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HOW ORGANISATIONS WITH LIMITED INFLUENCE CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

A literature review on influence strategies, good practices and evaluation frameworks

Report by Governance International
for the National Audit Office

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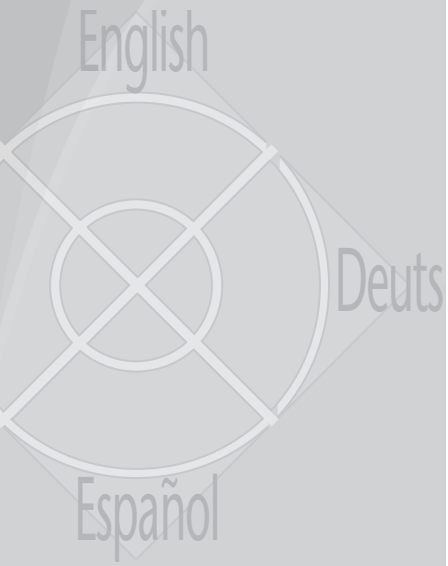


EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Starting point

— There is now wide recognition in the academic community that 'control' is no longer an appropriate word in management and governance – it exaggerates the effects which any actor or any organisation can have on another. We are now well and truly in the 'age of influence', where 'control' is not available but we are nevertheless expected to find ways in which we can persuade others to do things which further our own goals. So the situation of English Heritage is by no means exceptional – it reflects the challenges faced by many public agencies at all levels of government.

— The bad news is that there is currently no good practice database nor any evaluation framework which gives a lot of guidance on how organisations may effectively lead, influence and work with others over whom they do have some degree of influence. Therefore, the 'hand-picked' case studies in this report should be particularly valuable for English Heritage to get new insights on how to achieve outcomes through influencing stakeholders and partner organisations.

Influence strategies

— There is now a wide range of academic theories and concepts which identify influence strategies and ways in which such strategies can be implemented. The literature reviewed in this report includes regulation theory, institutional theory, principal-agent theory, public value, network theory, organisational psychology on persuasion as well as social and public marketing literature.

— While some influence strategies are highly relevant to the context of English Heritage, others are less appropriate. The latter

include political pressure for legislative or regulatory change (except in very special cases) and social pressure based on coercion, given the limited powers of English Heritage. However, English Heritage should be encouraged to look at specific forms of using professional pressure, social pressure, personal pressure, making inter-organisational agreements and mobilising public support for increasing visits from priority groups to heritage sites.

Good practices to implement influence strategies

— There are different ways in which influence strategies may be implemented. For example, English Heritage may choose to exert professional pressure on other organisations working in the heritage sector by jointly devising a good practice scheme to showcase and reward organisations with effective engagement practices targeted at priority groups. Furthermore, the behaviour of professionals working in the heritage sector can be influenced through a code of conduct promoting equality and diversity. Such a conduct can be combined with a 'good practice' scheme showcasing organisations which have implemented the code in an exemplary way. Another way to use professional pressure is to devise a new training scheme for professionals (e.g. front-line staff) working in heritage sites which enables them to deal with priority groups more effectively. More short-term actions may include the recruitment of interns from priority groups to work with English Heritage staff or to implement a coaching scheme for English Heritage managers by working with staff from NGOs or other heritage organisations with experience with priority groups and community engagement.

— Therefore, English Heritage would be well advised to develop an action plan with some short-term actions producing quick-wins but also including medium- and long-term influence strategies which will only gradually show results. As institutional theory points out, changing perceptions and behaviours take time. Therefore, it is important to give the action plan some 'teeth' by including measurable performance targets, which is itself a good way of demonstrating the public value of heritage sites for priority groups. The following sections will outline which actions English Heritage may consider for the short-, medium- and long-term.

Evaluation framework for assessing use of influence

In evaluating the success of influence strategies, a number of key questions can be asked:

— Have the full range of influence sources been used?

— How much leverage is an influence source able to exert through using the mechanism?

— How many mechanisms has the organisation been able to use, by calling up all the sources of influence available to it?

— How many mechanisms have been activated by multiple sources of influence?

— What is the strength of the links between the mechanisms and the influence targets?

— How many influence targets have been hit, through the use of the influence mechanisms?

— How many of the influence targets have been hit by more than one influence mechanism?

— From the point of view of the influence targets, are there any countervailing influence pressures? Are the influence targets being pushed by other influence mechanisms which are being activated by other stakeholders in ways which might counter the pressures which English Heritage is seeking to apply?

We suggest that the use of this checklist may help English Heritage – and those organisations which are holding it accountable – to scrutinise its use of influence strategies to identify ways in which they might be strengthened.

ACTION PLAN

Here we group a number of the lessons which emerge from the literature review and case studies in terms of actions which English Heritage might undertake in short-, medium- and long-term periods. We do not attempt to make an exhaustive list of all the actions which might emerge from our report but rather to give a flavour of some key actions which might be valuable for English Heritage within these different time scales.

Short-term actions

Only a relatively small number of the influence mechanisms picked out in this study are likely to be able to be implemented in the short-term (e.g. within the next year or so). In particular, social marketing techniques can often produce 'quick wins', as can partnership agreements with organisations which themselves are good at influencing the target groups (e.g. schools).

Improve social marketing

Social marketing aims at influencing the behaviour of priority groups and their communities, which is much more ambitious than advertising the benefits of a product or service in a private sector context. Clearly, this involves consumer-oriented research and consultation, marketing analysis and market segmentation – but none of these activities need take long to carry out. Case Study 10 shows how important it was to change public opinion about the feasibility of a major regeneration project in the town of Hayle in Cornwall. This required the Prince's Regeneration Trust to undertake consultations and public meetings with the communities concerned and, in the end, this consultation process resulted in the necessary support to raise funds and to gain the commitment of key stakeholders. In Case Study 11, the use of *customer insight techniques* helped Sunderland council to market payment by direct debit more effectively to particular groups of customers by encouraging them to take up local services through a different channel. Similarly, English Heritage might take a fresh look at heritage sites by using the market intelligence gathered by the Equality and Human Rights Commission in their interactive map of minority groups in Britain, showing for 30 cities and other areas the most numerous minority groups in that area – this would allow more appropriate targeting of the kind of influence which it exerts in each area to get site providers to explore new

ways of encouraging BME participation. Case Study 12 shows that a new marketing approach may attract completely new audiences to heritage sites and suggests that there may be pay-offs to English Heritage in working with digital media companies/research centres at universities and local artists to explore new ways of presenting heritage sites so as to appeal to people who are attracted by audio-visual performances – an audience segment who are now making up a growing proportion of the population.

Pilot and roll-out partnership working with schools and youth services

Case Study 6 shows the benefits involved of working with local schools. Even though they may not be resource-rich they have the natural advantage of being in touch with children and young people, and in many cases, with the wider local community as well. "*The way we can see it*" project in the priority ward of Hadley, which has the highest BME population in Telford, engaged local people of all ages in producing a digital snapshot celebrating the cultural diversity of this community through art workshops run at local schools, and brought heritage sites closer to the local population.

Furthermore, English Heritage could explore the development of holiday schemes at heritage sites for young people at risk by working in partnership with local councils and private sponsors. For example, the priority groups may be encouraged to develop a final performance or event or exhibition as the climax of their involvement, so that their family, friends and neighbours can be encouraged to visit on the final day(s) of the initiative. Case Study 9 gives an idea how such schemes may be implemented.

Medium-term actions

Most of the influence mechanisms suggested in this study are likely to be able to be implemented within the medium-term (say, between one and three years time). Of course, they may often be more effective if piloted first, which adds a little to the timescale within which they will yield significant results.

Changing the behaviour of the professional community

Cultural change in organisations takes time but also requires new skills in managers and staff. In order to enable professionals working in museums and galleries, the countryside, leisure and recreation services of local authorities to deal effectively with under-represented groups such as ethnic minorities training and continuous professional development approaches will be necessary. Case Study 4 shows the benefits of rolling out a new training scheme in the vocational school of Hansenberg in Denmark. Rather than doing some ad-hoc training of English Heritage staff, a more fully developed training scheme could be developed jointly by English Heritage with other organisations working in the heritage sector.

Behavioural changes of staff may also be achieved through the participatory development of a new code of conduct (e.g. on equalities and diversity). This would send a signal to English Heritage staff and partners to take the equalities agenda more seriously. However, it is vital that such a code of conduct is agreed with representatives of all staff members, including the administrative level and not just imposed from the top.

Leveraging moral pressure in society to increase heritage attendance levels

The Austrian council of Zell am See managed to tackle its road accident problems successfully by harnessing moral pressure locally to support a series of strong (and potentially unpopular) interventions – e. g. imposition of speed limits and use of radar equipment. The reason that these interventions had more effect in Zell am See then elsewhere was the local growth in the view that irresponsible driving (particularly drunken driving) was simply unacceptable, so that it declined. English Heritage needs to consider if there are some aspects of heritage where increased moral pressure in the population might valuably lead to more attendance by their target groups – e. g. convincing different minority ethnic groups that they should take more interest in the links between their group

and certain aspects of English history which are very evident in some historic buildings or museums (not always links which reflect well on the English government or inhabitants of the time). Examples might include such issues as the African slave trade, the Far East spice trade, the Indian cotton industry, the Caribbean sugar industry, etc, all of which have left major impacts on the English heritage. (Clearly, such approaches to heritage are potentially controversial – but it is perhaps even more controversial to attempt to hide such issues and maintain the situation that many people in England have little idea of the history that lies behind the heritage and their own culture).

Leveraging professional pressure to encourage the spread of 'good practice' in ways which might impact on target group attendance

In line with the lessons from Case Study 3, the development of a 'Beacon Scheme' for heritage sites would allow the identification of 'good practices' which are externally validated and replicable by others, including innovation in attracting attendances from non-traditional social groups. This approach encourages professionals and managers to recognise from the behaviour of their peers elsewhere that they have been missing opportunities in their own situation. Of course, such a scheme requires considerable investments, so that partnerships with private sector sponsors would probably have to be developed. In most recognition schemes, the work of the 'evaluators' is done as volunteering; therefore, it would be beneficial to involve other organisations and networks with access to relevant expertise in the design and delivery of such a scheme.

Using inter-organisational agreements to bring in new perspectives

In line with Case Study 7, English Heritage might encourage heritage sites to recruit young people to run events at heritage sites, identifying them through cultural and other organisations which can reach out to minority groups. Since funding would have to be provided for these young recruits, it would make sense to undertake such activities through agencies such as Connexions, which would fund their employment experiences, so that the outreach to disadvantaged groups would be a spin-off, rather than a direct effect, of the initiative. In the current recession, it can be expected that there will be significantly greater opportunities for such

schemes, which will help to tackle the transition of young people (particularly in BME communities) into work.

Again, following the example of Case Study 8, involving NGOs representing disadvantaged groups in the design, delivery and evaluation of cultural services would help to mobilise new visitors and would give communities (and staff working in the heritage sector) new experiences and insights, which could spark more imaginative marketing of such sites to target groups.

Long-term actions

In the longer-term, there will be the opportunity for English Heritage to work on creating changed awareness and attitudes – something which can normally not be done quickly, whether this is with the general public or with heritage site owners and operators. In the long-term, too, legislative change is possible, where there is a strong case for making certain behaviours or policies compulsory.

Leverage of moral pressure to encourage different attitudes amongst the target groups towards heritage sites and experiences

In Case Study 5, the success of Solihull in environmental improvement does not rely on spending money, on enforcement of national laws or local byelaws or on marketing a particular service or issue – although all of these mechanisms have indeed been used as part of the campaign. However, the core of the campaign is to get the people of Solihull themselves to exert moral pressure on each other to respect the environment, express open disapproval of those who don´t show this respect and display through their own behaviour how important this respect of the environment is to them – all of which makes it harder for other people to continue to abuse the environment as much as otherwise might. In the case of English Heritage, this might involve encouraging a belief in the target group population that heritage matters, that its value can only be sustained by participation and that passing on an understanding of this heritage to one's children and wider family is an important aspect of responsible parenting and family life.

Using legislative change to bring about different behaviours in relation to heritage sites

Legislative change which makes it easier for certain target groups to access or to enjoy services (whether in the public or private or third sectors) may have an important role when all other means of influence fail. Of course, legislative change alone does not necessarily work – although it is likely to have some effect on the behaviour of those to whom it applies, it will only work if it is relevant to improving the experience of the target groups concerned. Consequently, English Heritage might consider what legislative changes might be relevant to improving the interest of target groups in visiting heritage sites (e.g. through the national curriculum in schools) or improving the experience of certain groups once they decide to make a visit to a heritage site (e.g. disabled access, signing appropriate to more target groups such as BSL or minority ethnic languages, etc.).

Next steps

The Action Plan outlined above is indicative of the potential for implementing this report, rather than definitive in terms of what needs to be done. An Action Plan is more likely to be effective and sustainable if it has buy-in from all the relevant stakeholders.

We therefore suggest, in order to start defining an agreed action plan and getting its implementation under way, it may be useful to launch a small-scale event for organisations working in the heritage sector and NGOs who are involved with priority groups on community empowerment and engagement, with the objective of exploring cooperation opportunities and getting some partnership projects rolling. This should be followed by an effective communication strategy, so that the results of the pilot schemes are communicated to key stakeholders in the heritage sector in order to gain wider support and interest of stakeholders for such activities. On the back of these pilots and the subsequent communication campaign, the full Action Plan could then be launched.

PART ONE: THE STATE OF THE ART

Mapping the mechanisms of influence … a challenging but timely undertaking

The challenges faced by English Heritage in achieving key public objectives through influence on other organisations are shared by an increasing number of public agencies, voluntary and community organisations in the UK and elsewhere. As public sectors in OECD countries have become more decentralised in the last two decades

"authority is spread out from a smaller to a larger number of actors" (Christopher Pollitt, 2009).

This is essentially what McGinnis (1999) calls the "many-agency context of polycentric governance" or what Heifitz (1994) calls "leadership without authority". At the same time, in particular, the UK government has put greater emphasis on performance—in terms of

— service quality (http://www.nao.org.uk/quality_services_toolkit/index.htm)

— efficiency—output per unit of input (http://www.nao.org.uk/efficiency/index.htm)

— cost-effectiveness, particularly in terms of outcomes for service users and citizens

While significant progress has been made with the measurement of service quality and outputs, the evaluation of outcomes still poses big challenges. However, over the past few years, the UK government has put a stronger emphasis on PSAs and, within the PSAs, has increased the focus on outcomes rather than simply service outputs. Other governments elsewhere in Europe are similarly putting a greater emphasis on outcomes. For example, the Austrian government has passed a new law which requires federal agencies to define outcome-based targets (including targets for important governance outcomes, such as gender mainstreaming).

Clearly, no organisation can achieve successful outcomes acting alone. As the Scientific Rapporteurs concluded recently from the analysis of more than 80 good practice cases of enhancing quality in public services from all EU Member countries, "*co-operative solutions are required, not only in the form of cooperation between governments (centrally, regionally and locally), but also through co-operation between these different levels of governments and civil society associations and, often, other stakeholders such as the media and business*" (Pollitt, Bouckaert and Löffler, 2007). In other words, in a decentralised world, successful outcomes can no longer be achieved through the traditional reliance on compliance with legislation, and, moreover, tight budgets mean that only limited use can be made of inducements through financial payments. Rather, it is now necessary for organisations to explore the effective and imaginative use of a wide range of mechanisms for influencing other stakeholders. Actually, the issue of how best to achieve influence over partners and other stakeholders is a key element of *public governance,* which we define as "how an organisation works with its partners, stakeholders and networks to influence the outcomes of public policies" (www.govint.org).

Given the huge interest in public governance over the past decade, it is not surprising that there has been an explosion in the academic literature of theories and concepts which identify the key strategies used by organisations in the public, nonprofit and private sectors to lead and influence other organisations to deliver their objectives for them. Part Two of this report provides our summary of this literature.

However, there has been considerably less development of applied 'how to' knowledge which shows how these influence mechanisms can be used in practice and their limitations in specific contexts. While some interesting case studies have been published of successful private and public organisations which managed to deliver outcome targets in spite of limited resources and restricted control over other stakeholders, they are limited in number and often rather thin in their analysis of the factors which led to success. In particular, we have found it difficult to identify influence approaches which set out clearly what tangible results they have achieved. To surface and analyse the most revealing experiences along these lines, we have complemented the literature search with a set of case studies, which we have identified and developed through our extensive national and international expert networks relevant to this topic. These case studies are set out in Part Three of this report. For each case study we also provide a summary of the lessons relevant to English Heritage which emerge from these cases.

Finally, there is a relative dearth of evaluation frameworks for assessing the performance of lead organisations, such as English Heritage, in exerting influence on other organisations in achieving wider social policy objectives. Again, the academic literature is relatively thin in this field. However, there are a range of relevant approaches in the 'grey literature', particularly in the evaluation field, e.g. in relation to rural development agencies and neighbourhood renewal partnerships, both of which were expected to achieve radical improvements in a range of social policy objectives in their areas, using non-financial mechanisms to lever change. More recently, Governance International has undertaken development work in this field, building on the community scorecard approach developed originally in US neighbourhood renewal improvements, to trace the effects of partnership initiatives on the policies, budgets and practices of partners and network members (Bovaird and Löffler, 2007). In Part Four, we briefly describe some key evaluation frameworks and outline a set of questions which might help NAO to develop a checklist to assess the performance of English Heritage (and other organisations in a similar situation) in exerting influence to achieve its wider objectives.

PART TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ON INFLUENCE STRATEGIES

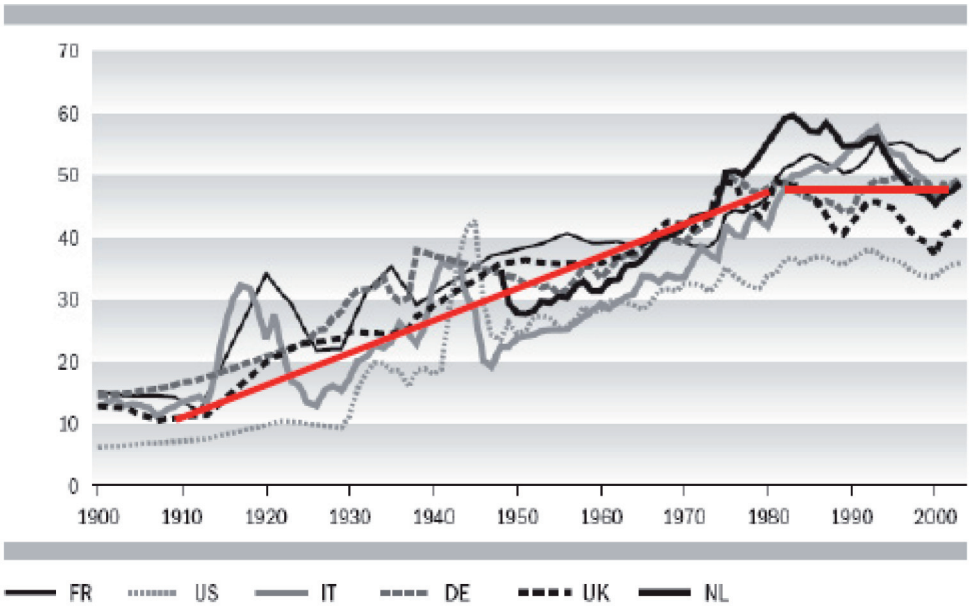
Introduction

The traditional tools of governance to influence behaviour of citizens, communities, companies, non-profit or public agencies can generally be classified as either *regulation* or *financial incentives*. It is a widely shared belief amongst scholars of public governance that these traditional instruments have reached the limits of their usefulness.

Limits on regulatory intervention. The legal codes of most developed countries fill several libraries, in which only a limited number of specialised lawyers can find their way. Governments regularly get entangled in their own regulation and citizens or companies often do not know what to comply to. Therefore, international organisations such as the OECD strongly recommend deregulation, or at least, better regulation.

Limits on budget increases. The share of public expenditure in GDP in developed countries rose from 15% in the early 20th century to 50% and more in the early 1980s. Since then, it has remained relatively stable between 40% and 55%. Substantial budget increases for public services are difficult to carry through in a globalised economy with volatile tax bases. Moreover, in times of recession, citizens are more sensitive to tax rises.

Figure 1: Limits on budget increases



Source: Social and Cultural Planning Office (2004)

This means that the machinery of government is under pressure. Traditionally, for each policy issue there was a specific ministry/department which coordinated policies and programmes and monitored them in a hierarchical way. However, this structure was not flexible enough to deal with the overload of information which often clogs the upper reaches of a centralised hierarchy. As a result, in many OECD countries large departments were split up into a number of smaller, more specialised agencies (Pollitt et al., 2001 and Pollitt, 2009). The idea was that there should be one agency for each policy issue. Yet, in recent years, we have become increasingly aware of the fact that issues are cross-cutting so that agencies need to work together. A hierarchical mode of coordination seems no longer feasible.

Therefore, government agencies face a dilemma. Their traditional governance modes are under pressure. Furthermore, at least in the UK, the expectations of citizens have grown faster than objective levels of quality (Martin, 2008). In particular, in the current economic recession, expectation management will be crucial to close the 'satisfaction gap'.

We should, however, not discard the traditional modes of governance. The assessment that regulation and financial incentives have

reached their limits does not imply that they will disappear. Clearly, regulation and subsidies of all kinds will remain important into the future. The argument about the limits of the traditional modes of governance mainly implies rather that new initiatives will have to explore alternative approaches.

This change of emphasis embodies a more profound change than is sometimes recognised. There are still books being published on 'financial control', 'managerial control', 'quality control', 'political control' and 'regulatory control'. However, the literature on 'the tools of government' (Salomon, 2002; Hood, 1983; Hood and Margetts, 2007) suggests that 'control' is no longer an appropriate word in management and governance—it exaggerates the effects which any actor or any organisation can have on another. We are now well and truly in the 'age of influence', where 'control' is not available but we are nevertheless expected to find ways in which we can persuade others to do things which further our own goals.

In the following section, we review the governance literature with these questions in mind. For each stream of literature, we will discuss:

1. What is the literature about?
2. Who exerts influence on whom?
3. What influence strategies does the literature propose?

Key strategies employed by successful organisations in leading and influencing others to deliver

Regulation theory

1. WHAT IS THE LITERATURE ABOUT?

Regulation can be conceived as a large subset of governance that is about *steering* the flow of events and behaviour, as opposed to *providing* and *distributing* (Braithwaite, 2007). Instead of taking things into its own hands, regulation is about government influencing others; citizens, communities, profit, nonprofit and public agencies.

We need to make a distinction between *primary and secondary regulation* (Hood, James and Scott, 2000). Primary regulation emanates from traditional regulators, i.e. Parliaments and law courts. Secondary regulation involves oversight of bureaucracies by other public agencies operating at arm's-length from the direct line of command. It has the following characteristics:

1. One public bureaucracy in the *role of an overseer* aiming to shape the activities of another;
2. An organisational separation between the 'regulating' bureaucracy and the 'regulatee', with the regulator *outside the direct line of command*
3. Some official *'mandate'* for the regulator organisation to scrutinise the behaviour of the 'regulatee' and seek to change it.

Secondary regulation was the answer of public sector reformers to the limits of primary regulation (Hood, James and Scott, 2000). Politicians urged the bureaucracy to do more with less and for these purposes, reformers searched for more specialised organisations which could provide public services on their behalf. Such specialised competences were sometimes found in the private sector, or in arm's-length executive agencies. It became clear, however, that traditional regulatory oversight by Parliament and law courts was inadequate to monitor these specialised public services (Majone, 1994). As a result, there was a strong rise in the number of regulatory agencies[1].

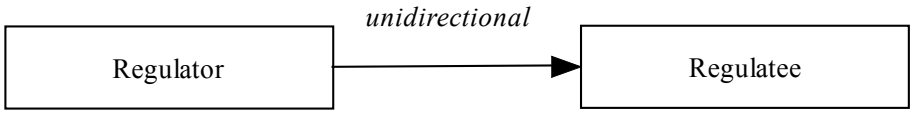
Since oversight became specialised as well, we may ask who regulates the regulators? Specialisation has lead to substantial coordination problems in many OECD countries (OECD, 1997). It led regulation specialist Colin Scott to observe that we have arrived in a post-regulatory state in which the capacities and resources relevant to the exercise of power are dispersed among a wide range of actors (Scott, 2003: 145). The fragmentation of regulation may actually hinder cross-cutting work. Moreover, since the regulatees are confronted with a multitude of regulators, there is an increasing awareness of the compliance cost of regulation (May, 2005).

2. WHO EXERTS INFLUENCE ON WHOM?

The mainstream regulation literature has a classic answer to the question who exerts influence on whom; *the regulators influence the regulatees*. It assumes a unitary regime, which echoes the view of government in the cockpit of society. Those who have to be regulated are mainly cogs in a machine that is operated according to government preferences. In this sense, regulation theory follows the classic policy administration dichotomy—policy maker/provider—as well as the image of 'society by design' or, with the Dutch term, 'the make-able society'.

1 (Hood, James and Scott, 2000) estimate that for employment the total staffing of regulators of UK government grew by about 90 per cent between 1976 and 1995. Spending on regulators doubled and the number of regulatory bodies grew by one fifth.

Figure 2: Patterns of influence in traditional regulation theory



This view is critiqued by regulation scholars. Black (2008) speaks of *polycentric regimes*, 'which are marked by fragmentation, complexity and interdependence between actors, in which state and non-state actors are both regulators and regulated, and their boundaries are marked by the issues or problems which they are concerned with, rather than necessarily by a common solution (p.137)'. Indeed, as **Case Study 1** illustrates, regulatees try to influence regulation through various lobbying efforts and it is now considered as international good practice for regulators to consult with key stakeholders, including regulates, before drafting a new regulation.

3. HOW IS THIS INFLUENCE EXERTED (STRATEGIES)?

Regulation theory was part of the intellectual backbone of public sector reforms that eventually reinforced the disaggregation of the public sector. If we seek strategies to counter the dysfunctional effects of fragmentation within regulation literature, we clearly are seeking to '*change the system from within'*.

1. A first strategy for an organisation to become more influential is to *acquire or reinforce a regulation mandate*. This, however, usually requires legislative change and causes opposition from those who are to be regulated. A pragmatic solution could be a foot-in-the-door tactic—making a small-scale and inoffensive start, with a view to building a stronger legal mandate eventually. However, it provides an entry in the target organisations and thus an opportunity for using other strategies that are discussed below.

2. A related but broader strategy is to *increase the legitimacy of the mandate*. It is distinct from the first strategy because legitimacy for a mandate does not solely come from its official source—indeed, there are broadly four main ''claims" (Black, 2008) (see Box 1) for legitimacy which an organisation can make, singly or in combination.

Box 1: How to increase the legitimacy of a regulation mandate?

Constitutional claims demonstrate or strive for conformance with written norms and with legal values of procedural justice.

Justice claims stress the importance of the values or ends which the organisation is pursuing, including the conception of justice (what is ''truth'' or ''right''), but also its goals (such as sustainable development or free trade).

Functional or performance claims focus on the outcomes and consequences of the organisation (for example, efficiency, expertise or effectiveness), and the extent to which it operates in conformance with professional or scientific norms.

Democratic claims demonstrate the democratic quality of the organisation. What particular model of democratic governance models, for example, representative, participatory, or deliberative is being pursued?

Source: Adapted from Black, 2008

3. If fragmentation of regulation is affecting the impact of an organisation, a strategy may be to *coordinate the regulatory system*. Two options are conceivable. A first strategy might be to have a meta-regulator (Scott, 2003); this is a regulator of regulators. A second strategy is a merger of oversight bodies into so called 'umbrella' or 'double-decker' agencies with coordination at the top and specialisation in the subdivisions.

In both scenarios, we may ask whether such a meta-regulator or umbrella organisation has the competences to regulate highly specialised regulatory agencies. More fundamentally, the role of Parliament and politics may even further erode. Should Parliament not be the meta-regulator par excellence?

4. A fourth strategy that can be derived from the regulation literature is *to rely on soft regulation*. Soft regulation, as opposed to hard regulation[2], is not always legally binding, often less precise and does not always delegate authority for implementation (Abbott et

2 Hard regulation refers to legally binding **obligations** that are **precise** (or can be made precise through adjudication or the issuance of detailed regulations) and that **delegate authority** for interpreting and implementing the law (Abbott & Snidal 2000)

al. 2000). Therefore, it is often more realistic to devise. Soft regulation comprises many techniques including contracts, covenants, cross-cutting indicators, codes of conduct, etc. Soft regulation will only work, though, where there is a shared sense of commitment.

5. A fifth strategy is *to encourage self-regulation*. For small organisations that have to oversee a large and complex sector, self-regulation may be a practical solution. 'Ownership' will be higher and because of that, the impact may be higher too. The public organisation will only have to monitor the results of self-regulation. In the aftermath of the current financial crisis, self-regulation has been thrown into a bad light. The banking sector clearly failed in it efforts to self-regulate and public regulators failed to see the failure. This crisis does point out the limits of self-regulation. We may, for instance, question whether it is a good option when significant private interests are concerned. However, it should perhaps remain an option for the voluntary sector.

6. Finally, according to May (2005), a more fundamental departure from traditional regulation is *to rely on voluntary regulation*. This approach involves a very different governmental role and positive assumptions about the willingness of target organisations to comply. Rather than mandating action, government promulgates guidelines for best management practices and encourages adherence to them as a means of achieving desired outcomes (see Box 2). Conceptually, voluntary regulation is strongly related to the *Public Value* literature.

Box 2: How to foster voluntary regulation?

Information strategies: Non-compliance is caused by target groups not recognising the existence of the problem (requiring information).

Educational strategies: Non-compliance is caused by target groups not understanding what can be done to address the problem (requiring education).

Financial or technical assistance: Non-compliance is caused by target groups not having the capacity to take the desired actions (requiring financial or technical assistance).

Source: Adapted from May, 2005

Institutional theory

1. WHAT IS THE LITERATURE ABOUT?

Institutional theory covers a wide spectrum of theories. The number of 'institutionalisms' is growing exponentially. In this section, we fall back on one of the seminal formulations of the theory by Selznik (1957).

The *concept of an institution* can be contrasted with the concept of organisation. Institutions have a taken-for-granted character, while organisations reflect rational judgment and goal-oriented, coordinated action. Selznik notes that "the term 'organisation' (…) suggests a certain bareness, a lean no-nonsense system of consciously coordinated activities. It refers to an expandable tool, a rational instrument engineered to do a job. An 'institution', on the other hand, is more nearly a natural product of social needs and pressures—a responsive, adaptive organism (p4–5)." Institutions are, according to Selznik, rational organisations and decision rules that are *infused with value*. Democracy, for instance, is an institution because it is more than a rational way for organising society.

How do institutions grow or perish? The answer is found in the process of *institutionalisation*. Selznik distinguishes four stages in this process. First, there is a technical, rational organisation with a specific objective. In the second step, informal relations are developed that go beyond the technical goal orientation. This results in the development of a distinctive competence in an organisation which is not necessarily aligned with the initial technical goals; 'this is what we do, how we do it and what we are good at'. In the fourth step, this distinctive competence is embedded in the formal structures. For instance, new legislation is informed by professionals who value their distinctive competences.

Based on this theory, Selznik formulates an innovative view on *leadership* which may also be of relevance for how organisations exert influence on others. Leadership has to be institutional leadership. Three tasks are identified:

— First, a leader should identify the mission and roles of the organisation. This mission has to be internally consistent and externally legitimate.

— Secondly, leadership has to take initiatives to bring about the internalisation of the mission by staff members. This is important for building a distinctive competence.

— Thirdly, leaders have to defend institutional integrity of the or-

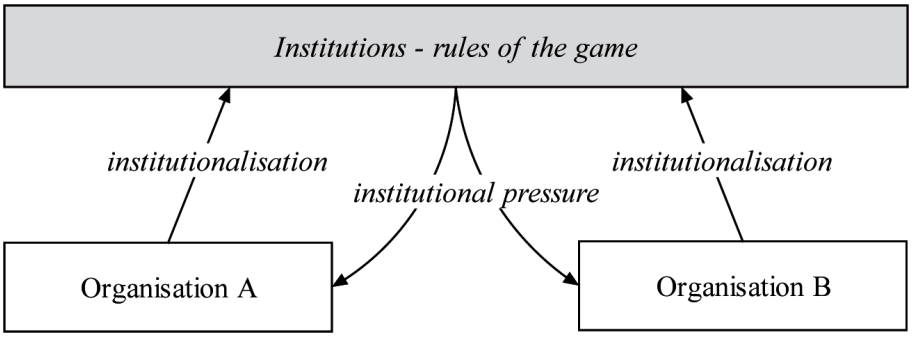
ganisation. Not every fight is worth fighting, but when the distinctive competences of an organisation are questioned, action is needed.

Once rational and technical ways of doing things become institutionalised, they start to exert *institutional pressure*. Dimaggio and Powell (1983) describe the pressure that arises from three types of institutions—power structures, norms, and shared cognitions.

(2) WHO EXERTS INFLUENCE ON WHOM?

Institutional theory does not assume a direct relation of influence between organisations. There is only an *indirect influence* through the process of institutionalisation and institutional pressure. When Churchill noted that '*first we shape our buildings, thereafter they shape us'* he accurately reflected the essence of institutional theory. As a result, institutional strategies to increase influence will require a certain persistence. This also becomes evident in **Case Studies 2 and 3**.

Figure 3: Indirect influence through institutions



(3) HOW IS THIS INFLUENCE EXERTED (STRATEGIES)?

We further build on Dimaggio and Powell's (1983) theory to derive strategies for influencing others. These are in essence strategies of institutionalisation, which we hope will exert institutional pressure when successful. Institutional strategies require usually a long term perspective, but the influence institutions exert is enduring too.

1. *Institutionalise power structures* so that they exert coercive pressure. Power structures are generally enacted in legislation and an obvious strategy might be *legislative change*. It may be useful to con-

sider *pseudo-regulation* as well. For example, if a small organisation succeeds in convincing another organisation to draft a specific plan (e.g. a local tourism strategy), the relative impact of the organisation will be augmented.

2. *Institutionalise norms and standards* so that they exert normative pressure. Norms and standards are in professional contexts generally acquired through *training*. A good strategy may be to develop specific training programmes as **Case Study 4** illustrates. A strong catalyst for getting a theme on the agenda is to break into the curricula of universities and other training institutions. Another strategy which might be feasible for small organisations is to organise *staff mobility* from and to the organisation. Typically, core staff are combined with a more mobile group.

3. *Institutionalise models of good performance* so that they exert mimetic pressure. Organisations have to deal with uncertainty and therefore they seek some secure footing in their environment. Success stories of good performance can therefore be very influential in shaping the behaviour of others. A strategy, also feasible for small, but credible organisations, is to *proclaim best practices*. Other organisations may model their behaviour after the example which is demonstrated.

Principal-Agent Theory

(1) WHAT IS THE LITERATURE ABOUT?

Principal-agent theory is directed at a relationship, in which one party (the principal) delegates work to another party (the agent), who performs that work. Agency theory attempts to describe this relationship using the metaphor of a contract (Eisenhardt, 1989). Table 1 summarises the main elements of the principal-agent theory.

Table1: Summary of the key characteristics of principal-agent theory

Theory element	Description
Key idea	Principal-agent relationships should reflect efficient organisation of information and risk-bearing costs
Unit of analysis	Contract between principal and agent
Human assumptions	Self-interest, bounded rationality, risk aversion
Organisational assumptions	Partial goal conflict and information asymmetry between principal and agent
Information assumption	Information as a purchasable commodity
Contracting problem	Agency (moral hazard and adverse selection), risk sharing
Potential problems	Relationships in which the principal and agent have partly differing goals and risk preferences (e.g. compensation, regulation, leadership, impression management, whistle blowing, vertical integration, transfer pricing)

Source: Eisenhardt, 1989

It is important to fully understand the assumptions of agency theory. We first need to establish whether a particular relation between organisations fits into the principal-agent category before adopting the strategies that this theory proposes. The assumptions are as follows (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Verhoest 2002):

1. the relation is based on an implicit or explicit contract;
2. the goals of principals and agents are at least partly incongru-

ent. Principals and agents are driven by self-interest. In a public sector context the typical assumption is that politicians want to maximise votes while bureaucrats want to maximise income, prestige, status, power, security and professionalism. Niskanen (1971) argued that the bureaucrat's strategy is budget maximisation. Dunleavy (1991) proposes a more nuanced model of 'bureau-shaping'. Rather than securing large budgets, bureaucrats want to head influential bureaus in the policy arena;

3. there is information asymmetry to the advantage of the agent, and the agent will use this advantage to shirk, i.e. not to devote all its efforts to the principal's goals;
4. the principal is risk-neutral while the agent is risk averse, and because of the information asymmetry, the agent will be better able to assess the extent of the risks.

It seems to us that in many instances, these assumptions do not hold. In these cases, principal-agent strategies will be of limited value.

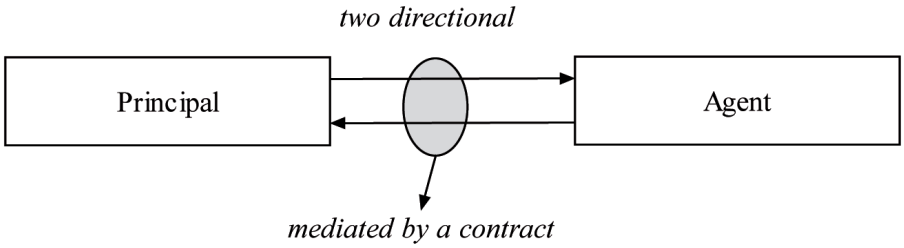
1. Often there is no contract, nor explicit or implicit. Moreover, there is a wider hierarchy of principals and agents; citizens, elected politicians, top managers, middle managers and operational staff (Moe, 1984).
2. In the public sector, principals and agents may well be driven by a common public interest rather than self-interest, and therefore, there will not always be goal incongruence. The public value literature (see below) builds more strongly on this assumption (see also the literature on public service motivation (Perry and Hondeghem 2008; Perry and Wise 1990).
3. Information asymmetry may also be of a substantial different nature in the public and non-profit sector, compared to the private sector. A distinction can be made between policy information and managerial performance information. Information on policies is much more important and complex in the public sector. Typically, policy information is held by principals.
4. Finally, along the same line, the concept of risk is more complicated in the public sector because besides operational risk, it is faced with political and policy risks that principals may want to transfer to agents[3].

3 In contrast, the public sector is less exposed to financial risks than the private sector since it can increase taxes or print money.

2. WHO EXERTS INFLUENCE ON WHOM?

The relation of influence is two-directional, and mediated by the contract. Principals exert influence on agents because they want agents to perform a service under preset conditions. The agents exert influence on the principal because they strategically use their information lead in the negotiation of the contract as well as during the execution of the contract.

Figure 4: Directions of influence in a principal-agent relationship



3. HOW IS THIS INFLUENCE EXERTED (STRATEGIES)?

Principal-agent literature suggests some strategies for principals to influence unwilling agents (Verhoest, 2002). These strategies may be translated in general terms as strategies for exerting influence on other organisations. Some strategies are more feasible than others for small organisations with limited resources.

Monitoring strategies. Principals may attempt to monitor the behaviour of agents better in order to reduce information asymmetries. Performance measurement systems are often devised for this purpose. Public publication of performance information may provide strong leverage for small organisations, since increased accountability may be rewarded by the ultimate principal, the general public, by higher levels of trust which may give the organisations access to new sources of income. Non-profit organisations use performance information for these purposes, too[4].

Bonding. Principals may attempt to put explicit bonds on the operational autonomy of the agent. Jensen and Meckling (1976) mention contractual guarantees to have the financial accounts audited

4 Note that performance information does not need to be 'correct' in the sense that it reflects accurately behaviour and performance of the agents. As long as it is believed to be correct, or believed to be as correct as it can get, it will reinforce the position of the principal. The problem with incorrect information however is that it may give wrong incentives to agents (Van Dooren 2008).

by a qualified auditor, explicit bonding against malfeasance on the part of the manager, and contractual limitations on the manager's decision-making power as examples of bonding arrangements. This strategy requires principals with a strong mandate and/or resources, enabling them to impose such requirements. Clearly, this strategy is usually not realistic for small organisations with limited influence.

Incentives and risk turnover. Principals may provide incentives—rewards or sanctions—to agents to perform specific activities. However, because of information asymmetry and imperfect monitoring, this may lead to goal displacement. Alternatively, the principal can provide incentives for achieving results. In this case there is a transfer of risk to the agent, since besides the activities of the agent external conditions may have an impact on risk. Furthermore, this strategy requires substantial resources from the principal to provide incentives or enforce sanctions. These incentives are usually thought of as financial stimuli. However, small organisations may also think about non-financial incentives they provide to other organisations. Reputational incentives, for instance, are typically one of the main tools in hands of 'weak' principals (e.g. external recognition through award schemes or favourable testimonials and references).

1. WHAT IS THE LITERATURE ABOUT?

Public value in the public and non-profit sectors is *the equivalent of shareholder and user value in the private sector* (Moore 1995; Moore 2000). Public value refers to the value created by government through services, laws, regulations and other actions (Kelly and Muers 2002). Strategies in the public and non-profit sectors need to be adapted to the specific features of the sector (see Table 3 for an overview). Managers of public and non-profit agencies have to focus their attention on three key issues: public value to be created, sources of legitimacy and support, and operational capacity to deliver public value.

Table 2: Public and private value

	Source of funding for value creation	Principal value created
For profit	Revenues earned by the sale of products and services to willing customers	financial returns delivered to shareholders and value delivered to customers
Non profit	Charitable contributions of money, time and material	the achievement of social objectives and the satisfaction of donors
Public	Appropriated tax money	the achievement of the politically mandated mission of the organisation and the fulfilment of citizens' expectations

Source: Adapted from Moore 2000

The Public Value literature has an analytical and a normative component. *Analytically*, efforts have been made to determine what the public actually values. Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007) compiled an inventory of more than eighty public values (see also De Bruijn and Dicke 2006; Radin 2006). Hood (1991), in a seminal article, determines three groups of public values:

— efficiency and effectiveness

— robustness and resilience

— openness and transparency.

The Public Value literature acquires a much stronger *normative tenor* when it discusses how to determine the refined preferences that constitute public value. Barzelay (2007) calls it normative theory because it not only analyses what is, but also prescribes how management ought to behave in order to be effective. O'Toole, Meier and Nicholson-Crotty explain that Moore 'sketches an extended normative argument aimed at encouraging public managers to approach their managerial responsibilities with a particular perspective shaped by a fairly concrete notion of what the managerial task involves and how it is likely to have a positive impact on "creating public value"' (O'Toole Jr, Meier and Nicholson-Crotty 2005: p.46).

The concept of public value has been quite well *received in practice*. The Cabinet Office published a study on it (Kelly and Muers, 2002). They attempt to dig into the broad notion of public value and discuss the value created by services, the value of fairness in services, the value of outcomes and the value of trust. The text provides ample international examples. The BBC pioneered the use of public value as a framework within which to set their bid for renewal. English Heritage published the proceedings of a conference titled 'capturing the public value of heritage' (see Box 3).

Box 3: Capturing the Public Value of Heritage—London Conference, 25–26 January 2006

Different Heritage organisations (Heritage Lottery Fund, English Heritage, Department of Culture, Media and Sports, and the National Trust) jointly organised a conference on the public value of Heritage. Since Heritage usually is not well understood by the public (as opposed to sectors like education or defence), the development of a joint understanding of public value may prove to be a useful strategy in influencing actors outside the direct realm of the Heritage sector. The report notes that (Clark 2006: p.3) there are special reasons for thinking about heritage in the light of public value. At its most basic, heritage is what people value and want to hand on to the future. Heritage is very broad—it can cover everything from land and biodiversity, to buildings and landscapes, collections and even intangible heritage such as language and memory. In fact what makes something part of our heritage is not whether it is a building or landscape, but the value that we place on it.

Value therefore remains at the centre of all heritage practice; it is what justifies legal protection, funding or regulation; it is what inspires people to get involved with heritage. (…) The advantage of

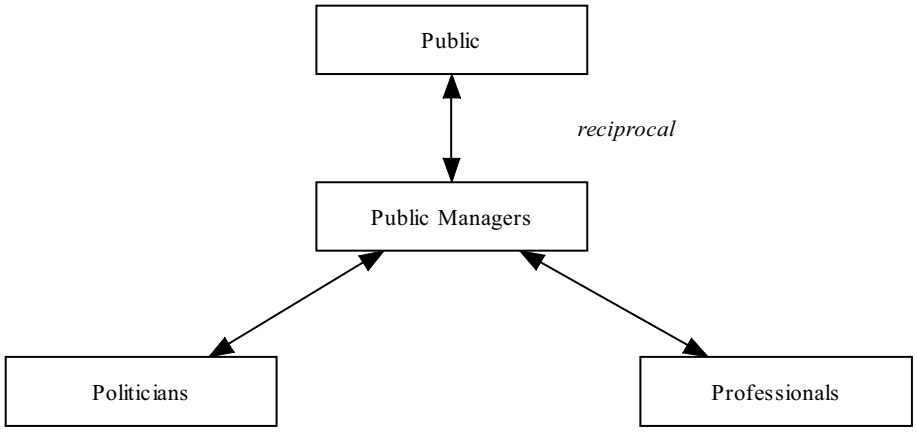
the public value approach over other frameworks is that it places concepts of value at the centre of thinking and it is that—more than anything else—that makes public value such an attractive proposition.

Source: http://www.hlf.org.uk

2. WHO EXERTS INFLUENCE ON WHOM?

In contrast to regulation theory and principal agent theory, public value clearly propagates the notion of *reciprocal streams of influence*. In order to find out what the public values, service providers must interact and engage with the public. Influence ideally takes place in a triangle of relations between the public, professionals and politicians. Public managers are central in these relationships.

Figure 5: Who influences who in shaping public value



Although Public Value theory assumes that the influence exerted by all stakeholders concerned is well balanced, there is a risk that managers become dominant. Rhodes and Wanna (2007) express this fear vividly when they write that "the inherent danger with 'public value management' is that public managers are asked to serve as *the Platonic guardians and arbiters of the public interest*." Stoker, who is an advocate of Public Value theory, points to the risk that 'managers doing politics may push citizens and politicians to the margins; there are severe limits to the extent that politics can be managed and remain open and legitimate (Stoker 2006).

3. HOW IS THIS INFLUENCE EXERTED (STRATEGIES)?

Not surprisingly, the best strategy to exert influence is to create public value. Organisations can only create public value if they combine three strategies. The so-called *strategic triangle* (Moore, 1995) implies that …

— organisations must aim at creating something substantively valuable (i.e. public value).

— organisations need to be legitimate and politically sustainable (i.e. attract sufficient ongoing support and resources from their key stakeholders with due recognition of their power).

— public value needs to be operationally and administratively feasible (i.e. do-able with the available organisational and external capabilities needed to produce it) (Moore 1995: p. 71).

The "strategic triangle" suggests the following strategies:

1. A sustained *attention to outcomes of the organisation*. This not only focuses on actual results but also deliberation about what outcomes are valued. Outcome measurement is crucial to monitor the achievement of public values as well as to demonstrate results.
2. A continuous *'entrepreneurial' management of the political framework in order to function effectively*. This argument echoes Wilson's (1989) observation that while private sector managers are concerned with the bottom line, i. e. profits, public sector managers are confronted with the top line, i. e. legislative and political constraints. Therefore, a public manager has to be a policy entrepreneur as well, who is capable of identifying problems and solutions and who can mobilise political support (Kingdon, 1984).
3. A *continuous attention to sound management*. Kelly and Muers (2002) discuss some of the elements that determine satisfaction with services. *Ceteris paribus*, these factors may also facilitate collaborative strategies with other organisations. It might make sense to reflect upon the relations with stakeholders from the viewpoint of satisfaction management.

   3.1. *Quality service*: Evidence from the private sector shows that the treatment of customers by staff ranks as important in determining their satisfaction, which is also influenced by the price and usefulness of a product. Since price and product quality are often difficult to observe in the public sector, service quality becomes even more important.

   3.2. *Information*: There is a strong correlation between satisfaction with different services and whether people feel they are well

informed about them. Information is a crucial part of building relationships with stakeholders.

3.3. *Choice*: there is some evidence that enhanced levels of choice can boost user satisfaction even if it does not have a discernible impact on service outcomes. It may be a good strategy to provide stakeholders with choice in collaborative arrangements.

3.4. *Use of services*: Whether people have used specific services, as opposed to only hearing about them through the media, is significant in determining their satisfaction. A worthwhile strategy for stakeholder management would be to involve key stakeholders in what the organisation is doing.

Network theory

1. WHAT IS THE LITERATURE ABOUT?

Contemporary government is increasingly networked. This phenomenon is described as the *era of collaboration* by Agranoff (2005) and the *network society* by Castells (2000). Network theory develops concepts to study this trend empirically (Agranoff, 2003). In particular, the Dutch school of network analysis may be useful for our purposes since it pays particular attention to network management (Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004; Teisman and Klijn, 2002).

In essence, network management is about exerting influence of a non-hierarchical nature in networks in order to achieve outcomes. The *resource dependencies* are a crucial feature of a network since they connect the network and give rise to network dynamics. The advantage to an organisation from participating in a network is the opportunity to tap into resources of other organisations—resources that the focal organisation does not have in sufficient number or quality. Fragmentation and specialisation of society as well as the public sector has lead to a dispersion of resources. This is why increasingly more organisations participate in networks to 'get things done'. Several types of resources can be identified (Voets, 2008):

1. Financial capacity in terms of subsidies, loans, taxing power or the power to allow tax reductions, …
2. Production capacity in terms of ownership of specialised production means, functional knowledge on how to produce, …
3. Decision power
4. Knowledge of procedural knowledge of decision-making processes, personal networks

5. Legitimacy derived from a formal position, reputation, representation or other sources.

According to Huxham and Vangen (2006: 13) 'seeking collaborative advantage is a seriously resource-consuming activity so is only to be considered when the stakes are really worth pursuing. Our message to practitioners and policy-makers alike is "don't do it unless you have to." Costs are indeed important in networks and need to be in balance with the performance of the network. The *performance of networks* can be conceived as results performance, process performance and regime performance (Voets, Van Dooren and De Rynck, 2008).

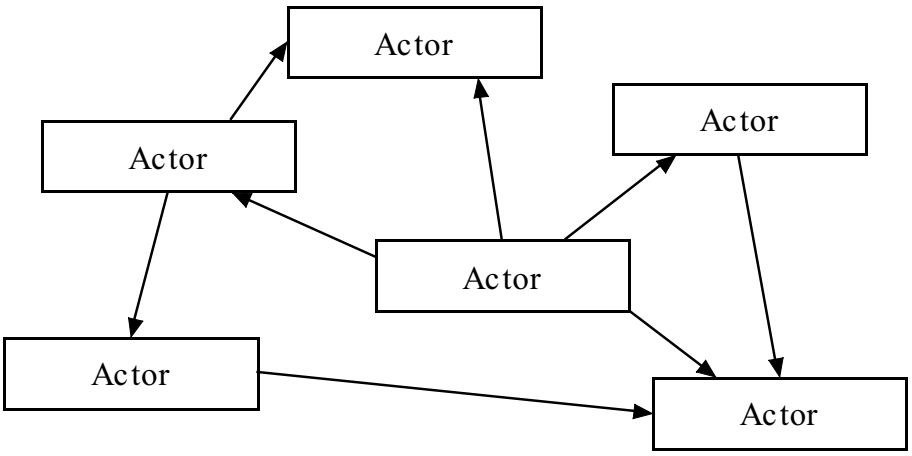
Finally, it is useful to identify the *types of networks* in which an organisation is involved. Mandell and Keast (2008) identify three types, depending on the purposes of the network:

1. Cooperative networks: the main aim is sharing of information and expertise. Each participant remains independent and there is virtually no risk sharing.
2. Coordinative networks: organisations attempt to integrate existing services. They interact with each other in order to coordinate better individual efforts but remain independent.
3. Collaborative networks: organisations come together to solve problems they cannot solve on their own. The participants are interdependent and the risks are shared.

2. WHO EXERTS INFLUENCE ON WHO?

The directions of influence in network theory are *fuzzy and volatile*. Network theory does not presuppose a particular line of influence. The exertion of influence depends more on the roles that participants in a network see for themselves than on the formal institutional position.

Figure 6: Who influences who in networks?



Agranoff (2003) identifies several *roles for actors in networks*. Depending on the agenda of an organisation, different roles may be aspired to. In the reading of Agranoff's roles by Voets (2008):

1. A '*network operator'* is an actor, e.g. a project manager, that is responsible for the daily management of the network (e.g. preparing documents for meetings, following up on the operations of different working groups, managing the website and databases, i.e. a secretariat which takes care of all the administrative aspects of the arrangement).
2. A '*network champion'* is understood here as an actor that excels in networking in terms of building, maintaining and using connections with other actors at all levels and of all backgrounds, stakeholders and other relevant actors.
3. A *'network promoter'* is an actor that is considered authoritative, accepted by all actors as a leader (in moral terms, not in terms of power or hierarchy) which leads the participating actors towards the common goals. He/she holds a position of trust and is also the one to which actors direct grievances or concerns. He/she tries to keep things together at a general level and is the one that in cases of conflict is expected to appease conflicts. If necessary, this actor might even 'sanction' actors (but again, based on a moral authority, trust and informal acceptance, granted to him by the stakeholders rather than based on a hierarchic position).
4. A '*creative thinker'* is an actor that has no stakes in the issues, and hence is 'free' to give creative input. These actors deliver expertise, develop concepts, models, plans, visualise ideas and produce tools to build 'groupware'.
5. *A 'vision keeper'* is a strong 'believer'. These actors are concerned with the progress of the network rather than looking only at their direct organisational interest. If these actors feel that the arrangement tends to go in the wrong direction they will act or at least communicate this. This separates them from stakeholders or network participants who have a more narrow approach to the network and only focus on what they perceive to be their own direct organisational goals.
6. A *'network participant'* is every actor that is officially/in formal terms part of the network structure. This is a general and formal category. These actors manage from time to time, and their management actions are mainly aimed at their own organisational interest.

3. HOW IS THIS INFLUENCE EXERTED (STRATEGIES)?

The network literature suggests a multitude of strategies to influence other organisations. We discuss two clusters of strategies. First, there are *resource-based strategies*. A first step is to critically analyse what resources the organisation can bring to the network. As discussed above, the resources are not only financial. In a second step, the organisation should assess how important this resource is for the organisations it wants to influence. The scheme of Hanf and Scharpf (1978) may be useful to make this assessment. They suggest two variables which determine the dependency of organisations—the substitutability of the resource and the importance of the resource. The third step is to design strategies to either decrease substitutability or increase importance of a resource for the target organisations.

Table 4: How to determine dependency?

		Importance of the resource	
		High	**Low**
Substitutability of the resource	**High**	Low dependency	Independence
	Low	High dependency	Low independency

Source: Adapted from Hanf and Scharpf (1978)

A second cluster is concerned with *network management strategies* given the resources and the roles. Klijn and Teisman (1997) make a distinction between game management to improve a game and network constitution strategies to improve the network. Strategies can be aimed at the perceptions in the network, the actors, or the institutions.

Table 5: Strategies for network management

	Perceptions	Actors	Institutions
Game management to improve the game	(A) Covenanting: exploring similarities and differences in actors' perceptions and the opportunities that exist for goal convergence	(C) Selective (de)activation: (de)mobilizing actors who possess resources	(E) Arranging: Creating, sustaining and changing ad hoc provisions which suit groups of interactions
Network constitution changes to improve the network	(B) Reframing: changing actors' perceptions of the network (which games to play, which professional values matter, etc.)	(D) Network (de)activation: bringing in new actors or changing positions of existing actors	(F) Constitutional reform: changing rules and resources in networks or trying to fundamentally change the ecology of the games

Source: Klijn and Teisman (1997)

For small organisations, strategies aimed at institutions are generally more difficult to fulfil. Institutions are about the rules of the game, and it requires substantial resources and authority to arrange institutional settings, let alone reform them.

Strategies aimed at (de-)activating actors within the network or bringing new actors to the network are more realistic. It seems, however, that it is generally easier to bring new and powerful actors into a network than to get them out. Activation may be easier than de-activation.

Strategies aiming at changing actors' perceptions of a network should also be considered by small organisations. Reframing, for instance through PR or publishing performance information, may be feasible as well. However, this takes time.

Finally, the dynamics of network self-management and self-organisation can lead to major social change. *Groundswell*, a recent book on this topic, has become a best seller, based on the idea that people are now "using technologies to get the things they need from each other, rather than from traditional institutions like corporations" (Li and Bernoff, 2008, p. 9). However, alert organisations which spot these trends at an early stage can act as platforms and brokers for these self-organising activities and, because they are working with the grain of what their customers want rather than fighting for their customers by selling them things that do not really want, they may be able to achieve fast change in consumer habits, with major benefits for their organisations.

1. WHAT IS THE LITERATURE ABOUT?

In Monty Python's Life of Brian there is a scene where Brian speaks to a crowd of people who are admiring the new Messiah that they see in him. He urges the crowd that they are all individuals, after which they repeat inunison "Yes, we are all individuals". It seems paradoxical that although everyone is different and although only individuals can act, they often do so in a coordinated, organised way.

Weick and Roberts (1993) speak of a *collective mind* that exerts influence on individual action[5]. However, just as the individual mind is not a place in our head, this collective mind is not a reality outside of the individual. It is a disposition towards a process that Weick and Roberts call *interrelating*. 'The collective mind is "located" in the process of interrelating just as the individual mind is "located" in the activities of lorry driving, chess playing, or article writing (p.365)'.

Interrelation consists of *three activities*: the construction of actions (contributing) while envisaging a social system of joint actions (representing), and interrelating that constructed action with the system that is envisaged (subordinating). A concrete example: a lecturer prepares slides for her course (contributing) while envisaging the expectations of students and her own experience as a student (representing). She then fits her course into the teaching system as she defines it (subordinating).

The disposition towards interrelation can be seen as a *continuum from habitual performance to heedful performance*. 'In habitual action, each performance is a replica of its predecessor, whereas in heedful performance, each action is modified by its predecessor. In heedful performance, the agent is still learning. Furthermore, heedful performance is the outcome of training and experience that weave together thinking, feeling, and willing. Habitual performance is the outcome of drill and repetition.(p.362)' In other words, collective minds can be smart or dumb, depending on how thoughtful individual actions are interrelated with (the view of) joint actions.

This theory suggests *independence from context*. 'A smart system does the right thing regardless of its structure and regardless of whether the environment is stable or turbulent. (p.377)' We have to create

5 Like institutionalism, social psychology is a broad field which often extends to organisational learning. For reasons of clarity, we confine ourselves to an significant an exemplary theory in the field. Some other important publications in the field include (Argyris & Schön 1996;Katz & Kahn 1966;Senge 1990;Weick 1995)

the capacity to solve situational problems heedfully, and not in a routine way.'

Finally, this theory also suggests that there is a *distinction between group formation and the development of a collective mind*. This is a promising perspective for small organisations, since they may envisage the development of a collective mind within a policy sector without having to develop a strong sense of belonging to a single group.

2. WHO EXERTS INFLUENCE ON WHOM?

It is *difficult to identify* clear lines of influence. All actions of individuals in an organisation exert some influence, since they shape other people's understanding of what the joint action of the organisation is. In an inter-organisational context, this would imply that every action of an organisation influences other organisations. We should keep in mind however that this literature is hesitant to see a formal organisation as an actor—people act, not organisations.

3. HOW IS THIS INFLUENCE EXERTED (STRATEGIES)?

The strategic recommendation of this theory would be to *develop a collective mind* in a policy sector (i.e. heritage). This collective mind mainly consists of capacities for interrelating individual actions of organisations to what is believed to be the joint action scheme.

The strategic concern par excellence should be access to knowledge and information sharing. We should *invest in sense-making* within the policy sector. This strategy harmonises the shared representation of what is important and how actions are interrelated. We argued that a collective mind as an infrastructure for sense making can exist without group formation. This observation leaves considerable room for small organisations to have a substantial impact.

Weick and Roberts (1993) argue that 'the mindset for practice implicit in the preceding analysis has little room for heroic, autonomous individuals. A well-developed collective mind, capable of reliable performance is thoroughly social. (…) As people move toward individualism and fewer interconnections, collective mind is simplified and soon becomes indistinguishable from individual mind.' This observation seems to *exclude some other common strategies*. Models that are only based on competition are not advisable from this perspective. Proclaiming 'best practices', sectoral heroes and role models would not be recommended from this stance, since they stress individual achievement rather than capacities to learn for joint action.

Social and public marketing

1. WHAT IS THE LITERATURE ABOUT?

Kotler and Zaltman (1971, p. 5) define social marketing as *"the design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research"*. More recently, it has been defined as *"the application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution, and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of their society"* (Andreasen, 1995).

Social marketing works by influencing the behaviour, not just of the individual citizen, but also of policy makers and influential interest groups. Social marketers might target the media, organisations and policy and law makers.

Lynn MacFadyen, Martine Stead and Gerard Hastings (1999) suggest that social marketing is not so much a theory as a framework that draws from many other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology and communications theory to understand how to influence people's behaviour (Kotler and Zaltman, 1971). It offers a logical planning process involving consumer-oriented research, marketing analysis, market segmentation, objective setting and the identification of strategies and tactics. It is based on the voluntary exchange of costs and benefits between two or more parties (Kotler and Zaltman, 1971). However, social marketing is more difficult than ordinary marketing, because it tries to change intractable behaviours in complex economic, social and political climates with often very limited resources (Lefebvre and Flora, 1988). Furthermore, unlike normal marketing which is trying to meet shareholder objectives, the social marketer is trying to meet society's desire to improve citizens' quality of life, which is more ambitious—and more difficult to pin down.

Consumer orientation is the central element of all forms of marketing (Kotler et al 1996). In social marketing, the consumer is assumed to be an active participant in the change process. The social marketer seeks to build a relationship with target consumers over time and their input is sought at all stages in the development of a programme through formative, process and evaluative research (MacFadyen, Stead and Hastings, 1999). In short, the consumer-centred approach of social marketing asks not *"what is wrong with these people, why won't they understand?"*, but, *"what is wrong with us? What don't we understand about our target audience?"*

Because of its emphasis on exchange, social marketing emphasises *voluntary behaviour*. To facilitate these voluntary exchanges, social marketers have to offer people something that they really want—not just what the agency wants them to want. Consumer research is vital to identifying what these benefits could be, associated with a particular behaviour change.

MacFadyen, Stead and Hastings (1999) stress that social marketing seeks to influence the behaviour not only of individuals but also of groups, organisations and societies (e.g. Hastings et al. 1994c, Lawther and Lowry, 1995; Lawther et al. 1997; Murray and Douglas 1988). Levy and Zaltman (1975) suggest a sixfold classification of the types of change sought in social marketing, incorporating two dimensions of time (short-term and long-term) and three dimensions of level in society (micro, group, macro). In this way, social marketing can influence not just individual consumers, but also the environment in which they operate (see Table 6).

Table 6: Types of social changes, by time and level of society

	Micro level (individual consumer)	**Group level (group or organisation)**	**Macro level (society)**
Short term change	Behaviour change	Change in norms Administrativ change	Policy change
Example:	Attendance at stop-smoking clinic	Removal of tobacco advertising from outside a school	Banning of all forms of tobacco marketing
Long term change	Lifestyle change	Organisational change	'Socio-cultural evolution'
Example:	Smoking cessation	Deter retailers from selling cigarettes to minors	Eradiction of all tobacco related disease

Adapted from Levy and Zaltman (1975) by MacFadyen, Stead and Hastings (1999)

Social marketers must not only uncover *new demand*, but in addition must frequently deal with *negative demand* when the target group is apathetic about or strongly resistant to a proposed behaviour change. Young recreational drug users, for instance, may see no problems with their current behaviour (Andreasen, 1997) but social marketers have to find a way to make them reexamine it and then **want** to change it.

Rangun et al. (1996) suggest a typology of the benefits associated with a behaviour change. The benefits may be: tangible, intangible, relevant to the individual or relevant to society. Demand is easier to generate where the benefits are both tangible and personally relevant. In those situations where the product benefits are intan-

gible and relevant to society rather than the individual (as with CFCs in aerosols), social marketers must work much harder to generate a need for the product. This, they argue, is the hardest type of behaviour change, as the benefits are difficult to personalise and quantify.

2. WHO EXERTS INFLUENCE ON WHOM?

Social marketers seek to influence social behaviors, not (simply) for the benefit of the marketer, but rather to benefit the target audience and general society. Like commercial marketing, the primary focus is on the consumer—on learning what people want and need rather than trying to persuade them to buy what we happen to be producing. Marketing talks to the consumer, not about the product.

It may do this by directly talking to the customer or through an intermediary (e.g. the parents of obese children, or by getting role models to send clear messages to those who admire them that certain behaviours are not 'cool').

3. HOW IS THIS INFLUENCE EXERTED (STRATEGIES)?

The main tools for social and public marketing are the 'four P':

— product

— price

— promotion

— place

Each of these can be varied to attract the target audience to try new (and often previously avoided) behaviours. For the purposes of this review, we will focus mainly on promotional strategies.

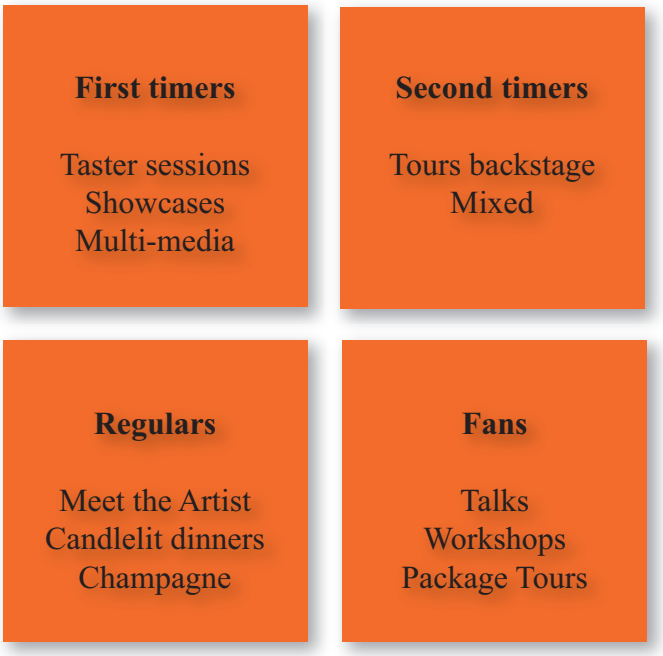
Figure 7: Major promotional methods

- **Advertising:** any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services by an identified sponsor (includes direct mail and web)
- **Sales promotion:** short-term incentives to encourage purchase or sale of a product or service
- **Public relations:** a variety of programmes designed to improve, maintain or protect a company or product image
- **Personal selling:** oral presentation in a conversation with one or more prospective purchasers for the purpose of making sales

Source: American Marketing Association (1960)

It is important to realize that very different types of promotion may be needed when working with different types of audience, e.g. audiences with different levels of commitment (Bovaird, 2009, Chapter 6). Some examples relevant to marketing the arts and culture to different types of audience are given in Figure 8.

Fig. 8 Promotion to audiences with different levels of commitment



A particularly powerful form of promotion is word of mouth, since it means that members of the public—and, particularly, members

of the target group—can promote to each other. Word of mouth often carries much more credibility than promotion through 'formal' channels or by 'vested interest' providers.

PROMOTION BY WORD OF MOUTH

- Careful charting of official and unofficial opinion leaders
- Disproportionate selling time can and should be aimed at highly reputable, would-be early adopters
- Sales incentives should encourage working with early adopters
- Events that pair happy new customers with a wider audience
- User newsletters, which can be circulated to non-users
- Testimonials can be systematically gathered and circulated
- Detailed, step-by-step "word of mouth" campaign plan

Where promotion uses advertisements, it is important that they are well calculated to reach and influence their target market.

HOW TO BUILD GOOD ADVERTS

- 'Before and after' scenarios
- Invented places
- Invented characters
- a renamed and rebranded service or product

More recently, social networking media—RSS, social network sites and social book marking sites—open up the possibilities of managing communications with target groups in ways very similar to the ways in which 'word of mouth' operates. However, to take full advantage of social media requires real understanding of the users who are reached in this way. Whereas direct mail attempts to get the recipient to take an action, with most social media, the aim is simply to create a connection in the first instance—with the aim of using it only later. Both are important ways of communicating with target groups, but need very different marketing strategies. Fundamentally, social networking media open up access points, which can later be used to create content, spread it over wide connections, and get a community to identify with it. This can be a much more effective way of getting a message across in the long-term.

One particular use of social networking is '*viral marketing*', which Wikipedia defines as "marketing techniques that use pre-existing social networks to produce increases in brand awareness or to achieve other marketing objectives through self-replicating viral processes, analogous to the spread of pathological and computer viruses". While often word-of-mouth delivered, it can be enhanced by networking, particularly through the internet—e.g. through video clips, interactive Flash games, ebooks, brandable software, images, or even text messages.

A key aspect of creating successful viral marketing campaigns is to identify individuals with high social networking potential and create viral messages that this group finds appealling and is highly likely to pass along to its contacts. While potentially valuable for getting people to take positive social messages more seriously, 'viral marketing' is also sometimes used pejoratively in relation to stealth marketing campaigns, and it must be used carefully to avoid accusations of 'manipulation'.

Summary of strategies emerging from the literature

From this review of the literature, we can identify the following generic types of 'influence strategies' which are open to a public or non-profit agency in order to achieve its social objectives indirectly through its influence on other organisations, communities or individuals.

As Table 7 shows, many influence strategies are grounded in several theories discussed in the literature review. Clearly, different theoretical frameworks stress different ways of delivering these influence strategies, not all of which are relevant to the context of English Heritage.

Table 7: Overview on influence strategies emerging from literature

Influence strategy	Literature	Examples of articles or books	Observations
Political pressure for legislative or regulatory change	Regulation theory—*acquire or reinforce a regulation mandate*	Hood, James and Scott, 2000	Only a feasible strategy for English Heritage if done in collaboration with other organisations
	Institutional theory—*bring about legislative change to exert coercive pressure*	Dimaggio and Powell, 1983	
	Regulation theory—*increase the legitimacy of the mandate*	Black, 2008	Focus on values (justice claims) or outcomes (performance claims) may help English Heritage to increase legitimacy of its mission
	Regulation theory—*coordinate the regulatory system*	Scott, 2003	Not relevant to English Heritage
	Regulation theory—*'soft regulation' (e.g. codes of conduct)*	Abbot and Snidal, 2000	Techniques such as covenants or codes of conduct may be relevant to English Heritage
Moral pressure	Institutional theory—*institutionalise norms and standards*	Dimaggio and Powell, 1983	Relevant to English Heritage (e.g. development of public campaigns)
Professional pressure	Institutional theory—*Learning from good practice models*	Dimaggio and Powell, 1983	Relevant to English Heritage (e.g. development of good practice schemes for professionals)
	Regulation theory—*encourage self-regulation and voluntary regulation*	May, 2005	
	Institutional theory—*Institutionalise norms and standards*	Dimaggio an Powell, 1983	Relevant to English Heritage (e. g. development of training programmes to tackle new social issues)
	Public value—*attention to sound management*	Kelly and Muers, 2002	

Social pressure	Principal agent theory—*imposing social bonds and reciprocal obligations*	Jensen and Meckling, 1976 Zineldin, 2002	Not relevant to English Heritage
	Institutional theory—*Institutionalise norms and standards*	Dimaggio an Powell, 1983	Relevant to English Heritage (e.g. consultation of target groups through focus groups etc.; co-production of services at heritage sites with target groups)
	Public value—*Attention for outcomes of the organisation*	Mark Harrison Moore, 1995	Relevant to English Heritage (e.g. measurement and demonstration of outcomes)
Personal pressure	Social and public marketing—viral marketing	Levy and Zaltman, 1975 Bovaird, 2009	word of the mouth, enhanced through networking
Inter-organisational agreements	Principal agent theory—*monitoring strategies*	Van Dooren, 2008	Relevant to English Heritage (this may facilitate agreements with private sponsors)
	Principal agent theory—*incentives*	Verhoest, 2002	Reputational incentives may be relevant to English Heritage
	Regulation theory—*'soft regulation'*	Abbott et al., 2000	e.g. agreement to adhere to joint code of conduct
	Network theory—*resourced based strategies*	Hanf and Scharpf, 1978	Relevant to English Heritage (network may give access to resources which the English Heritage does not have)
	Network theory—*game management to improve the game—covenanting, selectivation of positive actors, crafting network arrangements that favour the target behaviours*	Klijn and Teisman, 1997	Strategies at mobilising new actors are relevant to English Heritage
	Network theory—*Reframing:* changing actors' perceptions of the network (which games to play, which professional values matter, etc.)	Klijn and Teisman, 1997	Changing actors' perceptions of a network (e.g. through PR or performance information) are feasible for English Heritage
	Institutional theory—*institutionalise norms and standards*	Dimaggio and Powell, 1983	Organisational interchange of staff or trainees
	Regulation theory—*rely on voluntary regulation*	May, 2005	Joint manifestos and statements of policy
	Organisational psychology on persuasion—*develop a collective mind*	Weick and Roberts, 1993	Invest in information sharing
Mobilising public support for desired network or partner behaviours	Public and social marketing—*tailor promotion to needs of target groups*	American Marketing Association, 1960	Developing new communication channels and messages to approach and convince target groups
	Institutional theory—*institutionalise models of good performance*	Dimaggio and Powell, 1983	Undertaking campaigns to promote these good practices through the identified channels
	Network theory—*game management to improve the game—crafting network arrangements that favour the target behaviours*	Klijn and Teisman, 1997	Founding new organisations (e.g. non-profit organisations, user groups, etc.) or networks to promote certain behaviours
	Public value—*ensuring organisations remain legitimate and politically sustainable*	Moore, 1995	Publicising practices elsewhere which show potential and benefits of desired behaviour

In Part Three, we explore how some of these strategies can be implemented by case studies from a range of public and third sector examples.

PART THREE: GOOD PRACTICES OF EFFECTIVE USE OF INFLUENCE STRATEGIES

This section will showcase selected good practices in other sectors or other countries which illustrate how organisation with limited influence can make an impact. Even though this challenge is faced by many organisations, there is *no good practice database showcasing influence strategies*. Therefore, good practice cases were drawn from a variety of sources, including websites such as the Beacon Scheme (http://www.beacons.idea.gov.uk) the website of Governance International (www.govint.org) interviews with umbrella organisation. Furthermore, it proved to be very challenging to identify any outcomes (or even simple output results) for most case studies. This shows that even in the UK after more than 20 years of performance measurement the ability and willingness of organisations to collect performance information is very limited. It is worrying that often pilots are rolled out or developed further without assessing the outcomes (or any results) of the initial project[6].

In order to make clear how the factors of influence identified in the literature review can be translated into practice the case studies match the key set of influence factors set out in Table 1. Typically, the case studies set out the problem concerned, the key influence mechanism and the key results. Whenever possible, performance indicators will be used. If such information is not available some other evidence is thought which indicates social impacts on some target group. The case studies are completed by an indication of the source of the material and a contact person so that further information can be accessed easily.

6 Therefore, some case studies have am missing or incomplete results box as some public agencies were not willing or able to deliver hard-based evidence of results achieved.

1. Political pressure for legislative or regulatory change

Changes to legislative frameworks are unlikely to be generally appropriate to the context of English Heritage, but may be relevant in relation, for example, to the implementation of national equalities policy or major economic development or tourist policies which are enshrined in legislation.

In particular, small organisations often do not have the resources and capacity to run legislative change campaigns successfully by themselves. Therefore, it is recommendable that small organisations campaign together, which may be done in a range of different ways from loose networks to more formal structured coalitions and alliances.

As NCVO (http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk) points out collaborative campaigning can:

— Bring together a range of expertise knowledge, and experiences

— Lead to the sharing of resources and workloads

— Allow access to a broader base of supporters and therefore reach a greater number of targets

— Enable you to apply pressure to decision makers at various levels

— Make a greater impact

Case Study 1 shows how the Women's Institute (WI) and WWF-UK campaigned together to reduce the threat of hazardous chemicals.

Case Study 1: REACH Chemicals Campaign

The problem concerned: Tens of thousands of chemicals are made and released into the environment every day. Some of these chemicals are particularly 'persistent', meaning they stay in the environment for a long time and do not break down, but actually build up in the body or interfere with hormone systems. The WI have been campaigning on this issue since the 1960s. With a mandate already from their membership they seized the 'once in a lifetime opportunity' presented by the European Commission in 2003 when they began drafting new legislation in this area. Over the next three years the WI campaigned to ensure legislation to reduce the threat of hazardous chemicals and a Europe wide system for testing and approving chemicals was passed.

English

Deuts

Español

How influence was exerted: Working in collaboration with WWF-UK the WI lobbied MEPs to ensure that the strongest legislation on hazardous chemicals was passed by the Parliament. The partnership worked well as both organisations were able to bring their unique expertise to the campaign: the WWF-UK provided strong and compelling evidence through their toxicology experts whilst the WI were able to able to mobilise members into action to provide the 'people power'.

This was the first time the WI had influenced the EU, so the WWF-UK were able to provide more general support explaining how the lobbying process worked at the European level and helping to set up initial meetings and European parliamentary receptions.

Involving your members

In March 2004 the WI and WWF-UK held a joint event to explain the issues surrounding the campaign to their members. Members were then asked to write to their own MEPs urging them to vote for the strongest regulations around this issue as possible. In the lead up to the vote in the European Parliament WI members met personally with their MEPs around the country to reinforce the WI's position. Members also visited Brussels to lobby MEPs before the first plenary vote and then to Strasbourg for the final push of last minute lobbying before the vote in the Parliament.

Gain attention

Strive to stand out. The WI used various campaign tactics to raise the profile of their campaign amongst MEPs and the media.

A red London double decker bused WI members to parliament in Brussels to deliver a petition calling for stricter legislation on chemicals found in household products. The petition contained 77,000 signatures and was presented to the European Parliament's Petitions Committee along with the results of blood test results taken from samples across the UK that contained the presence of chemicals, to underline the issue. A member also addressed the Petitions Committee explaining just why the Women's Institute was so insistent on strong legislation.

On the day before the final vote in Starsburg an installation was built using everyday products that contain harmful chemicals outside the Parliament to draw attention to the vote.

Get personal

The WI asked supporters to write individual handwritten letters that explained why the issue is so important to them personally and relevant to the MEP who would receive it. WI campaigners were struck by seeing two separate piles for post in some MEPs offices they visited—one for handwritten letters and the other for templates. They also tried to make the letters stand out visually—something simple like using coloured paper or the use of pictures or a colourful logo.

Results achieved: WI members felt that the largest impact was achieved by actually speaking to MEPs in person, by establishing relationships and explaining the issue and actions they could take. The WI found MEPs very accessible, from booking a cheap Eurostar ticket, to making pre-appointments through MEPs offices in the UK. And as the campaign progressed the WI often found themselves knocking on MEPs doors to secure the amendments were voted through. The final vote in the European Parliament took place in December 2006 when MEPs voted on legislation that will require reassessment of thousands of chemical products currently on the market and a shift in emphasis to developing new and less harmful alternatives.

Source: http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/campaigningeffectiveness/projects/index.asp?id=12252

Contact person: Ruth Bond, Women's Institute

What English Heritage can take from this case study: Legislative change which makes it easier for certain target groups to access or to enjoy services (whether in the public or private or third sectors) may have an important role when all other means of influence fail. Of course, legislative change alone does not necessarily work—although it is likely to have some effect on the behaviour of those to whom it applies, it will only work if it is relevant to improving the experience of the target groups concerned. Consequently, English Heritage might consider what legislative changes might be relevant to improving the interest of target groups in visiting heritage sites (e.g. through the national curriculum in schools) or improving the experience of certain groups once they decide make a visit to a heritage site (e.g. disabled access, signing appropriate to more target groups such as BSL or minority ethnic languages, etc.).

Clearly, as the regulation literature shows, *acquiring or reinforcing a regulation mandate* is only one possible strategy of influence.

Another strategy which may be relevant in the context of English Heritage is the use of 'soft regulation'. For example, there are many voluntary codes of conduct to which private and public agencies adhere to in order to influence the behaviour of their staff and to demonstrate to their target groups that the organisation takes specific issues seriously.

Clearly, legislative or regulatory influence strategies may become more effective by combining them with influence strategies focussing on values or performance. Otherwise, there is the risk that target groups do not comply with regulations. In particular, this applies to 'soft' forms of regulations.

2. Moral pressure to change norms and standards of target groups

This includes more long-term strategies to 'institutionalise' specific norms and standards in order to influence relevant actors indirectly. However, it is only likely to succeed in policy areas where there is a major public concern or sympathy or where a recent event or campaign has sensitised public opinion.

For example, drinking and driving has become widely socially unacceptable, which is quite a change from public perception 30 years ago, when many people pressed car drivers to have "one last drink", even when they were trying to refuse. Of course, as Case Study 2 from Austria reminds us, irresponsible behaviours still persist—but they can be reduced further by partnership working and clever campaigns by all stakeholders concerned.

Case Study 2: Reducing road accidents due to drunken drivers in the District Zell am See in Austria

The problem concerned: In 2000 a serious accident on a highly frequented highway caused a lot of headlines in Austria since it turn out that public agencies badly coordinated rescue efforts and had done insufficient risk management. The consequence: 8 dead and several injured people. Therefore, the political leader of the district agency of Zell am See, Dr. Rosemarie Drexler, decided that time had come to improve road safety through better partnership working between all stakeholders concerned.

How influence was exerted: The district agency of Zell am See set an ambitious target for reducing road accidents in 2001 and formed a partnership with all stakeholders involved dealing with road safety, including the police, automobile clubs and the national agency for road safety to agree on joint policy statements and publicity. In addition, there was a strong element of citizen consultation—indeed, many of the innovative ideas which were implemented came from local people. In particular, the various actors sought to change patterns of behaviour by doing a better risk analysis and increasing prevention but also being tougher on people who do not abide by the rules. The measures taken included

…increased public relations, focusing each month on different topics such as wearing safety belts, motorbike safety, keeping a safe distance, avoiding alcohol, using winter tyres, etc. The crea-

tion of an internet platform proved particularly important—the website offers car drivers information on road works, radar warnings, and the impact of drugs and alcohol on safety. For example, a photo shows the 'tunnel effect' of alcohol—the more drivers drink the more they narrow their view and already with 0.8 alcohol the pedestrian on the left hand side cannot be seen anymore. The website keeps the website interesting by offering traffic quizzes with prizes to win. The number of hits quickly increased from 300 to 1000 per month. Whenever a fine was issued to a driver, it came with an information sheet on the legal consequences of driving with alcohol. The feedback and the reaction of drivers suggested that this helped to change behaviours.

…better risk analysis and reduction of risks on the road network. For example, when a heavy accident happened, a prohibition to overtake was issued. In severe accidents blackspots, speed limits were imposed and drivers were stopped and briefed about the dangers. The district agency also organised press campaigns to inform drivers about the risks of particular roads.

… consultations with head teachers, residents, engineers and other staff in local agencies to discuss additional measures for increasing road safety, such as mobile police radar equipment or new speed limits. Citizens were involved through discussion fora on the website and could submit proposals to the district agency by email, by phone or in writing.

Results achieved: The objective was to reduce accidents by 10% within two years. After two years of partnership working, accident statistics showed that accidents with injuries had been reduced by over 9% across the district (while in the wider state of Salzburg the reduction was only 4% and in Austria as a whole accidents actually rose by 0.2%. Similarly, the number of injured persons fell significantly in Zell am See, although it rose marginally at national level. These were the lowest number of accidents and injured people since 1996, even though traffic had increased significantly due to tourism.

Source: www.sicher-im-pinzgau.at as well as documentation submitted to the UN Public Service Award

Contact person: Sylvia Kogelbauer, Email: silvia.kogelbauer@salzburg.gv.at

What English Heritage can take from this good practice: Some of the policies and practices in Zell am See were clearly based on

strong intervention by public agencies—e.g. imposition of speed limits and use of radar equipment. However, these were being used elsewhere, too, but without the same effect. It appears that a major contributory factor to the success of the campaigns in Zell am See was the increasing popular view that irresponsible driving (particularly drunken driving) was simply unacceptable socially, so that far fewer people indulged in it. English Heritage needs to consider if there are some aspects of heritage where increased moral pressure in the population might valuably lead to more attendance by their target groups—e.g. convincing different minority ethnic groups that they should take more interest in the links between their group and certain aspects of English history which are very evident in some historic buildings or museums (not always links which reflect well on the English government or inhabitants of the time). Examples might include such issues as the African slave trade, the Far East spice trade, the Indian cotton industry, the Caribbean sugar industry, etc, all of which have left major impacts on the English heritage. (Clearly, such approaches to heritage are potentially controversial—but it is perhaps even more controversial to attempt to hide such issues and maintain the situation that many people in England have little idea of the history that lies behind the heritage and their own culture).

3. Professional pressure to change norms and standards of professionals

Strategies of institutionalisation may also be targeted at the professional community in order to change the behaviour and thinking of staff working in the heritage sector. Institutional theory reminds us that norms and standards can also be changed by showcasing desired forms of behaviour and action which correspond to such norms. Success stories of good performance may therefore be very influential in shaping behaviour of others. Indeed, there is now an increasing growth of competitive quality awards and recognition schemes to showcase 'good practice' in public, private and nonprofit sectors to enable and encourage other organisations to replicate good practice (Downe and Hartley, 2007). One of the most widely known 'good practice' scheme is the are the government-sponsored Beacon schemes, organised in several sectors—local authorities (1999 to present), schools (1998–2005), health (1999—2003) and further education (1999—to present) as Case Study 3 describes.

Case Study 3: The Beacon Scheme in the UK to spread good practice in the public sector

The objective to be achieved: The Beacon schemes were designed to spread understanding of good practice inside key parts of the public sector – local authorities, health agencies, schools, further education colleges, etc. (Although central government also ran a beacon scheme from 2000 to 2002, this was rather different in nature, being essentially a 'super-branding' exercise, which gave 'beacon' status to those central government organisational units which had already collected a series of 'threshold' badges, namely Charter Mark, Investors in People (re-accreditation), EFQM and ISO 9000).

How influence is exerted: The distinctive feature of this family of 'Beacon' models is that award winners have a formal responsibility to disseminate their practices – it is a rare example of a state-sponsored award scheme of dissemination based on a norm-referenced competition. Moreover, the various Beacon schemes have gone further than simple publication of 'inspiring case studies' and have adopted the open day model used by the government's Inside UK Enterprise scheme since 1995; whereby one-day visits or open days are held during which top UK businesses can share their knowledge and experience with others, through a two-way exchange of information and giving

'hands-on' experience with new techniques and innovations – Beacon awards are conditional upon winners being prepared to do the same.

The Beacon Schools programme identified high performing schools across England and was designed to build partnerships between these schools and represent examples of successful practice, with a view to sharing and spreading that effective practice to other schools to raise standards in pupil attainment. Each Beacon School (whether nursery, primary, secondary or special school) received around £38,000 of extra funding a year, usually for a minimum of three years, in exchange for a programme of activities enabling the school to collaborate with others to disseminate good practice and raise school standards. The Beacon Schools programme was phased out in 2005, replaced by the Leading Edge Partnership programme for secondary schools (http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/beaconschools/).

The National Health Service (NHS) Beacon programme in the UK gave awards to both hospitals and general practitioners (GPs) that exemplified local "best practice" and supported them to develop and disseminate learning across the wider NHS. Research into the scheme suggested that, whilst Beacon hospital projects had some potential in developing relatively innovative activity, they were not perceived to be stepping-stones to wider public health action (Whitelaw et al, 2004). After the scheme was disbanded in 2003, the NHS Modernisation Agency has held annual health and social care awards, while pursuing a range of approaches to improvement and dissemination, particularly 'collaboratives', based on an idea from the US Institute for Healthcare Improvement, which bring together experts and practitioners to pursue dramatic organisational improvements, which have a very different flavour from the competitive Beacon approach (Bate and Robert, 2002, p.644).

The Beacon Awards in the further education sector were launched in 1994 by the Association of Colleges, but have been sponsored by the government's Learning and Skills Council (LSC) since 1999. In 2002, the award name was changed to 'Learning and Skills Beacon', open to all post-16 providers funded by the Learning and Skills Council and inspected by post 16 inspectorates (DfES, 2002). The programme aims to recognise imaginative and innovative teaching and learning practice in colleges and work-based learning programmes, and to encourage the sharing of good practice through dissemination activities and collaborative work (LSC, 2004). There are two closely associated

awards run by the LSC – the LSC Award for College Engagement with Employers and the LSC Award for Equality and Diversity.

Results achieved: The Beacon Council scheme has lasted longest. It was set up in 1999 and is now one of the longest-standing policy instruments of the Labour government. In 2004 it was even expanded from local authorities to include national parks, police and fire services, passenger transport and waste management authorities, and town and parish councils. By its 10th year in 2009, the scheme had attracted 1885 applications, and 512 Beacon awards had been made. Over 50% of the Local Government sector has secured awards in that time (a 24% success rate for applicants). The aim of the scheme is to recognise 'excellence' or innovation; and to disseminate good practice. Award winners must provide an excellent service in any of the nominated themes; have evidence of a good overall corporate performance, including favourable recent inspections (the so-called 'corporate hurdle'); and must suggest interesting opportunities for others to learn from their practice (Downe and Hartley, 2007).

Source: www.beacons.idea.gov.uk/

Contact person: Ruby Dixon, Email: ruby.dixon@idea.gov.uk

What English Heritage can take from this approach: The development of a 'Beacon Scheme' for heritage sites would allow the identification of 'good practices' which are externally validated and replicable by others. Of course, such a scheme requires considerable investments so that partnerships with private sector sponsors will have to be developed. In most recognition schemes, the work of the 'evaluators' is done by credible expert peers or volunteers; therefore, it is beneficial to involve other organisations in the design and delivery of such a scheme.

A related strategy to the institutionalisation of models of good performance may be to institutionalise norms and standards (e.g. related to the equalities agenda) through the development of joint training programmes for professionals working in the heritage sector.

Case Study 4: Developing team-based management in the vocational school Hansenberg in Denmark

The problem concerned: HANSENBERG is a 154 years old educational institution situated in Kolding, Denmark which offers 32 vocational training programmes to 6000 students. Having gone through a severe financial and managerial crisis the school changed its legal status in 1999 to become a self-governed school. The decision was taken to decentralise decision-taking processes and to develop a team-based organisation with strong user involvement.

How influence is exerted: Intensive training of all employees was initiated starting with the management group followed by 38 teams which completed a 3-day course in teamwork. All managers were authorized in the use of Belbin profiles at an approved Belbin accreditation course. The managers use the Belbin role assessment in their own team. In further training, balanced scorecards were introduced which help each team to meet the objectives determined by the team and the school.

Results achieved: During the four years with team organisation the school has made many alterations such as a change of the team constitution. Originally, the team coordinator was nominated for six months, today it is possible to sit for one year. New induction courses have been implemented to ensure that new staff gets an understanding of the way the school works in teams. A professional coach has been recruited to support development of the team members.

The school uses a Balanced Scorecard which shows improvements in all key performance areas of the school. In particular, student satisfaction has increased from index 65 to 70 while staff satisfaction has increased from index 60 to 65. 79.9 % of all employees find that establishment of self-sustaining teams has helped them in their work to a large extent or to some extent. Most importantly, the drop-out rate has been reduced from 13 % to 10.8 %. However, also the financial results of the school have improved.

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Source: www.5qualiconference.eu and other background information of the project managers

What English Heritage could take from this example: As the Danish example reminds us cultural change takes time but also requires new skills of managers and staff. In order to enable professionals working in museums and galleries, the countryside, leisure and recreation services of local authorities to deal effectively with under-represented groups such as ethnic minorities training and continuous professional development approaches will be necessary. Rather than doing some ad-hoc training, a more fully developed training scheme could be developed jointly by English Heritage with partner organizations. The delivery of the training could be outsourced to professional trainers or organizations with expertise in diversity and equalities issues.

Clearly such a training programme may be coupled with a certification scheme in order to give partner organisations non-financial incentives to invest into staff training.

4. Social pressure

This mechanism of influence uses the social norms of networks and partnerships to press other stakeholders to conform to desired behaviours. Rather than convincing target groups through public campaigns the key influence is exerted through behaviours and actions of groups which consequently change the behaviour of peer members.

As the Solihull Case Study shows social pressure through positive actions of Environmental Champions helped to deal with undesired forms of behaviour and to achieve improvements in the environmental quality in the local area.

Case Study 5: Reducing environmental crime through environmental champions in Solihull

The problem concerned: It costs Solihull Council over £1.2m to clean up graffiti, litter, chewing gum and fly posters. Therefore, the Council aims to reduce the demand which individuals place on it by litter dropping, graffiti, anti-social behaviour etc. and to develop within communities a feeling of collective social responsibility and social action.

Influence exerted: In 2007 the Council launched the Environment Champions initiative, which aims at increasing co-production with local residents in improving the local environment in Solihull's neighbourhoods. In particular, the project has been set up to tackle the environmental issues that affect everyone in Solihull borough, such as graffiti, litter, flytipping and abandoned vehicles, etc. The Environment Champions act as the "eyes and ears" of the Council and help shape the service that is provided within their local area. Volunteers can be trained, equipped and empowered to deal with minor issues, such as removing graffiti or fly posters, for example. Anyone can be an Environment Champion; the only requirement is to have an interest in protecting and improving Solihull's environment, and the quality of life of those living there. To date there are 150 Environment champions, from the age of 12 to 82, and numbers are growing quickly. There are two types of Champions – Active Champions and Reporting Champions. The Active Champions participate in activities, while the Reporting Champions simply report environmental issues to the council but do not participate in activities. The Active Champions receive Health and Safety Training and all equipment needed is supplied by the Coun-

cil. 15 groups and schools have so far affiliated to the scheme. Groups and individuals sign a Champions charter when joining which lays out what is expected from the Champions and what they in turn can expect from the Council.

The Champions have already undertaken some valuable work removing graffiti (including removing graffiti from over 150 telephone cable boxes), picking up litter, and reporting important problems. However, there are other activities in which champions could become involved including:

— Running Clean Up events

— Putting up signs prohibiting dog fouling

— Vegetation removal or control

Results achieved: As well as having a positive impact on the environmental quality of their area, it is hoped that the work of the Environment Champions will increase respect for the local environment and public places, and reduce people's tolerance of environmental crime. The council hopes that this will then lead to a reduction in such crimes and boost people's pride in their area, resulting in the continued improvement of the neighbourhood and, in the longer term, the improvement of the health and wellbeing of people living in, working in and visiting Solihull.

Source: Press releases and information provided by David Carter, Solihull Council

Contact person: David Carter, Directorate Performance, Solihull Council, Email: dmcarter@solihull.gov.uk

What English Heritage can take from this good practice: The success of the Solihull case does not rely on spending money, on enforcement of national laws or local byelaws or on marketing a particular service or issue – although all of these mechanisms have indeed been used as part of the campaign. However, the core of the campaign is to get the people of Solihull themselves to exert moral pressure on each other to respect the environment, expressing open disapproval of those who don't show this respect and displaying through their own behaviour how important this respect of the environment is to them – all of which makes it harder for other people to continue to abuse the environment as much as otherwise might happen..

As the case studies show, depending on the context, social pressure can take many forms. The key issue is how the existence of this social pressure can best be mobilised for the agency's purposes.

5. Inter-organisational agreements

As the literature on network management suggests, partnerships are key for organisations with limited resources to achieve outcomes. Partnerships may not only include different actors—depending on the resources required—but the extent of partnership working may also vary as the case studies in this section show.

Case Study 6: Linking schools and local communities through art projects in Telford

The problem concerned: This unitary authority is working to transform its communities using culture and sport allied to powerful and meaningful partnerships that are making a real difference. Innovative use of resources and joined up cultural services working have demonstrated real benefits for hard to reach groups, particularly the young, those excluded from education and disabled people.

How influence was exerted: The arts development team worked in the priority ward of Hadley, which has the highest BME population in Telford. The project "The way we can see it" engaged local people of all ages in producing a digital snapshot celebrating the cultural diversity of this community. The initiative asked local schools to provide facilities to run community arts events. The outreach to local communities was done through a steering group which involved representatives from a wide range of community groups. However, the steering group did not determine the projects to be done but consulted local people by running arts workshops. This allowed to shape projects and to make them relevant to local communities.

Results achieved: The numbers involved from this community were higher than anticipated. Over 500 local people were actively engaged in the project. In particular, previously isolated community groups from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds spent time with each other during shared arts events. The project also promoted family learning and inter-generational work. This fi-

nal work reflected the cultural richness of the area in a subtle yet powerful way. There were benefits to the wider community long after the project finished, thus enabling greater community cohesion.

Source: IDeA 2005 (Cultural Connections)

Contact person: John Cocker, Arts Development Manager, Email: john.cocker@telford.gov.uk

What English Heritage could take from this approach: The project shows the benefits involved of working with local schools. Even though they may not be resource-rich they have the natural advantage to be in touch with children and young people, and in many cases, with the wider local community as well.

Clearly, in Case Study 6 the partnership was more of a coordinative network where schools and the local authority worked together to deliver an arts programme targeted at disadvantaged communities. In Case Study 7 the partnership is more formal since we have a contractual relationship with all principal-agent problems involved. As a result, the participants are interdependent and the risks are shared.

Case Study 7: Improving employability of disadvantaged groups through partnership working with cultural organisations—the example of SAMPAD in Birmingham

The problem concerned: Disadvantaged young people often experience low levels of confidence and have problems finding a job or training opportunity.

How influence was exerted: The PAYP (Positive Activities for Young People) programme is a national programme funded by central government through Local Authorities. In Birmingham the local authority leads on the delivery of PAYP activities for the 08/09 financial year. PAYP is a targeted programme working with the most at risk young people. Risk factors that face these young people can include: educational exclusion or non-school attendance; involvement in substance misuse; crime factors (known to police/ arrested within 12 months. Through PAYP activities young people can participate in programmes during the school holidays, access out of school activities throughout the year and be supported in learning and/or employment. The main objectives are to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour both in the short term and long term. Sampad have a history of working with young people on numerous educational/creative projects within Birmingham City Centre. The two geographical areas that Sampad have worked with and currently working with in 2008/09 are Handsworth and Sparkbrook—both areas are low income status or economically and socially deprived areas in the city. The PAYP programme offers young people the opportunity to engage in highly creative activities in which they will gain skills that vary from hard—(technical) to soft (increased communication and confidence building). The current PAYP programme ends in March 2009 and consists of 60 young people.

In the first programme which was run between autumn 2003 and early 2005 40 participants engaged in PAYP activities during the Autumn and Spring term holidays. The participants have experienced over 2600 hours of creative and positive learning activities delivered artists at Punch Records which provided multi-media music workshops. The programme ended in a showcase event where young people presented their new skills and creative work to the public. This performance showcase expressed their thoughts and views, their perspectives and emotions, using image, rhythm and live sports. Apart from the performance showcase, the 6-day programme produced 5 tracks (lyrics created by the young people), film footage and an exhibition of 300 images.

Results achieved: Many of the young people gained a boost in confidence. Two presented for the first time in front of an audience, overcoming their fears. Moreover, the project has helped to deliver impacts in crime reduction, social exclusion, community engagement and better citizenship. As Gurdeep Matharu, aged 14, commended "on our journey through Small Health we were disgusted and yet surprised. It's not until you do an activity like taking photos that you realise, there's a lot of beauty and at the same time, a lot of ugliness, too".

Source*:* www.sampad.org.uk

Contact person*:* Urmala Jassal, email: urmala@sampad.org.uk

What English Heritage could take from this approach: Recruit young people to run events at heritage sites, identifying them through cultural and other organisations which can reach out to minority groups. The funding would have to be provided through agencies such as Connexions, which would fund their employment experiences, so that the outreach to disadvantaged groups would be a spin-off, rather than a direct effect, of the initiative.

Partnership working with NGOs may not only enable English Heritage to reach out to new target groups but also provide the necessary knowledge and skills to English Heritage staff to redesign heritage sites and the services provided at such sites to the needs to groups with special needs such as people with disabilities as Case Study 8 shows.

Case Study 8: Touch Tour for Visually Impaired People in the Byzantine & Christian Museum in Athens

The problem concerned: The Byzantine & Christian Museum (www.byzantinemuseum.gr) is a national state museum founded in 1914. It has over 25,000 artefacts in its possession, organized into collections that date from the 3rd to the 20th century AD. The Museum's objective is to enable physical, intellectual and social access to its permanent exhibition. Physical limitations, hearing impairments or learning difficulties should not prevent visitors from enjoying the museum's services.

How influence was exerted: In order to learn from international experiences, the Museum took part in the "Access to Cultural Heritage: Policies for Presentation and Use" project (www.accessculture.org), supported by the Culture 2000 Programme of the European Commission. International exchanges helped to design the project "Touch Tour for Visually Impaired People". The project was led by a multi-disciplinary team of the museum's staff. After initial in-house research into the assessment of issues related to physical, sensory and intellectual accessibility of specific exhibits potentially included in the touch tour, the proposed objectives were agreed by the museum's conservators. The crucial phase of the project was a consultation process with representatives of the Tactual Museum-"Lighthouse for the blind", a Greek national NGO for visually impaired people, who tested and discussed the proposed "touch objects" in terms of sensory and intellectual accessibility. The Tactile Museum was also involved in the fine-tuning of a number of new products and services designed to meet the needs of visually impaired people such as:

— text of the audio guide

— translation of the exhibition labels into Braille

— design of a brochure in Braille about the Byzantine Museum, including an introduction to its permanent exhibition

— production of a special map for accompanying persons, highlighting places of interest in the permanent exhibition.

Results achieved: About 100 blind visitors have benefited from the touch tour so far. The museum's experts continue their research into extending the existing touch tour into the second part of the permanent exhibition. A detailed evaluation is

planned after the completion of the touch tour in the permanent exhibition area of the museum.

Source: 5th EU Quality Conference for Public Administration (http://www.5qualiconference.eu/) and documentation provided by the museum

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What English Heritage can take from this approach: Involving NGOs representing disadvantaged groups in the design, delivery and evaluation of cultural services helps to mobilise new visitors and gives communities (and staff working in the heritage sector) new experiences.

Partnerships may also involve private sector organisations and bring in financial resources but also infrastructure, skills and knowledge which is currently not available for English Heritage and public and nonprofit partners.

Case Study 9: Offbeat—a crime reduction project between Gateshead Council, local schools, Northumbria Police and sportswear giant Nike

The social objective to be achieved: Reducing anti-social behaviour and crime offended by young people in local hotspots

How influence is exerted: This partnership scheme between Gateshead Council, local schools, Northumbria Police and sportswear giant Nike helped to lead young people away from crime and anti-social behaviour by providing sport and art activities during holiday periods. The scheme normally involved up to 150 people each week from across the borough of Gateshead. Participants for the scheme were chosen by agencies including social services, community education, social inclusion projects, local authority children's homes, Youth Offending Teams and young people who were able to identify peers at risk. The sessions were run from local schools during the school holidays in the borough's youth crime and disorder hotspots. The project was made possible by co-funding through Nike, UK which provided coaches and prizes as part of an agreed sponsorship deal. After 2006, the project evolved into

the scheme 'Sport Action Van', with similar objectives and again working in local anti-social behaviour 'hotspots', but now with different ways of engaging with the young people concerned.

Results achieved: In the area supporting Joseph Swan Comprehensive School, there was a fall of 25% in calls made to the police about disorder in the area, during the first week in the Easter break 2001 compared to the previous year.

Source: IDeA 2005 (Cultural Connections) and updates from interview with project manager

Contact person: Caroline Luck, Cultural Services Manager, email: CarolineLuck@Gateshead.Gov.UK

What English Heritage could take from this approach: Run holiday schemes at heritage sites for young people at risk by working in partnership with local councils and private sponsors. Encourage them to develop a final performance or event or exhibition as the climax of their involvement, so that their family, friends and neighbours can be encouraged to visit on the final day(s) of the initiative.

Clearly, in the current economic climate it is not easy to identify and to commit private sector sponsors of local heritage sites. It is therefore important to make sponsoring more attractive for business by combining community projects with heritage sites so that business can demonstrate that it has contributed to achieving social objectives benefiting specific target groups rather than investing into a heritage site with unclear benefits. One interesting approach to raise the attention in the business sector and media could be to launch an award as this is practiced by the Canadian national business association Business for the Arts (http://businessforthearts.org/).

6. Mobilising public support for desired network or partner behaviours

The theory on public value points out that partnerships may help to deliver public value but the value created must also be demonstrated to the wider public. Social marketing shows tools and approaches how this can be achieved. One promotion strategy can consist in undertaking public campaigns to promote specific forms of behaviour (see Case Study 10) or by developing new communication channels and messages to approach and convince target groups (Case Study 11) or new ways of representing, experiencing and preserving the past relevant to these target groups, through the use of leading edge technologies (virtual reality, 3D visualisation) (Case Study 12).

Case Study 10: The regeneration of Hayle through the Prince's Regeneration Trust

The problem concerned: An example of where PRT has already successfully achieved its objectives is Hayle in west Cornwall. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Hayle was an important industrial town with two major foundries, Harvey's and Copperhouse, employing several thousand people and producing world class pumping engines, initially for the Cornish tin mines and then for industrial purposes across the world. Although the Foundries declined in the later half of the nineteenth century, the town developed a range of new industrial and engineering works, including explosive manufacture, a coal-fired power station and an ICI plant producing bromine for aviation fuel. After the Second World War, Hayle's industrial activity declined sharply, compounded by the closure of Hayle's harbour to commercial shipping in the 1970s. This drastic reversal of fortunes left the town in considerable economic and social need, with a very high rate of unemployment. Hayle is in the top 20% most deprived areas in the country, with one of the highest indices of deprivation in the South-West.

How influence was exerted: The Prince's Regeneration Trust became involved in the regeneration of Hayle by invitation of a local County Councillor. PRT played a crucial role at several stages helping to deliver a project that has given a major boost to the local economy and continues to alleviate social and economic difficulties in the town. The first significant contribution made by PRT was in helping to change the perception of the site. Through community consultation events and meetings, PRT helped shift

opinion and convince all the key stakeholders that a large and ambitious project was possible.

PRT was instrumental in persuading the owner of the site, The Guinness Trust, to gift the site to a newly created Trust, called "**The Harvey's Foundry Trust**". It also used a combination of personal pressure and persuasive argument to gain the support of English Heritage, who made money available to buy the drawing office, the grade II* listed building at the centre of the site.

Once the project had got off the ground, the next stage was to galvanise wider support. PRT brought all the key parties together in a steering group and secured an inter-organisational agreement with the Chief Executive of Penwith Council. He was persuaded that the Trust's proposals were sensible and deliverable and agreed to become the "accountable body" responsible for delivering the project in the interim while the Harvey's Foundry Trust became established.

PRT also convened a meeting with potential funders. That was a key milestone, and by the end of the meeting there were offers of funding support from the South West of England RDA, English Heritage, Cornwall Enterprise, the Town Council and both the County and District Councils. This broad financial support, which was later bolstered with a generous contribution of EU Objective I money, funded Phase I of the project. Phase I specifically addressed the economic and social needs of the town by creating employment opportunities in a new-build office development and in the refurbished drawing office. This was followed by Phase II, funded by a Townscape Heritage Initiative Programme, which regenerated the redundant Foundry Farm for use as workshops and work-live units. Phase III is now being planned and will involve the restoration of further buildings to create more work space and a heritage information facility, including restored original Harvey's steam engines.

Results achieved: Harvey's Foundry now provides workspace for over **80 people**. There are **17 businesses** that have either relocated or been started in Dowren House (Phase I). Foundry Farm (Phase II) has enabled **13 businesses** to expand and create new jobs. When Phase III has been completed, there will be well over **100 jobs** at Harvey's and the site will attract significant numbers of tourists and visitors. The Harvey's Foundry project has proved a real catalyst for the regeneration of the town and has created a new sense of confidence in the community. The substantial and ongoing regeneration of Harvey's Foundry has been instrumental

in the creation of the Cornwall and West Devon Mining World Heritage Site.

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Source: Prince's Regeneration Trust (unpublished case study)

Case study 11: Sunderland – using market research to learn about the needs of specific groups

The objective to be achieved: To increase the number of council tax payers who pay by direct debit.

How influence was exerted: Sunderland City Council used customer segmentation to identify which groups were not paying by direct debit and their preferred communication channels. The council subsequently advertised the direct debit service in specific locations, such as the inside of buses, and provided payment options to meet these groups' requirements, including a weekly payment option. Customer insight techniques makes it possible to market services more effectively, such as being able to encourage take-up of services or different channels by particular groups.

Results achieved: Partly as a result of these initiatives, payment by direct debit has risen from 62 percent to 67.2 per cent.

Source: www.idea.gov.uk and Customer Service and Access Strategy 2008–2011 (download from www.sunderland.gov.uk)

What English Heritage could take from this approach: Customer insight techniques help to market services more effectively to particular groups of customer by encouraging them to take up the service through a different channel. Indeed, it may also be useful for English Heritage to take a fresh look at heritage sites by using the market intelligence gathered by the Equality and Rights Commission in their interactive map of minority groups in Britain (see http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/projects/Modernmulticulturalism/Pages/Mapping.aspx). This map shows 30 cities or areas of Britain, which appear as red circles – after a double click on a circle a detailed neighbourhood map opens up showing the most numerous minority groups by postcode, in that area.

Case Study 12: Lightshift

What this project is about: Marketing natural heritage to a new audience

Summary: *Lightshift* was a temporary arts-based illumination project run by the Forest of the Dean Sculpture Trust (FDST) in partnership with Forest Enterprise and Forest of Dean District Council, which took place in the Forest of Dean for seven nights from 26 October 2001. *Lightshift* was conceived as a way of attracting visitors after the foot and mouth-disease had struck rural areas in England, by presenting the Forest in a new light through its arts work. Two artists were commissioned to produce an array of video, light and sound works, including drumming and fire sessions with search lights 'communicating' across the Forest. The event proved very successful—more than 40,000 people attended, 75% of whom lived or worked locally.

Delivery mechanism: Use of funds for arts and media development to fund local artists to create different exciting public environments in a rural area and a forest landscape.

What English Heritage could take from this approach: Current interactive/telematic art practice is increasingly moving into open spaces thanks to advances in wireless technology, and the increased availability of small, robust and battery-powered computers. Combining heritage sites with sound and light displays opens them up to new audiences, particularly amongst younger people from different social groups. There may therefore be pay-offs in working with digital media companies/research centres at universities and local artists to explore new ways of presenting heritage sites in ways which to appeal to people who are attracted by audio-visual performances—an audience segment who are now making up a growing proportion of the population.

PART FOUR: EVALUATION FRAMEWORKS FOR ASSESSING HOW WELL AGENCIES HAVE EXERTED INFLUENCE ON OTHERS

Control as the focus of mainstream evaluation frameworks

A recent literature review of evaluation frameworks used in the public and nonprofit sectors undertaken by Governance International revealed that there is no lack of supply (Bovaird and Löffler, 2009). Indeed, as Max Travers points out in *The New Bureaucracy (2007)*, it is hard to trace all the origins and pathways of the evaluation movement but it has produced an increasing number of quality models and systems that are widely promoted by management consultants, government regulators and quality managers in public agencies. In particular, there has been an enormous interest on the part of public agencies—and, to a lesser extent, in the voluntary sector—in "excellence models" of organisational quality. They are commonly structured as "production functions" with enabling factors being hypothesized to lead to various dimensions of quantitative and/or qualitative results. Since they claim to be generic models, they also make possible comparisons between public and private sector organisations. The strength of the relationships involved—the level of confidence which we can have that increases in specific enablers will lead to increases in the results—is rarely discussed but it is assumed that some such relation can be predicted with confidence.

In Europe, these 'excellence' models clearly cluster around two core models—the 1999 version of the European Excellence Model (previously known as the Business Excellence Model—see www.efqm.org) and its public sector version—the Common Assessment Framework (known as CAF—see www.eipa.nl). The key evaluation categories of both frameworks are almost identical and include:

— leadership

— strategy and planning

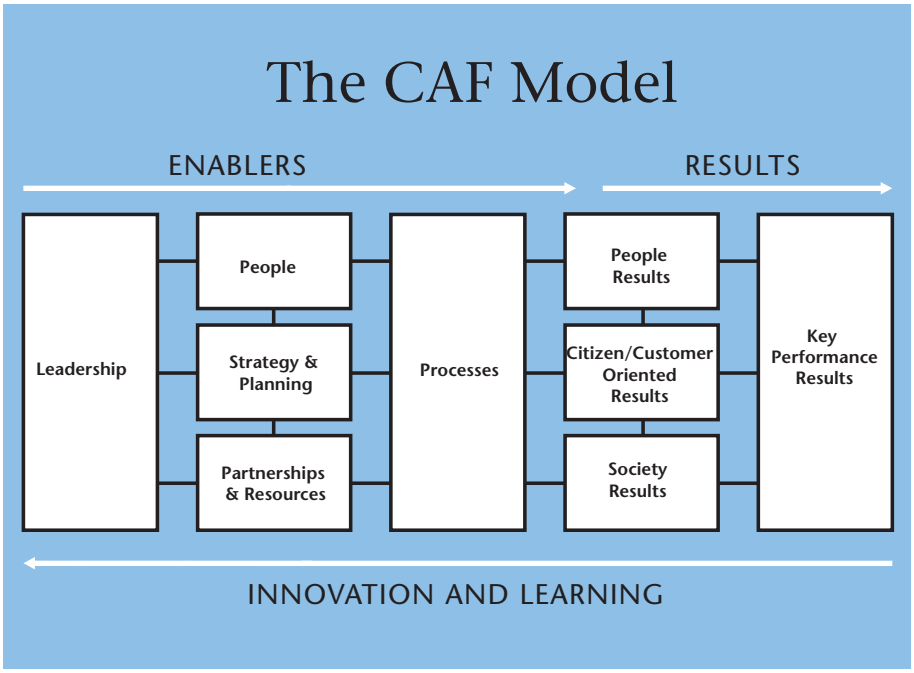
— people

— partnerships and resources

— processes

— different categories of "objective" and "subjective" results, including society results (outcomes), people results, citizen/customer oriented results and key performance results.

Figure 9: The CAF Model (based on the EFQM Framework)



Source: www.eipa.nl

In the case of the CAF, the language explaining the individual criteria in each of the nine boxes is more oriented towards a public sector context (e.g. differentiating between citizens and customers). Otherwise, the main difference between the two evaluation frameworks is that the checklist of the CAF is free of charge (as it can be downloaded from the internet) whereas all tools related to the EFQM framework involve significant fees. (A version of the EFQM model which has been refashioned to be particularly relevant for small organisations, including most third sector organisations, is known as the PQASSO and can downloaded at http://www.ces-vol.org.uk/index.cfm?pg=42).

While the criteria used in these approaches clearly have a strong degree of common sense plausibility, there remains considerable room for debate as to whether the models which they embody ac-

tually assess the right things and show the centrally important relationships.

The frameworks of the European Excellence Model and the Common Assessment Framework still pay little attention to the ways in which influence strategies might link the enabling factors to the results areas. Indeed, both models are still anchored in a context of managerial control where management follows a rational planning cycle along the Plan-Do-Check-Act (PCDA) cycle. Apart from partnership working the influence strategies identified in the literature review hardly figure in either evaluation framework. However, it is interesting to note that both models now count partnerships as a resource. This is, of course, an important dimension of partnership working but it completely ignores the role of partnerships in determining vision, setting strategy, improving joined-up processes, pursuing governance goals (such as the equalities agenda and protecting citizens' rights), in all of which areas partnerships act as key agents, not simply as resources available to the decision-making agents. To give another example, the results factor 'impact on society' recognises the vital importance of assessing the organisation's knock-on effects on jobs, environment and social relationships in the community, but nowhere in the models is it recognised that local social capital and a good environment can, in turn, be key aspects of the context of public agencies, without which the enabling factors are unlikely to be effective (Putnam, 2000).

The fundamental problem with conventional evaluation frameworks is that they only assess dimensions which an organisation can directly control. In this sense, they are rooted in the old paradigms of 'government', not 'governance'. However, most organisations—even when they have significant financial and staff resources—are not able to achieve their desired results, particularly the outcomes which are valued by citizens, by themselves. Clearly, this requires new conceptual frameworks, different evaluation models and methodologies, and even new sets of indicators. At present, no evaluation framework exists which incorporate in a systematic way all the influence factors identified above in this review. However, there are now evaluation methodologies which focus on specific influence factors. In particular, considerable progress has been made with the measurement of quality of life outcomes which is discussed in the next section.

Approaches to measuring quality of life improvements

In recent years projects which have sought to measure the quality of life (and changes to quality of life) have mushroomed, particularly at the local level in many countries. In many cases, the first trigger for the development of QoL indicators was the need to respond to Agenda 21, following the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. As a consequence, many early QoL indicators tended to be strongly focused on environmental and sustainability issues. Some of the most interesting recent international QoL projects have included:

— the *Human Development Index* (HDI) of the United Nations (United Nations, 2002), first launched in 1990 with the simple but ambitious goal of putting people back at the center of the development process, going beyond measuring income to assessing the level of people's long-term well-being. Since then, four new composite indices for human development have been developed — the HDI, the Gender-related Development Index, the Gender Empowerment Measure, and the Human Poverty Index**.** The HDI, published annually by the UN, ranks nations according to their citizens' quality of life, rather than strictly by their economic statistics. The criteria for calculating the rankings include life expectancy, educational attainment, and adjusted real income. However, there is no specific analysis of the strategies by which increases in this index can be achieved.

— The Audit Commission in Britain, working with over 70 pilot local authorities, developed a portfolio of 38 PIs which measure QoL in 13 broad thematic areas (Audit Commission, 2002). These QoL PIs have been produced in order to encourage local authorities and their partners to consider QoL issues in ways which will benefit local communities. The government regards the use of these PIs as 'recommended good practice' in the monitoring of community strategies but there is as yet no statutory requirement to do this. Nor is there an explicit set of strategies recommended to bring about increases in these indices.

— The *European Urban Audit* was launched by the European Commission in 1997 "to enable an assessment of the state of individual EU cities and to provide access to comparative information from other EU cities" (http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional_policy/urban2/urban/audit/src/intro.htm). Since then, the 58 pilot cities have grown to a consortium of more than 100 cities in Europe. The pilot started with a set of 33 QoL PIs on 5 themes including socio-economic development, civic involvement, levels of training and education, environment, culture and recreation.

Although the QoL measurement movement is still relatively young, it is possible to make a preliminary assessment:

— Typically information about QoL indicators is primarily geared towards improving the accountability of public agencies to citizens and community groups. However, the way the information is presented is rarely target-group oriented. Annual reports reporting publicly about the QoL in a local area or in a wider context rarely seem tailored to the needs of people or groups interested in specific issues.

— There is already a discernible trend to use QoL indicators, where they are available, not only for inter-area comparisons but also for inter-agency benchmarking. There must be a major question as to whether this makes sense for QoL indicators. Given the differences between local areas, and the different configurations of agencies responsible for QoL improvements, inter-agency comparisons on QoL indicators are likely to be highly contestable—it is usually far from clear which of the agencies involved in a mulit-agency effort has played a key part in the outcomes achieved, and which ones have played relatively unimportant roles.

— In general, the relative success of some influence strategies rather than others has rarely been demonstrated through the use of this data, although as the data banks mount over time, it may be expected that this will become more possible.

General lessons on the evaluation of influence mechanisms

The evaluation of influence mechanisms therefore faces us with one of the core problems of evaluation—how to attribute causation to the effects which we see from the interaction of multiple stakeholders in their attempt to solve the real world problems which they face. There are several facets to the attribution problem which concern us in the case of English Heritage's influence on other heritage providers, in respect of bringing about greater participation by target groups. First, there is the issue of the extent to which the interventions were, in any sense, a 'cause' of the effects identified (the 'overall cause-and-effect attribution problem'). Secondly, there is the issue of which actions by which stakeholders were MOST important amongst these 'causes' (the 'agency-specific attribution problem').

The overall cause-and-effect attribution problem is typically tackled by undertaking before-and-after studies, ideally across a cross-

section of sites where different levels of the 'causal' factors were involved, to identify the extent to which the effects differed across these sites. If before and after studies are not available, then cross-section analysis demonstrates only associations between the variables and is not itself sufficiently strong to establish cause-and-effect, but some qualitative studies can throw light on whether these associations are likely to have a cause-and-effect relationship. Similarly, if only time series data for one site is available, showing how different levels of 'causal' factors in particular periods gave rise in later periods to different levels of 'effects', then these associations are not in themselves proof of cause and effect relationships and some qualitative analysis will be needed (or extending the evidence-gathering to some extra sites).

The agency-specific attribution problem is typically tackled by evaluating a range of different sites where the agency mix is different, to see what effect results when the contribution of a specific agency is missing or is only available at reduced levels. In practice, it is often difficult to find such sites, so that the agency-specific attribution problem may be irresolvable. In particular, the more intensive and intertwined is partnership working between agencies in relation to a particular problem, the more unlikely it is that any form of separation of the different effects of each agency will be possible. Indeed, trying to disentangle the different contributions of each partner may itself make the partnership less effective (often referred to as 'pulling up the plant to examine which of the roots are contributing most to its growth'), especially if this leads to re-consideration by some partners of whether they are getting their 'fair share' of the spoils, given their contribution, and a breakdown of the (often fragile) agreements on the basis of which the partnership has hitherto been operating.

Taking a different perspective, the outcome assessment developed by Governance International gets round the issue of how much influence each stakeholder exerts on the others by simply involving all stakeholders in each of the evaluation stages—the diagnosis, the analysis of potential improvements and the decision-making on which specific initiatives to take, arising from the analysis (Bovaird and Löffler, 2007). By making each of these stages joint, the partnership is able to identify its joint perceptions of its problems, its goals, its options, its willingness to commit to new ways forward and its preferred way forward. While this approach loses the analytical power which comes from a rigorous evaluation methodology based on cause-and-effect understanding, it gains greatly from generating more imagination and more commitment and therefore may open up possibilities not available through conventional evaluation methodologies.

A model for understanding influence strategies

In this section, we suggest a model for understanding influence strategies by an organisation (Figure 10). This builds on the literature and case studies outlined in this report and takes account of the approach of Bakker and den Hond (2008) in suggesting that the influence of activist stakeholders over organisations is the temporary outcome of processes of action, reaction, and interaction among various parties. It provides the basis for a checklist which can be used for evaluating an organisation's use of influence strategies, which we set out in the next section.

The model has three basic components—sources of influence, influence mechanisms, and influence targets—and illustrates how these are related to each other by a series of links.

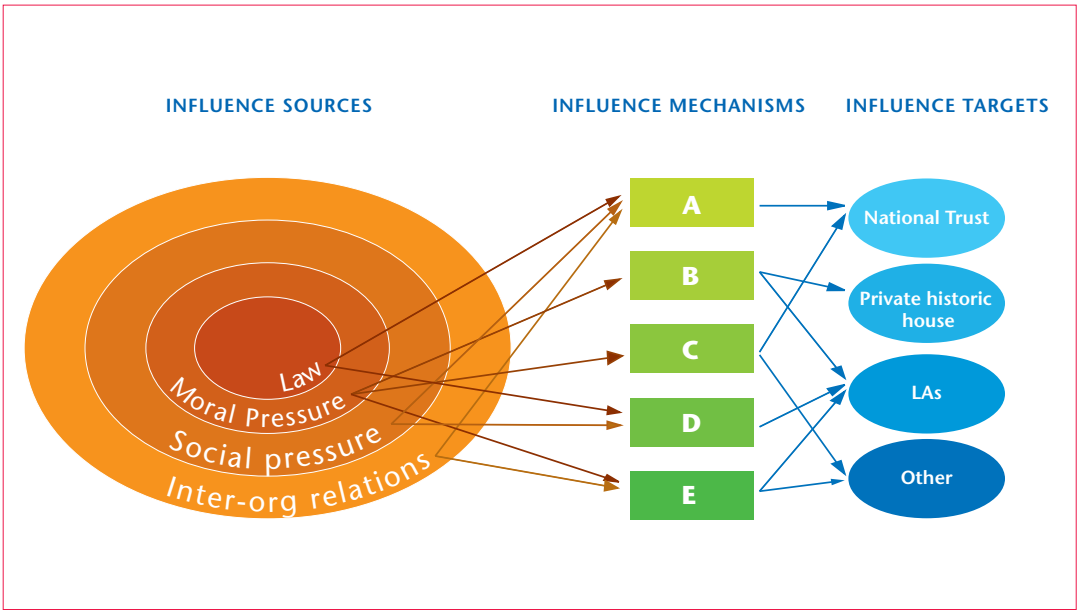
The sources of influence correspond to those which we have explored in this report—legislation, moral pressure, social pressure and inter-organisational pressure. (Personal pressure and professional pressure could also be represented here but have been omitted to keep the figure as clear as possible).

The mechanisms of influence are not spelt out in the figure but would include such activities as lobbying for legislative change, calling upon personal favours, mobilising public opinion in order to pressurise the target organisations to change their behaviours, negotiating reciprocal actions, calling upon favours on a 'you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours later' basis, etc.

The influence targets are those organisations whose behaviour English Heritage (in this case) seeks to change. They could be specified in a greater level of detail but here are simply categorised by sector.

It needs to recognised that there are important feedback loops in this model which are not fully represented in Figure 10. For example, if certain influence sources do not appear to succeed over a period of time (e.g. exerting moral pressure) then they may actually lose potential power because they are no longer believed in by those previously influenced by them. Again, overuse of particular influence sources or influence mechanisms may render them less effective because they become more familiar and therefore less persuasive (as in the influence strategy of 'crying wolf'). We have not attempted to map these feedback effects as yet but they need to be borne in mind when using the model.

Figure 10. Model of influence mechanisms for English Heritage



A checklist for evaluating the success of influence strategies

In evaluating the success of influence strategies, a number of the features in Figure 10 are of central importance.

First, have the full range of influence sources been used? Research by Frooman and Murrell (2005) suggests that repertoires of strategies play a critical role in stakeholder behavior. While the repertoires of strategies which the organisation will typically choose among is partly determined by demographic variables (age, gender, ethnic group, etc.), structural variables (size of organisation, sector, etc.) further refine choice from within that repertoire. If only a restricted range of influence strategies is considered, this is likely to reduce the effectiveness of the influence exerted.

Second, how much leverage is an influence source able to exert through using the mechanism? (We might label this the 'power' which that source generates through that mechanism). Some mechanisms may be very valuable for exerting social pressure but not be very relevant to mobilising moral pressure (e. g. campaigns to deselect MPs who do not support particular legislative proposals).

Third, how many mechanisms has the organisation been able to use, by calling up all the sources of influence available to it?

Fourth, how many mechanisms have been activated by multiple sources of influence? It is likely that mechanisms are more powerful when this occurs—i.e. different sources of influence may have a strong reinforcing effect on each other in making that mechanism effective. For example, a newspaper is more likely to support a campaign if it supports the moral argument for the campaign AND it believes that it will sell more newspapers by jumping on this particular bandwagon (the exercise of reciprocal interest.

Fifth, what is the strength of the links between the mechanisms and the influence targets? This is likely to play a major role in the success of an influence strategy. For example, a campaign launched by a newspaper which is sympathetic to a minister's political party is more likely to influence that minister than one launched by a newspaper backing the opposition. This takes account of the fact that organisations may not be adroit at using appropriate influence mechanisms. While Rowley (2000) showed that organisations occupying peripheral positions in their stakeholder networks were are more likely to cooperate with their stakeholders (through negotiation and acquiescing to their proposals) than organisations situated in central positions, this depends on how well they play the cards available to them.

Sixth, how many influence targets have bit hit, through the use of the influence mechanisms?

Seventh, how many of the influence targets have been hit by more than one influence mechanism? Again, it is likely that there are important reinforcing mechanisms available if more than one influence mechanism is pushing an influence target to change its behaviour.

Eighth, from the point of view of the influence targets, are there any countervailing influence pressures? Are the influence targets being pushed by other influence mechanisms which are being activated by other stakeholders in ways which might counter the pressures which English Heritage is seeking to apply?

We suggest that the use of this checklist may help English Heritage—and those organisations which are holding it accountable—to scrutinise its use of influence strategies to identify ways in which they might be strengthened.

As Hendry (2005) argues, in recent years, businesses have begun to learn that they can no longer to afford to disregard the concerns of social and environmental activists, as the firm's long-term reputation may be at stake. Organisations seeking damage-control are recognizing that they are better off when they seek out the

views of activist organizations instead of ignoring them. Indeed, activist groups have often succeeded in influencing organizations to change core operating processes in order to lessen their negative social and environmental impacts—e.g. home improvement stores are now reluctant to purchase lumber from companies logging old growth rainforests and foodstore chains snow seek to buy tuna from companies using dolphin-friendly fishing methods.

Assessing outcomes and influence strategies through multiple stakeholders

In the above discussion of key issues in the evaluation of influence strategies, we have stressed that all evaluation in this area must be stakeholder-specific. This begs the question as to which stakeholders should be involved in such assessments.

Clearly, no absolute list of stakeholders can be drawn up. In every context, different stakeholders will be able to influence outcomes —and will feel affected by the benefits and costs which result. Consequently, their perceptions of these benefits and costs, and their views of which alternative approaches might have been cost-effective, will be valuable in the evaluation process. Clearly, evaluations of outcomes should always be based on multiple stakeholder assessments rather than simply self-assessments or assessment by some external (expert) stakeholder who is not interested or does not care about a specific governance issue (although both self-assessment and external assessment may play a valuable role in the evaluation process).

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