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Transport Planning Society

From understanding to influencing travel behaviour - if not now, then when for the transport planning profession?

A think piece from the Transport Planning Society's 'Influencing Travel Behaviour' Policy Sub-Group

About the Transport Planning Society

[The Transport Planning Society \(TPS\)](#) is the only professional body focusing entirely on transport planning in the UK. The aim of the Society is to raise the profile of transport planning and chart a course for the profession.

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Executive Summary

In this think piece we seek to understand the transport planning profession's journey in influencing travel behaviours (not just 'behaviour change campaigns' but across our activity more broadly), highlighting successes and areas for improvement. We also examine where we stand today, whether the case for embracing behaviour change thinking within the profession is sufficiently grounded, and what practical steps the Transport Planning Society (TPS) and the profession as a whole can take today (without delay) to accelerate the attainment of the new travel behaviours required to successfully sustain our communities.

Introduction

It is easy for us, as a transport planning profession, to forget that everything we do has an impact on travel behaviours. That can be preparing a parking strategy, designing road or rail schemes, deciding where to locate a new development or through behaviour change initiatives such as workplace and school travel planning. However, to what extent do we apply an understanding of the science of behaviour change thinking in our work?

Transport planning professionals who have contributed to programmes and projects that have successfully changed travel behaviours understand the benefits of such integration. Despite these successes, however, our review finds inconsistent application - particularly outside transport initiatives badged as promoting sustainable travel or behaviour change.

Further success requires communicating the value of behaviour change thinking across the profession. Our review finds that transport planning professionals would benefit from recognising that we are not just about delivering technical solutions, but about understanding and then influencing human behaviour to create lasting positive outcomes. The application of these principles requires a mindset shift, where we routinely incorporate behaviour change thinking into our planning processes.

It is more pertinent now than ever before to put a behaviour change lens on our practices. Public attitudes towards climate concerns remain high, awareness of personal health and well-being issues continue to climb, we are all being impacted by weak economic conditions, and trends in trip making are less predictable due to changing lifestyles triggered in part by the COVID-19 pandemic. Consequently, now is the time to make behaviour change thinking more central to how we operate as a profession. Currently, behaviour change theory is being applied in some transport schemes, but it is not universally adopted. Some programmes use targeted communication strategies, incentives, or infrastructure changes that encourage more sustainable travel choices. However, these efforts are often isolated, and more holistic and integrated thinking is needed to ensure behaviour change thinking becomes core to a wider range of policy and scheme development.

As a profession, there is value in us improving our capacity to include behaviour change thinking in all we do. For example, to help in capacity building, all transport planning professionals should be trained to ensure that the motivations of the target market and its subsets are at the forefront of their minds when conceiving a policy or scheme (the “general public” is not an homogenous group after all), considering how people behave in the real world. Should behavioural science be a standard part of transport planning training, along with ensuring we are all skilled in fostering collaboration across sectors to create more effective interventions? Moving beyond ‘predict and provide’, should transport planners’ default be to ensure that all capital investment in new infrastructure is without question accompanied by behaviour change ‘activations’ to maximise success?

PAST: Where have we been? Looking back on UK travel behaviour change practice

The mainstay of the application of behaviour change thinking has arguably in the past been confined to dedicated travel behaviour change or, as often referred to in the past, smarter travel programmes. To understand how we should move forward as a profession, it is important to first look back at where we have come from using these programmes and policies as the barometer. Here follows a brief overview of travel behaviour programmes in the UK context, summarising the background to their initiation along with a review of successes and challenges around their delivery.

Over the past twenty years, travel behaviour programmes have been used across the UK by governments, transport operators, businesses and employers. How have they worked? What have been the key successes and challenges in their delivery?

Travel behaviour change in UK policy

The need to manage an increase in car ownership has been recognised since the 1960s, with the seminal 'Traffic in Towns' report being commissioned to assess the consequences of increased motorisation. However, aside from the 1970s oil crisis when people were asked to drive less, and shift to walking, cycling and using public transport more¹, no concerted effort was made to influence travel behaviour until the 1990s when it became a recognised government policy² backed with central government funding.

Delivery of travel behaviour change activity

What is a travel behaviour change programme? While almost all transport measures (infrastructure, non-infrastructure, or policy) are delivered to influence travel behaviour in some way, behaviour-specific programmes are typically the non-infrastructure and non-fiscal (e.g. fuel duty) 'soft' measures. These can be in isolation or combined with infrastructure or 'hard' measures and have tended to be conceived according to behaviour change theory. In the formative years of travel behaviour change programmes, the approach was based on the transtheoretical theory of behaviour change, of which there have been various iterations. For illustrative purposes, the broad stages of change are summarised in this figure:

THE 6 STAGES OF CHANGE



Source: Transport Planning Society

¹ The 1973–1975 Energy Crisis and Its Impact on Transport (RAC Foundation, 2009)

<https://www.racfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/energy-crisis-parish-161009-report.pdf>

² A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone (DETR, 1998)

<https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/+/http://www.dft.gov.uk/about/strategy/whitepapers/previous/newdealfortransportbetterfo5695>

There have been several programmes funded by national government in the last 20 years. These have included *Sustainable Travel Towns*, *Cycling Demonstration Towns/Cycling Towns*, *Local Sustainable Transport Fund*, and the *Access Fund* in England. The *Smarter Choices, Smarter Places* and *Places for Everyone* in Scotland, and the *Active Travel Fund* in Wales.

Alongside public sector-led delivery, the private sector delivers travel behaviour programmes on a more site-specific basis that is often linked to planning requirements. A key delivery mechanism for travel behaviour change initiatives of this type has been through 'Travel Plans', which are usually site-specific transport strategies (initially for schools but more recently for other facilities) that include both physical measures/services and complementary behaviour change initiatives (such as marketing communications, pledging or loyalty schemes etc), which were introduced into national policy in the late 1990s³ and became a condition of planning applications for developments associated with high levels of travel demand⁴. Alongside statutory Travel Plans, there have been examples of large private sector organisations, such as Boots, Heathrow, and public sector organisations, such as council offices, universities and (most recently and on an unprecedented scale) NHS hospitals, delivering Travel Plans⁵. Smaller businesses are exempt from a statutory requirement, but many engage in Travel Plans to improve accessibility and to attract and retain employees.

Other notable programmes, such as the London 2012 Olympic Games Travel Demand Management⁶ programme, have been delivered in response to disruptive events that require travel demand to be managed effectively and sustainably within a defined timeframe. Similar programmes accompanied the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow (2014) and Birmingham (2022) with great success. These programmes have repeatedly resulted in upwards of 30% of the local community adapting their usual travel behaviour during the event. However, impacts have been isolated in terms of location and have sometimes struggled to maintain their initial success – although in the case of the London 2012 Olympics, changes in behaviour endured, albeit at a lower level.



³ A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone (DETR, 1998)

<https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/+/http://www.dft.gov.uk/about/strategy/whitepapers/previous/anewdealfortransportbetterfor5695>

⁴ Planning Policy Guidance 13: Transport (DETR, 2001)

⁵ Enoch, M. (2012) *Sustainable transport, mobility management and Travel Plans*. Farnham: Ashgate

⁶ Jones, H. (2012) https://tps.org.uk/public/downloads/aapa2/helen_jones_submission.pdf

It is also worth noting the longer-term impacts of other intensive applications of behaviour change initiatives such as the Department for Transport's Sustainable Travel Towns (STT) Initiative, where in 2004 three towns - Darlington, Peterborough and Worcester - jointly received £10 million in funding for the implementation of large-scale 'smarter choice' programmes over a five year period. An [analysis](#) by TRL of the longer-term impacts of those programmes in 2016 found that:

- Growth in bus use in both Worcester and Peterborough was part of the success story of the STT programme. Bus use subsequently declined in all three towns, although at the time of this analysis, bus use in Worcester was still at a higher level than it was at the start of the STT period.
- Gains in cycling and walking had been sustained, and potentially augmented, by high-quality or improved infrastructure in all three towns, and by further promotional work through LSTF funding in Darlington and Peterborough. Darlington's experience was particularly interesting - following major growth in cycling during the STT period (due to a combination of promotional work and infrastructure improvements), cycling levels were sustained, but seemed to plateau despite further infrastructural improvements from Cycle Demonstration Town funding. LSTF activity was then potentially starting to encourage further growth.
- Changes in mode share for the school journey also seemed to show a positive story. In all three towns, for particular groups of schools, it seemed that the car mode share had dropped, whilst the active travel share had increased. This stood in contrast to national trends, where car use had increased at the expense of active travel. Changes in school travel patterns also appeared to relate relatively directly to the activities that the towns had undertaken, with some decay of effects when support was withdrawn.
- For car use, the report concluded that it was difficult to be certain of effects. This was primarily because the amount of data for the three towns was less than in the previous study – particularly in terms of traffic count data for Worcester and household travel survey data for the other two towns. In addition, the substantial changes in traffic levels nationally, following the economic downturn, made isolating the (relatively small overall) traffic effects of any previous initiative particularly problematic. What did emerge was that at the time of this analysis, car use or observed traffic levels per person were still below 2004 levels in all three towns. In Peterborough, between 2003/4 and 2012/13, there was a 15% reduction in observed traffic miles per capita. This was in the context of major population and economic growth that was greater than the reduction in traffic occurring nationally over that period.

While, therefore, there is some evidence of lasting impacts, the challenge has been that these types of intensive programmes are not designed with a view to sustained impact, but rather the need to show impacts during the funded period.

Successes and challenges

The size of the evidence base for travel behaviour change policies and programmes has grown considerably, and has been well documented both nationally and internationally. Programmes funded from central UK Government often require monitoring and evaluation and this is typically undertaken by independent consultancies, although the level of details and robustness of methodology varies. Publications, particularly from pre-pandemic funding streams, all provide useful overviews of outputs delivered and key lessons learned⁷, but the challenges for quantifying specific

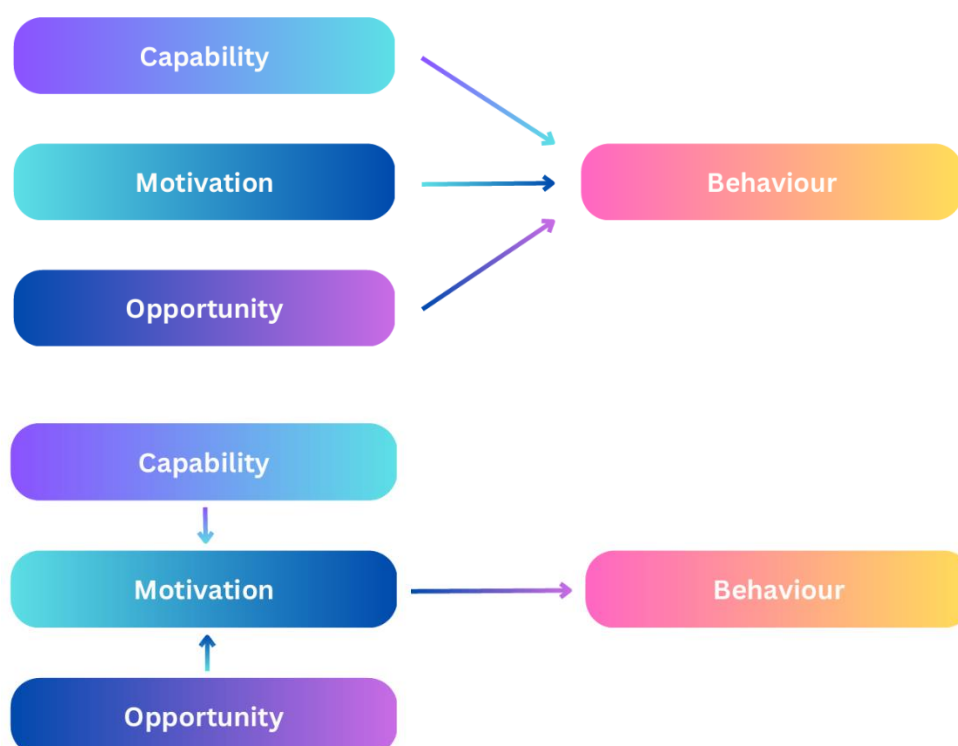
⁷ *Local Sustainable Transport Fund: what works?* Department for Transport (2017) and Sloman L, Cavill N, Cope A, Muller L and Kennedy A (2009) *Analysis and Synthesis of Evidence on the Effects of Investment in Six Cycling Demonstration Towns* Report for Department for Transport and Cycling England

impacts and understanding mechanisms of change remain. Many studies are in the public domain, either on government websites or available in open-access (free to read) academic journals. We cite a combination below.

Successes

The most successful travel behaviour programmes are characterised by proactivity, coordination and getting the timing right. The key factors for success include:

- Prioritising resources, generating insights and targeting audiences through use of segmentation tools⁸ or similar. This develops more relevant, timely and persuasive messaging that influences change more effectively.
- Linking revenue activities with infrastructure or service changes⁹. Because behaviour results from a combination of a person's capability, opportunity, and motivation to change [COM-B model), promoting or encouraging a different mode of travel brings more success when behaviour change measures are used in places with adequate infrastructure¹⁰. This is shown in the below diagrams – the first demonstrating that changes in Capability, Opportunity or Motivation can each have direct impacts on behaviour, and the second that Capability and Opportunity also have direct impacts on behaviour through the influence they have on Motivation.



Source: '*Moments of change and travel behaviours report*', published by the Department for Transport, reformatted by the Transport Planning Society.

⁸ Costley T and Gray M (2014) Climate Change and Transport Choices, MOSAIC?

⁹ Roaf E, Larrington-Spencer H and Lawlor E (2024) *Interventions to increase active travel: A systematic review*

¹⁰ Roaf, E., Larrington-Spencer, H., & Lawlor, E. R. (2024). Interventions to increase active travel: A systematic review. *Journal of Transport & Health*, 38, 101860.

- Targeting ‘moments of change’ that are already disrupting people’s ‘status quo’ (such as moving home or changing employment). Where these external factors are a catalyst¹¹, it provides opportunity to create new habits through the need to critically assess the best way to travel¹². Most changes in car use (over 90 per cent) are associated with a change in circumstances or a life event, most commonly a change in job, moving house, or a change in family circumstances^{13 14}, particularly where supportive resources can be put in place to assist the sector in being able to support communities through these changes such as the Department for Transport did during the pandemic¹⁵.

Challenges

Successes, whilst widespread, have generally been location specific with evaluation more focused upon outputs rather than wider outcomes. This is in part due to the inherent difficulty in attributing a specific change in behaviour to a particular programme, and the potential need for long term monitoring timescales. This can present additional challenges, whereby behaviour change programmes struggle to gain the support of leadership and decision makers. The perception that they are a ‘bolt on’ and ‘nice to have’ often means budgets are reduced or removed.

More generally, a piecemeal approach to funding, or uncertainty about continued funding streams, limits the opportunity to influence behaviour change significantly. Without surety of funding, behaviour change campaigns, activities, and oversight become constrained with lower levels of ambition and uptake. Influencing and changing behaviour does not usually happen overnight, and lasting change requires long-term maintenance of funding. There is also a challenge of silos, as Government funds are issued by different departments and agencies, and corresponding fragmentation in local authorities¹⁶.

Gaining public and political support is critical to achieving large scale change. Without decision makers advocating for change, behaviour change programmes risk being pushed aside rather than seen as a holistic part of the solution alongside infrastructure changes. In option development they are not seen as alternatives to infrastructure, particularly within schemes which increase capacity.

It is also fair to observe that the funded programmes are seen as ‘special’, ‘standalone’ and ‘short term’ rather than being seen as an integral, sustained part of the transport planners’ toolkit. Embedding new behaviours takes time, technique and tenacity, both in terms of sustained funding and the need for revenue funding. A by-product of these points is that influencing the travel behaviours of the public is for ‘those that do behaviour change stuff’ rather than all transport planners seeing the influencing of travel behaviour and the need to understand behaviour change science as being at the heart of their work.

¹¹ Rerat P, Haldimann L and Widmer H (2022) Cycling in the era of Covid-19: The effects of the pandemic and pop-up cycle lanes on cycling practices

¹² Verplanken, B., Roy, D., & Whitmarsh, L. (2018). Cracks in the wall: Habit discontinuities as vehicles for behaviour change. *The psychology of habit: Theory, mechanisms, change, and contexts*, 189-205.

¹³ <https://content.tfl.gov.uk/technical-note-16-understanding-why-people-change-behaviour.pdf>

¹⁴ <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/67f7d99845705eb1a1513efb/dft-moments-of-change-report.pdf>

¹⁵ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/transport-demand-management-toolkit-for-local-authorities>

¹⁶ <https://www.betterpoints.ltd/blog/active-travel-three-barriers-to-mass-engagement-and-how-to-break-them/>

PRESENT: Where are we now?

The transport planning profession is a broad and diverse field, encompassing the work of government officers (at national, regional and local levels), private consultants, academics, students and others. Despite this diversity, and as noted in the previous section, there is a common thread that runs through all our efforts: we have a role in impacting travel choices and behaviours.

The transport choices that individuals and companies make are the result in many cases of policies and schemes determined by our industry. When we, as a sector, fail to take time to understand the potential unintended consequences of our decisions on those we are targeting and to ignore their motivations and intentions in their development, the outcomes can be negative despite worthy aims. For example, some projects implemented through the Department for Transport's Emergency Active Travel Fund, intended to promote active travel modes during the COVID-19 pandemic, faced significant resistance and criticism due to a lack of proper engagement and neglecting core behaviour change principles¹⁷.

As set out above, the transport planning profession has significant experience in behaviour change practice. While funding has sometimes been short-term and patchy, behaviour change has been most effective when coupled with 'moments of change', such as the London 2012 Olympic Games. However, we (the transport planning profession) do not always recognise the foundational role of behaviour change thinking in all our work. Unlike private companies that have a detailed understanding of their customer base and tailor their solutions to ensure they sell, transport planners (whether at a policy or scheme development level) are not usually afforded the luxury of being as forensic in their approach to understanding their target market and how to "sell" change.

Transport planning education also needs to emphasise the importance of embedding behaviour change thinking as a foundational element of all transport planning activities. Currently, behaviour change (the initiative) is often treated as a separate module or skill, despite being key to every area of transport planning. For example, the Transport Planning Professional (TPP) qualification explicitly recognises the importance of behaviour change activity as a separate module, but does not consider it to be a 'Core' technical unit – inadvertently, therefore, indicating that it is somehow separate to the main body of transport planning work.

We would suggest that this needs to change, and now is the time¹⁸:

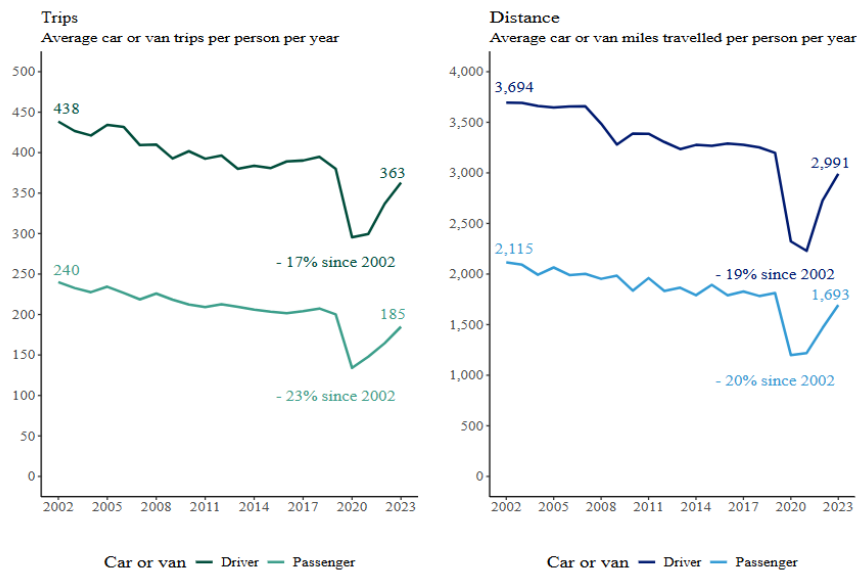
- The new National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) advocates a vision-led approach, which includes shifting trips to sustainable modes of travel to unlock the government's target of 1.5 million new homes.
- The upcoming Integrated National Transport Strategy¹⁹ will promote the need for multimodal options to a that proportion of the public who are accustomed to unimodal car travel.

¹⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/active-travel-fund-tranche-2-stage-1-process-evaluation>

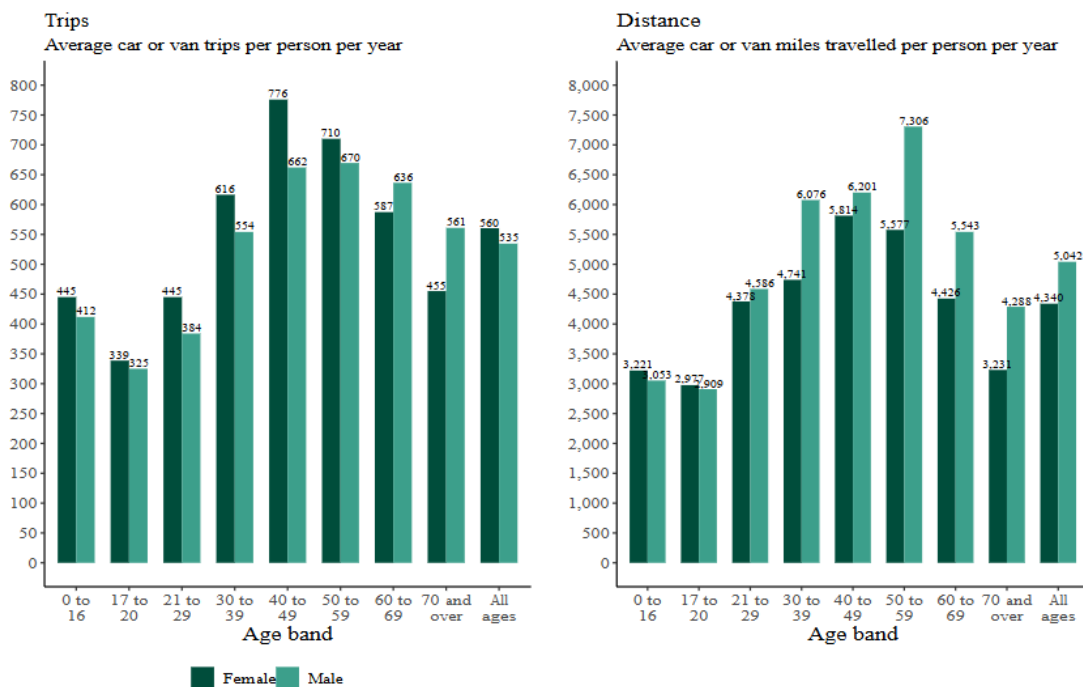
¹⁸ <https://www.tmsw.com/trending/the-world-is-more-open-to-change-than-ever-before-now-is-the-time-to-replace-rhetoric-with-action/>

¹⁹ [Integrated National Transport Strategy for England - GOV.UK](#)

- Current trends only reinforce this opportunity: fewer and fewer young people hold a full driving licence²⁰, and there is an overall reduction in car trips and mileage taken per person per year²¹.



Source: *NTS 2023: Car availability and trends in car trips, statistics published by the Department for Transport*

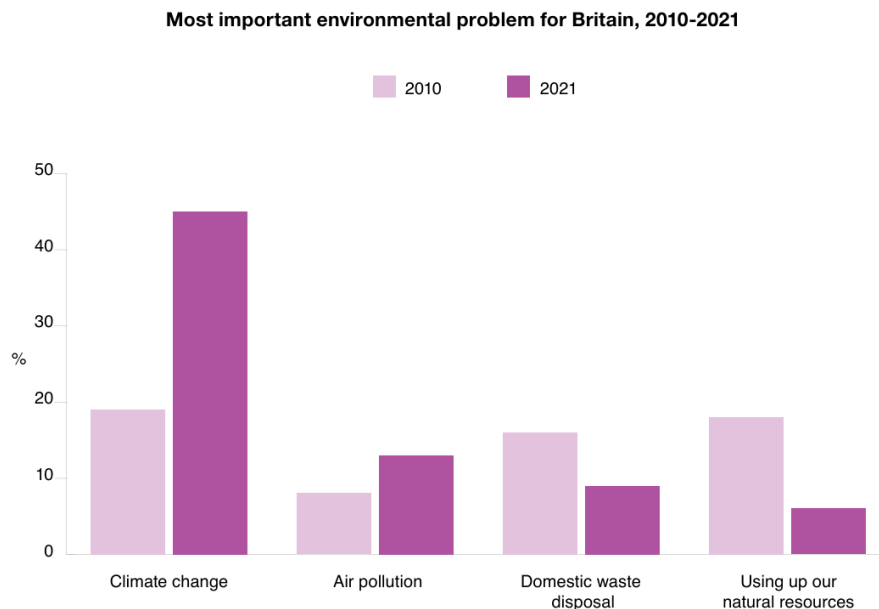


Source: *NTS 2023: Car availability and trends in car trips, statistics published by the Department for Transport.*

²⁰ <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/66ce14751aaf41b21139cf8e/nts0201.ods>

²¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/national-travel-survey-2023/nts-2023-car-availability-and-trends-in-car-trips>

- The public is increasingly aware of and prioritising climate and environmental issues, increasing openness to change. The British Social Attitudes tracker by NatCen demonstrates that the proportion of people who are very concerned about the environment has almost doubled since 2010²².



Source: British Social Attitudes 2010 and NatCen/ScotCen panels 2021

- In a similar vein, there is a growing level of health consciousness²³, as well as a realisation of how connected our health is to everything around us, including our local environment and the world at large²⁴. Sustrans' Walking and Cycling Index, the biggest ever survey of walking, cycling and wheeling around the UK and Ireland, has demonstrated that residents want to walk, wheel and cycle more, and drive less.²⁵
- Finally, innovative technology solutions, from demand-responsive transport to micromobility, offer potential avenues for encouraging change if harnessed and promoted successfully.

The evidence cited earlier makes it clear that only by incorporating behaviour change thinking and practices in a more integrated manner will the profession achieve optimal outcomes. This may require a shift in mindset by some transport professionals from viewing the application of behaviour change thinking and techniques as an optional extra to recognising it as a core component of all transport planning activities.

²² Source: British Social Attitudes 2010 and NatCen/ScotCen panels 2021
https://natcen.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2023-08/bsa39_environment.pdf

²³ <https://www.ibisworld.com/uk/bed/health-consciousness/44050/>

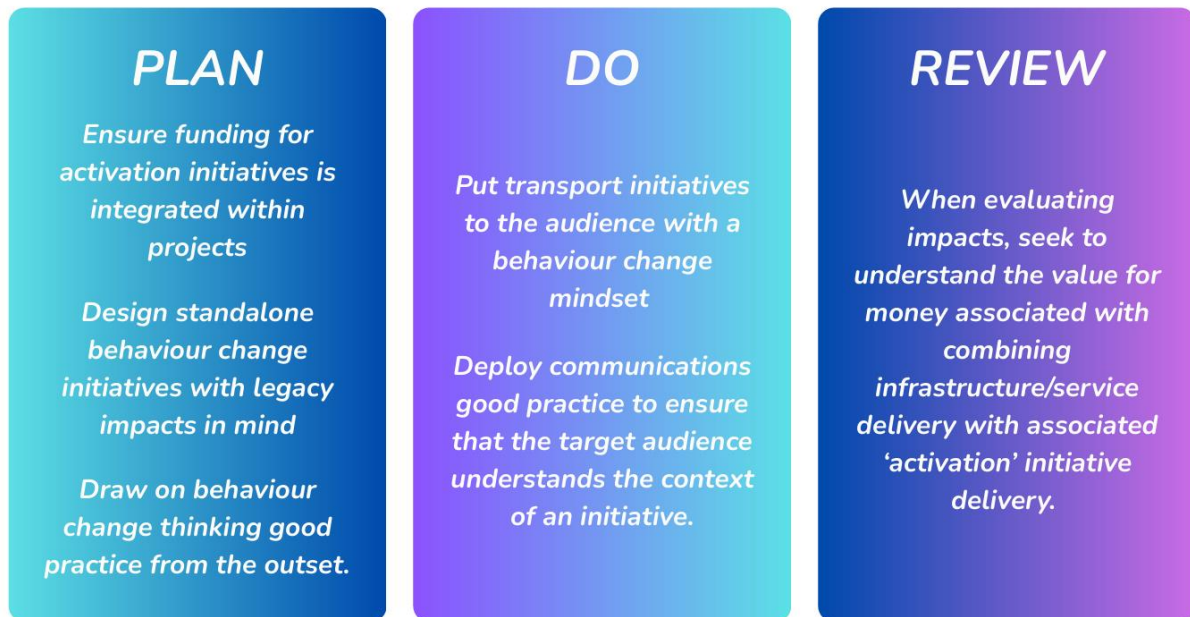
²⁴ <https://www.ipsos.com/en/global-trends/Global-Trends-in-Conscientious-Health>

²⁵ <https://natcen.ac.uk/publications/walking-and-cycling-index-2023>

FUTURE: What should the profession be aiming to do to ensure that behaviour change thinking is central to our work?

There are actions both small and big, personal and more strategic, that transport planners can take now to help embed the theory and practice of behaviour change in their work.

Within the construct of the 'plan, do, review' approach to policy and intervention delivery, there are six actions for the profession to consider in relation to behaviour change thinking:



Plan

1. **Ensure funding for 'activation' initiatives is integrated within the projects being pursued.** This is about ensuring that implementation is not just about a piece of infrastructure or service but is also about the wrap around behaviour change elements required to initiate the use of what is being provided. For example, some City Regions have begun to allocate part of their active travel settlements towards 'scheme activation', leveraging capital funding to deliver behaviour change campaigns which encourage use of new infrastructure.
2. **Design standalone behaviour change initiatives with legacy impacts in mind.** Design any standalone behaviour change initiatives in such a way that there is a 'continuity strategy' conceived at the outset which will allow the opportunity to build in legacy benefit from the outset.
3. **Draw on behaviour change thinking good practice from the outset.** Ensure that the excellent resources^{26 27} now generally available on behaviour change thinking and application of behaviour change techniques are automatically considered as part of the design and development phase of any transport intervention.

²⁶ <https://gcs.civilservice.gov.uk/publications/the-principles-of-behaviour-change-communications/>

²⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/transport-business-case/enabling-behaviour-change-information-pack>

Do

4. ***Apply behaviour change thinking when positioning transport initiatives in the minds-eye of the audience.*** It is not just action but framing that matters and drawing on the resources available for planning how to frame and communicate proposals to audience(s)²⁸ is key. There is also a useful guide that has been produced to support local delivery²⁹ and there are examples of where behavioural science has been applied in relation to travel behaviour^{30 31}. These examples can really help to bring the subject to life and help show applicability.
5. ***Deploy communications good practice, in terms of awareness of wider context, when engaging with the intended audience on a transport initiative.*** Audiences will not only be receiving information and influence from one channel of communications. While it can be difficult to shape the influencing done by others there are opportunities to improve the consistency of messaging coming from different parts of individual organisations and affiliated agencies. Mixed messaging can undermine the success of well-designed transport initiatives and should be considered a vital part of not only project delivery but also organisational strategy.

Review

6. ***In evaluating impacts seek to understand the value for money associated with combining infrastructure/service delivery with associated 'activation' initiative delivery.*** Evidence shows that transport initiatives are more impactful when combined with measures that support people to understand the benefit of using the infrastructure in the 'right' way³². Understanding the isolated impacts versus the combined impacts can in turn build support for wider investment in behaviour change.

²⁸ For example: [my-journey-car-share_playbook_190923.pdf](#)

²⁹ https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5e7b4e85d3bf7f133c923435/PHEBI_Achieving_Behaviour_Change_Local_Government.pdf

³⁰ <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/article/8989/Travel-Behaviour-Change-Strategy>

³¹ <https://www.showcase-sustrans.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Behaviour-Change-Guide-Sustrans-Partners-2024.pdf>

³² Cairns et al. (2005) <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/smarter-choices-main-report-about-changing-the-way-we-travel>

Conclusion

This think piece has been intended as a journey of discovery for transport planners regarding the value of making behaviour change thinking an intrinsic part of what we all do – and not just left to those who ‘do behaviour change projects’.

It is recommended that as a profession:

- We recognise that our work as transport planners is fundamentally about influencing choices and behaviour, and that our approach to transport planning should reflect this, making use of effective behaviour change thinking within the industry.
- We work to ensure that transport planning courses including masters’ courses, the TPP qualification and short courses such as those offered by PTRC, champion the centrality of behaviour change thinking to transport planning practice whilst maintaining the profile of focused behaviour change programmes.
- We promote greater working with other professional disciplines, such as behavioural science and marketing, to better understand how we can deliver transport interventions in a way which leads to sustained behaviour change.

Turning to the TPS itself, what we commit to do is:

- Take all opportunities to work with the Government to ensure capital allocations for transport infrastructure are supported by ‘activation’ funding to ensure behaviour change happens.
- Reflect the principles of this think piece in our responses to consultation by Government and others where relevant (e.g. in connection with the emerging Integrated National Transport Strategy).

Work with our membership (such as through the annual TPS Member Survey) to get a better gauge of the industry’s understanding and engagement with behaviour change (both the science and the activity), in order that we can better support integration of behaviour change measures across the profession.

About the Transport Planning Society Policy Panel

The TPS Policy Panel was formed in November 2024 to:

- Ensure TPS is influential and proactive in seeking improvements in policy and practice, and in setting the transport agenda at a national, regional and local level.
- Be proactive in the creation of an open, diverse and inclusive transport planning community.
- Provide the widest possible forum to engage on relevant and topical transport planning issues.
- Improve the public understanding and the image of transport planning and transport planners, and promoting transport planning as a profession.

The panel has five sub-groups, and this piece has been crafted by the *Influencing travel behaviour* group, led by Jon Foley. Other members of the group are Jack Hubert-Mayhew, Dr Andy Binder, Rachel Rombough, Emma Hext, Chris Harte, Pete Dyson, Zahra Ali, Amy Young and Lucy Saunders.

Date: 21 May 2025