

**Bus fare evasion
communications
development**

10022

November 2010

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Research conducted by 2CV

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Background



- Fare evasion on London's transport network costs Londoners approximately £70m a year - £30m of which is on the bus network. Much of this crime takes place on articulated (bendy) buses where passengers can get on via the rear doors and therefore do not have to pass the driver
- A new campaign to tackle fare evasion is in development. Research was required to explore consumer response to a number of different adcept message territories in order to evaluate the potential of new communication routes to impact behaviour change

Overall research objectives

- *To understand fare evasion mindset, attitudes, occasions and behaviours amongst the target audience in order to contextualise and understand responses to the adcepts*

- *To explore response to the creative adcepts*
 - *To understand impact, comprehension, relevance and appeal of adcepts*
 - *To explore resonance of language and tone of voice*

- *To provide guidance in the selection and development of an effective campaign and provide clear direction on the optimal strategy for communications*

Methodology and sample

Research conducted by 2CV:

Groups 1.5 hrs	Age (years)	Gender	Segment	Frequency of bus use
1	18-25	Equal mix	5 Opportunists 3 Considerers	Mix of Occasional, Frequent
2	26-40	Equal mix	5 Opportunists 3 Considerers	Mix of Occasional, Frequent

Depths 1 hour	Age	Gender	Segment	Frequency of bus use	Other criteria
1-2	18-25	Equal mix	2 x Opportunists	1 x Occasional 1 x Frequent	1 x Non-student 1 x student
3-4	26-35	Equal mix	2 x Opportunists	1 x Occasional 1 x Frequent	
5-6	36-45	Equal mix	1 x Considerer 1 x Opportunist	1 x Occasional 1 x Frequent	
7-9	46-55*	Equal mix	1 x Considerer 2 x Opportunists	2 x Occasional 1 x Frequent	*Skewed younger

- Frequent bus users to use the bus at least 3 times a week; occasional users from once a fortnight to twice a week
- Mix of time of day / week for bus usage
- All to use PAYG as their main form of payment
- Skew to inner London and with the majority taking the bus within Zone 1



Overview



Overview

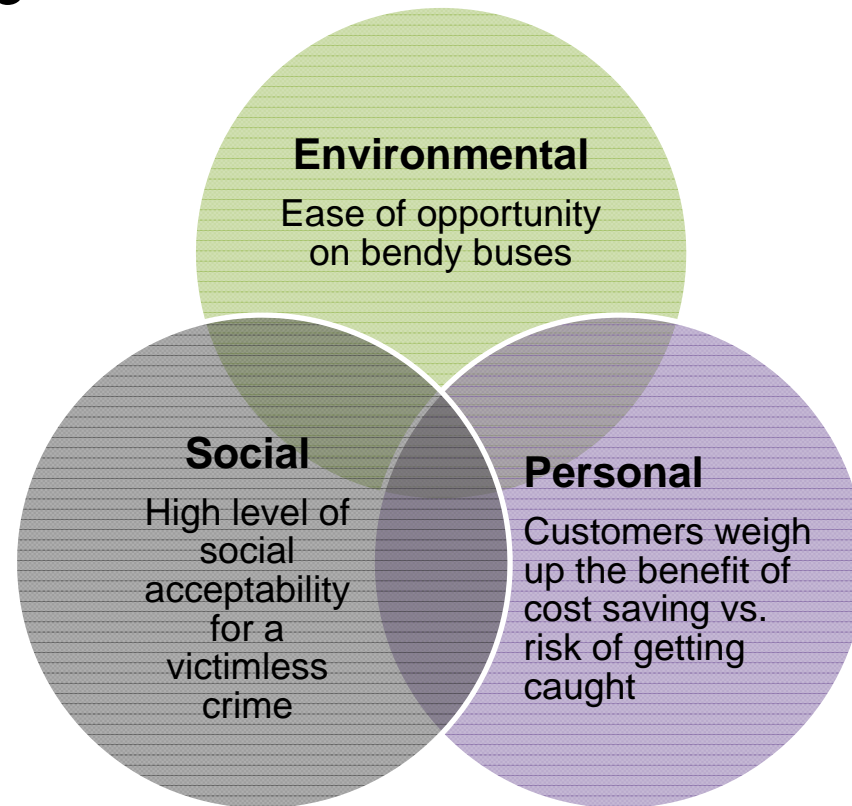
- The factors driving behaviour include Personal, Social and Environmental elements
 - All three factors provide a good level of support for fare evasion: *it's easy, it doesn't hurt anyone and if I do it from time to time I'm unlikely to get caught*
- Changing the perceived social acceptability of fare evasion in above the line communications is challenging. The cultural and personal attitudinal shift required for it to have impact is too substantial, requiring a complete turnaround. TfL is not a credible voice in defining social norms in this area due to its reputational issues
 - This context makes the social acceptability route inappropriate in traditional, TfL branded advertising communications
- The adcept territories that have potential succeeded in getting people to reassess the likelihood of being caught and highlighted the severity of the consequences of detection. Plain clothes inspectors, £1000 fine, court appearance messages have impact

Bus passes

Understanding bus fare evasion

and tickets

Three core factors drive bus fare evasion amongst the target audience



All three factors provide a good level of support for fare evasion: *it's easy, it doesn't hurt anyone and if I do it from time to time I'm unlikely to get caught.* A challenging backdrop for communications

Environmental drivers: design of the bendy bus nudges customers towards fare evasion

Everyone calls it the free bus

It's so easy to do it. It's too tempting on the bendy bus

They've made it so easy I feel like a mug for tapping in

I'd never do it on the tube, but on the bus it's almost like you just 'forgot' to tap in



It makes me think of the smoking ban in France, it's against the law but people tend to ignore it

I watch to see if other people tap in and if not, I won't

The bus driver is even in on it – he never does a thing

Greater opportunity to fare evade

- Back door entrance
- Little/no interaction with driver
- Oyster readers can be faulty



Visible fare dodging by others

- Believe they see many people getting on without touching in

Fare evading is strongly facilitated by the environment

Social drivers: the only victim is TfL



It's akin to stealing stationary from a large corporation

It doesn't hurt anyone. I guess TfL miss out on my fare but so what

- On many levels fare evasion is socially acceptable amongst this target market:
 - People do not consider that anyone suffers from lost fares – it is only £1.20
 - The only possible victim is TfL and this is not a cause for concern
 - A large faceless corporation does not inspire sympathy
 - Reputational issues create an 'us vs them' attitude amongst customers
 - TfL are thought to waste money - media stories encourage this view point
 - Feel unsupported by TfL in the service delivered eg Tube strikes, delays, fare increases
 - Furthermore, buses are 'anti-social' environments
 - Very little sense of how your behaviour impacts others and can be competitive, pushy, rude, unpleasant
 - People do not feel a great connection to each other
 - The bus is a 'lawless' environment (2008 discourse analysis)

Fare evading is definitely not socially unacceptable amongst this target market

Social drivers: cheating the system every time can have negative connotations

- More persistent fare dodgers are stigmatised and people are keen not to be associated with these people
 - Cheapskates
 - Lower social class/poverty associations
- Infrequent fare evaders rationalise their behaviour as non-persistent to avoid these connotations and mitigate an inkling of guilt they have
 - Pay most of the time
 - Rationalise fare dodging as only on special circumstances

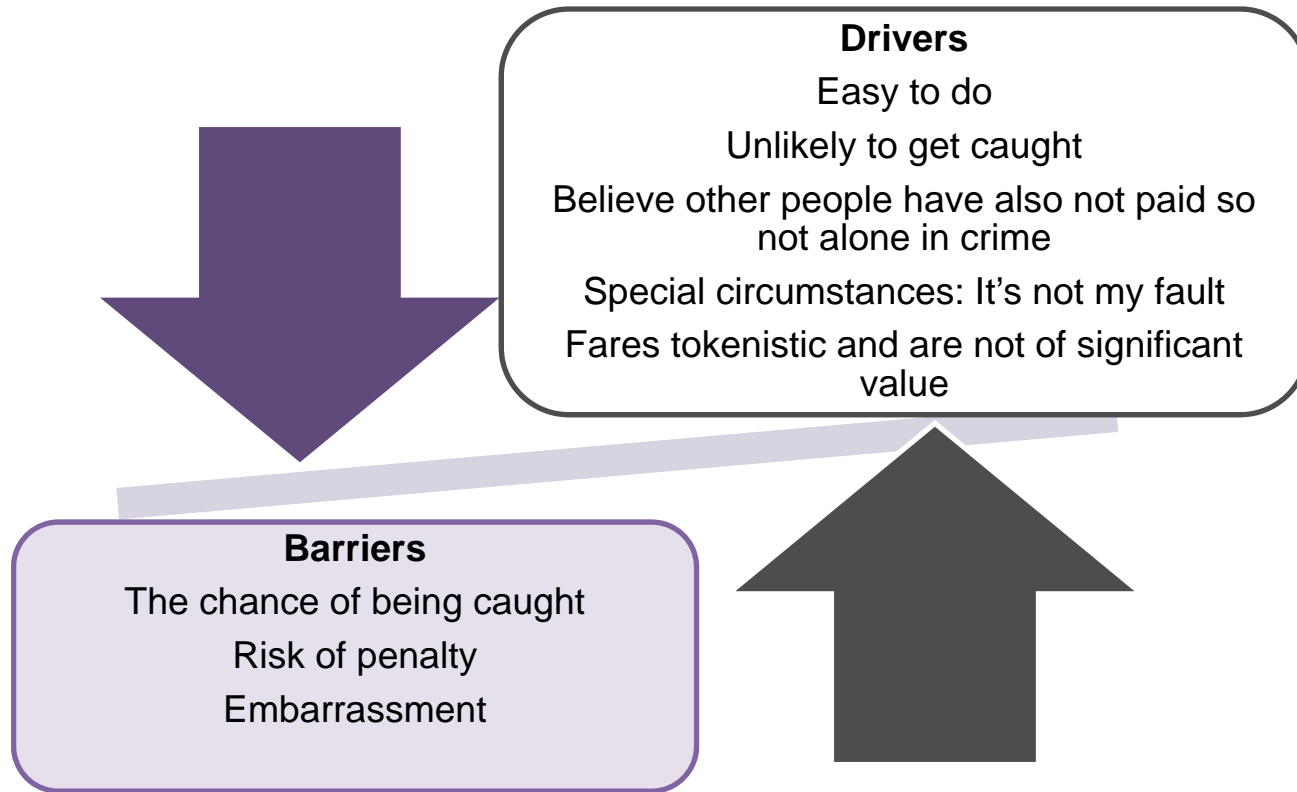
I do feel guilty. It's different to when I was young and didn't have much money. Now I can always afford it

I only take the bus for free when Oyster owes me money for forgetting to tap out. I pay most of the time

It was late at night and I didn't want to be walking around on my own trying to find somewhere to top up my Oyster

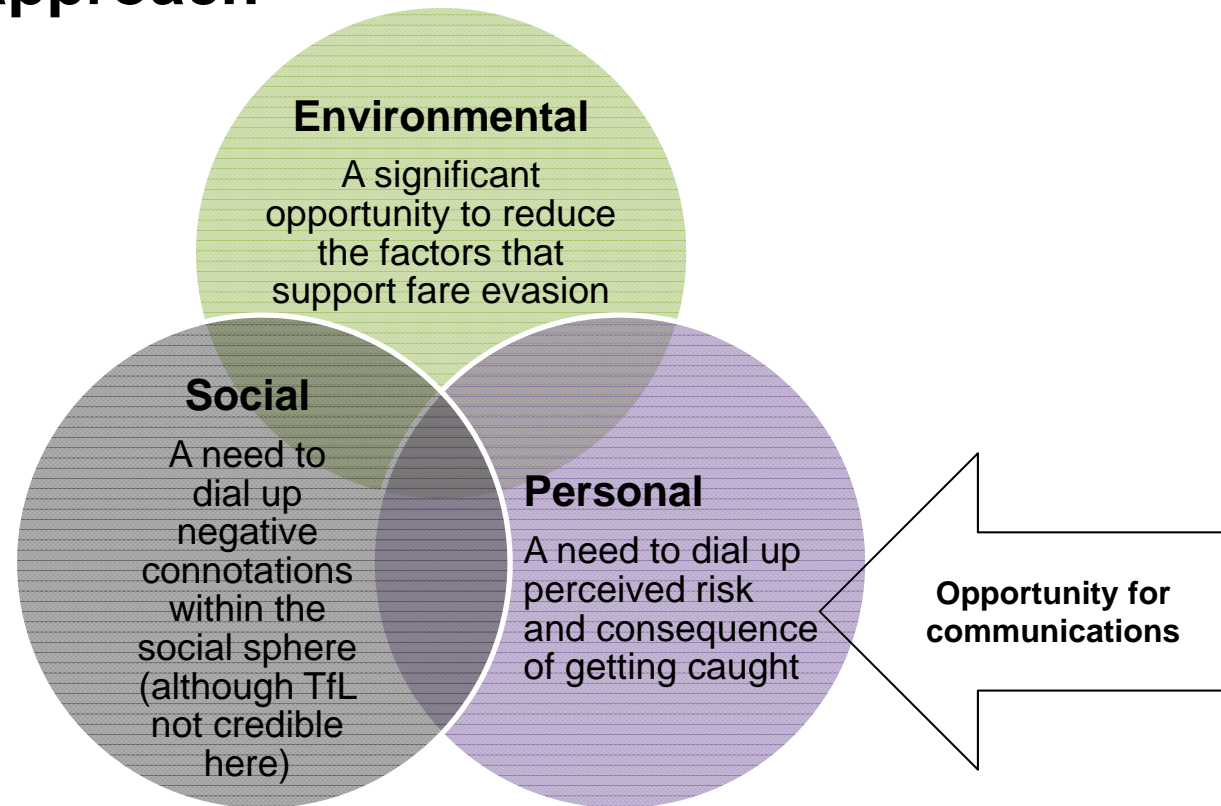
The bus was too crowded for me to reach the Oyster reader. I wanted to pay

Personal drivers: individuals balance risk and reward in the moment of fare evasion



Inkling of fear of embarrassment and penalty are biggest barriers to offending

To change the persistence of fare evasion would require an integrated approach



Communication could work to increase the perceived risk and consequence in the moment
However, TfL should also consider opportunities to impact the Environmental and Social Drivers



Response to the strategic territories



Reviewing the strategic territories

- The research evaluated a number of different territories of messages in order to evaluate the most motivating communications avenues
- A total of 26 messages were shown in total and, prior to the research, these were grouped into six strategic territories:

Individual cost

- If you get caught you could be taken to court
- You could be fined up to £1000 for evading a £1.20 fare
- Last year thousands of fare dodgers got a criminal record for avoiding paying their bus fare
- Evading a £1.20 fare could cost you your job

Challenge self-justification

- What does using the buses but not paying your fare make you?
- I'm not a fare dodger, I just didn't pay for my last journey
- You are fooling yourself if you think fare dodging has no impact
- Even one person evading their fare has an impact
- If you are one of the few who dodge their bus fares, you are a thief

Risk of being caught

- Are you really sure an inspector won't be on your bus?
- You may not see our plain clothes inspectors on the bus but they can see you
- 100 thousand people were caught fare dodging last year
- Mr Jones thought he would never get caught dodging his fare. Now he is in court
- The second time you are caught fare dodging, you go to court

Embarrassment / shame

- Mrs Jones is mortified to be given a verbal warning in front of the whole bus for not paying her fare
- Mr Jones didn't think he would be marched off the bus for forgetting to pay
- TfL is cracking down on fare evasion and will name and shame those who are caught

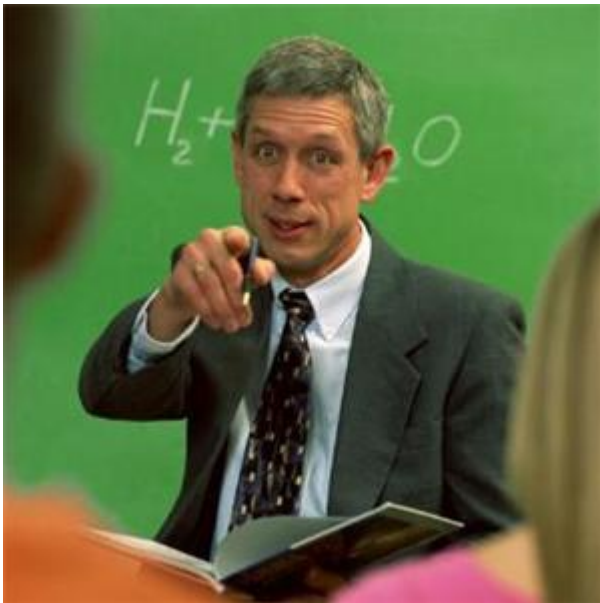
Cost to London

- It's not a game, not paying your bus fare has consequences for all Londoners
- We have fewer buses so you are waiting longer because of fare cheats
- We have fewer buses so your bus is more crowded because of fare cheats
- Fare dodgers cost Londoners 800 buses every year
- Fare cheats cost Londoners £70m last year

Social cost

- What makes you so special? We pay all our fares, it's time you did
- If you don't pay your fare, we have to put the price up for everyone
- Who are you really cheating by not paying all your bus fares?
- Fare cheats hold up everyone's journey when the bus is stopped and they are escorted off

Challenge self-justification: provides no new news to prompt re-evaluation



- Messages that ask the reader to self-reflect are included in the 'Social cost' territory and 'Challenge self-justification' territory
- They are not effective as they provide no new information to prompt re-evaluation
 - Social acceptability and self justification are both strong
 - Messages are open to interpretation
 - There are no new consequences to consider
- Perceived to be delivered in a parent-child tone, which is not acceptable for customers from TfL
 - Reminds people of being at school
 - Reinforces negative perceptions of TfL
 - TfL does not have a credible voice

This route does not have potential in communications paid for by TfL

Cost to London/Social cost: there is little guilt as the victim is perceived to be TfL

- Appealing to how fare evasion is a 'Cost to London' prompts a negative backlash
 - Perceived to be TfL making excuses for poor service and price increases that will occur anyway
- This message in communication from TfL lacks credibility
- However, could be a motivating message if outside of communications from TfL
 - Focus on the cost to people/Londoners rather than the corporation
 - Re-enforce the good behaviour of those that pay

HEADLINES:

Call off next Tube strike, commuters beg union bosses

Dick Murray and Genevieve Roberts
08.09.10

Commuters today urged Tube workers to "consider their impact" on London and call off their planned walk-out next month.

They voiced their anger after the chaos caused by yesterday's strike. It came as



I don't believe this. How have they worked it out? It's just TfL moaning

£70 million sounds like a lot but I pay most of the time and TfL waste so much money anyway

What, like the price was not going to go up anyway! It's so expensive as it is for such a bad service

Getting the bus for free is like compensation for the bad service

This really annoys me. Why are they trying to blame crowded buses on fare cheats. They should put more buses on the routes

Interpreted to be a cost to the corporation rather than for Londoners

Personal embarrassment/shame: has its place



- People interpreted this territory on a very personal level
 - Infrequent fare evaders spoke of the guilt of evading a small £1.20 fare and the embarrassment if they were caught
 - No longer are they an upstanding citizen that occasionally doesn't pay but they are now labelled 'a fare dodger'
 - Has more impact for older, professional people
- Not as effective in silo but 'name and shame' in combination with increasing the risk of being caught has potential

Statement that worked best

TfL is cracking down on fare evasion and will name and shame those who are caught

- The embarrassment of being named and shamed was motivating
- Creates a sense of lasting consequences associated with fare evasion ie being labelled a 'fare evader'
- Noting that 'TfL is cracking down' implies a greater risk of being caught

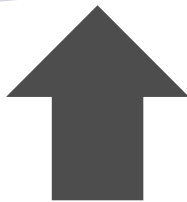
Messages that tap into the personal costs and worst case emotional consequence of fare evasion have potential

Risk of being caught/Individual cost: tap into existing fears to prompt re-evaluation



Barriers

1. The chance of being caught
2. Penalty
3. Embarrassment



If I don't tap I spend the whole bus journey looking out the window panicking about an inspector

This is really scary. I'm already paranoid about an inspector getting on the bus

More inspectors and the embarrassment of getting caught play on my guilty conscience

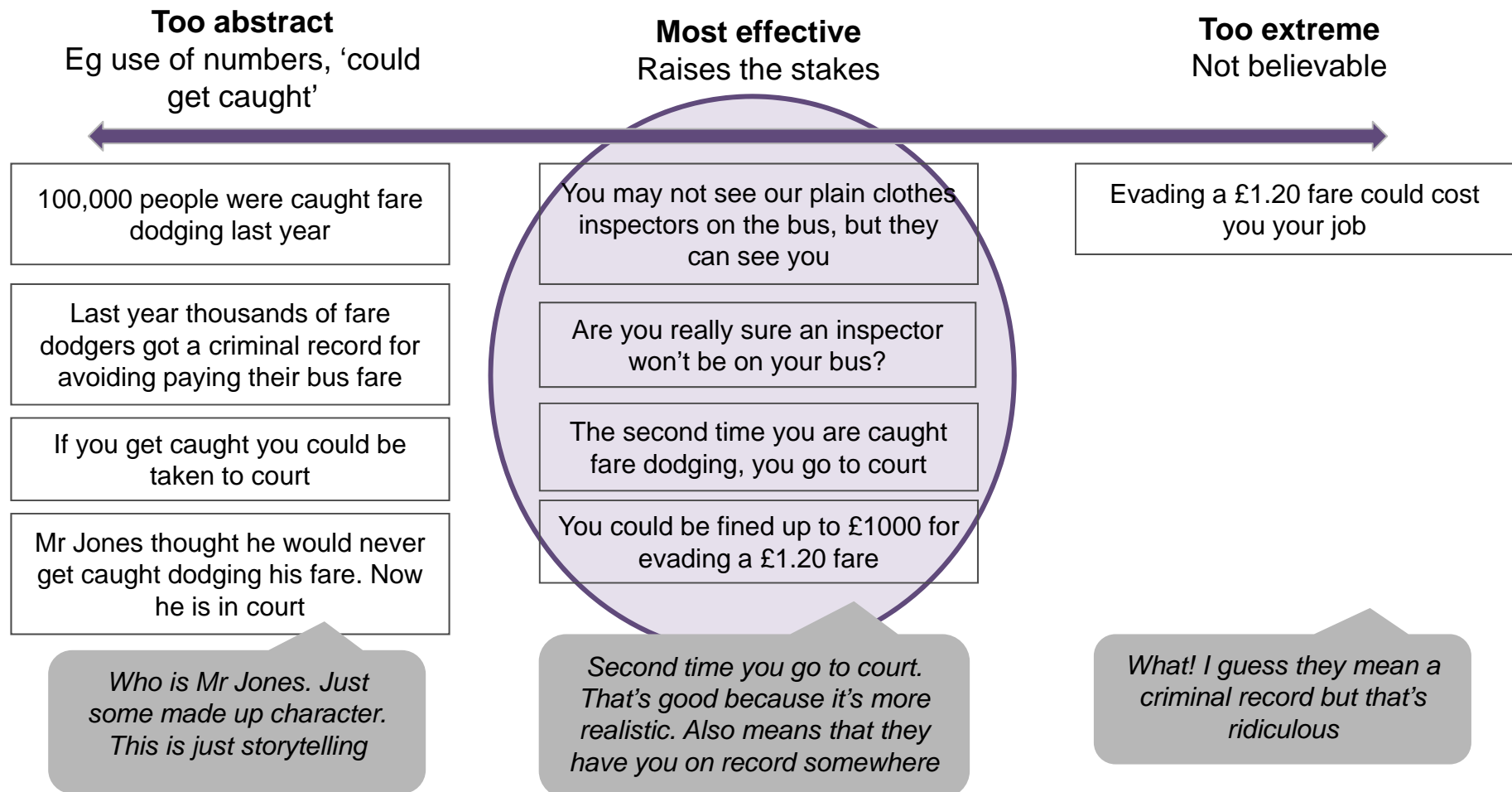
Jeez this is scary. A £1000 fine

If you want to stop me then you need to put me in the ad to shock me

I would be so embarrassed if I got caught for not paying just £1.20

Forces people to re-evaluate the risk in the moment of decision

Statements that work best increase the risk of getting caught and feel plausible





Thank you

