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Community learning and action for sustainable living (CLASL)

A literature review

Diane Warburton, Shared Practice October 2005 with Vijay Krishnarayan and Ian Christie

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Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs

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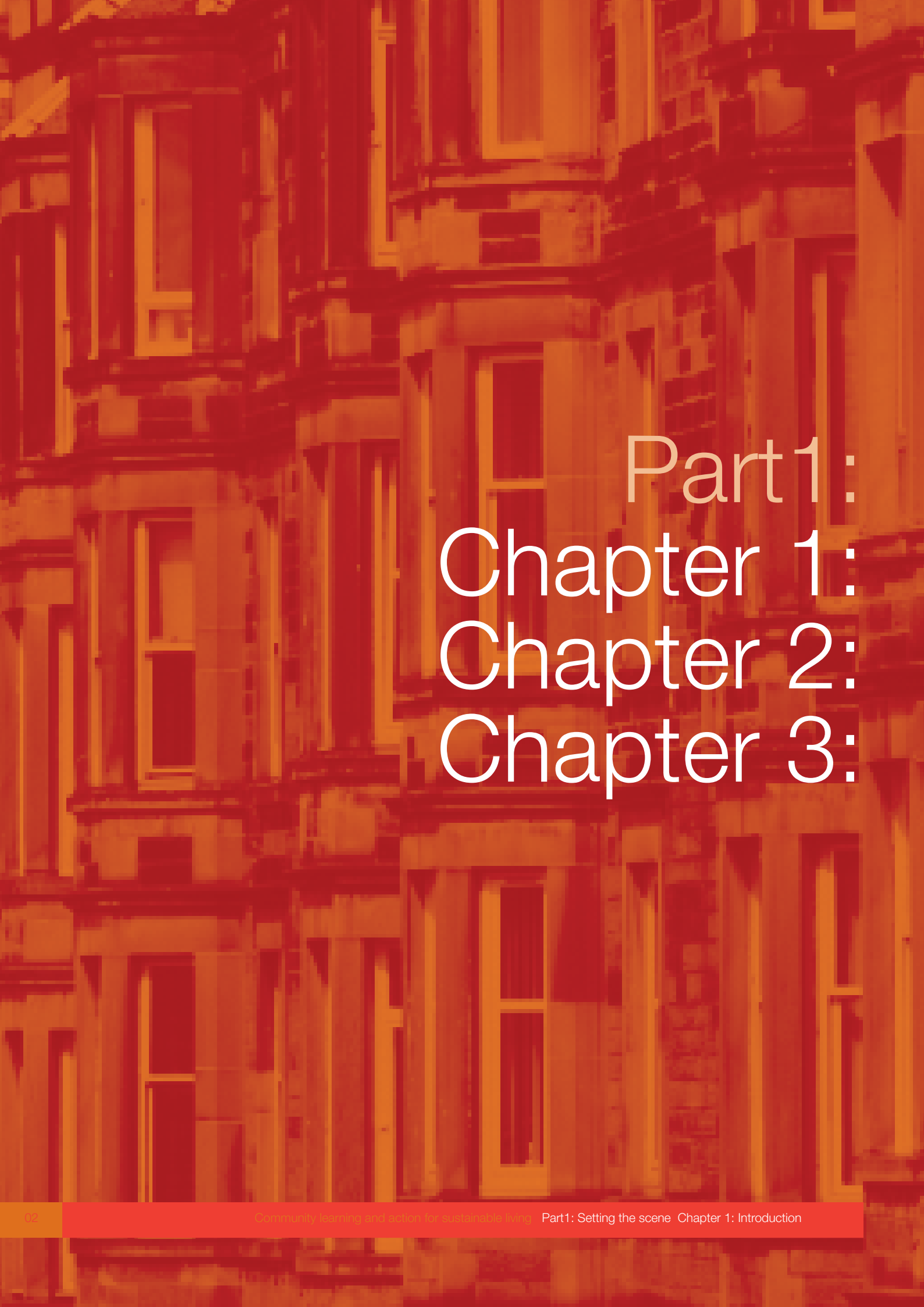

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Setting the scene

Introduction
Research process
Refining the CLASL objectives and outcomes

1. Introduction

WWF-UK's Community Learning and Action for Sustainable Living (CLASL) project aims to develop and pilot an innovative methodology which encourages and enables local communities to define and work towards new patterns of sustainable living. CLASL is designed to run for an initial period of three years (from 2005), and with initial testing with three local communities. The detailed objectives and outcomes for the project are outlined on page 6.

This report describes the research carried out during the early stages of the project in order to:

- support the development of the methodology;
- ensure that the project reflects the current thinking and practice on behaviour change for sustainability; and
- draw on current methods that have been shown to work at community level.

This report was originally written specifically to inform and support the development of the CLASL project, and it is not therefore a comprehensive review of the literature. However, it provides a synthesis of current thinking on behaviour change and sustainable development, as well as summarising a number of community techniques, which may be useful to other individuals and organisations working in this area.

2. Research process

The research process was broadly as follows:

- Four themes were identified initially:
  1. Process/methods of working with communities on sustainability
  2. Measuring change
  3. Action research/action learning methodologies
  4. Evaluation and monitoring.
- A small research team was established to undertake the detailed research, led by Diane Warburton and including Vijay Krishnarayan (focusing on sustainability indicators) and Ian Christie.
- The research process was primarily a desk review of existing sources, plus some informal interviews to follow up specific developments (e.g. the current state of agreement on some sustainability indicators).
- A presentation of interim research findings was presented to the CLASL Project Advisory Group in June 2005, at which the objectives and outcomes were refined (see page 6).
- Further workshops were then held to develop the methods for working with groups in more detail, drawing on the developing research findings.
- Diane Warburton, as leader of the research team, attended other project meetings with WWF staff to continue detailed planning and to ensure that the research findings were embedded throughout the project design process.

During the research process, the structure of the research changed slightly as priorities for the project were clarified. Although all four initial research themes were covered, the research findings in this report are structured rather differently, as follows:

- Ideas from theory, to provide the theoretical background to the project
- Research on methods, focusing on those most likely to be relevant to CLASL
- Indicators of success/achievement, and how they might be used, and
- Related policy and practice initiatives.

3. Refining the CLASL objectives and outcomes

The research suggested that the 'theory of change' approach (Connell and Kubish, 1996) could be used to refine objectives and outcomes (and monitor progress). The 'theory of change' approach is designed to clarify the basic hypotheses underpinning the programme of work at the beginning, so that progress can then be monitored to see if the hypothesis is confirmed – or if something else is happening. Such an approach allows for activities and methods to be reviewed against expected outcomes as the project progresses, rather than finding a theoretical framework (drawn from what happened or other theoretical work) to assess outcomes at the end of the work. The initial key to the 'theory of change' approach is to 'surface assumptions'. This provides away of scoping the territory within which the project is set, and what needs to be considered in clarifying what the project is about and how to assess progress. Four main assumptions were identified as underpinning the project work (recognising that they overlap):

1. Both collective and individual attitude and behaviour changes are necessary to makeprogress towards sustainable living.
2. Mutual reinforcement and social learning related to sustainable behaviours, and criticism ofunsustainable behaviours, is strongest through close social relationships.
3. Helping local communities to work collectively at a local level will encourage'good/sustainable' behaviours, and reduce 'bad/unsustainable' behaviours.
4. What a sustainable lifestyle is can be determined through dialogue between communitiesand external technical specialists.The objectives and desired outcomes for the project were refined and agreed as follows:

OBJECTIVES

- Develop an innovative methodology for defining and working towards sustainable living at a neighbourhood level in England.
- Build the knowledge, capacity, capability, commitment, ownership and responsibility among participants (both residents and those working in local institutions) to increasesustainable living.
- Embed the learning within the project community (the project is designed to work through acore team, Project Advisory Group, community groups and a National Advisory Group).
- Influence (and explore the need for) relevant governance structures to ensure that barriers to sustainable living are tackled (including unsustainable behaviour by others which negatively affects the pilot neighbourhoods), and that appropriate continuing support is developed inthe long term.

OUTCOMES

- The Ecological Footprint from the three communities, the core team, the Project AdvisoryGroup and the National Advisory Group is reduced.
- People in the three communities and at all levels in the project:
- Understand more about what living unsustainably means, for them and the planet;
- Have changed their behaviour to live more 'sustainably';
- Understand more about how their personal behaviour links to wider policy, regulatory and legislative frameworks;
- Have engaged with other bodies (especially local government) to change attitudes andbehaviours.
- Strong links are created between the local communities and national development work(through the steering group, national advisory group etc).

- New ideas have emerged for transforming products and services, based on experience of trying to be sustainable with existing products and services – what is needed and how to create it (including developing and testing how incentives, social organisation, consumption patterns and technological innovation need to work together, i.e. beyond the car pool and shared bicycles which are purely social solutions).
- Everyone involved understands what worked best in the three communities to encourage,and maintain, sustainable living.
- Participants become 'ambassadors' for sustainable living locally and wider.
- A new 'vision' of sustainable living is created at the end of the project, informed by experience.
- Clear messages about the practical implications of sustainable living are transmitted to all partner organisations and to Government.
- Participants will learn a self-analysing and evaluating process for dealing with future issues and behaviour changes.

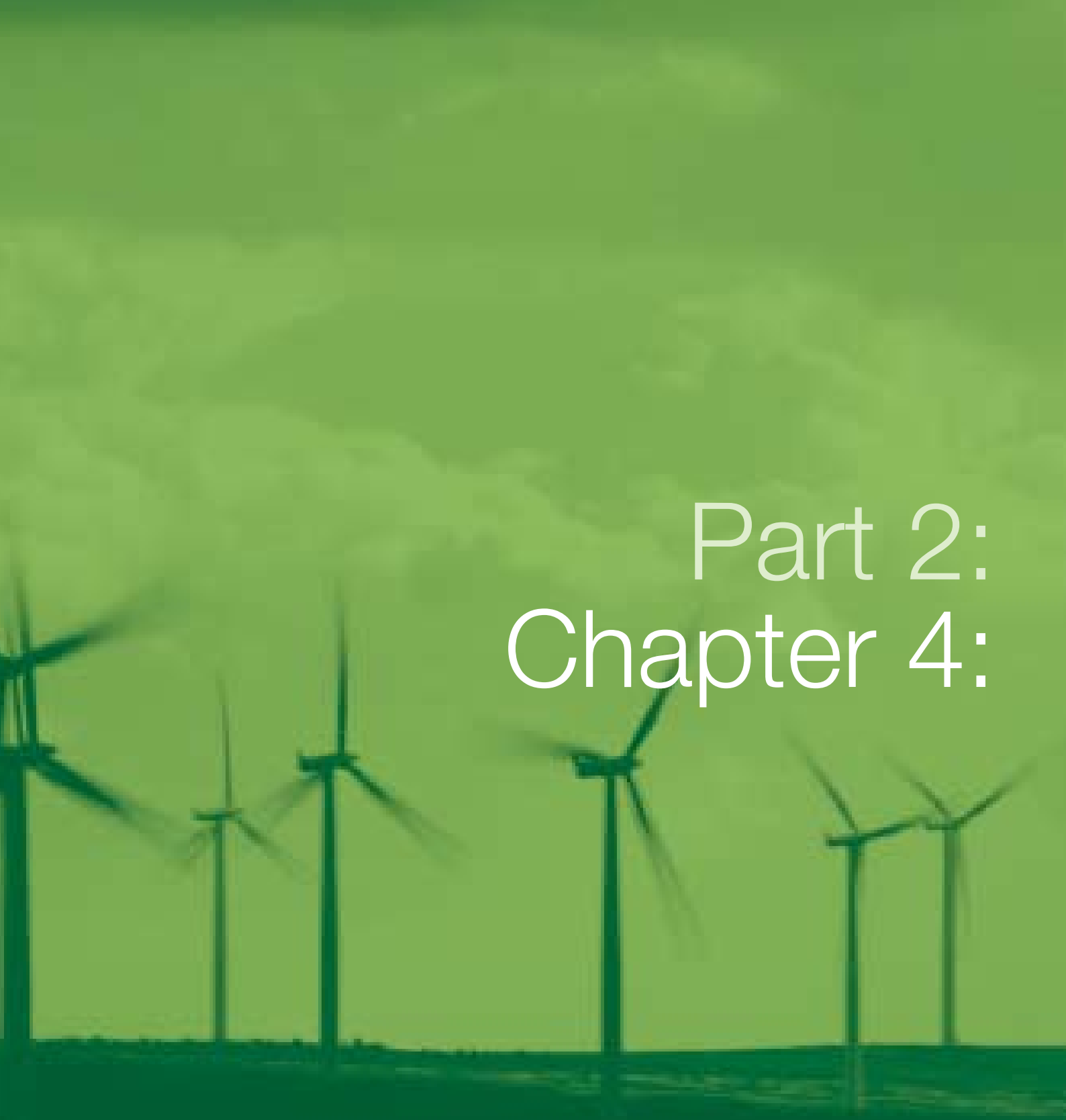
BENCHMARKING

It was further agreed that benchmarking should include the following:

- The current Ecological Footprint of the three communities;
- A sense of the current state of awareness and understanding of sustainable living amongthose taking part at all levels, especially in the three communities;
- Measures at half way and at the end of any changes/consolidation taking place;
- A sense of current support (advice, funding, etc.) structures which might encourage sustainable living in the three communities, to check for impact as a result of the project.

Any such benchmarking, and other mechanisms to monitor and record progress in the project, would need to locate the work with the three communities within the wider policy context, particularly:

- National sustainable development and sustainable production and consumption policy frameworks and indicators;
- The Regional Spatial Strategy and other relevant regional policy frameworks;
- The Community Strategy for the local authority governing each of the three communities.



Part 2:
Chapter 4:

The findings
Ideas from theroy

4.Ideas from theory

This section provides some background on theoretical reviews of what makes change happen (especially towards sustainable living and away from unsustainable living), what motivates people, what allows change to be mainstreamed, incentives and barriers etc.

An overall principle for all this work is that "usable doctrines do not spring, fully armed, from a theorists' brow: they have to be hammered out in the give and take of debate, provoked and shaped by the lived experience of particular societies at particular times" (Owens and Cowell2001). This statement was made about sustainable development in general, and applies equally to work on participation and community engagement in the same field.

It is in this spirit that this report outlines some potentially relevant thinking to guide the CLASL project during the planning and implementation phases.

"MOTIVATING SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION" BY TIM JACKSON, SDRN BRIEFING 1

This paper (Jackson 2005a) explains the value and meaning of consumer goods in modern life, and identifies that "Consumer behaviour is key to the impact that society has on the environment". The key points in the research include:

- The problem is 'lock-in' to unsustainable behaviours, and the challenge is how to 'unfreeze' these habits. The problem is not that people do not care about their environmental impacts, but that there is a value-action gap. The rational choice model (e.g. cost, information and ease) does not sufficiently explain behaviour, so persuasion on those terms can be costly and does not necessarily work: there are already easy cost-effective environmental solutions (e.g. low energy light bulbs) that people do not use.
- Behaviour is the result of attitudes and intentions, habit, and situation (constraints, etc.). It may be that changing behaviour can change attitudes, although there does not seem to be any evidence of that.
- The best way to change the values and attitudes that lie behind behaviour seems to be to create 'discursive' consciousness, which goes beyond everyday practical habits which are done without thinking. Discursive consciousness involves thinking about and discussing what we do, and it "is known to be most effective when it is carried out within a supportive community". Discursive consciousness "is vital to sustainable behaviour change and has been shown to work".
- Pro-environmental behaviour is partly a moral action, and motivation can be altruistic (for the good of others/unselfish). Pro-social behaviour is known to be most likely when people are aware of the consequences of their actions, and take responsibility for their actions.
- We learn most from other people, especially those attractive to us, that we respect, admire,etc. We also learn what not to do from them and from others. But "individual change is often not feasible and usually insufficient", so a pluralistic approach is needed.
- A key lesson from this is the importance of community based social change. Individual behaviours are shaped and constrained by social norms and expectations. Negotiating change is best pursued at the level of groups and communities. Social support is particularly vital in breaking habits and in devising new social norms."

Lessons for CLASL

- 'Discursive' consciousness, which goes beyond everyday practical habits, needs to be created to overcome the value-action gap and develop a moral imperative towards sustainable living. Developing this sort of consciousness is best done in the context of a supportive community.
- The research stresses the importance of community-based social change to break old habits and develop new (sustainable) social norms.

SEEKING BEHAVIOURAL 'LEVERS'

This research by Elizabeth Shove of Lancaster University (ESRC, 2004) concludes that the "hunt for behavioural levers might be a fruitless and entirely mistaken endeavour" even though governments still try to use them. The problem is that social theory suggests that behaviour cannot be changed at will, and personal routines and habits are part of shared cultural conventions (at an individual but also at institutional levels). The results suggest that people might change their behaviours but it is "controversial" to think it might be in response to policy approaches. However, governments and policy change can make a difference – by influencing the cognitive and material environments in which new practices take root i.e. influencing ideas about normal and acceptable standards of daily life – the taken-for-granted context within which daily decisions are made.The work concludes that the best that can be hoped for is that policy change may be able to nudge "shared meanings of normality" to support behaviours that are less resource intensive.

Lessons for CLASL

- There is no point looking for magic behaviour changing techniques, because they almost certainly will not work.
- There is a need to think about how to influence policy so that shared meanings of normal behaviour are shifted to be less resource intensive. This means considering, particularly, the importance of:
  - practising what all the project team (at all levels), and others, preach;
  - challenging policies (new and existing) that continue to push people into unsustainable behaviours;
  - ensuring that feedback from the community groups about their particular concerns are taken forward in those challenges.

COMMUNITY AWARENESS OF WIDER ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

This study by Jake Elster, LSE (ESRC, 2004) in six low income areas showed that there is a "sophisticated and well-developed knowledge" of wider environmental problems in these areas (e.g. loss of biodiversity, globalisation, wasting resources, global warming) and how these issues affected their lives. In addition, there is a sense of personal responsibility and recognition of the need to change personal behaviour, but also of seeing these problems as the responsibility of others (e.g. .government, business). The research findings suggest that:

- Interventions need to focus on practical support for moves to new behaviour, not on awareness raising, persuading people to do things or providing information on what people can do.
- Interventions need to be specifically tailored to the 'action' in question and the particular audience/community.
- The crucial approach is to support individual action and make it count, which needs two things:
  1. recognition that individual action is of little use if governments, business and the wider society are making things worse;
  2. getting a critical number of people to act, so individual action becomes easier and more meaningful.

Lessons for CLASL

- There may be a need to establish specially designed support programmes for each community, which provide practical support for each of them on their issues, which may all be different (different priorities, needs etc).
- Work with local communities needs to be explicitly linked to wider actions to influence government, business and other players so that communities/individuals do not feel alone in making the effort.
- It may be necessary to extend work locally beyond the single community group to get a critical mass of activity in the locality, so it feels meaningful for all involved.
- It is not only 'wealthier' communities that are able to make sustainability linkages and have a sense of responsibility in relation to these issues.

INFORMATION DEFICIT MODEL

This research by Dr Susan Owens, Cambridge University (ESRC, 2004) addresses the 'information deficit' model (i.e. people just need the right information and they will see the error of their ways) and concludes that this model is inadequate for behaviour change because:

- individuals may be willing to change but lack time and resources;
- individuals may lack a sense of agency (they think it won't make any difference) and responsibility;
- faith in experts has been eroded (e.g. by BSE, commercial pressures, weak regulatory frameworks): it is trust not information that is missing.

Therefore more deliberative policy processes are needed in which the different parties reflect on their own (often incompatible) frameworks for addressing the issue. This allows people to recognise their different approaches and learn about what is possible.

Lessons for CLASL

- Learning in this project cannot just focus on providing information, but has to create deliberative learning processes in which people work through together what is possible.

TIPPING POINTS

The Tipping Point (Gladwell, 2001) has become both an enormously successful book and a shorthand phrase for what the author, Malcolm Gladwell, describes as the place where "radical change is more than a possibility. It is – contrary to all our expectations – a certainty". It is about how ideas, behaviour etc move from being a minority interest to suddenly being flavour of the month. Gladwell uses the idea of 'epidemics' to explain how these changes spread like a virus. He says there are three rules of epidemics, each of which is then described in more detail below:

1. **The law of the few,** which means that a small number of the 'right' people can make enormous change happen.
2. **Stickiness,** which is about the extent to which people remember and are moved to action by specific messages.
3. **The power of context,** which is about how important the social and environmental context is in allowing change to happen (or preventing it).

1. The law of the few

Gladwell talks about how word of mouth is still the most important form of human communication, and that effectiveness depends on who is doing the talking (as well as the quality of the message, which is covered under 'stickiness'). Gladwell defines three types of people who are essential to reaching 'tipping points': connectors, mavens and salesmen. All these people 'translate' ideas from elsewhere so they become important and valued by those they are telling:

- **Connectors** are the people who know everyone, who cultivate acquaintances and have a gift for social connections. These people provide the 'social glue' that can lead to real change.
- **Mavens** are those who accumulate knowledge that is useful to people. They not only collect information obsessively but are motivated by telling other people about what they know, so they can help others. They are the teachers/information brokers/data banks.
- **Salesmen** are the persuaders; they are charismatic and make people want to believe the idea.

2. Stickiness

Stickiness is about the content of the message. Gladwell says that the crucial thing about passing on information to people is that they remember it, and that they are moved to action by it.

That means making the information easy to understand, memorable, and provides them with a practical way of fitting the action into their lives. The classic example is of giving students a public health message about getting tetanus vaccinations. None of the students took any notice until they were provided with a map and details of opening times for the clinic: they may have felt they should do something, but it was only when they were provided with a step they could take (find the clinic when it was open), that numbers going there grew enormously.

Gladwell insists that the message should be specific, practical and possible to act on. He argues that problems need to be phrased not as abstracts but as social dilemmas that can be solved. He sees this as "a refutation of the notion that the way we function and communicate and process information is straightforward and transparent. It is not. It is messy and opaque." (p257).

More important than all these is that "Those who are successful at creating social epidemics do not just do what they think is right. They deliberately test their intuitions". (p258). It is not enough to do all these things, but you have to check whether and how it is working to be able to spread the message further.

3. The power of context

"The Power of Context is an environmental argument. It says that behaviour is a function of social context" (p150), and that what really matters are the little things.

This is the 'broken windows' theory. Personal and social values are very important here, but Gladwell argues that action (good or bad) tends to be triggered by small things – like a neighbourhood with lots of broken windows or graffiti that makes people feel a sense of disorder and lack of care, which leads to increases in more serious crime. He proposes that human character is not unified, and that behaviour – in response to a trigger – depends on the immediate circumstances – such as, whether you simply have time to do something at that moment.

Peer influence and community influence are central here too, and Gladwell points to the "critical role that groups play in social epidemics". Not only do people behave differently in groups, "Once we're part of a group, we're susceptible to peer pressure and social norms and any number of other kinds of influence" (p171). In ensuring the sustainable spread of ideas, it can thus be vital to 'create a community' around the first few 'converts' – an organised community that can support the change in the longer term when the initial enthusiasm has disappeared.

This draws on the phases of the diffusion of ideas: moving from the innovators through to the early adopters, the early majority, the late majority and the laggards. It also points to the importance of the location of giving the message – which needs to be somewhere people have the time and inclination to listen.

The key number here is 150 – the maximum size of group to work on any one thing. Once the group gets bigger than that, dividing into smaller groups is recommended. Under 150, a group can develop a 'shared memory', and take responsibility for different bits of what needs to be done.

In summary, Gladwell says that "if there is difficulty and volatility in the world of the Tipping Point, there is a large measure of hopefulness as well. Merely by manipulating the size of the group, we can dramatically improve its receptivity to new ideas. By tinkering with the presentation of information, we can significantly improve its stickiness. Simply by finding and reaching those few special people who hold so much social power, we can shape the course of social epidemics. In the end, Tipping Points are a reaffirmation of the potential for change and the power of intelligent action." (p259).

Lessons for CLASL

- It is possible to change the ways in which large groups of people think and behave, by intelligently designing an approach, and constantly testing how it is working as it goes along. And there are some clear rules and guidance on how to do this, which projects can use.

SOCIAL LEARNING ABOUT REAL OPTIONS TO PRESERVE NATURAL CAPITAL

This research was undertaken by Gough and Scott, Bath University, and Foster and Grove- White, Lancaster University (ESRC, 2004). The work examines the weakness of traditional learning models in changing behaviour and proposes a new approach based on the concept of conserving natural capital assets in ways which allow those assets to self-regenerate (i.e. don't use them all up at once, but allow them to become sustainable resources). The research says that:

- The important thing is to build relevant social intelligence so that people can respond to the changing circumstances – rather than presenting people with the right answer for now which is likely to be wrong in the future, leaving them to face another crisis when that happens.
- Appealing to only altruistic behaviour is not as effective as linking altruistic and self- interested motives (from Julian Le Grand's theories that people are altruistic but that is not sufficient motivation in itself for changing behaviour).

- Social learning (i.e. learning together) is crucial to this process, as it allows people to work through ideas together, and build new norms of acceptable behaviour together which they then all support. These are 'behaviourist notions of learning' e.g. learning by doing, learning by using, learning through interaction. Also called 'Type 3' environmental learning, which is "the exploratory, reflexive and open-ended negotiation of emerging situations as individual activity, society and environment co-evolve". This is what is needed to bridge the attitude/behaviour gap which is exemplifed in a Government public attitude survey pre-1999 which concluded that:
  - 80 per cent say there is too much traffic;
  - 60 per cent say they might consider alternatives to the car;
  - 25 per cent have actually used alternatives to the car.
- Social learning needs to be linked to 'real options' for conserving natural capital assets. For example, on conserving energy it could be worth considering how to:
  - involve householders, employees and school children in a self-audit of the buildings in which they live and work;
  - explore questions around it, e.g.:
    - Are we getting best value out of this energy?
    - Are there (or could there be, in future) better ways of using it?
    - Are there alternatives that would be better?
  - give the power to deploy savings made as a result of this work to those who make the changes, so altruistic and self-interested motives are both satisfied.
- The dynamics of learning and the exercise of social intelligence is at the core of the sustainable development idea. What is needed now is as follows:
  - Good practice needs to be developed and shared on social and management systems that enable learning and adaptation within and between organisations (covering learning and real options approaches).
  - Lessons from successes, and experiments with different approaches, need to be used to give insights into how a critical mass could be persuaded to change their behaviour.
  - An environmentally learning society can be created by developing a special form of social capital, for which capacity can be built through:
    - more coverage of environmental issues at all levels of formal education;
    - recognition of the provisional and dialogical nature of all knowledge and value- frameworks, including scientific;
    - a 'knowledge base' in which information is commonly owned and widely accessible, with expert and lay perspectives;
    - equipping more/a wider range of people to engage in discussions of the social, cultural and ethical dimensions of [environmental issues including] new technologies.
  - A significant increase in real participation, open consultation and collective decision- making about environmental decisions at all levels, to:
    - facilitate dialogue drawing together expertise and lay knowledge;
    - ensure public values inform policy and decision-making.

The research concludes that some additional indicators may be needed that link environmental capital and socio-environmental learning, and suggests some initial ideas on what those indicators might be (see table on the next page).

Feature	Possible indicators (feasibility to be explored)
A widely distributed knowledge base	Percentage of population with some kind of environmental study background at FHE level Measures of availability of relevant information
Encouragement of self-directed, exploratory and interdisciplinary learning at all levels	Component of quality assessment processes in formal education Participation in relevant adult education/continuing professional development courses
Expert and lay perspectives illuminating each other	Non-expert participation in scientific agenda-setting and advisory processes, and technological R & D
Resources for public judgement	Proportion of environmental study courses including a humanities and/or social science component People in environmental management positions with a wider than scientific background References to sustainable development in the media
Decision processes sensitive to public values	Extent of public engagement process on key environmental decisions
Review and reflexivity in institutional governance at all levels	Process, inclusiveness and periodicity of major strategic reviews

Lessons for CLASL

- The focus needs to be about bringing together:
  - new ways of social learning, and
  - addressing real options for conserving natural capital assets/resources.
- There is a need to ensure that lessons from the whole project process (all levels) are articulated, captured and promoted, to enable wider learning (and to challenge the project team's own views on it). This will not happen by accident; it needs to be built into the planned activities of the core team.
- Mechanisms will be needed for building and sharing knowledge as the project progresses, in ways which enable open access and transparency (probably using computer technology as well as conventional methods).
- Local community action needs to be linked to input to wider decision-making processes.

MEANINGS OF CONSUMPTION

Two separate research projects are covered here, one by Frank Trentmann of Birkbeck College, and one by Frans Berkhout, SPRU, Sussex University (both reported in ESRC, 2004). They conclude that:

- Consumption is part of wider ideological traditions and cultural meanings, and will be affected by all sorts of differences in context including simply different uses of transport and space.
- Consumption is part of the wider evolving system of meanings and practices, which means it can change and is not a fixed or necessarily 'bad' set of behaviours.
- Technology and practice are linked so, for example, when someone buys a freezer, shopping and cooking behaviours change (e.g. shopping less often for frozen food/buying a microwave for defrosting).

Lessons for CLASL

- The message cannot simply be given that consumption per se is a 'bad' thing; clarity is needed on what is desirable behaviour in terms of consumption, rather than being seen to be stopping consumption.
- All participants in a project need to be helped to think through the consequences of actions, including using new technologies, so choices made are not environmentally damaging.

INFLUENCING PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR FOR ENVIRONMENTAL GOALS

This research was undertaken jointly by the Green Alliance and Demos (Collins et al, 2003). The work found that government departments can influence behaviour in four main ways:

1. **Legislation** (e.g. product standards, bans on harmful chemicals)
2. **Economic instruments** (e.g. reducing VAT on energy efficient products)
3. **Provision of information** (e.g. eco-labelling)
4. **Marketing and influencing strategies** (e.g. 'Doing Your Bit' campaign; 'Dig for Victory' campaign in wartime; drink driving).

Theories of influencing consumer preference used to be based on a linear model of behaviour summarised as AIDA:

Attention/awareness
Interest
Desire
Action.

However, this model has not proved very effective, and a much more sophisticated understanding of how behaviour changes has now been developed. The role of public institutions in achieving these changes has also moved on, with much more emphasis now being placed on building trust, legitimacy, transparency and public ownership.

This research concludes that what is needed are:

- integrating perspectives, ensuring input from a wide variety of expert and non-expert sources;
- interactive research, to encourage people to form and reformulate their opinions interactively, consensually and consciously;
- new ways to make decisions, allowing the public a meaningful role in decisions and their implementations.

The research also suggests that attempts to adopt these practices are still experimental, and that:

- Approaches cannot be mechanistic and broken down into bite-sized chunks. It needs systems thinking and social learning theory (i.e. people learning by aligning their behaviour with that of their role models), if social learning is to be integrated into social networks (i.e. normal social relationships).
- The process of influencing is about managing, cultivating and spreading change – described as 'viral' by Malcolm Gladwell (in The Tipping Point, Gladwell, 2001). It needs intermediaries – what Seth Godin calls 'sneezers', Gladwell calls 'influencers', Opinion Leader Research call 'the new persuaders' [and Community Development Foundation calls 'community champions']. The point about these people is that when they tell people things, they are believed and trusted.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND LEARNING

This is a critical review of topical issues in sustainable development and learning (Scott and Gough 2004). Although the bulk of this collection of special contributions and extracted readings from key texts is about schools and children, and formal and environmental education, there is also material on adult and community education, and on capacity building and developing 'agency'.

Overall, the collection suggests that sustainability brings major challenges for society, and especially for education theory and practice, requiring much greater participation and empowerment of learners, and willingness on the part of teachers to recognise complexity and uncertainty rather than taking the role of 'keeper of the knowledge'.

Some of the most relevant extracts and points for sustainability and behaviour change projects are given below.

1. "A key lesson of adult and community education is the realisation that people are not unaware of the social and environmental problems they face. In fact, more often than not, people have learnt quite a lot about them – from the media, social movements, scientists, governments and, most importantly, their daily experience. Consequently, there is a need to move beyond awareness-raising, and to engage people critically and creatively in their own communities, planning and participating in action for socially just and ecologically sound development at the local level. This can lead to an appreciation of the root causes of issues and problems, an analysis of whose interests and voices are being served and whose are excluded or marginalised, and a concern for the likely consequences of a given consumer, electoral or other decision. Public understanding of this type is the foundation for people to fulfil their roles as responsible citizens, consumers and public-spirited individuals." (Fien and Ospina, p39).

   This alerts people to the need for further learning and understanding, for thinking about their own personal choices, and for public authorities to take account of these issues in what they do:

"... today's adults: 'must have the opportunity to develop their critical thinking skills, and to use their ideas, knowledge, power and imaginations to begin to make change rather than simply maintaining the ecological status quo' " (agreed at the 1997 Hamburg conference for the International Council for Adult Education's Learning for Environmental Action Programme) (ibid).

2. "...the task is not to educate for sustainable development. In a rapidly changing world, we must enable students to debate, evaluate, and judge for themselves the relative merits of contesting positions. There is a world of difference between these two possibilities. The latter approach is about education; the former is not." (Jickling, 2004).

3. Educating for a change in behaviour is analysed and six critical components of a successful education programme for behaviour change are identified as follows (all directly quoted from Hungerford and Volk, 1990; except for remarks in square brackets, which are added commentary for this report):

    - Teach environmentally significant ecological concepts and the environmental interrelationships that exist within and between these concepts.
    - Provide carefully designed and in-depth opportunities for learning to achieve some level of environmental sensitivity that will promote a desire to behave in appropriate ways;
    - Provide a curriculum that will result in an in-depth knowledge of issues.
    - Provide a curriculum that will teach learners the skills of issue analysis and investigation as well as provide the time needed for the application of these skills.
    - Provide a curriculum that will teach learners the citizenship skills needed for issue remediation as well as the time needed for the application of these skills.
    - Provide an instructional setting that increases learners' expectancy of reinforcement for acting in responsible ways (i.e. attempt to develop an internal locus of control in learners). [The importance of follow-up to the initial learning experience, to reinforce 'good' behaviour, is stressed.]

4. Two curricular strategies are proposed in this chapter:

    4.1. **The issue investigation and action model.** This involves helping participants to:
        - learn to differentiate between environmental events, problems and issues;
        - understand the impact of beliefs and values on issues;
        - produce an issue analysis strategy;
        - identify environmental issues, write research questions focused on these issues, and learn how to obtain information about issues using secondary sources; and how to compare and evaluate secondary sources;
        - learn to develop surveys and questionnaires, and how to sample populations to obtain scientifically valid information;
        - record data, interpret the data, make inferences about the data and draw recommendations from the data;
        - individually choose an environmental issue of particular interest to them and research it;
        - individually do a report on their investigation and produce both a written and an oral report;
        - learn the main methods of citizenship action;
        - analyse the effectiveness of individual action versus group action;

- develop issue-resolution action plans, which are evaluated against a set of criteria designed to assess the social, cultural and ecological implications of the action;
- implement the action plan, supported by the facilitator/teacher.

4.2. **The extended case study model.** In this model, the participants:

- learn some of the same skills that were learned in the previous model, except that they are focused on a predetermined issue (chosen by them or by the group leader).

The conclusion here is that "The research indicates that the extended case study model, although successful, is not as powerful an instructional model as the issue investigation and action model" (p155).

5. There is a view (Hart, 1994) that education itself must change, and that "As a foundation for educational inquiry, it is the critical action research paradigm that most closely aligns with the ecological worldview that underlies mainstream environmental education rhetoric but does not align with environmental education activity" (p159-160).

   Hart goes on to say that "Whereas historically schools were not intended to develop critical thinkers, social inquirers, and problems solvers, or active participants in environmental /social decision making, contemporary environmental education imposes a revolutionary purpose on schools – one which intends to transform the values that underlie our decision- making through educational practices that can only be described as action research...

   Teaching and learning are intended to be co-operative processes of inquiry into and action on real environmental issues. Such an inquiry process demands that students actively engage in critical or complex thinking about real problems. The development of knowledge, skills and values is not only directed towards action, but emerges in the context of preparing for (i.e. the inquiry) and taking action." (p160).

6. Reid (2004) uses a tapestry-making analogy to discuss the role of education and learning in the 'fabric' and 'fabrication' of sustainable development. Reid argues that there is one difference here from traditional tapestry making, which is that in sustainable development we cannot have full access to the front of the fabric; we can only weave sustainability from behind, from what we know now, because we can only have limited understanding of the future. Therefore, "In the final analysis, assessing progress towards sustainable development remains as much socially constructed as it is culturally situated" (p161) because we can never have the absolute template/blueprint for what sustainable development looks like. Reid points out the differences between lifelong sustainability learning and environmental education in schools and says that "Lifelong learning often implies individuals who are willing, committed and able to go on learning throughout their lives, who are capable of coping with uncertainty, diversity and the need for collaboration with others ... Each characteristic is fundamental for effective learning in the context of sustainable development, and in sustainable development supporting, rather than hindering, learning." Reid goes on "...current conceptions of education for sustainability will not necessarily endure as the discourse on sustainable development and education evolves or changes profoundly. The challenges raised by the tapestry analogy support notions of lifelong learning that shift the focus from product to process ... Indeed, in the context of lifelong sustainability learning, the process may be more worthwhile than the product." (p163).

7. Several sections of this collection deal with evaluation. The purposes of evaluation identified by Stokking et al (1999) are:

   - accountability (e.g. to funders);
   - communications (with various target audiences about what has been done/achieved);
   - monitoring quality;
   - improving quality (learning from experience).

   Cause and effect are always the most difficult element of any evaluation of a participatory process. Stokking et al suggest that a case for cause and effect can plausibly be made if:

   - the activity takes place in a relatively short, continuous period, so that the participants will have little chance to learn similar things in the meantime;
   - the activity is aimed at fairly specific goals, so that the knowledge and skills cannot easily be picked up elsewhere;
   - clear links can be established between the means used (content, working methods, materials, activities) and the objectives.

8. WWF's own international approach to evaluating educational programmes (1999; in Scott and Gough 2004) differentiates between different types of results:

   - **outputs:** material products and processes
   - **outcomes:** short term achievements or changes, and
   - **impacts:** longer term cumulative effects/lasting change.

   WWF further differentiates between conservation and educational results, as follows:

   - **Conservation outcomes**, related to "the conditions necessary for the achievement of conservation impacts/goals" – improvements in the capacity to plan and manage strategies for conservation and provide the conditions for an intended conservation impact e.g. raised levels of public understanding and support for biodiversity, improved management of a reserve, a Local Agenda 21 plan or new conservation legislation.
   - **Conservation impacts**, e.g. improvements to the biodiversity status of an eco-region, effective management of natural resources, increased numbers of an endangered species.
   - **Educational outputs**, e.g. publications and other materials, training courses that actually enhance environmental understanding and sensitivity, and motivate people to participate actively in conservation (if not, these are not educational outputs but are simply information outputs).
   - **Educational outcomes**, such as increased levels of knowledge and understanding of conservation issues, strengthened commitment to biodiversity values, enhanced capacity to work for conservation goals ... that "support the ability of individuals and communities to analyse conservation issues in their ecological, political and socio- economic contexts, to envision and evaluate alternative solutions and scenarios, to make action plans, and to work cooperatively with others to implement them effectively." (p173). There may also be system-focused educational outcomes, such as the development and servicing of networks of environmental educators, and research into effective planning strategies for improving education work.

- **Educational impacts**, which WWF argues can only be identified in general terms such as 'active citizen' or "someone who lives a 'sustainable lifestyle'" (p174). The argument is that long term goals are value-laden, and need to be relevant to different people at different times in different places, so cannot be identified in advance. Indeed, "the participatory and democratic foundations of the sustainable society upon which conservation depends demands that we not be too explicit about what these long term goals mean" (cited in Braus, see below).

9. The follow-up article to the WWF extract above identifies the difficulties with these types of evaluation but points out that "research shows that if people have more hands-on experience with nature, good mentors, and success in taking part in environmental action projects, they are more likely to care about the environment and be engaged citizens" ((J. Braus, 2004, p178).

10. More fundamentally, Wals (2004) identifies the dilemma inherent (but not always explicit) in these evaluation approaches – between 'instrumental' and 'emancipatory' approaches. He points out that "what you cannot measure, still exists" (p180). Wals seemingly favours a purely emancipatory approach, with assumptions of good practice focusing on the extent to which participants/students themselves determine the content, outcomes, process and standards. Wals argues that "From an emancipatory point of view... The main objective is not to find out or prove the kinds of changes that occur in the learner as a result of an educational activity, but to find out whether the activity and the context in which it was carried out provided for such change ... the evaluation of any activity should have a pedagogical end in itself, in the sense that the participants themselves should somehow benefit from the evaluation." (p181).

11. The instrumental approach is identified elsewhere in the book as epitomised by the Brundtland approach which is "How are individuals in the real world to be persuaded or made to act in the common interest? The answer lies partly in education, institutional development and law enforcement" (WCED, p46; Greenall Gough, 2004, p215). Here Greenall Gough worries that education can be seen as simply about transmitting facts and can be harnessed to achieve narrow ecological goals.

12. In terms of broader approaches to understanding and changing society, Lindblom (1992) identifies the differences between a science-guided model of social problem solving (in which for every social problem, sufficient analysis can find at least one solution; p193), and a 'self-guiding' model, which centres on lay investigation. In the self-guiding model, social science becomes "an aid, refiner, extender, and sometime tester of it, always a supplement" rather than leading the process.

    In the self-guiding model, lay learning is core, because it can involve a social process in which politically active citizens examine their own motivations. Continuing this theme, Lindblom suggests that statistics do not create problems – it is how we feel about the statistics that do that, and so sensitivities and feeling are also vital elements. In the self- guiding model, there are almost never 'correct' solutions, only solutions that have been 'well-probed' (p194). Here, learning from action through trial and error is the way forward, "in which the trial serves not simply as an action to attempt a solution but provides feedback information to illuminate subsequent attempts ... In this model, citizens, functionaries, social scientists, and other experts do what they have learned and then learn from what they have done" (p195). Trials become strategic actions aimed at finding a solution,

and expecting that feedback from the experience will provide lessons to inform future actions. This model is not without its critics – Bowers (2004) suggests that it ignores differences in decisions that result from profound differences in cultural ways of knowing, and is therefore hopelessly ethnocentric (from a Western perspective).

However, others (e.g. Singh 2004) suggest that the self-guiding model to environmental problem-solving could now be widened to build the investigative capabilities of active citizens. Singh suggests that "Analysis of the Brundtland report suggests that lifelong learning can be used to improve the capacity of citizens to engage in social inquiry, to enhance the capacity of scientists to engage in democracy through education, and to educate both citizens and scientists about the role of national and transnational institutions in permitting, authorising and legitimising their work of solving environmental problems. However, as Lindblom warns, this is not a once-and-for-ever solution, but a lifelong journey in a quest to learn what the problems are and what problems are not created by our solutions." (p207).

13. The role of education in creating active and responsible citizens is addressed by Haste (2004). Haste suggests that "If we assume that mass grassroots action is an effective force for cultural and social change, then education would be a force for moral and political agency, to create consumer-citizens who will put pressure on industry and government to act more 'responsibly'." (p220). Haste concludes that education must prompt both a sense of responsibility in people, and a sense of personal efficacy – that they can have an effect: "These are the established roots of active citizenship" (p221). People need to be able to see themselves differently in relation to the rest of the world (i.e. eco-centric and interdependent rather than technocratic and individualistic) and "A first step in developing a less restrictive outlook is to privilege and foster the capacity to manage ambiguity and diversity fruitfully".

14. Dobson's contribution (2004) to this collection makes the point more forcefully in his first sentence: "Sustainability is not just a matter of getting the science right. Science might be able to tell us what the carbon dioxide tolerances of certain animal and plant species are, but it cannot tell us which species we should be concerned about. Deciding 'what matters' in the context of sustainability involves value judgements that can be informed by science, but not conclusively determined by it." (p222). So, environmental education cannot be about facts alone, but must involve a "negotiation of values".

    Among the different perspectives that need to be taken into account within this negotiation is the fundamental point that "We cannot ... predict what future generations will value", so we must find the skills to continue to challenge and discuss rather than expect simple answers/solutions ... although Dobson takes it as an absolute that we should "pass on the broadest 'bequest package' that we can" (especially diversity in the natural world, as diversity is the precondition of choice), given that we cannot know what will be valuable in the future. Indeed, Dobson concludes that "it may be that our non-knowledge of the future, rather than our ethical ruminations in the present, is the foundation on which to build a lasting sustainability." (p224).

15. Brown and Lauder's extract (2001; in Scott and Gough 2004) discusses the importance of developing 'collective intelligence' (through co-operation) in order for society to attain common goals or resolve common problems. They differentiate between two elements: capacity for intelligence (state of knowledge, data, resources etc), and relations of trust (through which intelligence is pooled and shared effectively). The development of trust and the values on which it is built depends on cultural context, which in turn is affected by the institutions and social processes that are part of everyday life.

    Brown and Lauder argue that "Building high trust relations is at the heart of the struggle for collective intelligence, in that it is a way of moving towards a form of associated living which involves making experience more communicable by removing the social distance which makes individuals impervious to the interests of others. This conforms to John Dewey's notion of democracy which is more than a system of government as it defines the way people live together and pool their intelligence. Collective intelligence is exercised through the development of the art of conversation and by giving an authentic voice to all constituencies of society." (p228). This is what Brown and Lauder call 'social learning', which they see as vital for the development of social capital.

    They quote A.H. Halsey (p230): "Exhortation alone is futile, whether to altruism or to tolerance or to recognition of the equal claim of others to share in the bounty afforded by society. The problem is to discover, to establish, and to strengthen those social institutions that will encourage and foster the kinds of relations between people that are desired."

16. Part of the cultural context that has to be taken into account is the current political climate where many of these ideas are far from the norm, and many of those engaging in the debates will not accept the co-operative, common good arguments easily. Clover (2004) suggests that the only way forward is for those leading these educational developments to recognise that "so-called neutrality is a political bias in itself", and that 'teachers' need to be willing to explicitly challenge taken-for-granted assumptions about the world.

17. Finally, the editors of this collection (Scott and Gough 2004) conclude that "Learning is a poor tool for implementing the policy prescriptions of others, and such implementation is, in turn, a very questionable route to sustainable development". Learning has to be about developing the skills and values that "inform society's discussions about itself".

- Developing critical thinking will be as important an outcome as other more practical changes to lifestyle. Agreed objectives and ways of measuring progress through evaluation processes and criteria for success need to take that into account.
- A 'curriculum' for the project that both communicates key concepts of sustainability and provides ways for those involved to identify, absorb and apply the lessons may be appropriate. This will require dealing with ecological concepts, issue analysis and investigation, and citizenship principles and skills (potentially drawing on the Crick work on education for citizenship; see below). This will mean expanding the basic 'community development' method normally used with community groups so that methods used also explicitly include different ways of learning.
- The project needs to decide the extent to which it wants to focus on learning for behaviour change, in which case the issue investigation and action model looks like an effective approach. The research and analysis skills involved in this model could be seen as a precursor to the traditional action learning model/learning cycle (see methods). The balance (and timing) between learning and action is an important consideration for designing processes for working with groups.
- The dilemma between 'instrumental' and 'emancipatory' evaluations is equally apparent in the learning andother strategies that may be being evaluated. Although this source has a firm sense that emancipatory is best, for the CLASL project it may be more appropriate to try to find ways of doing a bit of both. However, it seems very likely that the participatory ethos of the CLASL project will require a participatory evaluation, which will involve the participants and aim to benefit them (by providing further learning opportunities), as well as wider audiences.
- Lindblom's self-guiding model may provide some useful theoretical background, similar to Tim O'Riordan's concept of civic science, and ideas of 'wicked' problems that do not have obvious solutions. Projects could use the idea of 'trials' to solve environmental problems, identify the lessons to improve future practice, and to improve citizens' investigative capacities so they can identify their own future priorities and deal with those.
- Dobson's contribution is so relevant that it is worth repeating his summary of the relationship between science and citizenship: "Sustainability is not just a matter of getting the science right. Science might be able to tell us what the carbon dioxide tolerances of certain animal and plant species are, but it cannot tell us which species we should be concerned about. Deciding 'what matters' in the context of sustainability involves value judgements that can be informed by science, but not conclusively determined by it." This is helpful in thinking about the balance in projects between input from 'experts' and discussions of values and priorities.
- Identifying, working with and strengthening social institutions will be a crucial element of a project if its impact is to be long term. So will the 'style' of the approach which should reflect the 'kinds of relations' that are sought. The 'art of conversation' suggests that an informal, sociable, enjoyable, generous approach may be required.

CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is a key current policy concept in Government, especially through the work of the Home Office Active Citizenship Centre (part of the Civil Renewal Unit) and ODPM's focus on new localism in local government. It is also increasingly important in theoretical work on public and community engagement.

Part of the motivation for the growth of interest in citizenship is a political belief that people have the right to influence the decisions that affect their lives. There is also a strong element of practicality in thinking about the development of public services, and a recognition that 'command and control' approaches can only ever be part of the answer to tackling problems such as public health and, especially, environmental issues – where the importance of involving people upstream in avoiding problems, and in taking responsibility for dealing with the consequences of past mistakes, has been recognised – both in terms of limited resources (impossibility of resourcing all levels of action needed) and in terms of better solutions found by people for the problems they themselves experience.

Citizenship was originally about participating in the decision-making processes of government: "In the political tradition stemming from the Greek city states and the Roman republic, citizenship has meant involvement in public affairs by those who had the rights of citizens: to take part in public debate and, directly or indirectly, in shaping the laws and decisions of a state" (Crick, 1998). For Crick, this involves three strands: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy.

A review of the concept of citizenship by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex (Jones and Gaventa, 2002) concluded that citizenship can be seen now as both a status and an active practice, but there is a difference: the first is about rights to act, and the second means fulfilling that potential. Barnes (cited ibid) suggests this works in three ways:

1. as a social right;
2. as a form of agency and practice;
3. as a relationship of accountability between public service providers and their users.

Jones and Gaventa (2002) suggest that this reflects different approaches to thinking about citizenship (IDS):

- liberal emphasis on individual rights;
- communitarian emphasis on belonging;
- civic republican focus on processes of deliberation, collective action and responsibility

However, the review argues that it is important that people cannot be denied citizenship status if they do not want to be active. There is also an important distinction between rights and needs. Social policy tends to have two understandings of individuals, as having a suite of wants (e.g. hunger) which leads to a focus on needs; and as active choice agents, which leads to a focus on rights (with connotations of power to determine allocation of resources). These can be complementary, and rights can be seen as legitimising and making claims for resources on the basis of needs.

Citizenship is essentially about the political relationship between individuals and the state, with varying degrees of rights (often linked to justice/fairness) and responsibilities according to the different senses of 'citizenship' being used. Good citizens are seen to be acting in the 'common good'.

The problem of the 'common good' is who defines it. Miller (cited ibid) suggests that the process of citizenship participation is about groups with the same needs and interests working together to articulate their priorities in public spheres, ultimately to define the common good. But if the most disadvantaged cannot participate fully, will the common good always be defined by the better off?

Social rights are underpinned by concepts of freedom: both freedom from (e.g. constraint, oppression) and freedom to (e.g. pursue self-determination). A third freedom has more recently been identified (Berlin cited ibid) as 'group liberty', which is a willingness to constrain individual liberties to gain group liberties.

Citizenship does overlap with community and public participation, but there are crucial differences, not least that participation may not imply rights and responsibilities but may simply be individuals engaging in a practical sense in one-off initiatives. Although some suggest that increased participation will not necessarily create more active environmental citizens (Barnett et al 2004), others suggest that there is evidence that there is "positive evidence that involving the public in decision-making can have wider impacts on their sense of citizenship" (ODPM 2005), at least from deliberative participatory methods such as citizens' juries.

These are not new ideas. J S Mill and de Toqueville (cited in Mansbridge, 1999) proposed that participation makes better citizens, and de Toqueville in particular pointed out that direct participation in democratic decision-making with others makes better citizens because it enlarges one's self interests because people begin to recognise that "the fortune of the public is his own". But although these connections remained strong throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, it is suggested that by the 21st century, participation was seen increasingly as a means to the end of policy creation and self-protection.

Jones and Gaventa (2002) suggest that now new 'spaces' or 'arenas' are needed in which citizens can participate as citizens – moving from 'users and choosers' (essentially better informed consumers) to 'makers and shapers' in relation to the policies that affect their lives. These spaces may be about extending the decision-making into:

- spaces where citizens spend everyday lives (e.g. Participatory Rural Appraisal, legislative theatre and citizens juries);
- government spaces (e.g. around participatory budgeting); and
- spaces related to media (e.g. local radio, street theatre and citizen video to articulate messages and take them to public meetings to disseminate information).

The extent and effectiveness of participation depends partly on the capacity and willingness of the community/public to engage but the research evidence suggests that, more importantly, it depends on the "design and culture of

municipal institutions and the autonomy and authority of local government" (Lowndes, 1995). And beyond ... sustainability requires viewing immediate community problems within the wider context, and in connection with other places and scales/spatial levels (Owens and Cowell, 2001).

The links between participation and citizenship are being increasingly stressed, with rights to participate increasingly important in some development work, especially in relation to the Aarhus Convention and in international development, with the rise of the good governance agenda and rights-based approaches (Jones and Gaventa, 2002).

Jones and Gaventa (ibid) suggest that work on civic education summarises three levels of active citizenship:

1. civic-individualists (helping people become volunteers and informed consumers);
2. civic-republicans (direct political participation);
3. civic-pluralists (building diverse but cohesive civic culture).

Citizenship has been compared and contrasted with consumerism, as two different ways in which individuals engage with the issues that concern them. The difference is usually explained as being that **consumers** are 'users' of goods and services, and make decisions about their choices on that basis (how to improve goods and services to better meet their needs etc). There are questions about whether ethical consumption is an act of citizenship (to which the answer seems to be that it can be, if it is for the common good, but not if it is just about individual benefit. **Citizens** on the other hand operate in the political sphere where decisions are made about priorities, resources, taking into account the needs of others on public goods and benefits (not personal/private): people "think and act differently as citizens than we do as consumers" (Skidmore et al, 2003). Decisions about public goods (such as environmental goods and problems) require the public to engage as citizens as well as consumers.

Jones and Gaventa (2002) suggest that difficulties arise when officials resist the idea that user groups are stakeholders in the complex system of local governance, and do not see it as a citizenship issue. If involvement is seen as user-involvement rather than a citizenship right, it becomes de-politicised.

This does not mean that all responsibility passes to citizens, and there are many arguments that empowerment should not be used to legitimise state inaction (ibid). Vertical involvement (e.g. reps on LSPs, formal consultations with government, etc.) needs horizontal involvement (e.g. participation by average residents in ordinary community groups and networks). The crucial approach is to develop a range of participatory methods on citizenship so that the realities for different people can be better understood, and spaces for reflection and change developed by citizens and the organisations that affect their lives (ibid). There is also a need to create a framework for dispute arbitration, establishment of priorities, brokering different groups' demands, understanding the diversity of communities and what motivates people to get involved (Lowndes, 1995).

Learning for active citizenship is seen (Merrifield, 2001) to need not just practical activity, which is essential, but also group learning, cultural expression and reflection, to link experience and learning (what might be termed transforming experience into expertise). It has been argued that "citizenship cannot be taught only learnt" (Lawson and Leighton, 2004).

For some, communities of practice provide the social contexts for learning about citizenship, which are closely linked to learning networks and action learning. Less examined is the extent to which this learning can be spread more widely. Social movements (e.g. the environmental and women's movements) were seen in the later part of the 20th century to be the key to this, as they embedded the necessary changes in lifestyles and 'common sense' as a result of their collective engagement in citizenship activities, but it is unclear what may replace these mechanisms as such movements become less socially and politically central.

Jones and Gaventa (2002) argue that the connection between individual citizens and the state, and the existing or potential collective mechanisms for supporting and disseminating learning from involvement processes, is a major gap in understanding.

There are extensive voluntary and community sector mechanisms for some of this, but the weakness of these mechanisms has been noted over several decades. In spite of their flaws, many of which are due to sporadic withdrawals of funding nationally and locally, the voluntary and community sectors (essentially the thousands of formal and less formal groups and organisations operating in any locality, and more widely) offer a vital mechanism for strengthening the vertical and horizontal links and networks (sometimes called 'bridging social capital') that are essential for maintaining community activity. These, linked with strengthened and much more localised democratic bodies (e.g. parish and neighbourhood councils) could offer valuable support for this work. De Toqueville described these types of organisations as "great free schools to which all citizens come to be taught the general theory of association" (cited in Demos, 2003).

The 'privatisation' of citizenship is seen to be part of the problem, in that citizenship issues "are being answered in the private realm of commodity consumption and the mass media more than in the abstract rules of democracy or collective participation in public spaces" (Garcia Canchini, cited in Lawson and Leighton, 2004). To have citizens, it is argued, you need a public domain in which citizens can act as citizens, and in which "citizenship rights trump both market power and the bonds of clan or kinship" (David Marquand in Lawson and Leighton, op cit).

Lessons for CLASL

- Citizenship is an important concept because it relates to the development of a sense of rights and responsibilities among citizens, which are recognised as key elements of long-term behaviour change.
- A decision will be needed on whether the CLASL project should aim to develop active 'citizens', better informed 'consumers', active 'participants', or 'community activists'. Or all four of these, depending on the specific problem being addressed.

ENVIRONMENTAL CITIZENSHIP

Building on the discourses on citizenship, environmental citizenship is growing in importance among those who want to develop a long-term sense of common responsibility among people for the environment and for environmental problems.

In particular, these ideas draw on experience of other forms of activities attempting to change behaviour which may make short-term changes to behaviour, but do not change underlying values and sense of responsibility. Examples include road pricing which is very likely to result, once pricing is removed, in all the cars returning to the roads – in spite of the pricing being extremely successful while it operates (e.g. in Durham, where traffic was reduced by 90 per cent in a few months).

In this context, sustainability is seen as a moral and political issue, "about how the 'good life' should be lived" (Dobson, 2003). Much writing on environmental citizenship draws on a sense of 'virtue' and working for the 'common good' (i.e. environmental sustainability):

> "The question of sustainable behaviour cannot be reduced to a discussion about balancing carrots and sticks. The citizen that sorts her garbage or that prefers ecological goods will often do this because she feels committed to ecological values and ends. The citizen may not, that is, act in sustainable ways solely out of economic or practical incentives: people sometimes choose to do good for other reasons than fear (of punishment or loss) or desire (for economic rewards or social status). People sometimes do good because they want to be virtuous." (Ludwig Backmann, cited in Dobson, 2003).

Environmental, or ecological, citizenship (important distinctions in theory that are not essential for this present review), is seen as "improving democracy's chances of producing sustainable outcomes" (Dobson, 2003), and "if we promote the idea of environmental citizenship, we promote behaviour that might make a substantial contribution to the promotion of environmental sustainability" (Bell, 2003). This is because ecological citizens would be committed to the principles and do 'good' as a matter of justice and virtue rather than pure expediency. Consequently, their behaviours are likely to last longer because they are not simply complying with the current rules and constraints.

Bell continues the theme of the need for a 'moral' regulation of public opinion on behaviour (as happened with drinking and driving), which can bridge the gap between what the law can enforce and what is 'just'. Moral coercion is seen as a necessary informal social pressure to change values and behaviours, in four ways:

1. practising what you preach;
2. promoting environmental justice (in terms both of rights and of not taking more than one's own ecological footprint allows);
3. making it easier to reduce the use of ecological space (by working together);
4. legally enforcing good environmental laws that support principles of justice.

Dobson reports that many people point to " 'discursive democracy' as offering the best chance of enablingdemocratic procedures to result in sustainable outcomes" (2003). While quoting research which suggests that "at best, the jury is still out on this", Dobson also makes the point that "People are the 'raw material' of the democratic process and what they think and do makes a difference to the process's outcomes", so there remains hope that change will result.

Dobson's strict definition of 'ecological' rather than 'environmental' citizenship includes a focus that is non-territorial (certainly beyond the conventional national boundaries associated with citizenship generally), and considers that the ecological citizenship 'space' is best expressed via the ecological footprint: "the principal ecological citizenship obligation is to ensure that [their] ecological footprints make a sustainable, rather than unsustainable impact". The obligations of ecological citizens also extend through time as well as space, towards "generations yet to be born". This does not mean that a manifesto for green living can be devised – indeed that would be to miss the point; the obligation is evidently indeterminate.

There are four key elements to environmental citizenship (Dobson, 2005):

1. self-interested behaviour will not always protect or sustain public goods such as the environment, so environmental citizens make a commitment to the common good;
2. environmental responsibilities follow from environmental rights as a matter of natural justice;
3. rights and responsibilities transcend national and generational boundaries;
4. seemingly 'private' decisions have environmental implications, so environmental citizenship is a citizenship of the private as well as the public sphere.

Dobson goes on to say that behaviour driven by environmental citizenship is more likely to last than behaviour driven by fiscal incentives, but it is much harder to get going than fiscally driven behaviour. He therefore concludes that both fiscal incentives and environmental citizenship initiatives are required to effect short-term and long-term change.

Lessons for CLASL

- Environmental citizenship deals with the need for long term changes to values and attitudes rather than just short-term behaviour changes (which may then be dropped when regulations/incentives are dropped). It does this by appealing to a 'moral' impetus, either within individual conscience or from collective moral pressure (coercion) about what is 'good' behaviour.
- Environmental citizenship directly links ideas of rights and responsibilities with the Ecological Footprint as the crucial measure of what is fair/'just' for each citizen to take.
- As environmental citizenship could take some time to become embedded in the local communities in the CLASL project, consideration needs to be given to some activities that are satisfying and effective in the short term, so that the communities do not lose heart.

US ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY BASED ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

The US EPA (1999) has identified six core principles of its CBEP framework:

1. focus on a definable geographical area;
2. work collaboratively with a full range of stakeholders through effective partnerships;
3. assess the quality of the air, water, land and living resources in a place as a whole;
4. integrate environmental, economic and social objectives and foster local stewardship of all community resources;
5. use the appropriate public and private, regulatory and non-regulatory tools;
6. monitor and redirect efforts through adaptive management.

The last of these principles focuses attention on the need to monitor the effectiveness of the CBEP approach, and revise and refine approaches when necessary to incorporate lessons from experience, new data and advanced technology. The EPA itself is therefore seen as likely to have to reorient its programmes to better support CBEP, in conversation with its stakeholders.

The EPA also identifies the importance of building external capacity, as the Agency itself cannot work in every community. They identify three tools to use to build capacity:

1. data and information;
2. training and technical assistance;
3. grants.

Data and information include a resource book for protecting ecosystems and communities, and a community cultural profiling guide which offers various methods for identifying a community's cultural values and analysing how those values impact on a community's relationship with the environment.

Lessons for CLASL

- The monitoring and adaptive management approach will be vital in ensuring that the CLASL project responds effectively to the needs and achievements of the local communities.

ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS AND VALUES

Values may be strongly felt but are rarely fixed. The Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution (RCEP, 1998) defined values as follows:

> "We understand values to be beliefs, either individual or social, about what is important in life, and thus about the ends or objectives which should govern and shape public policies. Once formed, such beliefs may be durable. It is also characteristic that they may be both formed and modified as a result of information and reflection. Environmental and social values, in particular, are not necessarily preformed or fixed but, for many people, emerge out of debate, discussion and challenge, as they encounter new facts, insights and judgements contributed by others."

Values greatly influence the priority that people place on certain actions and the worth they accord to particular environmental 'goods' (e.g. beautiful landscape) or 'bads' (e.g. pollution). In environmental policy and decision-making, values can be linked to giving environmental 'goods' and 'bads' an economic value. Values can also be discussed in terms of contrasting public values with scientific evidence and method, including principles of 'sound science' such as objectivity and neutrality.

The RCEP (1998) suggests that methods need to be found to include values in environmental decision-making (especially setting environmental standards). They argue that this is because other methods alone are inadequate: "Other things being equal, experimental data score highly in terms of pedigree, but in the environmental field they are unlikely to be available to illuminate the issues that are of most concern".

The public has access to more information about environmental risk than ever before. But this increase in information has been developing in parallel with decreasing public trust in the institutions that provide the information. This has led to greater demands for a say in environmental decision-making, but public input takes a number of forms. Many groups have grown used to the need to provide good quality technical information (e.g. in planning inquiries and other formal procedures). But there is also growing dissatisfaction with the focus on technical debates and the exclusion of any discussion of values.

The RCEP draws attention to an example of this shift: the enormous outcry at the plans by the Shell oil company to sink the Brent Spar platform in the North Sea. That was seen as a turning point in environmental debates. The public reaction was less about the technical details (what chemicals were on the platform, what materials it was made of, etc.) than about the principle of a company using the shared 'commons' (i.e. the sea) to dump its rubbish. This was a debate about values, rather than about the technical options for disposal. That debate came later. The RCEP identified this shift and stated that "Values are an essential element in decisions about environmental policies and standards".

The public reaction to the Brent Spar episode was relatively sophisticated. It transcended the boundaries usually set for debates on environmental issues and certainly the boundaries expected by the oil company. Such was the public reaction that Shell invested heavily in stakeholder dialogue following Brent Spar, both to identify a solution all stakeholders could support, and to avoid future similar crises. But Shell's experience also made many other major companies realise that they needed to engage in dialogue with interested parties, rather than second-guess their concerns and priorities, and the values on which those concerns and priorities were based.

The shifts in attitudes are summarised by the RCEP as follows:

> "Environmental regulation has become more and more dependent on the advice of scientists. Governments justify their action or inaction by appealing to the authority of science. Yet the changed character of environmental concerns has highlighted the extent to which there are uncertainties in scientific assessments, and the scope for different perceptions of the issues involved. In some cases, the interpretations and reassurances originally offered by governments have been shown to be mistaken when the findings from later studies are received or unexpected consequences emerge. This has eroded trust in environmental regulation, which has also been undermined by the scope for evidence to be interpreted in different ways."

The RCEP is not suggesting that scientific appraisal is not valuable. Indeed, it confirms that this remains essential. But it suggests that it is not enough. Additional input from other sources, particularly from the public, is needed to provide different forms of knowledge, particularly about their own values. Sound science is thus seen as necessary – but not sufficient – for environmental decision-making. If this balance is accepted, it changes the nature of the decision-making process from a technical to a social process. The Environment and Society Research Unit (ESRU) at University College London (1999) suggests that:

> "Traditional, scientific analyses of the environment's conditions can only contribute to, and occasionally be decisive in, such environmental decision-making ... while one could argue that traditional scientific analysis forms a necessarycontribution to sustainable development decision-making, on its own it is by no means sufficient. Achieving integration of the economy, society and the environment is a social process that is guided by social values and not just by scientific judgements about environmental limits." (ESRU, 1999).

These issues relate to the importance of widening the types of evidence (including values) used for environmental decision-making. There is, though, a separate element to considering the role of attitudes and behaviours in environmental policy design and implementation that arises particularly within the context of sustainable development:

> "Fundamentally ... sustainable development is about a change in values, and in particular the promotion of a set of values that raises the status of the environment when seeking to balance social, economic and environmental aspects of decision-making" (ibid).

The clear implication here is that the environmental element of the three legs of sustainable development (the other two being social and economic) should have more of a priority than it currently has in existing value systems.

The RCEP (1998) sees environmental standards and regulation as having in the past been entirely focused on changing the actions of companies and individuals – actions that are based on attitudes based, in turn, on values. Their explanation is as follows:

> "The effectiveness of environmental standards in modifying the actions of companies or individuals derives from the methods used to implement them ... The purpose of environmental policies is to influence human behaviour in order to avoid or limit damage to the environment ... Human behaviour is determined by complex sets of individual and social factors. These include the perceptions individuals have, the judgements

they make, the rights and liabilities enshrined in the legal system, and civic and organisational cultures. Sociology, anthropology, social psychology, economics, political science and socio-legal studies have developed extensive understanding of patterns of social behaviour and the forces that give rise to them. In some cases those forces tend to protect the environment; for example, some structures of property rights have that effect. In other cases such forces may make it more likely that the environment will be damaged, or constrain the effectiveness with which environmental objectives can be pursued ... the values people hold are an important determinant of human behaviour, and ultimately shape the policies that are followed towards the environment. The adoption and implementation of policies based on particular values have a powerful effect in reinforcing those values, as well as bringing about their practical realisation."

The RCEP argues that values are not fixed and immutable. Processes designed to work with values are as much about developing people's values as they are about simply identifying existing values.

People's values change through interaction with others: "New values are the result of social debate" (WWF, 1994); and "People's environmental and social values are the outcome of informed reflection and debate" (RCEP, 1998). Holland and Rawles (1993) also see values as resulting from debate, rather than being the starting point only: "Values are not things we always argue from, but what we reason towards". Bawden suggests that "Ethics, just like the rest of the aspects of our worldviews, are informed as much by our social experience as they are by any innate intuitions or personal reason" (Bawden, 2000). Also, that "It is through moral discourse as communities that that we learn together to bring forth the world that we believe that we should bring forth" (ibid, original emphasis). For Bawden, the appropriate way to ensure the inclusion of values in decision-making is to adopt soft system methodologies and critical learning systems between practitioners, the public and others.

The RCEP also points out that "To ensure that such values are articulated and taken into account, less familiar approaches need to be used to extend and complement present procedures for consultation and participation" (RCEP, 1998, 101). The RCEP suggests that conventional consultation techniques fail to enable the articulation of values, in terms of understanding different roles in consultation processes (e.g. between stakeholders and ordinary citizens), methods used and timing (the following points are all direct quotes from RCEP):

- "People's values are not the same as the interests of stakeholders. Rather than seeking to articulate and challenge values, the stakeholder model places the emphasis on negotiation between interested parties with the aim of reaching an expedient compromise. Stakeholders, for example employees or affected residents, certainly have to be considered in decisions about environmental policies or standards, but so must the values of people in their capacity as citizens. Valuable as the concept of a 'stakeholder' is in other contexts, we do not believe it is useful or appropriate to stretch it to cover the concerns ordinary citizens have about the environment."

- "The failure to provide an opportunity for interaction, and for clarifying the values underlying the responses made, is a major shortcoming of traditional forms of consultation... It is unrealistic to suppose that values are fixed, and waiting to be uncovered by questionnaires or other types of analysis. For most people it is more accurate to think of their values emerging or taking shape as they are brought to face important choices between competing options. When environmental standards are set or other judgements made about environmental

issues, decisions must be informed by an understanding of people's values. Traditional forms of consultation, while they have provided useful insights, are not an adequate method of articulating values".

- "Values should be articulated at the earliest stage possible in setting [environmental] standards and developing policies. The public should be involved in the formulation of strategies rather than merely being consulted on already drafted proposals. Openness at this framing stage allows people to question assumptions about the character of environmental issues and the scientific understanding upon which analysis is based. Framing of the issues to be subjected to scientific and technical assessment needs to be more socially intelligent."

The RCEP also suggests that complex and contentious situations, in particular, need innovative approaches: "In complex and controversial cases, existing procedures should be supplemented by new procedures. A more rigorous and wide-ranging exploration of people's values requires discussion and debate to allow a range of viewpoints and perspectives to be considered, and individual values to be developed."

Methods for articulating values, recommended by RCEP include:

- **Focus groups**, in which small groups (up to 12 usually) discuss a subject with the help of moderators;
- **Citizens' jury**, in which a small group of people is asked to consider an important question through facilitated discussions, takes evidence (written and from witnesses in person) and finally makes agreed recommendations;
- **Consensus conference**, a panel of about 12 lay people which is provided with initial information, conducts its own investigation and then hears witnesses at a public conference lasting several days. The panel then writes a report and presents it in public;
- **Deliberative polls**, which aim to reach a wider group of people, up to 300-400, recruited by quota sampling. A core group of participants may come together for several days and initially decide the questions to be discussed in public debate by the whole group. Questionnaires completed by the participants at the beginning and end of the process measure shifts of opinion.

Less formal approaches have been used elsewhere to enable participants to express values. Carolyn Harrison and her UCL team (Harrison et al, 1986) used small free-discussion groups. These drew on free association, manifest and latent meaning analysis and identification of transference (emotional responses to the natural world) to articulate local people's values in relation to local open space and the countryside.

Such approaches are based on an assessment of the specific context in which environmental decision-making takes place, which must affect the choice of appropriate methods. The RCEP (1998) summarises this issue as follows:

> "The emphasis in environmental policy during the 1970s and 1980s was on scientific issues, on which the expertise lay with a small group of people mainly in the national or regional control agencies, or in government bodies. Pollution control was primarily exercised by direct regulation through statutory control over emissions. Only two parties were normally involved: the control agency, and the firm making the emissions. Expertise about the technology of the processes giving rise to emissions was confined to the regulators and, predominantly, to specialists in the larger and more technically competent firms in an industry."

The changes which have occurred in the understanding and perception of environmental problems have been accompanied by increased public awareness of, and concern about, environmental issues. Improved legal rights to environmental information, greater attempts by scientists to promote interest in and understanding of their work, and the extensive coverage of environmental and scientific issues in the news media, have placed in the public domain much more information about pollution issues.

A far wider circle of people is now recognised as having an interest in regulatory decisions. Expertise on environmental problems is much more widely spread outside the pollution control agencies and the companies causing pollution. This is especially true of universities and environmental groups. It is no longer acceptable for decisions to be negotiated privately between regulator and polluter."

Lessons for CLASL

- Values are the basis for behaviour - they are not fixed but are affected by social debate and learning with and from others.
- Values about sustainable living are therefore likely to develop and change as the CLASL project progresses, so it will be useful to monitor and record those changes in values as they occur and are manifested in shifts in priorities for the groups.

NICHES

Adrian Smith's research at the Science Policy Research Unit (SPRU), University of Sussex, examines the ways in which 'niches' can be sites of innovation that can lead to changes in mainstream practice in achieving environmental sustainability. His research (Smith, 2005) shows that:

- Niches need top-down, policy-level action as well as bottom-up initiatives so that innovation at grassroots can be shown to solve 'tensions' apparent in systems (which may be created by campaigning and by building coalitions of support).
- Grassroots initiatives are very good at innovations in sustainable development which reflect sustainability 'values', but need to 'translate' innovations from grassroots to mainstream in ways that allow the mainstream to easily absorb the innovations (in terms of cost and practicality), and without completely losing the values (e.g. organic food in supermarkets that kept the innovation but lost the values).
- Translation requires 'system building agents' that can operate between the niche and the mainstream, and understand the values and constraints of both, so they can facilitate action for incorporation of innovation.
- Learning is needed both within the niches (to develop the ideas) and external to the niches (to create top-down support to allow niche growth and translation to the mainstream).

Lessons for CLASL

- Activities to change to sustainable living cannot rely on communities alone. This needs to be done in partnership with wider interests (especially on policy) who can both support the grassroots innovations in the communities, and translate the lessons for the mainstream.

SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION IN WALES
(SDC SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION ROUND TABLE EVENT IN JUNE 2005)

This event was organised to discuss how the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) was best able to tackle sustainable consumption following the publication of the Ecological Footprint of Wales in March 2005. The main issues from the report of the workshop issued by the SCRT relevant to this project include:

- The Welsh Ecological Footprint report showed a massive 41 per cent difference in environmental impacts between the highest and lowest income groups in Wales, primarily due to the leisure activities (e.g. long haul flights) of high-income groups.
- Welsh Consumer Council focus groups work showed that where the area's reputation for sustainable lifestyles has grown (e.g. in Powys where the Centre for Alternative Technology is based), "inhabitants have become more proud ... which has manifested itself through above average household recycling".
- The focus for action should be the diamond in the latest UK Sustainable Development Strategy, with its four points of 'encourage, enable, engage, exemplify'.

Lessons for CLASL

- The higher Ecological Footprint of higher income groups shows the relevance of the decision to focus this project on Surrey communities (generally middle and higher income groups).
- Generating pride in being sustainable can help reinforce sustainable attitudes and behaviours. Methods and activities should reflect the importance of those involved feeling proud of what they are achieving in terms of sustainable behaviour.

SURVEY ON SUSTAINABLE BEHAVIOUR

Brook Lyndhurst is a consultancy interested in sustainability. In 2004, they commissioned ICM to survey 1,015 British adults (a representative sample of the British public) to test attitudes and behaviour on sustainable lifestyles (Brook Lyndhurst, 2004). The research conclusions are outlined below.

1. Respondents believed that the environment is being damaged by human activity (more young people, aged 18-24, than older people, over 65, believe this);

2. They felt well informed about the kinds of things they personally could do to help. Four out of five (or 80 per cent) felt reasonably well-informed about the environment; only 12 per cent didn't. And most could identify at least some of the specific actions that would make a difference (e.g. drive less, switch off lights, recycle more). This applies equally across different socio-economic groups including class, age, gender (the only difference is that council tenants seemed to feel they were less aware, although even here 69 per cent felt reasonably aware); so lack of awareness of the issues and what to do does not seem to be a significant barrier to action.

3. Respondents didn't actually do many of these things. Only about 7 per cent (5 per cent 18- 24 year olds) habitually undertake all seven sustainable behaviours covered in the survey; about 48 per cent regularly do some; and about 45 per cent (51 per cent 18-24 year olds) do few or none. Unsustainable household behaviour remains the norm. The report suggests that "The relationship between believing an action will make a difference and undertaking it

appears ... fairly straightforward" (i.e. more likely to do it if feel it makes a difference). But, "Believing an action will make a difference is not enough on its own", either to make people do it because they believe in its importance, or not to do it because they don't believe in its importance.

Younger people and ABC1s were more likely to view sustainable products favourably, although about 53 per cent overall through environmentally-friendly products were as good quality as mainstream products. However, other consumption patterns show little trend change towards more sustainable products and sources: for example, 44 per cent thought chain stores were not generally better than local shops while 38 per cent thought they were better; and only 46 per cent felt that changing the way they shopped could help the environment and 37 per cent didn't.

4. Respondents were looking for a strong lead from government. 48 per cent believed that government has a right to intervene to require people to behave more sustainable (although 38 per cent don't agree).

5. They thought that more, and more obvious, government interventions would be a fair way of making things better. Although it very much depends on perceptions of 'fairness', and even more on whether people are already doing the action in question (e.g. recycling and penalising those who don't do it.

There are some interesting subtleties to the findings, including:

- **Age is a key factor**, with younger people (18-24 year olds) believing more strongly in the environmental case, but not doing much about it; while older people (over 65) were less convinced of the basic case, but were more likely to do something. One explanation offered in the research report is that young people are steeped in materialistic culture, whereas older people have both a culture of austerity (from World War 2) and an economic incentive (to reduce consumption to reduce costs).
- **Sustainable behaviour varies according to the point in the consumption process:**
  - at **disposal** of a product, there is good sustainable behaviour, with 50 per cent saying they recycle paper and glass 'all the time', and another 30 per cent saying sometimes/often;
  - in **use**, sustainable behaviour is not too bad, with 42 per cent saying they always turn off appliances rather than leaving them on standby, and another 31 per cent sometimes doing it;
  - at **purchase**, sustainable behaviour seems least strong (at least in relation to those things covered in the survey e.g. buying organic food and reconditioned/second-hand appliances).
- **The value/action gap is more complicated than expected**. It exists not just between the belief in environmental problems, knowing what to do and failing to do anything; it also exists between the belief that the environmental crisis is exaggerated but still taking action (43 per cent of those who believed that environmental damage had been exaggerated still claim to recycle 'all the time'). So, "people don't necessarily have to be environmentalists to behave in environmentally responsible ways. In turn, this demands a better understanding of the influence of non-environmental drivers, for example social and cultural norms, or health and financial benefits."

The research concludes that:

- Information and awareness are not enough – people seem to have quite a lot of information and awareness already.
- The young and old are different – and will require very different kinds of help to become 'sustainable consumers'.
- The public will pay as long as it's fair, and seen to be fair.
- The car is the exception. Changing people's attitudes to their cars will be exceptionally difficult.

CABINET OFFICE ON BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

This literature review (Cabinet Office, 2004) says that government operates by using various tools (e.g. laws, punishments, regulations, taxes, information and persuasion) to influence attitudes and behaviour. Some seem to work well; others less so. Government is now seeking to build "more effective relationships between citizens and government which can influence public behaviour, particularly with a view to increasing personal responsibility in areas like health and welfare, and encouraging greater partnership between users of services and service providers ('co-production')." This document aimed to bring together the available knowledge to contribute to future policy development.

The paper suggests that there is growing interest in personal responsibility for three main reasons:

1. 'Government cannot do it alone'; better outcomes (e.g. better health) depend on individual behaviour change as well as investment in services.
2. There are moral and political arguments for more personal responsibility – it is a good thing in itself.
3. It is more cost-effective than traditional service delivery alone – personal responsibility and behaviour change can be better and cheaper than just more and better services.

Two main sets of frameworks for behaviour change and co-production are examined – the 'rational man' and the 'ecology of human behaviour' theories, both of which are described below.

1. The 'rational man' theory

This model assumes that people rationally seek to maximise their welfare and thus make choices on the basis of costs and benefits. The paper summarises this as people "making perfectly informed decisions based on complete data. [But] Real human psychology is more complicated and involves many other factors: cultural, social and physical environments, genetic dispositions and so on." This model has three drawbacks:

- **The assumptions underpinning it are rarely met**, e.g. there are often gaps in the information available... people may be rational within the limits of their knowledge ('bounded rationality'), but that is a real limit.
- **The assumptions can be wrong**. A large body of research suggests that the actual patterns of cognition are different from the rationalist model.
- **It ignores the wider 'ecology' within which people live** (e.g. "peer pressure can be a hugely important determinant of behaviour".

2. The 'ecology' of human behaviour theory

This model suggests that behavioural systems are "complex ecologies with multiple influences working in competing directions to influence behaviour". This model takes into account the capabilities and attitudes of individuals; interactions with others (individuals and institutions); physical, cultural and social environments and norms; rewards and punishments; points of least resistance/trouble so saving time and energy. This set of theories brings together individual, interpersonal and community structures and has been used in social marketing, which focuses on programmes aimed at each (the background to each of which is described in more detail below):

- at the individual level: advertising, behavioural programmes, incentives, penalties;
- at the interpersonal level: policy, programmes, regulatory and organisational changes;
- at the community level: relationship and trust building.

In addition, there is the basic idea of 'conditionality' as a tool for individual behaviour change, where a reward or punishment is made depending on the behaviour of the individual or group. Benefits and sanctions may be economic, or may be social and psychological (e.g. being held in high regard in the community, or losing respect). Conditionality is often seen as some form of 'contract' or, less formally, as a 'compact' (a mutual bargain or agreement).

2.1.**Individual level theories.** There are five strands to these theories, as follows.

2.1.1. **Instrumental and classical 'conditioning'** (e.g. Pavlov). These argue that the fundamental basis of behaviour is the learning of associations between stimuli – reward or punishment (e.g. provision of food associated with ringing of a bell). According to this theory, behaviour change is achieved either through learning new associations, or removing existing associations (e.g. creating new associations such as between a car or alcohol and sexual attractiveness).

2.1.2. **Cognitive consistency and dissonance.** The cognitive consistency theory suggests that people want consistency between their beliefs, values and perceptions. Where there is a clash (dissonance), people often change their values and attitudes rather than their behaviour. Behaviour change approaches based on this theory focus on getting people to act in ways consistent with their beliefs using publicly-made commitments such as parent/school contracts, promises to do something and Weight Watchers groups. Research has shown, for example, that individuals asked explicitly to 'watch over' someone else's property were more than 400 per cent more likely to prevent a theft than someone who just sees the things being stolen.

2.1.3. **Heuristics** (rule of thumb/mental short-cuts, e.g. "it won't happen to me"). Alternatively known as the consumer information-processing model in behaviour change. This theory says that people use heuristics to make choices faster and easier. Behaviour change models based on this theory use ***availability*** (easy to recall something, e.g. because it was unusual) and ***simulation*** (easy to imagine, e.g. because there has been lots of publicity about it), ***scarcity value*** (limited number so could run out; not free so have value), ***loss or gain*** (loss tends to be felt more strongly than gain), ***peak experience*** (e.g. extremes of experience such as spectacular success or failures being remembered more than general effects over time), ***recency*** (just happened), and ***discounting of the future*** (in favour of dealing with immediate circumstances – this tends to be done disproportionately by those with chaotic or impoverished lives).

2.1.4. **Stages of change model**, based on people's increasing 'readiness to change' over time. This has influenced social marketing methods that gradually build people's willingness to take on large scale change, and the importance of a long-term relationship based on trust which enhances willingness to change. The stages of change are analysed as being pre-contemplation of change, contemplation, preparation (making a plan), action and maintenance of change.

2.1.5. **Theory of planned behaviour.** This suggests that behaviour is influenced by a person's attitude (beliefs, evaluation of outcome), the 'subjective norm' (perceived social pressure) and 'perceived behavioural control' (perceived power), all three of which lead to 'behavioural intention' and then behaviour change.

2.2. **Interpersonal behavioural theories.** There are four strands to these theories (see below), all of which stress the interpersonal environment including social networks, social support, role models and mentoring. They all suggest that behaviour change is best effected by focusing attention not just on the individual, but also on their relationships with those around them. The paper suggests that, although face-to-face approaches to changing behaviour have generally been seen as very expensive, they can be highly effective and thus cost-effective (e.g. research on non party work in the US to increase voter turnout at elections found that leaflets increased turnout a little, telephone calls were if anything counterproductive, but someone turning up on the doorstep increased turnout by 10 – 15 per cent; this has also worked in Australia in persuading people to use alternatives to the car).

The four groups of interpersonal behavioural theories are as follows.

2.2.1. **Social cognitive theory (SCT)**, which explains human behaviour as a continuous interaction between personal factors, environmental influences and behaviour. This theory focuses on skill and competency, and is about enhancing a person's behavioural capability and self-confidence. 'Self efficacy' is a key concept in this theory, and is about a person's confidence in their ability to take action effectively. There are several ways to increase self- efficacy:

- ***Setting small, incremental goals*** that can each be achieved relatively easily;
- ***Behavioural contracting,*** which formalises goals and rewards (e.g. praise, improvement);
- ***Monitoring and reinforcement,*** which can reduce anxiety about progress and thus increase sense of self-efficacy.

2.2.2. ***Social networks and support.*** Social networks here are defined as "a web of social relationships" characterisedby reciprocity, emotional closeness and multi- functionality (linked to the community theory of social capital, see below). Attitudes within a person's social networks will strongly influence their behaviour (much more than advice from government).

Simply liking someone is an important factor in this theory, stressing empathy as the first stage of any relationship. Factors influencing whether people like others include physical attractiveness, compliments, familiarity and contact, and co-operation.

2.2.3. **Social influence and interpersonal communication.** This theory uses concepts such as authority, reciprocity and mutuality to describe how people with social influence interact with others.

- **Authority** is about how people will readily comply with power and authority they consider legitimate, whether because that authority is seen as expert, legitimate (someone has the 'right' to instruct), coercive (fear of punishment), rewarding, persuasion through information, or based on identification with the person trying to exert influence (this last is one of the most effective sources of power, based on heuristics linked to liking/empathy). Information that is seen as independent is trusted more than that seen as coming from an untrusted source, and showing that the 'authority' shares the interests and concerns of the target audiences, both help increase authority and influence.
- **Reciprocity.** The paper proposes that a person is more likely to act if they have been placed in some sort of debt (e.g. a little something given free to instil a sense of obligation). [Although reciprocity can be much more positive, and simply involve people helping each other out for shared benefit.]
- **Mutuality.** This is based on the view that behavioural interventions tend to be more successful where there is an equal relationship between influencer and influenced, and where both parties stand to gain from the outcome. To work, it requires a shared sense of responsibility for agreed outcomes.

2.2.4. **Attribution and balance theories.** These are the ways that people explain the behaviour of other people. There are three problems in this:

- **Fundamental attribution error,** which is that people tend to blame the person rather than the circumstances (e.g. for a car crash). It affects people's willingness to take on tough challenges as they can be blamed when it goes wrong, rather than it being understood that it was due to the circumstances.
- **False uniqueness and false consensus,** which is that people tend to overestimate our own abilities and underestimate our peers' abilities. We also tend to overestimate the extent to which others agree with us (false consensus).
- **Inter-group bias,** in which people attribute disproportionately good qualities and virtues to groups they belong to, and see outsiders as less worthy.

2.3. **Community theories of behaviour.** There are two main groups of theories here, as follows.

2.3.1. **Social capital theory**. Social capital is the networks, norms, relationships, value and informal sanctions that shape the quality of a society's social interactions. In general, higher levels of social capital result in communities, and individuals within them, that are better able to take responsibility for themselves (e.g. people looking after each other after a natural disaster such as earthquake). There can be negative impacts too, if the social capital is characterised by low aspirations and hostility to change. There are three types of social capital:

- bonding social capital (e.g. among ethnic groups)
- bridging social capital (e.g. across ethnic groups)
- linking social capital (e.g. across political classes).

Social proof is a related concept, which is about how people look to those around them for guidance as to how to behave (e.g. speed on a motorway). Under conditions of uncertainty, people look to cues in the environment and others around them to guide their behaviour.

2.3.2. **Diffusion of innovations.** This addresses how new ideas, products and social practices spread within a society, or from one society to another. There are four key concepts here:

- **Relative advantage.** This is when something new is seen to be better than what it is replacing.
- **Compatibility.** The extent to which a new behaviour, etc. is compatible with the values, habits, experience and needs of potential adoptees, making it easier to normalise the change.
- **Complexity.** People are more likely to be attracted by innovations that are easy to understand and use.
- **Trialling.** Allows people to experiment with an innovation before a commitment to change is made; people are more likely to change if they have already tried and liked it.

The paper examines all these theoretical perspectives as applied to potential government action in relation to examples in the fields of employment, health, crime and education, with findings including, for example:

A. A draft set of rights and responsibilities for patients (Scottish Executive) is seen as a positive approach exploiting commitment and consistency, and framing the relationship in terms of reciprocity and mutuality. However, it is criticised as being very much from the perspective of the service provider (not the patient), there is little correlation between the patients' responsibilities and their rights, the patient has very little opportunity to actually shape the contract, and the obligations on the service provider are rather vague.

B. "Knowledge alone often fails to change behaviour" (related to information about health impacts of certain behaviours, and continued use of health promotion rather than other aspects of persuasion).

C. In health, changing deep-rooted and cultural and social-related norms is difficult. Media- based campaigns have only limited success. A more effective approach is seen to be putting together information campaigns with targeted lifestyle 'coaching' among key population groups. Linking information, active engagement of specific groups, penalties for undesirable behaviour, and empowerment of those willing to take action – and operating all in parallel – can create a sense that habits are changing which, in turn, fosters the development of new social norms.

D. Again in health, support groups significantly improve outcomes (even virtual support groups): "Lay-led interventions often appear to work as well as professionally-led support, suggesting the high value of tacit knowledge and emotional sympathy of fellow sufferers".

E. Crime and anti-social behaviour case studies provide some useful examples of ways of stopping people acting in anti-social ways, including:

- examples of contracts and conditionality e.g. tenancy agreements that include a commitment to avoid certain behaviours; benefits paid to children who stay on at school – 'graduation incentives'; Acceptable Behaviour Contracts in which young people explicitly agree not to behave in certain ways; home-school agreements in which the joint and individual responsibilities of the school and family are formally set out;
- other examples such as 'restorative justice' (restoring the losses caused by crime, and holding the offenders more directly accountable to the victims or the community) and 're-integrative shaming' (the offender apologises and makes-up to the community any damage caused, and the community can forgive them, which allows the offender to establish a more positive role and image);

- interventions targeted at offenders' primary social networks, e.g. parenting classes which have been very effective and work best when they: take a collaborative approach to working with parents; provide practical assistance; present an authoritative account of good parenting; focus on specific skills and support; are at least 20 hours in duration, and aim to offer assistance before children reach adolescence;
- changes to the environment (e.g. the New York 'broken windows' approach of tackling visual signs of disorder to reduce serious crime);
- neighbourhoods in which people know each other and are more willing to intervene – usually resulting in significantly lower levels of crime (although Neighbourhood Watch is not seen to generate such results);
- graduate incentives and parent training have been found to be more cost-effective than either very early interventions or the more punitive 'three-strikes' regime (i.e. three offences and go to prison).

F. Behaviour change strategies are seen to be likely to face a number of challenges:

- **Public acceptability.** This is likely to be greater when an intervention is done to reduce harm, rather than to increase positive benefits. Also, those initiatives that build on a public consensus that 'something needs to be done' are likely to be more effective than when a case has to be made.
- **Efficacy of interventions.** The key finding of this paper is that, in terms of favouring early or late interventions, the most important element overall is actually not timing but consistency – all influences should point in the same direction.
- **Limits to conditionality**. Many of the contracts in health and education avoid formal or punitive conditionality (e.g. fines or taking away benefits), but still have persuasive elements. However, where such contracts lead to higher public expectations of behaviour change, stronger conditionality conditions may be needed to cement the new social norm (e.g. wearing seatbelts, and not drinking and driving, went through this process).
- **Effects on inequalities.** Some incentives for behaviour change may increase inequalities, and mechanisms will be needed to ensure measures are not punitive to disadvantaged people (e.g. the widening class gap in smoking).
- **Relationship-building in public services.** Public services may need to learn lessons from the private sector about building 'loyalty' among services users, so they are trusted on other products and services.
- Personalisation, cultural differences and our many selves. Many of the approaches in this paper focus on individuals changing, and individuals may want different things, and don't have a clear set of preferences but change over time and in response to different things.
- **Collective responsibility.** Overall the paper argues that "effective behavioural change rests on an ecological approach, and sometimes on changing long-established social norms ... the causal story is complex and mixed, with implications for both personal and collective responsibility .... [and] personal responsibility should not be seen as being in tension with collective responsibility". Both are needed.

G. The paper suggests there are difficulties in the government telling people what to do, and identifies the benefits of behaviour change being led by intermediate organisations: "There is long experience that voluntary and self-help groups can be much more effective at changing chosen behaviours than directives from state organisations. These may take different forms: parents sitting as school governors changing the culture of parental engagement; self-help groups organised around particular medical conditions providing mutual support; and neighbourhood level organisations reinforcing changes in norms where antisocial behaviour has become prevalent."

H. In conclusion, the paper suggests that all these approaches are about helping people to help themselves, and "A more sophisticated approach enables governments to do this in ways which command greater public engagement and therefore greater effectiveness ... Hence the use of compacts, conditionality and more sophisticated methods of encouraging behaviour change is only part of the story. An equally important part of 'co-production' is that there be a partnership in the writing of such compacts and conditions, and in the design and authorisation of more sophisticated methods of behavioural change, between state and citizens and between citizens themselves." Citizen co-production extends involvement beyond policy consultation into the design of services, policies and practices. It concludes:

"Policies tailored around a more realistic understanding of how people really do make choices and engage in society – twinned with sustained dialogue over the implications for the citizen's and state's responsibilities – should lead not only to more effective policy. It should also enable citizens to feel more in control of their own lives."

Lessons for CLASL

- It is interesting that many of these theories of behaviour change reflect the practices of community development and community education which have been developed over years of practice (e.g. setting small achievable goals to move people forward, formal 'promises'/contracts which formalise mutual commitment, reinforcement of success through monitoring and rewards, etc.). The theoretical analysis provides useful underpinning for choosing which of these methods may be most appropriate to CLASL at different times.
- Some of the more obviously manipulative approaches can be counter-productive, as people react against information or initiatives they see as trying to persuade them of something (a response called 'psychological reactance'). This, together with the importance of empathy and liking, suggests it is therefore likely that the most effective approaches will involve honesty, transparency, respect (based on a sense of equality with target audiences) and finding shared goals with target audiences.
- Some of the specific approaches offer some models of working at community level (e.g. the parenting classes used to reduce anti-social behaviour among young people), in which the characteristics of the most effective schemes were: a collaborative approach to working with parents, provision of practical assistance, presentation of an authoritative account of good parenting, specific skills and support, and lasting at least 20 hours.
- The paper concludes that the key approach is an 'ecological' one, which links working with individuals, at the level of inter personal relationships, with working in parallel at community level, so that all agreed actions and behaviours reinforce a common set of messages.

IMPACT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT ON PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR

Two reports (Darnton, 2004) present evidence on public understanding of the concept of sustainable development, and consider the factors which impact on public behaviours for sustainability. The methodology used for the research (putting out a call through the Sustainable Development Research Network) means that, although not comprehensive (which it probablycould never be), it does cover the sources considered most relevant by those working within the field.

Some of the key findings from the research relevant to CLASL are outlined below:

1. **The term 'sustainable development'.** Public awareness of the term is low; the report estimates it to be less than 30 per cent. Moreover, "almost no-one can explain the term". Using the term 'quality of life' has as many problems in getting to a common understanding (e.g. often understood to mean income, or a steady job). Even those working in the field of sustainable development recognise the inherent contradictions and flexibilities of meaning, and many see those as positive qualities in the use of the term. The report concludes that there are, therefore, serious problems in applying the term 'sustainable development' in its fullest sense to people's daily lives.

   However, people from all levels of affluence are able, or even keen, to discuss the component issues of sustainable development in a joined up way. Overall, the dynamic from 'local and actual' to 'global and conceptual' is seen as the best way in to sustainable development for the general public

2. **Behaviour driven by complex factors.** In terms of the relationships between information, knowledge, awareness and behaviour, the sources agree that "many human behaviours are not decided along rational lines, and that pro-environmental behaviours are non-linear"; awareness and information do not lead to behaviour change in any linear way, and multiple barriers and drivers all impact on behaviour in combination. This document cites the Cabinet Office review (see above) and that its "universal conclusion, that most behaviours are driven by complex factors, is also apparent in sources included here which are solely concerned with pro-environmental behaviours" (emphasis added).

   No one model or framework can adequately express all the forces at work. What is needed is to try various combinations in turn until the right one is found for the particular circumstances.

3. **The value-action gap.** This concept of the disconnection between attitudes and behaviour figures in most of the literature. In particular, an increase in information and knowledge of environmental problems does not increase levels of pro-environmental behaviour. This document suggests it is not possible for policymakers to fill the gap, and cause the public to act accordingly.

   The second report also identifies the gap between pro-environmental behaviours and pro- environmental intent – showing that these are not necessarily linked in any linear way.

4. **Barriers.** One approach to tackling the value-action gap (Kolmuss and Agyeman 2002) suggests that the 'gap' is actually filled with barriers (e.g. lack of information, lack of incentive, lack of opportunity and, most important, old behaviour patterns). Barriers are often not material obstacles to be got round, but complex issues with no obviously right or wrong answers. The paper cites Kersty Hobson as saying that barriers are "rich moral

conversations and rich concerns that citizens are engaging in" ... while at the same time people are using heuristics (simple rules of thumb and mental short cuts) to make many everyday decisions.

People's behaviour is created by interactions between factors which are internal and external factors to each individual, real and perceived. Although these factors may be seen as barriers, and decisions may be based on ideas such as comfort, cleanliness and convenience, these are not absolute or universal, and depend on other values, etc. Individuals, families, communities are also bound by their physical conditions, even within their own homes or offices (e.g. air conditioning). Car use is again cited as the most resistant to change. Barriers also include a public sense that government information cannot be trusted (especially on the environment), that government action is damaging the environment (which means that their individual efforts are meaningless), and that people are already doing a lot for the environment and cannot do any more.

Report 2 suggests, in summary, that the main barriers to sustainable living are:

- **Lack of willingness to act** (in spite of people saying they are willing to act);
- **Lack of awareness of the importance of low level behaviours** (small-scale changes);
- **Norms and habits** (from which people need to be 'unfrozen' before they can change; this is especially difficult when people take pleasure in that existing behaviour);
- **Convenience** (linked partly to the amount of time people perceive that it takes to do something);
- **Cost** (in terms of time as well as money);
- **Psychological effects** (that interfere with 'rational' decisions to change behaviour);
- **Agency** (the extent to which people feel they can actually bring about change – people who feel they can change things are more likely to change their own behaviour, and people who take action to effect change feel generally happier about life);
- **The terminology of sustainable development** (e.g. environment, local environment, community, sustainable consumption – all have some negative connotations or are understood by different people in different ways);
- **Relative sustainability** (given the complexity of decision, e.g. how to decide between organic food flown in from overseas or conventionally grown local food; or between recycling even if it means going to the bottle bank by car).

5. **Drivers for getting involved.** It is interesting to note that in one qualitative study (by Kersty Hobson, 1999), the most common reason for doing the GAP programme (Global Action Plan) was for people to measure their lives against the ways other people lived, and to debate the relative value of their behaviours with other people – rather than purely environmental reasons. However, there are not the same sorts of generic drivers as there are generic barriers. Essentially, the behaviour change campaigns that are seen as most effective are those that combine a number of tightly-focused measures designed to result in a specific behaviour change (a 'target' behaviour). Nevertheless, Report 2 identifies a series of drivers for behaviour change.

   - **Norms and habits:** where the norm is pro-environmental, e.g. recycling has become a norm because many people know/believe they should do it;
   - **Key influencers:** summarised as often being community leaders/faith leaders in developing sustainable communities;

- **Groups:** some groups, especially community groups, can support people with a lower sense of agency to enable them to effect change by working together;
- **Infrastructure:** supply side/systems of provision that ensure that alternatives are available, e.g. public transport as alternative to private cars, doorstep recycling collections;
- **Saving money:** the time needed to change the behaviour to save the money, and speed of recouping investment, are both important;
- **The role of government and business:** people are cynical about government and business commitment to sustainability, but they want government to lead on such issues and to provide hard evidence of government impacts on quality of life – not 'meaningless' indicators.

6. **What are sustainable lifestyles?** The report concludes that there is no agreed definition, but there does need to be one. This is important as government and organisations do (according to the research) have a greater negative impact on the environment than individuals, so sustainable lifestyles are something that individuals can do. The report differentiates between behaviour change for pro-environmental behaviour, and sustainable behaviour.

   Although sustainable development is seen to be a flexible concept, and not fixed, the report argues that this does not invalidate the task of trying to interpret sustainable development in the context of people's everyday lives.

   Darnton's review (2004) bases its own framework for sustainable lifestyles (see table on the following pages) on Tracy Bedford's work for the Department of Transport (Bedford, 2003). Bedford defines a sustainable lifestyle as "patterns of action and consumption that people use to affiliate and differentiate themselves from other people, which meet basic needs and bring a better quality of life". Bedford brings together behaviour relating to resource use (e.g. water, energy), and related to consumption clusters (e.g. housing, leisure), but does not include other 'social' actions which the report says should be covered for sustainable communities (e.g. good citizenship behaviours and community involvement).

   There is some discussion of the differences between sustainable consumption and sustainable communities in this context, and the need to work with both the Brundtland definition of sustainable development (based around needs and minimising impacts) and the government approach (based on quality of life). The report says that it is important to move towards quality of life to provide the public with a positive message, and "an agenda which can deliver immediate and obvious benefits to their local environments" (Blair and Evans, 2004). However, it also finds that there is very little source material on sustainable communities, and suggests that their literature review reveals sustainable communities to be a neglected, "or rather up and coming" interpretation of the sustainable development agenda.

   The report identifies the framework CDF (Humm et al, 2005) has developed for measuring community activity, "or put in other words, the extent to which a community is sustainable". This seems to suggest that an active community is the same thing as a sustainable community, because they are about the extent to which a community is flourishing (e.g. strengthening social capital) and the extent to which individuals in the community are active participants in it (and participating in a community is inherently of value in strengthening it). As a result, this report takes the CDF factors as the basis for its framework of public behaviours relating to sustainable communities (points 11 – 13 in the following table).

Groups of behaviour	Types of behaviour	Example behaviours
1. Energy use – domestic	• Renewable energy	• Enrol on green tariff; install solar panels; clear planning applications for wind farms
	• Energy saving	• Turn off lights; fit insulation
	• Efficient appliances	• Look for labels; buy labelled products
	• Efficient light bulbs	• Buy them; use them
2. Energy use – transport	• Car use	• Reduce car use
	• Air travel	• Reduce air travel
	• Public transport	• Use buses, trains etc
	• Cycling	• Do it
	• Walking	• Do it
	• School run	• Use buses; car share
	• Journeys/routes	• Reduce number of journeys; avoid congested routes
	• Efficient engines/LPG	• Switch to an AFV
	• Fuel use	• Use cleaner fuels
3. Water use	• Water meters	• Fit one
	• Flushing	• Fit a hippo
	• Rainwater	• Use a butt
	• Washing	• Do it less; showers not baths; save water while soaping
4. Waste	• Reduce	• Reject junk mail; use cotton nappies
	• Reuse	• Repair old items; re-use carrier bags
	• Compost	• Kitchen waste; garden waste; use green collections
	• Littering	• Don't do it
	• Sanitary waste	• Don't flush
5. Household consumption – food	• Organic	• Buy it
	• Fairtrade	• Buy it
	• Food miles	• Avoid them; buy seasonally; buy local produce
	• Food labelling	• Look at it; act on it

Groups of behaviour	Types of behaviour	Example behaviours
6. Household consumption – general	• Shopping locally	• Do it
	• Ethical purchasing decisions	• Choose by company reputation; boycott products
	• Charity shops	• Bring and buy things
	• Packaging	• Avoid it
7. Housing	• Land use	• Move to a smaller house
	• Habitable standards	• Demand them
8. Tourism	• Eco-tourism	• Consider it
	• Holidays	• Take domestic holidays; take fewer (longer) holidays
9. Leisure		
10. Banking	• Ethical investments	• Use ethical banks/products
11. Participation	• Civic participation	• Sign a petition; contact politicians; take part in consultation; vote in elections
	• Social participation	• Be a (passive) member of a group
12. Volunteering	• Informal volunteering	• Help someone informally; house, baby or pet sit voluntarily; do unpaid housework for someone
	• Formal volunteering	• Be an active member of a group
	• Civic service volunteering	• Give blood; be a special constable; be a school governor
13. Neighbourliness	• Informal socialising	• Meet friends and neighbours socially
	• Intervention for the common good	• Hand in lost property; stop litter louts; report crimes
	• Noise pollution	• Avoid causing it

7. **What works?** There is a sense among sustainable development professionals that communications campaigns such as Are You Doing Your Bit? are less successful than community campaigns such as Global Action Plan (GAP), although "It must be said that evidence for both the failure of the former and success of the latter is inconclusive".

   There is evidence that GAP attracts better-educated, more 'upmarket' audiences, and that these people can significantly reduce their environmental impacts as a result (e.g. reducing waste going to landfill by 40 per cent, and utility bills by a third. GAP has since introduced new programmes for low-income consumers, and this report suggests that additional efforts are likely to be needed to involve disadvantaged people. GAP has started to build the collectivist/community element into its programmes, with groups of six households working together to agree and deliver an action plan for changes in their household behaviours.

   There is considerable discussion about the different approaches that are needed for people living in poverty (due to different priorities in terms of improving quality of life e.g. employment rather than street cleaning), and the different expectations of actions towards sustainability that are needed "on account of the inequalities in their respective opportunities and abilities to take on behavioural change for sustainability".

   The report stresses that the actual numbers actively involved in GAP are relatively small. It also concludes that "There are considerable practical obstacles to multiplying the numbers of these labour-intensive schemes such that behaviour change could be achieved among a sizeable proportion of the general public".

   The report suggests that "efforts that engage the public personally and locally, and to provide them with the information, support and above all infrastructure necessary to facilitate pro-environmental behaviours, are more effective on an individual level than are public awareness-raising campaigns".

   The report suggests that "members of the public may in fact find it easier to undertake certain 'sustainable consumption' behaviours as part of a group". The report considers the issues around the independence and autonomy of community groups, and the difficulties this poses for the 'imposition' of "someone else's idea of a sustainable lifestyle".

   Finally, the report cites evidence that focusing on the idea of sustainable lifestyles "was shown to be the most effective way of engaging the public in the concept when adopted by researchers in focus groups", although the extent to which it leads to behaviour change has not yet been shown.

8. **Which groups?** Different groups in society have different lifestyles and priorities, and face different barriers to behaviour change, so a targeted approach is recommended here. The groups are structured here as follows:

   - **Upmarket groups,** who are more likely to be environmentally aware, to recycle and to purchase ethically; but less likely to avoid unethical products and use more energy than other households of the same size.
   - **Low income groups.** More likely to be focused on their local area and short-term outcomes, but equally environmentally concerned. Ethical purchasing and recycling seen as less important and done less.

- **Black and Minority Ethnic Groups.** Where living in deprived areas, likely to share some characteristics in those areas with other groups (e.g. not enjoying the area). But more likely to feel a sense of agency than other groups, and more likely to socialise and know people locally. Often volunteer (most commonly through faith groups), but least likely to be part of community groups related to LA21.
- **Older people.** Higher priority on waste and litter, and more positive towards reuse. Over 65 year olds least likely to have done voluntary work.
- **Younger people.** 18-25 year olds least likely to 'have time' for environmental issues; crime and drugs seen as higher priority local issues. More likely to be motivated by getting luxuries and leisure, and socialise more. 16-34 year olds recycle least.

9. **Which issues?** The report identifies current behaviour patterns related to the 13 elements of a sustainable lifestyle identified in the table above, as well as some information on barriers and potential drivers for behaviour change. Of these, some of the most interesting avenues for further work may be:

   - There are misunderstandings about the extent or cost of public **transport** provision. Better information more easily available on cost and frequency and relevance (able to plan specific journeys) may help more people use it more.
   - More people would **walk and cycle** if it were safer and there were more direct routes without physical barriers (needing better planning and priority for people on foot). Walking buses to school (i.e. groups of children walking together and supervised) have been very successful in reducing school run congestion and pollution.
   - On **water** use, OECD research is cited which points out that households are responsible for a relatively small proportion of water consumption in most countries, so government should use regulatory tools to improve efficiencies in supply and financial measures to reduce commercial water consumption.
   - There are significant misunderstandings about the costs and methods of **waste** management and disposal (including recycling), and how this relates to council tax. Charging for waste collection was universally unpopular and seen as likely to increase other problems (e.g. fly-tipping). The OECD report recommends 'upstream' actions (e.g. manufacturers and fast food outlets reducing packaging).
   - **Recycling** was most likely to be increased through the introduction of a kerbside collection. Only 0.1 per cent were reported as buying recycled products. One survey suggests there is a 'hardcore' of people who refuse to recycle, which could be up to 10 per cent [although that means 90 per cent are willing]. Of those already recycling, the most popular measure for encouraging them to recycle more was a decrease (or no increase) in council tax, followed by having more space to store stuff, and then a house- to-house collection. About a third of people did not know what they could recycle, and about the same did not know where recycling facilities were – here information could possibly help.
   - **Composting.** This tends to be done by people for their own gardens rather than for environmental reasons. Only 5 per cent of people said provision of a free home composter would encourage them to start composting.
   - For **re-use**, infrastructural solutions may be needed, e.g. more product choice and more provision of repair and reconditioning services.
   - In terms of **reduction**, a tax on plastic bags was popular, as in Ireland. A MORI survey in the UK found 63 per cent of UK respondents thought a 10p charge on each plastic bag was a good idea; in Ireland (where there was a charge) 91 per cent supported the idea, and there was a 90 per cent reduction in the number of plastic bags used.

- In stopping **litter**, more bins and fines (that were imposed and seen to be imposed) were seen as the most effective approaches. Not everyone feels that dropping small things is bad, with even cigarette butts and fast food wrappers seen as 'borderline' acceptable.
- In **food** buying, quality is most important, followed by cost, then taste, then special offers. Environmental considerations came 7th, cited by just 12 per cent. Few look at labels and/or did not understand what the information meant. People are confused by different pressures (e.g. organic or local). Generally, organic is seen as expensive.
- **Holidays and leisure**. People tend to be unaware and unconcerned about the impacts of their travel choices.
- **Participation.** 65 per cent of the respondents to the Home Office 2003 Citizenship Survey had been involved with community groups at least once in the past year; 52 per cent at least once a month. 67 per cent had been involved in informal volunteering (giving help or advice to someone outside the family), and 39 per cent formally volunteered at least once during the previous year and 27 per cent at least once a month (biggest group – 34 per cent – was involved in sports or exercise groups and next biggest – 30 per cent – in schools or children's learning groups). The most likely trigger to increase formal volunteering was personal encouragement from someone already involved.

10. **Measuring progress.** Both Tracy Bedford on consumption (Bedford, 2003) and CDF on communities (Humm et al, 2005) have developed indicators for the parts of the above framework, recognising the difficulties of choosing the 'right' indicators or 'good' data. They therefore suggest that indicators are used to measure lifestyles at onepoint, and then again later, so that progress towards a sustainable lifestyle can be assessed, rather than assuming that at any one point a lifestyle 'becomes' sustainable or setting targets. However, the report also suggests that providing indicators might not be particularly appealing to the public, as they tend not to mean anything to them.

11. **Recommendations.** Recommendations within the first report include that:

- sustainable lifestyles offer a model for public behaviour change;
- behaviour change is a better focus for policy than attitude change;
- behaviour change campaigns should be action-orientated, focused on only a narrow range of behaviours, community-led, immersed in local issues, etc;
- campaigns for behaviour change need policy instruments, infrastructure provision, information provision, and targeted approaches for specific sub-groups;
- "The role of NGOs in delivering behaviour change campaigns in partnership with government should be extended".

Report 2 adds others, including that:

- the package of measures introduced to gain behaviour change should start with physical or infrastructure barriers first, then attitudes and psychological barriers;
- the primary role of communications in behaviour change should be to provide the public with supporting information – especially local information (e.g. on recycling facilities or community groups), promotional materials (e.g. on energy saving grants), and feedback (e.g. on impacts of recycling);
- the concept of sustainable lifestyles should be explored with the public through qualitative research;
- "Heighten the profile of community involvement in sustainable development communications work and explore the potential for working with (and funding) community groups in order to support public behaviour change for sustainability."

- The terms ‘sustainable development’, and 'sustainable lifestyles', are not defined in ways that people understand, and focusing on those concepts at community level is probably not helpful. The experience of working locally may be used to come to conclusions with those community groups about what sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles mean to them (including to reflect different cultural values in certain types of behaviours).
- As ‘being a good environmentalist’ does not seem to be a strong driver for changing behaviour, but measuring behaviour against peers, and discussing the relative value of behaviour, is – perhaps this should be a key focus for working with the groups.
- The key to effective behaviour change is likely to involve working with individuals in a personal way, but through collective action in community groups working at local level.
- The Global Action Plan (GAP) has shown that it can help relatively small groups of people reduce their environmental impact. It may therefore be that this project decides to focus on developing and piloting methods that are not so resource-intensive in the short or long term.
- Any efforts to engage with individuals over the sustainability of their own behaviour need to take account of the suspicion of the public that they are not the ones doing the most environmental damage, but that government and business are; and that therefore any changes in their personal behaviour need to be set alongside what government and business are doing.
- Darnton's reports suggest that an agreed framework for a sustainable community is needed. The CLASL project may not wish to adopt the framework proposed in the reports (as too ‘top down’ and prescriptive) but may wish to adopt some sort of framework that could enable local communities to define their own definitions of sustainable living (including but probably beyond the parameters of the Ecological Footprint). Given that the impetus for many people getting involved in sustainable lifestyles is about collective working and discussing the relative value of behaviours, and given the very independent and autonomous nature of community groups (and impossibility of imposing someone else’s view of a sustainable lifestyle), a mix of Darnton's framework and the Ecological Footprint may be an appropriate way forward. However, Darnton's framework could also provide a good basis for local discussions, using the groups and types of behaviour, and deciding on specific behaviours through discussion. Discussions about quality of life and sustainability are likely to range fairly widely as a result.
- In terms of indicators, ‘directional’ indicators (to show progress) seem much more appropriate than absolute indicators (showing specific numbers). However, in general, it seems that formal indicators should not be provided to local groups as they are unlikely to be meaningful to the communities.
  One of the difficulties of measuring change is that it does not take into account the existing efforts people are making to live sustainably. For example, some people (those most likely to care and/or be willing and able to do it) may not be able to recycle more, use less energy or use their car less because they are already recycling a great deal, not using their car much and using as little energy as they can. Projects need to find some way of measuring progress that takes account of this problem.
- Given the focus on infrastructure, it may be important to consider what ‘legacy’ a project wants to leave in terms of influencing the existing infrastructure to provide support for sustainable living, or creating new infrastructures.
- There is a sense throughout these reports that the ‘subjects’ of the research (those whose behaviour should change) are somehow different/distanced from the researchers. There is also a sense that some behaviours are self-evidently environmentally sound (e.g. re-using nappies, supporting wind farms).

It may be that CLASL wants to take the view that sustainable consumption and production behaviours should be seen as affecting everyone equally (including project workers as well as local residents) and show how everyone plays their part. The CLASL project is therefore not about telling people how to live their lives, but to discuss with them a lived experience of trying to live more sustainable.
There is a need to carefully differentiate between those behaviours that are actually very definitely environmentally desirable/harmful (likely to be a very small number) and those which are actually very controversial (in spite of being generally taken for granted in current environmental discourse) and therefore open to discussion. In this way, local discussions can be used to contribute to wider policy thinking.

- Much of the analysis in Darnton's reports is directed to behaviour change only and this is where the recommendations of this report are focused. Other research (as shown in this review) suggests that behaviour change alone is unlikely to be long lasting. Changes in values and attitudes, and especially the development of a continuously challenging approach to making personal decisions, will be essential.

PARTICIPATORY AND LEARNING BASED APPROACHES TO BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

This report (Allen et al, 2002) was produced by Landcare Research for the New Zealand Ministry of the Environment, based on a literature review and Landcare's own experience of participatory learning.

The main findings of the report are as follows:

- **Common understanding and shared actions are needed.** All groups are different, so it is essential to get people together to establish a shared understanding of any problem situation and the potential pathways for action. When people have participated in planning future change, they are more likely to buy into the required changes.
- **Complementary approaches are needed.** Regulatory, incentive, voluntary and rights-based approaches are needed, with a supporting framework of education, awareness-raising, understanding and ownership.
- Change is a developmental process requiring participation. "Stakeholder participation is a key operational principle of contemporary sustainable development policies, programmes and projects", and is an ongoing process involving social capital, stakeholder identification and analysis, and participatory monitoring and evaluation.
- **Participation is needed at all levels of involvement:** national level; institutional and programme level, and projects on the ground.
- **Task and process are both important.** The task is defined as what needs to be done, and the process is about how people and groups/teams work together, maintain relationships and achieve agreed outcomes. Both need to be measured and evaluated.
- **Transformational change requires group cultural change that spreads to others.** People need to be working in groups and teams, which requires an understanding of how to initiate and foster these social units in ways that enable groups "to develop the capacity to move beyond the completion of task-bounded activities". This means understanding group abilities and skills, and group processes and stages of development, so that the members of the group can "spread that culture to others in their communities in the longer term".

Beyond these headline findings, the report also provides excellent analysis of the types of processes that are needed to address the complex problems of sustainability, including the following:

1. **Information and learning.** Information systems are not just about means of transfering data, but should be seen as a "social system within which people interact to create new knowledge, and broaden their perspective of the world". People interpret information according to their own world view, which is shaped by their social context. If the aim is to change behaviour, the challenge is to help people see the world in a different light. But people are often defensive about their existing world view – which is why linear information transfer approaches are not enough, on their own, to promote change.

   Collaborative learning approaches "emphasise a more active, participatory approach to information management and decision making and a more collaborative approach between researchers, extension agents and users. Increased user involvement not only helps keep research and information transfer relevant, and encourages stakeholders to take ownership of outcomes, it also provides key people in the wider community who have to work together (agencies, science, land managers, etc) with new ideas and perspectives, which they will share with others thus paving the way for improved user thinking and change".

Collaborative learning also explicitly promotes the learning that arises from dialogue with others, and "therefore that the thinking of a community of learning is distributed through networks of conversations". Learning is socially constructed, and learners function as a community "by developing a shared language and acquiring the community's viewpoint". Each learner functions as part of a community of practitioners helping to solve real-world problems.

2. **Integration and participation.** Complex problems need 'soft systems' approaches, which recognise that "objectives are hard to define, decision-taking is uncertain, measures of performance are at best qualitative and human behaviour is irrational" (citing Checkland, 1981). This requires that stakeholders are involved in the decisions that affect them. There are two problems with 'expert goal setting': the first is efficiency problems if the community resists the options being offered; the second is related to ethics – especially 'blaming the victim' – where behaviour change is aimed at the individual rather than addressing the root cause of the problem. Moreover:

    - **Regulation** is not a good way to introduce new behaviours, but can standardise behaviour once accepted by the majority.
    - **Incentives** can undermine the altruistic motivations that people have for certain behaviours, and thus reduce commitment to change.

    Information, education and motivation lie under all these approaches because they reinforce and make each other more effective. "The best way to change human behaviour is to work alongside people. Co-operative approaches that make participation a rewarding experience are achieving better results than more coercive approaches".

3. **Learning based models.** A 'learning society' model, based on the 'learning organisation' model from organisational learning theory, requires a new model of governance thinking – one in which interdependent individuals, groups, organisations and institutions all operate at different levels of collectivity. A core of shared values is necessary for trust and effective interdependence, and there needs to be a deepening of state and civic organisational structures in society. Empowerment is needed, by which this report means increasing the skills of individuals, groups and communities to make better decisions for themselves (capacity building).

The report then addresses frameworks for supporting behaviour change, and identifies the following:

1. **Learning and behaviour change.** Learning is vital if people are to change their behaviour. Citing Kilvington and Allen (2001), the report summarises it as:

    Behaviour change = Knowing what to do + Enabling environment + Imperative.

    Three stages of learning are identified: initial learning to gain information; acquiring new skills and methods of thinking and doing; and advanced reflective learning which is about reinterpreting and integrating knowledge. Learners at early stages need more leadership than those at later stages.

2. **Theoretical perspectives on learning**

- **Behaviourism:** learned behaviour in response to stimuli.
- **Cognitive approaches:** learners as more active participants in the process, although usually "knowledge is still seen as external, value-free, and objective".
- **Constructivism,** which adds 'context' to cognitive approaches, i.e. people are constantly assessing their situation and make sense of information in different ways according to their reading of their context. Learners are active participants in the process, and integrate new experiences and information with existing concepts. Knowledge is transformed by each person and so differs from the 'knowledge as given and absolute' view of behaviourism and cognitive approaches. The credibility and relevance of information is assessed in large part according to where it comes from (the most credible being a source the learner trusts).
- **Humanism,** which is based on the ethical principle that people have a natural desire to learn, and that learners need to be empowered and have control over the learning process.

3. **Models of learning and change.** There are several models, the first two of which illustrate the ways in which people go through a number of stages of change as they learn (using constructivist models):
   - 3.1. **Kolb's learning cycle.** This is the basis of the action learning model in which individuals, groups or organisations follow a series of cycles in which they plan – act – reflect.
   - 3.2. **Stages of change model**, which grew out of research into behaviour change in the health sector, to help understand how to support behaviour change. It is not a linear model (people can revert to previous positions), but does highlight the importance of learning at each stage.

Concept	Definition	Important processes
Pre-contemplation	Unaware of the problem, hasn't thought about change	Becoming aware Emotional response
Contemplation	Thinking about change, in the near future	Environmental analysis Thinking through the issues
Decision/determination	Making a plan to change plans, setting gradual goals	Seeing other options Self-efficacy Social support
Action	Implementation of specific action plans	Helping relationships
Maintenance	Continuation of desirable actions, or repeating, periodic, recommended steps	Reinforcement Seeing other options Being in control Social support

3.3. **Theory of reasoned action.** Learning and behaviour change are not just individual-level activities. They are also social processes. The motivation of individuals to change is affected by many factors, and intentions are influenced by two main factors: subjective norms (what the individual thinks are the social pressures on the behaviour); and personal attitudes towards that behaviour. An example is given in which the factors influencing intention are:

- what they perceive to be the extent of peer involvement (groups can enhance this), and the attitudes of those close to them (friends and family);
- the support of social norms (e.g. good practice standards or regulation);
- the extent to which this issue matters to the wider community (often reflected, and influenced, by current policy).

3.4. **Towards a supportive environment.** The context is as important as models of behaviour change, and both work together. Social Network Theory sees social behaviour through relationships, rather than being about individuals, so managing networks will be essential to enable solutions to be developed and support provided for individuals within them. This is linked to ideas of social capital.

Learning and behaviour change are not easy for people, and can be threatening to people's personal effectiveness (admitting that things are not right), or embarrassing. Failure and loss of esteem during the learning processes are key risks. As a result, people may resist learning and change.

But even when some change is seen to be acceptable, it may only be at one level (e.g. behaviour), rather than challenging deeply held beliefs (or simply unchallenged assumptions). Single loop learning allows for different options to be considered; double loop learning allows for the underlying assumptions and beliefs to be challenged. Three elements are identified as important in a reflective learning process:

- content, or the substantive issues raised;
- process, or how such issues were raised and addressed;
- premises, which are the values, assumptions etc that influence what people think about.

This is not easy, and may involve confronting people about unworkable theories and approaches, and this will only be effective in a safe, supporting social environment. Capacity building and social capital are essential building blocks, as these are designed to ensure the appropriate skills and social relationships are in place to enable people to work well as a group.

3.5 **Measuring success.** Evaluation needs to assess both 'task' (the particular projects and activities) and 'process' (through which the capacity of individuals and groups changes, "to establish their own approach to thinking strategically about how to work collaboratively and bring about the full range of desired changes they seek"). In particular, "building the capacity for change depends for its effectiveness on participant ownership and commitment".

Success will depend on the use of participatory and formative evaluation exercises that strengthen the ability of participants (agencies and communities) for ongoing self- assessment and correction.

> Evaluation and monitoring therefore has to contribute as much to "building capacity, diagnosing constraints and opportunities, and trying to make programmes grow and expand, as it is about measuring and describing on-the-ground progress against preset targets".

This report concludes that "no single method works to facilitate behaviour change that addresses all issues in all settings", because circumstances, individuals, groups and communities are always different. Essentially:

- Behaviour change is different for every person, and does not occur in one step. People move through stages of change in their own ways and in their own time.
- The enabling environment influences these stages of change.
- People adapt and improve the enabling environment through individual and collective capacity for development.
- The crucial goal for any programme, then, is to enhance people's capacity to modify their environment so that it enables movement through stages of change.

Unlike conventional information-led programmes, a behaviour change programme using these models addresses:

- increasing knowledge and awareness, and reflection to enable understanding how they contribute to the problem situation and how this relates to their lives;
- changing the enabling environment;
- enabling people to develop a consensus on the different options available to them.

Lessons for CLASL

- It will be essential for the project work to closely link action, reflection and evaluation to maximise understanding and learning.
- Change is complex and happens in sometimes unexpected ways, so it will be essential to carefully record progress in the communities so that values, attitudes and behaviour change, as well as environmental change, can be better understood.

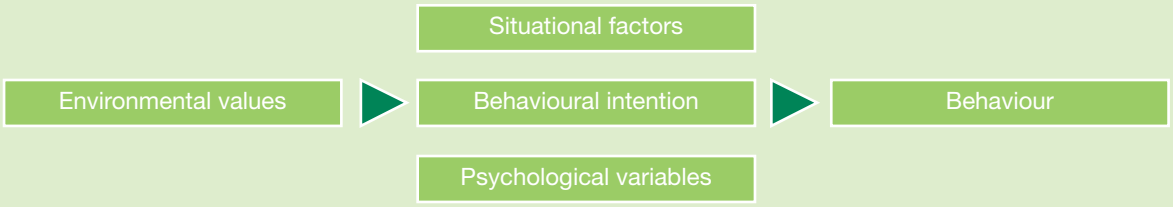
ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION IN AND AROUND THE HOME

This research was carried out during 2001 to 2003 and was funded through the ESRC Democracy and Participation Programme. The report (Gilg and Ford) was published in July 2004; an earlier article on the research (Barr et al) was published in 2003.

This research identified what the researchers have termed the 'new environmentalists' (Barr et al, 2003) who are working together to change individual behaviour e.g. recycling, composting, saving energy, green consumers. One of the demographic factors for this group (alongside being significantly older and a home owner) is that they are "significantly more likely to be part of a community organisation ... those more heavily engaged in environmental action tend to be from maturing middle class groups, who are involved within the community and are politically active ... These results suggest that work by authors such as Paul Selman on local sustainability is correct in suggesting that a major barrier to environmental citizenship and sustainable lifestyles is the extent to which individuals are involved in their local community and feel that they have a stake in the political process governing environmental and social issues."

These authors suggest that "In contrast to the collectivism of 30 years ago, environmentalism in Britain today is personalised and individualistic, focusing on household behaviours" and no longer the communal and activist-based activity that Tim O'Riordan described in his classic Environmentalism (1976). They say that "environmentalism has become part of everyday life and has gradually become less about the environment and more concerned with participating in yet another socially desirable activity".

The research was based on a conceptual framework of environmental action developed by the research team in the 1990s, which is as follows:



This framework is based in turn on a model of the Theory of Reasoned Action, which takes the view that action is predicated on an individual's intention to act, which in turn is affected by attitudes and subjective norms. The three sets of variables, in more detail, are:

- **Environmental values**, although "At best, social and environmental values have a moderate indirect effect on behaviour".
- **Situational factors**, such as demographic (age, gender etc), structures (e.g. presence of recycling facilities transforming positive attitudes into action), and knowledge – particularly the crucial difference between general environmental (abstract) knowledge and specific behavioural (concrete) knowledge in affecting behaviour.
- **Psychological variables**, especially the impact of social influence and norms, personal motivation and satisfaction, fear of environmental threat, extent to which people feel their action/involvement makes any difference, trust and sense of personal responsibility, and attitudes to consumption.

The research used a questionnaire (a face to face random survey of 1600 people in four Devon locations; and 400 postal questionnaires to Global Action Plan households), and eight focus groups (held in July 2003). The findings included the following:

- **Reported behaviours.** Three distinct segments of the consumption process were identified as showing markedly different levels of environmental behaviour:
  - Purchasing goods – in which very few people were taking action based on environmental values.
  - Using resources/habits – lots of people switching off lights and taps but far fewer making bigger changes such as taking fewer showers and flushing the toilet less.
  - Disposal – recycling was popular, with the majority of the sample actively recycling.
- **Types of environmental activists.** In terms of who the most/least likely environmental activists were, the respondents were clustered into four types: committed environmentalist, mainstream environmentalist, occasional environmentalist, and non-environmentalist. Overall, far fewer that 50 per cent of individuals usually or always undertook each behaviour, with most being under 20 per cent. Some of the relevant characteristics of these groups are given below:
  - Committed environmentalists were significantly more likely to be a member of a community organisation, while occasional and non-environmentalists were least likely to be.
  - The group least likely to be environmental activists were young, poor, badly-educated men.
  - Committed environmentalists were more likely to believe that they acted under social pressure to consume sustainably than any other group... "it may be that the new environmentalism may rest less on promoting the environment and more with using social norms to change personal behaviour".

The overall conclusions are positive, including that:

- Most individuals were participating in some environmental action, but two areas need more attention:
  1. involving excluded social groups;
  2. 'closing the loop' by addressing green consumption (rather than more recycling at the disposal stage).
- As "environmentalism has become such an established activity that it is governed by social norms, it may be less simple to encourage green consumption on the basis of environmental, rather than social premises".

Lessons for CLASL

- This research takes further previous research findings that increasing environmental awareness is not needed, and shows that environmental action is already widespread – at least among certain social groups (especially female, young, wealthy, well-educated and liberal individuals, although there are many exceptions including that committed environmentalists are more likely to be older).
  The environmental imperative is unlikely to motivate those other than committed environmentalists; social pressures may be more powerful. The focus for projects should perhaps therefore not be on broad environmental messages but rather on social reasons for behaviour change. This is given further weight by the finding that specific behavioural (concrete) knowledge is likely to be more effective in changing behaviour than general environmental (abstract) knowledge.
- It may be easy to increase recycling activity, but the real challenge is to address consumption, and change deeper behavioural habits than switching off lights and taps.
- Consideration could be given to explicitly targeting the 'new environmentalists' (i.e. those already doing it) and support them more so they can explicitly become the ambassadors, the role models, for this type of behaviour.
- Consideration needs to be given to the implications of this research's conclusions that environmentalism has become much more individualised, and is just part of being a 'good citizen' as the ESRC research suggests.

REMOVING UNFREEDOMS. CITIZENS AS AGENTS OF CHANGE

This is a UN-led, and UK Department for International Development supported, project that has run since 2002. It is based on Professor Amartya Sen's book in 1998 called Development as Freedom (for which he received the Nobel prize for economics).

Sen argues that freedom is the primary end as well as the means to development, and identifies five freedoms that influence the potential and capabilities of individual citizens: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. Sen sees these as alternatives to the conventional economic indicators of development (e.g. income levels, GNP, literacy levels, etc.) which, he argues, are essentially designed to compare and contest economic systems – Western 'market' economic models with 'socialist' centralised planned economic models. As that dichotomy no longer holds as the driver for aid and development, the comparison with the 'other' has disappeared and new models can be used to assess the 'success' of development.

These are vital to what Sen describes as essential not only to well-being (and freedom to be well), but also to "the freedom to lead the kind of life they value leading". In addition, Sen examines social arrangements in terms of their contribution to guaranteeing the substantive freedoms of individuals viewed as 'active agents of change' rather than passive recipients of dispensed benefits.

Lessons for CLASL

- Sen's status as an international economist provides some important support for the ideas that development is not just about economic growth led by governments and business for the benefit of all, but is about quality of life that depends on certain basic freedoms.
- There are also close connections both to well-being, and to concept of the 'good life', linked to concepts of active citizens as agents of change to improve their own lives.

SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

A special issue of the Journal of Industrial Ecology, Vol 9, 1-2, Winter/Spring 2005, covered this subject. Some of the key issues raised are outlined below.

1. Tim Cooper's article (Cooper, 2005) looks at product life spans and the throwaway society. Pointing out the shortcomings of a focus only on eco-productivity (that cannot contribute to sustainability without tackling growing consumption), Cooper goes on to look at two alternative initiatives that challenge faster and growing consumption:

    - Slow Food, which began as a challenge to the fast food culture and has since expanded into Slow Cities, which aim to take the speed and stress out of urban life. Stress is placed on locality, seasonality and care in production and use.
    - The Long Now Foundation, which aims to correct the speed and short-termism of modern life, and encourage the long view and long-term responsibility, where long term is measured in centuries (at least).

    Cooper suggests that sustainable consumption requires increasing product life span (increasing the time a product lasts), recognising that reducing demand for new and more products will have economic and employment implications. He proposes the concept of 'slow consumption', where there is a reduced throughput of products and services, more careful manufacture, and maintenance systems.

Among other data, Cooper points out that one-third of discarded appliances are only 'in need of repair', rather than 'broken beyond repair'; 30 per cent of people questioned reported they rarely or never had appliances repaired, and 68 per cent of those cited cost as a discouraging factor (data on price rises in new products compared to cost of repairs shows these respondents to be quite right). He also expands the idea of the 'throwaway world' beyond products and into a whole range of human activities, including relationships, and notes that there is a cultural shift that needs to be made so that people do not simply buy more and new (and expect speed and short-termism), but value those products they already own in a new way.

Two practical suggestions are made for changing these habits:

1. improved after-sales service (e.g. longer guarantees, availability of parts, design for ease of repair, greater transparency and reliability of repair services);
2. Obtaining services without buying a product (e.g. renting equipment – eco-leasing, car sharing or using a launderette).

2. Tim Jackson's article (Jackson, 2005b) focuses on the different theories of consumption being good and bad for us; and whether it is possible to gain a 'double dividend' by consuming less (and having greater quality of life/well-being) and reducing negative impacts on the environment – because excessive consumption is psychologically flawed as well as ecologically damaging. He cites various sources that show that consuming more is not, and has not always been seen as, necessarily good for us: "Pleonexia, the insatiable desire for more, was regarded in Aristotle's day as a human failing, an obstacle to the 'good life'."

   Jackson argues that the environmental impacts of excessive consumption should be seen not as a unfortunate constraint on development that needs to be managed, but as a symptom of a much wider problem; that we are pursuing an inappropriate concept of progress that is damaging human well-being. We can actually live better by consuming less. There is a lot of theoretical argument against the realism of this, around the ideas that human beings are conditioned to need to consume as much and as fast as possible (because of the symbolic, etc. value of 'things'), and that it is pointless to try to change this. Jackson concedes the difficulty of creating the type of social change that would enable different patterns of consumption to develop, but nevertheless believes that it is a real possibility.

3. There are reviews of several relevant (US) books on consumption, including:

   - Confronting Consumption, edited by T. Princen, M. Maniates and K. Conca, published by MIT Press, Cambridge, Ma in 2002. This book includes five case studies of efforts to reduce consumption, including the voluntary simplicity movement, anti-consumption advertising, the local currency movement, certification programmes and home energy use.
   - Exploring Sustainable Consumption, edited by M.J. Cohen and J. Murphy, published by Pergamon, Amsterdam in 2001, which takes a more sociological and political approach. Like the previous book, this takes the view that industrial societies force the 'citizen' into the background, while amplifying the role of the 'consumer' – which brings a loss of sense of the 'commonwealth', and shared responsibility for it.

- Going Shopping: Consumer choices and community consequences, by Ann Satterthwaite, published by Yale University Press, New Haven in 2001. Written by a planner, this looks at the impact of how we shop on how we live in places – especially the development of larger stores, price competition, malls, etc. that have changed the way that people interact socially when they shop, as the nature of shops themselves has changed.
- The Paradox of Choice, by Barry Schwarz, published by HarperCollins, New York in 2004, is perhaps the best known of these books. Schwarz argues, with extensive evidence to support the idea, that human happiness and well-being decline as people in Western societies (that enshrine freedom and individual responsibility) are offered more life choices. He covers products, services and even 'lifestyles'.
  Rather than an anti-consumerist logic, this book looks at how choice affects the ways that people see themselves and their lives – the mistaken choices they have made, the time they spend evaluating options, the constant search for 'more'. Essentially a self- help manual, it offers 11 prescriptions for avoiding becoming a choice victim, such as spending less effort making choices because the benefits will be less than you think; seek what pleases you rather than the best of everything; follow rules, habits and commitments to cut down on decision time and second thoughts that bring regret, etc.
- The New Consumers. The influence of affluence on the environment, by Norman Myers and Jennifer Kent, Island Press, Washington, 2004. This looks at the environmental impact of the 'new consumers' in places like China, India, South Korea, Brazil.

Lessons for CLASL

- The Slow Food (and Slow Cities) movement may have particular attractions for stressed people, who want to increase quality of life and not necessarily quantity.
- Product disposability may be reduced if repair services are better known and can be trusted to be cost-effective and reliable. The CLASL project could test the extent to which this can work with its communities. Similarly, shared services that reduce product demand may also work in certain communities.
- Work on the social 'value' of consumption (especially by Tim Jackson) shows that changing behaviour and attitudes is an extremely challenging task, not least because the weight of social theory suggests that consumption reflects basic human drives, as well as being very strongly established in modern Western societies. As the book reviews also suggest, the weakness of the citizenship approach to consumerism to date is not an accident, and will bring as many challenges as the other changes being sought.

BLOOM'S TAXONOMY – A LEARNING HIERARCHY OF THE COGNITIVE DOMAIN

This is a simple summary categorisation of learning (see table on next page). For each stage, the term is described and 'question cues' provided which are appropriate to test this level of learning.

Term	Description	Question cues
Knowledge	Can recall information	Describe, show, list, name, what, who, where, when?
Comprehension (understanding)	Understands information, can compare and contrast, interpret facts	Discuss, interpret, associate, summarise in your own words
Application	Can use information in new situations, solve simple linear problems	Apply, examine, solve, calculate
Analysis	Can look at a body of data or information and know what models or concepts to apply to explain it – can see relationships	Infer, connect, explain
Synthesis	Can build new understanding/ knowledge/models by integrating several different ideas/ pieces of knowledge – can work with complex problems	Create, modify, design, predict, what happens if? Implies systems thinking and reflection to move into new thinking
Evaluate	Critically consider ideas / information / knowledge and their limitations / assumptions / bias to test their validity in the context of the issue under scrutiny	Implies above thinking plus critical thinking

Lessons for CLASL

- This taxonomy demonstrates the stages required to provide a sound learning experience and further underlines the weakness of relying on knowledge provision or awareness raising alone as an underpinning to behaviour change.
- The taxonomy could be used to support the development of a project cycle to ensure learning opportunities are embedded into the project cycle.

16 PAIN-FREE WAYS TO HELP SAVE THE PLANET

This report for the National Consumer Council (Holdsworth, 2005) offers packages of policies, based on 19 case studies, to achieve good results in changing consumer behaviour (towards sustainability) using incentives and disincentives. The report focuses on behaviour change that is deliberate and, to some degree at least, motivated by sustainability concerns. It identifies three types of strategies that are usually used to motivate consumers (persuasion, social learning and participation), but concludes that, for public policy, positive incentive schemes that are really 'felt' by consumers, merit further attention.

The report identifies 17 success factors related to consumer behaviour:

- Consumer behavioural barriers
  1. Close to home (tangible benefit)
  2. Time pressures
  3. Household budget
  4. Convenience/routine
  5. Perception of cost
  6. Lack of awareness
  7. Lack of facilities
  8. Lack of trust in providers

- Behavioural influences
  9. Maximising personal/household benefit
  10. Cognitive limitations
  11. Social norms
  12. Habits
  13. Moral values
  14. Emotional responses

- Motivational tools used
  15. Persuasion – directness, consumer commitment, reinforcing factors
  16. Social learning – observing others
  17. Participation – helping people to understand the issues.

The case studies for the UK are:

- A successful mainstream consumer incentive – the London congestion charge;
- A mainstream consumer incentive with low take-up – stakeholder pensions;
- A successful community-based incentive scheme – the First Foods weaning programme, Glasgow. This used "every possible method of influencing and motivating", used existing structures, and provided a package of measures - all of which were seen as crucial to success. The setting was seen to enable social norms to be tackled "using the motivational tools of social learning and participation".

The most relevant of the international case studies to CLASL are:

- **The Environmental Home Guard in Norway.** Launched in 1991, this scheme is based on Global Action Plan and involves an Eco-pledge, the Eco-step (a six step programme for households), the Eco-team (groups of five to eight households that help each other), the Eco-Guide (available on the internet to answer questions), an Eco-phone, Eco-manuals (on how to green other institutions such as schools), and Eco-councillors, located in 13 regional service centres. Although seen as successful (100,000 people and lots of local organisations signed up), this still only represents 2 per cent of Norway's population.
- **City CarShare, San Francisco, USA.** This was launched in 2001 and has a membership of 3000. Research shows that 85 per cent of members use it at least once a month and 30 per cent once a week or more; 30 per cent of households have sold one of their cars; 67 per cent decided not to buy an additional car; use of public transport, walking and cycling has increased; each day, City CarShare saves 30,000 miles of vehicle travel, and 20,000 lb of carbon dioxide emissions.
  As has been noted previously, changing car behaviour is the most difficult of all. It might be relevant to note that changes in behaviour seem to relate to additional cars (selling or not buying additional cars), rather than not having a car at all.

One of the areas where the report feels there is additional work that could be done is in thinking about how positive incentives might foster a shared sense of responsibility for our collective future. Two approaches are described:

1. 'Conditionality' (or sanctions) is seen as having potential if the specific consumer behaviours being controlled are clearly linked to the desired behaviour change. Such links are not always clear so this is not seen as the most fruitful way forward.
2. Community participation is seen as having "the advantages both of providing a means to establish shared norms, and to support people in maintaining behaviour change". Coupled with other policy levers, well-designed schemes are seen as having the potential to "create a community space where values can be reinforced by being shared".

The report recommendations include that:

- new initiatives should be evaluated using a methodology that examines both the wider cost implications of sustainability as well as capital outlay;
- new initiatives should be assessed for their success in changing behaviour using a version of the success checklist for this report.

Lessons for CLASL

- There is potential for adapting some of the incentive schemes for use with the community groups.
- Consideration could be given to using the framework for this report to evaluate a project's success, and by looking at the costs and benefits of a project's activities (including the costs to the planet of not making the changes).

CAMPAIGNING

Chris Rose (previously with Greenpeace) made an internal presentation to WWF-UK earlier in 2005 in which he examined the different perspectives of people on sustainable consumption depending on whether individuals are:

- Inner directed: to whom ethics, explorations of new things, etc. appeal;
- Outer directed: esteem driven e.g. status, success, consumption appeal;
- Security driven: tradition, belonging, security, identity matter.

Different categories of people respond to problems, threats and opportunities differently and seek different things from consumption, as outlined in the following table:

	Inner directed	Outer directed	Security driven
Action modes (when faced with problem)	DIY, activist	Organise	"Someone should do something"
Social role	Set trends, experiment	Build, economic motor, avoid risks, follow fashions	Upkeep traditions
Desire	Better questions	Right answers	Safeguard against external threat
Want brands to...	Bring new possibilities	Make me look good	Make me secure
Connect through	Own networks	Brands, systems, organisations	Clubs, societies, family, local things
Like to meet...	New challenging intriguing people	Desirable and important people	People like them and people they know
Like to be associated with...	Causes that put their values into practice	Success	Tradition
They...	...are themselves	What they've worked for	...know their place
Respond to threats from...	Visions and causes		Their way of life

The presentation suggested that campaigns need to be segmented to reach the different categories of people, e.g. on climate change the appeal would be:

- **Inner directed:** the right thing/moral;
- **Outer directed:** the clever thing/smart;
- **Security driven:** the safe thing/identity.

Value maps can be created using this analysis, and the three groups could also be described as pioneers (Inner directed), prospectors (Outer directed) and settlers (Security driven); these groups can then be broken down in to more specific types. Some of these types are then identified as having the most influence: Brave New World types, Roots types, Concerned Ethicals, Transcenders, Now People, and Golden Dreamers.

In summary, the presentation suggests that:

- changing values determine the social, political landscape and climate;
- values can be accurately mapped and used for organisational strategy, campaign strategies and within organisations;
- WWF faces internal and external challenges because of changing values.

The presentation concludes with a Ladder of Change which focuses on internal management structures and ways of working relevant to the three categories of people, essentially with the Inner directed pioneer as 'Keeper of the vision'; the Outer directed prospector as the 'Turbo charger' and the Security driven settler as the 'Controller'.

Lessons for CLASL

- People respond differently to different stimuli, depending on their basic characteristics. Messages that appeal to one group (e.g. moral arguments, or economic benefits) will not necessarily appeal to others.
- Understanding what motivates different groups can help shape the messages/input appropriately so there is something in each part of the learning process for each category of people.
- The presentation points out that changing values determine the social and political landscape, but the reverse is also true ... values may shift because of political events (e.g. terrorism or collapse of pension funds), or because of personal experience in changing the local environment or wider policy. Consideration needs to be given to how people's values are changing as a result of their engagement in the project.

EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY HEALTH INTERVENTIONS

This literature review of community-level health interventions (Hills, 2004) focuses on the methods and challenges of evaluation. It contains various analyses of community-level working which are relevant to community-based sustainable consumption, including the following:

- There is a difference identified between community-based interventions and community development activities on health, as outlined in the following table:

Community-based interventions	Community development
Problems, targets and action defined by sponsoring body	Problem, targets and action defined by community
Community seen as medium, venue or setting for intervention	Community itself the target of intervention in respect to capacity building and empowerment
Notion of 'community' relatively unproblematic	Community recognised as complex, changing, subject to power imbalances and conflict
Target largely individuals within either geographic area or specific subgroup in geographic area defined by sponsoring body	Target may be community structures or services and policies that impact on the health of the community
Activities largely health-oriented	Activities may be quite broad-based, targeting wider factors with an impact on health, but with indirect health outcomes (empowerment, social capital)

- This is taken further in an analysis showing one axis of modes of intervention – from **authoritative** (paternalistic, top-down) to **negotiated** (participatory, bottom-up), and one showing the focus of intervention between **individual** based change and wider **system or collective** change, as follows:
  - Individual-level change: health persuasion techniques (e.g. advertising campaign); personal counselling for health (e.g. individual smoking cessation sessions).
  - System or collective change: legislative action for health (e.g. health and safety regulations); community development for health.

- Typologies are provided for identifying community involvement in health to aid analysis of different levels of local interventions:
  - Type 1. The innovator's goal for the community is primarily self-empowerment and improvement in socio-economic status.
  - Type 2. As above, but in the process of developing a community profile and identifying felt needs, the community itself acknowledges needs that are consistent with standard preventive medical/health education goals, e.g. the need for better primary care services, accident prevention, dealing with child health problems.
  - Type 3. This is characterised by community health projects. The innovator's goal is to enhance health and prevent diseases by raising the profile of health, but the innovator is prepared to help community work through other more pressing 'felt needs', e.g. to improve cardiovascular health.
  - Type 4. The innovator's goals are primarily those of preventive medicine. This type is epitomised by the various coronary heart disease prevention programmes. It is more 'top-down' than types 1-3, but the innovator understands the importance of taking the community with them and utilising existing leadership patterns.
  - Type 5. This is more limited both in its outreach programmes and its community participation, but uses a mix of agencies, e.g. media plus schools plus drop-in centres, and delivery of services to housing estates or workplaces.
- New ways of thinking about community are emerging, and the shifts are summarised in the following table:

From	To
Community seen as passive setting for intervention as in previous 'community-based' services	Community as dynamic partner in health promotion activities, as in community development approaches
Community seen as relatively peripheral to policy development, as in previous approaches to regeneration of deprived areas	Community as central resources in implementation of change, e.g. in many area-based initiatives such as New Deal for Communities, Health Action Zones, Sure Start, etc.
Community development seen as a means of implementing change	Community development (community capacity building) as an end in itself
Community seen as an entity	Community seen as a complex set of processes involving multiple stakeholders and shifting power relationships
Services seen as a given, and not up for negotiation (common to many earlier community-based interventions)	Services seen as potentially part of the problem being

Lessons for CLASL

- This definition of the differences between community development and community-based activity shows that the CLASL project needs to carefully define its activities as an extension of community development rather than a retreat from community development approaches. CLASL seeks to be bottom-up and empowering, while retaining an overview of the whole process to enable action research and action learning.
- If the CLASL project is aiming for both individual and collective action and change, this research indicates that different methods are appropriate for these two levels of intervention. It may be that a range of activities will be needed to achieve both individual and collective change.
- This review shows the difficulties of evaluating community-level activities, and identifies many lessons that need to feed into the design of the project evaluation (too numerous to summarise here).
- The different perceptions of community identified here prompt thinking about how the CLASL project is defining its 'community', which is likely to essentially be a community group/organisation rather than an entire neighbourhood/geographical community.

Part 2: Chapter 5:

The Findings
Methods

5.Methods

It is always vital in thinking about methods for community engagement that 'form follows function' – that is, the appropriate method should be chosen according to what needs to be done. There are real dangers in identifying methods first - as has been said elsewhere: "When the only tool you have is a hammer, all problems look like nails" (Simms, 2003).

ACTION LEARNING

Action learning was invented in the 1950s by Reg Revans and is essentially about people working together in small groups to help each other tackle the important issues they face. For Revans, effective learning (L) comprises two elements:

1. programmed knowledge (P), which is teaching about information or knowledge already in the world (traditional teaching, for example);
2. questioning insight (Q), which is the application of reflection, inquiry and insight.

The action learning process can thus be summarised as L = P + Q.

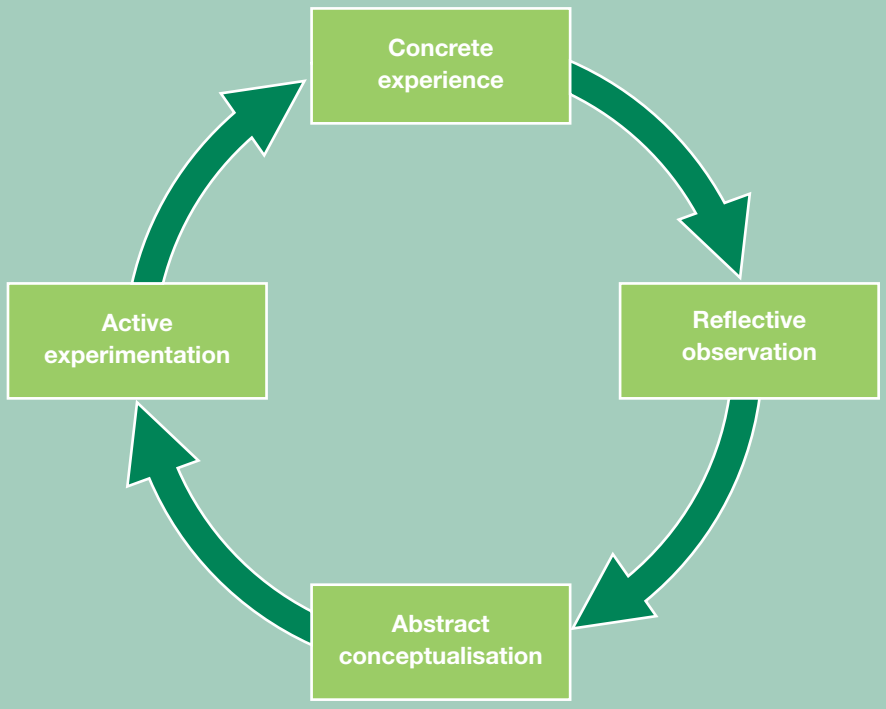
Action learning differentiates between problems and puzzles:

- puzzles have 'best' solutions and can be solved by the application of programmed knowledge (P);
- problems have no 'right' answers and can only be tackled through the thoughtful application of inquiry and insight (Q), supported by researching programmed knowledge.

There are links here to soft systems thinking, which takes the view that many situations are 'messy' and constantly changing, in which ends and means are unclear, and where progress has to be a cyclic process guided mainly by experience and intuition, review and reflection. Soft systems thinking stresses the need for 'learning' approaches to problem solving. Action learning in this context changes the way projects are delivered because they are done on the basis that "the primary task of managers is to create the capacity for learning" (Carley and Christie, 2000). Typically, action learning sets of five to six people meet once or twice a month to work on problems in which they have a real stake or for which they are responsible. They are often, but not necessarily, supported by a set adviser who understands group processes and who helps the group develop the skills they need to work effectively. Set members focus on three levels of learning:

1. the problem that is being tackled;
2. what is being learned about themselves and their relationship to the problem;
3. the process of learning itself, and how this can be transferred and applied in other settings and circumstances.

Kolb's learning cycle summarises the process, drawing on earlier work in experiential learning to construct a simple diagrammatic model (Kolb 1984):



ACTION RESEARCH

"Action research brings together systems thinking and action. It is a way of generating knowledge about a social system while, at the same time, attempting to change it" (Kurt Lewin, quoted in Hart and Bond, 1995). It was developed as "a form of research which could marry the experimental approach of social science with social action in response to major social problems of the day" (Hart and Bond, 1995), i.e. linking theory with practice. There are three essential elements to action research (Greenwood and Levin, 1998):

1. **research,** and the generation of new knowledge;
2. **participation,** with researchers as facilitators and teachers and responsibility being shared with co-researchers/participants;
3. **action** – aiming for change.

Action research is designed to work for the 'general good', and has four main characteristics (Reason and Bradbury, 2001):

1. it is developmental, and findings emerge during the lifetime of the project;
2. there is a focus on practical issues;
3. knowledge is created in and through action;
4. the process is democratic and participative.

Action research practice often involves a professional action researcher and 'community' (however defined) seeking to improve their situation as a team, and the ways in which problems and possible solutions are defined are both co-produced.

Action research is increasingly being used in Government to test new initiatives at an early stage, before conclusive findings can be established but at a stage at which learning is progressing. For example, MORI and PA consulting used an action research model to provide a four month snapshot of a pathfinder project testing a new approach to 'offender management' for the Home Office (Home Office 2005). The purpose of using action research was to "capture the learning generated in that local time-limited context", to "help inform and hone the on-going implementation in rapid time". In this case, the specific research methods used were:

- focus groups and interviews with key staff group, and attendance at implementation meetings;
- feedback to the pathfinder implementation team on a fortnightly basis following completion of each research task, and to sites following research visits to ensure there was an accurate record and progress made;
- interviews with 43 offenders at four sites, to understand the emerging offender experience and how this differed from previous approaches. Various techniques were used to stimulate thoughtful discussion among offenders including use of a 'route map' of the journey from sentencing to the present to help remind offenders of the process;
- analysis of interview transcripts using a thematic indexing and charting system ('framework'). The code frame was drawn up to reflect the major themes identified at the start of the project, as well as new insights that emerged as the research progressed;
- gathering quantitative data on offender characteristics, frequency of service planning meetings, degree of continuity achieved, etc. to track implementation progress. Also, data audits were carried out at each site to examine current information systems and how data could be extracted to provide feedback on the implementation process.
- a workshop with managers and supervisors to explore solutions to barriers experienced in role change.

BACKCASTING

Backcasting was used as part of the University of Surrey ToolSust project to work with stakeholders in a number of European cities (including Guildford, UK) to "develop and implement tools for sustainable householders in the city of tomorrow" (Tite and Gatersleben, 2003).

Backcasting uses scenarios but does not project a likely future based on current trends. Instead, it creates a picture of a desirable future and then works backwards to determine its feasibility and what changes are needed to reach that desirable future.

Backcasting has been used in studies of alternative energy futures, or futures in which greenhouse gas emissions are less than now – typically focused on a specific use such as transportation.

The process can be run in one of two ways:

- A team of researchers/experts formulate one or more images of a sustainability goal and a timescale. Calculations are made of the environmental consequences of the proposed solutions. The next step is to analyse the path to the proposed image.
- Alternatively a workshop can be held to envision alternative futures where ambitions have been fulfilled, and then steps identified to reach the vision.

The ToolSust project used the workshop approach, using an Oval Mapping Technique (OMT) for the event. OMT produces a group map of aspirations, beliefs and assertions around living sustainably, developed by the group writing their ideas on post-its and sticking them on a large sheet of paper already put up. Clustering and voting follow.

The workshop is ideally run for between 10-20 people over 1.5 to 2 hours, and needs to be facilitated.

Conclusions from the use of this process in the two workshops in Guildford include the following:

- It was difficult to focus the wide remit of sustainability on one small geographical area; the vast majority of the ideas put forward were very general and often applied to national and even global levels.
- It is difficult to recruit volunteers to this sort of exercise, and follow-up events, who are not already keen environmentalists.
- It is difficult to keep focus on ideas that are realistic; many of the ideas put forward in these workshops were "simplistic or optimistic". This brings the risk of the process 'reinventing the wheel' where known solutions are put forward rather than new ideas.
- One of the strengths of backcasting is to free participants from the restrictions of the status quo, but the solutions generated are nevertheless limited by the perceptions of the participants. This problem could be overcome by using a set of pre-defined end-states/scenarios. ToolSust believes that although less creative, this could generate more viable policy solutions.

For CLASL, there could be some benefits to using backcasting rather than visioning, if people can keep focused on realistic ideas that they can help to make happen. Using pre-defined scenarios would not seem to be a good solution for CLASL because of the requirement for community ownership of the proposed solutions.

CAPACITY BUILDING

Institutions tend to use the term 'capacity building' when talking about forms of training that may use less formal methods than conventional training or education, or in relation to less traditional skills. It is defined in various ways, including "Training and other methods to help people develop the skills necessary for them to achieve their purpose" (Wilcox, 1994). Chambers prefers the term 'capability' by which he means "the quality of being capable; the ability to do something" (Chambers 1997). Essentially, thereore, capacity building is generally understood to be about the practical skills and knowledge necessary to achieve specific tasks.

The term 'capacity building' is most often used to describe work with communities (e.g. Skinner, 1997). Sometimes it is used almost as a simple alternative to community development. It is certainly used in relation to the ways in which local communities have their capacity built to enable them to participate in processes led by public institutions. Increasingly, though, capacity building is used to describe the learning processes and skills needed by professionals to work in various unfamiliar ways, especially with local communities, the public and other stakeholders, and to deal with sustainable development.

Agenda 21 laid great emphasis on capacity building for sustainable development; an emphasis that has been followed through in various UK sustainable development strategies subsequently. For example, para 3.12 of Agenda 21 reads:

> "National capacity-building for the implementation of the above activities is crucial and should be given high priority. It is particularly important to focus capacity building at the local level in order to support a community-driven approach to sustainability and to establish and strengthen mechanisms to allow sharing of experience and knowledge between community groups at national and international levels." (United Nations, 1992.)

The learning techniques used in capacity building tend to include the use of workshops, study tours and visits, small grants schemes, distance and action learning, secondments and internships and so on, and community service and volunteering (adapted from Deri, 2001). Similar approaches have helped integrate sustainable development principles into continuing professional development (CPD), and there are now close links between capacity building and professional development around sustainability issues.

Robert Chambers has shown how conventional professional attitudes ('we know best') have led to errors, omissions and delusions with spectacularly damaging results, including in environmental management (Chambers, 1997). He proposes new approaches that require everyone to question and change what we are and what we do. This places new responsibilities on environmental professionals promoting participatory approaches. It requires a new humility, sensitivity, nimbleness and willingness to change: the changes needed are personal as well as institutional (ibid).

These analyses have led to a newly emergent learning paradigm. This implies "a new professionalism and new institutional settings" (Pretty and Chambers, 2000), based on experience in two domains: new learning environments, and participatory approaches and methods. The new paradigm focuses on the need to tackle three essential areas (see below), leading to a new professionalism with new concepts, values, methods, and behaviour:

- new methodologies for partnerships, dialogue, participatory analysis and sharing;
- new learning environments for professionals and local people to develop capacities;
- new institutional environments, including improved linkages within and between institutions.

CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic education is defined as “educational, learning or promotional activities carried out in a local context, by or on behalf of local councils, to enable people to become more involved in democratic processes” (ODPM, 2005) and more active citizenship.

In many ways, civic education in these terms is another way of describing various public and community engagement mechanisms. However, because the focus is on the links to democratic processes, the success indicators are quite different from other participatory work. The four main indicators of success are seen to be in terms of:

1. the knowledge the process imparts about opportunities for democratic participation and the best ways of using them;
2. the virtues it inculcates in participants, such as promoting appreciation, courtesy, respect, responsibility and self-confidence;
3. the behavioural changes that it triggers, in terms of the willingness and ability of people to participate in a wide-range of decision-making settings including – but not limited to – voting in local elections;
4. access to meeting space, ICT and presentational methods, funding and dedicated staff. These success criteria focus much more on changing the participants' in various ways, rather than assessing the influence or value of the processes in tems of changing policy and practice, as is usual with participatory practice.

COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Communities of practice share many of the qualities of learning networks (see below), but are characterised by rather closer relationships and a rather stronger shared identity. The idea here is to tackle knowledge management in ways that work, involving those who create and use the knowledge. They often involve interactions with experienced practitioners on current problems facing the group, focusing both on working on a task and building relationships (getting to know each other, sharing perspectives), and members may have different levels of participation over time (from deep involvement to simply receiving information).

Learning networks, learning organisations and communities of practice are all innovative approaches to sharing learning within a context of change, in contrast to conventional learning methods that are based on the idea that knowledge is timeless and constant. These new approaches are based on social theories of learning - that we learn not just as individuals, but also by doing things with other people. There are clearly close associations with action learning as, although action learning has been criticised as being isolated from its institutional context and wider practice, it is most often concerned with organisational, community and social change as well as with individual learning and action.

In all these approaches, ‘community’ (network or organisation) members learn together through the process of making tacit knowledge explicit (Polanyi, 1966). As members of learning networks (for example) interact and reflect on their practice, their ‘knowing in action’ is transformed into knowledge in action through reflection with others (Schon, 1983).

Knowledge management is key to modern organisations, and communities of practice have been developed by various major commercial companies and other bodies (e.g. Hewlett Packard, IBM, Shell Oil, the World Bank) as the appropriate way to achieve that (Wenger, 1999). However “we still have little understanding of how to create

and leverage knowledge in practice. Traditional knowledge management approaches attempt to capture existing knowledge within formal systems, such as databases or websites... [the other, first half of the task] is to foster the communities that can take responsibility for stewarding knowledge" (ibid).

Wenger identifies two problems with technology-based approaches:

1. they only capture explicit knowledge – much remains tacit;
2. they assume knowledge exists in a social vacuum, and can be separated from the communities that own it.

Such traditional approaches can result in the creation of large databases that no-one looks at or uses:

> "Knowledge is not some substance that can be managed at a distance like an inventory. It is part of the shared practice of the communities that need it, create it, use it, debate it, distribute it, adapt it and transform it. These communities give it life. As the property of the community, knowledge is not static: it involves interactions, conversations – a process of communal involvement" (ibid).

In this analysis, knowledge management requires a community development process. This means involving those who create and use the knowledge. What matters is how documenting can support people's activities – "knowing remains primarily a human act of meaning making.

Communities of practice are the living repositories of their knowledge" (ibid). Communities of practice emerged in industrial contexts around the model of traditional apprenticeships, but they focus less on master and student and more on interactions with experienced practitioners and more advanced apprentices in a living curriculum for the apprentice.

Communities of practice differ from the cross-functional teams that became common organisational practice in the 1990s. Teams are very effective at producing products and services. But problems emerged as teams started to become new 'silos' (as old departments had been). They could become isolated and inward looking, and they could neglect long-term capacity building as their focus was entirely on the task to be completed (McDermott, 1999).

Wenger suggests that communities of practice can exist within organisations, across teams, across institutional boundaries and across organisations, and may or may not relate to official organisational structures (Wenger, 1999). She argues that communities of practice are different from other organisational links because they are:

- based not on reporting relationships (like a department) but on collegiality;
- based not on a task (like a team) but on the shared learning and interest of the members;
- based not purely on relationships (like a network) because they are about something, and have their own identity and shared practice which develops over time.

Communities of practice and teams are not mutually exclusive. McDermott (1999) refers to the 'double-knit' organisation. In this, cross-functional teams are woven together through communities of practice. Each community of practice focuses on a topic or discipline that is important to the organisation. Each is responsible for sharing

knowledge and standardising practices. Such an approach plays to the strengths of both forms. Teams focus on outputs, communities of practice focus on learning, and neither becomes diluted by losing its focus.

Some communities of practice are short-lived; others last for many years. They do go through stages and will end when they have outlived their usefulness. Wenger (1999) suggests that all stages involve different levels of participation from a core group, full members, peripheral members, transitional participation (for a specific reason, without joining as a member) and passive access (have access to resources, e.g. tools, publications and websites). People stay engaged because they value the learning they find together. This learning is both instrumental (working on something) and personal (knowing each other, sharing perspectives). All of this builds to a shared practice that reflects the members' collective learning, and to a community that reflects the relationships and identities it has developed around that practice.

The learning organisation takes all these ideas into the specific organisational context, by aiming to continue to develop and change over time as contexts change and experience grows. The learning organisation may operate many of the knowledge management and learning elements outlined above.

Learning organisations also require effective and appropriate information flows and learning at two levels (Argyris and Schon, 1996):

1. **single loop learning,** through which a process of detection and correction of flaws can be managed (e.g. spot what is wrong and correct it);
2. **double loop learning,** which incorporates single loop learning but also questions the course plotted and the existing feedback loops designed to maintain that course (e.g. asking why it has gone wrong); double loop learning can challenge fundamental assumptions about the organisation.

Single loop learning can limit organisations' ability to change to address the more significant problems that may arise as new knowledge emerges over time. It has been suggested that "new knowledge relies on local invention and experimentation, but this may be stifled by centralised models of knowledge generation and adherence to centrally produced guidelines" (attributed to Hargreaves in Davies et al, 2000). Double loop learning helps identify and remove such stifling barriers.

Senge (quoted in Davies et al, 2000) says that the learning organisation needs to operate through five disciplines:

1. **open systems thinking,** which encapsulates the idea of teaching people to integrate activities and understand the connections within and beyond the organisational boundaries;
2. **improving individual capabilities** within the organisation;
3. **updating mental models** and the deeply held assumptions people use to make sense of the world;
4. **a cohering vision** to provide a clear strategic direction and to articulate a set of values to guide individual actions;
5. **team learning,** to expand capability beyond individual virtuosity.

There is no blueprint for a learning organisation, nor any well-defined package of practices, on the principle that "the learning organisation has to be realised from within" (Pedler and Aspinwall, 1998). One key aspect of a learning organisation is, though, that it connects individual and group activities, avoiding the problem of individual managers

and staff becoming disconnected from organisational aims and activities. As a result, what the organisation 'knows' and works with is at least as great as the sum total of what is known by individuals in an organisation.
See also 'Learning networks'.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development is "an activity which confronts disadvantage, poverty and exclusion, and promotes values of active citizenship, learning and community participation. It is about change based on empowerment, leading to a better quality of community life. While community development activity is usually local, it needs to be located within broader policy frameworks that recognise its role and understand its contribution" (Barr and Hashagen, 2000).

More practically, the Federation of Community Work Training Groups has defined (FCWTG, 2002) the purpose of community development as "collectively to bring about social change and justice by working with communities to:

- identify their needs, opportunities, rights and responsibilities;
- plan, organise and take action;
- evaluate the effectiveness and impact of action;
- all in ways that challenge oppression and tackle inequalities."

It has also been argued that "community development can be a powerful tool for mobilising and engaging different communities; however, it is only one method" (JRF, 2004).

Community development has worked to develop social capital, and it has been argued that social capital theory could help by conferring greater clarity on community development practice, in particular because "the social capital agenda is arguably wider than the typical community development focus, extending on the one hand to social norms and citizenship skills across the whole population (rather than concentrating on experience of disadvantage) and on the other hand reaching further into the quality of personal relationships in the family, household and beyond. Community development practice working to a social capital agenda might pay more attention to forging alliances between disadvantaged neighbourhoods and affluent ones, and between personal identity and capacity for collective action" (Chanan, 2003).

COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Community education may be run formally by local authorities as part of their continuing education programmes, or it may be associated with community associations that run learning programmes of various sorts. Regardless of who runs community education, a specific ethos informs it: "Community education is a process by which education workers engage with local people in a learning programme... a process whereby small groups of people are gathered together around a clear set of objectives to engage in a learning process which has tangible outcomes for them as clients" (Fagan, 1993).

Community education tends to refer to 'education facilitators' rather than to teachers. The European 'Conservation and Development in Sparsely Populated Areas' (CADISPA) project, for example, was requested by the European Union following the 1992 Earth Summit specifically to develop the thinking and practice behind Education for Sustainability. CADISPA showed "how local people could be brought to the centre of a community development process which gathered together opposing positions and which led to an outcome which would prove sustainable for their communities" (Fagan 1998).

Community education varies enormously in its own practice. It ranges from relatively conventional courses, to applied youth work, to much more radical approaches. Formal approaches may include initiatives such as projects to develop, pilot and accredit certificates in sustainable development (Level 1-NVQ equivalent). One such initiative involves the Environment Agency with Groundwork UK, Black Environment Network, Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB), the Wildlife Trusts, BTCV and the National Training Organisation for land-based industries (LANTRA). The aim is to provide employees and citizens with a basic understanding of the core principles of sustainable development. It will achieve this with a set of practical tools and ideas that will be made widely available after they have been piloted with employees in small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and the voluntary sector, as well as with community leaders.

A more radical approach to community education is characterised by Paulo Freire's concept of 'conscientisation'. Through this process, people "learn to perceive the social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action" (Freire, 1996). His analysis of the learning process has been highly influential, particularly in community development and community education in the UK and Latin America. It is based on the principles of dialogue between teachers and lay people for their mutual learning. The mutuality of the learning process is crucial. This is not learning at the feet of a master, but a process of joint learning in which the knowledge of all parties is respected, based on the principle that "the educator himself needs educating" too.

COMMUNITY (OR CIVIC) SCIENCE

Community (or civic) science (O'Riordan, 1998) involves volunteers working in their own localities, sometimes on projects they themselves have generated, sometimes on projects initiated by others. Projects may involve one individual studying one species in one place, or large groups conducting environmental monitoring across nations (e.g. Landcare in Australia and New Zealand). Activities may include monitoring, modelling or measuring changes to the environment, but also discovery, experimentation and mapping activities.

The benefits include:

- **low cost** (but not no cost because of the need for training, co-ordination, resources, etc.);
- **access to different sources of information** (which may not be available to non-local researchers); and
- **better data** (because researchers understand the local context more deeply, know the right questions to ask and who to ask, and may be more likely to get the truth because they are known, trusted, and not 'official').

EMPOWERED PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE (EPG)

Developed by Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright in their highly influential book *Deepening Democracy* (Fung and Wright, 2003), EPG has three principles:

1. a focus on tangible problems;
2. the involvement of ordinary people affected by these problems and the officials close to them;
3. the deliberative development of solutions to these problems.

It also has three institutional design features necessary to make it work:

1. devolution to empowered local units;
2. the creation of formal links for responsibility, resource distribution and communication; and
3. the use and generation of new state institutions to support and guide these efforts.

EVALUATION AND MONITORING

Evaluation has become a major part of Government policy, especially in relation to monitoring progress on targets. Possibly because of this policy background, there has been some resistance to evaluation in community-based activities in the past. However, evaluation is also now being seen increasingly as part of a learning process, capturing what has happened and enabling participants to reflect on their experience and come to conclusions which are of value to their own and other future work.

There are four approaches to evaluation that are currently much in evidence in this field:

1. **Fourth generation evaluation.** First generation evaluation is seen to be about measurement by a 'technical' evaluator; second generation about describing patterns of strengths and weaknesses by an evaluator operating as a 'describer' (and covering technical aspects); the third generation about judgement, with the evaluator operating as a 'judge' (as well as a describer and technical). Fourth generation evaluation is 'responsive constructivist evaluation', which is essentially 'participatory evaluation' in which the evaluation's parameters and boundaries are set through an interactive negotiated process with stakeholders (Guba and Lincoln, 1989).

2. **The 'theory of change' approach** (which has been used in community development) is essentially a participatory planning process in which the goal is to generate a theory of change which is plausible, doable and testable, and which makes explicit the pathways of change the project is expected to follow. Here, theorising happens in advance and is then tested as the process unfolds, through 'theory surfacing' and testing assumptions and unarticulated objectives at the start, rather than imposing theory on a body of data once the evaluation research is complete (Connell and Kubish, 1996).

3. **Realistic evaluation** (Pawson and Tilley, 1997) is designed to deal with real problems in social policy and programmes, based on the scientific realist philosophy (i.e. goals of objectivity and detachment without taking over-simplistic positivist approaches), in order to inform realistic developments in policy-making that benefit programme participants and the public. The basic realist formula is: context + mechanism = outcome.

4. **The InterAct model** (InterAct, 2001) is a simple practical framework and checklist for evaluating participatory, deliberative and cooperative ways of working. It provides some immediate support to practice, and increases the sharing of information about methods. It also offers a basic checklist covering both what needs to be examined when evaluating participatory processes, and how it should be done.

Tim O'Riordan suggests that "The best evaluation is instructive, collective, continuous and appropriately correcting" (O'Riordan, 1999). And the ideal situation may be to establish a balance between instrumental and transformative objectives, clear ethics and principles, participatory and non-participatory methods, qualitative and non-qualitative indicators that are appropriate (according to various audiences) and verifiable (i.e. numerical but also explanations of why and how), and agreement on timescales.

Even where the ideal is not possible, some kind of balance may need to be struck to ensure that achievable objectives, ethical principles, appropriate methods and learning from results can at least be aimed for in a new 'virtuous circle' of learning from experience in ways which also help to develop better methods of assessment. These evaluation activities also need to be undertaken in an appropriate way, and consideration given to the "need to support the process whilst at the same time understanding and evaluating it – evaluation should ideally be linked to building capacities" (LASALA, 2001).

Traditionally, evaluation has focused on assessing the extent to which the objectives (the purpose) of the exercise have been met by assessing the **inputs** (resources put in – time, money, etc.), the **outputs** (activities or deliverables, e.g. reports or meetings) and **outcomes** (results and impacts – although some have differentiated between short-term 'outcomes' and long-term 'impacts'). In addition, it has become increasingly important to assess the **context** within which the initiative took/is taking place, and the **process** used.

Evaluations may be qualitative or quantitative: quantitative data (collecting numbers) is about measurement and judgement, whereas qualitative data provides for description and interpretation (Oakley, 1991). Most evaluations need both types of data and appropriatemethods that can collect such data in order to assess the quality of the process and its achievements.

Evaluation needs to assess activities against some form of framework, and the frameworks most often used for qualitative evaluations are:

- the aims and targets of the programme;
- the objectives of the programme;
- the characteristics of 'good' work (depending on the methods used); and
- the objectives of the evaluation.

There are significant challenges to learning the lessons from evaluations. Evaluation, and subsequent learning, challenges organisations, projects, local communities and individuals to examine how they have worked. It encourages them to be open to exploring alternative approaches, which can be difficult for groups and organisations committed to certain ways of working. Experiential learning methods in participatory evaluations may offer some ways of tackling this. But difficulties will remain where evaluation is done as a separate activity from mainstream work and the lessons identified are offered to those responsible for the work, following an autonomous process that did not involve them. The articulation and communication of lessons is therefore ideally both a continuous process (throughout the evaluation process) and a participatory process involving those who need to understand and accept the lessons as they emerge.

It has been argued that the ideal approach is to undertake only formative evaluations (carried out during the process being evaluated), as those can include methods such as observation, direct experience and discussions with participants while they are part of the process. But summative evaluations (done after the process is complete) can also be useful – both to participants and more widely – as participants have had time to reflect on their experience, and different results may begin to appear over time. Long-term evaluation research, that begins during the process being evaluated and continues after it is completed, is likely to provide the most comprehensive and valuable results and lessons.

Some organisations are considering much closer links between evaluation and mainstream project and programme management, including linking continuing evaluation to learning networks, etc. Such an integrated approach may have lower costs than full-scale but one-off evaluation studies. With careful design, the process can retain the required rigour and independence required of evaluation, while improving the learning from the process.

LEARNING FOR SUSTAINABILITY

WWF-UK has developed a framework for Learning for Sustainability (WWF, 2004) for use in schools but which could be adapted for community use. WWF defines Learning for Sustainability as referring to "all the different processes that advance knowledge, skills, values and attitudes, and empower individuals, schools and communities to pursue social justice, economic security, environmental stewardship and civic democracy as complementary goals".

The six elements of the approach are as follows (expanded slightly to fit CLASL):

1. **Understanding Learning for Sustainability**

- Personal: Recognising the 12 characteristics of 'effective learners' and thinking about how these relate individually. The characteristics are inquirer, thinker, communicator, risk taker, knowledgeable, principled, caring, open-minded, well-balanced, reflective, global, civically-engaged.
- Issues/topics: Examining social justice, environmental stewardship, economic security and civic democracy factors relating to some key local issues(however defined).
    - What do these look like now in the community?
    - What would we like them to look like in the future?
- Linking personal and topics: Thinking about how participants can contribute to making these changes happen.
    - What kinds of learning processes/actions are needed?

2. **Understanding roles**

- Identifying personal networks. Building on the personal knowledge from the characteristics exercise, as well as the issues identified in that exercise, start to identify personal networks. The focus is on the key influences on those involved (it may also include what and how those involved themselves influence). Influences may include family, friends, groups, organisations, experiences, events, projects, work/study, etc.
- Identifying valuable community activities. Identify what has worked locally before to advance (learning for) sustainability, even if that was not its primary function.

3. **Taking stock**

- Strengths and opportunities. Identifying accomplishments so far, and opportunities for further improvement. The focus is on identifying those things that have advanced or contradicted aspirations for sustainability – 'for' and 'against'.

4. **Action proposals**

- Setting objectives. These are short-term (one year), medium-term (three years) and long- term 'measurable actions' – actions that participants will have some way of knowing whether they have been achieved.
- Finding quick wins. Very feasible actions with immediate benefits.

Both will be needed, and to prioritise and identify the mix the group needs to look at feasibility (ease/difficulty of implementation) against impact (high, medium and low on target audiences or other changes sought). Setting out the action ideas against feasibility and impact is an effective way of clustering and prioritising the ideas so there is a good mix of immediate and longer-term goals.

5. Learning during action

This is an action learning process of planning, action, reflection and learning. Although this is always done in projects, it is often subconscious and the conclusions/assumptions of lessons are therefore not shared or tested with each other. Action learning processes make this sharing and testing explicit. As lessons are identified and agreed as a result of shared reflection by the group, the lessons should be recorded as specific actionable recommendations, for the group or for others. The four 'learning during' questions are:

- What was supposed to happen (objectives, etc.)?
- What actually happened? (avoiding judgement – blame or praise)
- What were the positive and negative factors here? (including what helped success or contributed to failures)
- What have we learned? (specifying lessons and turning into action recommendations).

6. Learning after action

The framework recommends a facilitated workshop to review the whole activity; this can be done after specific strands of work are completed as well as after the completion of the whole programme. The five 'learning after' questions are:

- What was the objective of the project or programme?
- What was achieved?
- What went well?
- What could have gone better?
- Overall, how satisfied do participants feel with the way it went (on a scale of 1 to 10); and what would have made it a perfect '10'?

The advantages of this approach are its simplicity, its focus on working with groups of participants, the clarity of the focus on Learning and Sustainability, the incorporation of action learning and continuous evaluation of progress, the mix of emphasis on the individual and their experiences and the group and its plans, and the focus on the local within a global context.

LEARNING NETWORKS

Members of a learning network interact and reflect on their practice and, through this, their 'knowing in action' is transformed into knowledge. The process is a cycle involving concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation (see the Kolb learning cycle diagram under 'Action Learning').

Networks are non-hierarchical groups based around common issues or concerns, with common goals, based on relationships of commitment and trust. They are about collaboration and joint effort, collective responsibility and action. Learning through networks involves reflecting on what the members do, and improving joint working.

In this way, networks can help to bridge learning across governance levels, practice and sectors, bringing all those actors together to "develop and transmit messages about what works in what context in pursuing environmental integration with economic and social policy... to make learning for sustainable development stick" Christie, 1999).

Interest in networks has been growing as networks are seen as alternative organisations that can promote innovation. Innovation research suggests that "innovation is a social rather than asolely individual process... occurring among a variety of stakeholders rather than as a matter of transfer or dissemination of technology or ideas... network building and maintaining relationships with other actors is crucial in this" (Mosley, 1999).

The idea of networks is not new; the literature on network organisation dates back to the 1930s (Pedler, 2001). But networks have recently gained prominence, mostly because of the development of information communications technologies, but also because of greater understanding of concepts such as the 'turbulence' of social and economic contexts (ibid).

There are many definitions of networks. One of the simplest is the WHO's: "A network is a grouping of individuals, organisations or agencies organised on a non-hierarchical basis around common issues or concerns, which are pursued proactively and systematically, based on commitment and trust" (WHO, 1998, cited in Pedler, 2001).

The key benefits of networks are about collaboration and joint effort. An ethos of collective responsibility and action is based on interdependence and trust. Such attributes raise issues of accountability. The flexibility and adaptability associated with networks can also mean lack of dynamic and authority (Gillies, 2000).

Pedler (2001) summarises the key characteristics of networks as follows.

Networks are:

- groups of people linked by common goals;
- held together primarily by personal relationships;
- with ties of mutual interest, sharing, reciprocity and trust.

Networks involve:

- links via various connecting and coordinating means such as meetings, conferences, newsletters, joint projects, working partnerships;
- network nodes which can be individuals, groups, teams or organisations;
- spaces and interstices spanned by these nodes and links which offer the potential for learning and innovation.

Networks can:

- include and exclude people;
- base status and authority less on formal positions or qualifications and more on knowledge, usefulness, sharing and innovativeness;
- be in whole or in part virtual associations where the technology of computer networking underpins and enhances face-to-face interaction.

The learning dimension underpins several other claimed benefits of networks including "knowledge generation and sharing, flexible and innovative service delivery, and not least the ability to re-organise and re-configure to fit changing conditions" (Pedler, 2001).

Pedler suggests that there are some 'core learning competencies' for networks if they are fully to realise this aspect of their potential:

- Improving practice through sharing what we know: encouraging new practice through connecting people and by disseminating knowledge, new ideas and resources through directories, learning events, improvement fairs, etc.;
- Learning network: developing our practice of learning by reflecting on what we do and improving our joint working;
- Network learning: understanding and knowledge of how networks work and the capacity to help people set up their own learning networks around their interests;
- Informing, influencing and enthusing 'the hierarchy': helping senior managers make sense of, and understand how to manage, new forms of organising and ways of working.

One objective of learning networks is that they allow people to share the practical knowledge gained through their own experience. Another is for people to value that shared knowledge as highly as theoretical knowledge taken from others' research (though that is clearly also important).

In the education field, networked learning communities have been developed by the National College of School Leadership (see www.ncsl.org.uk), and exist to support, embed and deliver the knowledge developed through experiential learning. These networks are designed to disseminate good practice, enhance the develop of teachers and support capacity building in schools.

See also 'Action Learning' and 'Communities of practice'.

MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE (MSC)

This is a technique for evaluating social change programmes and projects (Davies and Dart, 2005). Developed in the field of international development, MSC has been used in many different sectors and countries.

MSC is a form of participatory monitoring and evaluation, involving stakeholders in deciding the change to be recorded and in analysing the data. It is done throughout the project and can therefore help those managing the project, as well as providing data on impacts and outcomes so that the overall performance of the project can be assessed.

It involves collecting significant change (SC) stories from the field level, and then the systematic selection of the most significant of these by panels of designated stakeholders or staff. Once changes have been captured, people sit down together, read the stories aloud and have regular and in-depth discussions about the value of these reported changes.

Essentially the MSC process asks the question "Looking back over the last [whatever time period], what do you think was the most significant change?". Then another group of participants looks at the answers to the first question and considers "From among all these significant changes, what was the most significant change of all".

The benefits of this approach are that it is participatory, it contributes to the reflections of the group throughout the project and helps them consider their own progress, it can deliver a 'rich' picture of what has happened and encourages analysis by having to chose the most significant changes, and it can be used to evaluate in situations where the outcomes were not pre-set.

NEIGHBOURHOOD LEARNING PLANNING

This project in Blackburn is based on the ideas of Paulo Freire, who developed literacy learning in Brazil into a broader political education that he called 'conscientisation'. The project has worked with adult learners across the borough to "think about what sort of dreams they had for their area and what role learning could have in helping construct the future" (quote from David McNulty, leader of the project in Lupton, 2005).

The project was funded by the Learning and Skills Council, which paid for a team working solely on Neighbourhood Learning Planning (NLP). They set up (now 21) groups of learners, either geographically based or a 'community of interest' (e.g. groups included an Asian Women's Group, and a group set up to transform a vandalised park). The NLP team helped the groups sort out venues, childcare, etc. and also ran adult education classes (e.g. on IT, drugs awareness, aromatherapy, sewing). The classes are based on dialogue and on participants telling their own stories of their lives and the world, and aiming to enhance their skills and capability.

Once 21 hours are completed with an NLP group, participants are eligible for a nationally recognised certificate that can be used to access higher education. In one area, litter was a major concern, and there was a perceived lack of consultation on services, so the NLP group got the council's head of direct services to come and talk to them, which led to an immediate improvement. Another group discovered they could not get the policing they wanted, and why (lack of resources): the learning about the structures and systems that govern such decisions remained invaluable.

SYSTEMATIC SUSTAINABILITY ANALYSIS (SSA)

Simon Bell and Stephen Morse created this approach to developing indicators with stakeholders for sustainability. Built on the experience of field work in Malta, it uses a soft systems methodology (see 'Action Learning') as the basis for a community learning process. The process draws on participatory processes from international development including participatory rural appraisal, participatory learning and action, and participatory action research. All these methods were seen to be needed because of the complexity of social phenomena, the multiple perspectives involved, and the links between problems (not isolated issues that can be dealt with singly).

The authors argue that sustainable development requires the involvement of everyone: "the very soul of sustainable development is that it is participatory" (Bell and Morse, 2003). They aim to use indicators to develop a process that reconciles a 'top down' process driven by technical specialists with a 'bottom up' process driven by a dynamic of public participation.

In this process, the participants start by creating a 'rich picture' of all the actors and processes in the 'mess' to be tackled, leading to the development of 'problem themes' that all agree need to be tackled. A collaborative inquiry is then undertaken to decide what needs to be done, and to learn from the process. Drawing on soft systems methodologies, the authors propose a circular approach that includes the following steps:

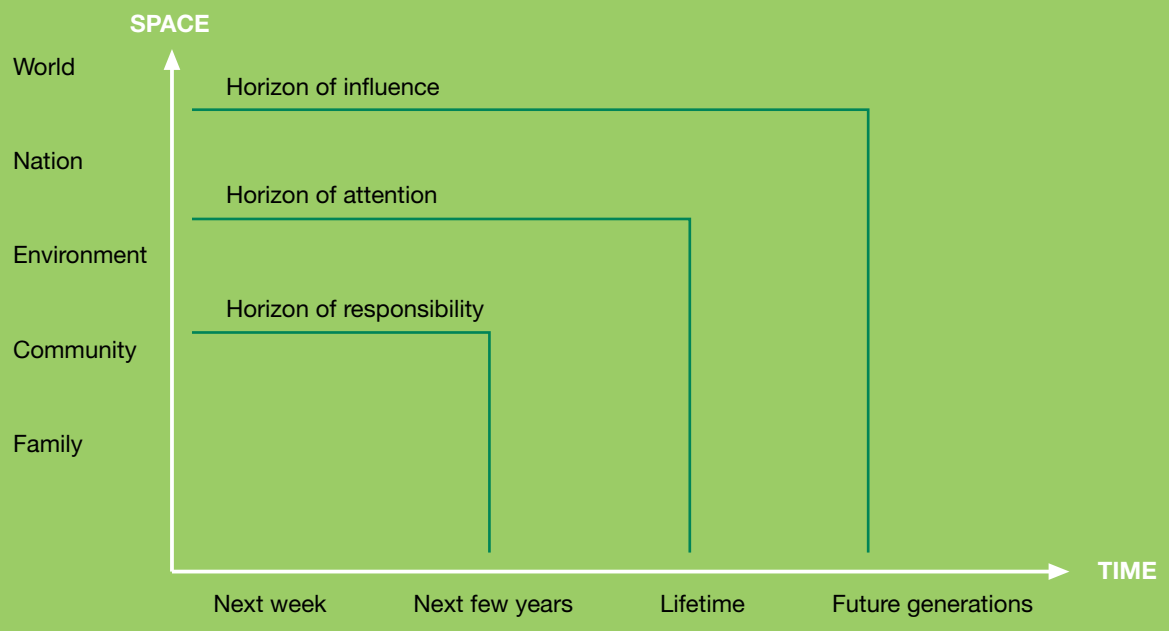
- the messy situation to be tackled;
- the rich picture;
- root definition (short, sharp description of what needs to be done, by whom, and for whom);
- conceptual model (practical steps that need to be done in sequence);
- debate on desirable/feasible change (can the steps be done? what are the problems?);
- implement change...
- ...start again.

The authors usefully distinguish between sustainable development indicators (SDIs) and community sustainable development indicators (CSDIs) (see table).

Characteristic	Sustainable development indicators (SDIs)	Community sustainable development indicators (CSDIs)
Public participation	Limited	Extensive
Who collects data/statistics?	Experts	Community
Communications of indicators	Extensive within the policy-maker/manager group	Via media and other means
Use	Directly to drive policy	Encourage individuals to make changes in their everyday lives
Resonance	Policy-makers/managers	Public

Bell and Morse argue that indicators can inspire people to take control of change, and that "indicators can be an effective mechanism for understanding people's values, needs, concerns and expectations". They stress that indicators may have particular value for sustainable development if recognised as a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves – as a process rather than an end product to be applied by managers. However, they also argue that indicators do have value in measuring progress, especially if they are used within frameworks that allow for the expression of the 'soft' work (e.g. processes and learning).

In particular, the use of the process of developing indicators as a way of planning effectively is proposed – using the definition of indicators as a way of clarifying what is important in different spheres. The authors differentiate between the spheres of influence, attention and responsibility, as outlined in the following chart.



The spheres of influence are explained in more detail as:

- **Influence:** systems in time and space that are significantly affected by an actor's influence;
- **Attention:** systems whose behaviour, development and/or fate is of some interest to the actor;
- **Responsibility:** systems where an actor would be willing to carry some responsibility in order to see them survive or improve.

In these ways, indicators (like sustainability) become a learning process through which people can explore new ideas and insights around the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainability.

TIME DOLLARS/TIME BANKS

The concept of time dollars/time banks (Cahn, 2000) is now supported by the Home Office Active Communities Unit, and recognised as tax-exempt so not counted as earnings for income- related benefit purposes and ignored for income tax purposes. They provide a way of rewarding people for undertaking socially useful activities to which the market economy assigns no value – or for which those seeking the activities do not have the money to pay. Time banks manage the schemes, recording time spent (all time is valued equally – no matter the type of task), and matches needs with members available. It needs a central office so is more formal than LETS (Local Exchange and Trading Schemes). Time Banks are useful for people with needs who do not want 'charity', as relationships become reciprocal and those with needs become providers too.

VOLUNTEER STREET LEADERS/WARDENS/WATCHERS

These operate under different names in many localities, and are sometimes linked to council help lines (e.g. Envirocall in Newcastle upon Tyne). Examples include:

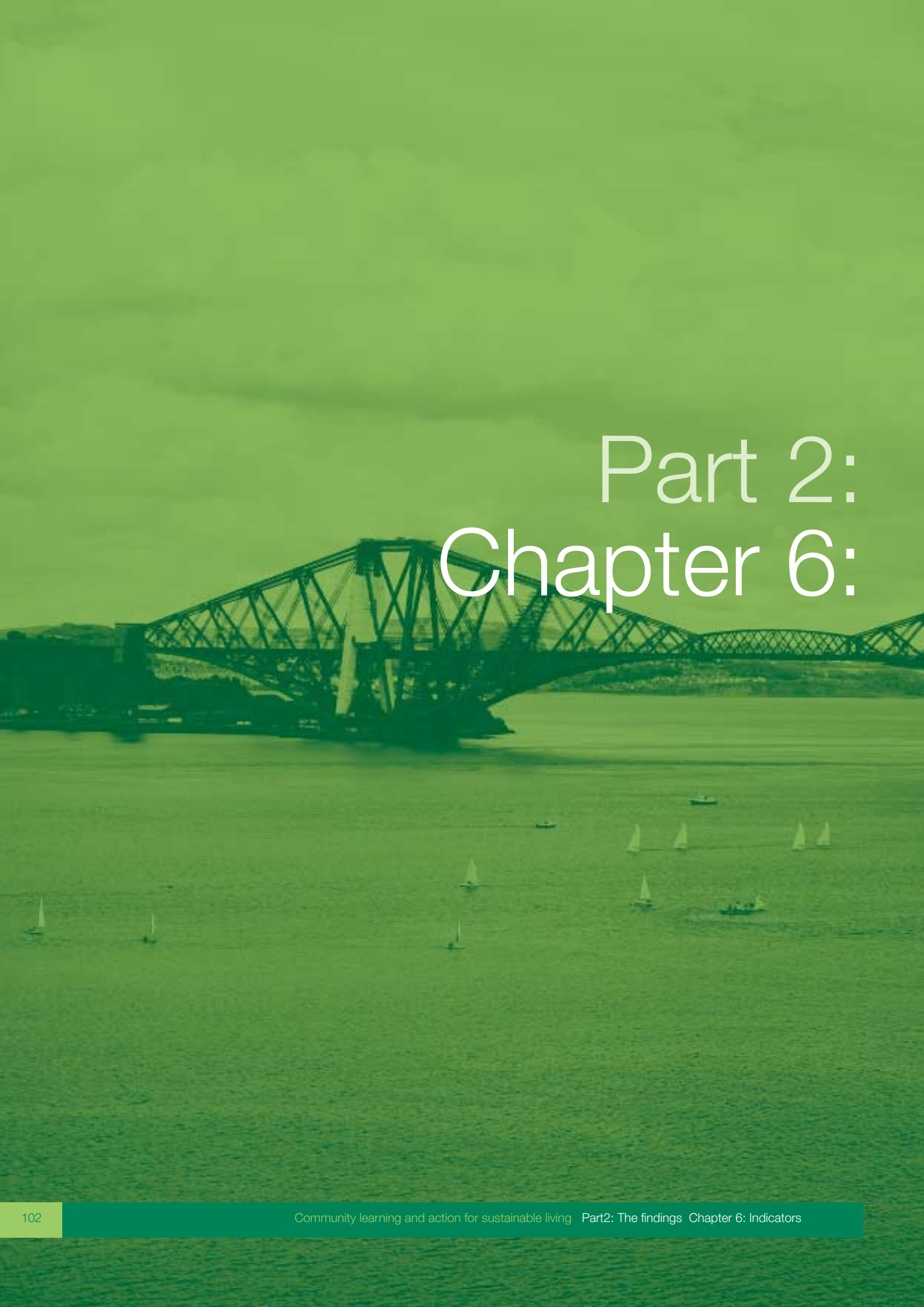
- Volunteer Street Leaders in Lewisham which was set up 10 years ago, with a focus on liveability issues (graffiti, fly-tipping, vandalism). The council holds 10 area briefings and two conferences a year for the 724 streetleaders in the borough. It is part of Defra's Local Environmental Quality Pathfinder programme looking at active citizens.
- Street Watchers in Waltham Forest, which was set up as a result of a citizens' jury suggestion about involving residents more. They have made good headway on litter, fly-tipping, graffiti, street cleaning, etc.
- Street champions, who adopt a road and become a named contact.

PEOPLE AND PARTICIPATION

In addition to the methods and approaches outlined above, there are a number of participatory techniques that can be used singly or together to achieve certain objectives with a group of people.

A useful new guide to participatory working 'People and Participation. How to put citizens at the heart of decision-making' (Involve, 2005) contains a compendium of different techniques, together with useful guidance on the methods and case studies. Methods covered include Appreciative Inquiry, Consensus Building / Dialogue, Democs (DEliberative Meetings of Citizens), Future Search, Participatory Appraisal, Participatory Strategic Planning, Planning for Real.


Departures
11:45 Platform 14
Glasgow Queen St
First ScotRail
Departures
11:45 Platform 17
First ScotRail
Departures
11:48 Platform 12
Bathgate
First ScotRail
Platform 14



Part 2: Chapter 6:

The Findings
Indicators

6. Indicators

This section summarises the findings of a review of existing indicators of sustainability and community well-being.

A framework for analysis was developed based on the work of Lawrence (1998) who introduces the concept of an indicator as a tool that helps to answer the question "How might we objectively know whether things are getting better or worse." In his analysis an indicator is a mechanism in a process of improving sustainability rather than merely a number. From this perspective the methodological soundness of the data gathered is an important factor, but so are questions such as: Who gets to analyse the data? How are the results communicated? How are responses formulated? Lawrence suggests a typology of indicators, categorising them as:

- Distinct indicators: Measuring one thing in isolation with no judgement as to whether the figures are good or bad. They may take the form of an index that allows comparison over time, but the emphasis is on the quality of the data.
- Comparative indicators: Measuring performance in comparison with other indictors in similar circumstances. These can take the form of 'league tables' and help to show where progress is being made and where performance has lagged. These measures can have the effect of encouraging mediocrity (sustaining first place can be difficult, while remaining mid-table might be 'good enough').
- Directional indicators: Measuring progress rather than absolutes. In these instances indicators are as much a policy tool as they are a measure. They set interim goals that help develop strategies leading to progress. Directional indicators may incorporate distinct indicators to measure action against previously set benchmarks or targets.

The wealth of material available on the use of indicators and the need to keep the research rooted in contemporary practice led the selection of three initial sets of indicators for review at the macro, meso and micro levels.

MACRO LEVEL INDICATORS: UK STRATEGY FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

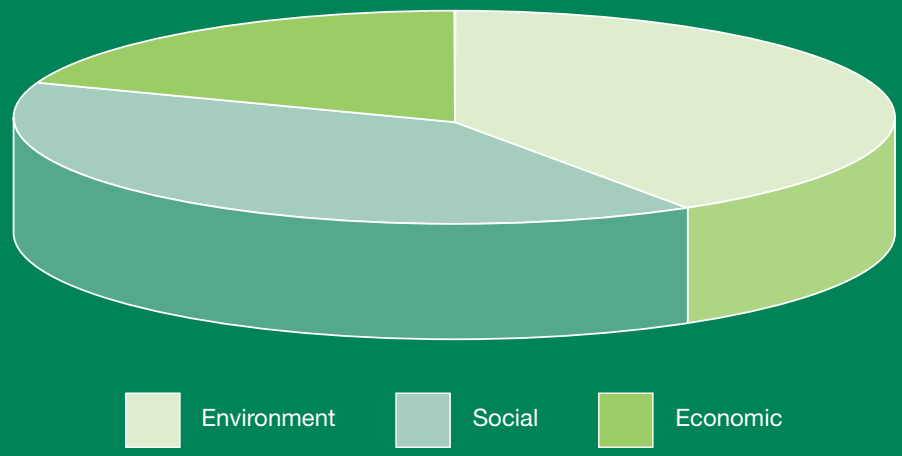
Over the past six years, the UK Government has recognised the importance of using indicators in a directional context – to gauge performance as well as to plan strategy. The 1999 report "A Better Quality of Life," outlined how the government would set about delivering sustainable development. It included 147 indicators and there is an implicit recognition in the current strategy of the need for a more manageable approach.

The Sustainable Development Commission, in its review of progress (April 2004), said that a report card for the 1999 strategy could be marked "shows promise but must try harder." The review included 20 areas in which further decisive action was needed. These have been incorporated into the new strategy (HM Government, 2005), which is based within an overall framework for UK sustainability (covering England and the Devolved Administrations).

The framework provides a vision for sustainable development to 2020 along with 20 indictors to monitor key issues on a UK-wide basis. These indicators are supplemented with indicators in individual strategies (for the UK, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales).

The 2005 UK strategy includes the 20 indicators from the framework and includes an additional 48 indicators which reflect priority issues. A full list of the indicators is included in Appendix A.

A simple breakdown of the 20 framework indicators (which reflect overall strategic direction) per aspect of sustainability (i.e. economic, social and environmental) reveals an even spread (seven environmental; seven social; and six economic). The environmental and economic targets are readily quantifiable. Measurement is straight forward, and generally targets have been established to facilitate improvements in performance. However, for two of the social indicators (on social justice and well-being) there is no indictor. An analysis per aspect of sustainability for all 68 strategy indicators is presented at Table 1.



Proportion of UK Sustainable Development Strategy Indicators Addressing Environment, Economic and Social Issues.

This reveals an emphasis on social and environmental over economic indicators. However, there are seven issues for which no indicators are given and these are spread between the environmental and social sectors. This illustrates the existence of established methodology and sources of data for economic indicators and the need for further work to develop approaches for assessing social and environmental aspects of sustainability at the macro level.

Each of the indicators in the strategy is referenced with an underpinning policy statement (including Public Service Agreements). These give insights on the place of the indicator in plans to make improvements in sustainability. In 22 of the 68 indicators there are links to targets for improvements and these are mainly in the social policy arena. This suggests an emerging social agenda for UK sustainable development strategy.

Little use is made of comparative indicators, and where these do appear they compare economic performance (e.g. on economic output). This suggests the lack of an internationally agreed format for sustainable development, particularly for social and environmental issues. The 1999 strategy committed the Government to developing an indicator of well-being. A first step down this road was taken in the Department for the Environment and the Regions' (Defra) 2001 survey of public attitudes to quality of life and the environment in England. This was taken further by the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit on life satisfaction in 2002. Since then the Economist's Intelligence Unit and the New Economics Foundation have provided new perspectives. In order to develop an understanding that draws on all of these, the Government makes a commitment in the current strategy to sponsoring a multidisciplinary research by the end of 2006. This could lead to the development of a set of well-being indicators that supports the overall framework as well as the separate strategies.

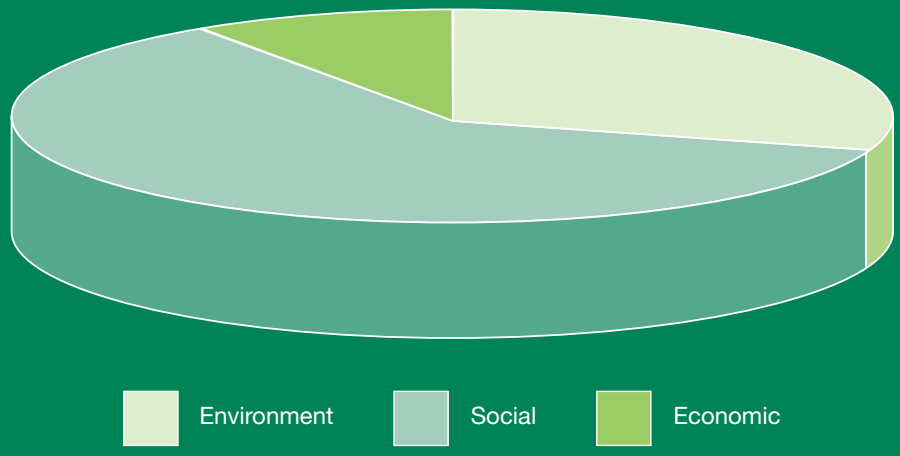
MESO LEVEL INDICATORS: THE AUDIT COMMISSION'S QUALITY OF LIFE (QOL) INDICATORS

An original set of indicators (see www.local-pi-library.gov.uk) was developed in 2001 based on the 1999 UK Sustainable Development Strategy, which provided a framework for local area quality of life reporting. The Audit Commission provided guidance to local authorities on how to collect and report against the original 38 indicators through a definitions manual. Approaches to collecting the data were varied (in terms of methods and sources used) and selective (to accentuate the positive aspects of performance). This experience led to a debate on whether reporting should become a statutory obligation. An alternative to regulation was presented when the current UK Sustainability Strategy provided the impetus for a Defra funded review of the use of local area indicators. The review started in 2004 and found that:

- The early experience, although patchy, did help explore issues and the practical challenges associated with some newly introduced indicators – especially in the areas of community involvement and participation.
- Quality of life indicators were an important tool in working towards sustainable development but they could not provide a complete picture of area based well-being. This led to the development of joint area reporting, which aimed to provide a 'joined up' picture of the factors affecting quality of life (e.g. to assess life chances of young people it might be necessary to combine reporting on schools results, youth services and vocational training rather than relying on a single indicator).
- Data for quality of life indicators should draw on nationally available information and be collected centrally by the Audit Commission, removing the obligation from local authorities (which remain responsible for collecting data and reporting on Best Value Reporting Indicators – the results of which must be independently verified).

The findings of the review and revised indicators were published in July 2005 (Audit Commission 2005) when the Audit Commission also planned to launch the Area Profiles website, to provide centrally collected and verified quality of life data for newly identified indicators for each local authority.

A full listing of the Audit Commission's 45 current QoL indicators is included in Appendix A. An analysis of these by sustainable development component is presented in Table 2. This reveals a greater focus on social and environmental issues. This may be a function of the focus of local authority interventions at the meso level or reflect a difference between the discourse of 'sustainable development' and that of 'quality of life'.

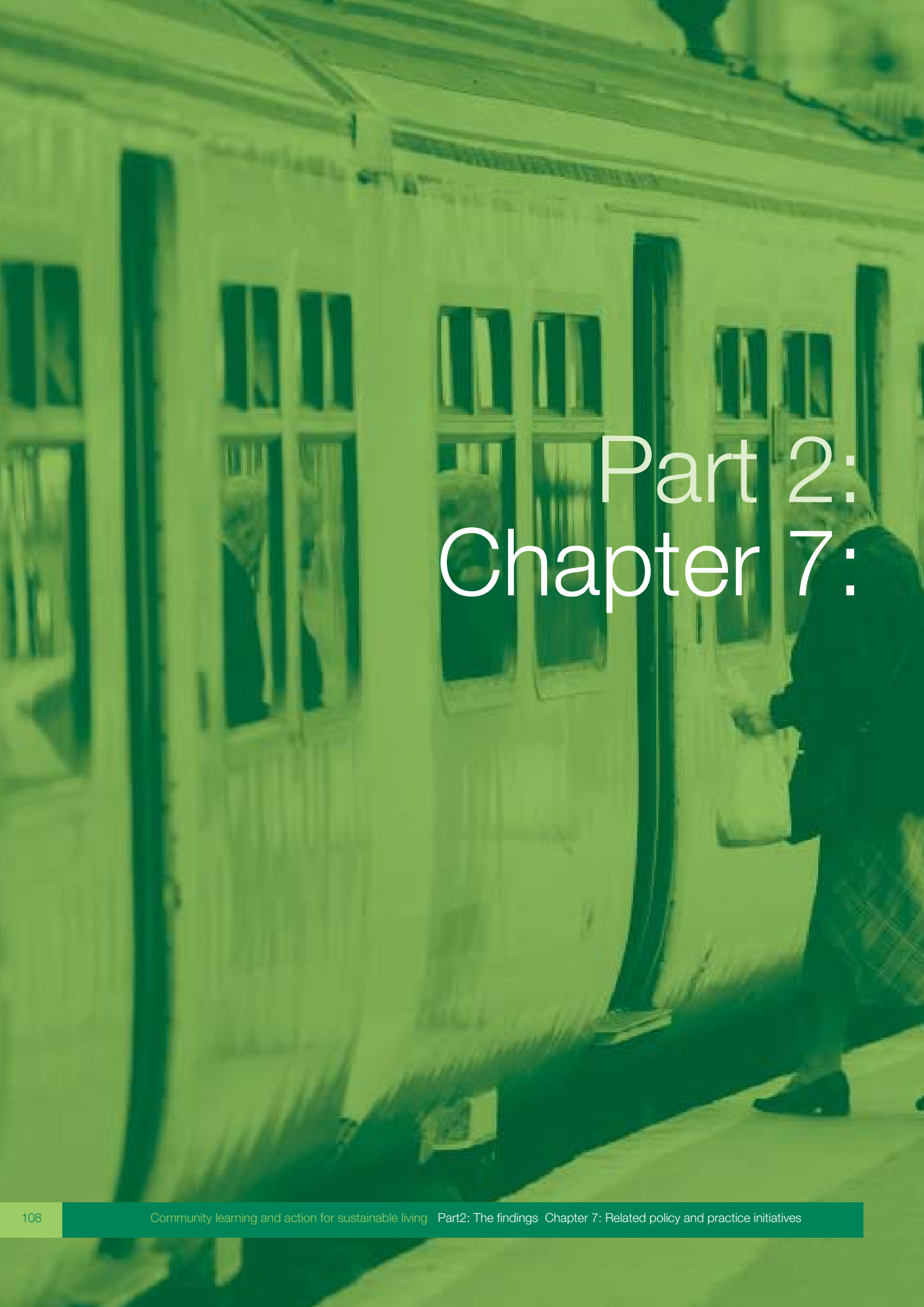


Proportion of Audit Commission Quality of Life Indicators Addressing Environment, Economic and Social Issues.

The indicators are not 'directional' because strategies for improvements in sustainability will vary between local authorities based on their particular policy priorities. They can be defined as being either quantitative or qualitative, with most falling into the former category. The qualitative indicators address mainly social issues and rely on data collected by surveys of public opinion, which require considerable investments in developing methodologies and collecting data.

MICRO LEVEL INDICATORS: THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION'S COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT INDICATORS.

The Community Development Foundation (CDF) has developed indicators, which have been fed into the Audit Commission's review of its QoL indicators. That review process has seen the CDF refine its indicators of community involvement and submit these under four of the Audit Commission's original QoL indicators. These indicators focus on measuring: empowerment; civil society; social cohesion; and volunteering at a neighbourhood level. These all focus on social policy issues and rely on local surveys to collect the data. Detailed methodological guidance is provided to help simplify and standardise the collection of what is mostly qualitative data. The indicators are discrete, but could provide the basis for benchmarks against which directional indicators could be developed at a later stage. A list of the CDF's indicators is included in Appendix A.



Part 2: Chapter 7:

The Findings
Related policy and practice initiatives

7. Related policy and practice intiatives

This section outlines some of the key current policy and practice initiatives of relevance to CLASL. This listing is by no means comprehensive, and is intended simply to begin to develop a resource that could prove useful as the project progresses.

SECURING THE FUTURE. UK GOVERNMENT SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2005

The new UK sustainable development strategy was published in March 2005, after lengthy and in-depth consultations. While the whole strategy obviously provides one of the main policy contexts for CLASL's work, there are several elements directly related to CLASL.

1. Behaviour change. "Behaviour changes will be needed to deliver sustainable development. However, attitude and behaviour change is a complex subject. Information alone does not lead to behaviour change or close the so-called 'attitude-behaviour gap'." A comprehensive behaviour change model for policy-making is introduced, which can be applied in all priority areas. One of the key elements of the new approach is seen to be the need to engage people close to home. The new Community Action 2020 – Together We Can programme (see below) is designed to support communities to work together to make the world more sustainable for themselves and future generations.

   The 'comprehensive behaviour change' model referred to above is a 'diamond' that links enabling, engagement, exemplification and encouragement.The approach is designed to evolve as attitudes and behaviours change over time – and to "create a package that is enough to break a habit and kick start change":

   Encourage
   - tax system;
   - expenditure – grants;
   - reward schemes;
   - recognition/social pressure – league tables;
   - penalties, fines and enforcement action.

   Enable
   - removal of barriers;
   - provision of information;
   - provision of facilities;
   - provision of viable alternatives;
   - education/training/skills development;
   - capacity.

Engage

- community action;
- co-production;
- deliberative forums;
- personal contacts/enthusiasts;
- media campaigns/opinion formers;
- use networks.

Exemplify

- leading by example;
- achieving consistency in policies.

In terms of specifics on behaviour change:

- a behaviour change forum across Government departments and other stakeholders is being established to evaluate and share what works best in practice;
- a website has been developed to share information and help people take forward the new sustainable development strategy (www.sustainable-development.gov.uk).

2. Key tools and approaches from the strategy, relevant to CLASL, are:
   i) Community Action 2020 – Together We Can: a new programme of support for community action on sustainable development, launched in 2005. The outline of this programme in the strategy stresses:
      - the centrality of citizens and communities, and says "We can learn and change our behaviour more effectively in groups";
      - links to the cross-government action plan to increase community engagement in solving public problems and improving people's quality of life (the main Together We can programme);
      - that Government will "re-invigorate community action on sustainable development by promoting new and existing opportunities to get involved in action of this kind. It will set out what is to be done to enable, encourage, engage and exemplify community action to increase sustainability".
      - the Community Action 2020 – Together We can version of the 'diamond', which contains the following elements:

        Encourage:

        • Inspire, recognise and celebrate successful community action on sustainable development.

        • Promote examples of successful community action across the country to help communities inspire one another.

Enable:

- Strengthen the capacity of Community Mentors and Community Development Workers to support community action on sustainable development.
- Increase learning opportunities and training on sustainable development.
- Improve access to seedcorn funding to community projects on sustainable development.
- Forge links with the schools citizenship and sustainable development syllabuses.
- Improve information of funding availability.

Engage:

- Provide opportunities for community involvement in Sustainable Community Strategies and local action plans such as parish plans, neighbourhood plans, housing and planning policies.
- Improve the promotion of volunteering opportunities on sustainable development.
- Build links to improve opportunities for action through existing initiatives.

Exemplify:

- Lead by example with clear and consistent messages from central government on community empowerment and sustainable development through: a vision for sustainable communities (Chapter 6 of the strategy); support from d epartments for employee volunteering schemes.

ii) The plan is for Community Action 2020 – Together We Can to "enable community development practitioners and mentors to be better equipped to support communities". The Government will work with key stakeholders in the community sector to achieve this by:

- improving access to information, advice, materials, community packs, web portals and training which will all help communities take action on sustainable development;
- increasing opportunities for community workers and communities to learn about sustainable development;
- including sustainable development/sustainable communities in National Occupational Standards and accredited units which set out the skills and principles of practice for community development work (including possibly developing an additional accredited unit);
- increasing opportunities for individuals within communities to volunteer in sustainable development activity.

iii) Government will also:

- promote the exchange of information and experience between successful community projects and other communities who want to learn through training and web-based dissemination of good practice;
- engage people in planning for the future of their local neighbourhoods or parishes and influencing the delivery of services in their area;
- work in partnership with the voluntary and community sectors (through the principles of the Compact).

3. **Communications and engagement,** including working with the Roundtable on Sustainable Consumption to run a deliberative forum in 2006. This would take the form of a two to three day discussion between 100 – 200 people representative of the community as a whole.

4. **Incentives,** e.g. subsidies, voluntary initiatives, trading schemes or taxes.

5. **Education.** Formal education in schools, higher education and professional development (in the college and university sectors). There is also mention of plans to "enhance the skills of community groups in sustainable development to be able to participate in discussions with local Government and leaders of Local Strategic Partnerships".

In terms of 'Creating Sustainable Communities' (Chapter 6), the "aim is to create sustainable communities in England that embody the principles of sustainable development at the local level:

- balancing and integrating the social, economic and environmental components of their community;
- meeting the needs of existing and future generations, and
- respecting the needs of other communities in the wider region or internationally to make their communities sustainable.

"Sustainable communities are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe, inclusive, well-planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all.

Sustainable communities should be:

- **Active, inclusive and safe** – fair, tolerant and cohesive with a strong local culture and other shared community activities
- **Well run** – with effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership
- **Environmentally sensitive** – providing places for people to live that are considerate of the environment
- **Well designed and built –** featuring a quality built and natural environment
- **Well connected –** with good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services
- **Thriving –** with a flourishing and diverse local economy
- **Well served –** with public, private, community and voluntary services that are appropriate to people's needs and accessible to all
- **Fair for everyone –** including those in other communities, now and in the future."

There is a strong emphasis on community participation: “in all cases we aim to give people more control over decisions that affect them, focus on delivering solutions to locally identified problems, and work in partnership to tackle social, economic and environmental issues” (p120).

There is a particular focus on:

- Better neighbourhoods, especially through the Cleaner Safer Greener programme on public spaces and local environmental quality (through local authorities but with community involvement);
- Community 2020 – Together We Can, Groundwork and Living Spaces, extended schools, sustainable transport, Home Zones, etc.;
- Housing (Homes for All);
- Community engagement, through
  - Together We Can, and
  - Neighbourhood ‘arrangements’ to enable better public engagement through a capacity building programme for communities (Firm Foundations), and local planning (Local Development Frameworks, Sustainable Community Strategies, and Local Area Agreements) which include access to information held by public authorities (especially environmental information, with the Environment Agency);
- The Audit Commission’s new Quality of Life Indicators (launched August 2005).

ACADEMY FOR SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

The Academy for Sustainable Communities has been based in Leeds (starting in April 2005). When fully operational, the Academy will work with a network of regional centres of excellence (themselves currently being established) and others "to meet the challenges of delivery skills for sustainable communities". 'Sustainable communities' here refers specifically to the ODPM sustainable communities programme.

The Academy was set up as a result of the Egan Review of Skills for Sustainable Communities (ODPM, 2004). At the launch of the Egan Skills Review report (April 2004), John Prescott said:

> "We need to learn from what works best to build on this progress in all our towns and cities... We need a cultural change in professional skills and training, as Egan acknowledges. To do this, all occupations involved in delivering sustainable communities will need to work together. Further progress will depend on changing everyone's attitude, behaviour and knowledge."

Also at the launch, Sir John Egan said:

> "To turn it around, we need a new approach, new skills, and new ways of working for everyone involved. We need a common goal, a clear understanding of the sort of communities we are trying to achieve, strong and empowered leadership at local level that will drive a vision forward in conjunction with all key partners, efficient, transparent processes for delivery, and above all, skilled committed individuals working together to make people's priorities a reality."

> "We firmly believe that attempting to upskill professionals in isolation will not produce the outcomes we are seeking. Instead success will depend on changing the attitude, behaviour and knowledge of everyone involved. We want to see planners interacting with highways engineers, environmental officers teaming up urban designers, and developers engaging with community groups. To do this, we will need cultural change in professional skills and training."

The Egan report identified over 100 or so occupations that would be involved, but the "core occupations" are "built environment professionals – planners, architects, urban designers, etc. – and decision-makers and influencers – staff from local, regional and central government, developers and investors, staff from voluntary and community associations".

The Egan report is quite clear about 'the way forward', which says that the key focus has to be:

- encouraging entrants into core occupations, with the Academy lobbying to increase opportunities;
- gateway education, which is about how formal training at undergraduate and postgraduate levels for all built environment professional (particularly) should include the generic skills identified by Egan;
- professional development, which is to involve some "classroom training", but "more than 80 per cent of generic skills development must be honed, practised and enhanced by working in a variety of projects, in a variety of jobs, within multi-disciplinary teams, in the public and private sectors with people who already demonstrate some or all of the skills", and proactive approaches to on the job learning (e.g. secondments to successful teams, existing CPD, etc. (p69 – 70 of main Egan report);

- **continuous improvement and review**, including benchmarking and assessment;
- **skills management** for associated occupations and the wider public including working across professions, and access to information on sustainable communities and examples of best practice (p72);
- **training for elected members.**

In addition to these particular 'ways forward', the Academy (called the National Centre for Sustainable Community Skills in the Egan report) is supposed to "promote collaborative working through both physical and virtual networks" (p78), and "coaching" (p79). The whole focus is on 'generic' skills, which are seen as missing from current training and practice, and not technical skills. Egan identifies what are described as the "Generic skills, behaviour and knowledge considered essential for delivering sustainable communities" (p56 – 57), as outlined in the following table. Key topics for the Academy include "applications of sustainable development principles in real projects and places". See www.ascskills.org.uk

SKILLS	BEHAVIOURS Ways of acting	BEHAVIOURS Ways of acting	KNOWLEDGE OF:
Inclusive visioning	Creativity	Entrepreneurial	The seven sustainable community components and how they interact
Project management	Strategic thinking	Can-do mentality	Sustainable development including best environmental practice
Leadership	Open to change	Cooperation	Housing and built environment
Breakthrough thinking/brokerage	Awareness of limitations	Able to seek help	Transport and connectivity
Team/partnership working within and between teams, based on shared sense of purpose	Challenging assumptions	Humility	Wider national and local economy
Making it happen given constraints	Flexible	Committed to making it happen	Governance, citizenship and processes associated with local democracy
Process management/ change management	Clear	Respect for diversity and equal opportunity	Spatial planning and master planning
Financial management and appraisal	Decisive	Able to take action	Urban design and urban coding Attracting financial capital
Stakeholder management – including ability to work with local residents and residents/ community groups	Respect for and awareness of the contribution of other professionals	Having a shared sense of purpose	
Analysis, decision-making, evaluation, learning from mistakes			
Communication – including intelligent listening to the community, and promotion of development solutions Conflict resolution Customer awareness and how to secure feedback			

CLEANER SAFER GREENER PROGRAMME

ODPM have been promoting the Cleaner Safer Greener programme (ODPM, 2005b) to improve public spaces and local environmental quality (e.g. litter and graffiti). The overall programme offers multiple resources to support community activities on public space including community enablers working through Groundwork, CABE professional advice and guides. ODPM have more recently been focusing on encouraging the development of local forums and partnerships between local residents and local authorities (and housing associations). Here, neighbourhood management has gone beyond its origins in neighbourhood renewal and moved into broader public service improvement and citizen engagement. (Visit www.odpm.gov.uk/ and click on 'Urban policy' then 'Cleaner safer greener communities'.)

MIT'S FAB LABS

These new initiatives are about personal, domestic (in home) fabrication using computer technology to share open source designs and manufacturing software in small centres of construction using high tech equipment. Funded by MIT (the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, US), the labs so far have been used mainly to teach kids to use technology and to give adults a chance to try out new designs for business ideas. For CLASL, there is relevance to sustainability in that the labs are about high tech local production to meet local (even individual) needs, they can produce low impact products, and are being used by communities to bring together diverse expertise to solve local problems (e.g. farmers and engineers collaboratively working in the lab in Norway to build a wireless radio network to track sheep and reindeer; and in Ghana to find a cheap way to build large solar energy collectors). For more information, visit www.boston.com/news/globe/ideas/articles2005/01/30/how_to_make_almost_anything/

DEMOS

Demos is running a range of programmes on community activity (see Section 4, 'Ideas from theory'). In addition, they have been running a project based on the concept that we live in a creative age – that competitiveness, quality of life and wealth have become increasingly determined by our capacity to innovate and be creative. They argue that the next challenge for the creative age is to connect what has become a metropolitan creative establishment with the rest of society – over half of whom live in the suburbs not the urban core. They have focused on the borough of Kingston in Surrey, and have wanted to challenge suburban stereotypes from the 1970s (e.g. as portrayed in TV programmes such as "The Good Life" and "Keeping Up Appearances") and look at how the new patterns of living, working, place-making and ideas generation can shape the role and potential contribution of suburbia. who pursue a hobby or interest to a professional standard (e.g. eco-self-sufficiency) and are seen as an innovatory force to be reckoned with. Then there are the baby-boomers who are reaching ages of early retirement but are active and enormously involved in local organisations and activities.

An event was held in April 2005, supported by Kingston Council, which brought together about 50 people to discuss Kingston, creativity and the future. The event identified six categories of ideas that they thought were worth exploring further:

- public life: e.g. a cafe, bar, music and arts culture that is much more visible in the streets and other shared spaces, rather than activity happening behind closed doors;
- environment and transport: e.g. better public transport, cycling and walking; allotments, organic market gardening and community gardens; innovative energy e.g. solar panels, micro-renewable power generators for new houses and use of renewables by public bodies (including wind and water);

- **economy:** e.g. a walk-in community 'tool shed'/workshop for people who don't have space to pursue creative ideas at home; networks between local freelancers, small businesses, etc.; links to the university and colleges; micro-level creative activity that can 'trickle-up' across the borough;
- **architecture:** e.g. stunning new innovative and iconic (but low rise) buildings in the centre; bridges across the river;
- **democracy and participation:** e.g. appoint a philosopher in residence; get more local people involved in local activities outside home and work; more e-democracy to engage people in real debates triggering initiatives;
- **values:** e.g. toleration and encouragement of eccentricity and no longer hiding creativity behind closed doors.

The report of the April meeting identifies the need for 'animators' to work with local people to make change happen. It also suggests that Kingston could be a site for testing many of these ideas.

For CLASL there are many connections including the focus on suburbia and the vast middle 'class' of society; this work being based in Surrey; the focus on collective activity and networking; and thinking about a different type of future for individuals and society. There is also potential to build on the six categories of ideas identified here. For further information, contact: Melissa.mean@demos.co.uk. Demos, London.

ONE MILLION SUSTAINABLE HOMES (OMSH), WWF-UK

OMSH has campaigned for the development of one million sustainable homes, mainly working on national policy issues following stakeholder consultations and meetings that identified key barriers to the development of new sustainable homes, and finding ways to overcome those barriers.

OMSH has also supported the development of 'One Planet Living' communities in the UK and internationally (see below), building on the success of BedZED (Beddington Zero [Fossil] Emission Development) in the London Borough of Sutton. One Planet Living (OPL) is establishing five OPL communities in Europe, USA, China, South Africa and Australia. In the UK (and the rest of Europe), OPL has calculated that we are consuming and polluting at a rate that requires three planets to meet our needs; in the USA it is five planets.

The goals of OPL are:

- To build a worldwide network of One Planet Living Communities to demonstrate One Planet Living in Action.
- To establish One Planet Living Centres in each OPL community as a focus for education.
- To promote the imperative for One Planet Living and its guiding principles to catalyse change with government, business and individuals.

OPL guiding principles are:

- Zero carbon
- Zero waste
- Sustainable transport
- Sustainable materials
- Local and sustainable food
- Sustainable water
- Natural habitats and wildlife
- Culture and heritage
- Equity and fair trade
- Health and happiness.

OMSH supports the BRE (Building Research Establishment) EcoHomes 'Very Good' and 'Excellent' standards as a good measure of new and refurbished homes that have significantly less impact on the environment in terms of energy, transport, pollution, materials, water, ecology and land use, health and well-being. WWF is a member of the steering group overseeing the development of new EcoHomes standards for existing homes and minor refurbishment.

The BRE has developed a Sustainability Checklist for Developments that complements the EcoHomes standard and also considers the wider impacts of development such as the provision of local employment and facilities, the impact of infrastructure, and community engagement. A region-specific checklist has been developed for the South East England region, by the BRE in partnership with SEEDA (South East England Development Agency). The EcoHomes standard and the South East sustainability checklist could provide useful frameworks for monitoring change over time. In addition, the OPL guiding principles may be a useful framework for identifying the key issues for our three communities.

For further information on OMSH, visit www.org.uk/sustainablehomes/. To view the South England sustainability checklist for development see www.sustainability-checklist.org.uk

CENTRE FOR SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION, SHEFFIELD HALLAM UNIVERSITY

The main focus of the Centre's work is on household product durability, and the Centre does a lot of research on life cycle analysis, consumer behaviour and product design. The head of the Centre, Dr Tim Cooper, is well-known to the CLASL team and may be a useful contributor to the National Advisory Group.

For further information, contact Dr Tim Cooper, Centre for Sustainable Consumption, Sheffield Hallam University, Howard Street, Sheffield S1 1WB. Tel: 0114 225 4838; fax 0114 225 3343. Email t.h.cooper@shu.ac.uk
For more on the ESRC network on product life spans visit http://extra.shu.ac.uk/productlife/

DESIGN EDUCATION AT KINGSTON UNIVERSITY AND SURREY INSTITUTE

Faculty of Design, Kingston University

A sustainable design research cluster was set up in the Faculty by Nigel Ordish (then head of 3D design). There are currently two main initiatives that may be relevant to work under CLASL:

1. Creative Resource is an AHRB (Arts and Humanities Research Board) funded project (£230,000 over three years) led by Jakki Dehn, Senior Lecturer in Product and Furniture Design and Director of Creative Resource. The project aims to investigate the aesthetic, economic and manufacturing potential of materials made from waste, from a design perspective. The project started in November 2003 and is set to run for three years, the primary outcome being a national and international travelling exhibition featuring case studies from designers and manufacturers from across the world. The exhibition is to be launched in 2006, accompanied by a Creative Resource website of further information and related links. Example past student product and furniture design projects at Kingston include:

   - designing kitchens with architect Bill Dunster for the BedZED development;
   - interdisciplinary design and art for St George's Hospital.

   Some potential future collaboration has been identified and preliminary discussions have been held with Jakki Dehn. Possible future projects with student groups could involve:

   - staged presentations to representative community groups and local SMEs as a method of encouraging discussion, feedback and input to selecting ideas to take forward. This approach would promote a wider, all-round understanding of 'inclusive design, encourage local links and understanding of local impact through sustainable production;
   - development of a local version of Creative Resource exhibition to tour schools and public venues;
   - product design with local coppice, e.g. the design of coppice based modules which enable customised garden fencing, gates and furniture, distributed through collaborating with a major DIY retailer to offer a local product section (re. B&Q's charcoal initiative);
   - design of local transport systems and related products, from designing the interface to a car share system to cycle ways, lighting and secure racks.

2. Sustainable Design Research Centre. Directed by Anne Chick, Reader in Sustainable Design, the centre links to and supports a range of research in the Faculty including:

   - The Creative Resource unit (see above);
   - Colour and the Environment: a Westfocus project to examine the effect of colour on the environment (Hilary Dalke, Researcher, School of Design);
   - Recycling by Design: a project with London Remade which includes brand work for recycled products and supplying specifier's resource information. The centre is part of an academic network of related research centres in West London and Surrey.

The Sustainable Design Research Centre in the Faculty was recently contacted by Green-Works to explore the potential for collaborative research projects. Green-Works provides recycled furniture to schools, charities, community groups and start-up businesses, and Michael Dye (design consultant and Visiting Lecturer in Product and Furniture Design) is one of the leading contributors of design research through practice in the Faculty. Discussions are on-going, but potential projects could include:

- the development of models for the design and production of products which meet local needs using reclaimed materials from unwanted furniture;
- examples of customisation of unwanted furniture to meet new needs.WWF

There are two other centres at Kingston University, outside the Faculty of Design, that may be relevant to CLASL:

1. The Centre for Sustainable Communities Achieved Through Integrated Professional Education (C-SCAIPE). Directed by Professor Sarah Sayce, Head of the School of Surveying, this recent initiative is one of 74 new Centres for Excellence in Teaching and Learning (CETLs) to be funded by HEFCE. Awarded £1.4 million in capital funding and a further £350,000 per year for the next five years, C-SCAIPE will be the only CETL focused on the built environment, to enable graduates from Kingston studying on professional courses to develop a deeper understanding of sustainable communities.

2. Centre for Stakeholding and Sustainable Enterprise (CSSE). Directed by Charles Jackson, Visiting Professor School of Business, the centre's aim is to promote sustainable development in business through the successful engagement of stakeholders. The CSSE operates as a self-funding consultancy serving clients in both the private and public sector.

CENTRE FOR SUSTAINABLE DESIGN

Surrey Institute of Art and Design, University College.

Directed by Professor Martin Charter, the Centre offers training, research and consultancy services. Based within the Faculty of Design, the Centre's role is to facilitate discussion and research into eco-design and broader sustainability issues in product and service development.

The Centre works closely with business and government nationally and internationally, and recent projects include:

- DTI missions to Japan, China, Hong Kong and Taiwan to explore 'State of the Art' in eco- design;
- sustainable consumption projects for the Ministry of Economy of Trade & Industry (Japan) examining environmental product policy and marketing;
- membership of a European Commission consortium researching current and future developments in sustainable products and services;
- managing the South-East Environmental Business Association (Seeba) network which focuses on eco-design and recycling in the electronics sector.

UNIVERSITY OF SURREY

Digital World Research Centre

Based in the School of Human Sciences, the centre investigates the relationships between people, society and digital technologies, bringing together researchers from all branches of social sciences to undertake multidisciplinary academic and commercial projects into the social shaping of technology. Projects range from work with UK Research Councils and the European Union, to projects for mobile phone operators and blue-chip technology companies, including issues such as how people communicate, how they work and play, and how they shop.

Centre for Environmental Strategy

Directed by Professor Roland Clift, School of Engineering, research in the centre is mainly clustered around two inter-related areas:

1. Environmental Systems Analysis where rigorous analytic techniques are applied to the assessment of environmental performance, aiming to provide a scientific basis for sustainable development practices and policies;

2. Environmental Policy and Risk Management which addresses a variety of social, economic and policy aspects of sustainable development.

Specific research groups or themes include: ecological economics and ethics, environmental management and policy-making, environmental systems analysis, sustainable energy and development of educational software.

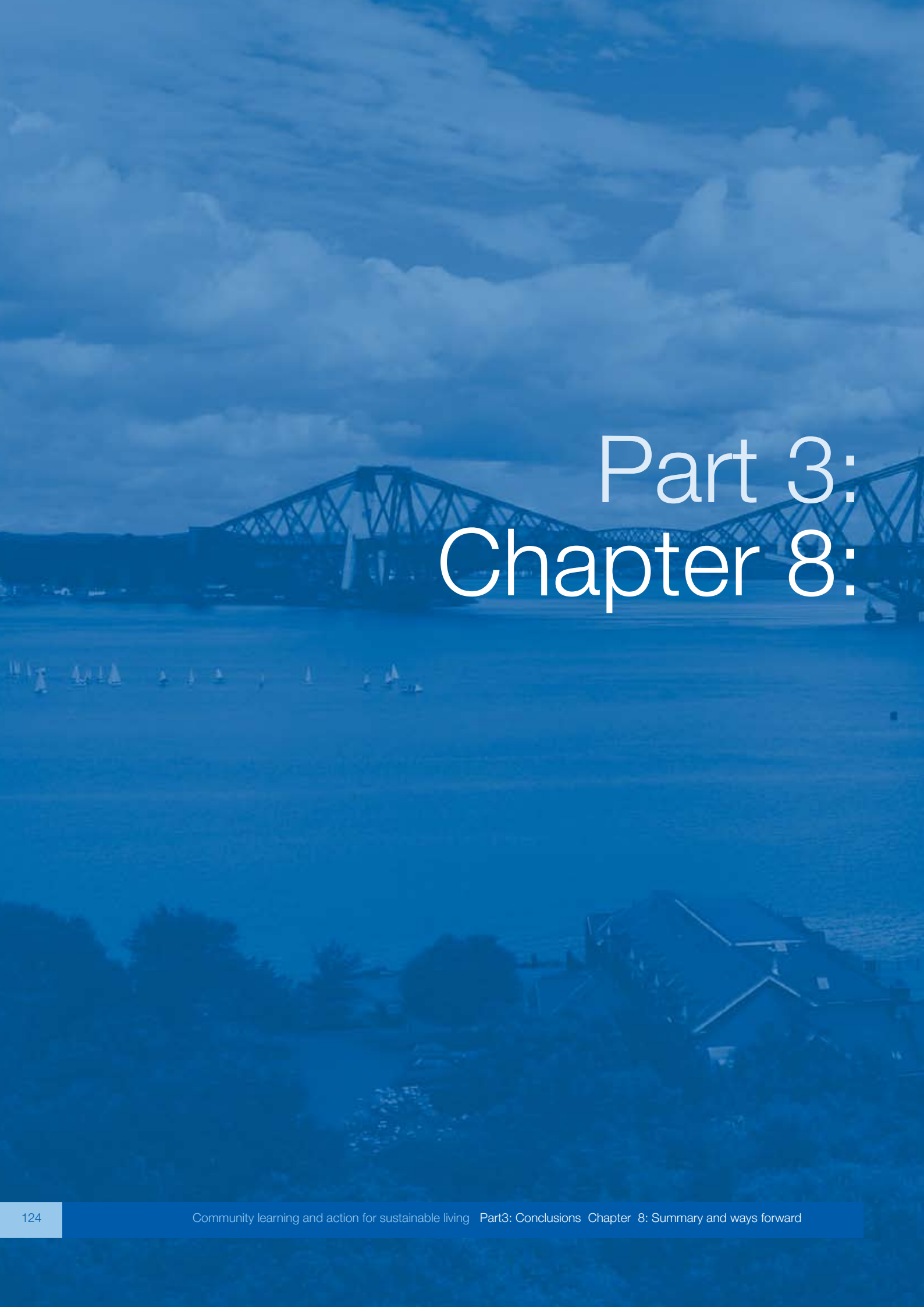
The Ecological Economics and Ethics Research Group

The group addresses the complex interplay between economics, human welfare and the environment. Their research work, which has contributed substantially to national and international debates on sustainable consumption, includes economic analyses of consumption patterns and social-psychological explorations of consumer behaviour. Research projects include:

- Towards a Social Psychology of Sustainable Consumption. Led by Tim Jackson, Research Fellow (ESRC Sustainable Technologies Programme) the project aims to:
    - review different theories of consumer behaviour
    - identify key resonances and dissonances between competing theories
    - draw out key lessons for sustainable consumption policy.

  The ultimate project aim is to explore the potential for a new synthesis: a coherent picture of consumer behaviour, capable of reflecting the complexity of human motivations and yet compatible with sustainable development.

  Initial work has focused on reviewing literature on theories of consumer behaviour (an Earthscan reader on sustainable consumption is in preparation). The fellowship has also engaged extensively with policy-makers and, in particular, has provided key inputs to the Sustainable Development Commission and to the UK Government Strategy for Sustainable Consumption and Production.



Part 3:
Chapter 8:

Conclusions Summary and ways forward

8. Summary and ways forward

OVERALL COMMENTS ON FINDINGS

- There is much data directly relevant to the CLASL project on the issues of behaviour and attitude change generally, on behaviour and attitude change towards more sustainable living, and on sustainable consumption. Policy and practice are developing, and guidance is being developed. There is also significant data on 'what works' in terms of community involvement, usually in specific fields such as regeneration.
- The research reported on here is not a comprehensive review of the field but rather a summary of what seems to be the most relevant data to the design and evaluation of the CLASL project.
- This research does not cover sustainable production; rather, it focuses on sustainable consumption and how behaviour change can affect sustainable living. The data on sustainable production tends to focus on larger scale design and manufacturing and, where there is directly relevant material, it has been included. There is also some work on local production of goods and services (e.g. food growing and delivery of environmental services).
- There are innumerable indicator sets related to sustainability, produced by government and a wide range of other local, regional, national and international agencies. These indicators are almost all for use on a voluntary basis (i.e. not statutory), and are regularly changed. For example, new Quality of Life indicators from the Audit Commission, and the review of Community Development Foundation's indicators of community involvement (which influenced the Audit Commission set), were both published during the course of the research.
- The research on sustainable consumption, and behaviour change (including influencing consumption patterns), is mainly academic and theoretical, with very few 'popularist' books on 'what works' (although there are exceptions, e.g. The Tipping Point Gladwell 2001). A lot of the work is based on social and psychological theory about human behaviour.
- There are very few 'lived examples' of where attempts have been made to change attitudes and behaviours towards sustainable living; the case studies in the National Consumer Council's 16 Pain-Free Ways to Help Save the Planet is one of the exceptions.
- There are more practical examples related to 'learning' and community involvement, where theory draws much more on practice.
- There is a remarkable consensus among research sources, and very clear and repeated messages. The summary findings reported here therefore seem largely accepted across the board.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THEORY

Six linked themes emerge from this research, each of which is covered in more detail below:

1. There is significant public awareness of environmental sustainability.
2. The problem for people is not lack of information.
3. Behaviour change is linked to people's underlying values and attitudes.
4. The concept of 'environmental citizenship' is key to future work in this area.
5. 'Social learning' is an important factor in encouraging behaviour and value change.
6. Indicators are moving from being 'discrete' single measures to beiing part of a process of creating a more holistic picture of improvements and negative change.

1. Public awareness of environmental sustainability

Many people are well aware of environmental sustainability issues, and recognise the responsibilities they have for environmental problems, even in low income and disadvantaged areas. The priority in encouraging behaviour change should not therefore be on raising awareness, but should be on the following (e.g. London School of Economics and the universities of Bath and Lancaster in ESRC 2004):

- Practical support is needed for sustainable behaviour to take place, to overcome the many barriers that exist to prevent sustainable behaviour even where people want to change.
- Support needs to be tailored and geared to particular audiences and localities. Blanket information about 'sustainable behaviour' is not helpful.
- Clear links need to be made between community and individual change towards sustainable behaviour and wider change in other sectors. Business and government are perceived to be making things worse and people feel that there is no point in changing their own (relatively small-scale) behaviour if government and business continue with 'business as usual'.
- A critical mass of people needs to be involved in sustainable living to move it into the mainstream.
- There is little knowledge about how behaviour change towards sustainability works in practice. There needs to be a greater exploration of new approaches, good assessments of what works, lesson learning from experience and communication of the lessons to others, so that sustainable living in practice becomes better understood by a wider range of people.

2. Lack of information is not the problem

The problem of supporting behaviour change towards more sustainable lifestyles is not a result of simple lack of information. The conventional information deficit model AIDA (Awareness, Interest, Desire, Action) assumes that there is a linear progression from the provision of appropriate information (awareness-raising) to new actions. This has been found not to work in relation to sustainability (e.g. Collins et al 2003; Owens in ESRC 2004) for the following reasons:

- People **don't trust the messenger or the message** – scientific 'facts' do not convince people of the need for change and people don't always trust the institutions (especially government) that are pushing the messages, resulting in no belief that change is necessary.
- There is a **value-action gap** (sometimes called the attitude-behaviour gap) where people know that there is a problem (they have received the information) and they know that they should do something about it, but they don't take any action.
- People don't have the **time or resources** to do it, even if they feel they should, and know what to do. This can be a particular barrier if they are in the habit of doing things in a certain way, and making any change is too demanding.
- People **don't think that what they do will make any difference**, and they therefore feel it not worth making the effort. Information can help behaviour change if it is available in the right forms at the right time, but the research suggests that, alone, information is not a sufficient incentive to inspire or encourage people to change.

3. Behaviour change alone does not 'stick'

Individual behaviour is based on individual values and attitudes, which are shaped by collective and social norms and expectations, habits and situations (e.g. Jackson 2005). Beyond that, and more practically, people's actions and behaviours are largely based on what they have always done, and they rarely question or think about those behaviours.

Changes in particular actions can be achieved by direct interventions such as taxes and interventions, but it is also recognised that this doesn't represent long term behaviour change as people tend to revert to their old behaviours as soon as the tax or incentive is changed or removed (e.g. Shove in ESRC 2004). One well-known example is road pricing or congestion charges, which seems to change short-term behaviour but not necessarily long-term attitudes to travelling by car.

Rather than focusing purely on individual behaviour change, the research suggests that the best way to encourage broader social changes in behaviour is by working through groups and communities where 'good' behaviour can be encouraged by social pressure and 'bad' behaviour is discouraged (e.g. Gough and Scott, Bath University, and Foster and Grove-White, Lancaster University in ESRC 2004). This 'social learning' from peers and role models is generally seen to build on people's altruistic and self-interested motives simultaneously, which is seen as much more effective than appealing to altruistic motives alone.

Social learning happens through social experience and social conversations about problems, leading to those involved questioning (and sometimes changing) their values, expectations and motivations. The use of deliberative processes for working with groups can encourage these social conversations and, in turn, these conversations can lead to a 'discursive consciousness', which is essentially a sense of responsibility and questioning that enables people to question and go beyond their normal habits and their everyday, practical thinking.

4. Environmental citizenship

Environmental citizenship is about formalising environmental rights and responsibilities as part of the broader concept of citizenship (e.g. Dobson 2003; Dobson 2004; Bell 2003); citizenship in general is about individual moral responsibilities for the common good (Jones and Gaventa 2002), alongside basic human rights. In terms of sustainable development, the common good is often understood as relating to ensuring that current and future generations have access to the resources they need to meet their needs (referring back to the definition of sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs", in WCED 1987).

Environmental citizenship has become a crucial idea in moving towards sustainable living because environmental citizens are seen as being committed in the long term to the principles of 'good' behaviour and not just what is currently practical. Such environmental citizenship is therefore developed not just through practical activity but also through group learning that reinforces the 'good' behaviour in a social setting (e.g. Merrifield 2001).

Distinctions can be drawn between people acting as consumers or citizens: consumers are users of goods and services, whereas citizens act on behalf of the common good. It is likely that people will act as consumers and citizens at different times and in different circumstances, and both will be needed for sustainable living.

5. Social learning in behaviour and value change

Values can change through social learning as people learn from each other (e.g. Jackson 2005; Holdsworth 2005). Although there are different forms of social learning, there is often a major emphasis on learning through action: people working together to agree priorities, share responsibility for action, reflect on their experiences together and thus turn the experience into expertise that they can use in the future.

The key point about social learning is that it takes place in 'communities', either geographical or defined in some other way. However, the research clearly suggests that social learning cannot be done at a community level alone; there have to be links to other levels or the lessons cannot be translated into mainstream organisations. There is a need for 'system building agents' (Smith 2005) who work between the grassroots and the mainstream, facilitating grassroots action by ensuring top-down support, and translating lessons both ways so that learning is continuous and widely shared.

Social learning is needed partly to build the social intelligence necessary for people to find their own answers to the problems they face (e.g. Gough and Scott, Bath University, and Foster and Grove-White, Lancaster University in ESRC 2004). Providing information alone may assist with solving a problem at a specific point in time, but as time moves on and the problem changes, the information is no longer valid and the capacity to search and act upon new information has not been built. Social learning that builds social intelligence develops people's capacity to deal with new problems as they arise and is therefore likely to always be an essential element of sustainable living.

6. Moving towards holistic indicators

This review has identified that indicators can work well where there is a framework that provides an overall strategic vision that can provide the context for the indicators and can make it clear that they have a part to play in improving performance for sustainability. It has also traced the development of sustainability indicators, showing how early initiatives aimed to use discrete indicators to build up a comprehensive picture of sustainability. However more recent approaches have emphasised the need for the measurement of change to be manageable as much as it should seek to be complete (e.g. the reduction in the numbers of UK Sustainable Development Strategy indicators from 147 to 68). This is turn has led to the development of approaches (e.g. ecological footprints and joint area reporting) that combine indicators to provide a more holistic assessment than could be provided by discrete indicators. Other approaches aim more explicitly to link technical 'top down' development of indicators with a 'bottom up' process driven by public participation (such as Strategic Sustainability Appraisal, Bell and Morse, 2003).

This review has revealed an initial focus in the development of sustainability indicators on economic and environmental issues, but early indicators were less clear on the place of social issues or methods of data collection. This issue remains relevant for current practice. The Community Development Foundation's indicators (Humm et al, 2005) emphasise the importance of collecting and analysing social/community data at a neighbourhood level, and links can then be made to meso and macro level indicators. However the emphasis that 'higher level' processes place on standardised methods and verified results place them at odds with processes that seek to place local people in control.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON METHODS

A range of methods has been reviewed, and the most obviously relevant methods described in summary, with some of the main implications for the CLASL project identified.

There is a vast array of methods for working with local communities, ranging from broad approaches such as community development, to specific methods for processes at different levels of involvement (e.g. citizens juries where deliberative methods are sought).

In general terms, the choice of methods is only part of the design of any participatory process. The key factors in deciding on the overall design are (Involve, 2005):

Purpose + process + context = outcome

Each of these contributes to the choice of specific methods and affects the outcomes. Both the overall purpose of the work must be clear (what are we trying to achieve here?) and the overall design for the process (overall approach) must be clear, and a good understanding of the specific context for the work is needed.

When these are clear, methods can be chosen, taking into account the following parameters:

- **activities** to be undertaken;
- **types of outcomes sought** (capacity building, physical projects etc);
- **number of participants** sought (in each community and more widely);
- **status of participants** (e.g. representatives of community, self-selected);
- **resources** available (funding, staff, volunteers, etc.);
- **length of process** (overall timetable; timing for specific activities);
- **stage of the process** (beginning, middle, end);
- **level of participation** sought (consultation to support for community-led action);
- **context of the initiative** (history of involvement in the area, past successes and failures, level of expertise in the group, socio-economic background of the group/community, etc.).

WAYS FORWARD

The detailed design for the CLASL project continues to be developed, but discussions based on this review suggest that there are six elements that need to be considered throughout, as outlined below.

1. Learning is central

Three aspects of social learning are key to the approach:

1.1. Action learning, which is about learning by doing and explicitly reflecting together as a group on experience. Action learning is an approach to learning that recognises that there are different types of knowledge and that some issues are problems with no 'right' answers, so simply finding the 'right' information is not enough. Action learning enables such problems to be addressed by applying personal and collective inquiry and insight, supported by research using conventional sources of knowledge. The

action and learning takes place in groups that are facilitated rather taught, enabling the group to build on their own knowledge, creating solutions that are relevant to their particular circumstances and developing the skills to tackle future problems more confidently.

1.2. Action research is about generating knowledge about something at the same time as trying to change it. It is about bringing together theory and practice (action and research) by doing both at the same time, usually in a participatory process with the group or community. It may use various conventional research methods (e.g. surveys), but the outputs of the research will be focused on working through a particular problem or to support a particular process of change.

1.3. Monitoring and evaluation. Reviewing and reflecting are essential to social learning processes, but it is useful to include an explicit monitoring and evaluation process that continues throughout the life of any project that is about social and personal change. Evaluation is often seen as mainly about measuring change, but it is as much about capturing the lessons from the process, and translating them so they are meaningful both for those most involved and for wider audiences. Participatory evaluation, involving all those taking part in the project in the assessment, thus also contributes to the broader learning processes as the project progresses. Existing national sustainable development indicatorsmay be used alongside specific local indicators developed with community groups so that both the local and wider impacts of the work can be assessed.

2. Activities

The six types of activities likely to be essential to the delivery of the CLASL project are:

2.1. Creating visions and plans for action, based on the assumption that those participating in the visioning/planning will also be those who will be delivering on the agreed actions/priorities – not a wish list for action by others only (although that could be part of it – see 'Influencing' below).

2.2. Learning. Learning is the guiding principle to the project and is expected to be the focus of work at all levels of the project throughout the three years.

2.3 . Information sharing/accessing resources. This might involve research techniques, and networking at various levels (e.g. between groups; locally, including with academic institutions; regionally, with other community initiatives as well as regional government bodies; nationally; and internationally). Data about local and wider opportunities may be required, including on:

- incentives (existing packages, or specially developed packages for this project);
- resources (e.g. money, labour, expertise);
- sustainable goods and services available locally;
- other initiatives/experience locally.

This element of the work could also provide a model for locally-led development of resource materials, created to meet the specific needs of local communities.

2.4. Neighbourhood group working. Here, the aim is to agree priorities, and for all participants to take responsibility for certain actions and to jointly review progress. It is through this process that local communities and others will decide what to do, do it, and measure progress and achievement.

2.5. Influencing and lobbying. Although it is expected that a lot of the action will be about individuals and their households/families and community groups changing their personal behaviours, not all local priorities are likely to be met through those actions. Campaigning, lobbying and influencing techniques may also be needed to encourage actions by others with additional resources and power.

2.6 . Evaluation and monitoring progress. Participatory evaluation and monitoring methods for assessing both the progress of the project, and progress towards sustainability are key. Continuous monitoring and evaluation, with local communities, will enable all involved in the project to make decisions about future actions (e.g. keep plugging away at the really difficult problems, or shift emphasis on to something easier to achieve) as well as celebrating achievements at regular intervals.

3. ‘Sites’ of learning and action

There are four sites for learning and action in the CLASL project: community level, core team, project advisory group and national advisory group. Taking into account the likely activities to be done through the project, the outcomes sought, and the likely methods that will achieve that, are outlined below:

Community groups

Outcomes sought:

- individual behaviour change (me);
- collective/group behaviour change (us);
- wider community behaviour change (all of us);
- physical changes to the neighbourhood;
- effective input to relevant local authority and other decisions (them);
- learning shared with other communities and more widely.

Methods/approaches:

- community development;
- community education;
- community engagement methods (e.g. prioritising, ‘real options’);
- action learning;
- action research/community science;
- games;
- networking;
- evaluation/monitoring.

Core staff team

Outcomes sought:

- individual and group behaviour change;
- effective design and management of the project;
- efficient delivery of the project;
- useful reflection on learning/lessons;
- experience captured and lessons analysed.

Methods/approaches:

- action research;
- action learning;
- evaluation;
- networking.

Project steering group

Outcomes sought:

- individual and group behaviour change;
- effective input to own organisation's behaviour change;
- links made between community-level activities and wider decision-making by their organisation that affects those neighbourhoods;
- guidance provided to core team on project design and management;
- acting as sounding board for development of wider lessons from the project (identified by core team), especially for Surrey and regionally.

Methods/approaches:

- action learning;
- lobbying (especially within own organisation);
- networking.

National advisory group

Outcomes sought:

- individual and group behaviour change;
- acting as sounding board for development of wider lessons from the project (following discussion between core team and steering group), especially in relation to the wider context of national and international policy;
- lobbying to promote project lessons.

Methods/approaches:

- action learning;
- lobbying;
- networking.

4. Overarching principles

The CLASL project will need a clear set of operating principles. The following were those initially proposed:

- Responsibilities should be explicitly shared among the four sites for learning and action in CLASL, so each group is clear what each is contributing to the overall goals. Articulating these responsibilities in some form of written 'contract' might be considered.
- Use the same methods/approaches throughout to ensure the same world view is reflected through the whole 'system' (for the project), and that there is no disconnection between the levels. This is especially important so that discussions can flow between the levels without disconnection (e.g. interactive methods used with community groups to explore personal values/priorities, etc. and then formal committee methods used with the Project Advisory Group would disconnect experiences between them).

- **Use a range of methods, appropriate to the circumstances and to the stage of the project.** For example, it may be useful to use methods such as games to engage people with the issues in the first instance and to 'model the system' within which they will be working (to create a 'real situation' even before there is a real situation to consider). There is an enormous range of methods to actively engage people with issues, rather than simply discussing them in the abstract, ranging from creative /cultural approaches (e.g. Common Ground's work on parishmaps, or their 'Confluence' project which involved a community creating music linked to a stretch of river) through to volunteer research teams monitoring air quality and noise.
- **Use existing networks and other sources of information and support.** There are many existing sources (e.g. BBC iCan website) for general information, and organisations that can provide specialist advice relevant to the problems being addressed. Direct contact with specialists should be made by the local groups so that relationships can be built over time. Improving access to existing networks (for sharing ideas, support, etc.) will be preferable to creating new networks.
- **Use online networking as well as face-to-face**, to both capture experience as the project progresses, allowing access to all participants to record experience, and use it to test emerging lessons with the wider group to ensure transparency, openness and good networking.

5. Community methods and techniques

At this stage, the review of methods suggests that some specific methods/techniques could be worth further attention as we learn more about the specific purposes to which they will be put, and the context in which they will be used. These might include:

- **Appreciative Inquiry**: using questions to identify what has worked in the past, partly to get at values and aspirations. This could be used with **mapping**, and **participatory appraisal**, as well as the **issue and investigation** approach identified in the 'Theory' section;
- **The Neighbourhood Learning Programme**, in the way it has enabled those participating in the community groups to gain qualifications that can be used to gain entry to further education.
- **Action learning, and action research**, as already mentioned;
- **Capacity building**, to encourage the development of confidence and capability as well as specific skills in working locally;
- **Community development**, in working with community groups to identify their own motivations and priorities, and ensuring a measure of community ownership;
- **Democs**, particularly the kits on climate change and GM foods, to promote discussion and learning on specific subjects;
- **Backcasting**, as a way of 'visioning' what needs to change by creating scenarios and then working backwards to identify the steps needed;
- **The Most Significant Change** approach to local evaluation;
- **Communities of Practice and Learning Networks**, to share learning between the community groups and across the different levels of the project;
- **WWF's Pathways framework**, as an overarching framework for learning for sustainability;
- **Planning for Real**, both if physical improvements to the locality are planned, and in identifying local resources and needs.

6. Indicators

It is likely that indicators will be needed to measure progress in two ways:

6.1. Progress of the project. Although the wider evaluation framework has not yet been fully designed, it can be seen that the 'theory of change' (Connell and Kubish, 1996) approach could be useful.

As mentioned earlier in this review, this approach identifies the hypotheses underpinning the programme of work at the beginning, then monitors progress to see if the hypothesis is confirmed – or if something else is happening. Such an approach allows for activities and methods to be reviewed against expected outcomes as the project progresses, rather than finding a theoretical framework (drawn from what happened) to assess outcomes at the end of the work.

The initial key to the 'theory of change' approach is to 'surface assumptions'. This provides a way of scoping the territory we are working in, and what we need to be considering in assessing the progress of the project.

The four main (and overlapping) assumptions underpinning the work are (as identified above):

1. Individual and collective attitude and behaviour changes are necessary to make progress towards sustainable living.
2. Mutual reinforcement and social learning related to sustainable behaviours, and criticism of unsustainable behaviours, is strongest through close social relationships.
3. Helping local communities to work collectively at local level will encourage 'good/sustainable' behaviours, and reduce 'bad/unsustainable' behaviours.
4. What a sustainable lifestyle is can be determined through dialogue between communities and external technical specialists.

A version of this list of 'assumptions' (or hypotheses) can be developed to provide a checklist to aid review of progress of the project itself over time.

In addition, a fully participatory approach to evaluation will need to be developed, to be used in the learning sets (or whatever other group method is developed for the project). This may draw on the Most Significant Change (MSC) methodology (Davies and Dart, 2005), which allows participants to identify future strategy based on what significant changes have been achieved to date (more development work will be undertaken on evaluation methods later in the project).

The project will also need to draw on the related research work for WWF to develop a tool to demonstrate the level of long-term behaviour change in relation to sustainable development brought about by engagement in projects and activities at the community level.

6.2. **Progress towards sustainability.** As indicators for measuring the progress of sustainability are so contentious, we are not expecting to come up with an 'ideal' list of sustainability indicators that can be used in other localities. Rather, we expect to be seeking a set of indicators for each locality that provide a 'compass bearing' to check if change is going in the 'right' direction – and how fast (if it is possible to measure speed/pace). This too needs to be tested within the project. As importantly, it is expected that these indicators will be developed through dialogue between local residents and external technical experts in sustainability issues. This will be vital to tie the local priorities to national (and global) sustainability priorities. In thinking about sustainability indicators, therefore, we need to consider identifying both a key set of sustainability indicators, and a method of bringing sustainability experts together with local communities to develop specific local indicators.

6.3. **Methods of developing community-led sustainability indicators.** Various bodies have worked with local communities to develop indicators over the years including the Strategic Sustainability Assessment approach (Bell and Morse, 2003). The strength of this approach is that it links 'bottom up' participatory working with 'top down' technical expertise in setting appropriate local indicators. The ideal is to establish a joint exploration about sustainable living with the community groups, and agree appropriate indicators to measure progress.

6.4. **Sustainability indicators.** The proposal here is to identify some key sets of sustainability indicators that can be used to monitor progress towards sustainability on the specific issues identified by the groups (in dialogue with the CLASL core team). The aim is to ensure that local progress is monitored in ways that have national relevance. The key indicator sets currently proposed are:

- WWF Ecological Footprint (WWF UK; based on WWF/SEI's recent report on Reducing Wales' Ecological Footprint);
- UK Sustainable Development Strategy 2005 (using HM Government's Securing the Future. Delivering UK Sustainable Development Strategy);
- Sustainable consumption and production indicators (using the Defra/Office of National Statistics Sustainable Consumption and Production Indicators, April 2005);
- Sustainable Communities criteria (ODPM, 2004);
- Quality of Life indicators, including the four key indicators for community involvement developed by Community Development Foundation (published in August 2005 by the Audit Commission).

These indicator sets can form the briefing for any sustainability technical experts as they enter dialogue with local communities, as well as background information for the communities themselves.

7. Next steps

As the project progresses, and the process of working with the groups, and their priority concerns, emerges, further research will be undertaken to support that work. In particular, further work on specific participatory 'tools' will be undertaken to build on current good practice, use and customise existing methods and tools wherever possible, and to create new methods to fill gaps where these emerge.

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