

7. Travel awareness campaigns

7.1 Introduction

Travel awareness campaigns, such as 'Travelwise' and 'In Town Without My Car', use a wide range of media aimed at improving general public understanding of problems resulting from transport choices, and what can be done to solve these problems including changing their own behaviour. The campaigns stem from experience of much bigger and longer established use of campaigns applied to road safety (notably drink-driving and seat belts); other social problems such as smoking, drinking, suicide, domestic violence and security; and positive issues such as literacy, health and citizenship. Those involved in travel awareness campaigns frequently refer to the need to counter the effects of even bigger commercial advertising campaigns, especially by car manufacturers, which are aimed primarily at selling cars, but which can also often encourage their wider use.

As well as focusing on local environmental and health impacts, travel awareness campaigns also aim to improve informed knowledge of the facilities available for walking, cycling and public transport use. Where this information is expressed at a rather general level it is usually described as a travel awareness campaign, and where it is aimed at specific local conditions and individual journeys it is closer to personalised travel planning, as discussed in chapter 5, but there is no sharp dividing line between them. Similarly, there can be considerable overlap between travel awareness campaigns and public transport marketing as discussed in chapter 6.

The instruments used in travel awareness campaigns include posters, leaflets, advertising on press, local radio and television, high profile events aimed to focus attention ('carrots, sticks *and tambourines*'), activities in schools and neighbourhoods, provision of factual information on websites or at local travel centres, and interactive experiments encouraging self-monitoring and awareness.

There has been much discussion on whether travel awareness campaigns have a life and independent role of their own, or are best thought of as an attachment to other initiatives which make improvements to travel services. Their independent role is justified by psychological theories that better awareness of the alternatives is a precursor to changing behaviour; by empirical studies showing that people often do not have full and objective information or understanding of transport choices; and also by an expectation that if the public had better understanding, people would more easily support local authorities who are pursuing policies such as reducing car use. On the other hand, their role as an attachment to other policies is emphasised by the argument that it is unrealistic to expect people to change their behaviour unless better alternatives are open to them: in this case the tangible effects expected are that a campaign may accelerate and maximise the response to these other changes.

It is much more common for the 'success' of travel awareness campaigns to be monitored using indicators drawn from commercial market research, such as how many people have noticed the campaign, and what they remember from it, than to attempt to measure specific changes in travel behaviour, which are difficult to isolate.

This chapter reviews the available evidence about travel awareness work, including literature evidence from the UK and overseas. Later sections of the chapter draw on detailed interviews in York – our chosen case study for this topic.

7.2 Overview of the literature

There is an extensive literature on the impacts of campaigns such as voting patterns in the USA, health promotion, etc, and some examples of evidence that these have affected behaviour even without changes in other underlying conditions (eg Etzersdorfer & Sonneck (1998) report substantial effects on suicide rates in Austria following a change in the way suicides were reported in the media).

Fergusson et al (1999) drew on lessons from the health promotion sector and the transport literature to conclude that there was a substantial potential to achieve change by this means. In particular, they highlighted a report undertaken the RAC (Goodwin et al 1995), which suggested that around 20% of car trips are not car-dependent, in the sense that the trips were either very marginal, or could easily be undertaken by other means. This work also suggested that perhaps another 20% were only weakly car-dependent, and could be attracted by improvements in other modes or alternatives. They also highlighted the suggestion by Cairns et al (1998) that the appearance of relatively stable traffic patterns at aggregate level may conceal very considerable variation in individual choices, and that this dynamism in individual behaviour means that changing people's travel behaviour may not be as intractable as is traditionally perceived.

There have recently been a number of European projects, investigating travel awareness theory and practice, notably including INPHORMM (Hamer, 1997-1999), CAMPARIE (Papaioannou, 1997-1999) and TAPESTRY (2000-2003). PORTAL (Pressl and Reiter, 2003) summarised and reviewed these and other related EU projects together with a helpful key to their acronyms or purpose¹.

Many of these projects have overlapping membership and results, and have used websites as their main dissemination medium, actively updating reports while the project is 'live' but then tending to fall into disuse. This is unsurprising, given that they are purely funded by EU project funds, which have a finite life, and has led to more recent projects (such as TAPESTRY) choosing to produce a CD ROM of results. The EU projects tend to be very much stronger on the elaboration of general frameworks and generic advice than detailed quantitative results of local research. Pressl and Reiter (2003) summarise the summaries, the key concept being that travel awareness activities, like other soft policies, can be used together with hard policies

¹ CAMPARIE (Campaigns for Awareness using Media and Publicity to assess the responses of individuals); COSMOS (Development of a Training Course for Mobility Consultants); EDITION, a learning CD-Rom for children; ELMO a legal frame for company mobility plans; ICARO (Increase of Car Occupancy through innovative measures and technical instruments); IMPACT (Information packages for energy-efficient mobility); INPHORMM (Information and publicity helping the objective of reducing motorised mobility); MOBILE a demonstration project; MOMENTUM (Mobility management for the urban environment); MOSAIC linked with Momentum; MOST (Mobility Management Strategies for the Next Decades); PROSITrans (Products and Services to increase the use of the sustainable transport modes in irregular transport flows); TAPESTRY (Travel Awareness Publicity And Education Supporting A Sustainable Transport Strategy In Europe); TOMY a computer based tool for mobility advisers; TOOLBOX (Toolbox for Mobility Management in companies).

like infrastructure investment in order to 'maximise the benefits of investment'. However, Tyler (2004) reports that whether campaigns simply support or maximise the benefits of investment in other (hard) areas, or whether they can work in their own right to influence travel behaviour, is a hotly debated topic amongst experts in the field, with a number of subscribers to the latter view.

TAPESTRY (2003 a, b, c) reviewed the results of the earlier EU projects and collated 18 local research project reports from across Europe². It also focused on models of change in travel behaviour, and guidelines for setting up and monitoring the effects of communication programmes. It found most useful a model of behaviour change developed as part of the INPHORMM project, in which five stages were identified, namely Awareness, Acceptance, Attitudes, Action and Assimilation, though these stages were 'not necessarily linear as people can move back and forth between the various model stages'. (INPHORMM's model was, in turn, based on the 'Transtheoretical model of behavioural change', which Ferguson et al (1999) also identified as the most useful psychological model of behavioural change, most commonly used in the health promotion sector). TAPESTRY drew on elements of this, and other models, to develop and test a new model, the 'Seven Stage Model of Change'. This is now being used by both members of the TAPESTRY consortium, and others, to plan and assess campaigns, (Tyler 2004).

In general, all of the European work on travel awareness campaigns highlights the importance of identifying a target audience, and that people with different existing travel habits may be motivated to adopt or continue more sustainable travel behaviour by different messages. The INPHORMM project also concluded that positive messages were more likely to be motivating than negative or 'guilt-inspiring' messages, and many travel awareness campaigns are now specifically focusing on the positive health benefits that can result from walking and cycling. TAPESTRY further highlighted that behaviour change is usually a long term process, such that campaigns should not be seen as 'quick fix' solutions, but can help to provide the changes in attitudes and perceptions which may be an essential precursor to alterations in actual travel behaviour.

7.3 Insights from transport campaigns on road safety

The longest standing experience of campaigns in the field of transport has related to road safety. DETR (1998) describes a sequence of four media campaigns that were run between 1995 and 1998 aimed at improving children's safety. These were:

- 'Wonderful Cross', a 30 second TV commercial shown in March 1995 and January/February 1996 costing £500,000. This was aimed at 7-12-year-olds, particularly boys, to highlight the dangers of playing in or around roads. Spontaneous awareness amongst the target audience was 55%, whilst prompted awareness was 76%.
- 'Peter Pan' and 'Doctor', two radio commercials which ran in March 1996 at a cost of £300,000. These were aimed primarily at parent drivers and children (7-10) and

² Although many of these local project reports did provide some quantitative evidence about the impacts of travel awareness style projects, the majority are not reviewed here, since, for this project, many of these initiatives would more naturally be considered in other chapters, since they involved work in schools, workplaces and/or individualised travel planning initiatives.

teenagers (11-14) as a secondary audience. They were designed to reinforce the importance of wearing rear seat belts.

- 'Hedgehogs', a TV commercial run in January/February 1997 at a cost of £500,000. This commercial aimed at 8-11-year-olds and encouraged safer road crossing. In post campaign research, the campaign was spontaneously recalled by 71% of 7-14 year olds.
- 'King of the Road', a 40 second TV commercial run in January 1998 at a cost of £600,000. This advert basically aimed to reinforce the previous hedgehogs advert and was also run in cinemas and on a selection of children's video rental releases.

These adverts were generally evaluated in terms of recall amongst target groups, but not in terms of behaviour change.

The most significant example of a case where impact has been measured in relation to targeted behaviour is probably the work done on drink driving (DETR, 1997 and Masurel 2003). There is widespread acceptance that public attitudes towards drink driving have changed, partly as a response to extensive media work. A widely noted sign of this is that the offer 'one for the road', once seen as a symbol of hospitality, has nearly disappeared. However, at the same time, there has been a substantial increase in breath testing and associated police work discouraging drink-driving.

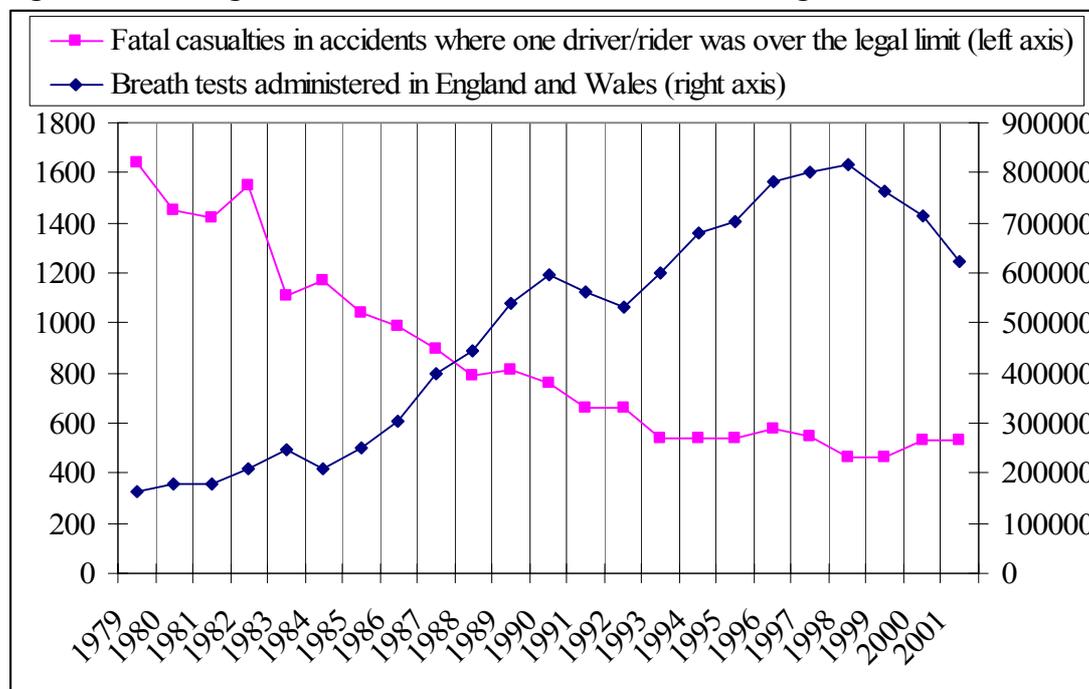
A brief description of the work illustrates the difficulties of assessing the effects of awareness raising work. Breath testing and the (anti) Drink Drive campaign were both introduced in 1967, following drink-drive legislation, and the percentage of accidents where drink was a factor reduced from 25% to 15%. However, the level of publicity was not maintained, and the percentage of drink-related accidents increased back to 35% by 1975. It is not clear what happened in terms of breath testing over this period. Drink Drive advertising recommenced in the run up to Christmas 1976, and continued as an annual campaign from then on. From 1976-1987, campaigns focused on the tragic consequences, and also the personal inconvenience of getting caught (including the probability of being caught, the inconvenience of not owning a license and the difficulties of obtaining insurance after a conviction). In addition, work in the early 1980s focused on educating people about the alcohol content of drinks, as this was identified as something people were not aware of. From 1987 to 1996, the campaign focused around the slogan 'drinking and driving wrecks lives', and from 1992, the Christmas campaigns were supplemented with a summertime campaign. The 1997 campaign altered to the slogan 'have none for the road', to try and encourage recognition that drink can be dangerous even if someone is not drunk.

In terms of effects, between 1979 and 1991, the proportion of drink-related accidents reduced from 32% to 19%, and the absolute numbers fell from 19,470 to 11,690. Since then, there has not been a clear decline, although there has been some fluctuation around that level. Figure 7.1 shows the trends in drink-drive related deaths, and associated changes in breath testing.

Assessing the significance of the awareness raising work (in isolation) is difficult. Clearly, the biggest changes were achieved in the 1980s, via both awareness raising and police reinforcement. Arguably, this work was particularly effective since it was a period of altering people's *knowledge* about the effects of drinking on driving capability and the consequences (both in terms of personal inconvenience and injury

to selves and others). Since then, it is often argued that people are familiar with these arguments and that the remaining drink-driving accidents represent a 'hard-core' of drivers, who are aware of these messages but remain unaffected. However, hypothetically at least, it can be argued that there might be an alternative focus for the campaigns that could impact further.

Figure 7.1 Changes in drink-drive deaths, and breath testing



Source: Data used from the Home Office annual statistical bulletins on 'Offences relating to motor vehicles in England & Wales' and 'Statistics of breath tests in England and Wales', and from Masurel (c. 2003)

7.4 UK national campaigns aiming to affect car use

Early work on travel awareness in the UK was pioneered in the early 1990s by Hampshire, with its 'Headstart' campaign, and Hertfordshire, with its 'TravelWise' campaign. Subsequently, the National TravelWise® Association (NTWA), has evolved as a partnership of local authorities and other organisations working together to promote sustainable transport, who share resources including travel awareness campaign materials, and who use 'TravelWise' as a common brand. In 2002, membership included over 120 local authorities, health authorities and/or passenger transport executives (Sykes, 2002).

In 1998, the DfT launched a national campaign entitled 'Are you doing your bit?', (DEFRA, c.1999). This was intended to encourage small but important behavioural changes in everyday actions to benefit the local and global environment. The first year of activity focused on energy saving, transport and air quality issues, and achieved measurable consumer recognition on a budget of £2 million, using national women's press and consumer interest magazines. In 1999/2000, the campaign focused on TV, using well-known celebrities carrying out small, environmentally-friendly actions in slightly incongruous situations. The TV campaigns were also reinforced with a smaller range of radio commercials.

In addition to this generic campaign, there have also been a number of national travel awareness campaigns aimed at specific aspects of travel.

In Town Without My Car

This campaign, often labelled with an exclamation mark 'In Town, Without My Car!' (ITWMC), is based on the concept of closing town centre streets to cars and other traffic in order for people to enjoy walking, cycling, street theatre, live music, dancing, public art and children's play areas. Early events date back to the mid 1990s, and include a street party event in Bath (UK) and an 'en ville sans ma voiture' day in La Rochelle (France). In 1998, France were the first to have an official national ITWMC day. The event expanded across most countries in the European Union by 2000, and in 2001/02, it spread further, across most of Eastern Europe and beyond. ITWMC now forms part of European Mobility Week. In 2002, 1400 towns and cities participated from 38 countries. There were 43 events in the UK, which was twice as many as in 2001. In 2003, according to the website of the European co-ordinating centre, Energie-Cites (2004), the campaign affected over 111 million inhabitants in 1035 participating cities and 428 supporting cities. In the UK, the event is now supported by the Department for Transport, having previously been promoted by the Environmental Transport Association, (Department for Transport, 7/11/03; Tyler 2004).

Bike Week

Bike Week was started by the Cyclists Touring Club in 1923. In the past three years, it has been developed to appeal to all cycle owners rather than just cycling enthusiasts. From 14-22 June 2003, 1,220 local cycling events and rides were promoted, involving an estimated 116,385 participants. In response to a request from the Department of Transport, 94% of events were promoted to 'new or occasional' cyclists. Consequently, two-thirds of participants were not members of any cycling organisation, club, campaigning group or Sustrans. The biggest registered event was the York Cycle Show, a two-day event attracting more than 10,000 visitors. The most popular type of event to promote was 'Bike2Work' which was promoted by more than 90 employers and workplace bicycle user groups. No data are available about the costs. Bike Week 2004 is planned to be a bigger event, including free cycle safety checks to an estimated 10 million 'lapsed' cyclists, and group members are seeking a total funding of £100,000. The cycle industry has already announced £25,000 funding, and a further £75,000 is being sought from government, (Harvey, 2003).

Walk to school week

Walk to School events began to take place nationally in the UK in 1994. Starting as 'walk to school day', the campaign extended to become 'walk to school week', which took place in May. The campaign has now extended to constitute two weeks, one in May and one in October. Other countries also launched walking campaigns, including the USA in 1997, Canada in 1998 and Ireland in 1999. In 2000, these countries made formal links to launch a fully co-ordinated international effort. October 2003 saw the first international walk to school week. In May 2003, more than 2 million children and their carers were estimated to take part in the UK walk to school week. In October 2003, it was expected that more than 3 million pupils would be walking to school as part of events, from 30 different countries ranging from Argentina to Zambia, (Living Streets 2003).

7.5 UK local campaigns aiming to affect car use

At local authority level, there has been a pattern for general travel awareness campaigns to evolve into more targeted initiatives. This section summarises experience from six areas, namely Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Chelmsford, Glasgow, and Nottingham. (The Chelmsford experience is also discussed in Chapter 6). The following sections report on our main case study on travel awareness, York.

Hertfordshire – Travelwise

Sykes (2002) describes the development of Travelwise in Hertfordshire, from 'raising awareness through mass media campaign' to 'a more central strategy to support sustainable transport policy'. He also describes a number of ways in which the work had become more targeted by 2002. These included:

- *Walk to school week*: The number of schools participating had increased from 130 in 1994 to 201 in 2001, with a much larger increase in the number of pupils participating, from 18,000 to 52,330
- *Theatre in education programmes*: since 1997, a Travelwise theatre production had visited over 70 secondary schools, involving over 3000 students. From 2001, a new play for primary schools about Travelwise and road safety was being launched, with plans to visit 30 schools in 2002.
- *Curriculum support materials*: by 2002, 260 (Key Stage 1/2) and 100 (Key Stage 3/4) transport packs and 200 literacy packs had been distributed to schools within the authority
- *Community work*: over time, advertising had become more targeted (based on research about effectiveness) leading to targeted, selective use of bus backs, posters, press releases, newsletters, web sites, promotional events and exhibitions.
- *Involvement in regional and national events*: the council was involved in Green Transport Week, Bike Week, Car Free Day, Festival of Cycling and the DTLR "Are you doing your bit?" Roadshow. Hertfordshire County Council designed and developed the sustainability roadshow which subsequently secured DTLR sponsorship to become the national roadshow. The council also provides annual grants of £100 for local groups to promote cycling alongside business and County Hall events that promote Bike 2 Work Day.
- *Promotion work to accompany other transport initiatives*: the Travelwise messages have been promoted alongside the implementation of transport schemes and through publications such as bus timetables.

As part of the Travelwise programme, Sykes also reported on the work of the council on school and workplace travel plans, including the development of a Business Travelwise partnership.

In terms of staffing and resources, in 2001/02, the Travelwise officer time to support the programme was described as a workload equivalent to one full-time member of staff split across three officers. In addition, a full-time post to develop school travel plans was in place. The Travelwise budget was £70,000, with the expectation of spending £25,000 on education, £25,000 on business and £20,000 on community initiatives. The campaigns took place throughout Hertfordshire, which has approximately 420,000 households and 805,000 residents.

Over time, the proportion of people saying that they had heard of the Travelwise campaign increased from 9% in 1994 to 17% in 2000. Initially, respondents were mainly aware that the campaign promoted public transport. Over time, people have become aware that it is associated with a wider range of messages, including the promotion of modal shift, public transport, discounted travel and park and ride.

Hertfordshire's walk to school week

Hertfordshire have been involved in the TAPESTRY EU project, which included an assessment of their Walk to School week campaign, as carried out in May 2002 (Tapestry 2003)³. This campaign cost £14,800, and, together with countywide advertising, it was delivered into 147 separate schools reaching almost 60,000 schoolchildren and their parents. Evaluation was conducted at 11 schools which received the campaign and two control schools. The schools receiving the campaign this year had also done so last year, whilst the control schools had never participated in Walk to School week. Analysis was conducted via a before and after survey. In total, about 1000 completed surveys were received from campaign schools, with a further 200 from control schools.

The evaluation survey adopted a seven stage model of behaviour change. It found that the campaign made little difference to people's awareness of traffic problems or their sense of responsibility for them, which is probably because high levels of awareness had already been achieved. However, it did have some impact on how they perceived and evaluated different options, and whether they were prepared to increase the amount that they walked. Specific results were as follows:

- Respondents were asked whether they agreed with 11 positive statements about walking. The percentage agreeing or strongly agreeing with 10 of those statements increased in the campaign schools after Walk to School week.
- Respondents were asked whether they agreed with 11 positive statements about car use. The percentage of respondents at campaign schools agreeing or strongly agreeing decreased for seven statements after Walk to School week (whilst this was the case for only three of the statements at the control schools). In particular, the percentage agreeing or strongly agreeing that the car doesn't cost much declined from 21% to 16% in the campaign schools after Walk to School week.
- The proportion of parents in campaign schools strongly agreeing that "I intend for my child to walk to school for his/her next journey" rose from 48% to 54% (with growth from 64% to 66% in the proportion agreeing or strongly agreeing overall). A similar growth was seen in control schools.
- There was a small (1.3%) increase in the proportion of children walking to school at least once a week in the campaign schools compared with a small (1.3%) decline in the proportion at control schools.
- Before Walk to School week took place, respondents were asked how often their child walked to school compared with the same time the previous year. At campaign schools, 15% of respondents said their child walked more often now, and 10% of respondents said the same at control schools. After Walk to School week, these percentages rose slightly (by about 1%-point in both cases).

In general, these results suggest Walk to School week is having a positive effect, and that schools which receive the campaign receive more of the benefits. Some of the

³ A brief summary of this work is also given in Chapter 4.

parallel changes that occurred at the control schools suggest that it may also be having a knock-on effect in schools which do not participate directly. Hertfordshire County Council now intends to extend the advertising and marketing work associated with walk to school week, to become a year round campaign, targeting it at the types of parents who seemed most receptive to the messages.

Hampshire's promotion of rural buses

Hampshire's involvement in the TAPESTRY project involved an interactive marketing experiment in ten satellite villages in East Hampshire (TAPESTRY 2003), where residents were involved in the development and promotion of public transport marketing materials. All ten villages received at least one bus service per week, however the area is typified by small populations, high car ownership and use, and a decline in local rural services. During the project, before and after questionnaires were conducted with approximately 40 stakeholders (42 in the before survey and 36 in the after survey) and about 1000 residents (1115 in the before survey and 956 in the after survey). Some beneficial effects were seen, despite the fact that the private bus operator cut services during the work. Specifically:

- After the project, there were increases in the proportion of stakeholders considering that the bus routes were good (25% increasing to 44%), the proportion considering that stops were conveniently located (55% rising to 72%) and the proportion considering the provision of bus information to be good (45% rising to 56%).
- After the project, there were increases in the proportion of residents considering the bus services to be enjoyable (increasing from 19% to 22%), cheap (increasing from 6% to 11%), reliable (increasing from 8% to 11%) and 'a means of travel with a good image' (increasing from 8% to 12%).
- The number of people who said that they travelled frequently by car reduced from 87% to 85%.
- More residents said that they had started travelling by bus. (This is according to the executive summary – it was not apparent from the evaluation report).

Cambridgeshire's walk to school week

Cambridgeshire has carried out an evaluation of its walk to school week campaigns in 2002⁴, (Cambridgeshire County Council, 2002a and 2002b). Pupils were asked to record how they travelled to school each day for a period of 9 days – 2 days in a week that was two weeks before walk to school week, the five days of walk to school week, and 2 days in a week a few weeks after walk to school week. Data were only analysed for pupils who completed records for all 9 days.

May 2002 walk to school week involved 67 schools and 14,200 pupils. 500 classroom packs were distributed. 3074 pupils provided completed records that could be analysed. These showed that car use fell by 27% during walk to school week, and remained 11% lower three weeks later.

October 2002 walk to school week involved 33 schools and 7000 children. 250 classroom resource packs were distributed. 2,222 pupils provided completed records that could be analysed. These showed that car use was 22% lower during walk to school week and remained 2% lower a fortnight later.

⁴ This has also been briefly discussed in Chapter 4.

Chelmsford - promotion of rail services by the Highways Agency and rail operator

Crampin (1998) reports on an awareness campaign launched jointly between the Highways Agency and operator Great Eastern Railways in June 1998. This was aimed at persuading people to use the train rather than the car for trips along the A12 corridor near Chelmsford. The campaign coincided with the introduction of an improved rail timetable. Posters and leaflets were distributed, an ad-van (moving billboard) was driven around the town, and local radio, newspaper and bus side advertisement were also used. Posters included the words: "over 1 hour by car, only 35 mins by train, what's stopping you!". They also carried the logos of both the Highways Agency and First Great Eastern. An evaluation of the campaign by Oscar Faber showed the following:

- Awareness of Great Eastern services amongst non-users increased by 11%, and 40% of those surveyed recalled the advertisement used in the campaign.
- Business at Chelmsford Station increased by 12%, there was a 17% increase in the number of standard return ticket sales, and weekly season ticket sales were up by 31% compared to August 1997.

Assessment of the campaign also suggested there were perceived to be three major positive elements - the campaign was perceived as conveying a strong environmental message; Great Eastern was perceived to be working hard on improving services; and the partnership with the Highways Agency was regarded as positive. (This campaign is also discussed in Chapter 6).

Glasgow - Walk in to work out

Mutrie et al (1999) report on the initial evaluation of the 'Walk in to work out' education campaign. 295 employees from 3 Glasgow workplaces who were thinking about walking or cycling to work (i.e. 'actively' commuting) were randomly assigned to an intervention group (145 people) or control group (150 people). Both groups completed questionnaires about physical activity, motivations and perceptions of health at the start of the project, after six months and after 12 months. The intervention group received an education pack immediately after the start of the project whilst the control group received their pack six months later. The intervention pack was based on the 'Transtheoretical model' of behavioural change, aimed at 'contemplators' (those thinking about actively commuting) and 'preparers' (those already doing some irregular active commuting). The cost of full design, development, pre-testing and printing of the pack for use in the study was £13,000. The results were as follows:

- a significantly larger percentage of the intervention group (49%) progressed to a higher stage of 'active commuting' behaviour than the control group (31%) after six months
- six months after the start of the project, for those who were not previously walking to work, members of the intervention group were typically spending 125 minutes per week walking to work compared to 65 minutes for members of the control group. In other words, after six months, the intervention group were nearly twice as likely to increase walking to work as the control group
- the intervention was not successful in increasing cycling to and from work
- there were no seasonal, gender or age influences on the probability that a person increasing their walking to work
- after six months, individuals in the intervention group improved their mental and physical health functioning scores significantly more than individuals in the

control group. In particular, their scores were statistically better in relation to general health, vitality and mental health.

- 12 months after receiving their intervention pack, 25% (n=36) of the intervention group were still regularly actively commuting to work

The researchers highlight that the intervention compares well with other interventions, for example, quoting a study on smoking where only 2% of smokers both successfully quit and had not relapsed one year after receiving personal advice on how to stop.

Nottingham – Big Wheel

Nottingham was chosen as a case study area for examining experience of public transport information and marketing (as discussed in chapter 6). In the process of conducting the interview, we also obtained information about their experience of more general travel awareness campaigning. A campaign called 'The Big Wheel', managed by the Nottingham Development Enterprise, was set up for three years to Oct 2004, and will probably be extended. Its aim has been to articulate a transport vision for the city and to raise awareness of the measures contained in the Local Transport Plan (LTP). It has been aimed at both the general public and the business community, partly to encourage confidence within the business community that some of the radical transport policy developments occurring in the city are part of a coherent, long term vision. There are approximately 650,000 residents in the LTP area covered by the campaign.

The first phase of the project involved awareness raising via general promotional products. Later phases have included the production of factual information, and establishment of a Big Wheel brand. This brand is used on timetables, area travel guides, school travel plan packs, workplace travel plan information, brochures, posters, postcards, etc.. The brand uses a bright, technicolour style with straightforward imagery of the various elements in the city's transport network. For the business sector, a more sober sub-brand has been developed. This sub-brand is used on a specially developed business magazine called 'Freewheel', and on inserts that are placed in the business pages of the local press.

Specific versions of the public campaign have used themes such as:

- A radical change in transport that people can join– 'Join The Revolution'
- The vital impact of your mode of transport on personal health - 'Better for Everybody'
- Air quality, pollution and the environment – 'Can you do without it for a day?'
- Bus travel is a better option to car travel during the congested festive season - the 'Christmas Carol' campaign

Associated promotions have included sponsored discounted bus travel, and cut price admission to local attractions at times that should help to ease rush hour congestion, ('twilight leisure offers'). Nottingham City Transport have worked closely with the Big Wheel.

The Big Wheel involves a core staff of 2 full-time people. Between October 2001 and March 2004, it received a total of £629,623 (including funds allocated to it for this period at the time of the interview in July 2003). This equates to approximately £250,000 per year.

Early in 2003, the Big Wheel carried out a 'familiarity study' with 1200 residents and a random sample of 299 businesses. The results were compared with a similar survey in 2001 to assess the success of the campaign, (TTR, 2003). Changes noted were as follows:

- In 2003, businesses were implementing more environmental measures (such as staff travel plans and using public transport for business travel).
- Since 2001, members of the public have become much more aware of the LTP – a 27% increase, but business awareness appears not to have changed.
- Members of the public were much more aware of the Big Wheel campaign than businesses. 67% of City of Nottingham residents and 52% of residents in a wide travel-to-work area, including Hucknall and Long Eaton, were aware of the Big Wheel. This was only 6 months after its launch.
- In 2003, most businesses and members of the public found out about the Big Wheel in the local newspaper. This was the same for familiarisation with the LTP in 2001.
- Most members of the public interpreted the Big Wheel pictures as encouraging them to walk or use public transport more.

The City judges that the promotional work has eased the path of the construction phase of the tram and the workplace parking levy, and has helped to promote the overall vision of integrated transport.

7.6 Additional overseas evidence

In addition to national work, we were expecting a considerable amount of evidence from international experience. As discussed in section 7.2, although there has been a considerable amount of European work on the topic, travel awareness work with monitoring of changes in travel behaviour is rare. The following section provides some insights from travel awareness work which has involved relatively interactive and intensive campaigning. Both examples go further than the more conventional travel awareness work, and it is interesting that both are reporting some impressive results.

7.6.1 Education work with young adults

Cairns & Okamura (2003) undertook a travel awareness experiment, investigating the effects of educating 17-18-year-old students about the costs of different transport options, to see what effect this had on their attitudes about the desirability of car ownership and use, and whether it could increase the attractiveness of alternative modes of travel, safer driving and smaller, more environmentally friendly cars. An experiment was undertaken, comparing the responses of 38 Japanese students who received the education materials with 40 Japanese students who did not. Following the intervention:

- when asked how they might make six hypothetical journeys, in all cases, less of the intervention group thought that they would choose to drive
- when asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with 30 statements relating to cost and mode choice, for 25 of the 30 statements, there was a difference between the intervention group and the control group as predicted. Namely, the intervention group saw cost as more important, were less likely to

consider car ownership and use as desirable, reported that they were more likely to drive safely due to high insurance premiums following an accident and that they were more likely to consider buying an environmentally friendly, 660cc car. It was also notable that for 29 of the 30 statements, there was more variation in the answers of the intervention group, suggesting that the intervention has had more effect on some students than others, with some remaining unaffected.

Work of this nature has since been expanded in experiments undertaken by Fujii & Takasu (2003). In 2001, they recruited 178 non drivers in their first year at Kyoto University. The students were assigned at random to one of five groups, including a control group and four groups which received different types of information about negative aspects of car use. They were then surveyed about their attitudes towards car use. 18 months later, the same participants were re-surveyed about their attitudes to car use and whether they had obtained a driving licence, with responses received from 160 of the original group. At the time of the second survey, 225 other second year students from Kyoto University were also asked whether they possessed a drivers licence, to provide a much larger control group for comparison.

The four types of information that the groups received were about: the costs of car use; the dangers of driving a car; the stress that car drivers report due to traffic congestion; and information about all three of these issues together.

Comparing the responses of the (first) control group and experimental groups, there were no differences in how safe any of the groups perceived car use to be. However the 'cost' group and the 'all information' group perceived car use to be more expensive than any of the other groups in the first and second surveys. In terms of perceptions about the 'enjoyability' or 'essentialness' of car use, there were no significant differences between the groups in the first survey. However, by the second survey, all of the intervention groups (except the 'all information' group) were giving a slightly lower rating to the enjoyability of car use than the control group, and the 'cost' and 'stress' groups also saw car use as less essential. In other words, by the time of the second survey, at least one belief or attitude of every experimental group differed from that of the control group.

These findings become particularly significant given that these changes in attitude appear to have had a dramatic effect on students' decisions to obtain a driving licence. The results are given in the table below.

Table 7.1: License holding by different groups

Group	Size	Number with licences	% with licences
Cost group	36	18	50.0%
Danger group	26	9	34.6%
Stress group	34	10	29.4%
'All information' group	34	16	47.1%
<i>Total 'experimental' group</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>40.8%</i>
Original control group	30	20	66.7%
New control group	225	140	62.2%

Averaged overall, the interventions appear to have reduced the proportion of students choosing to obtain driving licences from over 60% to 41%. Fujii & Takasu also note that, although the biggest differences in attitudes between the control group and the intervention groups were in relation to transport costs, perceptions of the enjoyability of car driving appear to have had more impact on whether students have chosen to obtain licences.

Preliminary results from similar experiments in Tokyo appear to be showing the same effects as the experiments in Kyoto (Fujii, 2004).

7.6.2 Bike Bus'ters in Aarhus

Another important travel awareness experiment was the Bike Bus'ters project in Aarhus in Denmark. This took place between April 1995 and 1996. It is reported by Overgaard-Mansen et al (undated), with some supplementary information from Bunde (1997). The municipality of Aarhus is Denmark's second largest municipality. Approximately 275,000 people live in the area and over 100,000 commute into the centre of Aarhus each day. The Bike Bus'ter project was designed as an interactive travel awareness campaign (i.e. to be more than an information campaign). However, at the same time, restrictive measures to discourage car use were not considered. The project was explicitly designed around the "carrot principle". The aim of the project was to encourage habitual car users to use other means of transport, by giving them major incentives to use buses and/or bikes. 1700 people volunteered to participate in the project and 175 were selected. These were all daily users of the car, and they lived 2-8 km from their workplace, which was located in the centre of Aarhus.

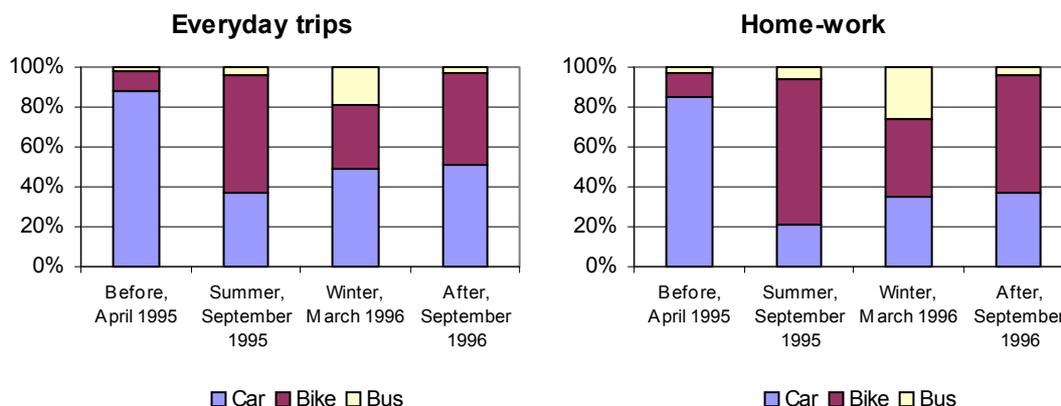
Participants received:

- the new bicycle of their choice (maximum value 5000 DKK), a child seat (if desired), unlimited free servicing and the option to buy the bicycle at the end of the year for 1000 DKK
- a one-year pass for public transport in the municipality (worth about 5000 DKK), and free timetables
- rain gear, an umbrella, gloves and a towel
- optional information meetings and a bimonthly newsletter (giving advice and enabling participants to exchange experience)
- an optional health check

In return, participants had to sign a 'contract' promising to try and take the bicycle and bus as much as possible, and to participate in regular surveys. The project, including the evaluation, cost a total of 3 million DKK, provided in equal parts by the Danish Environmental Protection Agency, the Danish Transport Council and the Municipality.

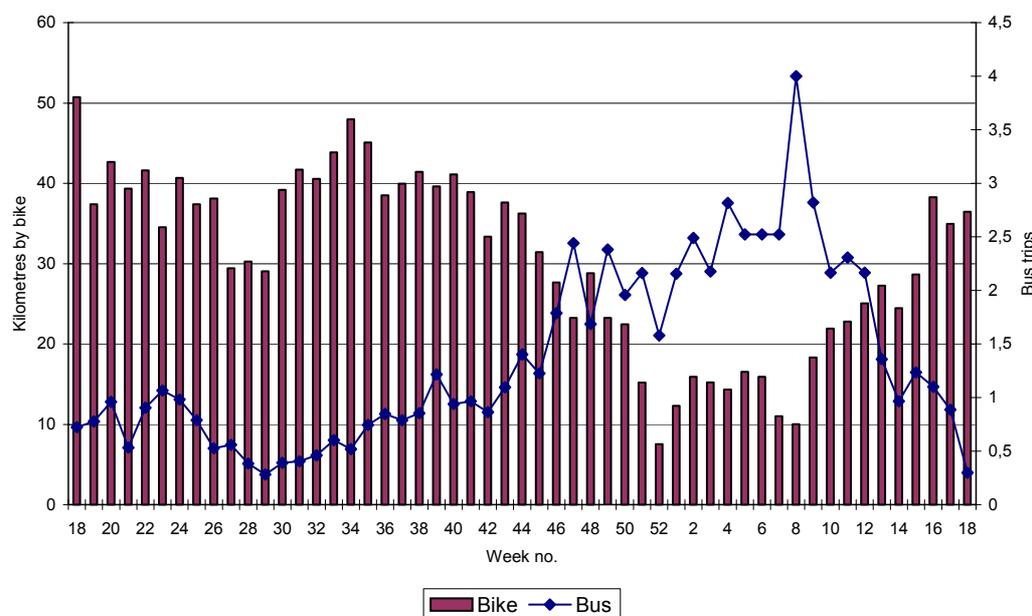
The results of the project are shown in the following figures.

Figure 7.2: Modal split before, during and after the BikeBus'ter project for all trips and trips between home and work specifically.



Source: Overgaard-Mansen et al (undated)

Figure 7.3: Average number of weekly trips by bus per BikeBus'ter compared with the average number of weekly kilometres travelled by bike.



Source: Overgaard-Mansen et al (undated)

In general, the results show that the project was remarkably successful in achieving its aims. The data suggest that the proportion of all trips made by car fell from about 80%⁵ to 48% in the winter and was still only 45% of all journeys four months after the project ended. The impact on work journeys was particularly dramatic, where the proportion of trips made by car fell to less than 40%. The researchers noted that this was despite particularly unpleasant weather in the winter of 1995-96. They also note that during the winter months, cycling declined whilst bus use increased.

⁵ There is some apparent inconsistency in definitions in the source document. The graphs show the proportion of trips being made by car is greater than 80% for both all trips and home-work trips. However, the text reports that the initial percentage of trips being made by car is 78%.

Other findings were that the transfer from car to bike/bus was most significant on trips characterised by a high degree of regularity in time and space (with the greatest change seen in work and shopping trips), whilst the impact was lowest on 'diffuse' trips, including recreational activities, business travel and visits to relatives or friends. Modal shift was also most evident for trips made within the city limits.

Participants appeared to be most motivated by the possibility of more exercise and better health, whilst less motivated to save money or reduce environmental problems, with implications for campaign messages. The researchers also noted that 17 of the participants were involved in self-reported accidents, with seven sustaining personal injuries and two receiving severe injuries. They suggested that bike promotion campaigns should be complemented by measures to improve safety for cyclists.

7.7 Selection of travel awareness case study

So far, reported material has primarily been based on available literature. We also wanted to undertake a more detailed assessment of local authority work on travel awareness. In selecting a case studies of travel awareness campaigns, we originally considered:

- Hampshire County Council
- Hertfordshire County Council
- North Yorkshire County Council
- City of York Council

Hampshire and Hertfordshire both have long-term reputations for undertaking travel awareness work. At the time of our selection procedure, both were involved in the EU TAPESTRY project, undertaking and evaluating particular travel awareness initiatives. Given that these were already written up for the TAPESTRY project, it did not seem appropriate to undertake case study interviews with them. Their results have already been reported in the literature review.

North Yorkshire County Council was investigated because it had recently undertaken a high-profile poster campaign for TravelWise, together with an evaluation of that campaign. However, although the work has been evaluated in terms of the best received messages, at the time of selecting our case studies, there did not seem to have been an evaluation of the effects on travel behaviour.

Consequently, York City Council, which has been undertaking a range of travel awareness campaigns and evaluating their effects was chosen as the main case study for this chapter.

In addition, the interview about public transport information and marketing conducted with Nottingham City Council also provided some useful information about their 'Big Wheel' travel awareness campaign, which has already been reported in section 7.5

7.8 Details of York case study

The City of York has been involved in work on marketing travel awareness since December 1998. Promotional campaigns for travel awareness have been led by the Mobility Management team in the local authority's Transport Planning Unit.

The council's approach is to run sustained campaigns rather than the short bursts of events such as 'bike to work' day that are commonly run by other authorities. Their rationale is that it takes time to reinforce a message, but that, by using different sources, it is possible to build up a message over a long period and achieve sustained modal shift.

Campaigns are based on media space that car drivers will see: for example, on the back of buses, on the back of city centre parking tickets and at the motor show. There have been advertisements on the local radio station – because car drivers frequently tune into this - and at out-of-town cinemas. More recently, the Mobility Management team have produced coasters and beer mats that can be distributed to local pubs and employers. The campaigns are not focused on a specific geographical area, but cover the whole of York.

Using these media, the council has run the following specific campaigns:

- 2001: a walking campaign using eight different images. The main message was that walking is healthy, but there were other subsequent messages about congestion and climate change. The main target was car drivers. Pictures showed shoes with strap-lines such as: 'Enhance your business credentials... Arrive in comfort and style by walking to work' and 'With sporty looks and powerful pavement handling... Walking is the healthiest way to travel'.
- 2001/02: a cycling campaign using the slogan 'How far will you go?' was designed to make cycling exciting to a younger audience. It set out to evoke a sense of freedom and the idea that cycling and using the cycling network could offer a better quality of life. It showed images of couples on the cycling network and strap-lines such as 'How far will you go.. for a fitter body?' and 'How far will you go... to get closer to nature?'. The target group was 18-25 year olds.
- 2003 (ongoing): a campaign with the two slogans: 'Walk on by' and 'Ride on by' is designed to encourage both walking and cycling, and is aimed at young professionals going to work. It has emphasised the health message, with straplines such as 'Walk on by... bypass the traffic with a healthy way to travel... choose walking'. This is the first campaign to make use of coasters and beer mats in local pubs.

The council has gone on to develop the cycling side of this campaign and now has a new cycling road show which is being used around town, at fairs, events and businesses. There has also been a recent focus on trying to identify drivers who are 'time poor', since there is evidence that people generally feel that there is pressure on their time and that congestion wastes their time, (ICM Observer Precious Time Poll, 2003).

One feature of the council's current approach is that, because the Travelwise budget comes from capital funding from the local transport plan, campaigns are linked to specific infrastructure improvements. For example, the 'How far will you go?' campaign was linked to the opening of a specific cycle route, from the urban area to a rural village, while the 'Walk on by' campaign was linked to the walking route between the station and the city centre. The new version of the cycle route map was launched in conjunction with the opening of an important piece of the cycle network, contributing to a route across the city. Making these links has been necessary to satisfy the district auditor.

7.9 Scale of travel awareness work

Assessing the scale of travel awareness campaigns in the UK is problematic. Given the national 'Are you doing your bit' campaign, Walk to school week campaigns (2 million children affected in 2003), Bike Week (aiming to affect 10 million people in 2004) and In town without my car ! (43 towns and cities involved in events in 2002), it could be argued that the majority of the country has been touched in one way or another. In a review for the Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions undertaken in 2001, SDG found that 31% of local authorities regularly took part in travel awareness activities and 37% took part sometimes. In York, the travel awareness campaign potentially aimed to affect the whole city, although the target audience was somewhat smaller. Similarly, campaigns reported for Hertfordshire and Nottingham potentially aim to affect the whole county, but with specific elements aimed at smaller target segments. This highlights that, for travel awareness campaigns, the key issue is not whether they take place, but their scale, targetting and intensity. This issue is discussed further in section 7.15.

7.10 Staffing and budgets for travel awareness work

In York, in the initial stages of the work, general campaigns to promote travel awareness took up around a third of one officer's time, the other two thirds being spent on workplace and school travel plans. There is now one full time member of staff dedicated to marketing travel awareness. This is similar to Hertfordshire's Travelwise staffing in 2002 (reported to be the equivalent of one full time person spread across three posts), and not that dissimilar to Nottingham's staffing (2 full time staff), given that Nottingham's campaign is aimed at a considerably larger number of people (since Big Wheel is for the local transport plan area, not simply the City).

Initially, in York, approximately £7000 was spent on travel awareness work (including salary costs). By 2002/03, the Travelwise budget was £66,000, described as '1% of the budget allocated to the integrated transport plan', top-sliced from the transport capital budget. The officer's salary was additional to the 1%, giving a total budget of £88,000 plus salary overheads.

This can be compared with budgets for other travel awareness campaigns as shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Budgets for travel awareness work

Campaign	Budget	Target audience	Implied cost per head
Annual road safety TV and/or radio adverts	£300,000-600,000	Typically, 3 year bands of children (approx 2 million)	15-30p per child
Are you doing your bit ?	£2 million	National campaign (approx 25 million households)	8p per household
Bike Week 2004	£100,000	>10 million lapsed cyclists	1p per cyclist
Hertfordshire Walk to School week 2002	£14,800	60,000 pupils and their parents	25p per pupil
Walk in to work out	£13,000	290 participants involved in pilot, and future recipients	£45 per pilot participant
Bike Bus'ters in Aarhus	3million DKK (@ £270,000)	175 volunteers	£1543 per volunteer
Hertfordshire Travelwise 2001/02	£70,000	All in Hertfordshire (approx 420,000 households and 805000 people)	17p per household, or 9p per person
Nottingham's Big Wheel	£250,000	650,000 residents	38p per resident
York	£88,000	181,094 residents	49p per resident

These results suggest that spending on travel awareness campaigns is typically in the order of 10p to 50p per target group member, with York's spending being towards the top end of this range. Of the two campaigns with significantly higher spending per person, both were pilot projects. In the case of 'Walk in to work out', the expectation was that the materials developed would subsequently be distributed to a considerably wider audience. In the case of Bike Bus'ters, the project was significantly more interactive and intensive than most travel awareness campaigns (and appears to have produced very substantial behaviour change).

It is notable that, with a few exceptions, the budgets allocated to travel awareness campaigns have so far been relatively small by comparison, for example, with marketing budgets used in the motor industry. The figures almost certainly reflect shortage of funds rather than a calculated assessment of best value for money. No clear guidance is available about an optimal level of spending. The case of York is interesting in citing a guideline of 1% of integrated transport capital expenditure (based on the rationale that campaigns are focused on getting maximum benefit out of 'hard' improvements paid for from the capital budget). In cases where the campaigns are related to both revenue and capital budgets, it would make sense to apply such a percentage to the whole transport budget, not just one component of it. Arguably, overall spend will affect both the levels of awareness and behaviour change that are achieved, with intensive campaigns potentially producing more substantial results.

It is worth noting that for some authorities, spending 1% of their transport capital budget on travel awareness campaigns at their *current* rate of expenditure on soft measures overall would seem a distortion. Increasing spending for travel awareness

campaigns should therefore probably be seen in the context of an expansion of soft activities generally.

7.11 Awareness of campaigns

In York, one of the council's targets is for 50% of residents to be aware of the Travelwise campaign by 2006. This seems realistic from surveys carried out so far, showing 10% awareness in 1999, 18% awareness in 2000, and 32% awareness in February 2002 following the walking campaign.

More detailed surveys were carried out in February 2002 to assess the impact of the walking campaign. There were interviews with 500 York residents aged 16 and over, carried out on the street at eight different locations around the city. The evaluation found that:

- About one third of those surveyed recalled seeing at least one of the eight posters produced as part of the campaign.
- Respondents from households with a car (35%) were more likely to recall the posters than those without (21%), demonstrating that the campaign's aim of targetting car drivers was successful.
- There was a high level of support for the council's involvement in promoting walking, cycling and public transport: 47% 'strongly supporting' and 41% 'tending to support'. Only 2% of respondents opposed the council's involvement in this activity.

York's results can be compared with those of other studies as shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Awareness of transport campaigns

Campaign	Level of awareness
'Wonderful Cross' road safety campaign 1996	55% spontaneous recall, 76% prompted recall amongst target audience
'Hedgehogs' road safety campaign 1997	71% spontaneous recall amongst 7-14 year olds
Hertfordshire Travelwise 2000	17% of residents had heard of Travelwise
Chelmsford rail promotion 1998	40% of respondents recalled the campaign
Nottingham's Big Wheel 2003	67% of Nottingham residents and 52% of residents in the wider area were aware of the campaign, including 27% greater awareness of the LTP since 2001.
York's walking campaign	About a third of residents recalled seeing posters of the campaign, including 35% of car drivers

In brief, these suggest that some campaigns (notably the road safety TV campaigns, which were relatively high budget and high profile) can reach awareness levels of 70% or more amongst their target audience. However, it is more common for 20-40% of residents (or 20-40% more residents) to become aware of travel awareness campaigns and their messages when they take place.

7.12 Effects of travel awareness campaigns on car use

In York, the assessment of the walking campaign asked 500 residents a series of questions about whether people had, or would, change their behaviour, (York, 2002). With caveats about interpretation of such statements, the report states:

"Very pleasingly, 45% of respondents said that they walk places more now than they did say a year ago. However, one in three respondents said this wasn't the case and as many as one in four felt unable to give a view either way. As to whether this positive finding can be attributed in any way to the walking campaign, the problems with this kind of 'cause and effect' analysis have already been highlighted. But, for the record, the survey found no difference between those who recalled seeing the posters and those who did not: in both instances the same proportion of people (45%) said they now walked more.

"The issue of the limits of publicity is further highlighted by the fact that only a minority of respondents, though a fairly sizeable one (34%), believed that all the publicity about the effects of cars has made them try to use their car less. As many as half the respondents disagreed with this proposition. (But that is not to say that it hasn't had an effect on them, but rather that they choose not to think it has.) Interestingly, analysis by social group found that AB respondents, a target audience for this campaign, were the group most likely to say that publicity had made them try to use their car less (44%)."

Also of interest, in terms of the effect of the campaign on its target group, is that there was extra analysis of changes amongst car users (about 200 of the total sample), of whom about a third recalled the campaign. Although subsequent breakdowns lead to small sample sizes, making conclusions relatively tentative, it is interesting that car users who recalled the campaign were more likely to report that they walked more than previously, and that they were using cars less. Specifically, 38% of car users who recalled the campaign agreed with the statement that "all the publicity about the effects of cars has made me try to use my car less", compared with 28% of car users who did not recall the campaign.

Meanwhile, the main supporting evidence is provided by traffic and related data about whether there were observable changes in behaviour over the period. York has carried out an extensive series of traffic counts and surveys which do demonstrate significant changes in travel behaviour over the period, though it must be emphasised that these relate to the combined effects of many initiatives and policies of which travel awareness campaigns can only be a small proportion.

In summary, walking has increased substantially: from 10.9% in 2000 to 14.1% in 2002 (12 hour day) and from 12.5% in 2000 to 18.3% in 2002 (morning peak). There has been a slight decrease in car use, from 46.2% to 43.7% and from 42.6% to 37.0% respectively.

The City's Mobility Management team believes that the travel awareness campaign is *contributing* to reductions in traffic but is certainly not the sole cause: for reasons of policy and funding arrangements, the campaigns are in any case linked to specific

'hard' measures, such as a new cycle route or pedestrian improvements, and to other policies, such as parking restraint, the public transport strategy and effective land use planning (to ensure that travelling distances are realistic for walking and cycling). So the possibility of separating the effects is limited.

The results from York are compared with the findings from other studies in table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Impacts of travel awareness work

Campaign	Impacts
York 2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34% of all respondents said they were using cars less (regardless of whether they recalled the campaign) • a third of car drivers recalled the campaign, and 38% of those had reduced their car use, implying potentially about 12% of all car drivers have reduced their car use as a result of the campaign. • in terms of saying that they had reduced their car use, approximately 10% more car drivers who recalled the campaign said that they had, compared with those who did not recall it - ie. about 3.3% of all car drivers. • car use has fallen by 5.4% overall and 13.1% in the morning peak
Hertfordshire 'Walk to School' week. May 2002	At campaign schools, 15% of parents said their children walked to school more often than last year, compared with 10% of parents at control schools.
Hampshire's promotion of rural buses, 2002 (check)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the project, a further 3% to 5% of all respondents were likely to rate services positively on various criteria. • 2% of respondents said they were no longer travelling frequently by car.
Cambridgeshire 'Walk to School' weeks in 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In May 2002, car use was 27% lower during walk to school week, and remained 11% lower a few weeks later • In October 2002, car use was 22% lower during walk to school week and remained 2% lower a few weeks later
Chelmsford rail promotion 1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 40% of respondents recalled the campaign, with 11% of non-users saying it had increased their awareness of rail services • standard return ticket sales from Chelmsford increased by 17% and weekly season ticket sales were 31% higher than the previous year
Walk in to work out	<p>Six months after an intervention to promote active commuting amongst car users</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 31% of a control group and 49% of the intervention group had progressed to a higher level of behaviour change (according to the Transtheoretical model of behavioural change) • the intervention group were spending 125 minutes walking to work per week compared to 61 minutes for the control group
Japanese education work with young adults	License holding amongst an intervention group of students was 41% compared with over 60% for a control group
Bike Bus'ters	The proportion of trips made by car by participants fell from about 80% to 45%, whilst the proportion of commuter trips made by car fell to below 40%. This represents reductions in car use of 45% and >50%.

As highlighted in section 7.11, travel awareness campaigns typically affect 20- 40% of the target group (people, trips etc.). Given a level of awareness, both surveys and traffic counts indicate that well-judged campaigns can have an effect on the attitudes and intentions of those targeted, and that car use, walking, cycling and public transport use can change in locations where, often, both travel awareness campaigns and other initiatives have been pursued. One unresolved question is whether the campaigns have accelerated responses that, in time, might have happened anyway, or magnified them, or have been a necessary condition for them.

In the case of campaigns which have been evaluated with 'control' and 'experimental' groups, it is clear that there are often changes in control groups. One explanation is that both groups are responding to other measures taking place in the area that could encourage the observed behaviour. An alternative explanation is that there are 'spill over' effects. For example, in Hertfordshire, there had been general publicity about walk to school week as well as specific publicity in participating schools, which could have affected the control schools. In the 'Walk in to work out' promotion of active commuting, members of the control and experimental groups were working in the same locations and could potentially have influenced each other. Often, both processes are occurring, and it is impossible to distinguish between these effects.

Third, these results suggest that the amount of behaviour change achieved is variable, depending on degree of targetting, intensiveness and the nature of the intervention. It can tentatively be suggested that our campaigns fall into two groups, as follows:

- One group consists of travel awareness campaigns that are closely targetted and intensively implemented, where behaviour changes in the order of 20% are recorded, potentially rising to as high as 50%. These include the week of Walk to school week in Cambridgeshire⁶ (changes of 22% and 27%); Walk in to work out (18% of the intervention group at a higher level of behaviour change and walking twice as much); the Japanese education work (19% of students persuaded not to obtain driving licenses) and BikeBus'ers (car drivers persuaded to reduce their car use by 45% or more)
- The second group consists of more general travel awareness campaigns, where untangling the effects is more complex, and where behaviour changes tend to be smaller, up to about 10%. Examples include Hampshire's promotion of rural buses (2% no longer travelling frequently by car); the effects of Cambridgeshire's walk to school week on general car use⁵ (reductions of 11% in summer and 2% in the autumn); Hertfordshire's walk to school week on whether children generally walk more (5-15% of parents affected) and York's walking campaign (3% of car drivers almost certainly affected, with potential impacts on a further 30%, and recorded reductions in car use from a range of policies of 5% overall and 13% in the peak).

⁶ It should be noted that the two sets of Cambridgeshire results are from the same campaign. However, we have included them in both groups since there are results from both the intensive phase of the campaign (during 'Walk to school' week), and the significantly less intensive period after the campaign.

7.13 Synergy between travel awareness campaigns and other policies

Travel awareness work was seen as synergistic with the majority of both hard and soft initiatives aiming to promote more sustainable travel. For example, national campaigns such as 'Walk to school week' contribute to school travel work. Moreover, there is considerable overlap between travel awareness work, personalised travel planning, and public transport information and marketing initiatives, as discussed in the introduction.

In York, the council is working on a considerable range of 'soft' measures besides the travel awareness campaign. The Mobility Management team says that it is valuable to get the sustainable travel message across from different sources. Some synergies are more specific. For example, the Travelwise Officer is producing materials for use with companies developing travel plans, and a guide on cycling for parents that can be used by the school travel plan co-ordinator. Given the focus of their most recent campaign on professionals going to work, there is a clear synergy with workplace travel plans anyway

A number of commentators have also highlighted the value of travel awareness work for increasing the palatability of potentially unpopular measures. As highlighted in section 7.5, Nottingham's work has primarily been aimed at reassuring businesses that transport developments such as the workplace parking levy are part of a long term vision and strategy for improving the city.

It was notable that in many of our other soft factor interviews, the need for some kind of national travel awareness work was raised, as something which would 'smooth the path' of other initiatives, with a desire for high profile television and radio advertising. Partly, it was felt that people do not understand the nature or viability of an alternative, more sustainable transport future, or the fact that they can and should contribute to bringing it about. In other cases, it was felt that national backing is needed, to make it clear that local authorities who pursue more sustainable transport policies are following mainstream advice and that such an approach is expected to be socially beneficial. It was interesting that in Cambridgeshire, one of the interviewees (discussing workplace travel plans) highlighted the quality of an 'Are you doing your bit' campaign advertisement (showing Chris Evans offering someone a lift), but commented that public service advertising often takes place at unsociable times (such as late at night) when it will have less impact. Another interviewee commented that travel awareness work has received considerably less national support than road safety campaigning. In York, it was argued that 'to get the real impact of a message across', a big national campaign was needed to complement local travel awareness initiatives.

Finally, it is clear that health promotion is often an important feature of current travel awareness work, and offers the potential for synergy with initiatives taking place in the health sector not simply the transport sector.

In York, the Primary Care Trust co-fund campaigns. Partly as a result of their work, officers believe that they have seen a shift in the attitudes of the leisure industry. Where there was previously a culture among the profession that people don't want to

cycle and walk, there is now more openness to working with the council on promoting this kind of activity. Marketing cycling and walking for their health benefits is also seen as helping to address social exclusion problems in York. This is because poor communities tend to have poorer health and less access to gyms. Walking, in contrast, is free.

Significantly, the Government's Chief Medical Officer has recently argued that the easiest way for people to get fit is by incorporating changes into everyday life such as walking and cycling instead of driving, and this advice now forms part of the Government's Obesity Strategy, (LTT 2004).

7.14 Relationship between travel awareness campaigns spending and impact

While it is not possible to derive an empirical relationship between spending on travel awareness campaigns and their impact on car use from the evidence so far available, the York experience does provide a means of testing orders of magnitude.

Broadly, we can say that, as a minimum, approximately 3.3% of car drivers were probably affected by the campaign. An over-optimistic assumption would be that as many were affected as recalled the campaign or said that they were driving less (about a third of both drivers and non drivers). A more realistic (but still potentially optimistic interpretation) would be to suggest that the 12% of drivers who said they recalled the campaign and had reduced their car use were, to some extent, affected by it. Hence, 3.3% to 12% of drivers can be taken as the credible range of those who potentially altered their behaviour as a result. We assume that those who reported a reduction are telling the truth, and that this reduction would not have been less than 5% (or they would not have noticed it) nor more than 20% (as a conservative estimate of maximum change). This gives a possible range for the population as a whole of a 0.17% to 2.4% reduction in car use. This compares with an actual reduction in car traffic in the city, from all reasons, of 5.4%, and a reduction in work traffic of 13.1%. Spread over the average car use for both owners and non-owners of 5400 km (according to 1999/01 National Travel Survey data), gives a range of roundly 9km to 130km a year per person attributable to the campaign. In line with our other cost-impact assessments, we assume that the effects of the campaign decay at a rate of 40% per year, which implies total savings of 18 to 260 km per person.

The cost of the campaign was £88,000, or 49 pence per York resident. This implies a cost impact ratio in the range 0.2 – 2.7 pence per car km reduced.

While these figures are clearly very tentative, the interesting thing about this range is how similar it is the range of costs and impacts from other soft measures. This implies that, at the margin, expenditure on travel awareness campaigns has a similar level of productivity in influencing behaviour, ie car kilometres reduced per £ spent, as the more targeted measures which they support, albeit with a caveat that it would not, in general, be plausible to expect such campaigns to have an independent existence without the other measures.

7.15 Future impact of travel awareness campaigns, and key issues for scaling up

As highlighted in section 7.7, it is very difficult to assess the future scale of travel awareness work, since it depends on its nature and intensity, which can be highly variable.

York was planning to continue with their '1% of the integrated transport budget' approach, and considered that with this funding, they could achieve awareness levels of 50% by 2006, and contribute to achieving a car use level of 40.1% (compared with 46.2% in 2000). However, the officers considered that, given double the budget, they could more than double the impacts of their work, partly because campaigns could become more carefully refined and targeted to have a bigger effect. As already mentioned, they also highlighted that their work would be considerably enhanced by reinforcement with a national travel awareness campaign. They also felt that they had relatively good quality walking, cycling and bus infrastructure to promote, whereas conditions might be less favourable in other areas.

Currently, many authorities undertake only limited awareness campaigning, with some undertaking no activity in this area. One issue will clearly be the need for a source of funding to create a base level from which future expansion can take place. The York experience is innovative and helpful in this: by relating the campaign budget to the transport infrastructure allocation (*not* to a notional 'soft measures' budget), both the flexibility and allocation of expenditure are improved. This approach also has the advantage of being consistent with the view of most authorities involved in travel awareness campaigns that they should be seen as supportive of, and related to, other specific measures and policies.

In addition to general funding, it is clear that some authorities believe an underpinning national campaign could help to support and enhance the effectiveness of local work.

A final issue relates to the generic evaluation of traffic reduction. Bike Bus'ers clearly achieved a high level of traffic reduction but at relatively high level of input to relatively few participants. For some authorities, there may be social equity issues about trying to achieve a large impact with a small group, compared to a smaller impact with a larger group. National values attached to 'removing a car kilometre from the road network' may be helpful in enabling local authorities to make clearer judgements about appropriate investment decisions. Current values are discussed further in section 5 of Chapter 13.

7.16 Policy implications relating to travel awareness campaigns

From York, and the literature as a whole, the following policy issues seem to be the most commonly noted.

- Travel awareness work is seen as a synergetic policy to complement other transport policy initiatives, which can be usefully undertaken at both local and national level.

- Health promotion is an increasingly significant part of many travel awareness campaigns - the physical activity benefits of walking and cycling could be usefully promoted more at national level.
- Advertising and marketing work seems to be most successful when linked with real improvements in transport options, or when there is a perception mismatch between the options on offer and their actual strengths. Local authorities could be encouraged to undertake work on travel awareness in these situations.
- Until more detailed evidence arises, topslicing as in the York approach of 1% of the transport capital budget may be a useful source, and indicative scale, for this type of activity.
- More travel awareness projects, with explicit monitoring of impacts, could usefully contribute to knowledge about this area.
- Many travel awareness programmes have gradually evolved into more targeted initiatives, such as personalised travel planning programmes and school travel work. However, it seems that there can be benefits from undertaking generic awareness raising to complement these specific initiatives, and many of those interviewed feel that a national campaign could be valuable.

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