

Families and Food: How the environment influences what families eat

Research report produced by Shift for Guy's and St Thomas' Charity



<u>Shift</u>

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About this research

London has more overweight and obese children than any other major global city, and the boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark encapsulate why. These boroughs are densely populated, have high population churn, high rates of income inequality and a complex social and ethnic mix. One in four children aged four to five living in these boroughs are overweight or obese, rising to two in five by the time they reach secondary school. The differences in rates between the most deprived and least deprived wards are more than double.¹

There is growing evidence suggesting this problem is 'a normal response to an abnormal environment' that gives us easier access to a wider variety of highly palatable, energy dense food than ever before². This food is cheap and widely promoted, both in the media and in stores.

Guy's and St Thomas' Charity therefore commissioned ethnographic research to explore the influence of deprived, inner city environments on local families' food behaviours, from the perspective of local families. The research was undertaken by Shift, a research-led product and service design charity that does a lot of work around fast food.

The primary purpose of the research is to inform the development of Guy's and St Thomas' Charity's Childhood Obesity Programme, specifically by identifying opportunities for local environmental interventions that will have a positive impact on child obesity.

This report presents the key findings from this research with local families and introduces the opportunities for intervention design identified as a result of this research.



 $[\]textbf{1} \ \, \text{Guy's and St Thomas' Charity (2018)}, \ \, \text{Bite Size: Breaking down the challenge of inner-city childhood obesity } \\ \underline{\text{https://www.gsttcharity.org.uk/sites/default/files/Bite_Size_Report.pdf}}$

Methodology

The experiences of forty four parents and young people living in the most deprived areas of Lambeth and Southwark were captured in the research. This included twenty four parents and twenty young people.

To be eligible for inclusion in the research the families had to:

- Live in areas with the highest rates of childhood obesity in Lambeth and Southwark
- Have one or more children aged 0 to 18
- Annual household income of £30,000 or less

For a full breakdown of the participant sample, see Appendix A. The families and young people were recruited via local community organisations (Salmon Youth Centre in Southwark and Black Prince Trust in Lambeth), as well as a research recruitment partner.

It is worth noting that the sample of parents participating in this research is skewed towards single mothers: seventeen of the twenty four parents are single mothers. This is because the household income criteria excluded many dual income two-parent families.

All the families and young people taking part in the research completed the activities outlined in the box below.

Workshops were held with community frontline workers and food researchers before and after the research took place. The purpose of these workshops was to:

- First workshop Learn from the considerable experience of these key stakeholders to ensure that the design of the research built upon the existing knowledge base and explored new areas identified as important by frontline workers and food research experts.
- Second workshop Share emerging research findings with frontline community workers and other food researchers and together identify opportunity spaces, ensuring that the opportunities were both research-led and drew on the expertise of participants as to what would work 'in the real world'.

A list of workshop participants can be found in Appendix B.

Food diary Every participant kept a food diary for seven days, using a mobile app developed by Shift. Participants were asked to record everything they ate during the week and answer a small number of contextual questions (e.g. who they were with, where they were, their mood etc). 1,031 diary entries were submitted by the participating families. We estimate diary completeness to represent around 50% of total food consumption. This is broadly in line with other food diary studies. **Location mapping** Every participant consented to their mobile phone's GPS location data being recorded during the week they completed the food diary. This was done via an app called Followmee. The purpose of the location mapping was to understand their interaction with the local area and how food purchase and consumption behaviours related to this. **Immersions** Every participant spent between three to five hours with a researcher. Fieldwork visits were scheduled to coincide with times when participants would naturally be doing food-related activities e.g. grocery shopping if a parent, getting an afterschool snack if a young person. The purpose of these immersions was to observe families and young people's actual behaviours. Activities included a mix of grocery and takeaway shopalongs, accompanying participants on routine journeys, home tours and observations of meal preparation.

How to use this report

This report is structured into five chapters. Each chapter represents one of the five key themes identified in the research underpinning the final opportunity space framework.

These five themes are:

- **1. Environmental Nudges** focuses on how the physical environment of the home and street environments nudges families towards certain food behaviours.
- **2. Healthy Headspace** examines what food is available in the local areas and what food is considered desirable by parents experiencing a lack of resources (time, money, energy).
- **3. Creatures of Habit** outlines families' food habits observed in the research and the role of the home and street environment in habit formation and disruption.
- **4. Social Influences** explores the influence of family, friends and peers on young people's food behaviours.
- **5. Inclusive Regeneration** looks at families' attitude towards regeneration and the impact of regeneration on food environments.

Each chapter summarises the key insights from the research with families and young people relating to the theme and introduces at a high level the opportunity spaces that emerged from the research.

The intention is that the insight and opportunity spaces outlined in this report will help people and organisations work to design impactful interventions that improve the food environment in which children living in deprived, inner city areas grow up in. This includes together working in partnership with Guy's and St Thomas' Charity.

Tip

An opportunity space is broad set of problems and unmet user needs that provide a way into tackling a large issue like child obesity, and are commonly used as a 'springboard' in the design process to help develop new ideas and concepts.



1. Environmental Nudges

We know that there is simply too many calorie dense foods available and people are bombarded by invitations and incentives which encourage unhealthy choices. This bias is amplified in inner-city high streets. These environments are saturated with carefully designed cues such as special offers, advertising, attractive packaging and child-height shelving that nudge families towards high calorie foods. The home environment is less designed but still has significant impact on how children eat.









Image 1: Examples of unhealthy food cues in Lambeth and Southwark

Around Lambeth and Southwark the most obvious environmental nudges towards unhealthy foods are advertisements on bus stops, billboards and shop fronts. However plenty of other less visible examples were collected during the research, often in the most routine of locations. For example McDonalds vouchers printed on the back of Oyster top-up receipts, takeaway flyers posted through letterboxes, fast food-based mobile games and 'food challenge' videos on children's YouTube playlists. Psychological research shows that exposure to these cues everyday across multiple environments influences the food choices that families make, often unconsciously.

Environments 'speak' to children through advertising and packaging

The confectionery aisle in supermarkets is the most colourful aisle. Compared to unhealthy food brands marketed at children, healthy options typically look bland, boring and unattractive. This contributes to children being less likely to pester their parents to buy healthier products.

"I hate going to Tesco with the children as they constantly ask me to buy them things and I end up buying them stuff just to get them to stop whining.

It's cheaper if I do the shopping on my own."

Mother of two children aged 0 and 3, Black British, Kennington





Image 2: Colourful confectionary, ice cream and yogurt aisles at a supermarket in Kennington

Children are more likely to pester for products that have familiar brands, are marketed explicitly at children, are colourful and that are displayed at child's eye level. The products that do this well are typically unhealthier.

Families and young people are also exposed to a lot of unhealthy food advertising on the streets as they travel about in the local area. There is little advertising on the streets for healthier options.

It is not just advertising. At night, fast food takeaways are among the most brightly lit shops, turning them into bright beacons that are easy to spot when passing through an area.

"If she sees anything with Peppa Pig on it when we're in Asda, she wants it."

Mother of two children aged 4 and 8, Afro-Caribbean, Vauxhall

Tip

Restricting the amount of advertising of unhealthy food on streets or introducing new advertising for healthier food that can compete will help address the current imbalance.



Image 3: The Imax cinema in Waterloo was recently turned into a giant Big Mac as part of a promotion Image: Ocean Outdoor

Parents are more influenced by how things look than information

There is a lot of information in the food environment that families simply do not notice, such as nutritional traffic lights and use by dates on food packaging, pricing labels on shop shelves or food hygiene rating stickers on takeaway doors.

"I don't look much at the per gram price [on the price label], I look at the main price and the yellow special offer label."

> Mother of two children aged 0 and 6, Afro-Caribbean, Vauxhall

Even if information is noticed, it is not always understood. Nutritional information such as traffic lights, calorie labels and '5 a day' icons are incorrectly interpreted by a small number of families. Pricing information - particularly price per 100g - is widely misunderstood, making it more difficult for parents to compare value between products.

"[Looking at a cereal packet] 5 a day, I don't take notice of that. I think it means 1 thing for 5 days.
No wait, maybe it means 5 things for 1 day. Maybe if [the icon] was on front or bigger I might notice it more."

Mother of one child aged 6, Afro-Caribbean, Oval

While some families do notice nutritional information on food packaging, other parents use non-informational environmental cues in their assessments of a product's quality, such as branding, aesthetics and imagery. Similarly, when deciding what takeaway to choose families will consider how clean it looks from the outside and whether there are other customers buying food.





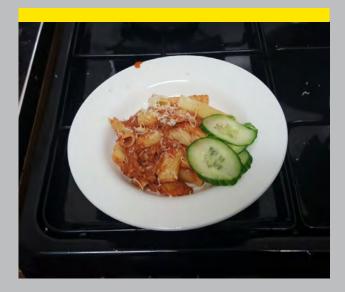
Image 4: Types of information found in the food environment

Better information

Gabrielle, 33, has two children aged 5 and 8. They live in a council flat off Wandsworth Road. She is training to be a primary school teacher and works as a childminder on her days off. Her annual household income is £17,000.

When Gabrielle left school she worked in catering. As a result she is a confident cook and regularly cooks at home. Typical meals include pasta and sauce or chicken and rice. She always makes sure there is some veg on the plate.

Gabrielle's nephew is overweight, something she doesn't want to happen to her own children. As a result she is keen that her children eat healthily. One trick she says worked well for her is turning grocery shopping into a game where the children go hunting for the product nutritional labels that have the most green on them. The children know they are not allowed products with lots of red on the label except on Friday, which is their treat day.









The design of kitchens shapes how families eat

All but two of the families who participated in this research live in social housing, and many had lived in temporary housing at some point in their lives. Living in rented or temporary housing often puts constraints on the ability of families to make changes and improvements to the kitchens in their homes. This can be due to a number of reasons such as tenancy contracts, families not wanting to waste money on home improvements when their housing situation feels unstable, or simply not being able to afford redecoration or buy kitchen equipment.

As a result, families often described feeling unhappy with their kitchens and not feeling that the kitchen in their homes is truly 'theirs'.

Parents are more likely to want to cook if they like their kitchens and feel comfortable in them. However kitchens can be dark, cramped, awkwardly shaped, dirty and lack windows and storage space. These are not spaces parents want to spend time in. Parents in the research often noted that they felt depressed by their kitchens and would like to make them nicer, but lacked the resources to make improvements.

"I don't like it my kitchen at all, there's not enough cupboard space, it's old and scuzzy. I'd love to rip it all out and start again but that's not going to happen. It probably is a factor in me not enjoying cooking, it's not somewhere I want to spend time. I don't want to say to the kids, 'come and watch me cook'. I find it quite a horrible room. I try to think that I'm lucky to have a cooker and some work space."

> Mother of three children aged 10, 12 and 16, White British, Elephant & Castle











Parents worry when they cannot see their children while they are in the kitchen, for example if the living room and kitchen are seperate. This means that food preparation needs to happen in as short a time as possible, a push towards takeaway or convenience foods that can be on the plate in minutes and requires little preparation or supervision (e.g. it can go straight into the oven or microwave).

The social environment of kitchens also plays a role. Parents sharing kitchens with extended family, or who live in temporary accommodation with shared kitchens, said they cooked less in these situations. This is for a range of reasons, such as feeling embarrassed about cooking in front or others or not liking to use shared cooking equipment.

Tip

Making improvements to kitchens so that they feel more comfortable could help decrease reliance on convenience foods and takeaway, by making the space where food is prepared a more appealing place to spend time in. "After I had my boy
I lived in a hostel for a few
months and I wasn't really
keen on using the shared
kitchen, especially because
I wasn't really a good
cook. I didn't want to
embarrass myself."

Mother of one child aged 5, White British, Elephant & Castle



Comfortable kitchens

Rebecca, 21, has a 3 month old baby and is currently living in her boyfriend's mother's flat near Peckham. She is a student at Queen Mary's University, studying biology. Her personal annual income is less than £15,000 a year.

She used to live in student accommodation in Stratford but moved in with her boyfriend after having the baby to save money. The flat is small and the kitchen only has one cupboard, meaning that a lot of food has to be stored on the kitchen counter. Her boyfriend's mother, who is from Nigeria, makes large pots of goat stew. Rebecca, who is from Newcastle, does not always want to eat this kind of food but she doesn't feel like she can cook in the kitchen. This is because she doesn't feel like it is hers.

As a result Rebecca eats a lot of ready meals that can be heated in the microwave and frequently orders takeaway. She says her diet is worse now than when she lived in student accommodation. She hopes to get her own place with her boyfriend in a few months time.









Environmental Nudges: design opportunities

Optimise existing

How might we optimise existing interventions so that they have greater impact?

Better information

How might we improve the way information is presented to families?

Reclaiming space

How might we reclaim public space from unhealthy food advertising?

Attractive options

How might we increase the attractiveness of the available healthier options to children?

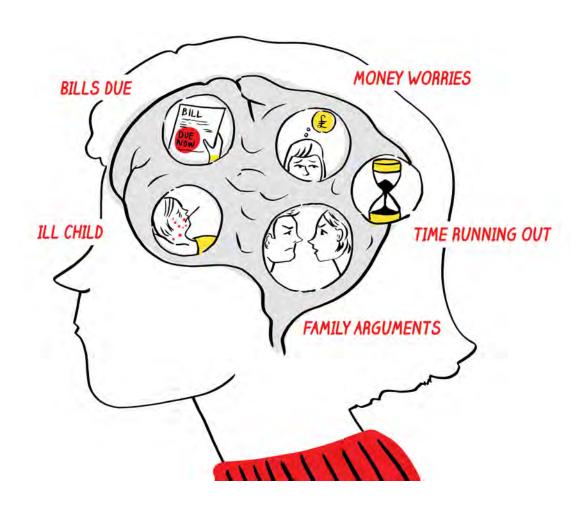
Comfortable kitchens

How might we make kitchens comfortable spaces that parents want to spend time in?

Click here to find out more about these opportunity spaces

2. Healthy Headspace

The cognitive burden of living under financial strain is associated with and contributes to the behaviours that lead to higher rates of childhood obesity³. For example living with financial pressure may lead to lower cognitive resources for planning healthier meals, often exacerbated by the prevalence of convenient, unhealthy food outlets. From the parents' point of view, convenience food and takeaways are the perfect solution when dealing with the reality of everyday life.



3 Guy's and St Thomas' Charity (2018), Bite Size: Breaking down the challenge of inner-city childhood obesity https://www.gsttcharity.org.uk/sites/default/files/Bite_Size_Report.pdf

Table 1: Average spend on food among participating families

£350 Average weekly household income

£60 (17%)Average weekly spend on groceries (% weekly income)

£27 (8%)Average weekly spend on takeaway (% weekly income)

£87 (25%)Total weekly spend on all food

The average weekly household income of the families participating in the research is £350, slightly above the UK poverty line for a lone parent household with two children of £320⁴. The families in our sample spend just under one third (29%) of their weekly household income on food, as shown in Table 1 above. This is a much higher share of household budget than the national average; the average household in the UK spends 11% of its budget on food⁵.

While these numbers should be treated with some caution as they are largely based on self-reported data, it suggests that families are spending a considerable portion of their income on food.

"When money was really tight a few years ago, every month before payday we would do what we called 'freezer surprise' for the children."

> Mother of three children aged 10, 12 and 16, Elephant & Castle

Convenience food and takeaways are

ideal solutions

Low incomes are just one of the pressures that the families participating in the research face. Additional pressures experienced include concern over housing stability, unexpected financial outlays such as repairing broken boilers, mental health problems, physical pain, stress around employment/finding work, difficult family relationships, worries about child behaviour or school performance, and low energy.

These pressures reduce parents' mental bandwidth brainpower that would otherwise go to planning ahead and problem-solving. This creates what sociologists have called a 'scarcity mindset'. For low income families in this situation, takeaway and convenience foods provide an in-the-moment solution to feeding children quickly, affordably and safely. This temporarily relieves some of the pressure experienced by parents, particularly lone parents.

⁴ http://www.cpag.org.uk/content/uk-poverty-line

⁵ https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/food-statistics-pocketbook-2017/food-statistics-in-your-pocket-2017-prices-and-expenditure#trend-in-shareof-spend-going-on-food-and-non-alcoholic-beverages-in-low-income-and-all-uk-households-2003-04-to-2015

"If I'm being really organised then we won't have takeaway for a long time. But if life's all over the place and it's just me looking after the kids, then I can have a 'something's gotta give' moment and get takeaway."

Mother of five children aged 10 to 17, Peckham

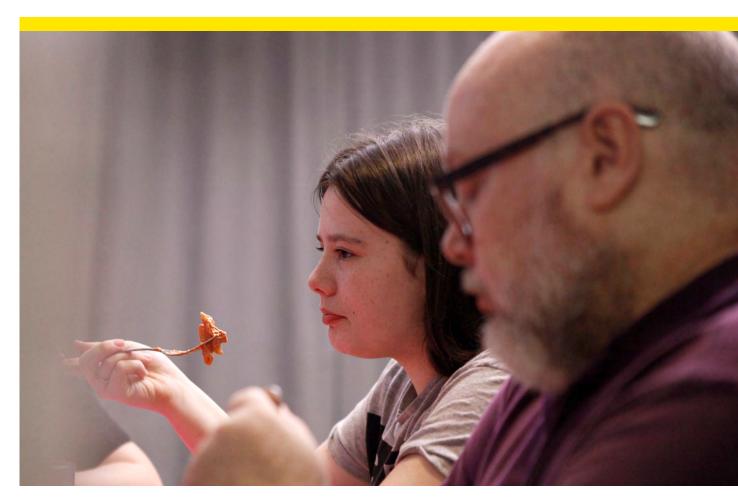
Many of the parents who do cook at home like to use shortcuts when cooking from scratch, such as ready made lasagne sauces and pre-prepared vegetables, even though they often cost more. However from the parent's point of view the time savings outweigh the cost savings.

Our observations of meal preparations suggest that poor quality cooking equipment, such as blunt kitchen knives, can substantially increase the time it takes to prepare food. But even if preparation time were reduced, there would still be the washing up time. "It annoys me that in recipes they will say it takes 20 minutes to cook but in reality it is 30 minutes because they haven't included the time it takes you to do all the washing up."

Mother of one child aged 5, Elephant & Castle

Tip

Finding ways to simplify and speed up meal preparation from start to finish at home, such as providing shortcuts that are also healthier, will help encourage parents to perceive healthier food as an easy choice rather than always being the harder choice.



 $\textbf{6} \ \textbf{Mullainathan \& Shafir (2013), Scarcity: The True Cost of Not Having Enough, London: Penguin Books}$

Easier choices

Meryem, 35, is a single parent with three children aged 9, 10 and 15. The family lives in a three bedroom flat on an estate in Kennington. Meryem moved to London from Turkey when she was 11 years old. Meryem's childhood was difficult and she ran away from home at a young age. Her life is more settled now but she suffers from anxiety and depression. Meryem's annual household income is currently around £15,000, excluding money she borrows from her mother.

Meryem grew up not knowing how to cook and taught herself using YouTube videos as the children became older. Cooking for her children gives her a lot of satisfaction and makes her feel like she is being a good parent. However there are some days when Meryem does not feel physically able to cook. She suffers from back pain and the pain relief medication she takes makes her feel tired.

On these days, she gets waffles and chicken nuggets out of the freezer for the children's dinner or takes them to the chicken shop which is only two minutes away. Knowing that these options are available gives Meryem the comfort of knowing that it will always be possible to feed her children, even on the days when life feels toughest.









Local options can feel limited in range

There is a high density of takeaways and convenience stores on many of the streets regularly visited by the families participating in this research, such as Walworth Road and Old Kent Road. For example, we counted fifty two restaurants and takeaways, eleven corner shops and seven supermarkets within a 0.5 mile radius (i.e. a ten minute walk) of one of the families who live just off Old Kent Road.

Although there are many food outlets, the range of convenience foods on offer that can be prepared quickly and cheaply is relatively limited, particularly when compared to the food environments in central London. While families like having takeaways and convenience stores available, the limited choice is most frustrating for the families that regularly eat this kind of food out of necessity.

These families express a desire for convenient options that feel like homemade family favourite foods (such as pasta dishes or chicken and rice dishes) and not like the usual 'greasy takeaway' or microwaveable ready meal. However they must also offer the same benefits of convenience, experience and affordability as a traditional convenience foods.

Tip

Currently there is a gap in the market for healthier, affordable 'family favourite' convenience and takeaway options on the streets most frequented by the families. Encouraging new healthier entrants to the market that are just as convenient and affordable as takeaways and unhealthy convenience food will help expand the options that are realistically considered by parents.

"Because I don't feel like
I can cook, as it's not my
kitchen, I get us a lot of
takeaway. But what I do is
get lasagna from the pizza
shop as it feels more like
the kind of food I want to
eat everyday - it doesn't
feel like a 'normal'
takeaway. It feels more
homemade than a ready
meal, like someone has
cooked it"

Mother of one child aged 0, White British, Peckham





Image 6: Some of the takeaway and convenience shops visited by the families taking part in the research

Online delivery is expanding

local options

The online takeaway delivery market is rapidly growing in London, and it is now a common sight to see Just Eat signs and Deliveroo couriers on the streets. Of the twenty four parents who participated in the research, sixteen reported using online delivery within the last month. Only four reported that they either never used it or had used it more than a year ago.

There is higher usage of online takeaway services than online grocery shopping among the families who participated in the research. The lower usage of online grocery shopping is due to the minimum order thresholds being higher for online grocery shopping than online takeaway, and because families reported not trusting staff to pick out the best quality grocery produce when fulfilling online orders.

Usage of online takeaway apps such as Just Eat, Deliveroo and UberEats is higher among the younger parents taking part in the research. These parents, in their 20s, have grown up with online shopping and find it both normal and convenient to buy food online. Older parents are more likely to express hesitancy about the idea of having certain types of fast food delivered to home.

"The idea of going down the online delivery route frightens me. There are some things you shouldn't have delivered to your home. It's just not right. Even though we used to get it as drive-thru."

Father of three children aged 10, 12 and 16, Elephant & Castle

The expansion of online takeaway has mixed consequences. On the positive side, it had increased the range of food options available to local families. Because many of the deprived areas of Lambeth and Southwark boroughs are close to the city, the delivery radius of many outlets extends to where families live.

Not all of these new options feel affordable, but some do. For example one parent has started using UberEats to order Leon children meals for her son. She discovered Leon when she used to work in central London, and is pleased that this food was now accessible to her at home.

"I found out about Leon when I used to work at Nike Town on Oxford Street. Now I can get it here on UberEats which is great because the kids meals are cheap and healthy."

Mother of one child aged 5, Elephant & Castle

However other families feel that online delivery has made takeaway food too accessible and too easy to order, particularly due to app features such as storing payment details. As a result, they reported spending more money on takeaway and buying it more spontaneously.

"I deleted the Deliveroo
app because when I had
a few weeks of feeling ill
I started using it a lot, too
much. So I deleted it to
make it harder for me to
order us a takeaway."

Mother of two children aged 3 and 13, Loughborough Junction

Tip

An alternative to restricting the online takeaway market locally could be working with healthier food outlets to promote their online presence. Promoting these businesses over others and increasing their prominence on online apps could help boost their sales.

Creating the market

Ihsan, 37, is a single parent and has two sons aged 3 and 13 years old. They live in Loughborough Junction and she grew up in Brixton. Ihsan works full time as a childminder. Her annual household income is around £19,000.

Ihsan is a confident cook and cooks a mixture of West Indian and British food. However she suffers from a physical condition which can sometimes flare up and cause her a lot of pain. Last year, she went through a period when it was really bad and she started using Deliveroo to feed the family. She continues to use it and sometimes feels bad because of it, saying that her mother disapproves.

However Ihsan is keen to point out the food she buys on Deliveroo is healthier than the food she would be getting if she went out to get a takeaway in the local area. She likes to get the kind of food that she would make herself if it didn't take so long.

She says that Deliveroo is restaurant quality food that is healthier than traditional takeaways, so she thinks it is an easy way to make sure the children are well fed, although it can get expensive. However because she was using it so much she decided to pay £7 a month to upgrade to Deliveroo Plus, which means she no longer has to pay delivery fees.









Healthy Headspace: design opportunities

Creating the market

How might we create the local takeaway market for better family meals?

Surfacing demand

How might we surface community demand for better local food options?

Economic opportunities

How might we create economic opportunities for the community via better food?

Easier choices

How might we give parents more headspace by aking better choices easier?

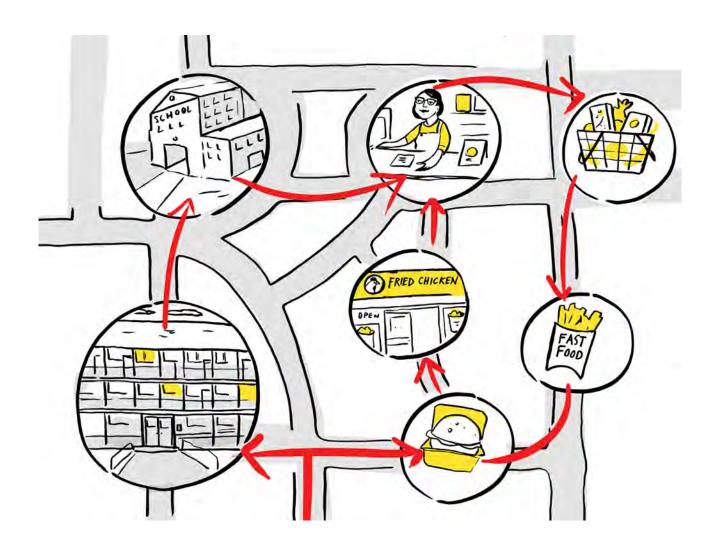
Differentiating options

How might we make it easier to differentiate between good and bad local options?

Click here to find out more about these opportunity spaces

3. Creatures of Habit

Families are creatures of habit. Throughout the week they travel along the same routes in the local area as they go about their lives, and rarely go anywhere new or eat anything new. This means that families are often not exposed to other food options available in the area.



One of the most striking observations from participating families' experiences is just how habitual the food behaviours of families in Lambeth and Southwark are. The food diaries revealed that most families have a fairly limited range of meals that they eat throughout the week. The most common meals recorded in the food diaries were bowls of cereal, jam on toast, pasta and sauce, rice and chicken, and chicken nuggets and chips. Parents liked these foods because they are easy and quick to assemble and invariably enjoyed by the children.

Visual analysis indicates that over two thirds (68%) of meals and snacks recorded in our families' diary entries contained ultra-processed foods, higher than the UK national average of fifty per cent. Only one third of diary entries contained visible fruit or vegetables (32%).

"Everything that I've got in my basket I've bought hundreds of times before.

Except these crackers, these are new. They were on offer."

Mother of two children aged 4 and 8, Afro-Caribbean, Vauxhall

Families prefer to stick with foods they already know

The decision to buy the same foods is influenced by both conscious and unconscious factors. When asked, parents say they prefer to stick to the same foods because it means that they know their children will eat it. Refused food is wasted money, a risk most families cannot afford.

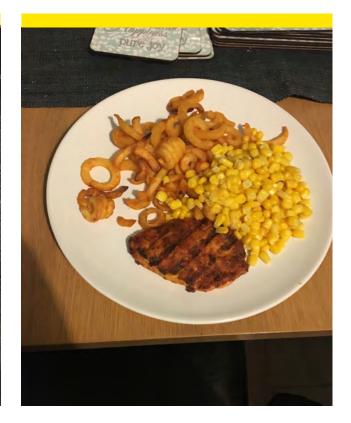
"I'm not one to venture out. I'll stick to where we know. Which is McDonald's, Subway and another takeaway shop called Capital."

Mother of one child aged 6 months, White British, Southwark

Going grocery shopping with parents showed that many of the decisions about what goes into the shopping basket are made on autopilot. We observed that when parents scan shelves, they do so quickly, their eyes drawn to familiar products. Most of the time unfamiliar products seem to be largely 'invisible', unless there is a yellow special offer price label.







Parents therefore have a fairly limited repertoire of foods that they will consider when shopping, even though the shop itself may be well stocked with a wide selection of products.

"I always toy around with the idea of trying something new but I usually do end up buying the same thing."

Mother of one child aged 5, White British, Elephant and Castle The fact that families are generally on autopilot when it comes to everyday food decisions means that changing habits is hard. However new food habits are naturally created during moments of lifestage change e.g. having a baby, starting secondary school, moving to a new area.

At these moments of change, old routines are disrupted and people have to make new choices about things they have not done before. Targeting families at these moments of lifestage change is therefore likely to result in interventions having greater impact than they might otherwise have.



Moments of change

Donna, 24, lives with her 5 year old son in a council flat off the Old Kent Road. She has lived in the area her whole life, apart from when she was in temporary accommodation after her son was born. She works part time as a social media manager at a local charity. Her annual household income is £17,000.

Becoming a mother and weaning her child catalysed Donna's desire to learn how to cook. Donna grew up eating convenience foods and was a fussy eater. When she had her son, she did not know how to cook but wanted to give her son a different start in life. Having her own kitchen where she felt comfortable to experiment with cooking and make mistakes without feeling embarrassed helped build up her confidence.

She likes looking at food on Instagram and gets inspiration from there, especially from fitness videos that show her how to cook different healthy meals. She's excited by the new vegan trend and is keen to give it a go.









Families' interactions with the local area shape what food they buy

It is not only food behaviours that are habitual. Where families go in their local area is also extremely habitual. The GPS location maps collected during the research revealed that families repeatedly make the same journeys, often travelling the exact same routes every day. Routine destinations include school, place of work, supermarkets, family and friends' houses and leisure and children activities.

Where families go in the local area determines which food environments they are exposed to. Families who travel the furthest are exposed to a wider range of food options, whereas those who have small geographical territories are more dependent on what is available in the shops immediately around them.

Unsurprisingly families with cars have larger geographical territories. For example as image 8 shows, Parent A (who does not own a car and prefers to walk rather than get on the bus with a buggy) travelled 0.5 miles from their home during the week we collected GPS data, whereas Parent B (who does own a car) travelled 9.5 miles. Although most of our participants had a supermarket within walking distance, they were often aware of bigger, cheaper supermarkets further away.

"If I didn't have the car and had to get the bus I wouldn't be doing a big Asda shop, I'd be going to smaller shops somewhere more local and wouldn't be getting the good deals I get Asda. I would probably be spending more money on food. I'm less reliant on the local shops with the car."

Mother of two children aged 4 and 8, Afro-Caribbean, Vauxhall

Tip

This means that it could be useful understanding which routes in the local area are most commonly used by families and targeting interventions along these routes. Similarly, interventions that expand families' geographical territories may help expose them to a wider range of food environments.

Parent A



Parent B

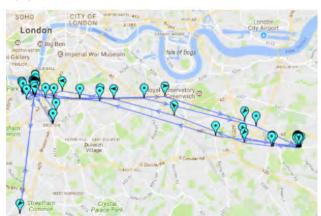


Image 8: GPS maps of two parents showing variations in the size of families' geographical 'territories'

Food habits piggyback onto daily routines

When we overlay families' food diaries onto their GPS location maps, what we see is the dependence of food on routine. Food habits piggyback onto families' daily routines. This can be seen in the image below, which shows one parents' weekly movements (the pink lines) and food consumption locations (the red pins). Her daily routine consists primarily of travelling from home (in Kennington) to work (in Farringdon) and then back again, and food is primarily eaten in these two locations, or on her route home.

Because most families are reliant on public transport, bus stops and train stations are important 'hotspots' in the food environment. Grocery shops and takeaways that are close to transport hubs are often preferred over other options because they are more easily integrated into people's daily journeys.

"This bus stops outside the pizza shop so I'll go there because it's more convenient. My main priority is to get home and see my daughter, I

this morning. I'm more concerned about that. She likes takeaways so she's looking forward to me

haven't seen her since

getting in!"

Mother of one child aged 15, White British, Camberwell

Tip

Providing healthy food at children's activities could help reduce the need for pre and post-activity consumption of convenience food as they would be less likely to come out of the activity feeling hungry.

Parents are often keen for their children to do activities on a weekly basis, such as after school clubs, swimming classes and youth clubs. However food is generally not provided at these activities, and so children come out hungry. Therefore food is often eaten immediately before or after these activities, and generally purchased en route. This can mean that more convenience foods are eaten by children on the days that activities take place.

"I usually take the kids to Tennessee Chicken on **Tuesday and Wednesday** after I've picked them up from their after school club. By the time we get home it's too late to start cooking so it's better to get a takeaway so they can go to bed on time."

> Mother of three children aged 9, 10 and 15, Turkish, Kennington

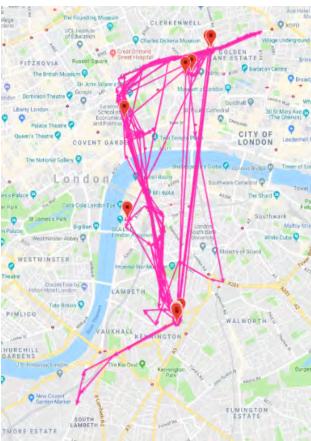


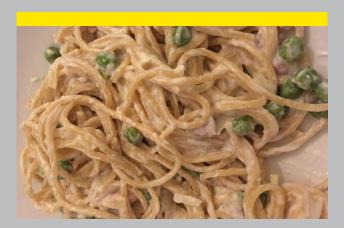
Image 9: One parents' route from home to work, showing the locations where she posted food diary images

Piggyback on routines

Hakeem is 14 years old and goes to London Nautical School in Blackfriars. He lives with his mum and younger brother in Loughborough Junction. His mother is a part-time childminder.

He loves football, skateboarding and video games. Hakeem has a wide group of friends that he's made through school and the different activities he does. He says that being good at football helps with his social standing at school.

Hakeem plays football after school every Wednesday and Friday. He always goes to the McDonalds at Waterloo station to 'fuel up' before, as it is right next to the bus stop he uses to get to football, which is in Burgess Park He also has a McDonalds discount card that a friend gave him, which is another reason for going.









Creatures of Habit: design opportunities

Moments of change

How might we exploit moments of lifestage change to create new healthier food habits?

Piggyback on routines

How might we integrate healthier food behaviours into children's routine activities?

Changing defaults

How might we make stealthy changes to the default food options available in kids meals?

Transport links

How might we use transport to expose families to different food environments?

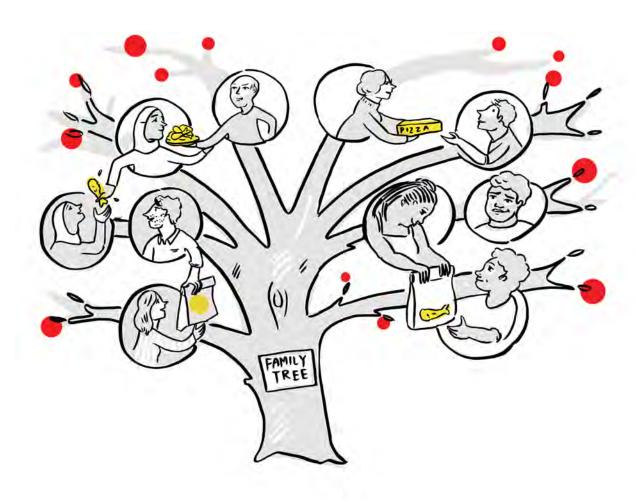
Hacking the home

How might we hack the home to disrupt families' food habits?

Click here to find out more about these opportunity spaces

4. Social Influences

A social layer sits on top of physical places that is often invisible to outsiders, yet has significant influence on food behaviours - particularly young people. Young people's food choices are influenced by what they see their parents and peers doing. However by following what others do, they can become blind to other possible options. Food habits get passed down the generations as young people grow up and become parents themselves.



It is not just the physical environment that influences families' food habits; the social environment also plays a role. Food is often a social activity, even if just casually eating in the presence of others. Two thirds (64%) of young people's food diary entries reported that they were with someone else when eating, usually family or friends. This increased to 80% for parents.

Technology such as mobiles, tablets, gaming devices and TV is often present when food is being eaten, regardless of whether or not people were eating alone or together. Parents sometimes purposefully use technology such as watching videos on tablets to distract their child during mealtimes so that the child eats more, e.g. when they are concerned that the child is not eating enough.

Food habits are passed down the generations

The influence of family on food behaviours can be positive or negative, with long term impacts on a child's future habits. What children see their parents and families doing is what they grow up thinking of as 'normal'. This was most obvious around parental attitudes towards cooking and the ways families eat.

For example a relatively small number of families regularly eat together around a dining table; for most families this way of eating happens more on special occasions or at weekends. Instead we observed that families typically eat at different times (e.g. young children eat together first and the parent eats later on their own) or at the same time but in different locations (e.g. teenagers eat in their bedrooms or in the living room).

"When I was a child we never ate around a table as a family, my mum was a seamstress and worked from the living room so there wasn't a table to sit at. I have a table in my living room now but we tend to eat on the sofa."

Mother of two children aged 0 and 6, Black British, Vauxhall

Families









Young people











Image 10: Food diary photos showing a range of social environments in which food is being eaten

Parents often reflected on how there were certain behaviours from their own childhoods that they replicated in adulthood or started doing when they become a parent themselves. Examples of this included buying the same types of food as treats for their children, or preferring certain brands.

"When it comes to sweetcorn I only buy Green Giant, it's what I've had since I was a child, nothing else compares. They have a salt free option but I only buy the original. It's a taste thing, what I grew up on."

Mother of two children aged 0 and 6, Black British, Vauxhall

However some parents, particularly those unhappy with aspects of their childhood or who aspire to a different kind of lifestyle, are keen to do things differently from their own parents. These parents are more likely to actively seek out information and advice.

"I'm different from my family, I'm the odd one out. I'm the first to have finished school and I've worked since I was 17. My mum wasn't very healthy growing up. She had five children and was a single mum so we understandably ate a lot of processed food. I was a very fussy eater when I was a child and I didn't want my son to grow up fussy like me so I made sure I introduced different foods to him early on."

> Mother of one child aged 5, White British, Elephant & Castle

Tip

Finding ways to disrupt the transfer of unhealthy food habits from parent to child could help break negative cycles. This could involve working with the parent to change what they do at home or it could be via other routes which present an alternative picture of what is 'normal'.



Passing down habits

Adebisi, 23, has an eight year old son and lives with her mother, three adult siblings and son in a flat near Oval. She grew up in Waterloo and works as a freelance graphic designer. Her annual income is currently less than £15,000.

As a child she grew up eating Nigerian food cooked by her mother, who works in a bakery. Adebisi said that in Nigerian culture, women are expected to cook and so she started learning how to cook when she was 13. She noted that things are changing however and in London second generation Nigerian women expect men to cook too.

Adebisi cooks every day for her son, who has multiple food allergies. She says because her mum cooked every day it was natural for her to follow suit. However Adebisi prefers to cook more 'English-style' food such as shepherds pie, Thai green curry and roast dinners.

She remembered how when she was at primary school she went to a friend's house and ate non-Nigerian food for the first time, which spurred her interest in other cuisines. However cooking isn't something that Adebisi actually enjoys, and she says that if it wasn't for her son she would eat takeaway a lot more, like her siblings do.









Takeaways play an important social role in young people's lives

Food is not the only reason why young people go to takeaways. Young people often go just to accompany their friends after school in order to socialise before going home. However going with friends often results in the young person buying something to eat as well, even when they were not intending to.

"Some days we go [to McDonalds] because we're hungry but most days we go because people ask to go there."

Young person aged 13, male, White British, Southwark

Young people value the physical and social environment of takeaways. Takeaways are warm, comfortable, affordable spaces to go after school and are particularly valued when the weather is cold. Furthermore they are a place where young people can go in groups and not feel judged, and where young people can escape from the pressures they feel at home and at school.

"When I'm stressed I go to Tennessee. It gives me a break from the stress at school and the stress at home. It's somewhere I can go and no one tells me what to do."

Young person aged 15, female, Black British, Kennington

Tip

Designing spaces to meet the social needs of young people and providing healthier food in these spaces may help alternate sources of food compete with takeaways.

Some young people describe feeling respected at takeaways, because they are paying customers and because the staff often recognise and joke with them. Indeed takeaways are a space where young people 'practice' independence and the skills associated with becoming independent, such as haggling and negotiating with staff for extra fries or an extra chicken wing.

Chicken shops in particular are viewed by young people as places where 'things happen', be that drama, romance or action. This perception is often accentuated when the chicken shop gains fame or notoriety, such as appearing in a local gang's music video. Takeaways therefore offer a welcome break to the monotony of daily life.

While gang affiliations can give chicken shops an aura of excitement to some young people, it makes others feel anxious and wary - particularly teenage boys. The postcode territories of gangs can influence where in the food environment teenage boys feel able, and safe, to go.

"It's not like no one else can go in there, the gang members don't sit there and wait for people to go in. So I ride my bike on the other side of the road slowly to see who is in the shop. If there's no one in the shop then I'll go in. But if I see people in there I won't go in. If I don't know them, I'll stay away to keep safe."

Young person aged 16, male, Black British, Brixton

Social spaces

Amy and Niara are best friends, both are aged 15 and they are in Year 10 at Lilian Baylis School in Vauxhall. Niara lives on an estate five minutes away from school, whereas Amy lives in Brixton Hill. They hang out together most days after school. This usually involves waiting for the other to come out of detention, walking to Tennessee Fried Chicken which is five minutes away from school and buying the kids meal special of 2 spicy wings and fries for £1.30.

If the weather is good they will usually eat outside the shop, chatting to other students, waiting to see who else will come. The pavement outside the shop is quite wide, meaning that there is enough space for a good sized crowd to gather.

They then normally walk to Black Prince Trust, where they hang out at the reception desk next to the basketball courts. They like going to the Black Prince Trust as it is free and warm to go to in winter, and it's a good place to socialise.









Social stereotypes influence

food behaviours

Children and young people resent it when they feel that others are stereotyping them. It also impacts where they go to buy food, and therefore what they eat. Many of the young people who took part in the research described feeling treated differently by shops because of their age and/or ethnicity. The most frequent examples given were being banned from going to certain supermarkets when in their school uniform, not be allowed into convenience shops when in groups bigger than two children, or feeling that they are being watched by security staff.

For example Lilian Baylis School pupils are not allowed into the Tesco superstore on Kennington Lane, meaning that their retail options for after-school snacks are restricted to convenience stores, which are more expensive. In contrast takeaways have no such restrictions on age, feel more welcoming and offer kids meal deals.

Tip

Working with grocery shops to address their concerns about the behaviour of school children may help create more hospitable retail environments where young people feel welcomed. This would help avoid the situation where the shops selling the healthiest options are perceived by young people to be the least welcoming.

"We don't go to the big
Tesco because we're not
allowed in there if we're
in our school uniform.
Years ago some students
stole some ready cooked
chicken, that's why we got
banned. I think it's a bit
unfair because that was
years ago, it wasn't us who
did that."

Young person aged 15, female, White British, Brixton



Social Influences: design opportunities

Passing down habits

How might
we interrupt the
transferral of bad
food habits from one
generation to the
next?

Seeding social media

How might we seed social media with better food influences?

Challenging stereoty

How might we remove gender and age stereotypes from the food environment?

Local heroes

How might we use identify and work with local heroes and trend setters to promote better food options?

Social spaces

How might we create healthier social spaces that appeal to young people?

Click here to find out more about these opportunity spaces

5. Inclusive Regeneration

As areas regenerate, new food options are starting to enter previously obesogenic local environments. However these new entrants often do not feel accessible to local families and can feel alien. This is because families feel that these new options are not intended for people like them. This creates social as well as financial barriers to access. As a result new food environments are not always used by families, even though they may live close by.



Many of the areas where the families who participated in the research live are regenerating, such as Elephant and Castle and Brixton. This has the potential to change families' food behaviours, both positively and negatively. Local families have mixed reactions to regeneration. All are highly aware that it is happening. However while some welcome the changes, others are more circumspect.

"A big change around here was the removal of the Heygate Estate, it led to good and bad things. There's more shops and restaurants that are healthier but they're also extremely expensive."

Father of two children aged 0 and 2, White European, Elephant & Castle "I do like this area. I think if there wasn't so many shops around I'd feel more isolated. And there's community around here, I like it. If you don't have enough money some of the shops will let you pay for it later, like the Caribbean shop - there was a shop just on the corner from the butchers, they'd do that too. Obviously the supermarkets wouldn't do that."

Mother of two children aged 4 and 8, Vauxhall

Families have personal connections to local shops

Many food businesses like traditional caffs and fish and chip shops have been around for a long time and contribute to the cultural fabric of the local area. Furthermore families often have friends or family working in these local food businesses. Families therefore often have strong attachments to food businesses and are unnerved if these businesses close due to regeneration.

For example some families described how small independent businesses are important sources of credit during times of financial difficulty. Others noted that having a range of shops that cater for a mix of cultural and ethnic identities helps them feel like they belong in the area.

Tip

Involving families in planning changes to the food environment could help ensure that the future mix of food outlets meets the needs of all the community.

This can lead to some families feeling that there is a food environment for 'us' (the locals who have lived in the area for a long time) and a separate food environment for 'them' (the wealthier newcomers to an area). As a result families may have to travel further to access certain type of shops such as discount shops known for having good deals or grocery shops selling specific ethnic foods. High street supermarkets however are perceived by families to be accessible and 'for them', regardless of where they are, and therefore offer families living in regenerating areas a sense of belonging.

"The staff at [the supermarket] all know my kids by name because I go there so often, they say hello to us when we go in and joke around with the children. It's nice."

Mother of three children aged 9, 10 and 15, Kennington

Regenerated places do not

feel welcoming

When accompanying families on their daily journeys through the local area, we asked them to point out which food shops they had or had not been in. In areas where streets have already regenerated, such as around Waterloo and Elephant and Castle, there were many shops that families had not been into, even though they pass them everyday.

While some struggled to explain why they had never gone into these shops, others reflected that they do not feel that the shops are targeted at people 'like them'. This leads to a situation where families feel uncomfortable or anxious about going into these shops, or simply perceive these shops to be irrelevant to them.

"I walk past this Pret a
Manger everyday but
I've never been in it, it's
for office workers and
organic people. It's £5 for a
sandwich. You don't see it
on Walworth Road."

Mother of one children aged 0, Southwark

Tip

Finding ways to encourage local families 'over the threshold' by increasing how welcoming these shops feel or making them feel more relevant may help overcome the social barriers to trying new options.







Image 11: Some examples of regeneration observed by families participating in the research

Case study:

Affordable New

Freya is 21 and has a 6 month old son. She lives in a council house near Southwark station with her mum, stepdad and her brother and sister who are 12 year old twins. Freya has lived around Elephant and Castle and Southwark her whole life. She finds city life stressful and is happier when staying at the family's caravan in Sheerness. Freya's personal income is around £12,000 a year.

On her way walking with the buggy to and from baby groups, Freya likes to stop off to get something to eat. She has her favourite cafes that she has been going to for years and knows all the best places to get a full English breakfast in her local area.

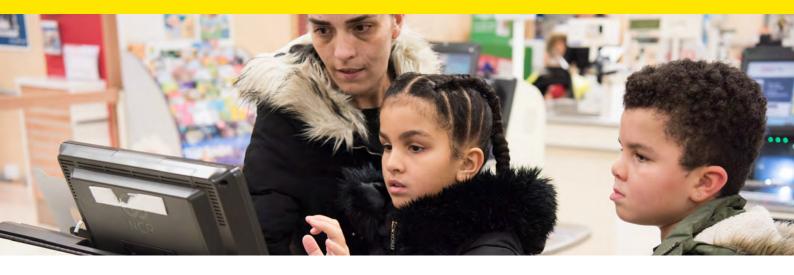
Because Freya finds the traffic stressful, she tends to walk everywhere rather than getting the bus. She likes to walk down high streets in order to window shop and see what is new. However when it comes to actually going into shops, she sticks with the places she already knows.











Uncertainty about how much food will cost is a barrier

If families do not go into new shops because they feel welcomed or that the shops are not relevant, it can lead some families to assume that the prices in these shops are higher than they actually are. This is an issue because a big barrier to buying new foods or going to a new food shop is not knowing how much the food will cost, or assuming that it will all be expensive.

Parents want to know exactly how much their shopping basket is before they reach the checkout, in order to avoid going over their budget or the social embarrassment of not being able to pay. Buying the same foods from the same shops reduces the risk of getting a nasty surprise at the till.

"The worst thing about going grocery shopping is the money. As I'm going around the shop I try to calculate the cost of everything in my basket. It's embarrassing when I'm at the till and I don't have enough money for everything so I have to put things back. I'm sure the cashiers gets annoyed with me."

Mother of two children aged 2 and 5, Afro-Caribbean, Vauxhall Families who buy groceries online describe one of its benefits as being the total certainty about how much you will be spending. Even families who do not use online grocery shopping sometimes use supermarkets' apps before they go into the supermarket to create a shopping list which includes prices so they can plan what they buy.

Others actually use the apps while they go round the shop, adding items both into their physical basket as well as their virtual basket in order that they can keep a running total of how much their basket costs. We also observed parents taking calculators with them when they go shopping.

"I started taking this calculator with me whenever I go to Iceland after the time that I got to the till and didn't have enough money to buy everything because my eldest daughter was there asking for stuff. It was the most embarrassing thing ever."

Mother of four children aged 12 to 18, Bermondsey

Tip

Findings ways to make families feel more certain about how much things will cost may help overcome some of the barriers to trying new and unfamiliar food products or experiences.

Case study:

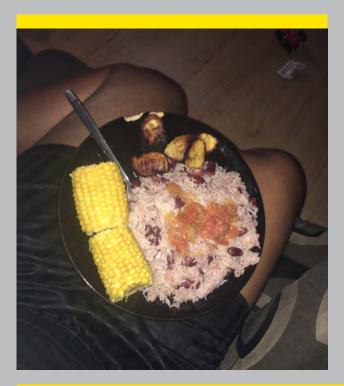
Cost certainty

Lela is a 24 year old single mum with two sons aged 2 and 5 years old. They live in a one bedroom flat on an estate in Kennington. The flat is small and the kitchen is dark, contributing to a home environment that often feels stressful to Lela. This is exacerbated by her constant worrying about money and bills. Lela is currently training to be a delivery driver for Iceland but her main source of income for the last few months has been benefits. Her household income is currently under £15,000.

Lela goes food shopping at the Tesco superstore once a week, a 10 minute walk from home. She usually goes after she has dropped her youngest son off at nursery as she prefers to go shopping alone. This is because if she goes shopping with the children, she will usually end up spending more money because they will pester her to buy them sweets.

With money being tight, grocery shopping is often a stressful experience. Lela tries not to spend more than £20 a week on food. At the checkout she'll put through her items in order of priority, when she reaches £20 she'll leave whatever else is in her basket. She gets embarrassed when this happens because she thinks the cashiers are annoyed with her for taking up their time. Putting items back is frustrating for her too as it disrupts the meals she's planned during the shop.

To help avoid this embarrassment at the checkout, she has started using the Tesco mobile app while she's doing her shopping in-store, adding items into both her actual and online shopping basket so that the app calculates the total price for her before she reaches the cashier.







Inclusive Regeneration: design opportunities

Trying new food

How might we remove families' anxieties about trying new food experiences?

Affordable new

How might
we create more
affordable opportunities
for families to try
new foods?

Cost certainty

How might we give parents greater certainty about how much new food costs?

Safeguard diversity

How might we safeguard diverse local food cultures?

Local influence

How might
we strengthen
people's influence
over their local food
environment?

Click here to find out more about these opportunity spaces

Conclusion

It is clear that the environment where families live shapes what they eat. This encompasses a wide range of influences, including everything from high level planning decisions around the mix of food outlets in an area, through to the location of bus stops in relation to food outlets, the display of information in supermarkets and the positioning of snack cupboards in families' homes.

The key to designing impactful interventions is understanding the needs of the people they are intended to influence. This research has therefore aimed to show how the environment influences families' food behaviours from the perspective of the families living locally.

Throughout the report we have highlighted possible directions for future opportunities to design impactful interventions that improve the food environment in Lambeth and Southwark.

This includes looking at ways to redesign the spaces and information cues within them to make healthier choices the most attractive and accessible. It includes building

on people's existing habits and journeys when designing healthy food options, rather than demanding large scale changes to people's routines. It also entails taking action to diversify the market of food to serve a greater range of healthy food options that are also convenient, affordable, and attractive.

It is our hope that by sharing insight into the perspective of families and possible opportunities for intervention design, Guy's and St Thomas' Charity will inspire other organisations to work with them to improve the food environment that children living in deprived inner-city areas grow up in.



Acknowledgements

We are hugely grateful to everyone who has contributed to this report. In particular, the families and young people who welcomed us into their homes and shared their daily lives. We would also like to thank Salmon Youth Centre and Black Prince Trust for helping us recruit people to the research, and to all the participants at the workshops we ran for sharing with us their considerable expertise.

Appendix A

44 parents and young people participated in this research (24 parents of children aged 0-18 and 20 young people aged 12-18). All lived in the most deprived areas of Lambeth and Southwark

Tables 1 below breaks down the parent sample by their characteristics, and Table 2 breaks down the young people sample.

Table 1: Sample breakdown of parents (n=24)

Characteristic		Sample
Marital status	Single	18
	Cohabiting	4
	Married	1
	Divorced	1
Gender of parent	Female	23
	Male	1
Borough	Lambeth	12
	Southwark	12
Age of parent	21 - 30	8
	31 - 40	10
	41 +	6
Ethnicity	White British	12
	Black British	8
	Turkish	4

Table 2: Sample breakdown of young people (n=20)

Characteristic		Sample
Gender of young person	Female	11
	Male	9
Borough	Lambeth	10
	Southwark	10
Age of young person	12 - 15	12
	16 - 18	8
Ethnicity	White British	12
	Black British	8
	Turkish	4

Appendix B

Participants at the first workshops, held in October 2017:

Community input workshop

- Hommie Beharry, Coin Street Community Builders
- Jason Henley, Black Prince Trust
- Jamie Anglesea, Salmon Youth Centre
- Mike Wilson, Pembroke House
- Natalie Bell, Coin Street Community Builders
- Rebecca Jones, Home-Start Southwark
- Rebecca Sunter, Guy's and St Thomas' Charity
- Shareen John-Baptiste, Hyde Housing

Research input workshop

- Alice Muir, 23red
- Bimpe Boki, Lambeth Council
- Dominic McVey, Word of Mouth
- Frankie Sanders, Soil Association
- Jeremy Nye, Just Eat
- Kat Jennings, 2CV
- Rachel Abott, Behavioural Architects
- Rebecca Sunter, Guy's and St Thomas' Charity
- Richard Atkinson, Copasetic
- Rosie Dalton-Lucas, Southwark Council
- Rupert Tebb, Freelance
- Samantha Gibson, Guy's and St Thomas' Charity
- Stephanie Gaydon, 2CV
- Vida Cunningham, Lambeth Council

Participants at the second workshop, held in March 2018:

Opportunity space workshop

- Anees Ikramullah, Black Prince Trust
- Anna Isaacs, Centre for Food Policy Research at City University
- Cheryl Parkinson, Home Start Southwark
- Duncan Stephenson, Royal Society of Public Health
- Frankie Sanders, Soil Association
- Kat Jennings, 2CV
- Lucy Newsum, 2CV
- Marta Sordyl, Stockwell Partnership
- Natalie Bell, Coin Street
- David Hopkins, Coin Street
- Nathan Jones, Oasis Community Hub
- Richard Atkinson, Copasetic
- Sam Adofo, Salmon Youth Centre
- Sam Cowan, Southwark Council
- Stephanie Gaydon, 2CV
- Vida Cunningham, Lambeth Council
- Becka Sunter, Guy's and St Thomas' Charity
- Sarah Hickey, Guy's and St Thomas' Charity

Thank you

Contact Chris or Chloe for more information



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