Minimum Income Guarantee and Pension Credit
[53] *Theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour as models of condom use*: a meta-analysis. Albarracin et al (2001)
[54] *Attitudes and opinions*. Oskamp, S. Englewood Cliffs (1991)
[55] *Cognitive mediators of the social influence–exercise adherence relationship: a test of the theory of planned behavior*. Journal of Behavioral Medicine, **18**, 499–515

how we respond to the incentives, legislation, regulation and barriers we face in any situation, and in addition how we respond to the level of information and engagement about it.

The 'rational man' model of behaviour argues that individuals rationally respond to maximise their welfare (or 'utility'). According to this model we assess decisions based on their expected costs and benefits, selecting the choice that maximises net utility. From this two things follow:

- Government can use incentives, legislation and regulation to adjust the costs of choices associated with certain behaviour in order to make them more (or less) attractive and enable them to make such choices by remove any barriers.
- Government can use information and engagement approaches (including awareness and social marketing) to make individuals aware about the impact of the costs and benefits of their choices, and to highlight new and more adaptive behaviours.

In many cases these tools will be effective in encouraging behaviour change. However, research over the last decade across a variety of fields has repeatedly found that the exact manner in which they affect behaviour is more complex and nuanced than previously thought. Some key findings include:

- Ambiguity bias: we tend to avoid behaviour when there are unknowns or missing information.
- Attribution bias: we under-estimate things that are quite likely to occur (and under-estimate the causation between our choices and the occurrence of the event) and over-estimate things that are quite unlikely to occur. For example, we tend to underestimate the contribution poor diet will have on our health, and in turn the likelihood that this will affect our life expectancy.

- Computation bias: we find it difficult to understand complex incentive structures, particularly where there is a greater element of uncertainty, a longer time dimension, or incentives that operate in opposite directions. In these cases we revert to basing decisions on personal experience, the experience/advice of close associates, or rules of thumb ('heuristic' decision-making). For example, in making the choice about whether to attend university individuals are weighing up complex incentives about short-term income foregone set against long term earning potential and hence may rely on heuristic short cuts rather than rational computation.

- Habit bias: we develop entrenched habits, and make little or no active decision when we behave according to these habits. For example, the way people travel to work is very entrenched and to encourage changes in mode or time of transport requires very strong initial incentives and information.

- Loss-aversion bias: we are loss-averse, often taking large risks to avoid losses that we would not incur for comparable gains. For example, charges for GP appointments may have a perverse consequence of deterring genuine need cases.

- Omission bias: we tend to judge behaviour which involves action rather than inaction (or omission) as worse even if the result is the same. For example, parents may decide *not* to vaccinate their child (given a slight chance of adverse effects) rather than take the active decision *to* vaccinate their child even if the medical case is overwhelming.

This is only a short list from a very extensive literature on the impact of incentives and information on cognitive behaviour. Good synthesis reports include:

- *"Personal Responsibility and Changing Behaviour"*, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004) – available at: www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy
- *"Extending the 'rational man' model of human behaviour: seven key principles"*, New Economics Foundation (2006) – available at www.neweconomics.org
- *"When economics met psychology: rethinking incentives"* , Oxera (2007) – available at: www.oxera.com
- *"I will if you will – towards sustainable consumption"*, Sustainable Development Commission (2006) – available at www.sd-commission.org
- *"Securing the Future - UK Government sustainable development strategy"*, HM Government (2005) – available at www.sustainable-development.gov.uk

Overall the key finding from the literature is not that incentives, legislation, regulation, and information and social marketing cannot be used to pursue public policy objectives but rather that the way they are designed is critical. In addition it finds that underlying culture is important and that such measures alone will not be sufficient to solve the policy challenges where attitudinal influences are very prevalent. This requires broadening the traditional 'rational man' model by recognising that:

- Individuals have 'bounded rationality' – that is to say there are often large gaps in the available information to us and hence we respond only to the extent of our knowledge and abilities.
- Individuals have 'cognitive complexity' – that is to say we make decisions in highly complex and nuanced ways that cannot be reduced to simple laws of behaviour.

- Individuals respond to incentives and information in a more 'ecological' manner than previously thought – this response largely depends on the environmental and psycho-social circumstances in which they operate.

The efficacy of incentives in a counter-cultural environment

Research accounting for varying rates of labour mobility both within and between societies often find social capital a key explanatory factor (e.g. Schiff, World Bank, 2004). Social capital in this context will have a local, regional and national dimension. This is measured in two ways – 'bridging' capital (i.e. networks linking *different* groups in society) and 'bonding' capital (i.e. networks within the *same* group in society).

Holding total social capital levels constant, research finds labour mobility lower where bonding capital is relatively high but bridging capital low. This social capital mix is often associated with traditional and stable communities. Thus one account for why observed labour mobility is low is that moving to a different geographical location or social status would incur high social capital loss by breaking the strong bonding capital links.

In such cases even relatively strong incentives (e.g. higher salary from moving jobs) can be ineffective at triggering actual change due to the strong countering cultural attitudes. This finding is replicated more widely in circumstances where attitudes and incentives are in conflict. There are three potential responses in such circumstances:

- directly addressing the attitudes and values themselves, facing potential social confrontation that might arise (i.e. mono-culturalism);
- using mechanisms that do not require social capital loss such as developing culturally specific policy (i.e. multi-culturalism);
- developing bridging capital links to facilitate changes, such as mechanisms for greater community interaction (i.e. intra-cultralism).

Sources: *Social Capital* (Halpern, 2005); *Labour Mobility, Trade, and Social Capital* (Schiff, 2004)

Other factors at play: the influence of genes on behaviour

Genetic factors have often been linked to particular behaviour. For example, propensity to commit anti-social behaviour has been showed to have a strong genetic component. Research reviewed by the Nuffield Council of Bioethics[56] found heritability can account for approximately 50% of variation in anti-social behaviour. This is based on evidence from studies of twins and siblings that have been faced by independent environmental circumstances (e.g. through adoption). There is obviously, however, much less correlation between genes and those officially classified as 'anti-social' as this depends on the behaviour of co-offenders, peers, parents, police, the court system and so on.

Similarly a significant part of variation in life satisfaction may be explained by genes. This has been shown to operate through levels of serotonin and dopamine in the brain (which are correlated with reported happiness) and are, in turn, regulated by genes. And many health conditions are also partially inherited. For example propensity to suffer from obesity varies significantly between different ethnic groups.

The finding is that genes and environmental circumstances are not independent but rather interact – including across generations. While genes have an important role in determining propensity to have a wide range of character traits, it is only through the interaction with our environment that these manifest into actual behaviour. We can see this in two pieces of evidence:

- Kins that share the same environmental circumstance exhibit much stronger common behaviour than for those living with separated environmental circumstances.
- Unrelated people sharing the same environmental circumstances exhibit much common behaviour despite having no common genes.

[56] *Genetics and Human Behaviour: The Ethical Dimension*, Nuffield Council of Bioethics (2002) – available at http://www.nuffieldbioethics.org

3.4 How does behaviour influence attitudes and values?

> "*If social psychology has taught us anything during the last 25 years, it is that we are likely not only to think ourselves into a way of acting but also to act ourselves into a way of thinking*"[57]

We have seen that attitudes (alongside incentives, legislation, regulation and information) influence behaviour. Similarly behaviour itself influences the development of attitudes. This feedback loop is referred to in this paper as the process where behavioural patterns 'normalise'. For example we might undertake certain behaviour due to the effect of strong incentives on us to do so. The behaviour may initially feel uncomfortable and perhaps not sit well with our existing underlying attitudes and values. This might include taking on a new and unfamiliar role (e.g. being nominated a group leader), operating within a different institution (e.g. starting a new job), or undertaking an activity in a way different than what feels normal to us (e.g. facing a charge for using finite environmental resources and adapting our daily lives accordingly). Over time, however, the behaviour becomes a norm to us and thereby our attitudes and values adjust accordingly.

In sociology, a significant volume of research has investigated the influence of behaviour on attitudes. For example, gender socialisation theory has long argued that children adopt particular attitudes and values in relation to their gender based on the behaviours encouraged in infancy. Sociology has several sub-themes on 'socialisation' – including related to the role of education and religious practices informing attitudes through behaviour.

Experiments in psychology replicate the finding. For example, Gazzaniga (1985)[58] ran experiments on patients with surgically separated brain hemispheres. When a picture or symbol was flashed to patients' left half of vision – and therefore to the non-verbal right brain hemisphere – patients had an active response such as smiling or chuckling. Asked

[57] *Exploring Psychology: Eighth edition* Myers, D (2006)
[58] *The Social Brain* Gazzinger, M (1985)

why they had responded patients invented (and apparently believed) an explanation such as “this experiment is very funny”. What this and repeated experiments show is that the development of psychological character is in many ways a result of the physical development of the brain – in essence we learn attitudes and values ‘by doing’.

In another famous experiment by Zimbardo (1972)[59] university students were given roles of guards and prisoners respectively. Initially the guards jovially ‘played’ their roles, but the situation rapidly deteriorated as the guards began verbally to abuse prisoners and devise cruel and degrading routines. According to Zimbardo there developed “growing confusion between reality and illusion, between role-playing and self identity… This prison which we had created… was absorbing us as creatures of its own reality.” The experiment had to be cancelled after 6 days of the planned two weeks.

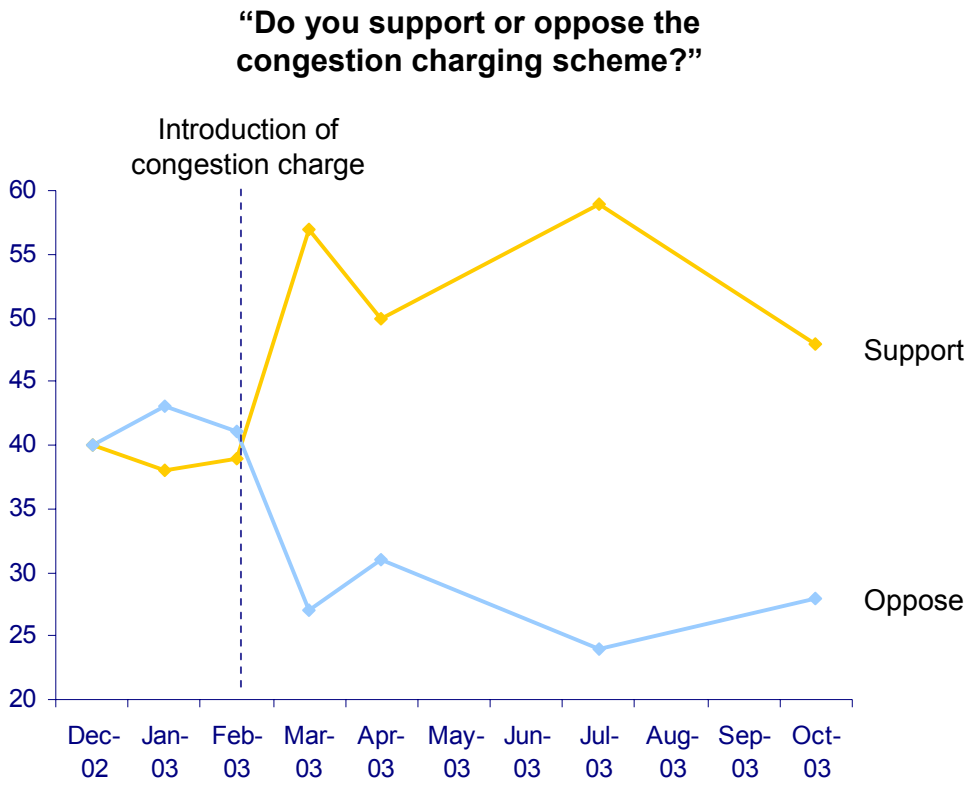
And it appears behaviour can be important for determining even moral and ethical attitudes. For example, Freedman (1968)[60] introduced primary school aged children to an electronic robot and instructed them not to play with it while he was out of the room. Half were given a strong threat while the other half a milder deterrent: both were sufficient to prevent the children playing with the robot. Several weeks later (and using a different location and researcher) the children were left in a room to play with the same toys as before.

Seemingly paradoxically, more of those children who had previously been given a strong threat played with the toys than those who had been given a mild deterrent. The result showed that the children in the mild deterrent group had made an *active behavioural decision* not to play with the toys and internalised the decision attitudinally. This attitude controlled their subsequent behavioural decision: moral action affects moral thinking which in turn affects subsequent moral behaviour.

[59] *Pathology of Imprisonment,* Zimbardo, Phillip. Society 9(6): 4-8. (1972)
[60] Published in *Readings in Social Psychology*. J. L. Freedman, J. M. Carlsmith, & D. O. Sears: Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.. (1971)

Finally, of course, many public policy interventions begin as behaviour interventions but ultimately change underlying attitudes and values. We wear seatbelts today not because of the legislation that initial drove seatbelt adoption, but rather because wearing one has now passed into a universally accepted social norm. Similar effects are apparent in areas such as smoking, drink driving, and environmental awareness. For example, early evidence from the impact of congestion charge in London demonstrates that it has both shifted attitudes on urban car use within London but also more generally attitudes towards environmental sustainability.[61] Of course achieving a lasting transition from behaviour into underlying attitudes and values requires a sustained policy approach over many years.

Fig 15: Attitudes towards the London congestion charge



Source: Impacts Monitoring: Second Annual Report, TFL (2004)

[61] *Evidence to the London Assembly Transport Committee on the Proposed Congestion Charge Increase* (2005) – available at www.london.gov.uk/assembly/reports

4. A policy framework for achieving culture change

Chapter summary

This chapter sets out seven step-by-step stages for policymakers to use to develop culture change policies. These are:

- First, to identify whether culture change is relevant to the policy area using a set of initial filtering criteria.
- Second, to establish the policy objectives in the area under consideration and assess the rationale for government intervention including any information on likely costs and benefits.
- Third, to identify and segment relevant population groups and set appropriate goals for each.
- Fourth, to assess the drivers of attitudes and behaviour in the area by identifying the relationships between attitudes, behavioural intentions and behaviour.
- Fifth, to determine the suitability of different policy interventions including identifying the efficacy of incentives, legislation, regulation and information approaches as well as the efficacy of interventions to address the development of attitudes, values and aspirations.
- Sixth, to establish how best to monitor effectiveness including the extent to which objectives are being achieved, opinions of stakeholders and evidence on cost effectiveness achieved.
- Seventh, to roll out and implement preferred interventions, including clarifying delivery responsibility, identifying risks, and creating safe spaces to test, trial and innovate.

The key questions to ask at each of these stages are set out on page 71 and explained in further depth in the relevant sections of this chapter. Stages 4 and 5 require the most in-depth policy assessment, and the key methodological steps to be asked at these stages are set out in further detail. In relation to stage 4 these include questions about the link between attitudes, behavioural intentions and actual behaviour. The overall purpose of this is to identify where the behavioural 'blockage' is occurring. For example, our behavioural habits might be a product of either our deep rooted cultural factors or a relatively more benign result of us having 'settled in' to a particular set of actions. It will be important to clarify which is the relevant scenario in order to tailor the policy intervention accordingly. In relation to stage 5 they include questions about the effectiveness of different policy interventions to address the drivers identified in stage 4.

These stages are not intended to be mechanistic. For example, in some instances it may be more appropriate to understand the drivers of attitudes before segmenting target populations. However, in most circumstances it will be helpful to follow these steps through in the order set out here.

POLICY STAGES IN DEVELOPING CULTURE CHANGE STRATEGIES

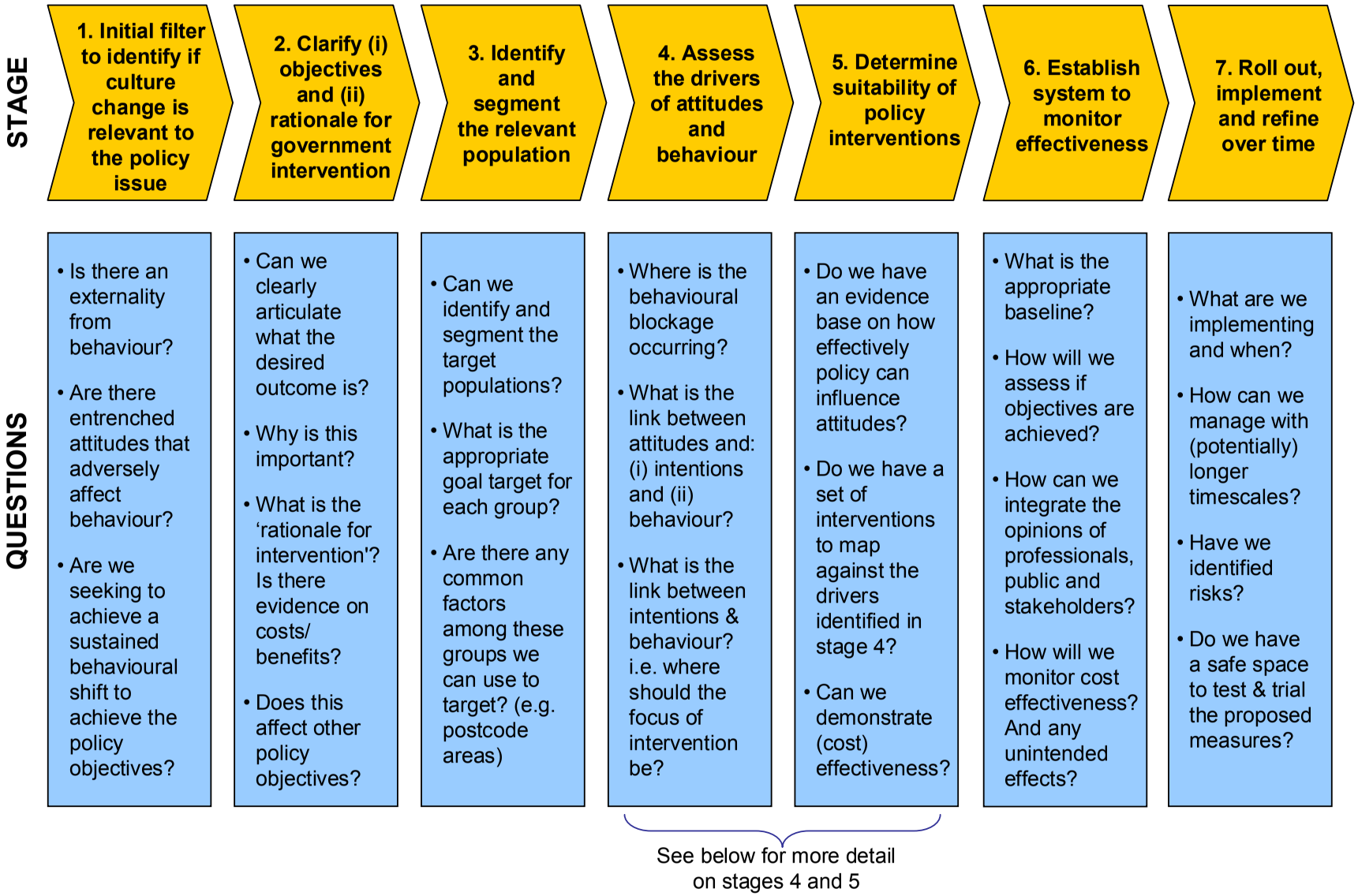
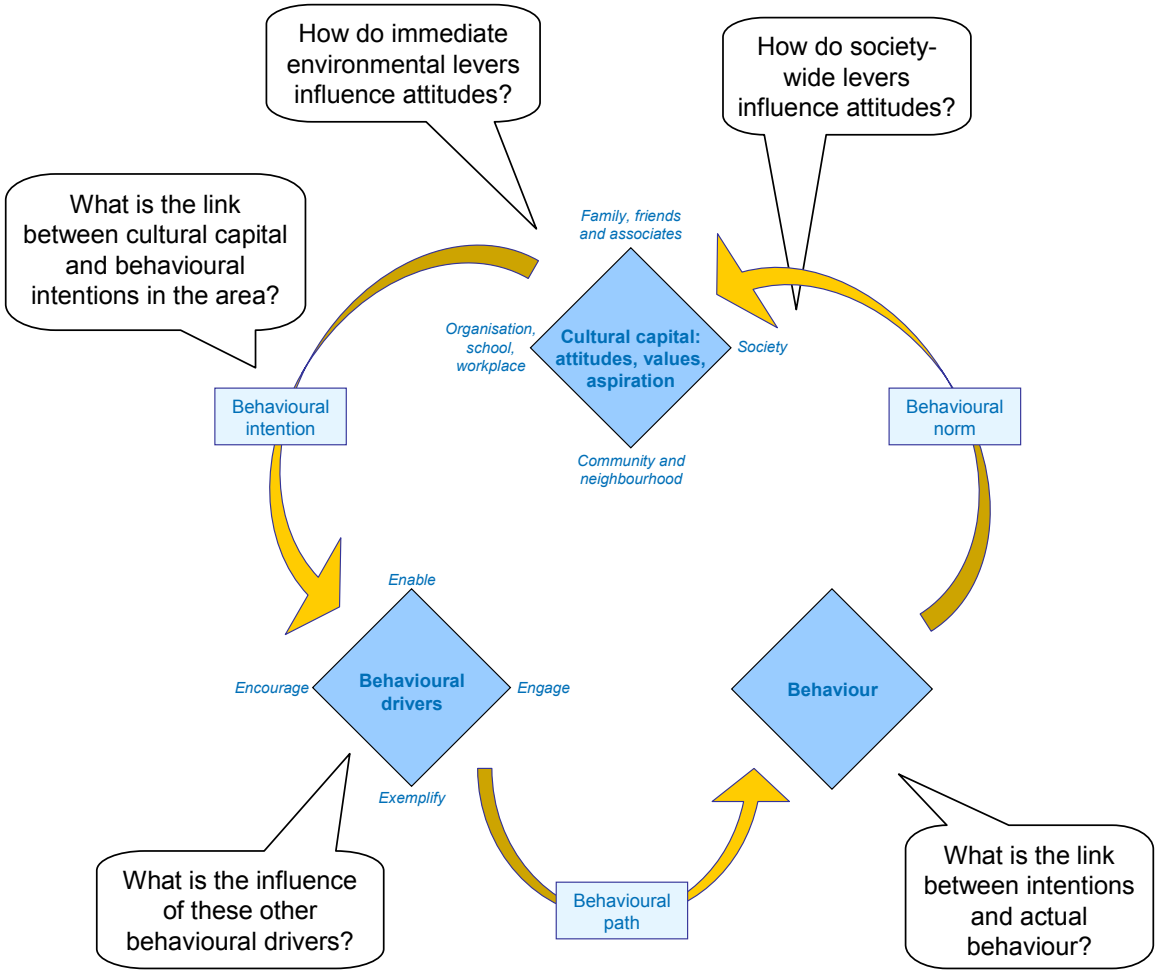


Fig 16: Policy stages in developing culture change strategy



4.1 Initial filter to identify relevance of culture change

As explained in section 2.4, culture change is most relevant to policy areas where:

- The achievement of economic, social and other outcomes is strongly dependent on the behaviour of individuals;
- Attitudes have a strong influence on behaviour;

- There are significant externalities to individual behaviour, or where there are very high costs/ benefits to individuals relating to their behaviour;
- Incentives and information approaches have proved insufficient to drive required changes in behaviour;
- Policy is seeking to embed behavioural shifts into sustained attitudes and values.

These provide a handy checklist for identifying issues appropriate for further scoping. For example, the Department for Children, Schools and Families' Public Service Agreement (PSA) to reduce the number of young people not in education, employment or training clearly has a strong dependence on underlying attitudes towards learning and achievement. However, their PSA to raise attainment in English, maths and ICT will have relatively more dependence on other factors such as delivery structures in schools. Similarly the Department of Health's PSA on tackling the underlying determinants of ill health (defined as smoking, obesity, and under-18 conception) will have relatively greater relevance to culture change than their PSA target on improving access to services.

4.2 Clarifying objectives and the rationale for government intervention

The second stage requires clarity about objectives, why they are important, and what the appropriate role for government is.

The Strategy Survival Guide[62] sets out some common questions that should be asked at this stage of any project:

- What is the problem we are trying to address?
- Why is it important?
- Can we clearly articulate what the desired outcome is?

[62] *Strategy Survival Guide (version 2.1): Justification and Set Up*, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004) – available at www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy

- What has been done to date in this area? How effective has it been?
- What is the rationale for government intervention?
- What do we know about the likely costs and benefits?
- How can we measure what we are trying to achieve?
- What is the mandate for the project?
- Can we identity a suitable sponsor for the work?

For example, a strategy aimed at reducing smoking might start by identifying regular, long-term smoking as a key problem. It might build on this by setting two objectives of (i) reducing the overall volume of cigarettes smoked and (ii) reducing the number of smokers. These intermediate objectives would need to be defined in context of the final health outcomes they contribute to. The project would then need to assess what policy had previously been used to achieve the objective and how effective it had been. It would need to identify the rationale for intervention, likely including both an efficiency objective (e.g. reducing health expenditure) and a social objective (e.g. improving life expectancy). It would need to articulate a mandate for the project – for example using techniques such as first principles or systems thinking to bring a fresh perspective to the problem. And finally it would need to identify a suitable sponsor for it, perhaps including other policy units, Ministers or senior officials.

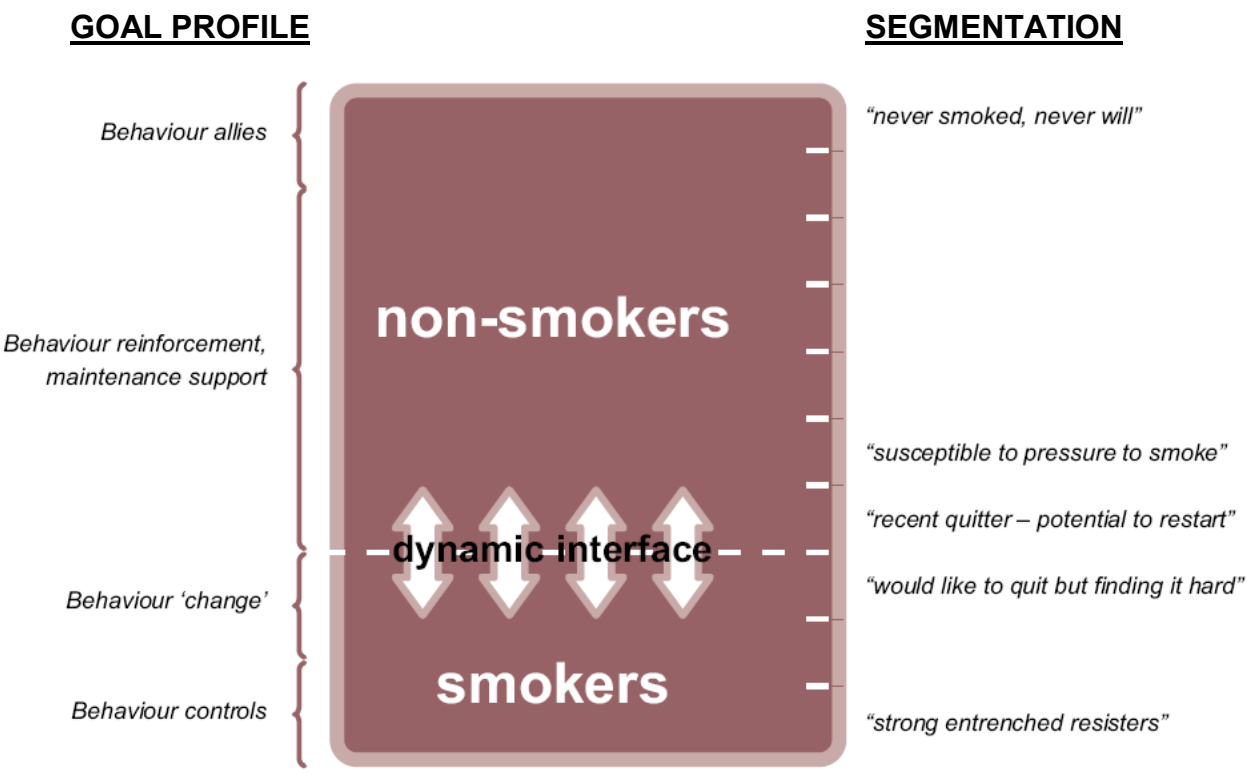
4.3 Identify and segment relevant populations

The third stage is relatively more involved and requires being able to segment target populations to tailor the intervention accordingly. Segmenting techniques bring together a range of disciplines to identify the attitudes and motivations of individuals and personalise the policy response accordingly. This often combines traditional methods such as

demographic or epidemiological profiling with psychological techniques to develop a detailed map of what motivates people and how they respond to different interventions.

For example, smoking reduction policies usually distinguish between those who have "never smoked and never will"; those "susceptible to pressure to smoke"; those who are "recent quitters and with potential to restart"; those who "would like to quit but find it hard"; and those who are "strongly entrenched resisters". This reinforces demographic profiling to enable a clear goal for each population segment to be established:

Fig 17: Segmentation of smoker profiles



Source: *Social Marketing Pocket Guide*, National Consumer Council (2006)

Example: using postcodes as a proxy for behavioural profiling

In some cases we can shortcut detailed profiling where we have good evidence that particular groups have a single or cluster of factors in common. For example, there is a strong correlation between postcodes and many attitudes in the UK. Individuals of similar education and socio-economic background are highly geographically clustered to the extent that this is a powerful predictor of attitudes toward things such as flying long-haul, adapting to technology, and preferences on paying with credit or cash. This has long been used as an effective tool for targeting of direct marketing.

Tools such as CACI data are commonplace in the commercial sector but almost totally unused in the public sector. But there is potential for postcode targeting to be used more in public policy areas. For example, the *Young Scot* programme in Glasgow provides free or discounted access to a wide range of constructive activities to people aged between 5 and 18. The council uses de-personalised data (age bands and first 3 digits of postcode) to target offers and assess the number of people from different areas and social backgrounds taking up offers.

4.4 Assessing the drivers of attitudes and behaviour

Stage 4 is a crucial methodological step which requires assessing the relative role cultural capital plays in driving behaviour, and the influence of incentives, legislation, regulation and information and engagement in translating this into actual behaviour.

The purpose of doing so is to identify where any behaviour 'block' may be coming from. For example, if cultural factors are relatively benign it suggests the focus should be on traditional behaviour change levers. The role that cultural capital plays in determining behaviour will be very specific to each policy area. However the general rules established in section 3.2 prove a helpful start: that attitudes play a more significant role the fewer

perceived other implications (e.g. financial implications); the more that the attitude relates to a specific behaviour; and the more that the behaviour is based on a reflex response.

This requires building up a detailed map of the behavioural path for each user group identified in stage 3. Evidence sources can include social surveys, opinion polling, psychological research, self-reporting studies and statistical modelling. These need to be measure at least three elements:

- The link between stated attitudes and behavioural intentions in the area. For example, this might measure the link between responses to statements such as "staying in education after the age of 16 is an important thing to do" (attitude) with the responses to statements such as "I intend to remain in education after the age of 16" (intention).
- The link between the behavioural intention and whether they actually do remain in education (behaviour).
- The link between the original attitude and the behaviour.

Additional aspects to measure include the perceived social norm and sense of self-efficacy or behavioural control that one has. For example this might include responses to statements such as "people close to me say that it is important for me to remain in education after the age of 16" (social norm) or "I have control over whether or not I remain in education after the age of 16" (self-efficacy). The purpose of these questions is to assess the relative importance of the different drivers of behaviour. For example:

- a relatively strong link between attitudes and behavioural intentions and behavioural intentions and actual behaviour[63] implies that attitudes are having a greater impact on behaviour than incentives and barriers, and information and engagement approaches (or equally that incentives and barriers operating *previously* successfully impacted onto attitudes).

[63] Which therefore implies a strong link between attitudes and behaviour

- a relatively strong link between attitudes and behavioural intentions but not behavioural intentions and actual behaviour implies that while attitudes are important their behavioural effect is countered by incentives and barriers, and information and engagement approaches.
- a relatively weak link between attitudes and behavioural intentions and behavioural intentions and actual behaviour implies attitudes are relatively unimportant in determining behaviour.
- a relatively weak link between attitudes and behavioural intentions but a strong link between behavioural intentions and actual behaviour implies attitudes are likely to be important and suggests we are mis-specifying the level at which we measure attitudes.

It is important to remember that such indicators measure behaviour and not outcomes. It is, of course, difficult to predict outcomes from behaviour as there will be other factors involved in determining actual outcomes beyond the behaviour of the individual. For example, in relation to individual aspirations for employment, job placement is the *outcome*, job search the *behaviour*, the intention to undertake job search the *behavioural intention*, and the perception about whether one should aspire to be employed the *attitude*.

Where attitudinal information has been used in policy development it has tended to be used to assess the level of support for a particular policy, but not systematically to develop the actual policy or link to desired outcomes. There is much scope to develop interventions more specifically geared around attitudes and cultural capital. For example, a recent review of policy interventions to address attitudes in relation to health behaviour showed that around one-half were effective in changing behavioural intentions and around two-thirds at changing actual behaviour.[64] This calls for the need for more research into the

[64] *Application of the Theory of Planned Behaviour in Behaviour Change Interventions: A Systematic Review*. Psychology and Health, Hardman et al (2002)

role attitudes, values and aspirations play at both a policy specific and departmental level and a more systematic use of this in the policy development stage.

Case study: mapping the behavioural path for exercise

110 patients at a health clinic were asked the following questions:

- Taking regular physical activity over the next six months would be… bad-good, unpleasant-pleasant, etc (i.e. the attitude)
- I intend to take regular physical activity over the next six months (i.e. the behavioural intention)
- People who are important to me think that I should/should not take regular physical activity over the next six months (i.e. the social norm)
- How much control do you feel you have over taking regular physical activity over the next six months? (i.e. the behavioural control)

The correlations with actual behaviour were:

- 33% between attitude and intention, and 23% between attitude and behaviour;
- 32% between intention and behaviour;
- 22% between social norm and behaviour; and
- 37% between self-efficacy and behaviour.

These results demonstrate that attitudes towards healthy living and exercise are an important driver of exercise behaviour. But they also imply that as much as two-thirds of exercise behaviour can be explained in the breakdown between intentions and actual behaviour – suggesting incentives, barriers, information and engagement are also critical to ensuring that attitudes pass through into actual exercise behaviour.

Source: *The theory of planned behaviour and exercise*. Norman, P., Conner, M., & Bell, R. British Journal of Health Psychology, 5, 249-261. (2000)

4.5 Determine suitability of policy interventions

The fifth stage requires moving from an understanding of what is driving behaviour to how policy interventions can effectively influence these. Determining where interventions can be most effective should be based on two factors. First, the relative importance of the different drivers of behaviour (based on stage 4). Second, the extent to which interventions to influence these drivers have demonstrated effectiveness. These interventions map onto the framework set out at the beginning of chapter 3 identifying the different drivers of cultural capital and behaviour:

1. Building cultural capital through policy interventions that work through:

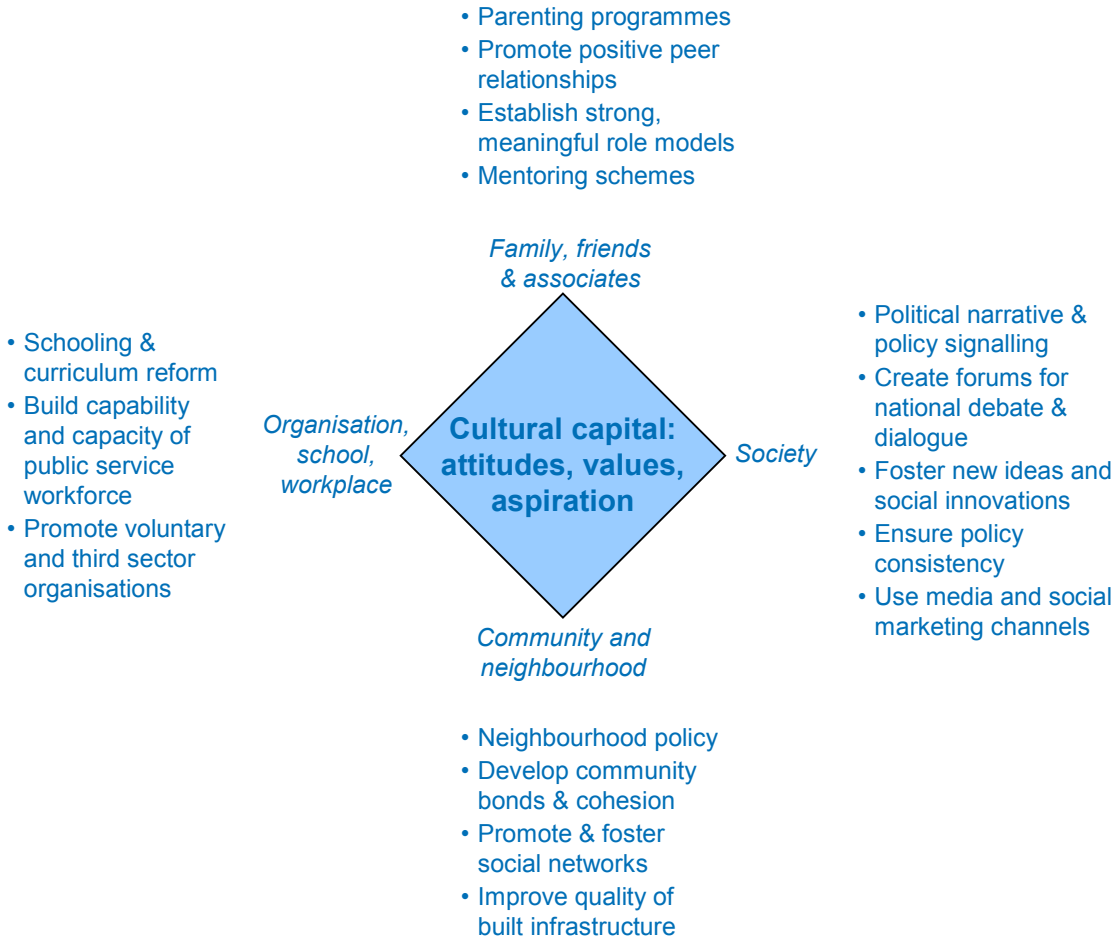
    - *Society influences* – including the role of structural investment and socio-economic policy, political narrative and policy signalling and coherence, and the development of ideas and innovation and how these diffuse across society.

    - *Family, friends and associates* – including the role of policy in building more effective parenting, better peer relations, and using role models and mentors to promote positive norms.

    - *Community and neighbourhood* – including the role that neighbourhood policy, urban renewal and built infrastructure can play in building cultural capital.

    - *Organisation, school and workplace* – including the role that organisations ranging from schools and workplaces, to third sector and social enterprises, to informal clubs and networks can have in relation to cultural capital.

Fig 18: Policy interventions to build cultural capital



2. Policy interventions that drive behaviour through:

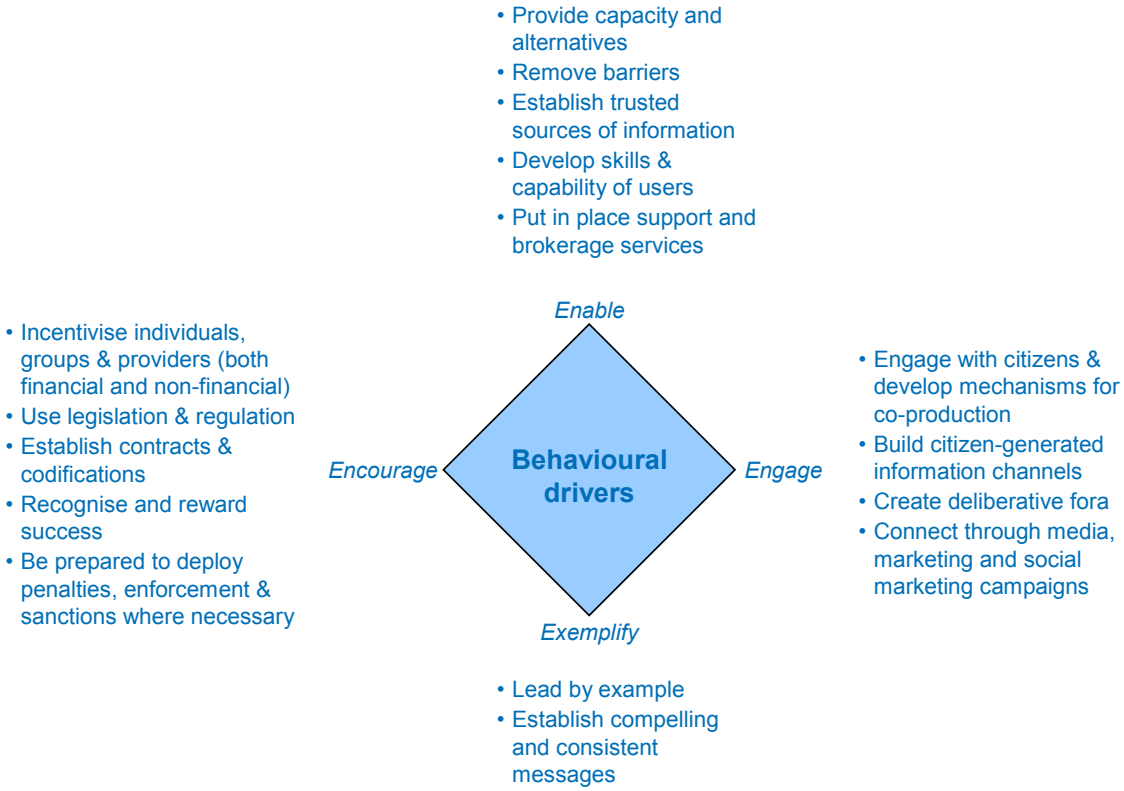
   - *Enabling measures* – including providing capacity and support for individuals, using information and awareness, and building skills and capacity.

   - *Encouraging measures* – including using incentives, legislation, regulation, recognitions and rewards to encourage particular behaviour.

   - *Engaging measures* – including the role that citizen engagement, co-production, deliberative fora, as well as media campaigning and social marketing can play in shaping behaviour.

- *Exemplifying measures* – including the importance of leading by example and ensuring policy uses compelling and consistent messages.

Fig 19: Policy interventions that shape behaviour



1. (a) Society influences on cultural capital

The previous chapter established that the development of cultural capital can be driven by forces operating at a society-wide level. Policy instruments can influence this in three main ways: through structural investment, reform and socio-economic policy; through political narrative, policy signalling and coherence and leading by example; and by creating the conditions necessary for new ideas and innovations to flourish.

Structural investment, reform and socio-economic policy will often have a strong influence on cultural capital. For example, much of the research in the field of social exclusion and deprivation highlights the vicious cycle of poverty as entrenched worklessness, ill health and disadvantage breeds a culture of low aspiration which in turn further exacerbates poverty. One way to break this link is through using investment, reform and socio-economic policy to attack both sides of the cycle. For example, the UK Government has attempted to break this link in recent years though the Child Poverty Strategy, minimum wage legislation, investment in City Academies and Sure Start Centres, and the Skills Agenda. It is also important to create the conditions for aspirations to be realised, for example through maintaining a strong and stable economy with high employment.

Chapter 3 set out how political narrative can feed into the stock of cultural capital in two respects. First through *political timing* of policy interventions to 'ride the wave' of changes already occurring in society and second through *political leadership* to drive these forward. Recent legislation to ban smoking in all public places provides a good example. Attitudes towards smoking in general began to shift following the Royal College of Physicians paper in 1962 linking with smoking with cancer.[65] Subsequently attitudes towards smoking in public places shifted slowly over several decades – as evidenced by the gradual increase in either total or partial smoking bans in private establishments (aircraft, restaurants etc).

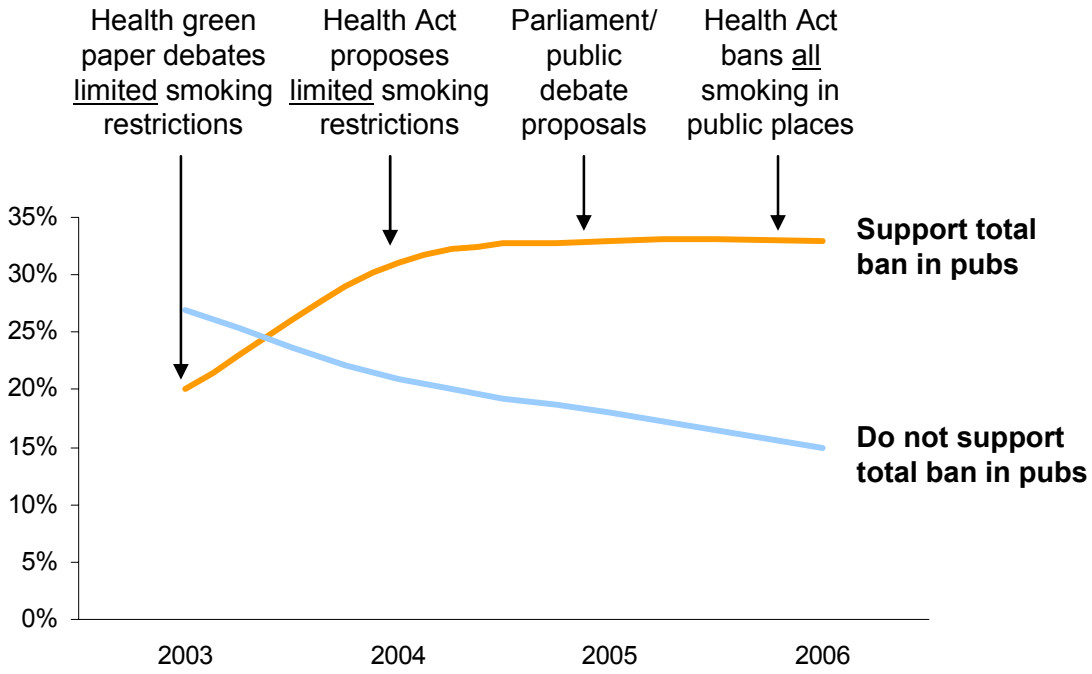
A significant turning point in attitudes however came after leading respected and official bodies began to make the evidenced case for a ban – such as the British Medical Association in 2002[66] and the Chief Medical Officer in 2004[67]. By then campaigners could point to other cities and countries which had already implemented a public ban and demonstrate that any adverse consequences could be mitigated.

In legislating for a total ban on smoking the Government was both *responding* to long-term attitudinal shifts (as the balance of interest between smokers and non-smokers has

[65] *Smoking and Health* - Summary and Report of The Royal College of Physicians of London on Smoking in relation to Cancer of the Lung and Other Diseases (1962)
[66] *Towards smoke- free public places,* BMA briefing paper (2002) – available at www.bma.org.uk
[67] *On the State of Public Health: Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer*, Department of Health (2004) – available at www.dh.gov.uk

changed) but also *leading* the debate to shift attitudes further. It is clear that the ban would not have been publicly acceptable even as recently as 2001. As the chart below shows there was a dramatic halving of opposition to a total ban between 2003 and 2006 as the public debate on the issue intensified as the policy came closer to implementation.

Fig 20: Public opinion towards a total ban on smoking in pubs



Source: National Statistics – *Attitudes relating to smoking (2006)*

The key lesson from the smoking ban experience is that identifying when attitudes are shifting, and applying political leadership combined with a transparent and open review of evidence can transform a social norm within a relative short span of time.

More broadly government should recognise the role that specialist institutions, such as think tanks or action groups can play in leading social norms and actively engaging with such organisations.

Policy also has an important *signalling* effect on how people think about the world around them. For example:

- Implicit in the Child Poverty Strategy is the message that child poverty is unacceptable in a modern and prosperous economy.
- Minimum wage legislation has ended low paid employment, and has arguably sent a strong political signal to both employers (fair pay) and employees (skill development).
- Structural investment such as in City Academies and Sure Start Centres reflect an approach to addressing poor social outcomes in disadvantaged areas and raising aspiration levels in these communities more generally.

Similarly there is an important role for political leaders to lead by example as exemplars of the social norm. This requires clear and consistent messages from government. For example, how government departments procure and consume environmental resources and how politicians behave in relation to the environment sends powerful signals to the wider population about what the appropriate social norm should be. Similarly the way in which the UK Government has played a leading role in the global agenda on climate change and international development both reflects and reinforces social norms within the UK. The lesson here is that the public do pick up on subtle messages embodied within policy decisions, and it is therefore crucial to ensure consistency of policy preferences. Of course the relationship between the media and government is also important for how policy is communicated and signalled to wider society.

Encouraging other organisations to promote positive social norms – a key aim of corporate social responsibility (CSR) – will also influence the development of cultural capital. CSR is defined as the business contribution to sustainable development goals – principally how business takes account of its economic, social and environmental impacts (both positive and negative). Although such actions are by definition voluntary and above minimum legal requirements there is a role for government in providing the policy and institutional framework that encourages business to adopt CSR practices. For example, this might be through best practice guidance, fiscal incentives, intelligent regulation or reporting requirements.

Finally, government policy is important for creating the conditions for new ideas and innovations to be tested, trialled and adjusted and diffused more widely. A recent review of Social Innovation by the Young Foundation[68] cites several ways in which public policy can encourage more innovative practice, including:

- Leaders who visibly encourage and reward successful innovation.
- Focussing finance on innovation, including from both public and private sources.
- Using incubator models for testing and trialling innovations.
- Establishing institutions to link small scale enterprises to larger organisations such as business and legislative bodies.

For example, the initial London congestion charge provided an incubator to test and trial the concept of congestion charging in major urban areas. Its success has enabled the Mayor to increase the zone in size in addition to increasing the daily charge from £5 to £8. Other cities including Manchester, Nottingham, Derby and Leicester are now looking at potential schemes to implement within their inner city areas.

1. (b) Family, friends and associates and their influence on cultural capital

While many of the most immediate influences to an individual are the most powerful, they are also the most contested areas for the role of government. Any such policy interventions must therefore be based on clear evidence of their effectiveness and be used in a targeted manner.

Parenting programmes are a good example. Attitudes towards the acceptability of parenting programmes have changed radically over recent years as both the importance of

[68] *Social Innovation: what it is, why it matters and how it can be accelerated*. Mulgan, G; Tucker, S; Rushanara, A; Sanders, B (2007) – available at www.youngfoundation.org.uk

parenting and the efficacy of parenting interventions have been demonstrated. There is extensive evidence that well-designed parenting programmes can have an impact on parenting styles and child outcomes.[69] For example both DCSF's responsibility for early years and parenting and the Home Office led work on Respect have led to some innovative work:

- The £14m Parenting Fund[70] has supported third sector organisations to strengthen support services for parents, particularly black and ethnic minority parents, parents with mental health problems, families living with conflict, and parents with disabilities or who have children with a disability. Criteria for Round Two of the fund (from 2006-08) have put greater emphasis on working with teenagers, incorporating aspects of the "Respect" agenda. This second phase also recognises the value of supporting couples' relationships as a way of strengthening parenting.

- DCSF are launching a National Academy for Parenting Professionals to raise skills and standards in the delivery of these programmes. This will act as a single source of advice on academic research and evidence on parenting and parenting support.

- The DCSF personalisation agenda, which builds more one-to-ones between teachers and parents and more regular pupil performance information. This will help develop a school system with clearer expectations for engagement between parents and pupils.

Interventions to help families and parents are also used effectively in other countries. For example, the Nurse Family Partnership in the US provides structured home visits by trained nurses from pregnancy to two years. The programme claims a 19:1 benefit ratio with 4:1 downstream savings for the highest risk families and a 56% reduction in arrest levels at age 15.[71]

Functional Family Therapy is another family intervention programme in the US that seeks to reduce the risk of conduct disorder. Running since 1971, it works by using therapy

[69] The Home Office's "Action for Parents" (2006) contains a comprehensive account of the relevant literature
[70] Funding for the years 2006 to 2008
[71] *Blueprints for violence prevention,* Morgan Harris Burrows (2003)

techniques for whole families with the aim of increasing family communication and supportiveness. Studies assessing its effectiveness have shown that on average it reduces core-offending rates by 35% for serious offenders and by 50-70% with less serious offenders. The intervention costs around £1,100 per family.[72]

In relation to peer interventions the policy objective is to "reduce the negative and promote the positive" in peer relationships. Negative peer effects can be curtailed through:

- The use of regulation to segment service user groups. For example, this is an approach commonly used in school banding and admission rules in education where schools are encouraged to take a mix of pupils from different backgrounds. It is an approach also used by many housing associations which often offer a certain proportion of their housing stock to different client groups.

- Interventions to tackle whole peer groups, such as whole-class mentoring. For example, the *Aiming High* initiative has focussed support and guidance on whole-school change to raise performance of African Caribbean pupils. Evidence suggests that this has been successful in improving results.[73] Similarly the Youth Inclusion Programme in the UK has focussed mentoring support in high crime, high deprivation areas to 13-16 year olds at most risk of offending, truancy or exclusion. Arrest rates for the over 4,000 young people engaged over the first three years of the programme went down by 65%, with 73% of those previously arrested before the intervention not arrested during their engagement.[74]

Policy can also harness the effect of positive peer relationships. For example professional outreach and adult mentoring can raise life aspirations for people and help show them pathways for these aspirations to be realised. These relationships can also be facilitated

[72] *ibid*
[73] *Evaluation of Aiming High: African Caribbean Achievement Project*, Brief No: RB801, DfES (2006)
[74] *Evaluation of the Youth Inclusion Programme: End of Phase One*, Rubin, J (2006)

through building capacity in constructive activities such as youth provision and summer schools.

Early intervention can help to tackle some of the most problematic individuals or families where other strategies are unlikely to work**.** This has been shown to be the case with the highly cost-effective Family Intervention Projects that seek to improve the outcomes of dysfunctional families.[75]

Finally, mentoring has been an importance role to play in building cultural capital. In the US active mentoring through the Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHs) curriculum has effectively promoted emotional and social competencies and reducing behavioural problems in primary school aged children. The curriculum is taught three times a week for a minimum of 20-30 minutes per day and costs approximately £30 per pupil per year.[76]

1. (c) Community and neighbourhood influences on cultural capital

Neighbourhood and community policy can also play a significant role in the development of cultural capital. For example, living in social housing increases the likelihood of an individual being unemployed even controlling for a very wide range of personal characteristics. Policy to address community and neighbourhood effects can include things such as:

- The Building Schools for Future programme which is a long term commitment of resources to developing the quality of buildings and ICT in schools. This has been effective in raising school standards, in part through raising pupil aspiration levels.[77]

[75] *Anti-social Behaviour Intensive Family Support Projects: An Evaluation of Six Pioneering Projects*, DCLG (2006)
[76] *Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS): Blueprints for Violence Prevention, Book Ten*. Greenberg, M.T., Kusché, C. & Mihalic, S.F. (1998).
[77] *Building Performance: an empirical assessment of the relationship between schools capital investment and pupil performance*, PricewaterhouseCoopers for DFES, Research Brief No 242 (2001)

- Use of 'spotlighting' techniques to intensively regenerate local communities such as the Urban Splash scheme in Salford. This uses creative design around traditional housing structures to transform the levels of community pride in their neighbourhood.

1. (d) Role of organisations, schools and workplaces in building cultural capital

Schooling has a critical influence on cultural capital, which is recognised throughout education policy. For example, the *Gilbert Review*[78] is based on an agenda to harness the positive effect that individual teachers can have on pupil aspiration. The review evidences the importance of teachers' aspirations and expectations about their pupils, and recommends giving intensive support to those struggling to make adequate progression. It also notes the role teachers, careers advisers and Connexions personal have on learning pathways for pupils and recommends more systematic monitoring of the take-up of the different pathways at a school, local and national level.

Similarly in health policy can work with professionals to encourage and reinforce better organisational culture and behaviour. For example, Lord Darzi and colleagues from Imperial College have developed a patient safety video for staff which shows the patient experience of hospital care and practical steps staff can take to create healthier and more patient-centred hospital culture.[79]

The third sector has an important role in social and cultural capital development. This is a diverse and active sector, which brings strong values to their activities. The Government's policy goals here are to work in partnership with the sector to:

- Enable campaigning and empowerment, particularly for those at risk of social exclusion.
- Strengthen communities, drawing together people from different sections of society.

[78] *2020 Vision: Report of the Teaching and Learning in 2020 Review Group* (2006) – available at http://publications.teachernet.gov.uk
[79] For details on the PINK Patient Safety work see: www.patientsafetycongress.co.uk

- Transform public services, through delivery, design, innovation and campaigning.
- Enable social enterprise growth and development, combining business and social goals.

Building cultural capital: key lessons

- Seek big changes secured over a long time period.
- Lead by example to exemplify the positive social norm.
- Signal this consistently through political narrative and policy decisions.
- Create 'safe spaces' to test and trial new ideas and innovations.
- Identify and build on changes already occurring in society – and carefully time when to intervene to shape dialogue and debate.
- Bring together multiple interventions where effects are most entrenched.
- Be willing to innovate and trial new routes, such as mentoring.
- Understand where the boundaries of public acceptance for the intervention lie, and seek to win this over time through dialogue, debate and demonstrating of efficacy.

2. (a) 'Enabling' influences on behaviour

Enabling influences are crucial to ensure the transition of cultural capital into actual behaviour. This means providing the capacity and alternatives for individuals, removing any barriers they face, and developing skills and capabilities.

For example, the London congestion charge combined the use of price incentives (charging people travelling by private transport in central London) with significant investment in the capacity of the public transport system. In the years since the

introduction of the congestion charge in 2003 the volume of car travel within the congestion charging area has fallen by over one-third, with a corresponding 31% increase in the number of daily trips made by bus.[80]

Similarly the evidence on choice in public services shows that it is most effective when there is good information and support to help people, in particular the most disadvantaged. Programmes already exist to provide information and support, such as choice advisers for schools and healthcare. For example, in education Parent Support Advisers work in over 600 schools, both primary and secondary, to help parents in their schools choices and assist in identifying problems and broking solutions through the local authority.

Enabling people through addressing barriers to undertaking certain actions or behaviour will be important, such as providing transport infrastructure. Similarly, creating barriers can also be effective at discouraging certain actions or behaviour. For example, designing out crime and anti-social behaviour through urban management has proved effective at removing hot-spot areas for the development of anti-social behaviour. Evidence has shown that even improving street lighting can reduce crime by as much as 30%.[81]

2. (b) 'Encouraging' influences on behaviour

There is an extensive literature on the tried and tested used of policy interventions to encourage particular courses of action. This includes the use of incentives, legislation, regulation and facilitative measures such as providing capacity and meaningful alternatives. Financial incentives have been widely and effectively used in public policy to drive changes in culture and behaviour. For example:

[80] *London Travel Report 2006*, Transport for London (2006) – available at www.tfl.gov.uk
[81] *Effects of improved street lighting on crime: a systematic review*, Home Office Research Study 251, David P Farrington & Brandon C Welsh (2002)

- Increasing the price of cigarettes through taxation has been effective in reducing levels of smoking among young people.[82] The World Bank has calculated that in developed countries a 10% increase in cigarette prices reduces smoking by about 4%.[83]

- The move to unleaded petrol worked on the basis that consumers would be attracted to the cheapest price of fuel for their vehicles, with duty of unleaded petrol historically lower than that on leaded petrol and diesel.

- Alcohol consumption has been shown to be sensitive both to availability and price. Increasing the price of alcohol has the potential to reduce road accidents, work injuries, violent crime, and abuse. [84]

- Empirical research from US states which have used higher rates of sales tax on snack foods conclude that increased taxation of soft drinks reduces consumption.[85]

- Educational Maintenance Allowances (EMAs) have been effective at raising the staying-on rate in post-16 further education by targeting incentives of as much as £30 per week to the most disadvantaged groups. Staying on rates increased by 4.5 percentage points in the first two years after their introduction (although there have been other factors involved, EMAs was the largest and most significant initiative).[86]

- Household waste charges have been shown to reduce waste volume by around 10% and to increase recycling.[87]

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[82] Scottish Executive, Report of the Smoking Prevention Working Group
[83] World Bank. *Curbing the epidemic. Governments and the economics of tobacco control.* Washington: The World Bank, 1999
[84] However, experience in Sweden shows that financial incentives need to be carefully designed. Treno, A.J.; Gruenewald, P.J.; Wood, D.S.; and Ponicki, W.R. (2006), "The price of alcohol: A consideration of contextual factors," Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research
[85] *Effect of a snack tax on household soft drink expenditure*, University of Wisconsin working paper .Tefft (2006)
[86] *Participation in Education*. Training & Employment by 16-18 Year Olds in England 2004 and 2005 DfES, SFR 21/2006
[87] *Building on Progress: Energy and the Environment*, Cabinet Office (2007) – available at www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/ strategy (data from Eunomia, 'Eurocharge' 2003)

Contracts and codifications can also be effective. For example, explicit or implicit contracts can be used between the citizen and the state, whereby the former is incentivised to engage in co-productive[88] behaviour with the latter. For example:

- Irwell Valley Housing Association operates a 'Gold Service scheme' that rewards good tenants with preferential treatment (e.g. quicker emergency repairs, priority modernisation; discounts on home contents insurance), in exchange for the tenant paying their rent regularly (which is the entry requirement to the scheme). Although the scheme is voluntary, more than 90% of tenants are now members. Costs, evictions, voids and rent arrears have all fallen significantly. One thing this demonstrates is that the use of reward incentives are often more acceptable than the use of punitive ones. Rather than sanction to stop poor behaviour this scheme works by rewarding positive behaviour and hence reinforcing this as the social norm.[89]

Incentives can also work through other routes such as through groups of service users or service providers themselves. For example:

- Under regulations currently before Parliament, Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs) will soon be able to apply for direct powers for Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, thereby encouraging and enabling them to take control and responsibility for their immediate neighbourhood.

- DCSF will be introducing a £115m Youth Opportunity Fund and Youth Capital Fund, which will put funds directly in the hands of young people to spend on projects and constructive activities in their area. Guidance on the £115m fund ensures these resources will be concentrated most in areas of deprivation and low aspiration.

[88] *Co-production* involves citizens playing a more active and responsible role in designing or delivering services

[89] Further details on the Irwell Valley scheme are at: www.irwellvalleyha.co.uk

Legislation can also be used as policy instrument to more explicitly recognise the 'contracts' between the citizen and state. For example:

- Over 8,000 Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) have been issued since 1998, giving authorities powers to tackle anti-social behaviour and set standards for offenders' expected future conduct. Independent research shows these have been very effective, with 65% of people having stopped behaving anti-socially after one intervention, 86% after two, and 93% after three interventions.[90]

- Recent proposals to raise the school minimum leaving age to 18 would legislate to ensure all young people remain in education or training until 18, working alongside EMAs which have removed financial barriers to staying on.[91]

- Legislation enforcing the wearing of seatbelts in the UK in 1983 led to a dramatic increase in the number of motorists wearing seatbelts, and significantly reduced the number of serious and fatal car crashes.[92]

Encouraging measures need to be configured to each different area. The first step in doing so is to develop a detailed understanding of what drives the actual behaviour. The list of behavioural biases in section 3.3 provides a helpful start. Specific measures can then be used to mitigate the effects of these. For example, Acceptable Behaviour Contracts aim to clarify appropriate behaviours and be explicit about the costs where these standards are not met.

In practice then there are a range of ways in which encouraging measures can be deployed to drive culture change. Examples of these are summarised in the tables below.

[90] *The Home Office: Tackling Anti-Social Behaviour* – Report by the National Audit Office (2006)
[91] *Raising Expectations: staying in education and training post-16*, DfES (2007)
[92] *Parliamentary Advisory Council for Transport Safety*, DETR (1997)

Examples of using encouraging measures at the *individual* level

Type of encourager (individual)	Where most applicable	Policy examples (NB: includes examples not used in the UK)
1. Consumption taxes	▪ Where there is a clear and identifiable good consumed that has an *adverse* private or social consequence ▪ Where demand is responsive to price ▪ Where the tax can be easily laid without high administrative costs	▪ Alcohol and tobacco duty ▪ Air fuel duty ▪ Fizzy drink taxes in US ▪ Waste charging
2. Consumption subsidies	▪ Where there is a clear and identifiable good consumed that has a *positive* private or social consequence ▪ Where demand is responsive to price ▪ Where the subsidy can be easily distributed without high administrative or regulatory costs	▪ Public transport ▪ Unleaded petrol ▪ Educational Maintenance Allowances (EMAs) ▪ Energy efficiency grants
3. Point of use charges	▪ Where the good or service is not additional to a basic right ▪ Where there are limited social returns to consumption, or private returns that are significantly greater	▪ Prescription charges ▪ Dental/ optician charges ▪ Congestion charge ▪ Higher Education tuition fees
4. Individual budgets	▪ Where the user may be considered a genuine expert 'commissioner' in the area ▪ Where there is a need for the service to be personalised by the individual	▪ Social care & long term conditions ▪ Individual budgets for disabled persons
5. Use of 'opt in' vs. 'opt out' framing of choices	▪ Where there is a clear decision point where the automatic default position can be switched	▪ Pension reforms that automatically enrol workers into low cost schemes ▪ Organ donation

6.'Trigger' incentives	▪ Where strong initial incentives can break entrenched behaviour, but weaker incentives used thereafter	▪ Environmental measures – where green investments are often heavily subsidised to break entrenched habits
7. Contracts or codifications of expectations	▪ Where clarifying expectations and costs of not meeting them act to change behaviour	▪ Home-School agreements ▪ Acceptable Behaviour Contracts
8. Regulatory and legislative	▪ Where changing regulatory or legal provisions can prevent behaviours and act as a driver for broader culture change	▪ Seat belt legislation ▪ ASBOs ▪ Plans to raise minimum age of cigarette purchasing to 18 ▪ School leaving age ▪ Product standards ▪ Building regulations

Examples of using encouraging measures at the *group* level

Type of encourager (group)	Where most applicable	Policy examples (NB: includes examples not used in the UK)
1. Group budgets	▪ Where the good or service has strong public good properties, and can be administered at reasonable cost	▪ Youth Capital Fund ▪ Tenant Management Organisations
2. Group contests	▪ Where groups can contest on a fair platform for rewards against similar groups	▪ Class healthy eating rewards
3. First-mover rewards	▪ Where there is a clearly identifiable group with strong peer effects, and where giving strong incentives for a 'first-mover' can act to catalyse change in the wider group	▪ Renewable energy – e.g. taking advantage of subsidies for developing clear technology and marketing this elsewhere
4. Social pressure messages	▪ In cases where there is a definable impact on the wider group of individual choices; and, ▪ Where applying social pressure based around a clear norm or value	▪ Safe sex messages
5. Contracts or codifications at the group level	▪ Where clear agreements between whole groups can act to bind groups into the norm, potentially reinforced by explicit link to rewards or greater responsibility	▪ Neighbourhood Improvement Districts

2. (c) 'Engagement' influences on behaviour

These will be most effective however when combined with information, support and guidance based around strong engagement with citizens. There is a spectrum of possible interventions in this area, as set out in the diagram below:

The most basic approach is to ensure that people have access to information on which to base their choices. This can be achieved by encouraging or regulating providers to provide information (e.g. nutritional information) or by government mandated processes (e.g. school league tables). However, passive information provision alone is unlikely to make a significant difference if underlying low aspirations whether information is used and choices made.

A more sophisticated approach than blanket information provision is to develop focused social marketing campaigns.[93] While some areas of government are increasingly using such techniques, their application in the UK overall lags behind other countries (especially Australia and New Zealand).

[93] Social marketing campaigns involve the systematic application of marketing alongside other techniques and tools to achieve specific social behavioural goals

Case Study: Social Marketing 'Down Under'

Social marketing has a long history in the Pacific region such as the famous 'Slip-Slop-Slap' campaign from 1981 to shift attitudes towards using protective measures against harmful radiation from the sun. Research assessing the effectiveness of social marketing techniques used across Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific includes social marketing relating to tobacco, alcohol, domestic violence and physical activity. Social marketing is a recognised profession in the region with an annual conference along with regular workshops and seminars to share innovative practice.

There is extensive evidence that well-designed campaigns can have a significant impact on behaviour. For example:

- A campaign in Sunderland to reduce smoking among pregnant women increased the numbers using smoking cessation services ten fold, with a much higher increase in areas targeted by the campaign than other similar areas.[94]

- A Liverpool-wide campaign to raise awareness of alcohol risks using a engaging and credible brand appearing on items such as beer mats and postcards, and through a website and blog, managed to reach over 61% of the local population and reduce the level of alcohol-related A&E attendances.[95]

- A campaign to influence eating habits among school children in Salford tripled the consumption of vegetables.[96]

- A campaign to promote healthy physical activity in the US delivered a 38% decline in the number of children from low income homes who did not take exercise.[97]

[94] see: www.sunderland.nhs.uk
[95] see: www.pssst.org.uk
[96] see www.sathealthyschools.org
[97] see: www.healthypeople.gov

- A strong anti-smoking campaign led by the Canadian Federal Government. From 1985 the 'break free' campaign using a range of information aides alongside popular role models to tackle prevailing peer pressure. Around two-thirds of young Canadians said it either helped in their choice not to smoke or made it easier not to start in the first place.[98]

There is a strong evidence base on the factors that make social marketing campaigns successful. These factors all depend on a sophisticated understanding of the psychology that drives behaviour. Some of the best practice that has been developed includes starting from a detailed understanding of the needs, desires and attitudes of the individuals concerned, researching the underlying reasons for certain behaviours and developing an "offer" that will be attractive given existing needs, values and other pressures such as peer group influences.[99]

And there is clear evidence that the manner in which the social marketing message is delivered has a significant impact on its effectiveness. For example social marketing messages will be most effective when they:

- Use a language of *reciprocity* (i.e. the Government must be the first-mover and have a clear offer *in exchange* for a behavioural response from the service user). For example improving rights and access to health resources in exchange for greater personal responsibility in lifestyles;

- Come from authoritative and trustworthy sources, for example using named expert figures behind the message wherever possible such as the Government's Chief Scientist and Medical Officer;

[98] see: www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/prb988-e.htm
[99] Examples and principles of social marketing from National Consumer Council 2006 *"It's our health – realising the potential of effective social marketing"*

- Use subtle framing techniques about the choice and tradeoffs to behaviour. For example loss rather than gain language is often more effective in driving behaviour change (e.g. 'you stand to lose £3 per hour in salary if you don't undertake further education qualifications', and not 'you could earn an extra £3 per hour if you undertook these'); and
- Communicate a message of promoting a positive social norm rather than mitigating a negative social norm (e.g. messages such as 'don't take excessive flights – if everyone continues to do so climate change is inevitable' can be counterproductive and sometimes lead to an increase in the negative social behaviour).[100]

Where group or peer effects are particularly strong, social marketing can be targeted to deal head on with this. For example, this is a common approach in areas such as government safe sex and drugs campaigns.

- A recent National Heart Foundation public billboard marketing campaign has been targeted toward working class men, asking them to report chest pains early. This is based on clear evidence of the effectiveness of early diagnosis and treatment of heart disease and cancer, and the significant discrepancy in levels of pain reporting between middle class and working class men.
- The Apnee Sehat ('Our Health') initiative with the South Asian community in the West Midlands has targeted awareness and assistance to change lifestyle and eating habits within this community who have historically high rates of heart disease, diabetes and high cholesterol.

Social marketing can be reinforced with the use of role models to target particularly entrenched groups, as has been successfully developed in the US 'Stay in School'

[100] Adapted from *Influence: Science and Practice* Robert Cialdini (2001)

programmes.[101] Furthermore, Government can also make use of 'trusted individuals' to promote and reinforce social norms, by working together with outside institutions involved in service delivery (e.g. youth clubs and scouting associations in the case of young people).

The Food Standards Agency's programme of interventions to educate people on healthy eating and simple ways to make changes is another example of engaging and informing the public to encourage changes in behaviour. In some areas providing impact information can also be effective in driving change, particularly where this is linked to a recognisable group.

More intensive still is provision of specific individual advice and mentoring. We already do this in several areas. For example:

- Participants in the London Patient Choice Pilot were supported by advisors when choosing which hospital to use for elective surgery.
- DCSF are introducing a system of choice advisers to help parents make decisions about schooling options.
- Personal advisers funded by the New Deal programme help job-seekers to choose the route into work that will best suit their personal circumstances.

In a similar vein to incentives acting through providers, the use of effective performance information can be a lever to ensure providers are delivering culture change objectives. For example, the widespread use of data in schools – and sharing this with pupils and parents on a regular basis – ensures schools can no longer hide behind poor results when other similar schools perform better. This ensures teachers set strong aspirations for their pupils with challenging but attainable goals. For example, the *Gilbert Review – 2020 Vision*

[101] The US 'Stay in School' programmes bring together targeted media campaigns with the use of role models to change attitudes toward staying in education, particularly among ethnic minority groups. Social marketing has also been used to promote adult basic skills such as the DCSF "Read, Write, Plus" campaign

sets out mechanisms for individual pupil progress measures, and giving those not adequately progressing additional support.

And, information and engagement can be as much citizen-generated as state-generated. In the past it was typically only government or large organisations that had the ability to collect, re-use or distribute information about public services. As the recent *The Power of Information: An Independent Review*[102] identifies there are a number of social and economic benefits to creating new ways to collect and share information:

- In medical studies of breast cancer[103] and HIV patients, participants in online communities understand their condition better and generally show a greater ability to cope. In the case of HIV, there are also lower treatment costs. [104]
- By providing clear information when dispensing medication, pharmacists can improve patient adherence/persistence with medication advice by 16–33%.[105]

A wide range of internet user communities have emerged in recent years. For example, parenting websites like Netmums[106] operate as an online community, to help parents with information and advice that they might not receive from more traditional routes. The Power of Information review recommended that government should:

- Welcome and engage with users and operators of user-generated sites;
- Supply innovators that are re-using government-held information with the information they need, when they need it; and
- Protect the public interest by preparing citizens for a world of plentiful (and sometimes unreliable) information, and help excluded groups take advantage.

[102] Available at www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy
[103] Internet community group participation: psychosocial benefits for women with breast cancer, Rodgers, S. and Q. Chen (2005).
[104] Hellinger, F. J. (2002). 'Focus on Research: HIV Disease', Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, United States Department of Health and Human Services, available at www.ahrq.gov/news/focus/fochiv.pdf
[105] Dr Grace Lomax, presentation to Patient Compliance, Adherence and Persistence Conference, 2005.
[106] See www.netmums.com

2. (d) 'Exemplifying' measures to promote behaviour

This recognises the importance of leading by example and ensuring policy uses compelling and consistent messages. Rather than pointing to specific policy interventions this requires a systemic approach to policymaking, with government setting high standards for itself. For example, when encouraging the public to adopt more environmentally friendly policies government should ensure this is reflected in its own decisions on procurement and infrastructure.

Enable, Engage, Encourage, and Exemplify: key lessons

- Configure interventions to address the drivers of the specific behaviour.
- Clearly signal incentives to all actors involved to ensure they are both understood, and ensure this signalling demonstrates that they are credible and lasting.
- Focus on a target group: for example either a specific sub-group or 'first-mover' group of wider population that can trigger shifts in subsequent groups.
- Seek big changes over a long time period.
- Clearly communicate the desired outcome and engage with the public throughout the process and use trusted and authoritative sources where possible.
- Use insights from behavioural psychology to maximise effect.
- Remove barriers to choices and provide enabling mechanisms to smooth behavioural shifts e.g. the ability to test and trial innovations.
- Seek big changes over a long time period.
- Recognise government can't do it alone. Work with and support the growth of citizen-generated information.

4.6 Establish system to monitor effectiveness

Clearly, establishing a system to monitor effectiveness of interventions is a critical prior step to actually rolling out programmes. This means:

- Determining what the appropriate baseline is, and where possible a control group to test against.
- Defining how we will assess whether objectives have been achieved.
- Establishing how financial impacts and costs and benefits will be assessed.
- Setting a plan to systematically monitor views of professionals, public and stakeholders

These should enable continual improvement of each scheme and enable knowledge to be disseminated and deployed elsewhere. Given the likely longer-term nature of culture change policy we may need to make more use of intermediate targets and assessments for evaluation purposes. It also implies greater focus on building a strong evidence base of effectiveness in advance of the policy roll-out.

4.7 Roll out, implement and refine over time

As with the roll-out of most policy proposals there are a number of common questions[107] that require clarification, including:

- What are we implementing and when?
- Who is responsible for delivering?

[107] Further detail on these can be found in the *Strategy Survival Guide (version 2.1)* Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004) – available at www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy

- Have we identified risks to delivery?

There are, however, three factors associated with culture change policy that are likely to be different to typical policy implementation. First, delivery is likely to be at a multi-agency level in order to deploy the package of interventions (at both a national and local level). This requires clear clarification of roles and responsibilities and promoting cross-agency working. Second, there may need to be greater scope to innovate, test and trial compared to more traditional interventions (e.g. mentoring). This has implications for broader incentives and cultural attitudes associated with risk and adopting of new concepts within the public sector (see page 85 for some of the ways this might be encouraged). One approach might be to make greater use of local 'spotlighting' techniques where policy is rolled out at a small number of local areas to intensively test before wider implementation. Third, delivery is likely to have a longer term horizon than most policy – through seeking to invest in upstream early interventions whose results may only appear over the long term. This has implications for how we monitor effectiveness and define success.

5. From theory to application

- This chapter gives some examples of how culture change theory may be practically applied to different policy areas.
- Case study examples are given from three policy areas: education, healthy living, and environmental sustainability.
- For each, the discussion sets out potential areas for further work based on the step-by-step process established in the previous chapter: clarifying *objectives and the role of government*; *segmenting users*; assessing the *role that cultural capital plays in driving behaviour*; and determining the *suitability of different policy interventions*.

5.1 Education

Initial filter to identify relevance of culture change

The achievement of almost all education objectives will depend on cultural capital and how it influences individual action or behaviour. For example, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) have a number of strategic objectives that clearly depend on attitudes, values, norms and aspirations relating to learning as much as they do on increasing *opportunities* through investment and reform:

- Safeguard children and young people, improve their life outcomes and general wellbeing and break cycles of deprivation.
- Raise standards and tackle the attainment gap in schools.
- All young people to reach age 19 ready for skilled employment or higher education.
- Tackle the adult skills gap.

- Raise and widen participation in higher education.[108]

Clarify objectives and the role for government intervention

This case study will focus on how culture change policy could be used to help reduce the disengagement from education, training and learning. This is formally measured as the percentage of young people aged 16-19 who are 'not in education, employment or training' (NEET). The role for government intervention in this area is clear: to help build a competitive economy and inclusive society by: creating opportunities for everyone to develop their learning; releasing potential in people to make the most of themselves; achieving excellence in standards of education and levels of skills. Supporting this is the clear evidence of high individual and social returns to education. Moreover we know that being NEET between the ages of 16 and 18 is a major predictor of later unemployment, low income, teenage motherhood and depression and poor physical health.[109]

Identify and segment target populations

There are around 220,000 young people aged 16-19 classified as NEET, or around 11% of the two million young people in this age group. Within this we can identify four main groups that will be relevant to achieving the NEET target:

- Those with strongly positive attitudes to learning with a propensity to attend and strive to achieve even in the relative *absence* of facilitative structures, incentives and information. These are obviously not of significant concern for the NEET target, as they are likely to be part of the 90% of young people currently in education, employment or training irrespective of any significantly supporting policy interventions.

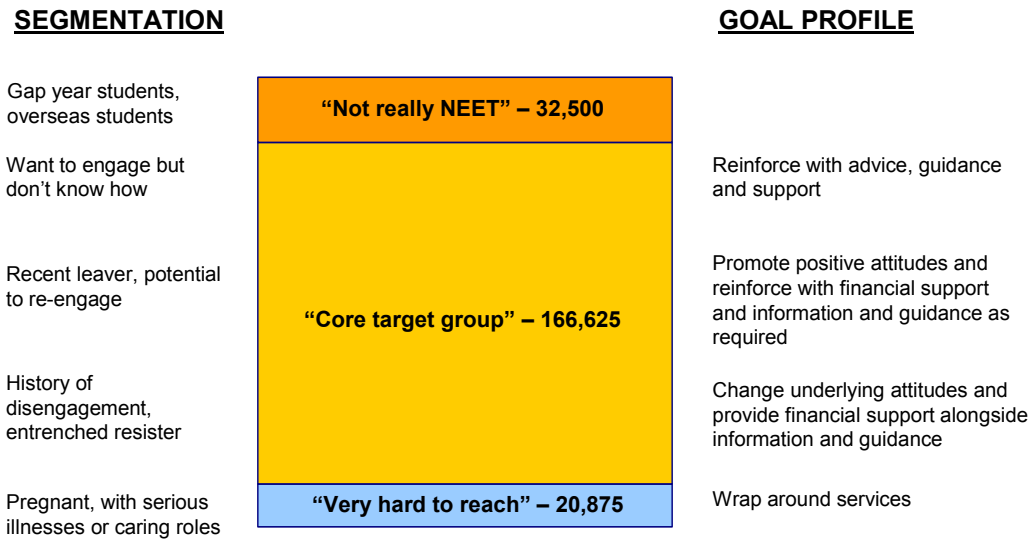
[108] *Departmental Report*, DCSF (2007)
[109] *ibid*

- Those with neutral attitudes to learning for whom facilitative structures, incentives and information are a necessary and also generally sufficient condition to attend and strive to achieve. For example, this might include profiles such as those who "want to re-engage but don't know how" that can be supported with advice and guidance to help them through the learning and training pathway.

- Those with generally negative or conflicting attitudes to learning for whom facilitative structures, incentives and information are a necessary but *not* sufficient condition to attend and strive to achieve. This group tends to be highly correlated with poverty, worklessness and deprivation. For example this might include profiles such as those with a "history of disengagement, entrenched resisters" who will necessitate a shifting of attitudes in addition to support, guidance and incentives to help this translate into actual behaviour.

- Those for whom attitudes are not the primary reason for why they are classified as NEET. For example this might include gap year students and other similar profiles who are "not really NEET" or those pregnant, with serious illnesses or caring roles and hence "very hard to reach". For this latter group the policy response may require more wrap around services and tailoring to needs rather than seeking shifts in attitudes and behaviour.

Fig 21: Segmenting NEET profiles



Assess the role that cultural capital plays in driving behaviour

There has been little research that systematically maps the attitudes-intentions-behaviour path for NEETs. However, detailed research has examined some of the factors that contribute to the likelihood of becoming NEET which we can use to infer this path. For example:

- 49% of those NEET for more than a year had the attitude that "school does little to prepare you for life", compared to 30% of those who had never been NEET. Anecdotal evidence has previously found there to be an attitude of greater "disaffection with school" among the NEET cohort.[110]

- 44% of young people aged 16 do not have the intention to study for a level 3 or higher qualification, rising to 64% of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.[111] Of those who actually become NEET around one-half are from lower socio-economic backgrounds compared to around one in ten with parents from professional or managerial backgrounds.[112]

- There are a range of characteristics strongly associated with the likelihood of becoming NEET including: having a disability or long-standing illness; living in rented accommodation; having parents unemployed or in unskilled profession; having a lack of parental involvement (and ability to give support) in your learning and development; and being a persistent truant in earlier years. These similarly suggest immediate environment influences have a strong effect on the NEET pathway.[113]

It appears therefore that cultural capital – and specifically aspirations – is an important driver of the likelihood of an individual becoming NEET. Evidence also shows that other

[110] *Ibid*
[111] *Youth Cohort Study*, DfES (2005) – available at www.dcsf.gov.uk
[112] Profile of those Not In Education, Employment or Training, DfES (2005) – available at www.dcsf.gov.uk
[113] Young People not in Education, Employment or Training: Evidence from the Education Maintenance Allowance Pilots Database, Research Report RR628, DfES (2005) – available at www.dcsf.gov.uk

behavioural drivers are important in determining whether those attitudes and aspirations manifest into an individual actually becoming NEET. For example:

- Nearly one-half of NEET young people who did not stay on said that a reason for not continuing education was their need to earn more money. And 60% of their parents felt that if their child did so they should at least have a part-time job to contribute to household expenses.[114]

- Over half of young people in the NEET group and their parents felt that the advice that the young person had received at school about what to do after Year 11 was inadequate. The NEET group also tended to receive less support and advice from teachers and careers advisers than the non-NEET group.[115]

Assessing the suitability of interventions

It is clear that reducing the number of young people that are NEET requires addressing both cultural capital and how this manifests into behaviour. Policy can build positive educational norms and values through:

- Family and parenting interventions such as the Parenting Fund supporting parents in need of advice and assistance (see page 87);

- Use of trusted adults and mentors such as the peer mentoring programmes currently operating in 180 secondary schools (see page 88);

- Working to build capability and capacity of teachers and ensure they set and transmit high aspirations and expectations for all their pupils, such through the *Teach First* scheme (see page 89);

[114] *ibid*
[115] *ibid*

- Supporting constructive activities for young people, such as through the Youth Opportunity Fund or summer school programmes (see page 94);
- Developing a culture of high aspirations and achievement in all schools, such as envisaged in the personalisation agenda (see page 87).
- Provision of intensive support right through the educational age group.

And the wider social influences on young people will also have a strong influence on cultural capital. This means:

- Maintaining a prominent and consistent political narrative of the importance of developing and maintaining skills in the modern economy;
- Signalling this importance in a consistent and coherent manner through a wider set of policies, such as legislating to raise the leaving age;
- Building partnerships with the wider organisations that can reach out to young people, such as the media and third sector;
- Involving other thought leading individuals and institutions in the debate and dialogue;
- Working with employers and employer-organisations to develop accredited training opportunities and ensure they hold and promote positive attitudes toward learning.

Such policies also need to sit alongside support to young people to make positive choices.

This means:

- *Enabling* young people such as through:

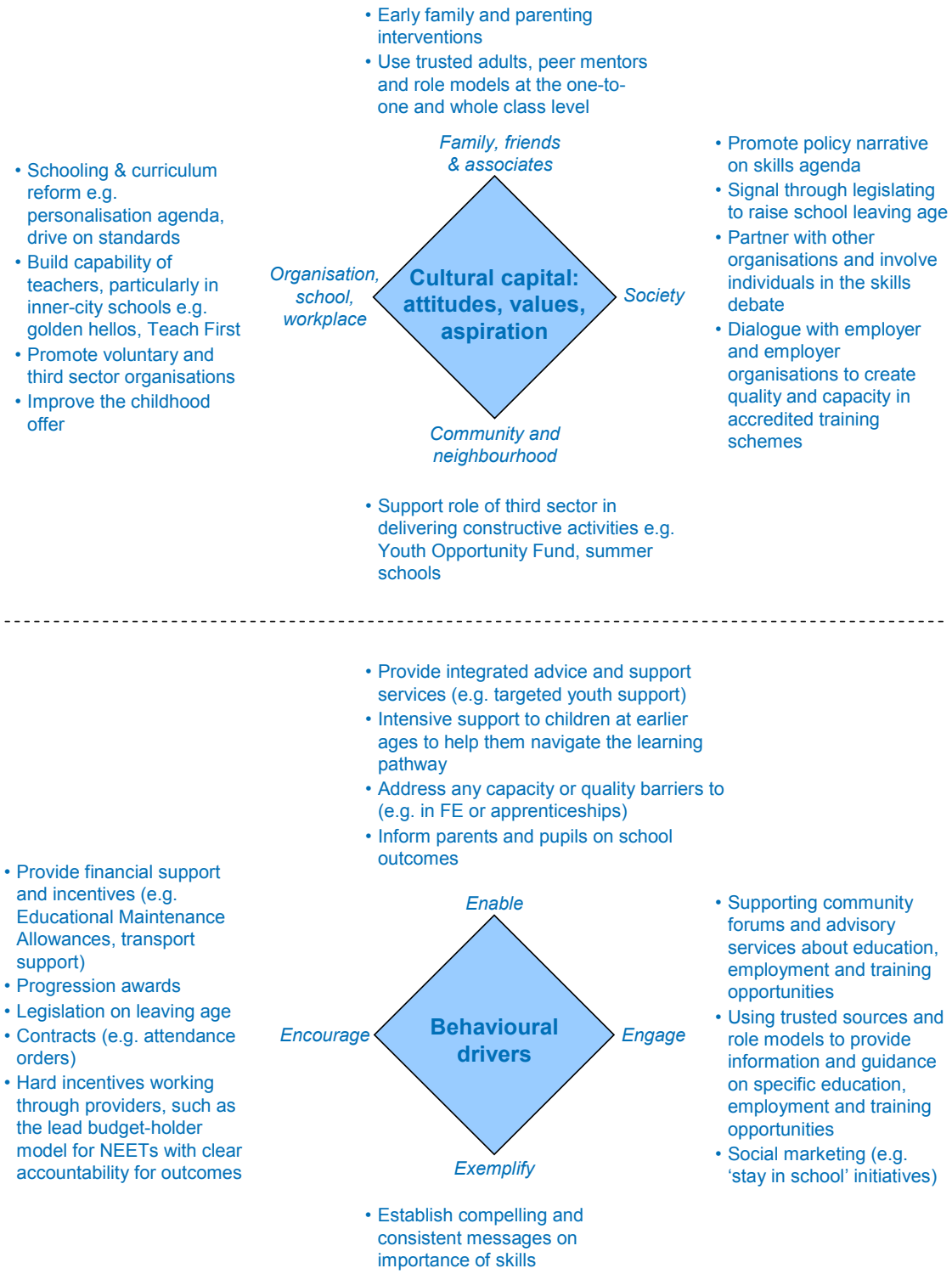
- Providing integrated advice and support services, such as the Connexions Service and targeted youth support services;
- Providing intensive support to children at earlier ages to help them navigate the learning pathway (e.g. the 11-16 year old cohorts before disaffection sets in);
- Giving information to children and parents about the NEET outcomes for each school so they can make informed choices early on, and put pressure on schools to focus on their pupils' later life outcomes;
- Establishing hard incentives working through providers, such as the lead budget-holder model for NEETs with clear accountability for outcomes; and
- Addressing any capacity or quality barriers to remaining in education, employment and training, such as in Further Education or in the number of apprenticeship places.

- *Encouraging* measures such as:
  - Providing financial support, such as Education Maintenance Allowances, transport subsidies and progression awards;
  - Using contracts and codifications to build a consistent behavioural path of attendance and achievement, such as through Attendance Orders or Home-School Agreements; and
  - Legislating to raise the leaving age and enforcing non-compliance with this.

- And *engaging* and *exemplifying* measures:

- Supporting community forums and advisory services about education, employment and training opportunities;
- Using trusted sources and role models to provide information and guidance on specific education, employment and training opportunities;
- Making use of social marketing to promote staying in education or employment with training as the social norm, such as the ‘stay in school’ initiatives; and
- Establishing consistent and compelling message on the importance of skills.

Fig 22: Example of a culture change strategy to raise education and training retention rates



5.2 Healthy living

Initial filter to identify relevance of culture change

Promoting healthy living is central to creating a more preventative, wellbeing NHS. This is reflected in the Department of Health's Strategic Objectives, one of which is to:

- Ensure better health and well-being for all: helping you stay healthy and well, empowering you to live independently and tackling health inequalities.[116]

This is underpinned by a number of indicators such as to:

- Reduce the rate of increase in obesity among children under 11 as a first step towards a long-term national ambition by 2020 to reduce the proportion of overweight and obese children to 2000 levels.
- Reduce the mortality rate by 2010 for heart disease, stroke and related diseases by at least 40 per cent in people under 75, with a reduction in the inequalities gap by at least 40 per cent).

These challenges clearly cannot be met by government action alone; they will require greater personal responsibility for health and wellbeing, with individuals making necessary lifestyle and behavioural adaptations. The scale of the challenge requires a systematic approach – working through social and cultural influences as well as behavioural support. This case study will focus on what a culture change strategy might look like to tackle obesity and promote more active and healthy living.

[116] Department of Health: Departmental Report 2007

Clarify objectives and the rationale for government intervention

The rationale for intervention in this area is both for the attainment of economic and social objectives. For example:

- The Wanless Review demonstrated that citizens taking greater personal responsibility for their own health will have a pay off to the economy through reducing reliance on tax-funded health care and maintaining a productive and healthy workforce. The review estimated that a population less engaged in looking after their own health would result in increased NHS requirements by around £30bn per year by 2022.[117]

- A recent Foresight report on obesity estimated the current cost to the NHS of obesity at £1bn, with a £10bn wider cost to society (e.g. through employment), rising to £6.5bn and £45.5bn respectively by 2050.[118]

- The Social Marketing Centre recently estimated the economic cost of preventative illness to be around 19% of GDP.[119]

- The Strategy Unit's analytical paper on food highlighted the benefits of better diet on reducing premature mortality and improving quality adjusted life years (QALYs) in the UK, such as the 42,000 premature deaths avoided and 411,000 cumulative QALYs gained from regular population-wide daily fruit and vegetable intake.[120]

Identify and segment target populations

Clearly, the healthy living agenda applies to all in society. However, there are several ways in which we might segment the population in order to personalise what an effective package to improve healthy living and reduce obesity might look like. A good example of such segmentation analysis was done for the Department of Health work developing the

[117] *Securing Our Future Health: Taking a Long-Term View'*, Wanless Final Report (2002)
[118] *Tackling Obesity: Future Choices,* Foresight (2007) – available at www.foresight.gov.uk
[119] *Generating Cultural Change in Public Health: Evidence and Effectiveness* (2007)
[120] *Food: an analysis of the issues*, Strategy Unit (2008) – available at www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy

Government's cross-cutting obesity strategy.[121] This included undertaking detailed market research, quantitative analysis, and qualitative research using psychological profiling techniques. Brining these approaches together enabled developing cluster profiles of different family dynamics and health behaviours.

Segmentation analysis focused on three layers: first, the health status and behaviour of different groups; second, their capacity to change; and third, their willingness to change.

Fig 23: Segmentation of different family health behaviours[122]

	Struggling Cluster 1	**Disinterested** Cluster 2	**Complacent** Cluster 3	**Engaged** Cluster 4	**Traditional** Cluster 5	**Active** Cluster 6
CLUSTER DESCRIPTION	Struggling parents who lack knowledge, time and money	Disinterested parents not interested in healthy living with fussy children	Affluent, overweight families	Living Healthily	Strong family values, need to make changes	Plenty of exercise but too many bad foods
FAMILY DIET	Convenience, dieting, struggling to cook healthily from scratch	Children fussy eaters, rely on convenience foods	Enjoy food, snacking habit, parents watching weight	Strong health food interest	Strong parental control but unhealthy diet	Eating motivated by taste, healthy foods included but so are unhealthy
PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	Costly, time consuming and not enjoyable. TV and computers are fine	No interest in increasing activity levels because perceive children to be active	Believe family is active, no barriers to child's activity except confidence	Family active although child not confident doing exercise	Know they need to do more, time, money, self-confidence seen as barriers	Activity levels are high, particularly in mothers
WEIGHT STATUS	Obese and overweight mothers	Obese and overweight parents and children. Child's weight status not recognised	Obese and overweight parents and children. Low recognition of child's weight	Below average levels of obesity and overweight across the whole family	Parental obesity levels above average, children below	Low family obesity levels but child overweight levels are a concern
DEMOGRAPHIC	Low income single parents	Young, single parents, low income	Affluent parents of all ages, varied household size	Affluent older parents, larger families	Mixed parental ages, single parent families	Average incomes, younger mothers, mixed household size
INTENT TO CHANGE	Higher levels than other clusters, particularly on diet	Low intent to change, particularly on diet	Low intent to change	Low intent to change	Low intent on diet but significant intent to change on physical activity	Highest levels of all clusters on both food and physical activity
POTENTIAL TASK	Increase knowledge and provide cheap convenient diet solutions	Create recognition of problem and motivate to change behaviour. Support parenting skills	Create recognition of problem and awareness of family exercise and diet levels	Learn from successful techniques used by cluster	Focus on increasing activity levels with cheap and convenient solutions	Focus on providing cheap, convenient, healthy high energy foods to fuel active lifestyle

This provided some interesting challenges to traditional assumptions about health behaviour. For example it found:

[121] see www.dh.gov.uk/obesity
[122] *The 'Healthy Living' Social Marketing Initiative*, DH (2007)

- Affluent families with two professional parents have highest levels of childhood obesity and the most entrenched behavioural patterns.
- Parents who struggle with time and money have lower levels of obesity and a higher willingness to change compared to other groups.

Assess the role that cultural capital plays in driving behaviour

As set out in section 4.4 (pages 76-80) there is a strong evidence base on the relationship between attitudes towards health and actual health behaviour. For example, the recent Foresight report found psychological ambivalence to be one of the key drivers of obesity. On average, approximately one-third of health behaviour can be explained by cultural capital factors such as attitudes and perceived norms, and approximately two-thirds by the breakdown between intentions and actual behaviour (for example through lack of opportunities to do so or poor information about those choices). The relative role of attitudes in determining behaviour does, however, vary significantly between social groups:

- 54% of people from DE social groups believe health is "out of their control" compared to only 31% from AB groups.
- Almost twice as many people from AB groups identify lifestyle factors as important in determining health outcomes as people from DE groups.[123]

Assessing the suitability of interventions

Encouraging more healthy living will require an approach based around both influencing the underlying social and cultural influences and how this smooths into actual health

[123] *Public Attitudes to Public Health Policy*, The King's Fund (2004) – available at www.kingsfund.org.uk

behaviour. This should include working through the immediate influences on individuals, such as family, peers and associates, schools, and community:

- Building healthy living components into parenting programmes.
- Ensuring schooling and the curriculum promotes attitudes associated with healthy living, such as through Personal, Social and Health Education in schools and the healthy living agenda through Extended Schools.
- Encouraging schools to embed healthy living into their curriculum and infrastructure planning, such as providing facilities and time for regular sport and physical activity.
- Using mentors and advisers for health promotion, such as NHS health trainers, lifestyle advisers, or wellbeing nurses.
- Developing the capacity and capabilities of health professionals to work with the public in promoting and reinforcing positive attitudes to taking responsibility for health, such as school nurses and GPs.
- Working with employers and employer-groups to embed the healthy living agenda in work planning, such as providing exercise and changing facilities and high quality food. In return government might reduce regulatory or tax burdens to the business, or formally accredit best practice such as through the Investors in People kite mark.

Encouraging the development of greater personal responsibility for health can also be supported by the use of society-wide interventions such as:

- A strong political narrative on personal responsibility and healthy living.
- Leading debate and dialogue on public attitudes – for example trying to shift attitudes towards obesity in a similar direction to how they have moved in relation to the individual costs from smoking over the last 40 years.

- Encouraging and informing public debate, such as through the regular briefings by the Chief Medical Officer on public health issues.
- Working with the food industry to develop greater action and help promote personal and social responsibility for health.
- Controls on advertising foods high in fat, sugar or salts.

Again these attitudinal interventions will only be effective at translating into actual health behaviours if supported with measures to enables, encourage and engage with the public. In this context 'enabling' measures include:

- Ensuring easy access to information and advice about healthy living and how to make lifestyle changes, such as NHS Direct.
- Provision of nutritional guidance, such as labelling of food.
- Creating opportunities and facilities for people to exercise more regularly, such as through more integrated cycle lanes in urban areas or exercise referrals from GPs.

'Encouraging' measures include:

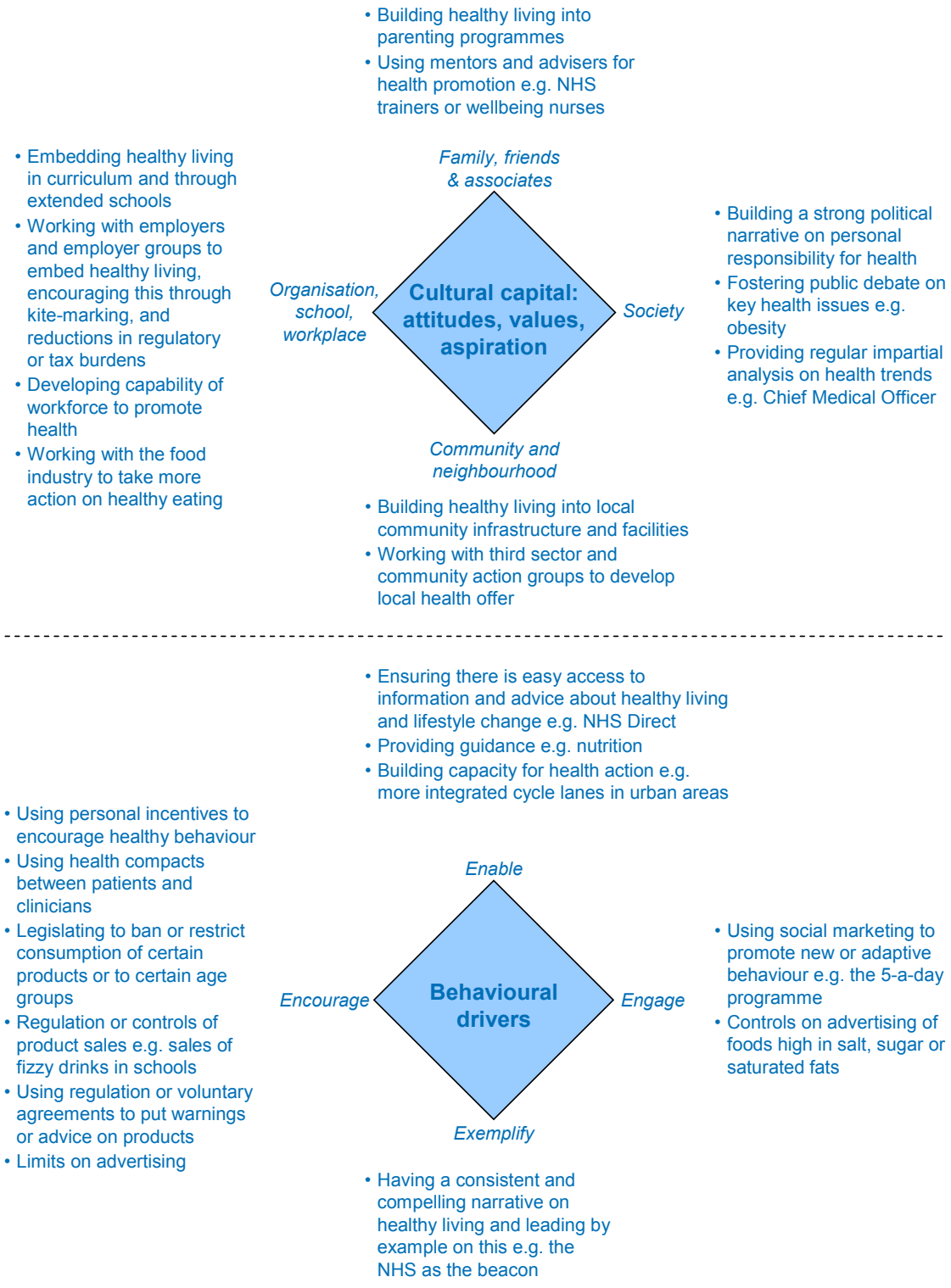
- Using regulation or voluntary agreements to put health warnings on harmful products such as alcohol and tobacco.
- Personal incentives to encourage healthy behaviour such as whole class healthy eating rewards, tax incentives, or status and recognition incentives.
- Legislation to ban or restrict consumption of products to certain groups such as raising the legal age for tobacco sales.

- Regulation and controls of product sales or marketing such as restricting sales of fizzy drinks in schools, controlling advertising in certain arenas and setting nutritional content guidelines for school dinners.
- Using health compacts between patients and clinicians to codify expected health behaviours from the patient.
- Deploying hard incentives acting through providers such as the GP Quality and Outcomes Framework.
- Assessing health impact as a criterion for regulatory impact assessments of policy to maximise the effect wider policy measures can have on health promotion.

And 'engaging' and 'exemplifying' measures might include:

- Supporting local community action groups and healthy eating forums.
- Targeted social marketing and media campaigns such as the highly successful '5-a-day' programme'.
- Controls on advertising of foods high in salt, sugar or saturated fats.
- Ensuring the NHS leads as a beacon employer for investing in its employees' health.

Fig 24: Elements of a culture change strategy to promote healthy living



5.3 Environmental sustainability

Initial filter to identify relevance of culture change

Promoting more environmentally sustainable patterns of consumption and production has become an increasing priority. Where the old environmental agenda could be characterised as regulatory control of major point sources of pollution, the new environmental agenda, in particular dealing with climate change, relies on partnership between citizens, businesses and government to make more sustainable use of resources.[124] Typical asks of individuals and families are to:

- Use energy and water more efficiently;
- Recycle more;
- Choose lower impact transport modes.

Of course, progress on these is not just about the way that individuals and communities behave. For example, higher building regulations can reduce energy requirements in the home without any need for changed behaviour by the occupier; provision of kerbside recycling will raise recycling rates without any underlying shift in cultural capital. But the second most important determinant of whether someone recycles is whether their neighbour does – which can be regarded as a proxy for the extent to which the behaviour has become a social norm.

The more fundamental shift towards environmental sustainability can only be effective within a culture which values the environment; is prepared to moderate decisions to take account of environmental impacts; and where conspicuous and wasteful consumption is

[124] For a longer discussion of this , see "I will if you will" – report by the National Consumer Council and Sustainable Development Commission, April 2006 and Motivating Sustainable Consumption, Professor Tim Jackson, 2004

not regarded as aspirational. It is notable that older people tend to behave in ways with lower environmental impact because they were brought up to manage resources more carefully even though they may be less concerned about issues such as climate change which drive the need for that behaviour.

Clarify the objectives and rationale for intervention

The environment is often recognised as the classic public good. For example, in his recent Review of the Economics of Climate Change, Nick Stern identified climate change as "the greatest and most widespread market failure ever seen".[125] Compounding this market failure is the long-term nature of the environmental challenge: actions now may not have a pay-off for many years.

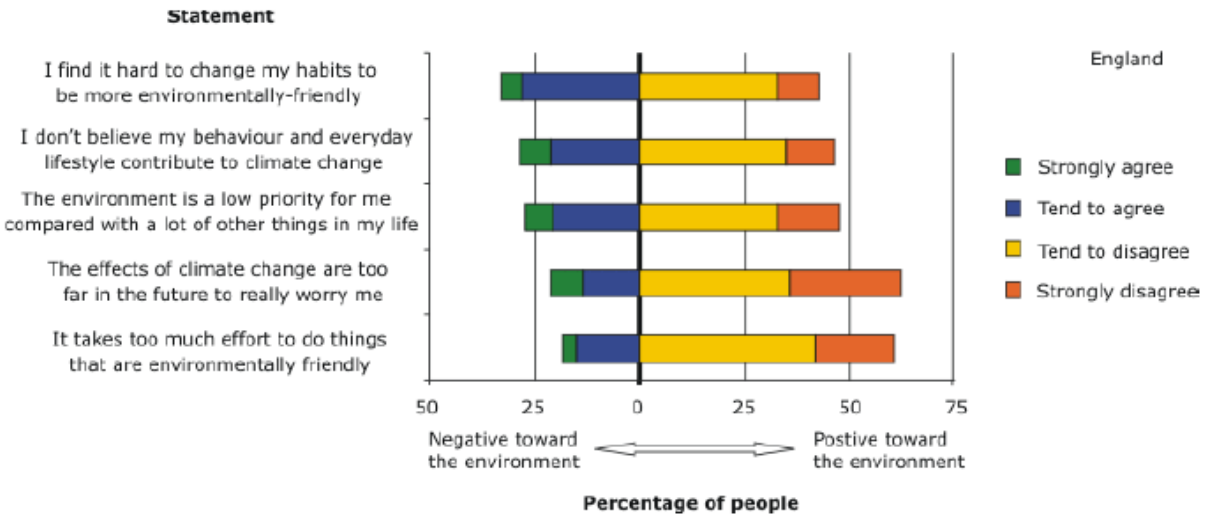
In addition where in education or health the impact of our individual actions will often become apparent, for environmental issues it is almost always only the cumulative effect of many people's decisions over a long period of time that we see. In the case of behaviour needed to deliver environmental sustainability, the individual may receive some immediate ancillary benefits from the desired behaviour (e.g. lower energy/ fuel bills, positive health benefits; or more attractive neighbourhoods with less need for amenity destroying landfill), the link to the direct benefit of their action is remote. Benefits from action now to mitigate climate change depend both on action by other countries but will also only show any discernible impact on the warming trajectory after 2050. This becomes very relevant to segmentation and targeting.

Identify and segment target populations

Recent evidence gathered for DEFRA finds a relatively high proportion of the public stating that they would find it hard to change their habits to be more environmentally friendly.

[125] Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, HM Government (2006)

Fig 25: Proportion of people with positive/negative views toward the environment



Source: Survey of Attitudes and Behaviour towards the Environment, DEFRA (2007)

At one level action on climate change means action by everyone. But at a second level segmentation is possible by:

- *Activity* – for example looking at the carbon impact of choices and ease of change. To date this has used an individual and bottom up approach without trying to connect through a single narrative; a more sophisticated approach would also look at some of the key decision points such as the purchase point of a new house or car which might be a good point to lock the individual into a new behaviour.
- *Individual impact* – for example looking at the sum of individual behaviours brought into a common currency such as a 'carbon footprint'.
- *Willingness to change* – for example picked up through attitudes about the perceived importance of environmental sustainability and willingness to make any lifestyle changes;

- *Capacity to change* – for example the extent to which some behaviours are locked in by existing infrastructure, or that some changes may require significant upfront investment by the individual which they may not have the capacity to make.

Research by DEFRA is providing a basis for a new segmentation model. It identifies seven target groups[126]:

- 'Greens' – who are driven by a very strong concern for the environment and high levels of personal responsibility to limit their impact on the environment.
- 'Consumers with a Conscience' – who want to be seen to be green. They make some compromises for environmental benefit, but balance this with a sense that they 'deserve' to do certain things, like flying.
- 'Wastage Focused' – who are motivated by a desire to avoid waste of any kind, although they often lack awareness of other pro-environmental behaviour. Interestingly, this group see themselves as ethically separated from greens.
- 'Currently Constrained' – who want to be green but believe they lack capacity to do so, such as being in a transition life-stage.
- 'Basic Contributors' – who consider their behaviour relative to that of others, and are sceptical about the need for further lifestyle change.
- 'Long Term Restricted' – who, while may exhibit concern for the environment, have a number of serious life priorities to address before making lifestyle change.
- 'Disinterested' - who display no interest or motivation to change their current behaviour to make their lifestyle more pro-environmental.

[126] *Survey of Attitudes and Behaviour towards the Environment*, DEFRA (2007)

This sort of segmentation analysis enables policymakers to target interventions more effectively. For example, for 'Greens', providing enabling measures such as advice, support and assistance may be sufficient; for the 'Disinterested' group building a more compelling case for caring about the environment is likely to be required before other support measures will be effective.

Assess the suitability of interventions

The aim of policy is to create a culture where sustainable behaviour is the default option – to establish a new social norm around environmental sustainability. Clearly, such a social norm represents a departure from the high environmental impact lifestyles that predominate. Encouraging behaviour change to more sustainable lifestyle patterns will require comprehensive interventions across the piece. For example, the Stern Review of the Economics of Climate Change identified key interventions around:

- Setting a carbon price across the economy;
- Investing in technology;
- Removing barriers to behaviour change.

Promoting a new sustainability norm will involve both building underlying support and smoothing this into actual public behaviour, such as through incentives or informational approaches. Again we should carefully target to each particular population segment. At a local and community level, environmental cultural capital could be supported through:

- Helping and encouraging schools to teach about the importance of the environment.
- Building sustainability into neighbourhood planning (e.g. through communal recycling facilities or development of carbon neutral 'eco-towns').

- Promoting voluntary and third sector environmental groups.
- Supporting positive peer networks (e.g. school cycle groups).
- Use informal mentors to exemplify the environmental message.

And, such a narrative could similarly be promoted at the whole society level through:

- Maintaining a high level policy narrative on the environment, with the UK acting as an international leader.
- Encourage national debate and dialogue and building public awareness, such as through trusted sources like the Government Chief Scientist or the Stern Review process.
- Partnering with businesses and retailers to promote and exemplify environmental awareness.

These should be supported with policies that help individuals and communities in making any lifestyle changes. For example, through 'enabling' policies that:

- Provide advice and support, such as through the Carbon Trust or Energy Savings Trust.
- Inform consumers at point of sale, such through eco-labelling of electronic appliances and cars; Energy Performance Certificates for houses; provision of real time information on energy consumption through smart metering.
- Improve facilities, such as integrated cycle lanes, public transport or kerbside recycling.

- Develop climate change awareness and carbon literacy to enable people to understand the impacts of their choices and their options to reduce them.
- Provide product accreditation of schemes or suppliers to give assurance on their environmental value.

Supported with 'encouraging' measures:

- Fiscal incentives, such as taxes on less sustainable behaviour and rebates like lower rates of duty or VAT on more sustainable options.
- Grant schemes, example schemes that are available to subsidise insulation or microrenewables.
- Trading schemes, such as personal carbon allowances.
- Social recognition, such as financial or non-financial recognition for whole community action.

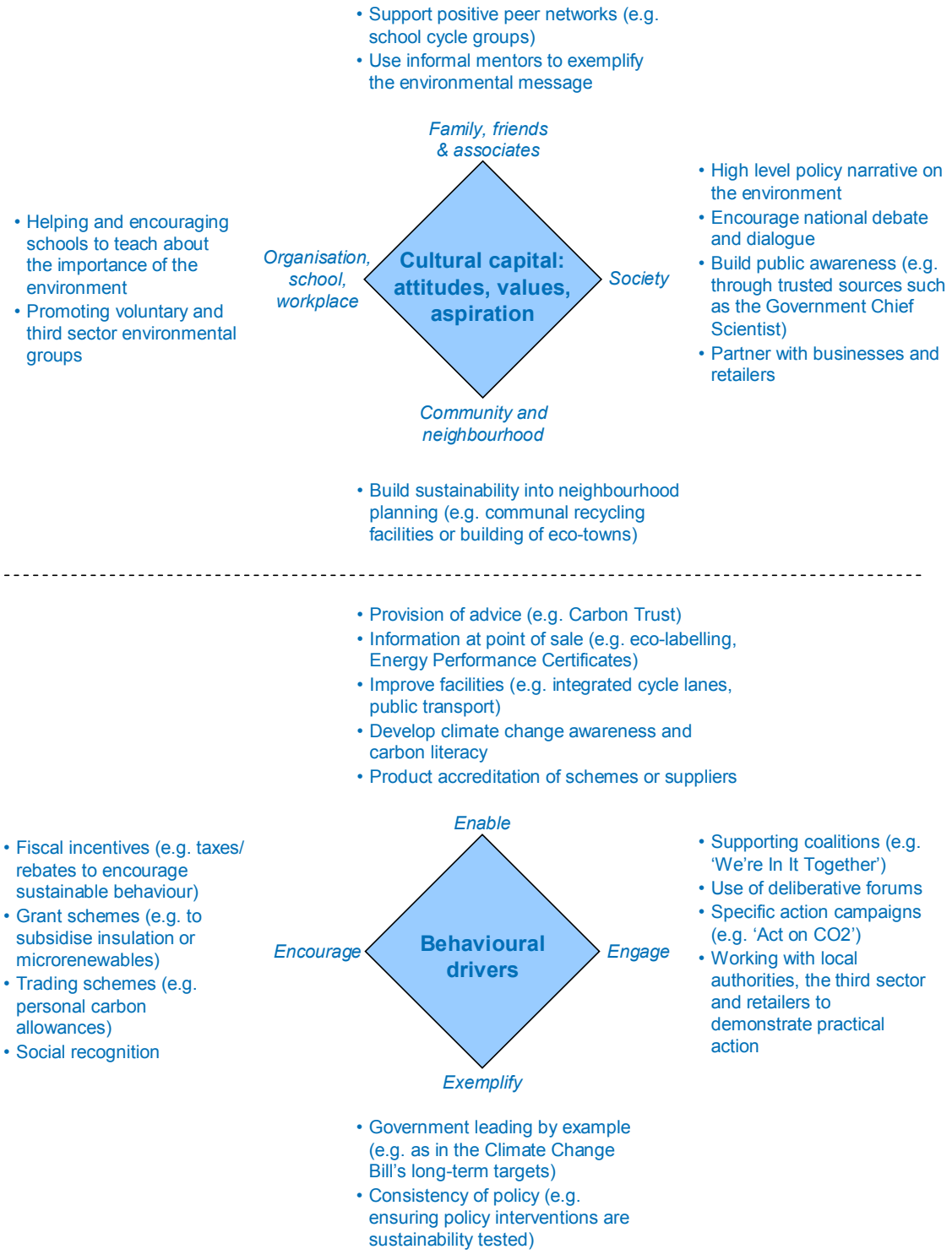
'Engagement' can be achieved through:

- Supporting coalitions, such as the 'We're In It Together' movement established by leading UK companies.
- Use of deliberative forums and techniques in policy development.
- Promoting specific action campaigns, such as the Government's 'Act on CO2' campaign to promote understanding of carbon use.
- Working with local authorities, the third sector and retailers to demonstrate practical action.

And, finally with government 'exemplifying' the sustainability message through:

- Leading by example, such as in the Government's long-term targets on mitigation set out in the Climate Change Bill.
- Consistency of policy action, such as ensuring policy interventions are sustainability road-tested and display consistency of message.

Fig 26: Example of a culture change strategy to promote more environmentally sustainable social norm



6. Conclusions

This discussion paper has set out the theory and potential practical applicability of "culture change" policy. A thread running through this is the notion that governments tend to overestimate what they can achieve in the short run and underestimate what they can achieve in the long run. This paper argues that part of the answer to achieving lasting change requires a more formal recognition of the role of 'cultural capital' in determining policy outcomes. The emphasis is on government to act as an enabler in helping the public to achieve the outcomes they want.

Overall, the guiding principle across the paper has been that it is possible to design behaviour change strategies where cultural factors are relevant in a systematic and analytical way. The specific lessons are to:

1. Recognise the importance of *cultural capital* in how people make decisions. This requires policymakers to work from a richer, ecological model of human behaviour that bridges the cultural and social determinants of behaviour with more traditionally recognised drivers of behaviour such as incentives, legislation and regulation. Hard-wiring this into policymaking and assessment will have profound implications for the skills and capability of policymakers, the time horizons they focus on, and the toolkits available to them.

2. Be clear about who the population target is and precisely how their behaviour is affected by cultural factors (e.g. whether it relates to a specific attitude or broad set of attitudes).

3. Use *segmentation* and *profiling* techniques to build up a detailed cultural capital map of different target populations.

4. Tailor and personalise policy interventions to these profiles:

- through policies and programmes that build the necessary cultural capital such as parenting, mentoring, role models, community, schooling and curriculum interventions; and
- through policies and programmes that enable and encourage individuals to switch behaviour, actively engage with them, and clearly and consistently exemplify the desired behaviour.

5. *Communicate* and *engage* with the public. This recognises that Government can't do it alone and establishing mechanisms for citizen involvement and co-production will be important. At the same time the 'social zeitgeist' constantly shifts and evolves, and so it is incumbent upon governments to test, explore and develop where these boundaries lie.
6. And finally… don't seek or expect short-term results – invest in securing *big change* over the *long term*.

Overall, as a relatively new and under explored area this paper represents only a first step towards a better understanding of the implications of cultural capital and culture change for policymaking. Currently there is very little use of information about cultural attitudes, values and aspirations in policy development. And, where it is included it tends to be used to assess the level of support for a particular policy, but not systematically used to develop the actual policy or link to desired outcomes. This implies a need for more research into the role attitudes, values and aspirations play in driving actions and behaviour and encouraging this to be more systematically used in the development of government policy.

The gains from doing so are clear. Culture change policy will be important in the achievement of the wide range of economic and social objectives that depend on how we – as individuals and groups – behave. By doing so it will be helping citizens to take greater control of their lives in achieving the outcomes they want.

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