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Introduction: Chicken shops and poor diets

The research described in this document was undertaken by Shift (formerly known as We Are What We Do) in the exploratory phase of a product/service development process aiming at addressing the poor diets of many young people in low income urban areas in the UK.

During this phase we:

- Undertook a brief review of the existing literature on the relationship between fast food, poor diets and youth obesity
- Conducted a behavioural observation in chicken shops in Forest Gate, London Borough of Newham
- Mapped the food outlets around train stations in two low income urban areas, one in Newham, London and one in Handsworth, Birmingham.
- Asked young people in a Newham school about their fast food intake and preferences through two workshops and a survey
- Undertook ethnography with young people in Birmingham who regularly eat at chicken shops
- Interviewed the owners and managers to two London chicken shop chains

This research led to the development of the mobile healthy fast food pilot, Box Chicken, in Forest Gate, Newham, which ran for four weeks during September and October 2013. The insights documented in this report continue to inform the practical work we are doing to improve poor diets in low income urban areas.

For more information, see shiftdesign.org.uk Contact ella.wiggans@shiftdesign.org.uk



Existing Research

To understand what influenced young people's eating habits, particularly the relationship between fast food, poor diets and youth obesity, we did desk research, collating existing information from studies on youth obesity, income levels, and fast food in the UK and the US.

We also looked more closely at the fast food environment in the London Borough of Newham, which is a good example of a low-income urban area with high incidence of youth obesity.

The rise of the chicken shop

There are more than 8,000 fast food outlets in the capital alone - one for every 1,000 Londoners

Greater London Authority data analysis (November 2012)

Fried chicken sales grew by 36% from 2003 to 2008, and the market continues to grow. The fried chicken market is estimated to be worth £15bn-£20bn.

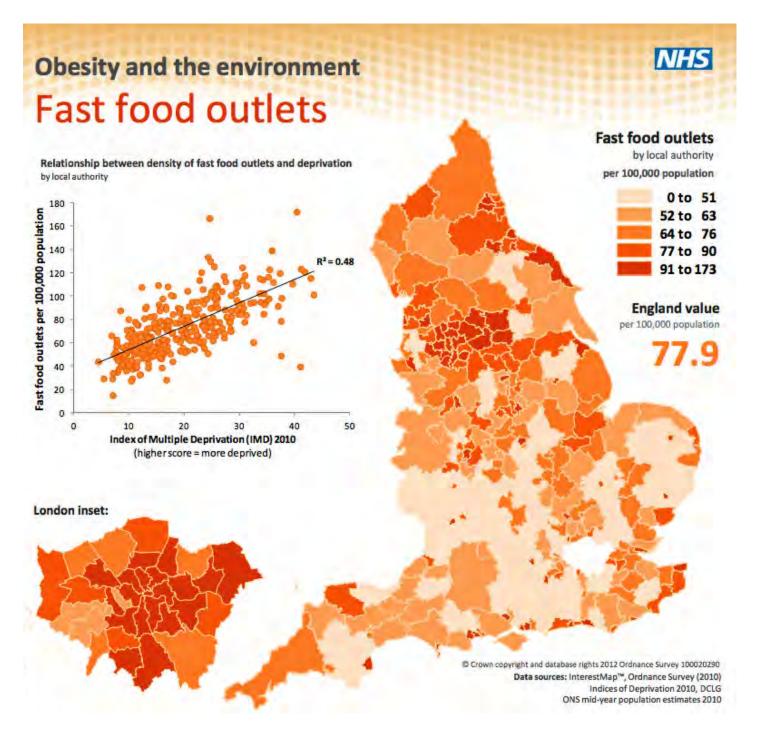
Meltzer, T (2011) Britain's fried chicken boom, The Guardian online

Independent fast food shops make up around four-fifths of the market

Allegra (2009) Eating Out in the UK.

Prevalence in deprived urban areas

The poorest areas have the highest numbers of fast food outlets



Prevalence in deprived urban areas: the example of Newham

In Newham there are 258 hot food takeaway outlets.
28% are fried chicken shops

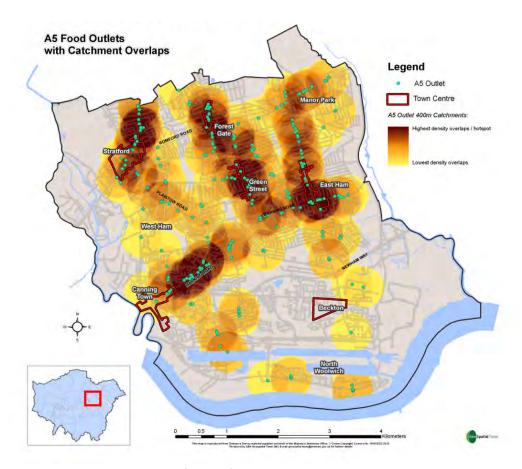
Chinese, Indian, Kebab 10-15% each
Newham Council (2010) Food Outlet Mapping in the London Borough of Newham

All secondary schools are within 500m of at least one takeaway

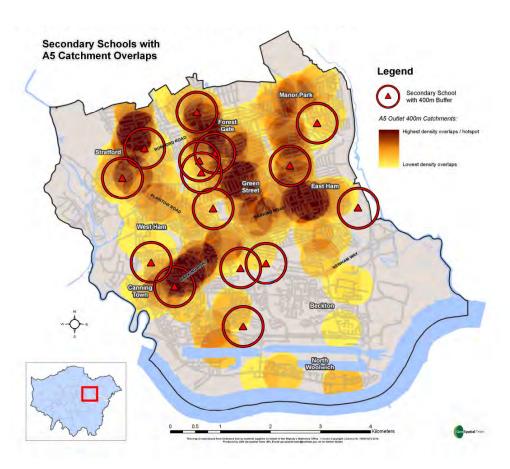
Newham Council (2010) Food Outlet Mapping in the London Borough of Newham

Prevalence in deprived urban areas: the example of Newham

Clustering of hot food takeaways, Newham



Clustering of hot food takeaways and secondary schools, Newham



Newham Council (2010) Food Outlet Mapping in the London Borough of Newham

Obesity and young people nationally

Around 30% of children and young people are overweight or obese

National Obesity Observatory (2013) NOO data fact sheet: Child weight

If no action is taken, 25% of children will be obese by 2050

Government Office for Science (2007) Tackling obesities: future choices

Obesity levels have tripled in 15 year-olds over the last ten years

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2010) Views of UK health professionals on the value of the natural environment.

Impact of fast food

A fast food restaurant within 0.16km of a school is associated with at least a 5.2% increase in obesity rates amongst 15-16 year olds

Currie, J., DellaVigna, S., Moretti, E. & Pathania, V. (2009) The effect of fast food restaurants on obesity and weight gain.

An average meal at a chicken shop contains 60% RDA kcal, 45% RDA saturated fats and 85% RDA salt as well as significantly low levels of vitamins, minerals and fibre

Comparison of KFC website and NHS recommendations

RDA = Recommended Daily Allowance kcal = kilocalories

Each additional purchase made at a fast food outlet is associated with a 0.03 increase in age-standardized body mass index.

De Vogli, R., Kouvonen, A. & Gimeno, D. (2013) The influence of market deregulation on fast food consumption and body mass index.

Nutritional value of fast food

The high-fat, energy-dense foods served in the fast food outlets that dominate the high streets around many schools contain high percentages of recommended daily allowances.

The next page provides nutritional information for selected KFC products.

Independent fast food outlets often serve meals with even higher energy content, as they use less sophisticated production techniques, and serve larger portions. Their oil is also frequently of a lower standard, with high levels of saturated and trans-fats.



Behavioural observation

We spent time observing the behaviour of fast food consumers in three different takeway outlets in Forest Gate in Newham, paying particular attention to chicken shops on Upton Lane and Woodgrange Road.

The aim of this research was to understand the behaviours of people in Forest Gate in and around chicken shops. Specifically, we aimed to understand:

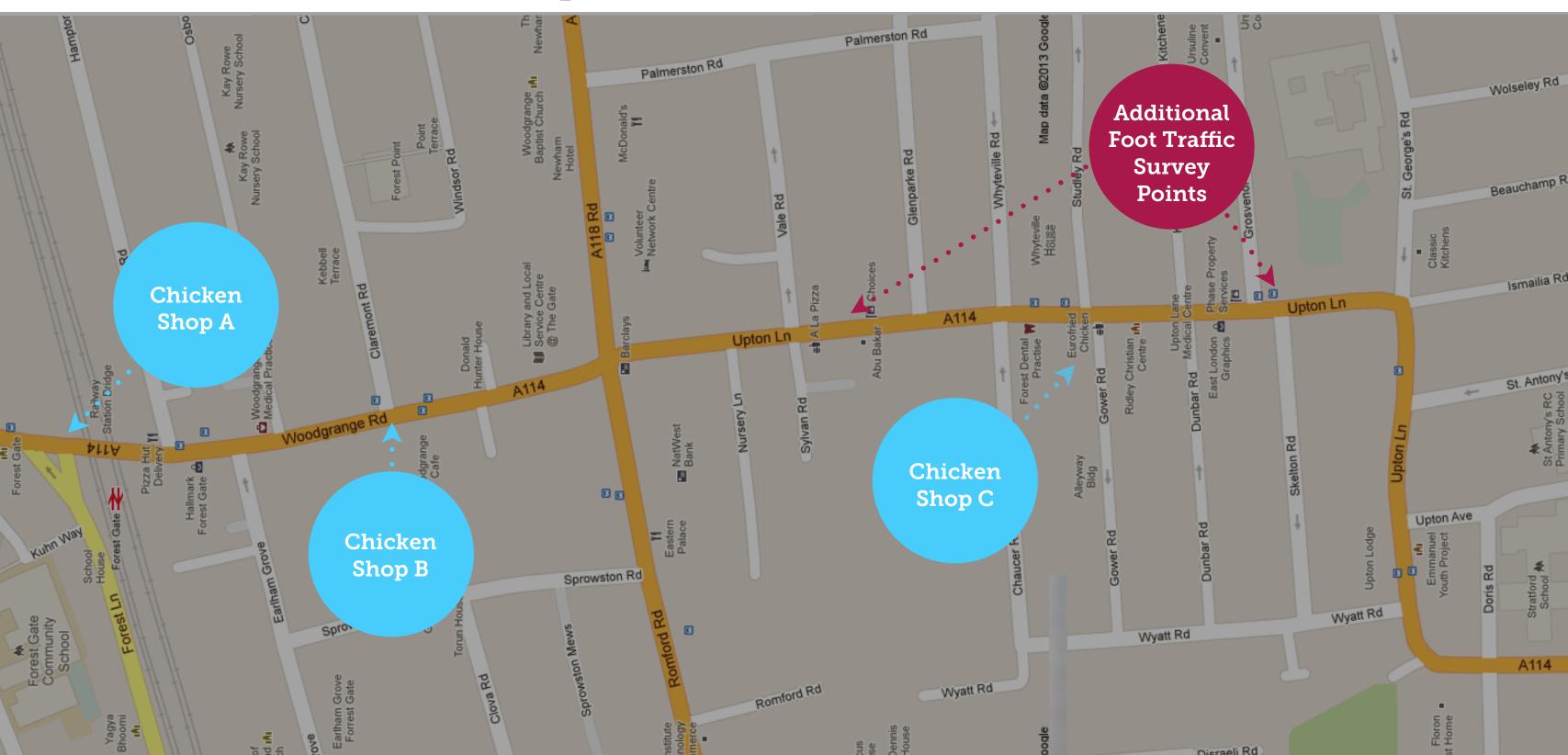
- Who visits chicken shops?
- When are they visiting?
- What are they buying and eating?
- ▶ How much do they spend?
- What are they doing?
- ▶ How long are they staying?

The shops were each observed on a weekday during the peak period between 11.00am and 4.30pm.

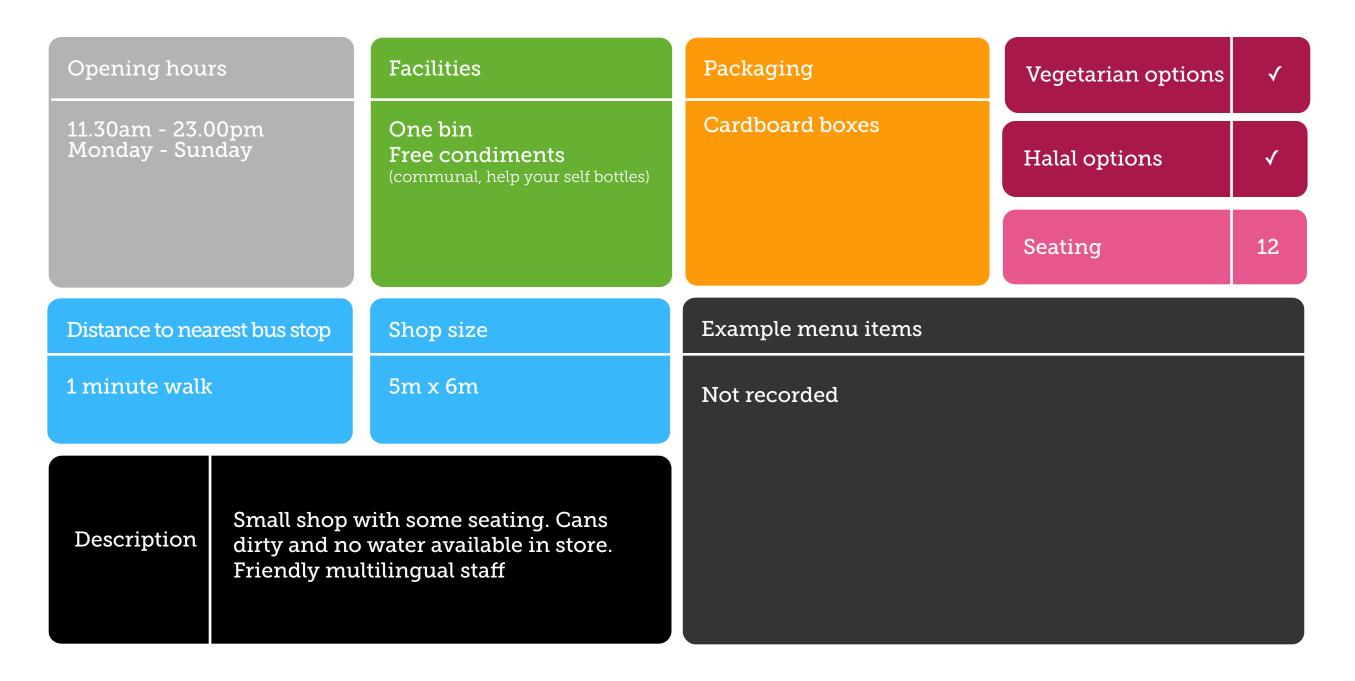
The profiles of the businesses were created from information noted from the menu boards, or taken from the shops' promotional materials.

122 customers were observed in total, of which 80 were also monitored for factors including entry time, exit time, items ordered, group size, price page, approx. age, gender and category.

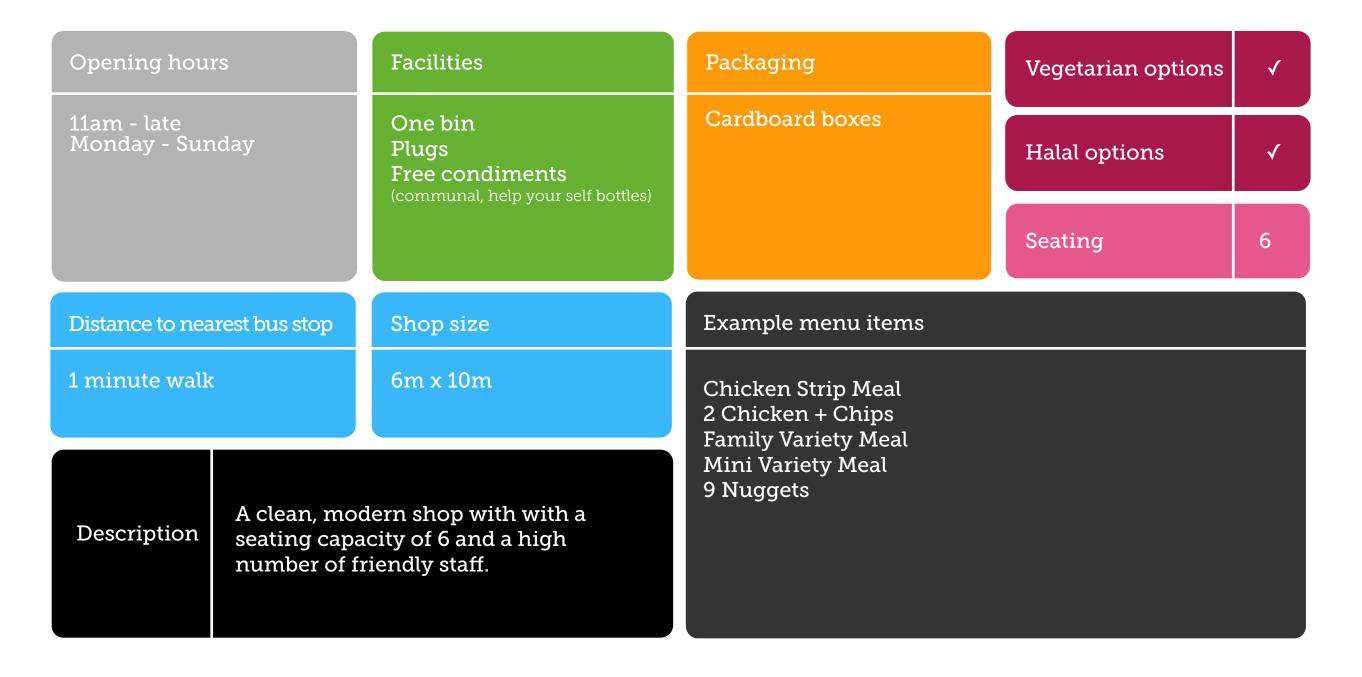
Location of chicken shops observed in Newham



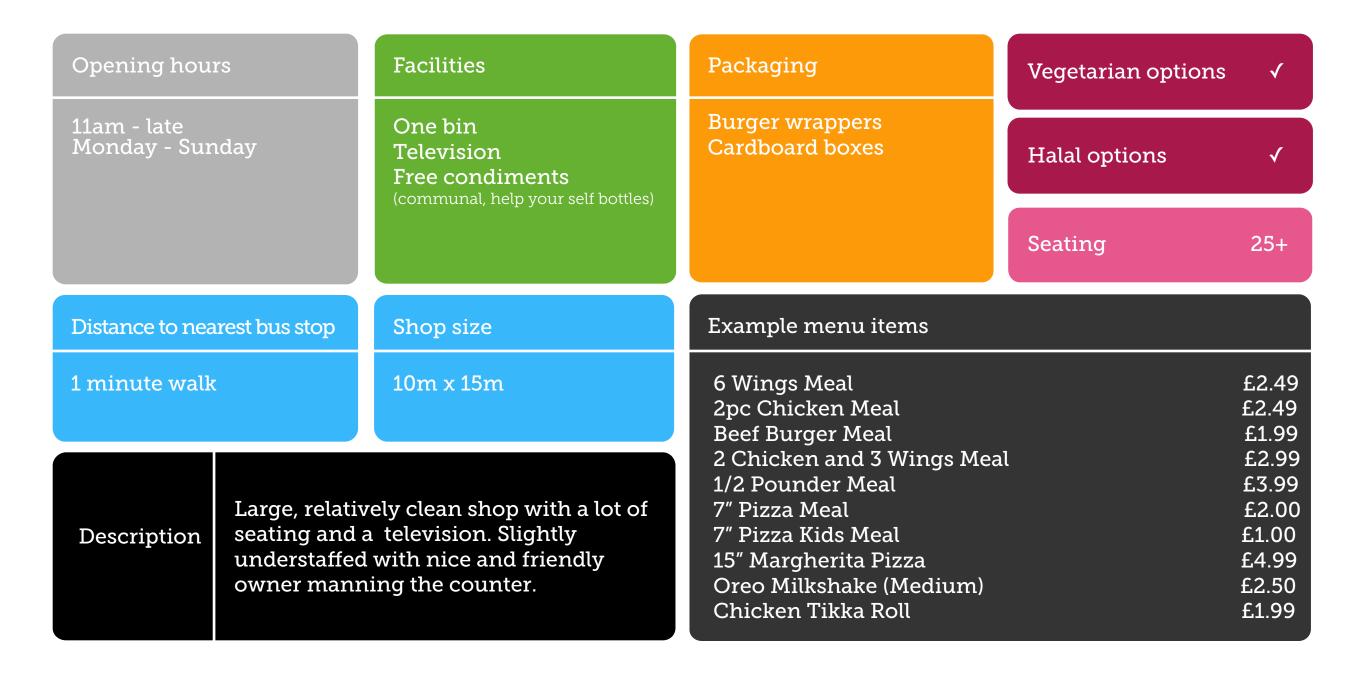
Chicken Shop Spotlight: Chicken Shop A



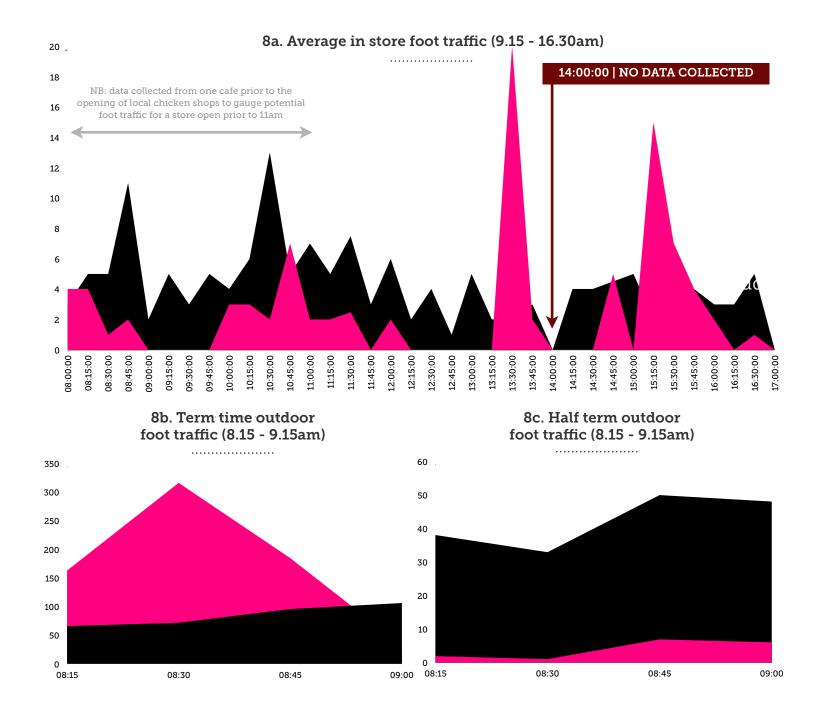
Chicken Shop Spotlight: Chicken Shop B



Chicken Shop Spotlight: Chicken Shop C



Peak times



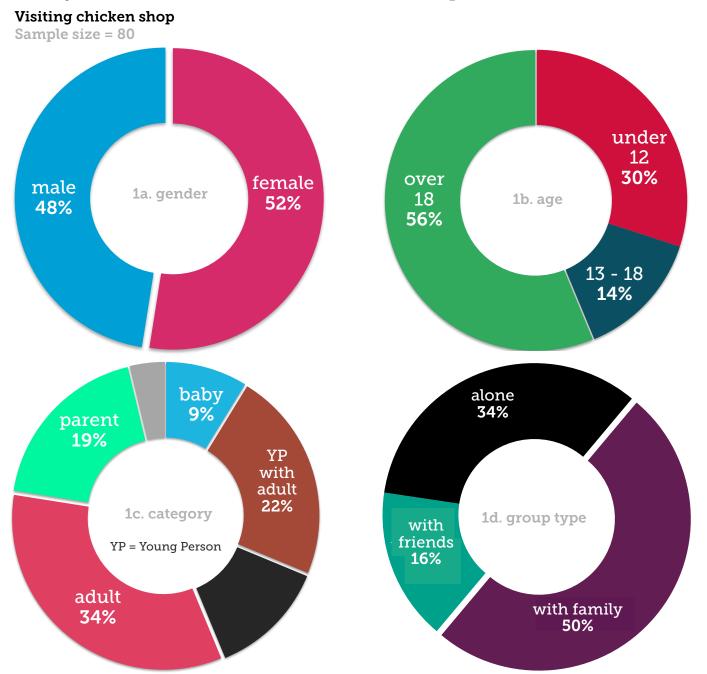
Additional key

Adults

Young people

Demographics

Nearly half of all visitors to the chicken shop were under 18



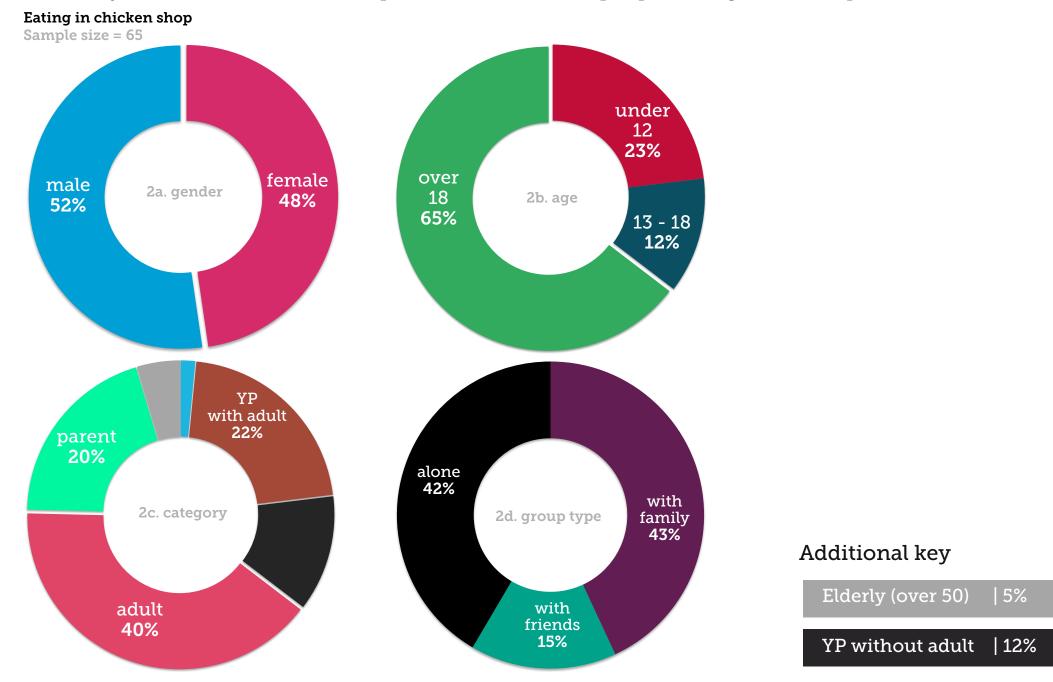
Additional key

Elderly (over 50) | 5%

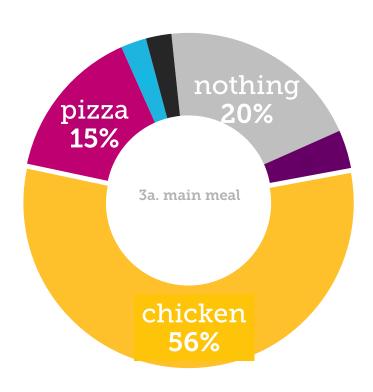
YP without adult | 12%

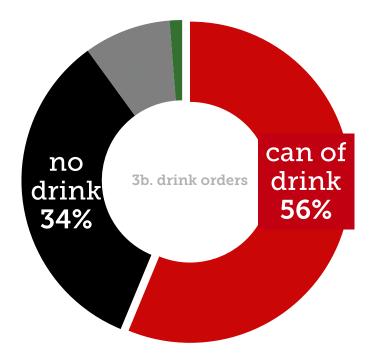
Demographics

Not everyone who came to the shop ate there. A third of people eating in the shop were under 18.



Chicken products were the most popular choice of food, and over half of people had chips with their meal.





Additional key



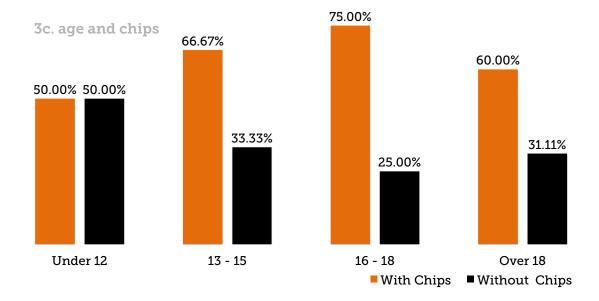
Additional key

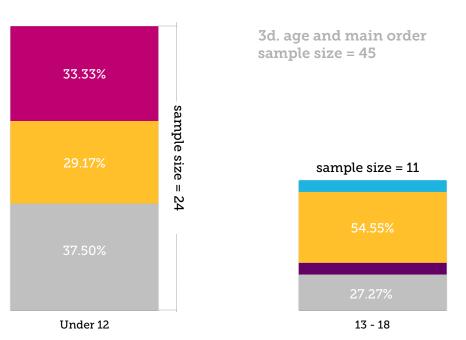
No drink order | 9%

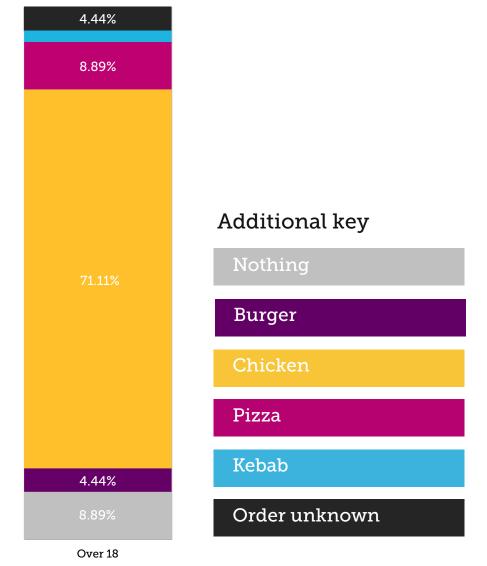
Other drink | 1%

Chicken products were the most popular items for young people aged 13 8.



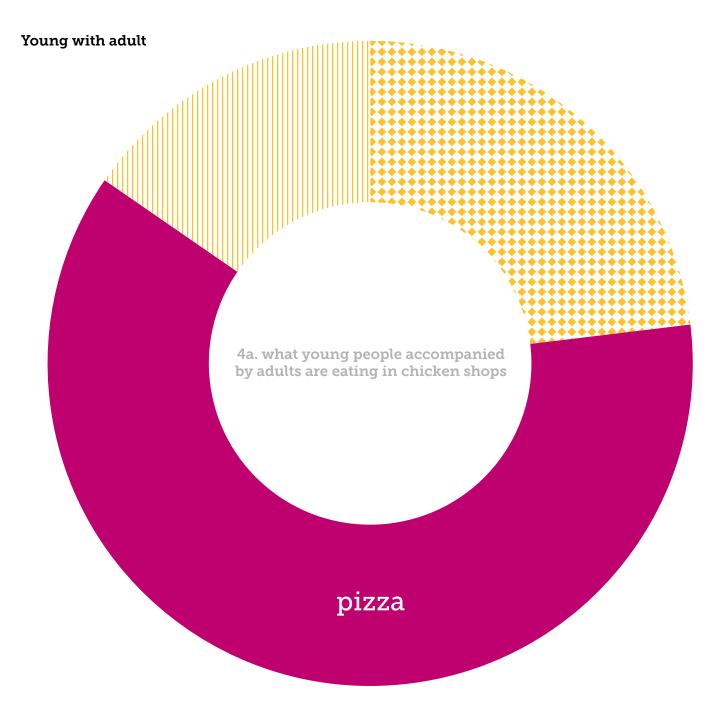






Detailed ordering Behaviour

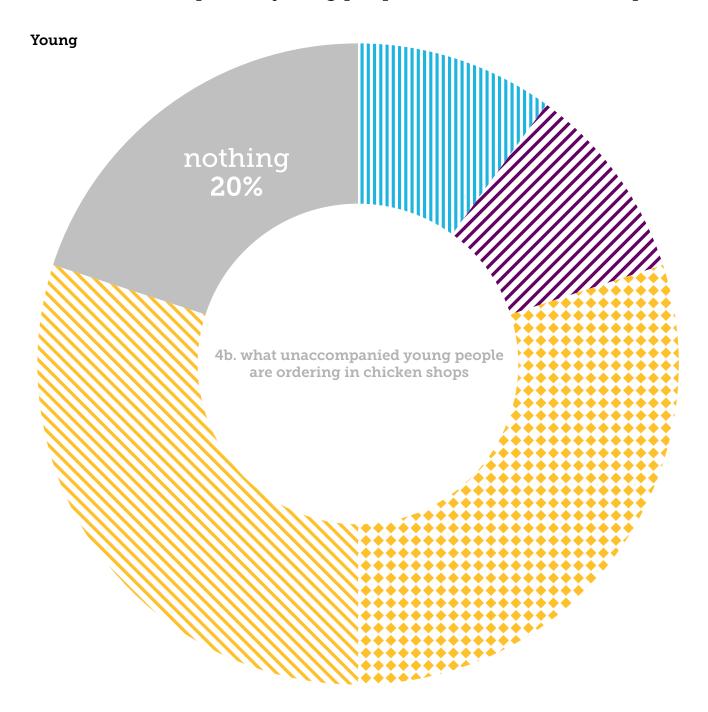
62% of young people who came to the shop with parents ordered pizza



Additional key
Chicken nuggets | 15.38%
Chicken wings | 23.08%

Detailed ordering Behaviour

60% of unaccompanied young people who came to the shop ordered chicken products



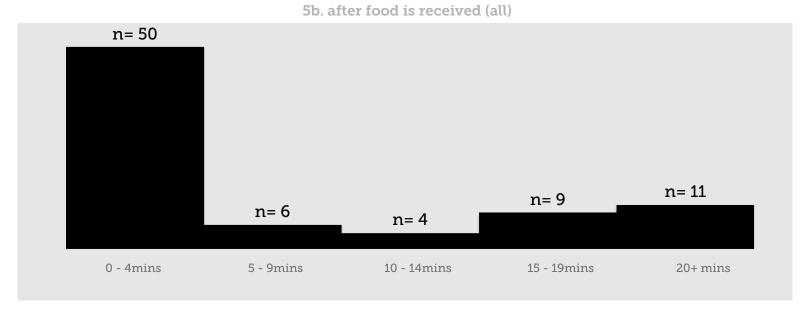
Additional key

Chicken meal	30%	
Lamb doner	10%	
Cheese burger	10%	
Chicken wings	30%	

Time spent in chicken shops

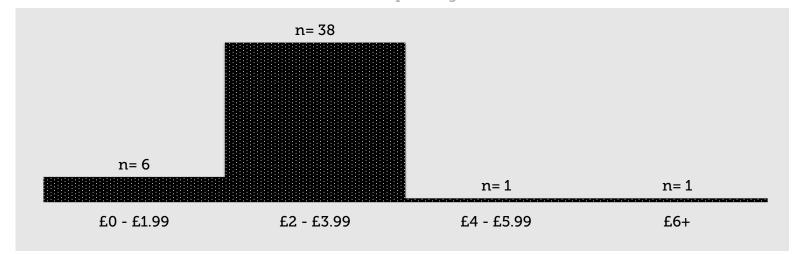
Once at the shop, most people got their food very quickly, a quarter within 4 minutes. Over half of people also left the shop within 4 minutes of receiving their food.





Spending behaviours

6a. distribution of spending behaviour



6b. average chicken shop spending by demographic

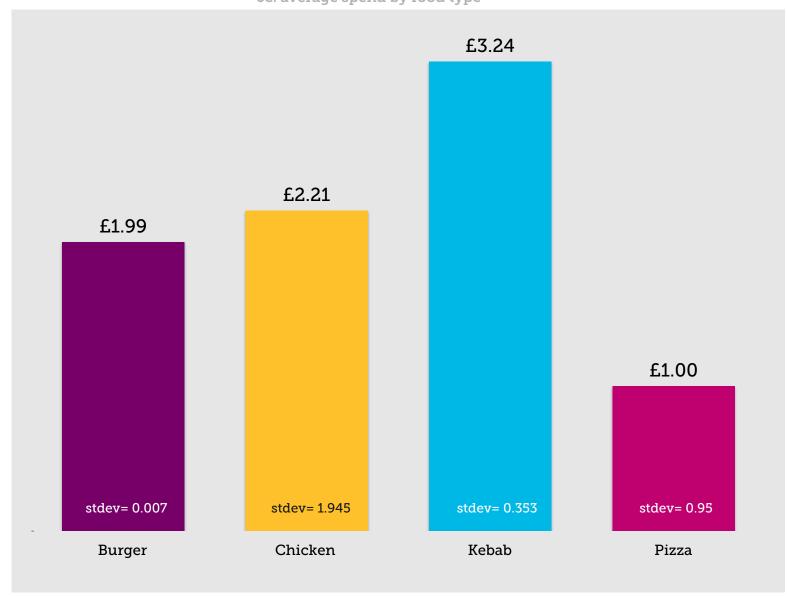


Spending behaviours

The average spend on chicken was £2.21. This included cheaper items like chicken nuggets and more expensive items like chicken meals.

By food type

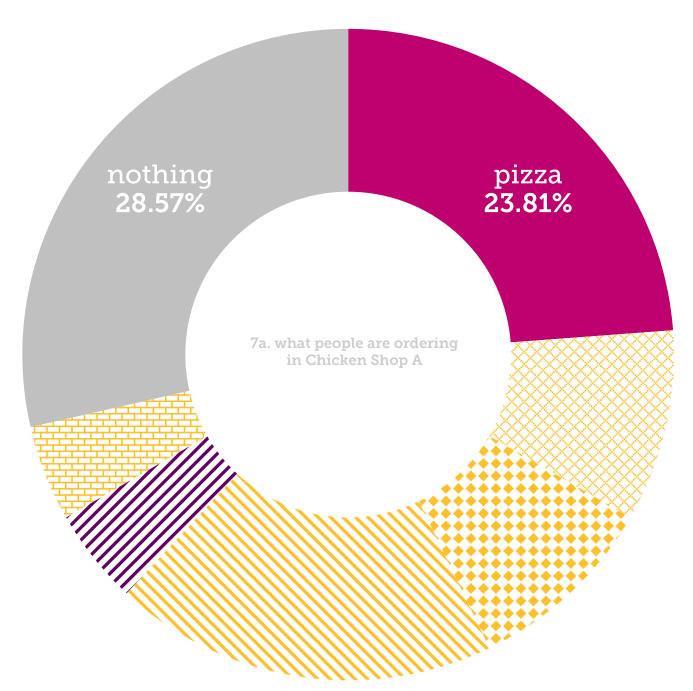




Additional key

Burger
Chicken
Kebab
Pizza

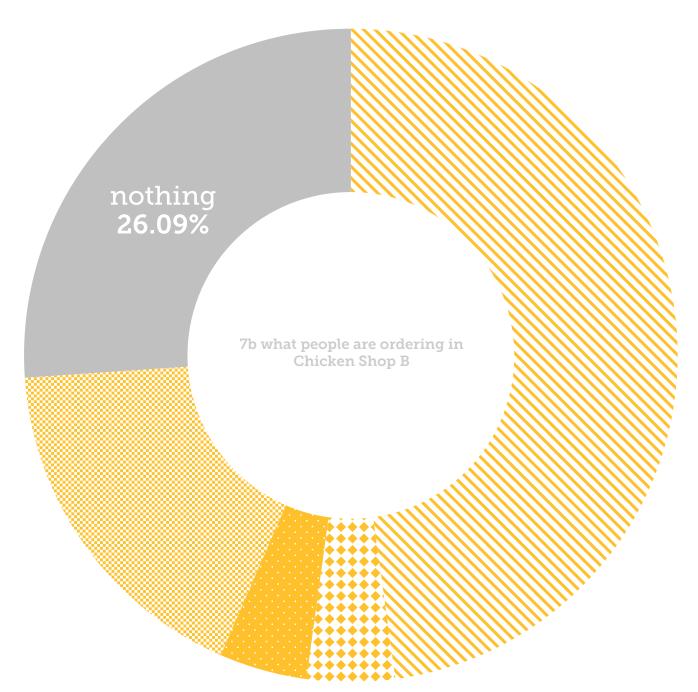
Chicken Shop A



Additional key

Hot wings	9.52%	
Family meal	9.52%	
Chicken meal	19.05%	
Quarter pounder	4.76%	////
Chicken burger	10%	華

Chicken Shop B



Additional key

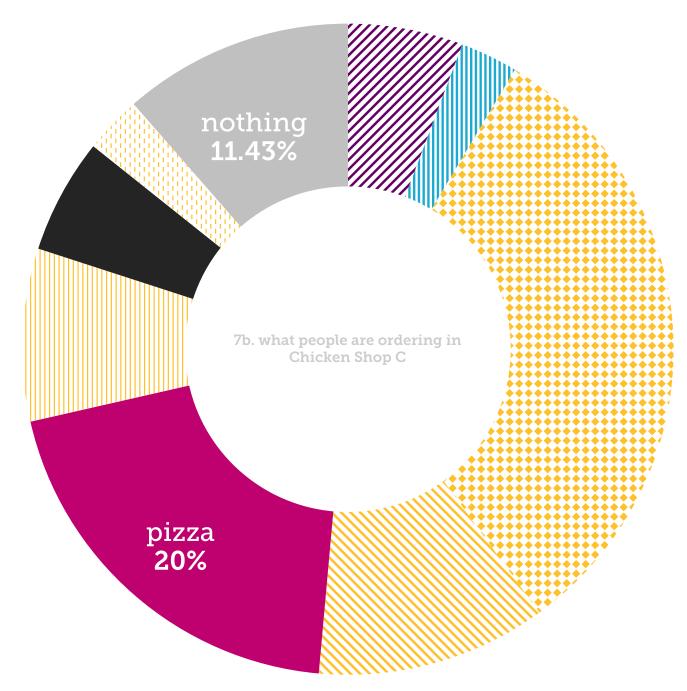
Chicken meal	47.83%	
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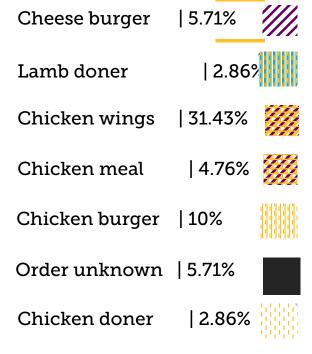
Chicken wings	4.35%	
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Chicken strips | 17.39%

Chicken Shop C





Surveying young people

We asked young people in a Newham school about their fast food intake and preferences through focus groups and a survey.

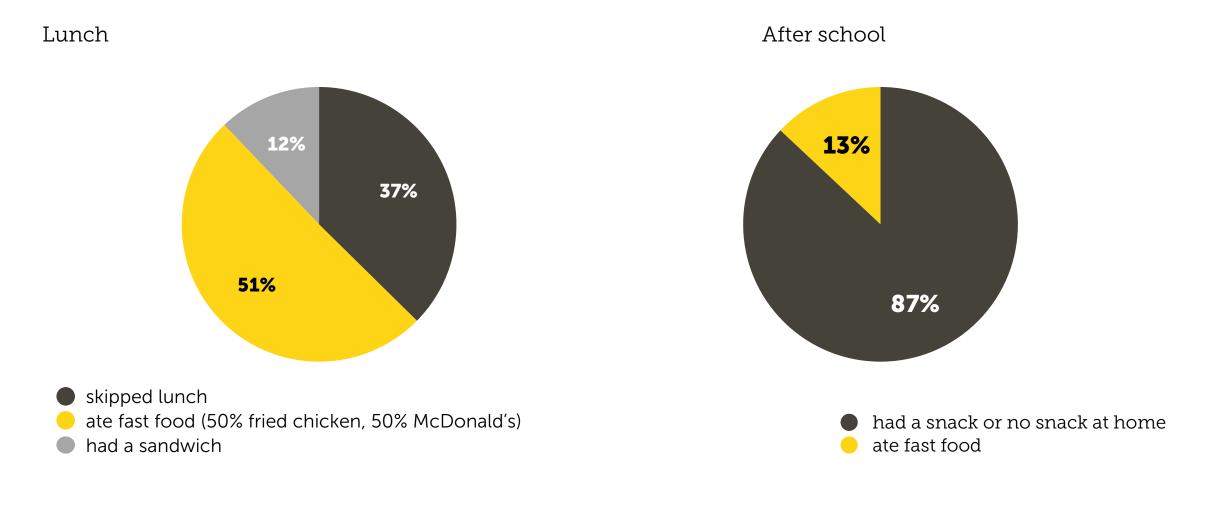
We conducted:

- A one hour workshop with 20 sixth form students from St Bonaventures School, Forest Gate, East London
- A two hour workshop with 40 sixth-form students who are members of Newham Youth Council
- An anonymous follow up online survey with 30 members of Newham Youth Council on their current habits

Students' current eating behaviour

Workshop with 20 students from St Bonaventure's and St Angela's Sixth Form, Forest Gate

A large number of students who claim they 'skip lunch' are often replacing meals with snacks and not reporting these as meals



Key findings on young people's habits and views

St Bonaventure's and St Angela's Sixth Form in Forest Gate

Students are allowed out at lunch

The sixth form is part of a secondary school where junior students aren't allowed out at lunch

A very low percentage eat in the canteen as it is associated with junior students and those having free school meals

There are two campuses near each other that the students travel between and often buy food on the way

A short lunch hour doesn't allow them to travel very far

There is a clear limit to which they are prepared/able to travel

Students here weren't snacking in local restaurants that much after school, unlike other schools

Students suggested there wasn't an appetite for somewhere serving breakfast before classes, unlike other schools

A large number of students who claim they 'skip lunch' are often replacing meals with snacks and not reporting these as meals

Key findings on young people's habits and views

Workshop with 20 students from St Bonaventure's and St Angela's Sixth Form, Forest Gate

If we had time we'd go somewhere healthier like Subway — but we couldn't get there and back in our lunch break.

Student

If they opened a restaurant in the school grounds we wouldn't go — we like going out at lunch and getting off the grounds, otherwise we look like junior kids.

Student

There is a good cafe, but it takes too long for them to serve food in there.

Student

Key findings on young people's habits and views

Workshop with 20 students from St Bonaventure's and St Angela's Sixth Form, Forest Gate

It's got to be quick. Unless they can serve everyone instantly we wouldn't go. We don't have time to queue in our lunch break.

Student

We love deals, like the 2 for £2 at Sam's.

Student

There used to be a milkshake bar that we all looked forward to being able to go to when we were lower down in the school but it's closed down now. I wish that was still open.

Student

Key findings on young people's habits and views

Workshop with Newham Youth Council

88% of people said that serving tasty food is what would encourage them to try a new takeaway/ restaurant, 80% serving cheap food. Other features that would require a larger, more permanent space were less of a draw: Only 50% said music, 61% wifi, 15% arcades, and 25% 'the feel of a youth club' would encourage them to go

50% of young people said if a new place 'looked too much like a youth club', that would actively put them off trying it

Key findings on young people's habits and views

Workshop with Newham Youth Council

It would be good to have money off tokens and discount cards but what's more important is to be really quick.

Member of Newham Youth Council

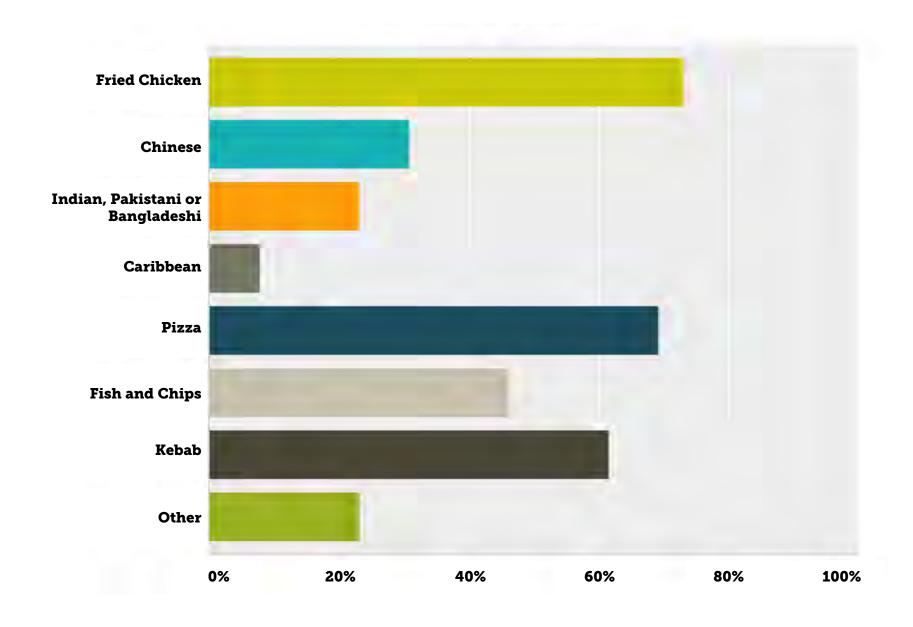
Being halal is important.

Member of Newham Youth Council

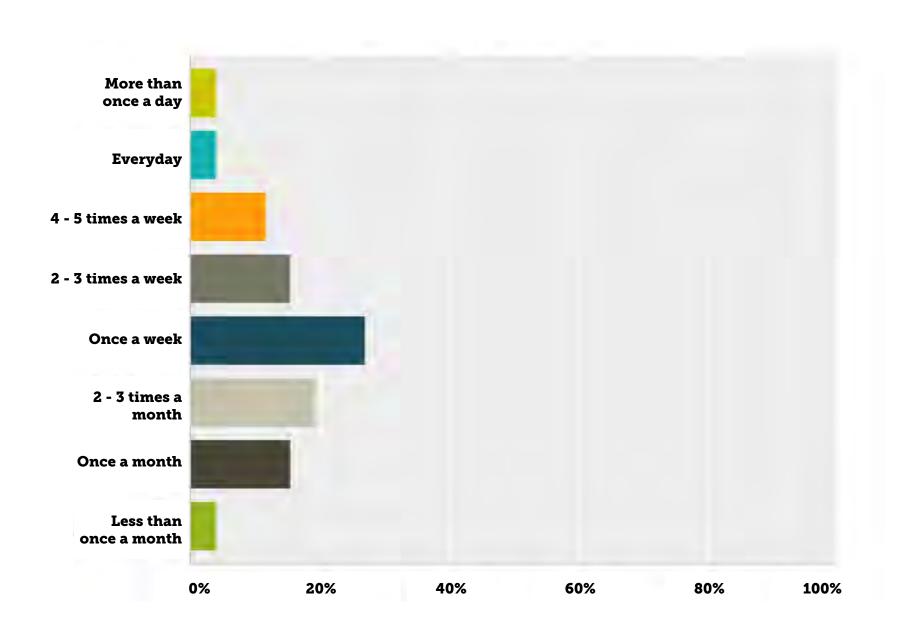
You need prime real estate, somewhere all the kids are going past.

Member of Newham Youth Council

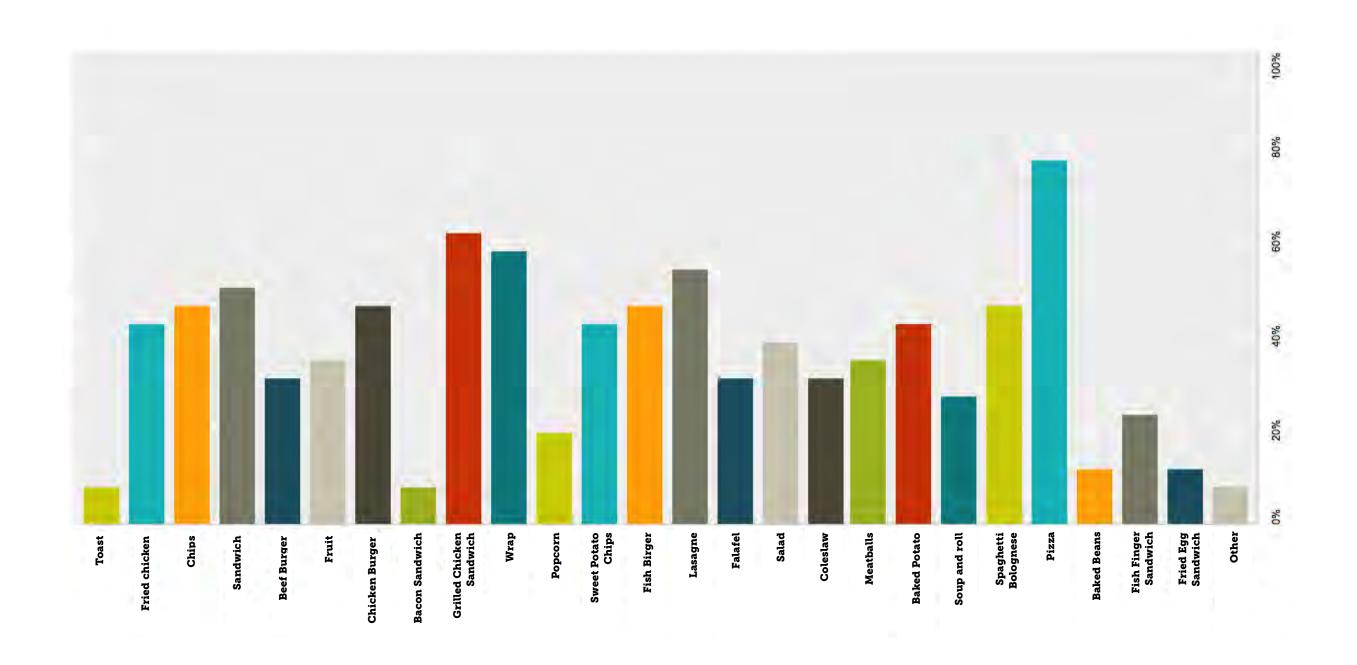
Type of fast food shop they usually go to



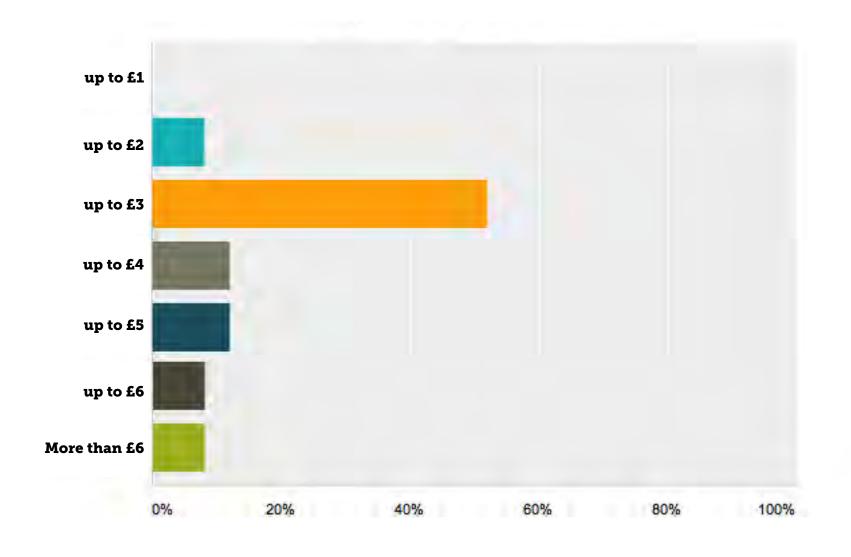
How often they eat from a fast food shop



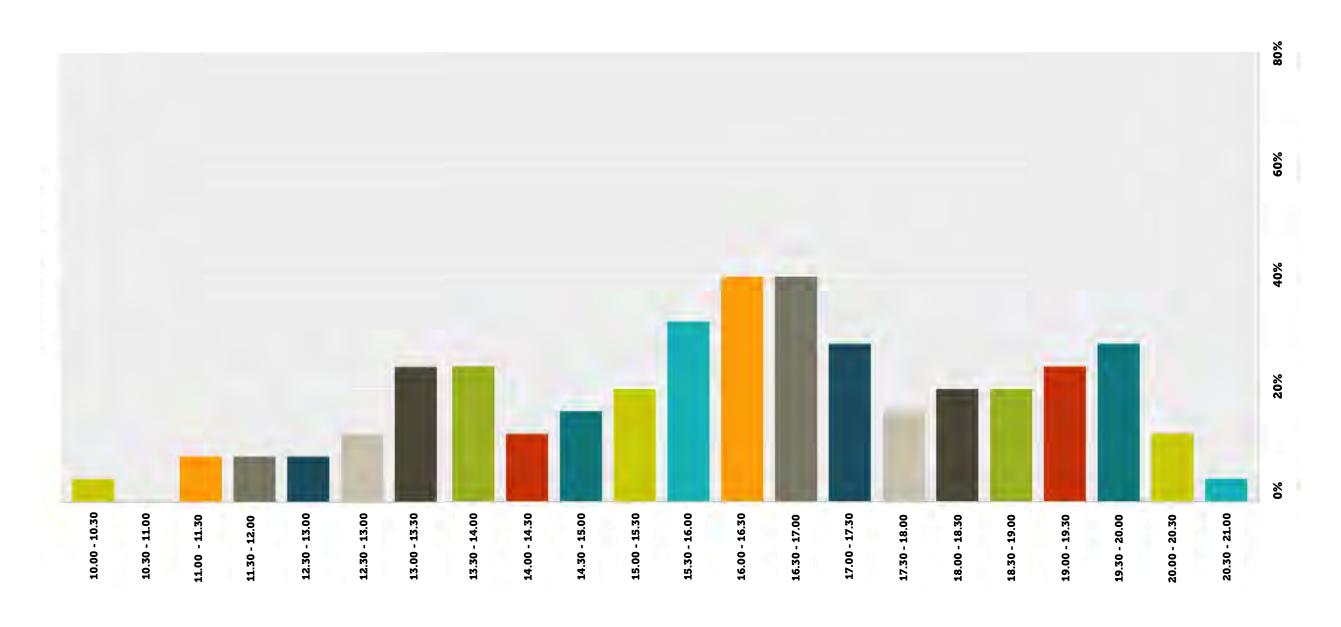
Food items young people would like to eat at lunch or after school



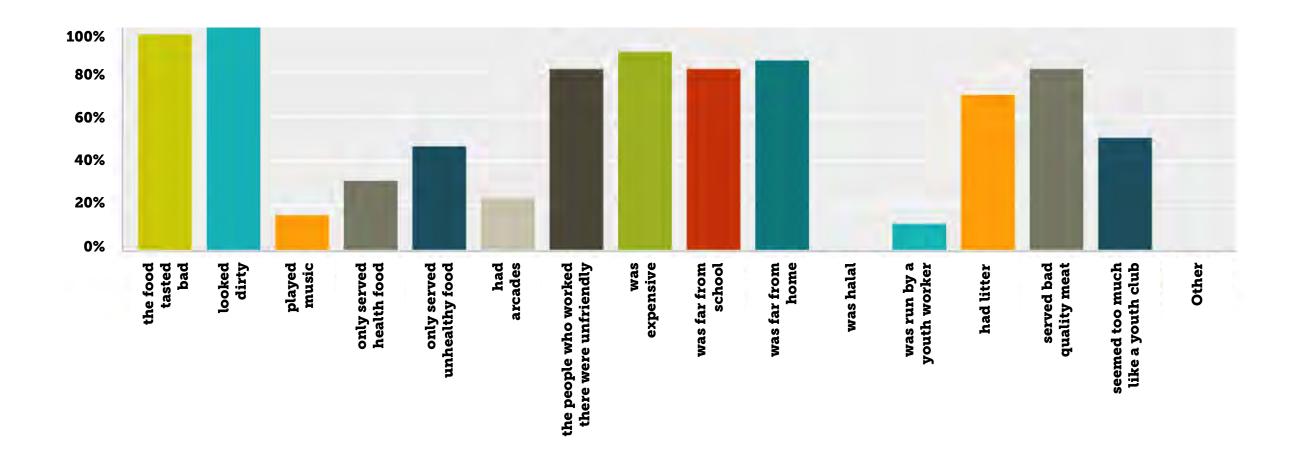
Maximum they would be prepared to spend on lunch



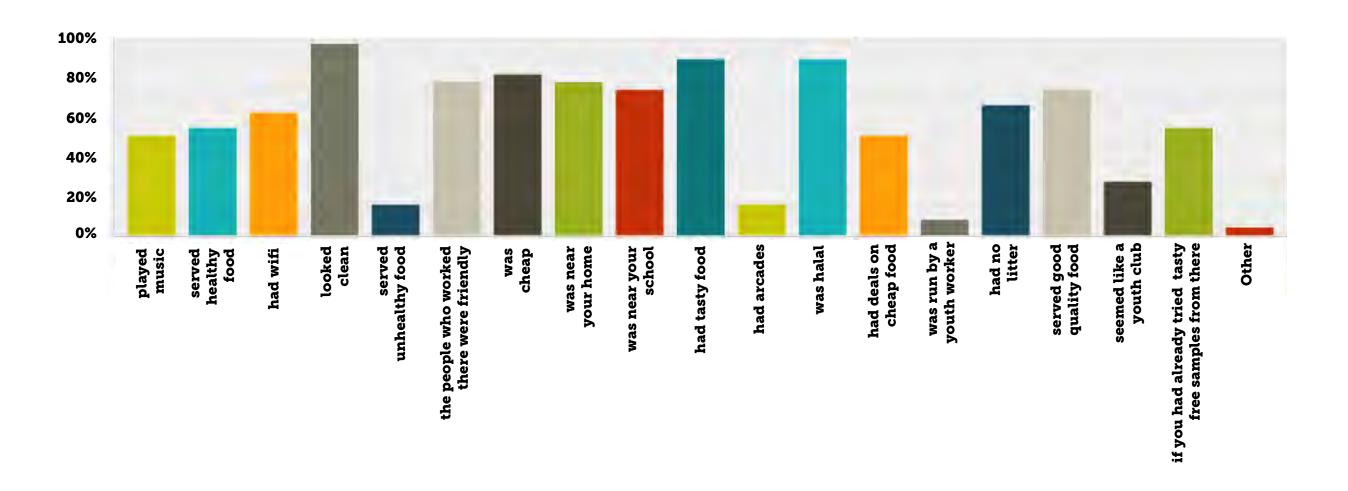
Time of day they are most likely go to a fast food shop



What would put them off trying a new fast food shop



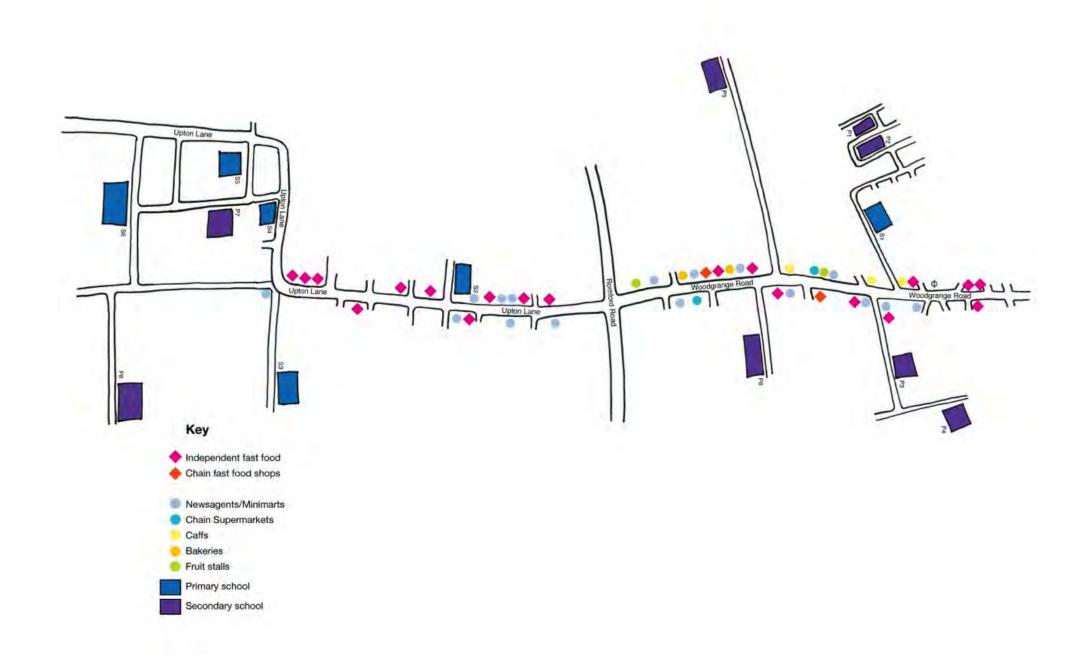
What would encourage them to try a new fast food shop



We mapped the food outlets on major routes between schools and stations in two low income urban areas. One area was Upton Lane and Woodgrange Road in Newham, and the other was in Handsworth, Birmingham.

The maps clearly show the ubiquity of fast food outlets, and show how little ready-to-eat healthy food there is in these two environments.

Forest Gate, Newham, 2012 data



Forest Gate, Newham, 2012 data

















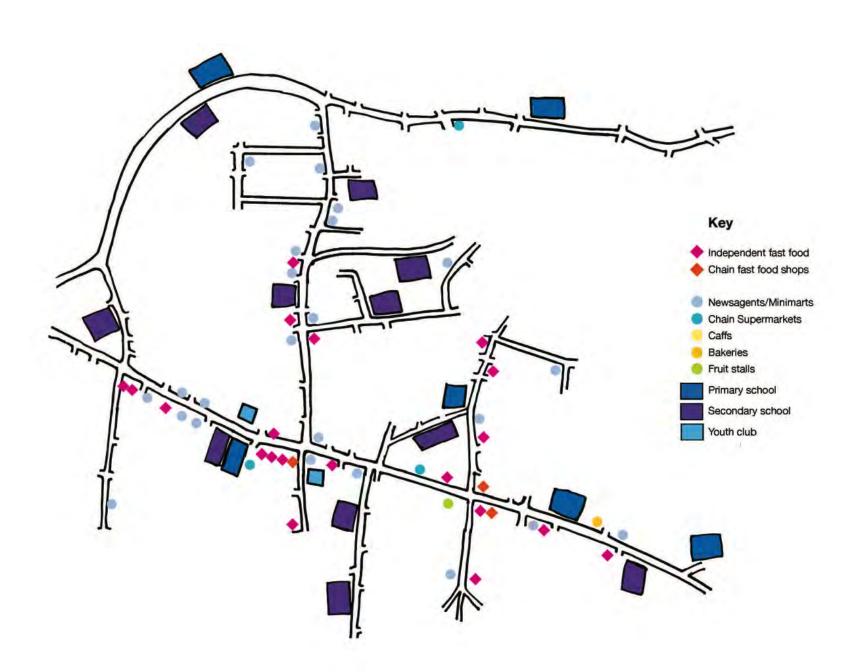








Handsworth, Birmingham, 2012 data



Ethnography

We undertook some light touch ethnographic research in Newham, London and Handsworth, Birmingham, to help us gain an understanding of the young people beyond the chicken and chip shops, the lives they lead, and how their food choices fitted into this.

This work created a snapshot of a chicken and chip shop in a typical 24 hour period, and documented the relationship between young people and chicken and chip shops. The profiles in this section are based on interviews and pictures from some of those we met during this period.

Age: 16

Sex: Female

She goes to Holyhead School but lives in Erdington. She goes to Dixie Chicken everyday on her way to her bus after school.

Sometimes she comes at the weekend with her mum. She always spends up to half an hour in the shop with her friends, where she mostly eats the food she buys, unless she runs for her bus or eats outside the front of the shop. She doesn't go to any other food places, except for McDonald's and KFC. She buys food at Dixiee every day if she's got the money, usually spending £1 a day on either steak burger, 4 wings or 1 piece with fries. She's spending under £5 a week at Dixie. She wouldn't change anything about Dixie except maybe make the shop bigger. She usually puts her rubbish in the shop's bins.

She says she likes Dixie because "It tastes really nice, and the people that serve are really nice. He gives me free food, his dad owns the place. I'd still come even if it was more expensive."

She says, "We know it's a takeaway shop and so we know it's unhealthy, but it's nice. And they don't fry with much oil here, not like other shops, here they always use new oil."

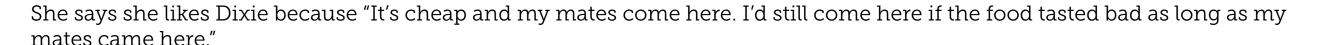
"It tastes really nice, and the people that serve are really nice."



Age: 16

Sex: Female

She goes to Holyhead School. She lives round the corner from Dixie. She comes into the shop every day with her friends after school but she doesn't buy food every day. She always goes to Dixie, not other places, and only as an after school thing through the week. She spends about 15 minutes there with everybody, and eats in the shop if she has food. She usually buys fries for 90p two or three times a week, and never anything different. She wouldn't change anything about the shop. She says the staff are ok, but it doesn't make any difference what they are like, she would still come here. She always uses the bin in the shop.



"I kind of mind that it's unhealthy, and I would go to a place with healthier food as long as other people went there."



Age: 16 Sex: Male

Daniel is at Holyhead School and lives locally. He comes to Dixie every day after school and usually on a Saturday but not a Sunday. He hangs around for about half an hour. He always comes with mates or to meet mates. He usually eats in the shop. He eats at other takeaways, anywhere that's handy, particularly KFC. He has takeaway every day of the week. He thinks the meals are good for you. He puts his rubbish from Dixie in the bin in the shop.

He says he likes Dixie because it's cheap and convenient.

He always orders either wings and fries or steak burger and fries.

"I spend between £5 and £10 a week in Dixie and between £10 and £20 overall on takeaways each week. I wouldn't change anything about Dixie, except maybe have more space."



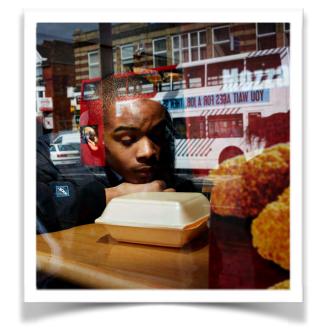
Age: 16 Sex: Male

He is at Holyhead School, and lives locally. He comes to Dixie every day except Sunday and hangs around the shop for about half an hour each time. He always comes with mates or to meet people there. He nearly always comes to Dixie and so doesn't go to other places except to get a Chinese takeaway. He eats his food in the shop. He thinks the staff are OK and wouldn't change anything about the shop except for maybe more space. He spends less than £5 at Dixie a week but about £20 a week on takeaways because of the Chinese meals. He throws his rubbish on the road.

He says he likes Dixie because it's cheap and convenient.

He says he knows the food isn't healthy. He always orders the same thing – 4 wings and fries.

"It's cheap and nearby and I like the food"



Age: 16 Sex: Male

He goes to Law, Leisure and Learning youth centre round the corner from Dixie and lives nearby. He goes to Dixie 2-3 times a week, usually between 6pm and 9pm. He goes through the week and at weekends. He always hangs around for a while in the shop or nearby and sometimes brings the food back to the youth club. He meets people at Dixie, its near to where he lives.

He likes Dixie because it's cheap and his mates go there. He also goes to other food places and prefers the food at Big John's but Dixie is where his friend's go. At Dixie he has either steak burger, 4 wings or chicken and chips. He would leave and go to Big John's if he fancied a chicken burger because he doesn't like the burger at Dixie.

He spends about £3 a week at Dixie, and £3 a week at Big John's and sometimes has a Chinese meal but other people buy it for him. He has take out food nearly every day. He knows it isn't healthy but he says he doesn't care. He usually throws his rubbish on the floor because it's easier.

"I like the staff, they're funny and I know the manager at Big John's."



Age: 16 Sex: Male

He goes to Law, Leisure and Learning and lives nearby. He goes to Dixie nearly every day in the evenings, except for Sunday. He sometimes hangs around but usually just buys and goes, often to the youth club or to eat his food at home. He goes with mates or meets people there. He also goes to McDonald's, KFC and Big John's. He likes Dixie because it's cheap and convenient. He wouldn't change anything about Dixie. He thinks the staff are OK.

He will use a bin if there's one there but otherwise throws it on the floor. He usually spends between £10 and £20 a week on takeaways.

He says he knows the food isn't healthy but it's quick food.

He always orders either 4 wings and fries, pizza or steak burger and fries.

"I always orders either 4 wings and fries, pizza or steak burger and fries."



Age: 16 Sex: Male

He goes to Law, Leisure and Learning youth centre round the corner from Dixie and lives nearby. His family are from Poland. He goes to Dixie two or three times a week after school or when at the youth club, not at weekends. He will buy the food and take it to the youth club. He only goes to Dixie and spends about £3 a week. He uses the bins in the centre. He has either steak burger and fries or one piece of chicken, fries and a Pepsi for £1.

He says he likes Dixie because it's cheap and nearby and he likes the food. He doesn't go to Big John's because the chips are fat and he doesn't like the taste. He says the staff in Dixie are shit, that they're scared of everyone. He isn't sure if the food at Dixie is healthy, he doesn't think about it, just the taste.



"My mum knows I go there and she tells me not to because I'm not hungry when I get in for tea."

Age: 35

Sex: Female

She lives near to Dixie, it's on the way home from school. She comes in every day including weekends with her four kids. They usually eat in the shop because if they walk the kids drop the food and if they took it home then the fries are soggy and the burger's have 'dropped dead.' They nearly always come to Dixie, not other places because it's cheap, the best food and nearby. She also likes the staff, they are friendly and give the kids free lollipops. She wouldn't change anything about the place. She always uses the bins in the shop.

She has a teenage daughter and four kids in primary school who come with her.

"I know the food isn't healthy but it's quick and what the kids like. They're starving after school and need to eat."

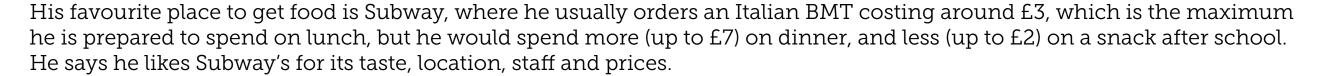


Case study of young person, Newham, East London

Age: 15 Sex: Male

He travels to school from East Ham North to Forest Gate by bus. On a typical day he stays at school in his lunch hour and goes to a club or activity after school.

Monday to Friday, he usually gets his breakfast from a shop, brings lunch in from home (he is not old enough to be allowed out at lunch), and goes to a restaurant/takeaway for a snack after school and dinner. On weekends he eats breakfast at home, but typically buys food from a shop for lunch and from a restaurant/takeaway for dinner. He says he goes to a wide range of restaurants/takeaways including fried chicken, Chinese, Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi, kebab, pizza and fish and chips.



If a new takeaway restaurant/takeaway were to open, he would be interested in going there for breakfast before school.

The times he was most likely to go to a restaurant/takeaway were 10-10.30am, 4-5pm and 7-8pm.



Case study of young person, Newham, East London

Age: 15

Sex: Female

She lives in Forest Gate and travels to school by bus. On a typical day she stays at school in her lunch hour and goes to a club or activity after school.

Monday to Friday, she brings lunch in from home (again, she's not old enough to go out for lunch), and gets any snacks after school from a local shop. She says she is most likely to go to a restaurant/takeaway between 3.30 and 5pm but says she only eats food from a restaurant/takeaway around 2–3 times a month.

Her favourite place is "Kebab Original" where she normally orders a seekh kebab for £3. She likes the location, tastiness and price, buts says she would like to improve its hygiene standards.

She wouldn't be interested if somewhere opened offering breakfast.

The foods she cited wanting to eat for lunch included chips, pizza, lasagne, meat balls and baked potatoes.

Her advice for anyone opening a restaurant/takeaway in the area is: "Make it local. Make it look clean and modern. Make sure the prices are affordable. Advertise it at schools. Have friendly staff."



Chicken shop business profiling

The prevalence of chicken and chip shops in low in come urban areas is due to the popularity of their products, and also the low prices that they are able to maintain.

We did a series of interviews with the owners or managers of two London chicken shop chains in order to understand their their business models, their customer base, and what they saw as their competitive advantage.



Spotlight: Chicken Chain A

Chicken Chain A is a popular and large chicken shop franchise based in the north west of London. There are 27 franchise stores and 10 stores.

They focus on speed and supply chain to create a slick operation that rivals high street takeaways like KFC. Increasingly they are targeting the sit down fast food market with larger stores and prime locations on the high street. They are also planning on expansion overseas.

"The staff are trained to a level where they understand customer needs and are able to serve them in a speedy way" - Operations Manager

They charge royalty fees to franchisees, that are based on weekly revenue. Franchisees also purchase products, such as breading, from the parent brand. This is mandatory and ensures that the chain's high standards and food quality are maintained across all stores at all times.

The focus of the chain going forward lies heavily in new product development, with a current push towards rolling out a new full menu range of Peri Peri grilled chicken to all branches. This move towards healthier options is driven by the chain's belief in creating healthy, lifelong customers. So far, they are seeing positive growth in their range of grilled Peri Peri Chicken which is already accounting for a significant percentage of the chain's total revenue. This is quick growth as this healthier menu was launched only one year ago.

Spotlight: Chicken Chain A

Menu Items	30	Supplier List	Staff Break Down	No of Stores	37	
Av. Meal Price *Excluding Family Meals		Sam's Fast Food Ltd 2 Sisters Kay Chemicals	Manager Assistant Manager Supervisor	Business Model	Franchise	
Av. Cust Spe	nd £3.60		Staff	Turnover* *Average Yearly Per Store	£312K	
Top Menu Items		Peak Periods	Costs			
Peri Peri Wings Chicken Strip Burgers Peri Peri Grilled Burger		Lunch Time 4pm 7pm	Kitchen: £110,000 (incl. Deep Fryer: £8000, Oven: £6000) 10p per chicken wing (due to economies of scale) Manager: £14 - 16k per year			
Extra A popular independent chain aiming to compete with the likes of KFC		Staff: £6 - £7 per hour Franchise Fee: £50 - £150 (+2% of sales for advertising) (extra costs for 16+ seating incl. toilets, cleaning etc)				

Spotlight: Chicken Chain B

Chicken Chain B is a popular chicken shop franchise catering for the south of London. There are currently around 45 stores with more opening this year.

They focus on low cost, speed of service and maintaining a local, informal feel. They target young people, students and low income workers who are on the move with smaller stores typically off the high street.

"We're not focusing on the family market so much, like some other chains. We want to be the place where the young student or that kid on the street who has £2 in his pocket can come to get tasty good quality food. We're proud of that" - Owner

They are a royalties only business, charging a flat fee of £50 per week to their franchises.

Franchisees have a significant amount of freedom over their businesses including process, operations and suppliers. The HQ conducts ongoing quality control to ensure that food retains a consistent taste and that health and safety standards are upheld. They have loose branding guidelines with elements like branded boxes, but these are not strictly enforced. They have said that this strategy of autonomy paired with a moderate to low level of regulation has enabled the chain to retain it's indie feel, resulting in local nuances that it's loyal base of customer love.

Since launch, menus and recipes haven't changed much with most of their franchisees offering the small basic menu comprised of chicken wings, chicken burgers, beef burgers and nuggets.

Spotlight: Chicken Chain B

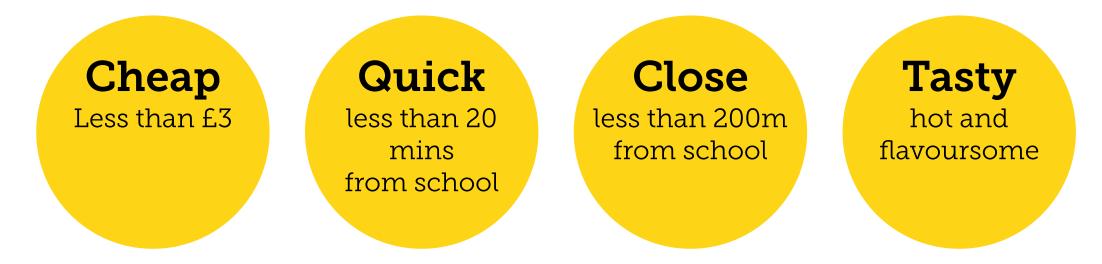
Menu Items	14	Supplier List	Staff Break Down	No of Stores	45		
Av. Meal Price * *Excluding Family Meals	£2.50	Bell Meats (exclusive for breading) JJ Foods Star Dibs	Manager Staff	Business Model	Franchise		
Av. Cust Spend	£2.50			Turnover* *Average Yearly Per Store	£182K		
Top Menu Items		Peak Periods	Costs				
Chicken Wings Beef Burgers Chips		Mon - Fri: 12.30 - 2pm* Fri - Sat: 6 - 8pm, 2 - 3am *plus 3.45 rush of school kids	Rent: £12,000 - £22,000 Brand New Deep Fryer: £8000 + VAT Reconditioned Deep Fryer: £5500 (no VAT payable) Food costs: 40% of revenue e.g. 10 per chicken wing*				
Cheap and cheerful, serving those on the lowest budgets a consistent menu.		Brand New Full Combi Oven: £6000 + VAT Franchise Costs: £50 per week *based on 40% of 6 chicken wings at £1.50					

Conclusions

Our product/service development work looks to create a practical solution to the problems of obesogenic environments, poor diets and youth obesity. Our research highlighted several key points which have informed the developmen: of our work.

Fast food outlets serve a growing need in the current market place, providing cheap, filling food and a warm, free, relatively safe third-space for young people to spend time in. Working with the current fast food culture to make more tasty but healthy options available is more practical than trying to dramatically shift they way people eat.

Our research showed that what attracted young people to fast food outlets was food that was cheap, quick, close and tasty.



Young people also enjoyed the independence of spending their own money off the school premises.

There was very limited access to healthy food in the low-income urban areas that we mapped, and none that met young people's needs.

Our priority is therefore to develop a service that puts healthy, cheap, quick, hot and tasty fast food into these areas.

Contact

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Shift

Shift, formerly known as We Are What We Do, is a social enterprise with ten years experience designing consumer products which address social problems by helping people make better choices. By designing products that meet consumer demand and that can become independent, financially sustainable ventures, we aim to give them the best chance of delivering measurable, long-term impact at scale.