Foreword

This publication seeks to look at two areas around Demand Management: where we are now, and where we could be in the very near future.

Over the past few years, a growing focus has emerged on ‘Demand Management’, not just as an interesting area of research, but as an increasing necessity if those in government are to deliver ever-increasing outcomes on ever-fewer resources. Extensive economy and efficiency drives have already been made in government, yet with a further round of cuts coming, ever more urgency has been added to this problem. Demand management is no longer an optional extra, it is increasingly becoming a necessity.

Last year, Henry Kippin and Anna Randle wrote *Managing Demand: Building Future Public Services*, setting out the theoretical framework for demand management, as well as the principled and practical cases for a demand management approach.

The bulk of this pamphlet seeks to do something different. There is already a sizeable community of practice around demand management – some of the examples, like Barnet’s work on kerbside recycling, are over a decade old, but most have only begun to emerge in the last year or two. What we hope to show here are some of the range of approaches to demand management currently being practiced, and to draw together their underpinning principles.

In the second half of this pamphlet, we tease out where demand management could be headed next, particularly in the field of ‘ Behaviour Change’. At present, most of the case studies on demand management are limited to small-scale pilots. The potential for savings from such pilots alone is still quite limited. Only if such change is rolled out at scale, and at pace, can the real savings been made. Here, Kippin, Randle and Thévoz examine how such demand management can be implemented, particularly through making the most of social movements and social networks.

I very much hope the proposals here will spark off further debate in this area. Only if we are truly open to new solutions can we start to tackle some of the looming challenges ahead.

Joe Simpson
Director
Leadership Centre
Demand Management in Practice
Introduction – The Story So Far

In 2014 Anna Randle and Henry Kippin wrote a major piece of research on what we then termed ‘the emerging science’ of demand management. The term was, and remains, controversial. The aim was to articulate a shift in the starting point for addressing local public service reform: from supply side (service led) improvement, to demand-side (citizen driven) change. The thesis was simple: flipping the starting point for public service reform opens up a whole range of possibilities for transformation, led by a more consistent focus on understanding the real needs, assets and aspirations of citizens.

We believe that demand management should be seen less as a set of techniques and more an evolution of public management: a plea to deliver for social outcomes, not service sustenance. That is why Collaborate and the Leadership Centre have persisted with the term ‘management’, even when re-shaping, re-profiling or simply understanding demand might be more accurate ways of describing the approach we are talking about. Single-point solutions (e.g. improving communication response rates or particular service areas) are perhaps more necessary than ever, but just as clearly not sufficient to meet the supply- and demand challenge. What we called for is a new approach that flips the standard practice of public management on its head.

Five inconvenient truths about Demand Management

1. Demand isn’t always bad

The most powerful thing about demand management should be its ability to change and challenge the way people think about what they do. It isn’t just about innovation, but, at root, a fundamental re-think of the relationship between citizen and service. As we note above, management sometimes feels like the wrong word – we can also talk about re-shaping, re-profiling and even stimulating demand for different things. In a business context, increased demand is a good thing, and real demand for public services is a reflection of some kind of need within the community. The question for public services is: are the services being provided the right response to the right understanding of demand? For example, the one-in-five GP visits which are due to loneliness require a different solution, for example, social prescribing and other forms of social network building. So in some cases, we need to work to create demand for a different type of preventative intervention? The emerging plans of Only Connect for a West London Children’s Zone are an example, as are emerging plans in Greater Manchester to extend a ‘social movement’ ethos into long-term plans for health and social care reform.

2. We can’t manage what we don’t understand

The first step in re-shaping demand is understanding it – and even the very best and most creative public agencies sometimes have trouble demonstrating that they do. In some of the best recent local reform examples – think of Haringey’s work to develop a local delivery unit, Oldham’s warm homes investment agreement or Suffolk’s collaborative work on improving assessment and delivery of disability-related benefits with DWP – creative partnerships have been built on a more granular understanding of the drivers of demand both in the community and within the service offer. This is a vital first stage in any demand management strategy.

3. Effective delivery is vital, but it needs to be collaborative

One important insight from our work has been the need for the more creative forces of innovation and design to be framed within a coherent account of delivery. Without this, demand management innovations – particularly those that require a shift from transactional to relational ways of working – will remain marginal to core business and budget transformation processes. The big difference in today’s context is that this delivery framework needs to be absolutely cross-agency and cross-sector – as one health leader told us in the north of England recently, "we can’t do any of this on our own". Collaborate’s global collaborative delivery framework developed with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is a step in this direction, but local adaptation is key. As the Commission on Place-Based Health co-hosted by Collaborate and the New Local Government Network (NLGN) has highlighted, much depends on local preconditions being in place, including confidence about the ability of incumbent organisations to adapt and change.

4. Nudging is not enough

A better understanding of why citizens - both individually and collectively - make the decisions they do is absolutely vital. But this must go hand-in-hand with a degree of self-reflection from public agencies that has, in our experience, been less forthcoming (though this is the essence of much of John Seddon’s pioneering work on failure demand). So as councils, CCGs and other public agencies start working on ethnographic research and behavioural insight with the community, they shouldn’t forget to hold a mirror up within and between their organisations. As behavioural expert Warren Hatter argues, we need to ‘stop trying to change people’s minds’. Values manifest as actions and behaviours, and stress-testing them on a continuous basis is key.

5. Devolution wont work without demand management

If the best way of managing demand is for people to be in work (as many people have told us), then we need to prioritise a closer relationship between economic growth and public service reform strategy. This is implicit in much of the deal-making around devolution in Greater Manchester, South Yorkshire and the North East, and will need to be made real through collaborative human capital strategies. This goes beyond transport, planning and education (to heavily paraphrase elements of the Government’s new productivity plan), and is about creating a ‘social spine’ for places in which proactive public spending is valued as a force for good. This should be a central premise of devolution in the ‘Northern Powerhouse’ and beyond.

The following pages are designed to help local policymakers and practitioners work through some of these issues on the ground, drawing on examples from the field and the work of Collaborate and the Leadership Centre; and on the theoretical framework for further behavioural change work.
Why are we talking about “Demand Management”?

- Spending cuts and demand driven spending is likely to create a £14.4bn supply-and-demand gap for local public services by 2020 - meaning that cost savings will not be enough.
- The Office of Budget Responsibility predicts that total (non-interest) public spending will “rise from 33.6% of GDP in 2019-20 to 38% of GDP by 2060-61” at status quo levels - “equivalent to £79 billion in today’s terms.”
- Survey data from Ipsos MORI for Collaborate shows that citizens continue to place high expectations on government, with 66% of UK citizens surveyed saying that government has a responsibility to keep living standards manageable, and 75% saying government has some responsibility to ensure they have a decent place to live.
- Public service providers are failing to live up to the expectations of citizens. Only 14% of people surveyed by Ipsos MORI for Collaborate say they regularly get a personalized service; and 39% of people say their preferences are ‘never’ or ‘hardly ever’ listened to.
- Recent research by Lankelly Chase Foundation illustrates the preponderance of severe and multiple disadvantage across the UK’s local authorities - suggesting that “over a quarter of a million people in England have contact with at least two out of three of the homelessness, substance misuse and/or criminal justice systems, and at least 58,000 people have contact with all three”.!
- The 2015 Comprehensive Spending Review set out what H.M. Treasury called a “review of the role of government”, with some departments asked to model the impact of spending cuts between 25% and 40%. Whilst the cuts made were not as severe as anticipated, they were still substantial, and the Institute for Fiscal Studies has raised the prospect of a 50% chance of departing from such plans, with the accompanying prospect of even further cuts being a possibility.

There is almost nowhere else to go. By way of illustration, let us look at the example of the cuts made in the 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review, and how one particular sector – local government – implemented these cuts.

2010 Comprehensive Spending Review:

At the time, there was felt to be little appetite for increasing income, and the challenges of delivering demand management at scale were such that aside from a few isolated pilot schemes, it did not feature heavily in how the sector cuts its costs.

By contrast, if we fast-forward five years to the Comprehensive Spending Review for the 2015 Parliament, we find that the context has changed. Yet again, major cuts are being made to public expenditure, but with the existing scale of cuts, there is much less appetite for further cuts to front-line public services. There is arguably some scope for delivering further efficiency savings, but at the major efficiency drives have already happened – the “low-hanging fruit” has already been reached, so these will be more challenging.

This graphic projection is based on the work of Peter Bungard, the Chief Executive of Gloucestershire County Council.

2015 Comprehensive Spending Review:

These likely scenarios make demand management a core part of the new way of working that local public services will need to develop. And whilst there is no simple blueprint for doing this in practice, there are places that local authorities, health and public service partners can start. This is the focus of the following sections.
### Types of Demand

**Failure Demand**
- Is demand rising as a result of public service failure or poor service design?
- What are the root causes of failure demand?
- How can the system be redesigned to be more effective and efficient, tackling demand early?
- Should citizens and/or service users be involved in redesign?

**Avoidable Demand**
- Is service demand arising from particular behaviours that could be influenced or changed?
- Can we change expectations of what citizens will do?
- Will shifting resources towards prevention help manage demand downstream?
- Can different research tools, methodologies and ways of collaborating across agencies build better insight?
- How can we encourage 2-way behaviour change through collaborative leadership and a different kind of conversation with citizens?

**Excess Demand**
- Is the state providing more than is needed, or inadvertently creating demand through dependency?
- How can we better understand the ‘grain’ of communities and the needs, assets, and resources of citizens?
- How can we change expectations of what the state will provide?
- Do councils/partners understand the impact of the services councils provide on the beneficiaries? Is the impact what we are seeking?

**Codependent Demand**
- To what extent is demand unintentionally reinforced and entrenched by service dependence?
- What strategies can be put into place to help build the resilience and social and economic productivity of communities?
- How can we move from a mindset of ‘delivering services that meet need’ to ‘building on people’s assets and supporting future livelihoods’?
- What forms of citizen engagement will be needed to understand how to address long-term dependence?

**Preventable Demand**
- To what extent is demand arising from causes which could have been addressed earlier?
- Do we really understand the root causes of demand?
- Do we understand the early signs of demand?
- Can we influence demand earlier (utilising early intervention techniques) and/or prevent acute demand occurring?
How to use this handbook

The single most frequent question we are asked in presenting our work on demand management is: “I get it… so what do I do now?”

We think that a strategic approach needs to work through three stages – they are drawn from our previous publication (Randle & Kippin, 2014).

1. As emerging science – a clutch of tools and techniques that, done in isolation, could improve services and potentially save some money relatively quickly. But this is not enough.
2. As a ‘whole system, whole place’ approach – in which demand management is a lever to re-align systems of governance and service delivery around outcomes. This means thinking about the organisational, cultural and service design implications.
3. As long-term principles for public service reform – an overarching vision that can hold the weight of change, and can situate demand management as part of a fundamental shift in role and purpose for local government.

The three stages are interdependent. A vision will not achieve itself; but neither can a bunch of new tools achieve fundamental change without one.

Different localities need different things. Politics matters (as we will discuss). Context is important, and this framework is not intended to be prescriptive – more a starting point for decision-makers and a framework on which further work can be aligned.

The following pages respond to a desire we have heard for something that:

• Brings together a set of different approaches with some examples of public services that have tried them.
• Acts as an early ‘how to’ – not in describing solutions itself, but in signposting people to people and places that are doing it for real.
• Will become a repository – for good practice (and good process!), lessons learned, and new qualitative and quantitative evidence.
• Provides the basis of a ready reckoner for policymakers and practitioners trying to answer the “so what do I do now?” question for real.

It is a work in progress – a framework for you to critique, improve and build in partnership.

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It is a work in progress – a framework for you to critique, improve and build in partnership.
Step 1

What is the problem?

- “We think about the services we’re responsible for, but we don’t really understand people or places.”
- “We have lots of data & insight on demand – but it’s fragmented and remains in service silos.”
- “We understand symptom but not root cause – and our over-stretched front-line teams are not set up to do it.”

Step 2

What approaches can I use?

1. Citizen engagement – much can be gained simply by bringing citizens together in the same room, and seeking feedback, thoughts and ideas. Polling and ‘focus group’ approaches exist, and at the less scientific end, simple consultations can produce much insight.

2. Deep-dive citizen research – these are research techniques that go much deeper than surveys or focus groups. They are ethnographic – involving spending time with individuals and families, understanding their lives, and seeing the impact of the spectrum of services they engage with. They are intensive and sometimes high-cost, but prototypes can uncover opportunities for prevention and reform to dysfunctional service interventions.

3. Peer-to-peer platforms – these are methods that engage citizens to build insight about their own communities, and use this to co-design integrated platforms for service design and/or commissioning. They are usually neighbourhood or ward based, and need to be met with an integrated service offer.

4. Social network analysis – these are methods that understand the hubs, connectors and ‘bridging’ institutions that make up a place. Typically they will uncover potential mismatches between formal and informal interventions, and highlight opportunities to build on informal networks and other sources of local social capital.

5. Data segmentation & integration – these are methods to turn digital information/data into insight through collation, analysis and joining the dots between different sources. This can be used to prioritise, evaluate and understand where service responses are shunting or contributing to demand in other areas.

6. Engagement with frontline staff – they often keenly understand drivers of demand, but don’t think it’s their job to try and change them, i.e. GPs.

7. Engagement with councillors – particularly as an ‘early warning’. Councillors often understand what is happening within their communities before it hits any data, i.e. a Councillor in Lambeth was able to cite examples of families’ spare children’s bedrooms being up for rent, as an example of changes to benefits, before it showed up in data. Having said that, such anecdotal approaches need to be combined with more rigorous data-driven assessments, to prevent degenerating into exercises in story-swapping.

Step 3

Who is doing it?

- Making Every Adult Matter (MEAM) approach explicitly addresses the root causes of breakdown for individuals with multiple needs. The coalition of the charities Clinks, Homeless Link and Mind, collaborates on interventions for people with complex dependencies, particularly in areas touching on criminal justice, substance misuse, homelessness, and mental health.

- ‘Collaborative economy’ approaches use social network analysis formally or informally to develop network-based ‘social’ solutions to community need. Examples are the Good Gym, Casserole Club and Backr network pilot, which was developed in south London to help strengthen social networks for employment, drawing on insight about the determinants of worklessness and the impact that the right social connections could have on employability.

- Haringey Council is implementing a ‘delivery unit’ approach (borrowing from the Prime Minister’s Delivery Unit methodology), within which it is using a demand management framework to explore granular data and behavioural insight around demand-related issues like waste management. An early study of the delivery methodology has been published for the Institute of Government.

Sources

PART ONE - DEMAND MANAGEMENT IN PRACTICE

Creating Productive Demand

1. Thinking outside of the service lens – this signifies a way of thinking about the role of the council where problems are too complex to ‘solve’ with traditional services. Policy teams should be collaborating with private and social sector partners on issues that drive demand through issues like crime, transport, energy and livelihoods—often requiring a shared space to support this dialogue.

2. New ‘deals’ – this is about brokering a different kind of relationship as a consequence of point 1. This could be a ‘deal’ with citizens that trades off community volunteering with council tax benefits; or a deal with employers to trade apprenticeships with business rate benefits. The point is that managing demand through changing behaviour needs organisational and personal incentives and a clear sense of give and get—as places like Wigan and Oldham are showing.

3. Making demand management, public service reform and growth part of the same narrative – This sounds conceptual but is fundamental. Managing demand upstream can unlock resources for economic development; and conversely, being in a good job is the best form of demand reduction possible. In practice, this means that councils should consider:

   1. new nonprofit delivery models to build civic enterprise in communities;
   2. brokering shared commitments between economic and public service leadership boards to support demand management goals;
   3. open data arrangements that enable entrepreneurs to develop new solutions to high demand service areas; and
   4. policy frameworks that make these explicit links.

Who is doing it?

• “Addressing the root causes is something the council can’t do on its own.”
• “We should be seeing demand as an opportunity to change our relationships with partners.”
• “None of this will stick over the long term if people don’t have jobs.”

Step 2

What approaches can I use?

1. Oldham Fuel Poverty Investment Agreement – this started as a joint collaboration between Oldham Council, NHS Oldham CGG and the Oldham Housing Investment Partnership (OHIP), aimed at reducing fuel poverty and reducing the number of people in the borough who live in cold homes. Since the pilot finished, the work has been extended with grants from the ECO company, which can cover boiler replacements and heating insulation, making homes more energy-efficient.

2. Collaborate’s work with the City of Coventry and the Lankelly Chase Foundation has focused on setting out the preconditions for system change – asking how the system of services to the public can be re-shaped around individuals with multiple and complex needs; and what behaviours are needed from system leaders to make this happen in practice.

3. Cross-border brokerage – many councils are calling for the development of ‘shared spaces’ to broker better relationships between public sector partners in an area – such as housing providers, NHS partners, schools, HE & FE, JobCentre Plus, Work Programme providers and voluntary sector providers. Creating new ‘agreements’ or ‘deals’ around high-demand issues can be a way into this.

Sources


What is the problem?

• “Demand management is technocratic, for managers not politicians.”
• “The way we operate encourages co-dependent demand – a big shift is needed.”
• “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”
• “Demand management is technocratic, for managers not politicians.”
• “To really shift long term demand, we need to build social capital.”
• “We don’t have an account of how the council stops doing things.”

What approaches can I use?

1. Bring the politics back in
   - “The way we operate encourages co-dependent demand – a big shift is needed.”
   - “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”
   - “Demand management is technocratic, for managers not politicians.”
2. Leading not providing: new delivery models
   - “To really shift long term demand, we need to build social capital.”
   - “We don’t have an account of how the council stops doing things.”
3. A ‘shallow end’ for local leaders
   - “The way we operate encourages co-dependent demand – a big shift is needed.”
   - “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”
4. Digital as a tool to manage demand
   - “Demand management and digital technology are intrinsically related.
   - “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”
5. Working with business – some businesses do not do enough to contribute to local public life – but they may also lack the means to better understand how they can.
   - “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”

Building Collaborative Resilience

Step 1

What is the problem?

• We know that communities will need to do more themselves, but how can we support them?
• “Really shift long term demand, we need to build social capital.”
• “We don’t have an account of how the council stops doing things.”

Step 2

What approaches can I use?

1. Shared spaces for engagement – new forms of community engagement and capacity building can’t work through old delivery lines. Many people we have spoken to called for ‘shared space’ to be created, which – whether virtual or physical – is a place where new relationships can be brokered by third party organisations or individuals. Councils can incubate these spaces, but they must be independent.
2. Cross-sector collaboration – tapping into the latent resources of all three sectors should be an explicit goal for building capacity and resilience. Use public space for new purposes. Encourage local business and corporates to incubate and mentor social startups. Encourage users of services to collaborate and develop their own circles, groups and community enterprises.
3. Co-locating local services – meeting demand holistically and upstream will require services to work together – so co-location can be an effective tool where possible. This can be powerful where links are made outside of the ‘big four’ services – i.e. linking leisure, libraries, health services & housing drop-in services. Devolved arrangements can be a long term demand management tool.
4. Working with business – some businesses do not do enough to contribute to local public life – but they may also lack the means to better understand how they can.
   - “Really shift long term demand, we need to build social capital.”
   - “We don’t have an account of how the council stops doing things.”

Valuing Community Leadership

Step 1

What is the problem?

• “The way we operate encourages co-dependent demand – a big shift is needed.”
• “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”
• “Demand management is technocratic, for managers not politicians.”

Step 2

What approaches can I use?

1. 1. Bring the politics back in – if demand management is seen as a technocratic agenda, then it will never get past a patchy set of initiatives that are tangential to our biggest visions for local service reform, and it will never get significant ‘buy-in’ from elected officials. Elected members need to be engaged, and can offer early insight into what drives and motivates residents. It is about enabling Councillors to use their persuasive political instincts to start changing citizen-service relationships.
2. Leading not providing: new delivery models – new delivery models should not be an inevitable signifier for outsourcing, but for creating co-designed service (and commissioning) platforms held to account on the basis of reduced demand and higher citizen engagement. If elected members are not involved in commissioning design, they will not be effective in building relationships or scrutinising practice.
3. A ‘shallow end’ for local leaders – this is about proving the concept of demand management, building trust in the process, and creating bite-sized chunks or prototypes that can be used as a means of cascading broader change through the council. If leaders and managers can’t grasp demand management as both overarching vision and practical interventions, then the power of the agenda will be lost.
4. Digital as a tool to manage demand – demand management and digital technology are intrinsically related.
   - “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”
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   - “There is consensus about the need to change our approach, but how do we do it?”
5. Working with business – some businesses do not do enough to contribute to local public life – but they may also lack the means to better understand how they can.
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Sources:

Where Next? Behaviour Change at Scale
Behaviour Change – Macro as Well as Micro

One of the most conspicuous areas of demand management has been the influence of behavioural economics, and specifically, behaviour change. The work of Cass Sunstein has hugely popularised behaviour change in recent years, with numerous initiatives inspired by their work on ‘Nudge’, including the UK’s own Behavioural Insights Team or ‘Nudge Unit’.

There are numerous shortcomings of an over-reliance on ‘Nudge’. Jan Selby has argued, “a narrow focus on attitudes, behaviour and choices (ABC) tends to miss out on, or underestimate the importance of at least five things”, and she goes on to list the following five factors:

1. Society, including social structures and norms;
2. Technologies, including infrastructures and their interaction with society;
3. International differences, and the major contextual difficulties in transplanting one successful solution to a different setting;
4. Politics, and the way political struggles and tensions often underlie social or technological changes, and;
5. History, and its interaction with social, technological and political changes.

These are not flaws with a behaviour change approach per se; but they do indicate that a ‘nudge’ approach alone is often incomplete in addressing broader demand problems. Another problem confronting ‘nudge’ is scale. Much of the work by behavioural economists in recent years has been in the sphere of microeconomics. ‘Nudge’, in particular, seeks to take a fundamentally transactional view of human behaviour, looking at individual human behaviour patterns. Given the scale of the challenge, ‘nudge’ and macroeconomic approaches are certainly part of the solution – but again, they are not the whole solution.

What has arguably been neglected by recent work in behavioural economics is macroeconomics. Macroeconomics as a field owes much to the work of John Maynard Keynes, whose General Theory of Employment addresses many themes and topics which would go on to centralise to behavioural economics. Thus a question perhaps worth posing is what a macroeconomic approach to behaviour economics might look like.

One can find some practical examples of this – most notably, Akerlof and Shiller represent the reaction to Milton Friedman’s 1967 American Economic Association presidential address on a behaviour-led example of macroeconomic change. For the preceding decade, the Phillips curve maintained economic orthodoxy in its assertion that economies could exhibit either high unemployment, or high inflation, but not both. Friedman argued that this was built upon the “Money Illusion”, failing to take into account of inflation expectations. Thus the modern generation of workers were demanding wages which anticipated inflation, making a mockery of the Phillips curve. The response to Friedman was not only a recalibration of econometrics to take such new modelling into account; it also shifted a signal in expectations around wage bargains and price setting in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Whilst intended as a caution about the shortcomings in the then-prevailing existing model, it became a self-fulfilling prophecy.

More recently, Richard H. Thaler, one of the co-authors of the hugely popular Nudge, has himself written of the very real potential for a further behavioural turn in the field of macroeconomics:

If I were to pick the field of economics I am most anxious to see adopt behaviourally realistic approaches, it would, alas, be the field where behavioural approaches have had the least impact so far: macroeconomics. The big picture issues of monetary and fiscal policy are vitally important to any country’s welfare, and an understanding of Humans is essential to choosing those policies wisely. John Maynard Keynes practised behavioural macro, but that tradition has long since withered.

Thaler goes on to note that when Akerlof and Shiller attempted to organise an annual behavioural macroeconomics meeting, they suffered from a dearth of good papers, contrasted to the steady flow of high-quality macroeconomic papers Thaler and Shiller receive in the line of their work. Thaler argues that two major causes of this dearth of work in behavioural macroeconomics are the difficulty of displaying predictions, and the scarcity of data available. Consequently, it is far easier for economists to focus on ‘micro’ and ‘nudge’.

Certainly, on the “Technologies” point made stressed above by Jan Selby, it should be pointed out that all too often, a ‘nudge’ approach to behaviour, and macroeconomics has been overly focussed in this area, to the neglect of others. A good example would be the wave of bank card crime which used to be common in the 1980s and 1990s. A simple, technical solution had a radical effect on behaviour – instead of people removing their cash from dispensers and machines and then absent-mindedly leaving their bank cards behind, cash machines were redesigned so that people had to return their card to them first, and then stayed to retrieve their money. If only all solutions were so simple. In addition to Selby’s factors – which she considers to be a minimum – we would like to suggest three further dimensions which need to be considered in any form of behaviour change:

1. Legal/technical: Laws and rules – Obviously, governments are in the business thinking first and foremost about laws, and changes to the law can be effective in some instances. However, laws alone do not change behaviour, particularly if this is not matched by any normative changes. The US experiment with Prohibition in the 1920s is a strong case in point, with the consummation of alcohol actually having risen as it was driven underground. Accordingly, laws and rules have a key part to play in demand management, but only in relation to other factors.
2. Psychology/Neuroscience – Psychological factors are most directly addressed by existing ‘nudge’ approaches. By its very nature, this lends itself to a more individual approach predisposed towards the ‘micro’ approach over the ‘macro’, as discussed above.
3. Norms – This is crucial to the wider context of changes in laws and psychological approaches. Social norms play a key role in how people react. Consider, for instance, the IT revolution of the last twenty years. In the infancy of home computers, one might have found it pretty tasteless to have gone online to search for information and services relating to key life decisions. Now, if we consider Shakespeare’s “seven ages – “Infancy”, the ‘school-boy’, the ‘lover’, the ‘soldier’ at work, the ‘justice’ of middle age, old age, and death – there is not one of these which is not assisted by dedicated websites, downloadable apps, and online communities. Technology has gone from the preserve of rather sad and geeky teenagers to having become a social norm across all age groups – and so the way people respond to such technology changes also. Much attention has been focused on ‘Nudge’, but relatively little focus has gone on legal/technical or normative solutions. Yet there have been success stories in both cases.

One of the most conspicuous examples of a legal-led change in behaviour would be the 2007 ban on smoking in public places in the UK (and indeed, similar bans in many other countries), which has made smoking less socially acceptable, and so has cut smoking rates and had other beneficial effects on the workplace. Meanwhile, in the field of normative change, speed limits are a good case in point. On many busy motorways, at peak hours the average speed is slightly above or slightly below the speed limit. Whilst the average speed is occasionally slightly higher than the limit (and so this could be seen as a failure of speed limits in the strict legal sense), this is not usually the case by a very large degree, and so the fact that the limit exists in the first place serves as a guiding norm for drivers, functioning as a normative change – see the enclosed graph of average driver speeds on the M40.

Bearing these three additional dimensions in mind, they set the context for the need to engage with social movements – and its role alongside data analytics and network theory.

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Sources:
24 Ibid., pp. 349-50.
25 Data on the A40 can be found at http://www.frixo.com/m40-north.asp.
What are the tools of Behaviour Change?

Social movements and social norms

This helps us to understand how movements catch on in all-important social contexts. This explains how social change can and does tap into wider cultural norms, in turn influencing those norms. In particular, a marked feature of successful social movements is the degree to which they are self-supporting, with the movement alerting, educating, inspiring and involving the wider general public, so that far broader public pressure is brought to bear on powerholders (and in turn further fuelling the movement), than if a group or organisation were acting in isolation.26

Big data analytics

This helps us better understand the here and now.

For the first time, we have the means to base policy on substantial data-driven insights — many of which may be counter-intuitive, and so have the potential to lead to different, better-informed policies. However, given the very real concerns around privacy, there is an over-riding need to better define and clarify the relationship between the citizen and the state, so as to provide sufficient safeguards (and, where necessary, redress) around the use of such data for public policy.27

Network theory, and network effects

This helps us look at networks in real time.

Network effects look at how the importance of a service becomes more valuable to its users as the service.

Why does network theory matter? Quite simply, because it offers the best scope for a ratcheting effect of behaviour change. Social movements, and the social norms which define them, can do much to spread such behaviour change; and ‘big data’ analytics offer much insight. But the anatomy of social networks offer particularly strong insights as to how such behaviour change can spread at scale and pace. With network effects, it is possible to reach a “critical mass” in expanding behavioural practices.

There are numerous types of social network, with their own characteristics. There are scale-free networks, which are largely dependent upon a relatively small number of connections. Then there are the small-world networks; the classic “village” structure, where everybody knows somebody, but nobody knows everybody else. These networks are far less reliant upon there being a particularly influential point of contact, so much as someone being the point of contact within the network (Fig. B.)

Figure A – Scale-Free Networks

Figure B – Small-World Network

Sources

26 By way of an introduction, see the highly influential Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals (New York: Random House, 1971), which has enjoyed widespread renewed attention since emerging as a source of inspiration for Barack Obama.

27 For an example of the potential for “big data analytics” in government, see the work of New Urban Mechanics in advising on public services in Boston, Massachusetts, particularly in co-designed approaches to transport.
More problematically, there are random networks, which defy easy categorisation and intervention. The very singularity of such random networks makes effective intervention difficult, because the fact that you are intervening heavily in one well-connected part of the network does not in any way guarantee you will ever reach the more remote parts of the network. (Fig. C.)

Finally, there is the hierarchical network. This is much-loved by governments, and those who compile organisational charts. It has the great advantage of being simple, and easy to understand. Unfortunately, it almost never occurs in nature, and part of the failure of successive governments to tap into network effects can be attributed to the failure to engage with a more natural network. (Fig. D.)

However, a vital point worth emphasising is that social networks are dependent upon social movements – not vice versa. A social network is a visual expression of the anatomy of a social movement, but it does not fundamentally explain it.28

The Demand Dial, by Joe Simpson

So what should these new social movements be centred on? One possible insight is represented by the Demand Dial, a graphic rendering by Joe Simpson. This is an alternative projection to the Behaviour Change Wheel recently designed by Susan Michie et al.; like the Behaviour Change Wheel it is a circular diagram dealing with changing forms of behaviour,29 but it seeks to represent a broader spectrum of the range of demand management. Crucially, the Demand Dial is not a static diagram, it is a moving dial where each dimension is constantly recalibrated, and where behaviour (and so behaviour change) is only one element.

As can be seen, the Demand Dial gives some idea of the wider range of levers open to those in government. If large-scale behaviour change is to reach ‘critical mass’, it is unlikely that it will be prompted by just one or two actions – instead, it will involve demand management across the board, each measure contributing in its own way to behaviour change. There are many practical renderings of behaviour change, but they all seek to address one of the same three factors outlined earlier: technical/legal, psychology/neuroscience, and social norms.

The Demand Dial

Law is both technical and normative

Law

Community capacity

Personal & family responsibility

Normative pressures

Psychological

Neuroscience

Withdrawal of service

Nudge

Symbolism & habit

Personal & family responsibility

Transfer of opportunity/assembly cost (IKEA)

Pricing

Invention

Design

Pricing can be both a stimulant to behaviour (BOGOF) and a technical control

RSA is running a project on the social brain

Law

Community capacity

Normative pressures

Symbolism & habit

Nudge

Pricing

Transfer of opportunity/assembly cost (IKEA)

Invention

Design

Withdrawal of service

Sources
Behaviour Change and Social Movements

If behaviour change is to happen at scale and at pace, then as noted, the solution will at least have to try to engage with social movements. Most major changes since the Industrial Revolution have involved a social movement of some sort. Yet “planning” these kinds of social movements will not be easy.

Historically, governments have been conspicuously unsuccessful at initiating social movements. When social movements have taken off, they have tended to be the product of major external factors. Accordingly, even contemplating this means potential exposure to considerable risk and uncertainty, as well as a considerable “signal shift”.

Yet there have been numerous examples of behaviour change linked to social movement, which are worth considering:

- **Successful political parties** are adept at mobilising social movements. Conspicuous examples include the campaign of Barack Obama in the United States in 2008, and of the Scottish National Party in Scotland in 2015, in the latter case, making over half the electorate redefine their political identity in a nation which had previously had decades of relatively rigid political affiliation.

- The approach of Apple Inc to such devices as the Mac and the iPhone. Most relevant here is Apple’s co-production approach to research and development. Instead of rolling out a commercial product after the usual limited stages of testing, Apple invested heavily in extensively testing how prototype products would be used in everyday situations, and integrated such considerations into the redesign process.

It should be recognised that such approaches are not invariably successful – the case of Google Glass, with its much-hyped introduction after extensive testing, followed by very limited market demand, is a case in point. Nonetheless, the major “success stories” have this co-production approach in common.

Whilst such extensive, user-based co-production (or perhaps more accurately described as “co-crafting”, given the attention to detail required) is increasingly common in the tech sector, it is not presently something applied to the services governments offer, with large, up-front costs being the key disincentive. Yet if the savings made are considerable, there is a strong case for it being a worthwhile investment.

This raises the question of what governments can learn from such examples. Each of these activities take government and government agencies outside of their usual “comfort zone”. One Local Authority Chief Executive we spoke to indicated that “Current structures and mechanisms in place do tend to enforce a sort of ‘risk-averse’ culture, where sticking to the status quo affords you a degree of cover”. There are currently few incentives in place for such a degree of experimentation. Nonetheless, for the financial reasons set out earlier, it may become a necessity.

It needs to be conceded that most social movements have happened in spite of large organisations, not because of them. Accordingly, particular focus needs to be given to the lessons that can be learned from the above, relatively scarce examples. Crucially, they have shared a strong participatory element, with those involved in the social movement feeding into and co-crafting the whole process.

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Conclusion

Demand management in local public services remains a work in progress. This is both obvious and reassuring – if any of this was easy, it would already be established practice! What we hope to achieve with this paper is therefore part of a journey. We have illustrated a direction of travel, some emerging approaches, and a sense of where key debates in areas like behaviour change and collaboration might go next.

Furthermore, Randle and Kippin’s Managing Demand (2014) set out a framework for the rationale for demand management, which the first half of this publication fleshes out with practical examples. It is hoped that the more theoretical second half of this publication sets out some markers for how future developments in demand management – particularly behaviour change – might be carried out at scale and at pace.

Collaborate and the Leadership Centre will be working together through 2016 to explore this territory, so please get in touch if you would like to be part of a range of activities to support local service partners turn rhetoric into reality in this critical emerging area of policy and practice. We look forward to hearing from you.
Appendix

Best Practice in Action: Long List of Example Initiatives

Backr network (London)
Strengthening social networks for employment. Developed with its core partners the JP Morgan Chase Foundation, Croydon Council, and Lambeth Council, this uses the online social network model to bring together communities, skills, and experience.
See http://www.backr.net/about

Birmingham Healthy Villages
Project, which includes a Leadership Centre Local Vision project on reducing demand on public services using insights gained from “big data”.
See http://www.birminghamhealthyvillages.org.uk/

Brighton & Hove City Council and Tavistock Institute
Joint project on “Developing Partnership Working for Behaviour Change: Preventing Risky Behaviours in Brighton’s Young People”.

Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council
Independent travel initiative for young people who lack the confidence to travel for themselves.
See https://www.calderdale.gov.uk/education/childcare/plans/sustainable-travel.pdf

Coalition of Care and Support Providers in Scotland
An alliance of 70 of the largest third-sector care and support providers in Scotland, they have tried new models of health and social care collaboration, including innovative collaborative contracting models.
See http://www.cccpscotland.org/

Centre for Public Sector Behavioural Economics
A collaboration between the Chief Executives of the London Borough of Bexley, Coventry City Council and Staffordshire County Council, and the consultancy IMPower, this seeks to find new ways of introducing behaviour change in the public sector, i.e. with a pilot on reducing drunk driving, commissioned by the Department of Transport.
See http://www.behaviourchangecentre.co.uk/case-study/reducing-drink-driving/

Communities and Local Government Select Committee
“Councillors and the Community” report, 2 volumes, 2012, focusing on the totality of the remit of councils and councillors.

Coventry City Council
Collaborative Social Educational Needs transport redesign; and Impower SEN transport programme.
See http://www.behaviourchangecentre.co.uk/case-study/reducing-spend-on-SEN-transport/

Derbyshire County Council
“Thriving Families: Public Service Reform in Derbyshire”.

Essex Police
Essex Police and its convening and consulting of Independent Advisory Groups, to feed back on the concerns of minority communities, and propose changes in practices.
See https://www.essex.police.uk/about/equality_diversity/age.aspx

The Gov.uk web portal for the British government
Which improved connectivity between users and the relevant department they need to reach, cutting down on the number of inquiries made to incorrect departments.
See www.gov.uk

Greater Manchester Combined Authority
Proactive reactive spending review; and Greater Manchester fuel poverty investment agreement, as part of the pooling of resources between the ten Greater Manchester local authorities.
See https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/

Hartlepool Borough Council & Bradford Metropolitan District Council
The Connected Care model of peer-to-peer research in deprived areas, providing improved choice of services, improved access to services, and continuity and coordination around early interventions.

Housing Leadership Centre
‘Jobs At Home’ programme, to help tenants into work, with a successful pilot in Watford.
See http://www.hlcfordaton.org.uk/

Hull City Council
See http://www.local.gov.uk/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=6c3904ae-913b-4b01-86cc-c703aa4414c4&groupId=10180

Leeds City Council
Demand management activities through the Civic Enterprise Leeds programme, through which Leeds also generates revenue providing services to external providers.
See http://www.leeds.gov.uk/civicEnterprise/Pages/default.aspx

London Borough of Barnet
Over a decade ago, recycling almost doubled, thanks to a programme possible under the terms of the Environmental Protection Act 1990, by which residents were informed that they were legally responsible for making use of the new kerbside recycling facilities made available to them alongside regular bin collection.

London Borough of Ealing
The Borough’s housing assessment policy includes a behavior change component for public and private-sector tenants alike, with advice, education and demonstrations on saving money through a combination of better insulation and the installation of renewable power sources like solar panels.
See http://www.ealing.gov.uk/download/meetings/11086_item_11_energy_efficiency_and_affordable_warmlth_plans_for_housing_in_ealing

London Borough of Havering
The use of ethnographers in foster care assessment, to better understand the personal circumstances of different foster families, and so to cut down on the amount of short-term movement of children from one foster home to another.
See https://www.nesta.org.uk/sites/default/files/creative_conciliators_10_lessons.pdf

London Borough of Lewisham

London Youth (Lambeth)
‘Build-it’, a twelve-week programme offering young people further away from work mentoring and development opportunities, with demand management built into the programme.
See http://www.londonyouth.org.uk/buildit

Making Every Adult Matter (MEAM)
A coalition of the charities Chicks, Homeless Link and Mind, working on collaboration around policy and services for people in need, particularly in areas touching on criminal justice, substance misuse, homelessness, and mental health. A two-year longitudinal study of their pilot projects in Cambridgeshire, Derby and Somerset, delivering 26.4% in savings, can be found at: http://meam.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/MEAM-evaluation-FIT-update-17-Feb-2014.pdf

Monmouthshire County Council
“Your County, Your Way” listening programme, with the expectations of residents forming the basis of resource allocation.
See https://www.yourcountyyourway.wikispaces.com/

National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE)
Pioneering work on the principles for effective behaviour change, which can be found at: https://www.nice.org.uk/guidance/ph6

North Ayrshire Council (with the Centre for Public Centre Behavioural Economics – see above)
A projected £500,000 in savings from a four-month pilot scheme on reducing littering, focusing on litter “hot-spots”, a community engagement clean-up initiative, and working with fast food businesses on packaging.

Oldham Credit Union
Has negotiated an agreement with Co-Operative Electrical for purchasing white goods that encourages behaviour change.
See http://www.oldham.co.uk/main.cfm/?type=CUSTOMERSUPPORT

Public Health England and Local Government Association
‘Nudge or Shoe’ strand of work, investigating different models of intervention.
See http://goo.gl/QY1yn

Royal Borough of Windsor & Maidenhead
Carebank pilot scheme, providing carers for the elderly and vulnerable with ‘time credits’.
See http://www.rbwm.gov.uk/web/carebank_scheme.htm
Royal College of Physicians
A Future Hospital Commission was set up in 2012 (the report can be viewed at https://www.rcplondon.ac.uk/projects/output/future-hospital-commission), and its findings are being implemented by the College’s new Future Hospitals Programme. See https://www.rcplondon.ac.uk/projects/future-hospital-programme

Save the Children
Children’s Communities approach, combining a range of services and resources to deliver a combined vision for children in an area. See http://goo.gl/G566M2

Shropshire County Council, in conjunction with the OPM consultancy
A Focused Local Learning pilot ran in 2011-2, to develop the role of elected Councillors as community leaders and facilitators.

Staffordshire County Council and Stoke City Council
Since 2011, there has been multi-agency working between the Council, health agencies, and Staffordshire Police in the Stoke-on-Trent Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub (MASH), including liaison and intervention work targeting behavior change around domestic violence and sex offences. See http://www.staffordshirescares.info/pages/documents/word-doc/safeguarding/MASH-Information-Leaflet.doc

Suffolk County Council
A comprehensive redesign of Children’s and Young People’s Services in 2014/5, incorporating changing behaviours. See http://goo.gl/4ULe1O

Sunderland City Council
‘Responsive Local Service’ model; software city programme; and Community Leadership Programme since 2009. See http://www.sunderland.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=12438&p=0

Swindon Borough Council
Using ethnographic & design methodologies, with assistance from the Nudge Unit. See http://www.swindontravelchoices.co.uk/media/49868/swindon_borough_council_lsti_bid_for_2015_16_final_submission.pdf

Systems Learning and Leadership Evidence Hub
Administered by the Systems Centre for Learning and Leadership at the University of Bristol, and incorporating Hampshire Teaching Schools Alliances, the Howard League for Penal Reform, and Oasis Academies. See http://sysll.evidence-hub.net/

The Art of Change-Making
Edited by John Atkinson, Emma Loftus and John Jarvis, captures the Leadership Centre’s extensive work around demand management across a range of projects around the United Kingdom. A freely-available web resource, it can be downloaded at http://www.localleadership.gov.uk/docs/The%20Art%20of%20Change%20Making.pdf.

Tri-Borough (Westminster City Council, Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, and London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham)
Healthy living partnerships, with a gym-centred approach to behaviour change and encouraging greater exercise. See http://goo.gl/UtLoAE

Waltham Forest, East London and the City Integrated Care Programme
Is one of the Leadership Centre’s Pioneer pilots, and aims to increase patient control over health and wellbeing. As part of nine key interventions taken to identify the 20% of the population most at risk of hospital admission over the next year, behaviour and expectation management (and its interplay with other factors) are a key consideration in providing connectivity with other areas.

Wigan Metropolitan Borough Council
A shift towards personalisation of services, to promote independence, and the provision of care at home and in the community, so as to reduce demand. Since 2013, this has been supported by a system of ‘community credits’ to ‘top up’ personalized budgets in social care, and to incentivize community involvement in social care, as part of a NESTA pilot. See http://www.wigantoday.net/news/community/borough-leads-way-on-social-services-shake-up-1-5380372

Wiltshire County Council
Redesigned, joined up Community Campuses, to encourage users to engage with services in a different way. See http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/communityandliving/communitycampuses.htm

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