



Understanding Vehicle Littering (2026)

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1. Executive Summary

Purpose

Litter continues to blight the roads up and down this country, often having been thrown from a vehicle window, or left at the side of the road by drivers. This litter not only poses a risk to people and wildlife, but is also costly and often difficult to clean up, as well as being unsightly and attracting more litter. Building on previous research conducted by Keep Britain Tidy on behalf of National Highways¹, this report compares littering behaviours today, to those of five years ago². The report also deepens our understanding of vehicle littering behaviours including who is doing it, where and when they are doing it, what they are littering and why. This understanding can aid the development of measures to tackle vehicle littering behaviours, which aim to reduce the amount of litter on the roads, improving their safety, cleanliness and appearance.

Methodology

A mixed-methods approach was used, incorporating qualitative elements to explore the topic in depth, and quantitative elements to gain a broad understanding and quantify the issues. These methods were used among two samples; the general public and commercial drivers. As such, this research was conducted in five key phases;

1. A literature review of the current evidence around littering, and specifically vehicle littering, behaviours.
2. Two focus groups with a total of 16 members of the general public who had admitted to vehicle littering within the past 12 months.
3. A survey of vehicle littering behaviours among the general public. (The total sample size was 2,044, with a sub-sample of 1,209 who drive [but do not drive as part of their job] and use the Strategic Road Network. This sub-sample answered the full survey on their vehicle littering behaviours.)
4. Two focus groups with a total of 16 commercial drivers who had admitted to vehicle littering within the past 12 months.
5. A survey with vehicle littering behaviours among commercial drivers. (The total sample size was 505, with a sub-sample of 254 vehicle litterers.)

¹ Understanding Vehicle Littering, Keep Britain Tidy, 2021

² Between 2021-2026 there has been a return to 'normal traffic' levels following the COVID-19 pandemic which occurred at the time of the previous research.

Insights

Of those surveyed within the general public, the proportion of drivers littering from their vehicles has risen, with the behaviour occurring more frequently now than it was five years ago. This behaviour is habitual, automatic, and seen as the most convenient way to dispose of waste. Indeed, vehicle littering behaviours are seen as requiring less cognitive effort than responsible waste disposal behaviours. Litterers discussed some items (e.g. fruit cores/peels) being seen as more acceptable to litter than others (e.g. cans), as well as noting that their emotional state can influence their decision to litter, i.e. being more likely to litter when experiencing negative emotions. These drivers litter to keep their vehicle clean, preserving their (self and/or public) image, and ensuring that the vehicle reflects their values of cleanliness. The vehicle litterers consulted in this research expressed feeling guilty after littering, though these feelings are neutralised by justifying their behaviour in various ways, which likely allows for the continuation of the behaviour. Situational factors such as being alone in the vehicle, driving on quiet roads, driving on long journeys, and the absence of bins and/or bins that are already full, increase the likelihood of vehicle littering among this group. Participants shared that being made aware of the harm that can be caused to people and wildlife by littering, and enforcement (CCTV and fines), are most likely to deter them from engaging in vehicle littering behaviours in the future.

As with the general public, commercial drivers who took part in this research view littering as an easy, convenient way to dispose of their waste, which requires less cognitive effort than disposing it responsibly. Further, some commercial drivers engage in vehicle littering as a way of preserving their professional image, ensuring that the vehicle is seen to be clean and tidy by colleagues and/or clients. This group also expressed feeling guilty after littering, though are more likely to neutralise these feelings by placing the responsibility for their behaviour on external factors such as a lack of facilities. Participants displayed a shared narrative around the lack of facilities as being the cause of their littering behaviours. This, as well as a lack of guidance from employers around responsible waste disposal, may have led to a culture of littering among commercial drivers (particularly HGV drivers). Situational factors such as being alone in the vehicle, being out of the sight of other drivers and/or CCTV cameras, as well as a lack of facilities for disposing of waste responsibly, make littering more likely among this group. The commercial drivers that took part in this research, expressed that they are most likely to be deterred from engaging in vehicle littering by being made aware of the harm it can cause to wildlife and the local scenery, as well as through enforcement measures.

Conclusions and recommendations

Overall littering remains a pervasive issue, being a convenient, habitual behaviour for drivers disposing of waste. Given the multifaceted nature of the problem, and the nuanced motivations for

engaging in vehicle littering behaviours, it is evident that a multi-pronged approach will be necessary for tackling the issue. Such an approach can be guided by the recommendations made within this report, which encourage the development of salient and memorable communications that tap into the values, beliefs and emotions of drivers. Improving waste facilities (where possible), and engaging with employers of commercial (particularly HGV) drivers, are also recommended as a means of tackling vehicle littering behaviours.

Some of the key recommendations include:

- Develop communications that highlight the disparity in driver values and behaviours, expose the flawed nature of frequently used justifications for engaging in vehicle littering, and/or harness the feelings of guilt being experienced by those who litter from their vehicle.
- Design campaigns/interventions which increase the perception among drivers that they could be seen and/or caught littering from their vehicle (and strategically place these on smaller/quiet roads).
- Educate drivers through communications which highlight the harm caused to local wildlife as a result of vehicle littering.
- Ensure that campaign/intervention messaging is designed to normalise the desired behaviour (responsible waste disposal) rather than the undesired behaviour (vehicle littering).
- Where possible, improve bin infrastructure (providing more bins/bins with increased capacity), and clear litter around existing bins, particularly in key locations such as laybys on quiet roads, rural roads, or near industrial parks.
- Where possible, engage with companies that employ commercial drivers to encourage the prioritisation of responsible waste disposal, and promote practical solutions to vehicle littering, in order to embed responsible disposal habits across the workforce.

2. Introduction & Objectives

Vehicle littering continues to present a significant challenge to those who use and maintain the country's roads and motorways. As part of The Great British Spring Clean 2025, National Highways collected almost 8,000 bags of litter in just two weeks, in an effort to clean up the Strategic Road Network.³ Despite these efforts, the amount of rubbish being left on the side of major roads is seen to be increasing year on year.⁴ Clearing litter in these volumes is not only an expense for National Highways, but also for local authorities and, ultimately, taxpayers across the country.⁵

As well as costing vast amounts of money to clear, litter from vehicles also poses a risk to life. When dropped, these items of rubbish can cause obstructions in the road or the view of other drivers, which can result in collisions and injury. What's more, clearing the litter poses a risk to the lives of roadside workers. However, it is not only human life that is at risk, with roadside litter killing an estimated three million animals each year.⁶

Evidently, the blight of vehicle littering persists, and as such, so does the importance in understanding this behaviour as a means of tackling it. This work set out to update and build upon previous vehicle littering research undertaken by Keep Britain Tidy for National Highways in 2021.⁷ The primary aim of this research was to deepen our understanding of vehicle littering behaviours, amongst both the general public and commercial drivers, particularly in light of a number of changes that have occurred since the previous research was conducted (e.g. the return to 'normal traffic' levels following the COVID-19 pandemic which occurred at the time of the previous research).

The objectives of this research were to:

- Update existing research on vehicle littering in England, including who is doing it, where and when they are doing it, what they are littering and why, noting any differences in littering behaviour such as in different situations, contexts, locations, etc. (e.g. A roads vs. motorways).
- Gather new behavioural insights to understand the triggers and barriers to vehicle littering and responsible disposal.

³ New figures reveal the true scale of littering on England's major roads, Safer Highways, 2025

⁴ Over Half of Drivers Say Litter on UK Roads Is Getting Worse, The AA, 2025

⁵ Motorway litter droppers warned not to put lives at risk, Highways England, 2017

⁶ Litter on motorways and major A-roads, National Highways, 2025

⁷ Understanding Vehicle Littering, Keep Britain Tidy, 2021

- Assess the perceived effectiveness of enforcement as a tool to deter vehicle littering behaviour.
- Use these insights to inform recommendations that could be applied to targeted interventions and other approaches to prevent vehicle littering among the general public and commercial drivers in England.

3. Methodology

This research comprised of five key phases, which were designed to replicate the approach used in the 2021 vehicle littering research, to allow for comparability between findings, providing a clear picture of the ways in which the vehicle littering landscape has, and has not, changed since 2021. A mixed methods approach was utilised, combining both qualitative and quantitative research design elements. Incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods results in a rich and holistic dataset, simultaneously garnering a deep and a broad understanding of vehicle littering behaviours. The qualitative aspects of the research allow for in-depth conversations, bringing meaningful themes to the fore, which can then be broadly quantified through surveys.

This mixed methods research comprised of the following five phases:

1. Literature review

A desk-based review of the current available data, literature and approaches towards tackling roadside littering, was conducted. This incorporated the use of online tools such as Google Scholar, as well as a review of Keep Britain Tidy's previous reports on littering behaviours, and information gathered from National Highways around their recent work on vehicle littering (e.g. the results from recent littering enforcement/campaign trials).

2. Focus groups with vehicle litterers among the general public

Two focus groups were conducted online via Microsoft Teams, with eight participants in each group (16 participants in total). The focus groups were designed to gain a deeper understanding of the types of items being littered by the general public, motivations for vehicle littering, and any possible deterrents to engaging in the behaviour. To select participants, a screening survey was conducted. Those who had littered from their vehicle window, or left litter in a layby, within the past year were recruited to participate in the focus groups, with each group containing a mixture of individuals who had done one or both of these behaviours. Eight men and eight women took part in the focus groups, whose ages ranged between 24 and 66. All participants drive on major roads (i.e. busy roads that connects key towns and cities) at least once per month, and do not drive as part of their job (though they may commute). Fieldwork took place on 15th and 16th December 2025. Participants were provided with a monetary incentive for taking part in this research. The findings from these focus groups were then used to inform the survey developed in phase three.

3. A survey of vehicle litterers among the general public

In order to quantify the key insights from phase two among the general population, the findings from the focus groups were incorporated into a survey. A nationally representative omnibus survey was conducted online via YouGov, with a sample of 2,044 UK adults aged 18+. A series of screening questions identified those who do not drive for work, and who use the strategic road network at least annually, to participate in the full survey. As such, 1,209 UK adults aged 18+ answered the full survey surrounding their litter disposal behaviours. Fieldwork was undertaken between 9th and 10th February 2026.

4. Focus groups with vehicle litterers among commercial drivers

Two focus groups were conducted online via Microsoft Teams, with a total of 16 participants (eight in each group). The focus groups were designed to gain a deeper understanding of the types of items being littered by commercial drivers, motivations for vehicle littering, and any possible deterrents to engaging in the behaviour. A screening survey was used to select participants who drive for work (excluding their commute) at least weekly, have used the strategic road network, and have littered from their vehicle window or left litter in a layby, within the past 12 months. A range of occupations were recruited for, including a mixture of those who do, and do not, stay in their vehicle overnight for work. Group one comprised of those who drive a car/van (i.e. delivery drivers, taxi drivers), a trailer, or a bus/coach. This group contained two women and six men. Group two consisted of Heavy Goods Vehicle (HGV) drivers, with a mix of those driving long and short haul as part of their job. Within this group there was one woman and seven men. Between the two groups, participant ages ranged between 25 and 65+. Fieldwork was conducted on 11th February 2026. Participants were provided with a monetary incentive for taking part in this research. The findings from these focus groups were then used to inform the survey conducted in phase five.

5. A survey of vehicle litterers among commercial drivers

In order to quantify the key insights from phase four among the general population of commercial drivers, the findings from the focus groups were incorporated into a survey. An online survey was conducted, via Savanta, with a sample of 505 adults who drive for work at least weekly (excluding their commute). The sample comprised of bus/coach drivers, HGV drivers, mechanical truck or plant drivers, van drivers, couriers, taxi/minicab drivers, chauffeurs, driving instructors/examiners, and delivery drivers. Participants were screened to ensure that only those who drive on major roads (i.e. busy roads that connects key towns and cities), were included. The sample was made up of drivers working hyper-locally (driving within a single town/city), locally (driving between neighbouring towns/cities),

regionally (driving across regions), nationally (driving between regions/across the country) and internationally (driving across borders/between countries). 254 participants who admitted to vehicle littering completed the full survey. Fieldwork was undertaken between 19th and 24th March 2026.

4. Literature Review

While the literature on vehicle littering remains sparse, there has been a considerable amount of research dedicated to understanding wider littering behaviours, and the measures that can be taken to tackle them. Much of this research suggests that contextual factors which signal the normative nature of littering (i.e. litter in the environment), lead to a continuation of the behaviour.⁸ Indeed, Keep Britain Tidy published research in 2016 highlighting the notion that litter attracts litter.⁹

However, while environmental cues and context can play an important role in the normalisation, and continuation, of littering, these factors are not able to explain the behaviour in full.¹⁰ Indeed, psychological, as well as contextual, variables need to be understood in order to tackle littering. Psychological theory offers many models from which to explore individual behaviour, which have been employed within research in a bid to understand, and reduce, littering behaviours.¹¹ This research highlights that littering behaviours are multi-faceted, and one's decision to partake in them is determined by an internal evaluation of many possible factors including (but not limited to), the feasibility, norms, and emotions associated with enacting the behaviour.

Collectively, academics have outlined that littering is often an intentional behaviour.¹² As such, understanding the motivations for participating in littering are an imperative step in addressing the behaviour. To this end, the public often explain the motivations behind their littering behaviours using self-serving biases such as infrastructural issues, which may not always be accurate.¹³ This may occur as a way of avoiding self-blame, by justifying one's participation in undesirable behaviours. With this in mind, it is likely that litterers experience cognitive dissonance as a result of their littering behaviours, utilising justifications to neutralise the discomfort experienced by acting in a way that contradicts their values. This can result in moral disengagement with the issue, which

⁸ Cialdini et al., 1990. A focus theory of normative conduct: recycling the concept of norms to reduce littering in public places.

⁹ Beacons of Litter; A social experiment to understand how the presence of certain litter items influences rates of littering, Keep Britain Tidy, 2016

¹⁰ Shultz et al., 2013, Littering in Context

¹¹ Tobias et al., 2024. Applying a new theoretical and methodological approach for behaviour-change campaign planning: identifying the critical determinants for reducing littering and evaluating the resulting large-scale campaign

¹² Chaudhary et al., 2021. Littering behaviour: a systematic review

¹³ Hansmann & Steimer., 2017. Subjective reasons for littering: A self-serving attribution bias as justification process in an environmental behaviour model.

allows the behaviour to continue without the experience of uncomfortable feelings such as guilt and shame.¹⁴

Taken together, the research to date indicates that in order to tackle littering behaviours, it is imperative to do so using a multi-pronged approach. Such an approach would not only tackle infrastructural issues in order to make the correct behaviour the easiest one, but would also target psychological factors which may lead to littering. As such, this research sets out to understand the physical and psychological determinants of littering, specifically vehicle littering, among both the general public and commercial drivers.

¹⁴ Saeed & Malik., 2025. Dark Triad Traits, Moral Identity, Civic Moral Disengagement and Littering Behaviour among University Students

5. Insights

5.1 Vehicle littering among the general public

5.1.1 The types, frequency and methods of littering

Littering from a vehicle window

Since Keep Britain Tidy's original report in 2021¹⁵, the proportion of drivers, within the general public, littering from their vehicles has increased. Almost one in five (18%) drivers surveyed, now admit to having ever dropped litter from their vehicle window, a slight increase from the 16% who admitted this in 2021.

The survey tracked how often drivers litter various items from their vehicle window, against the results found in 2021 (with the addition of vapes/vape packaging in the 2026 survey). As shown in Figure 1, all of the items, with the exception of cigarette butts, are now more likely to be littered from a vehicle, than they were five years ago. 'Fruit cores or peels' remain the item most frequently discarded from a vehicle window, with almost two thirds (64%) of vehicle litterers now reporting to drop these items from their vehicle window at least occasionally (less than once per year or more) - increasing from just over half (56%) in 2021. Similarly, there has been a 50% increase in the proportion of vehicle litterers who ever throw 'other food items' (24% in 2021, 36% in 2026), 'small pieces of paper' (21% in 2021, 31% in 2026), and 'fast food packaging' (8% in 2021, 12% in 2026), from their vehicle window. Further, the percentage who report to (at least occasionally) litter 'drinks containers' in this way has doubled from 7% in 2021, to 14% in 2026.

Drivers surveyed have not only become more likely to ever drop rubbish from their vehicle window, but are also doing this more frequently. For example, in 2021, 3% of vehicle litterers dropped chewing gum from their vehicle window *at least once a month*, which has now risen by almost three times, to 11%. Similarly, the proportion of vehicle litterers throwing snack packaging from their vehicle window at least once per month has almost tripled, from 3% in 2021 to 8%.

The items most commonly thrown from a vehicle window are fruit cores or peels, other food items (such as sandwich crusts, other uneaten food, etc.), and small pieces of paper.

¹⁵ Understanding Vehicle Littering, Keep Britain Tidy, 2021

Figure 1 – Proportion of drivers within the general public who have littered from their vehicle window

Item Type	Ever dispose of out of a window (2021)	Ever dispose of out of a window (2026)	Ever dispose of out of a window pp* change 2021 - 2026	Dispose of at least once a month (2021)	Dispose of at least once a month (2026)	Dispose of at least once a month pp* change 2021 - 2026
Fruit cores or peels	56%	64%	+8%	10%	13%	+3%
Other food items	24%	36%	+12%	3%	7%	+4%
Cigarette butts	22%	20%	-2%	12%	10%	-2%
Chewing gum	22%	31%	+9%	3%	11%	+8%
Small pieces of paper	21%	31%	+10%	4%	8%	+4%
Snack packaging	14%	20%	+6%	3%	8%	+5%
Fast food packaging	8%	12%	+4%	4%	5%	+1%
Drinks containers	7%	14%	+7%	3%	4%	+1%
Vapes and/or vape packaging	-	5%	N/A	-	4%	N/A
Other items	12%	17%	+5%	2%	5%	+3%

Base: 2021: 271 / 2026: 221

*pp = percentage point

Leaving rubbish in laybys or at the roadside

The behaviour of leaving rubbish in laybys or at the side of the road is less common than that of throwing rubbish from a vehicle window. Nevertheless, the proportion of drivers within the general public littering in laybys or at the roadside (i.e. not using the bins provided to dispose of rubbish) has risen to 7%, up from 4% five years ago. What is more, as shown in Figure 2 below, every one of the litter items, except cigarette butts, is now more likely to have ever been left in a layby or at the side of the road by those surveyed, highlighting that this behaviour has become more pervasive in recent years. For example, over two thirds (68%) of people who have left litter in a layby, have discarded 'fruit cores and peels' (up from 52% in 2021), and over four in 10 (41%) have left 'small pieces of paper' such as receipts or tickets (up from 31% in 2021).

As with littering from a vehicle window, leaving rubbish in laybys or at the side of the road is also happening more frequently now, than it was five years ago. The proportion of vehicle litterers leaving chewing gum in laybys or at the side of the road *at least once per month* has doubled from 5% in 2021, to 10% now. Similarly, the proportion discarding snack packaging in this way at least once per month has more than doubled in that time, from 7% in 2021 to 17%. Fruit cores and peels have followed the same trajectory, with the proportion of vehicle litterers leaving these items in laybys and roadsides more than doubling from 9% in 2021 to 19%.

The items most likely to be left in laybys or roadsides by the vehicle litterers surveyed are fruit cores or peels, small pieces of paper, and snack packaging.

Figure 2 - Proportion of drivers within the general public that have left litter in a layby or at the side of the road

Item Type	Ever dispose of in a layby or at the roadside (2021)	Ever dispose of in a layby or at the roadside (2026)	Ever dispose of in a layby or at the roadside pp* 2021 - 2026	Dispose of at least once a month (2021)	Dispose of at least once a month (2026)	Dispose of at least once a month pp* 2021 - 2026
Fruit cores or peels	52%	68%	+16%	9%	19%	+10%
Snack packaging	33%	40%	+7%	7%	17%	+10%
Small pieces of paper	31%	41%	+10%	11%	13%	+2%
Other food items	30%	39%	+9%	6%	12%	+6%
Drinks containers	29%	35%	+6%	7%	12%	+5%
Fast food packaging	29%	35%	+6%	8%	11%	+3%
Chewing gum	26%	36%	+10%	5%	10%	+5%
Cigarette butts	20%	19%	-1%	9%	13%	+4%
Vapes/ vape packaging	-	14%	N/A	-	11%	N/A
Other items	27%	31%	+4%	5%	9%	+4%

Base: 2021: 78* / 2026: 81*

*pp = percentage point

**Results may only be indicative due to small sample sizes

Smelly or messy items are more likely to be littered

In line with previous findings, and the statistics outlined above, items which smell or leave residue remain the most likely to be littered from the vehicles of the general public. This is predominantly discussed in reference to fruit cores and peels (e.g. banana skins), though items such as chewing gum and cigarette butts are also littered to avoid the unwanted smells and remnants of these items from contaminating the vehicle.

"...I normally wait, like crisp packets and bottles normally wait until I get to a destination, but anything that's stinky, has to go, sorry!"

"...chewing gum has also gone out the window. I didn't wait because I'm also at the risk of... because if I leave it in my car and it gets on the floor or my seats, it's a risk, so I'd rather it just go out before it can stick to something."

5.1.2 Psychological factors associated with vehicle littering

Littering as a moral decision

As previously cited, fruit cores or peels, and small pieces of paper, are among the most commonly littered items, both when being littered from a vehicle window and in a layby/at the roadside. This may be due to the categorisation of some items as being more acceptable to litter than others. For example, items that are seen as being biodegradable, such as food items (predominantly fruit cores/peel), and paper items, as well as those which are small, such as chewing gum, are seen as less consequential when littered than other items. For this reason, it is perceived that these items will not only have less impact on the environment, but in some instances (i.e. when discarding food items) will have positive consequences for wildlife. On the other hand, items that are deemed as less acceptable to litter from a vehicle include those which may cause harm (e.g. to the environment or by damaging a car when thrown from a vehicle window), such as drinks containers (e.g. cans).

What is more, feelings of guilt are experienced when items such as bottles, or cans, are littered (this may be anticipatory guilt experienced before littering these types of items, or post behaviour guilt experienced in response to having littered them). However, these feelings are less commonly expressed in relation to littering small, or natural items, such as fruit cores/peel. Taken together, this may suggest that whether or not an item is deemed as 'acceptable' to litter is determined by the individual's moral evaluation of the harm that may be caused by littering the item. Items which are deemed as causing less harm are less likely to elicit feelings of guilt, and are therefore more

likely to be littered, than those which are deemed as causing more harm. To illustrate this, fruit cores are often seen as having little to no negative consequence on the environment, meaning that there is little, if any, guilt associated with littering these items, and therefore they are more likely to be littered.

"I was throwing an apple core or something out the window and I threw a Red Bull can ... people were talking to me and what have you, I got distracted and before I know it, the can had gone out the window as well and I have to say, I did feel a bit guilty [for throwing the can out of the window]."

"[I'm] always a little bit hesitant to do it [litter from a vehicle] if it's a can of Coke or a bottle of water... things like plastic bottles cannot be melted quickly or it's very difficult to decompose them or break them up... as against [compared to] a peel of banana or an apple or something like that... It will disappear and it won't be there."

"I feel very guilty, especially if it's bottles or cans or anything like that to sort of go out of the window... But when it comes to fruits and things like that, I find that they are all decomposable items and even if nothing happens to it, they will decompose and it will become a nice fertiliser."

Littering can be triggered by negative emotions

While feelings of guilt may reduce the likelihood of certain items being littered, other emotions such as anger, frustration and overstimulation can trigger vehicle littering behaviours. Feelings of frustration and overstimulation can arise from having items of rubbish in the vehicle. However, it is not only negative emotions related to having rubbish in the vehicle, which can lead to vehicle littering. This can also result from experiencing negative emotions more generally, unrelated to the rubbish in the vehicle (e.g. having a bad day, experiencing road rage etc.). As such, littering rubbish from the vehicle is enacted as a means of relieving the negative feelings being experienced. Clearing the vehicle of rubbish not only refreshes the vehicle itself but can also calm one's emotional state and/or state of mind.

"I've been known to throw things out of the window, I just get really frustrated with what's in the car and I just want it out."

"I try to wait [to discard items of rubbish] until I've got to somewhere with a bin, unless I get really overstimulated with it being in the car."

"...it's slightly cathartic as well to just clear the car and just get rid of the stuff and sometimes if you're putting it out of the window, yeah, there is sometimes a slightly cathartic feel to it."

The vehicle as a reflection of one's values

Within the focus groups, participants discussed having personal values rooted in cleanliness and/or tidiness, seeing themselves as people who like their surroundings to be 'neat and tidy'. It is important for the vehicle to reflect these values, whether that be to maintain their 'sense of self' (the way they see themselves), or their public image (the way one wishes to be viewed by others), as a clean and/or tidy person. I.e. in some instances, items are littered because the individual wants the space to be kept tidy for their own benefit (to maintain their self-image). However, for others, maintaining the cleanliness of the vehicle allows for their values of cleanliness to be reflected to others who may see or use their vehicle (maintaining their public image).

"I'm a very neat and tidy person and I feel like my car's a reflection of me... I just like it smelling nice, looking nice even though I have kids. It's a reflection of me, so... if I have to drop someone home or something and they come in my car... I'm like that is not me, I don't have a scruffy house at home... It's [car] another part of me."

Almost one third (31%) of vehicle litterers have (at least sometimes) left rubbish in a layby/at the roadside because they didn't want others to see any mess in their vehicle, and 21% have thrown rubbish from their vehicle window for this reason. This again highlights that discarding items via vehicle littering may act as a form of maintaining one's public image as a tidy person, doing so to ensure that others do not see rubbish, (which may be perceived as mess), in the vehicle.

The act of littering triggers cognitive dissonance

Cognitive dissonance is the psychological tension of simultaneously holding two contradictory beliefs, values or attitudes, or when behaviour conflicts with beliefs. For example, cognitive dissonance can arise from having a desire to keep your vehicle tidy by discarding any rubbish within it (i.e. littering), whilst also knowing that littering is damaging to the external environment. These conflicting beliefs are held among the vehicle litterers surveyed, with 89% agreeing that they like to keep their personal space(s) clean, neat and tidy, and 96% agreeing that the cleanliness of public spaces is important to them. As such, when the need to discard rubbish that has accumulated in their vehicle arises, psychological discomfort may be experienced in response to this internal conflict: on one hand, there is a desire to keep the vehicle clean and tidy (which promotes littering), while on the other hand valuing the cleanliness of public spaces (which discourages littering). This tension may be illustrated by the feelings of guilt experienced by vehicle litterers, after littering. Indeed, over six in 10 (61%) of vehicle litterers feel some level of guilt after discarding their rubbish in this way.

In order to deal with the psychological tension of holding these conflicting beliefs, and the feelings of guilt that ensue after littering, vehicle litterers often look for ways to rationalise and/or justify their littering behaviours. For some, this takes the form of minimising the behaviour (e.g. 'the type of littering I do is not that bad'). For others, this is achieved by relieving themselves of responsibility for participating in the behaviour (e.g. 'I had no other choice' or 'there were no bins'), or comparing their behaviour to that of other people/groups who are perceived as having a greater (negative) impact through littering (e.g. lorry/van drivers who leave large amounts of rubbish on the roadsides). These justifications act as rationalisations to relieve the uncomfortable feelings that arise after participating in a behaviour which contradicts with their own values.

"... it'll be like a chewing gum or like a banana peel. Like, I wouldn't throw a full bag out the window."

"So, you do think about it and you think, 'Oh, I'm not going to do it anymore'. But then when you're in that moment, it's kind of, 'Well, I've got to do it because there's nowhere else to put it.'"

"...on laybys you find that truckers and lorry drivers often leave their stuff there, so you don't really feel so bad because it's all kind of desecrated to some extent by the truckers and they leave some horrendous stuff out. So, yeah, you don't really feel so bad."

Littering requires little (cognitive) effort

The general public often litter from their vehicle as it is seen as the easiest thing to do with items of rubbish. It is a fast and convenient way of disposing of their waste, meaning that it is not an action that requires much, if any, deliberation or contemplation. What's more, once items have been disposed of in this way, the individual does not need to think about them again. This reduces the need for the litterer to consider, or enact, alternative methods of waste disposal, which may require more effort. Indeed, more than one in three (38%) of those surveyed said that, at least sometimes when littering from a vehicle in the past, they wanted to get rid of the rubbish so that they didn't have to think about it anymore. Similarly, one in two (50%) said that, at least sometimes, they have littered from their vehicle because it was more convenient to get rid of it there and then, than to keep it in their vehicle. These results ratified the focus group findings, with participants having expressed that vehicle littering is the easiest way to dispose of their waste. The effort required of them is reduced by littering it from their vehicle, making this behaviour the easier option.

"I know it sounds really bad, but if it's not in the car, it's not my problem. Whereas when it's in my car... I'd have to go out with a bag and collect it all up."

As well as it being an easy resolution to the problem of having unwanted waste in the vehicle, vehicle littering is often a habitual, automatic behaviour which is enacted in the spur of the moment. In fact, over six in 10 (61%) vehicle litterers say that (at least sometimes) they made the decision to litter from their vehicle in the moment.

"I don't drive along going, 'Oh, I've got this rubbish in the car, I'm going to throw it out the window'. It's just if I see it or if it's like something like, yeah, like a fruit peel or something, it just goes out the window.... it's just kind of an automatic thing."

5.1.3 Situational factors associated with vehicle littering

This section discusses the situational factors that encourage, or allow for, vehicle littering behaviours to take place. Many of these factors are linked to the psychological factors discussed in the previous section of the report. In most instances, drivers within the general public will litter from their vehicle at a time or place where they feel the behaviour will go unseen. For some, littering inconspicuously stems from the desire not to get caught and fined, while for others this is an attempt to maintain their public-image and reduce negative judgement from others (whether that be perceived or actual judgement).

Littering is less likely to occur when there are others in the vehicle

40% of those surveyed, who have littered from their vehicle window, and 45% of those who have left items on a layby/roadside, chose to do it at a time when there was no one else in the vehicle with them, to see them do it. This highlights that vehicle litterers make a conscious decision to throw rubbish from their vehicle window at a time when they are alone in the vehicle.

One of the key reasons for vehicle litterers to ensure that they are alone in the vehicle, is to preserve a positive public image. Participants do not want to be seen in a negative light for littering from their vehicle, so will enact the behaviour when others are not present and therefore cannot cast judgement on them as a result of their behaviour. While some are concerned about being judged for their behaviour in this way more generally (i.e. by anybody), others are particularly concerned about damaging the image of themselves held by close family and/or friends.

"...I'll only do it when nobody's watching... We don't want our cars to be messy, but equally, we don't want people to form an opinion of it, of us as being bad people."

"If I was giving my Grandma a lift somewhere, I wouldn't just start throwing things out the window because she might think I'm still an angel..."

Littering is more likely to occur on smaller, quiet roads

Half (50%) of those who have littered from their vehicle window said that they made sure there were no other drivers around to see them do it. Drivers typically litter on smaller roads, such as small A or B roads (35%), rather than on motorways or major A roads (26%), when littering from their vehicle. They are also more likely to litter in a rural area (32%), than an urban area (24%).

These statistics along with the findings from the focus groups indicate that the general public will litter from their vehicles in remote areas, as opposed to busy or built-up spaces. It is perceived that vehicle littering in spaces which are quiet, such as smaller, rural roads, results in fewer potential consequences for the individual. To this end, drivers make a concerted effort to find areas where they feel there is little chance that an enforcement camera (or another road user/passersby with a personal camera) will record them while littering from their vehicle. As such, vehicle litterers feel that these types of roads allow them to remain anonymous, and reduce their perceived risk of receiving an enforcement measure (e.g. a fine), or being reported by other members of the public.

"I'd rather throw it on a quiet road where... there's no cameras or anyone watching me, I feel like I can get away with it rather than on a motorway."

As well as rural roads being seen as favourable for discarding litter, the general public may also be more likely to litter from their vehicle at nighttime. At this time, roads are usually quieter than during the day, meaning there is (even) less chance of others being present to witness the behaviour. This again allows the littering behaviour to remain unseen and the litterer anonymous.

"I'm very careful where I throw my rubbish... I just do it as and when it's quieter, so in the dark and there's not hardly any cars around."

Insufficient facilities lead to littering

In line with the findings in the 2021 *Understanding Vehicle Littering* report, participants expressed that they leave rubbish in laybys or at the side of the road in instances where no bin is provided, or where the bin provided is full. The perception that there are not enough bins and that the existing bins are not big enough, persists. For drivers who have left their waste in a layby or at the roadside, over half (54%) said that there were no bins nearby, and 46% said there were bins, but they were full. Similarly, for those who have littered from their vehicle window, almost one in two (48%) said that there were no bins nearby.

By leaving litter next to a full bin in a layby, drivers within the general public feel that they have done the best they can to dispose of their waste responsibly, and that it is not their 'fault' that they

do not have somewhere more suitable to leave items of rubbish. As a result, vehicle litterers are less likely to feel guilty for leaving items of rubbish in a layby or at the roadside where there are no bins, or bins that are full. However, if bins were available, and/or had capacity, participants say they would utilise the available facilities, particularly when stopping in a layby or at the side of the road to discard of their waste. As such, providing more bins and/or emptying existing bins more frequently may reduce instances of vehicle littering.

"...the bin was full and we were on holiday, so the boot was full... I did have a bit of guilt, and then I thought, 'Well it's not my fault that they're not clearing the bins either'. So, I just left it [rubbish] at the side of the road."

"If there were more places to leave the litter or more empty places to leave it, we would do it. There's got to be a better option."

Littering is more likely on long journeys

Almost half (45%) of the vehicle litterers surveyed said they are on a long journey (an hour or more) when they decide to throw rubbish from their window or leave it in a layby/on the roadside. In comparison, less than half that proportion (19%), do so when travelling on a short journey (less than an hour). Drivers who took part in the focus groups expressed that they feel as though they can wait to put items in a bin (e.g. at their destination) if they know they will be getting out of the vehicle within a short time. However, when travelling longer distances, they feel as though there is less opportunity to dispose of their waste, meaning that they are 'stuck' with it in the vehicle. Discarding the waste acts as a means to refresh the vehicle during long journeys.

"If I'm doing a long journey, I'll stop in a layby just to get up and stretch my legs if I've been driving for ages and that feels like you're having a bit of a refresh, so that's probably when people would then start grabbing litter and chucking it out."

Nevertheless, there are instances when rubbish will be littered from vehicles on short journeys. For example, if the item creates a smell or a residue, or the driver feels as though they have no alternative way to discard of the item without creating a mess in the vehicle, then it will be littered.

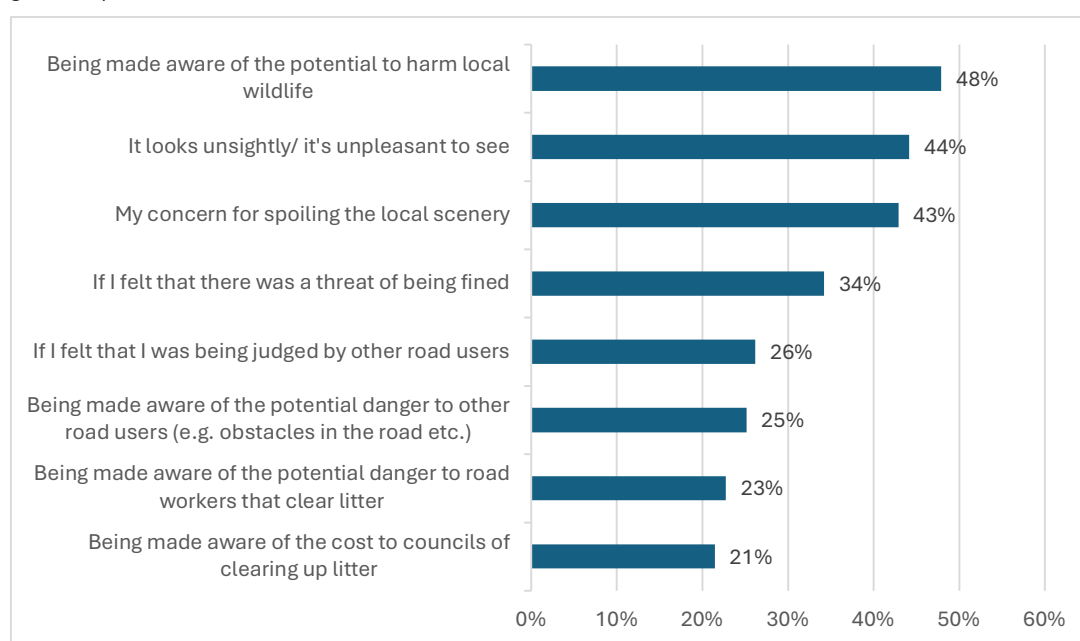
"[I litter] mostly on longer journeys. Shorter journeys I don't tend to do it as much unless it is something that like people said, like chewing gum, things like that because I don't really have anywhere to put a chewing gum that you've had in your car. You don't want that to be sticky."

5.1.4 Deterrents to vehicle littering

Causing harm to wildlife and public spaces discourages littering

As shown in Figure 3, when asked, almost half (48%) of vehicle litterers said that 'being made aware of the potential harm to wildlife' would deter them from vehicle littering. In line with the aforementioned finding that vehicle litterers claim to value the cleanliness of public spaces, perhaps unsurprisingly, they also said that litter looking unsightly (44%), and their concern for spoiling the local scenery (43%), would encourage them not to litter from a vehicle in future.

Figure 3 – Factors that would act as a deterrent to vehicle littering among vehicle litterers within the general public



Base: 307

Enforcement as a deterrent to littering

Following concern for wildlife and/or the environment, around one third (34%) of vehicle litterers surveyed would be discouraged from vehicle littering in future if they felt there was a threat of being fined. Similarly, focus group participants felt that enforcement, such as receiving a fine, would make them less likely to litter. For some, the financial repercussions of being fined would act as a deterrent, as they would not want to pay a large sum of money as a result of being caught littering. For others however, the emotional, rather than the financial, repercussions would act to disincentivise future vehicle littering. Feelings of shame for having been caught and fined would then deter the behaviour in future.

"Had I got caught throwing something out the window and fined for it and I paid a penalty, then I don't think I'd make the same mistake twice. I'd be embarrassed, I'd feel ashamed."

While many participants explicitly discussed enforcement as being an effective deterrent to their vehicle littering habits, this was also implicit in where and how the behaviour occurs. As previously discussed, vehicle litterers will often discard their rubbish on small, quiet roads where there is less likelihood of an enforcement camera, or a citizen with a personal camera, to capture (and report them for) littering. This in itself suggests that vehicle litterers do not want to get caught participating in littering behaviours. As such, enforcement through visible CCTV and (the threat of) penalties may aid in reducing incidents of vehicle littering. At present however, there is little concern for being caught and fined, with just 13% of vehicle litterers feeling that this is likely to happen to them if they were to litter from their vehicle in the future. This is despite over eight in 10 (83%) knowing that vehicle littering is an illegal act, for which they can be caught and fined.

"CCTV cameras at lay-bys might help a little bit, obviously. I mean, we've discussed, and people said that (they) don't throw it, because they're worried about the [enforcement] cameras on the motorways."

Taken together, these findings suggest that addressing the perception that enforcement is a likely outcome for vehicle littering, as well as increasing the number of drivers receiving fines for the behaviour in reality, may act as an effective deterrent.

Being made aware of the harm that littering can cause to others, may deter the behaviour

Finally, a quarter of vehicle litterers among the general public (25%) said that being made aware of the potential danger to other road users would discourage them from littering from their vehicle in future. The issue of causing harm to others was discussed by participants throughout the focus groups. For example, as mentioned in previous sections, vehicle litterers often want to avoid discarding items such as cans and bottles from their vehicle window, due to the danger this may cause to other road users. It is perceived that these items may cause a collision, or damage a vehicle, which deters drivers from littering them. Additionally, vehicle litterers are less likely to throw items from their vehicle window while on motorways, due to the high speed of these roads, and thus the increased likelihood of causing harm to others.

"I don't really throw out bottles or cans because I think it's just dangerous and reckless."

"I've seen it [vehicle littering] on other roads as well... the most dangerous one [occasion] was on the motorway."

With this in mind, drawing on the potential harm to others may aid in reducing vehicle littering. Participants discussed that being made aware of these potential harms through a campaign would encourage them to reconsider their vehicle littering behaviours. Interestingly, participants found it difficult to recall any signage and/or campaigns aimed at reducing vehicle littering. This may imply that existing campaigns are not emotive or salient enough to recall, or that they have not been placed in locations where vehicle litterers are likely to notice them.

"If I saw an advert or something, and it was like a real story of, like, when someone's littered and they've, like, caused an accident or something like that. It'd probably make me think twice before doing it."

While the concern for causing harm to others can act as a deterrent to the littering of items such as bottles and cans in particular, these items continue to be littered. This suggests that drivers' concern for causing harm may, at times, be superseded by other motivators (e.g. wanting to reduce the cognitive load of having to responsibly dispose of the waste later).

5.2 Vehicle littering among commercial drivers

5.2.1 The types, frequency and methods of littering

Littering out of a vehicle window

Almost half (47%) of commercial drivers surveyed admitted to having ever littered from their vehicle window or door while driving for work (down slightly from the 50% who admitted this in 2021). Almost half (23%) of those who admitted to having ever done this, said that they had done so *within the past month*, suggesting that many commercial drivers who litter from their vehicle are doing so on a frequent basis.

As seen in Figure 4, the littering behaviours surrounding 12 items commonly discarded by commercial drivers were tracked against those reported in 2021 (with the addition of vapes/vape packaging). In this time, the proportion of commercial drivers surveyed who admit to having ever thrown each of these items from their vehicle window, has fallen. Nevertheless, every one of these items have been discarded by at least half of those who admit to having ever littered from their commercial vehicle. To this end, vape/vape packaging is the item least likely to have ever been littered by a commercial driver, yet over half (54%) have littered this item from their vehicle. What's

more, when compared with the vehicle littering behaviours of the general public, those who drive for work are more likely to have littered every one of the items measured.¹⁶

The frequency at which commercial drivers' litter from their work vehicle has also fallen in the past five years. For example, almost eight in 10 (78%) said they disposed of fruit cores or peels by littering them via their work vehicle window at least once a month in 2021, which has now dropped to just over six in 10 (62%). Importantly however, a high proportion of commercial drivers who admit to having ever littered these items from their work vehicle window, say that they do this at least once per month. For instance, over 4 in 5 (82%) of those who have ever littered fruit cores or peels from their work vehicle, do this at least once per month. By comparison, less than a fifth (18%) of drivers in the general public who have ever littered fruit cores or peels from their vehicle window, do this at the same frequency. As such, commercial drivers are not only more likely to have littered each of the items measured, but also to have littered them more frequently, than the general public. This indicates that while the proportion of commercial drivers who admit to littering from their vehicle appears to be falling, the prevalence and frequency of the behaviour among this group remains high.

The items most likely to have ever been littered, by commercial drivers throwing them from their vehicle window, are small pieces of paper (77%), fruit cores or peels (76%), and other food items, such as sandwich crusts, other uneaten food, etc. (70%).

¹⁶ Drinks containers were measured differently between the general public and commercial drivers. For the general public the littering of 'drinks containers' was measured. For commercial drivers, the littering of 'empty drinks containers', 'drinks containers with leftover drink inside', and 'drinks containers that you have had to urinate in', was measured. See Figure 2 (general public) and Figure 4 (commercial drivers).

Figure 4 - Proportion of commercial drivers who have littered from their vehicle window

Item Type	Ever dispose of out of a window (2021)	Ever dispose of out of a window (2026)	Ever dispose of out of a window pp* change 2021 - 2026	Dispose of at least once a month (2021)	Dispose of at least once a month (2026)	Dispose of at least once a month pp* change 2021 - 2026
Fruit cores or peels	91%	76%	-15%	78%	62%	-16%
Other food items	83%	70%	-13%	70%	53%	-17%
Cigarette Butts	82%	62%	-20%	75%	50%	-25%
Chewing gum	89%	73%	-16%	79%	55%	-24%
Small pieces of paper	90%	77%	-13%	79%	58%	-21%
Snack packaging	89%	69%	-20%	79%	51%	-28%
Fast food packaging	87%	62%	-25%	75%	54%	-21%
Empty drinks containers	86%	66%	-20%	75%	52%	-23%
Drinks containers with leftover drink inside	85%	60%	-25%	76%	50%	-26%
Drinks containers that you have had to urinate in	83%	59%	-24%	74%	47%	-27%
Vapes and/or vape packaging	-	54%	N/A	-	42%	N/A
Other items	81%	58%	-23%	66%	44%	-22%

Base: 2021: 253 / 2026: 237

*pp = percentage point

Leaving rubbish in a layby or at the roadside

Over four in 10 (42%) commercial drivers now admit to having ever left their rubbish in a layby or at the side of a road, down from just under five in 10 (49%) who admitted this in 2021. However, half (50%) of those who admit to the behaviour, say that they have done this *within the last month*.

The frequency of littering among commercial drivers who leave rubbish in laybys/at roadsides was also monitored against that of 2021. As shown in Figure 5, commercial drivers are now less likely to admit to having ever left each of the monitored items in a layby/at the roadside. While this may be

positive, the item least likely to have ever been littered in this way, by this group, is vapes/vape packaging, though over six in 10 (61%) have done so. What's more, among the vehicle litterers, each of the items monitored is more likely to have ever been left in a layby/roadside by commercial drivers, than by drivers within the general public. Therefore, while it is important to acknowledge the reported reduction in vehicle littering among commercial drivers, it is also imperative to recognise that this group likely remain responsible for a large proportion of litter at the roadsides.

A high proportion of commercial drivers surveyed who have ever left their rubbish in a layby/at the roadside, do so *at least once per month*. For example, eight in 10 (80%) commercial drivers who have littered fruit cores or peels, do so at least monthly. Comparatively, just under three in 10 (26%) of the general public who have ever left these items in a layby, do so at this frequency. Indeed, for each of the items monitored, commercial drivers are more likely than the general public to have ever disposed of their waste in this way, and do so more often.

The items most likely to have been littered by commercial drivers leaving them in a layby or at the side of the road, are fruit cores or peels (86%), snack packaging (80%), and small pieces of paper (78%).

Figure 5 - Proportion of commercial drivers that have left litter in a layby or at the side of the road

Item Type	Ever dispose of in a layby or at the roadside (2021)	Ever dispose of in a layby or at the roadside (2026)	Ever dispose of in a layby or at the roadside pp* change 2021 - 2026	Dispose of at least once a month (2021)	Dispose of at least once a month (2026)	Dispose of at least once a month pp* change 2021 - 2026
Fruit cores or peels	89%	86%	-3%	74%	69%	-5%
Other food items	87%	75%	-12%	72%	58%	-14%
Cigarette Butts	80%	67%	-13%	68%	57%	-11%
Chewing gum	84%	76%	-8%	72%	60%	-12%
Small pieces of paper	89%	78%	-11%	73%	59%	-14%
Snack packaging	88%	80%	-8%	76%	62%	-14%
Fast food packaging	88%	71%	-17%	75%	57%	-18%
Empty drinks containers	87%	74%	-13%	73%	57%	-16%
Drinks containers with leftover drink inside	88%	69%	-19%	75%	55%	-20%
Drinks containers that you have had to urinate in	85%	65%	-20%	75%	52%	-23%
Vapes and/or vape packaging	-	61%	N/A	-	49%	N/A
Other items	80%	64%	-16%	64%	48%	-16%

Base: 2021: 247 / 2026: 214

*pp = percentage point

An array of items are littered by commercial drivers

As discussed, certain items are more likely than others, to have been littered by the commercial drivers consulted in this research (i.e. food items like fruit cores/peels and differing types of food packaging). Similarly to the general public, the perceived 'need' to litter these items among commercial drivers usually has to do with the smell, or residue, they will create if left in the vehicle for any period of time. This results in a desire to remove them from the vehicle more quickly than other items that don't have these effects (e.g. plastic bottles). In fact, over three quarters (77%) of

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commercial drivers surveyed said that they have left rubbish in a layby while working because they wanted to get rid of something that would make the vehicle smelly, dirty or messy. While this is the case across a range of commercial driver types, this may be especially important to those who stay in their work vehicle overnight, to ensure that the smells generated from this type of waste do not disturb their sleep.

"I definitely notice there's a difference in terms of the need to get rid of rubbish quite quickly... when it comes to bottles, I don't mind leaving it until when I finish my shift and discarding it at home. But, yeah, when it comes to the fast-food type of thing, I probably want to get rid of that before it stinks up my car."

"...and if you've got to sleep in there [lorry], you don't want a rotting burger in the front when you're trying to have a kip in the back." [HGV driver discussing the reason why they litter food items from their work vehicle.]

While commercial drivers who litter from their vehicle are most likely to litter smelly, dirty or messy items such as food waste, it is important to note that, generally, they are likely to litter a wider variety of items than the general public. Indeed, commercial drivers are more likely than drivers within the general public to have littered all forms of rubbish. This may be due to the amount of time commercial drivers spend in their vehicle, or the type of driving they do (e.g. coach drivers who transport passengers internationally, all of whom eat, sleep etc. in the vehicle). These factors are likely to lead to the generation of a greater variety and volume of waste, which ultimately needs discarding (and may therefore be littered).

"Anything and everything. Same as you would at home." [Commercial driver describing the types of rubbish that collect in their vehicle.]

"...a lot of takeaway cups and yeah, takeaway bags, burger wrappers, sweet packs, just packaging of all sorts." [Commercial driver describing the types of rubbish that collect in their vehicle.]

5.2.2 Psychological factors associated with vehicle littering

Littering as a way of maintaining one's professional image

As is the case for the general public, commercial drivers may litter to maintain certain aspects of their image. Importantly however, in this context, commercial drivers have an additional facet of their image to maintain: their professional image (the way others perceive their competence, and character within the workplace). As such, vehicle littering by commercial drivers can be motivated

by the desire to ensure that colleagues/passengers don't see any mess in their vehicle. Indeed, over seven in 10 (72%) of those surveyed have left rubbish in a layby, and over six in 10 (63%) have thrown rubbish from their vehicle window, for this reason, which may act as a way of maintaining a positive image among colleagues and/or clients.

For those who are self-employed, ensuring that others do not see mess in their vehicle is perceived as being intrinsically tied to the reputation of their business, while those who are employed see this as being tied to their reputation among colleagues and/or employers. In both instances, items of rubbish may be littered from the vehicle as a means of keeping the vehicle clear and tidy, which aids in upholding their image as being competent, reliable and respectful (i.e. professional). For example, those who are self-employed may discard waste to ensure that their vehicle, and by extension, their business, is perceived positively and professionally by clients who may see the vehicle. However, others who are employed by an organisation may feel that it is necessary to discard waste before handing the vehicle over to a colleague (e.g. at the end of a shift), in order to maintain their professional image within that organisation/among colleagues.

"I think the benefit of getting rid of it [littering rubbish from a work vehicle] is... I've got some big clients. If you turn up and your lorry smells... it's not professional if you turn up without a clean lorry, you need no stuff in it really." [Self-employed HGV driver]

"I don't like to give [back] a vehicle overly dirty. I feel it reflects badly on me as a driver. If you looked at my cab today, it's not very tidy... But if I had to give that vehicle back or take it to a garage, I would be forced to clean it, because I would feel embarrassed giving the vehicle to someone else in that condition." [Employed HGV driver]

For those whose work vehicle is also their personal vehicle (e.g. local delivery drivers who use their personal car for work purposes), littering is more likely to be motivated as a means of preserving their self-image rather than their professional image, by ensuring the car reflects their personal values of cleanliness and tidiness, as seen in drivers within the general public.

"My personal vehicle is my work vehicle, I take pride in wanting it to be clean... and I think in that moment [when littering from the vehicle] I was just thinking, 'It's just a small piece of rubbish'."

The act of littering triggers cognitive dissonance in commercial drivers

As seen with the general public, the commercial drivers who took part in this research experience cognitive dissonance, in the discomfort of holding conflicting beliefs related to vehicle littering. Nine in 10 (90%) commercial drivers who have littered from their vehicle agree that they like to

keep their workspace clean, neat and tidy. However, a similar proportion (86%) of those surveyed also said that the cleanliness of public spaces is important to them. As previously discussed in relation to the general public, holding these conflicting values can lead to feelings of guilt, since littering from one's vehicle (in order to keep it tidy), breaches one's value of caring for the cleanliness of public spaces. Around three in four (74%) commercial drivers who admit to littering from their work vehicle, feel some level of guilt afterward. This indicates that vehicle litterers among commercial drivers experience the psychological discomfort described above, in the form of guilt, after littering from their vehicle, which is likely because they have acted in a way that has breached their morals and/or values.

Within the focus groups, commercial drivers were less forthcoming than general public drivers in discussing feelings of guilt surrounding their littering behaviours (though some did mention feeling this way). Instead, many displaced the responsibility of their behaviour outwardly, toward the systems within which they operate. HGV drivers in particular, discussed inadequate facilities, such as a lack of bins, bins which are too small, and overflowing bins, as being the cause for their littering behaviour. For many, there is a resignation to the notion that littering from their vehicle is the only option available to them for discarding their waste, feeling that if the facilities were improved, then they would not 'need' to litter in this way. In other words, they claim that the lack of facilities is the reason they litter. While it is important to recognise that there are certain systemic factors (such as a lack of bins/facilities [e.g. chemical disposal points]), which make responsibly disposing of waste more challenging, diminishing one's personal responsibility altogether in this way, allows individuals to disengage from the guilt they may feel for violating their personal values, by littering.

"Yeah, I have lost [thrown] the odd can of Coke out of the window over the years. I may open the door, and things may fall out of the overloading door pocket... I don't do it on purpose, but the occasional bit escapes the lorry every now and then. But it's more due to lack of facilities. If there were bins everywhere, you'd be more inclined to use them. The motorway ones [bins]... they're overused... there's not enough bins per capita."

"It doesn't matter, wherever you go in the UK, there is a lack of facilities for getting rid of rubbish. Those facilities are never, ever collected often enough. You'll either arrive in the services, or arrive in a layby or wherever, the bin's full. You can see it's not been emptied for weeks and people get blamed for leaving their rubbish there. There's nowhere else to put it."

To summarise, commercial drivers expressed feelings of guilt in the individual survey, though did not discuss this in the focus groups (instead displacing the responsibility outwardly). This may

suggest that whilst they possess a moral compass which is challenged by their littering behaviours, commercial drivers have formed a shared narrative (whereby the lack of facilities are to blame for their littering), which allows them to disengage from the guilt they feel for vehicle littering. Importantly, while this may act as a psychological defence mechanism, it may also be a psychological survival strategy. For example, in instances where commercial drivers truly feel they have no other choice than to dispose of their waste by littering (either due to work/time pressures, a lack of facilities, or a lack of specialised facilities for disposing of chemical toilet deposits, recognising the responsibility of the behaviour as being linked to external factors (rather than blaming themselves), may allow individuals to cope psychologically with having to engage in behaviours which breach their values.

"I've got a toilet on the bus that needs dropping [disposing of] ... we just find the quietest layby we can find out in the middle of nowhere and just drop it there because there's no other choice. I can't drive 100 miles out of my way to find somewhere to drop a toilet [dispose of black water]."

"It's basically time. So, if I'm doing 600, 700 kilometres, 500 miles in a night, then obviously that's taking up most of my driving time... and you've got three or four bags of rubbish that you need to get rid of. That will be generally the time when we'll find somewhere out the way [to discard the rubbish] and it's [littering] not the nicest thing to do but ... we have to."

Littering requires little (cognitive) effort

The commercial drivers consulted within this research litter from their work vehicle as it reduces the cognitive effort required to contemplate more responsible waste disposal methods. In other words, vehicle littering is the easiest option for dealing with their rubbish. By removing items of rubbish, drivers no longer need to think about them. Indeed, two thirds (66%) of those who have thrown rubbish from their vehicle window cited this as one of their reasons for doing so, as did a similar proportion (67%) of those who have previously left litter in a layby or at the roadside. What's more, over three quarters (77%) of layby/roadside litterers said that they had left rubbish in these spaces as it was more convenient to get rid of it there and then, and that they decided to do so in the moment. Similarly, 73% of those surveyed, who have thrown litter from their vehicle window did so as it was more convenient than keeping it in the vehicle, with 74% choosing to enact the behaviour in the moment. Together, these findings underscore vehicle littering as being an easier, and more convenient, option for commercial drivers than holding on to their waste for responsible disposal later on. As such, littering the items reduces the mental toll of having to think about other ways of disposing of the waste.

"It's just the easiest thing to do at that point, because to get rid of gum, I'd have to take it out my mouth, find something else to wrap it in and then went to dispose of it. If I'm just throwing it straight out of the window then I don't really have to worry about anything else, if that makes sense."

Littering is embedded in workplace culture

Employers have a duty to set expectations for their staff, leading by example and encouraging staff members to behave in ways that align with the values of the organisation. In turn, staff reflect the values of the organisation into the wider world, through their attitudes, and behaviours. Employers of commercial drivers place much value in maintaining the cleanliness of their fleet of vehicles, and keeping the cost of their own waste disposal to a minimum. Indeed, almost six in 10 (58%) commercial drivers surveyed, receive guidance from their employer on the condition in which they should hand their vehicle over at the end of a shift, while less than half (42%) receive guidance on (not) disposing of rubbish from their vehicle window, or leaving rubbish in laybys. This signals to staff that the cleanliness, and condition, of the vehicles is more important (and thus valued more highly by the organisation), than responsible waste disposal. As such, staff are more likely to prioritise the maintenance of the vehicle, over dealing with their waste responsibly.

This sentiment was also reflected in the focus groups. Employers of commercial drivers seldom discuss vehicle littering with their staff as a means of discouraging the behaviour. Instead, staff feel that the only time an employer would discuss vehicle littering with them is if they (the staff member) were caught enacting the behaviour (e.g. by an enforcement camera). Nevertheless, the repercussions to the member of staff in these circumstances are likely to be inconsequential, with over half (54%) of those surveyed, saying that this would result in either an informal conversation with their employer or no action being taken at all. This is compared with just 30% of participants, who feel that they would face disciplinary action. This again signals a lack of importance around the issue to members of staff, from their employers.

Where staff feel that they would encounter repercussions from their employer for vehicle littering, the reasons for this are rooted in the damage that may be caused to the reputation of the organisation, rather than in concern for the external environment. This underscores to staff members that the self-interests of the organisation (e.g. their vehicles, their reputation) are of the utmost importance (as opposed to external interests such as maintaining the cleanliness of public spaces), and should therefore be prioritised.

"It's [vehicle littering] not cared about behind the scenes ... If you're filmed or somebody reported you then it's a problem. But day to day, it's not even spoken about. I've never even had a conversation with an employer or a contractor about rubbish."

"Like everyone said, they do care about their reputation. So, if there is someone in the public who reports me, they see me throw that rubbish, they would care then, but that's more about reputation than the environment."

"They [employer] just don't care when it comes to the environment. It sounds awful, but in terms of the external environment they don't care. They care about their fleet of lorries."

As well as rarely discussing vehicle littering with their staff, the employers of the commercial drivers who took part in this research discourage their staff from bringing their rubbish back to the yard, depot or base. This may increase the likelihood of vehicle littering among staff, who feel a sense of pressure to remove rubbish from the vehicle before handing it over at the end of a shift, yet have been told not to use the bins on site to dispose of their waste. As such, it may be that commercial drivers are more likely to litter at the end of their shift, as it is at this time that they need to clear the vehicle before returning it, both to ensure that it is in a good condition, and that they don't need to use the onsite bins when finishing for the day.

"My boss has got the attitude of don't bring rubbish back to the yard. He doesn't like paying to get it emptied in the yard... his attitude is just get rid of the rubbish before you come back to the yard."

"It's [littering] on my way back usually to the depot. They inspect our vehicles, so they make sure they're to standard. It can affect your performance reviews if they say, "Your vehicle smells"."

Taken together, these insights may indicate that more value being placed in the organisations self-interests, rather than in external interests (e.g. the environment), affords a culture of littering among commercial drivers. Employers are not setting a precedent of concern for the environment, or actively discouraging littering behaviours, but instead prioritise their fleet of vehicles, their reputation, and reducing their waste disposal costs. As such, these values are filtered down to the staff, which may in turn enable, and encourage, vehicle littering behaviours among commercial drivers.

5.2.3 Situational factors associated with vehicle littering

Littering is the result of inadequate facilities

As previously mentioned, and in line with previous research, commercial drivers feel that the waste disposal facilities available to them are inadequate. Of those that have discarded their rubbish in laybys or at the side of the road, over three quarters (78%) said that there were no bins nearby, and

around seven in 10 (72%) said that there were bins, but they were full. Similarly, over seven in 10 (73%) litterers surveyed, who have thrown rubbish from their vehicle window, said that there were no bins nearby, and two thirds (67%) said that there were bins which were full.

These findings were reflected in the focus groups, with commercial drivers feeling that there are not enough bins, that the bins provided are too small/don't have enough capacity, and are not emptied often enough. What's more, because of their exposure to driving in other countries, some commercial drivers compare the bin infrastructure of this country to that of other (particularly European) countries, which, for them, affirms that the infrastructure within the UK is inadequate for maintaining environmental cleanliness.

"Most services in Europe have got huge bins that you can actually get stuff into... In the UK, you've got these tiny little bins, they don't cater for the fact that you've got coaches coming in that need to get rid of rubbish and you've got truck drivers that basically live in their trucks, as well that they're trying to get rid of rubbish. You've got tiny little bins all over the place."

"...in Germany, everything is immaculate, because of all the bins, there's loads of them and they're empty. It's a simple solution, isn't it?"

"If you want to improve things, improve the facilities... Make sure the bins are emptied properly. Make sure there's plenty of bins. In service stations, make sure they're huge bins. In laybys put a bin there, but make sure it's collected every day, that sort of thing."

Littering is more likely when drivers are alone in the vehicle

Three quarters (75%) of the commercial drivers surveyed who have left rubbish in a layby, and almost as many (73%) that have thrown rubbish from their vehicle window, say that they have chosen to do so at a time when they are alone in the vehicle. Since some commercial drivers spend a lot of time alone in the vehicle, it is likely that much of the time they are not 'choosing to be alone' when they litter, per se. Instead, it is more likely that they refrain from enacting the behaviour when others present. Refraining from littering from their vehicle when others are present may act as a means of preserving their professional image, ensuring that they appear as a respectable member of staff when in the company of colleagues.

"I think I once gave an area manager a lift somewhere once, because his car wasn't working. So, I wouldn't have done it in front of him obviously."

"So, I'm always on my own. Maybe if I was with someone else [a colleague], I might be a bit embarrassed, I guess."

Littering surreptitiously

Seven in 10 (70%) of the commercial drivers surveyed who have littered from their vehicle window, and a similar proportion (72%) that have littered in a layby, said that they chose to do so at a time when there were no other drivers around to see them do it. This was reflected in the focus groups, where commercial drivers expressed that they find places and methods to litter from their vehicle, which reduce the risk of being caught by an enforcement camera or a member of the public with a personal camera who may report them. In other words, commercial drivers make an active effort to go undetected in their littering behaviours. It is for this reason that the commercial drivers who participated in this research will often litter while moving, rather than when stationary, as this is perceived as reducing the likelihood of getting caught (on camera) for littering in this way.

"If I was going to do it, then I don't like to be seen throwing stuff from a vehicle... you don't want to be seen throwing, so you're going to do it surreptitiously, under the cover of darkness or on a blind bend, on a motorway services exit Go somewhere unseen basically."

"I wouldn't do it if I was stationary. It would be awkward, it would be like I'm watched. But at that speed when you're on the motorway, you can just drive away."

Littering in a work versus a personal vehicle

When asked, 41% of commercial drivers said that they would be *more likely to litter from their personal vehicle* than their work vehicle. Conversely, half that proportion (20%) said that they are *more likely to litter from their work vehicle* than their personal vehicle. The focus groups reflected these findings with the majority of commercial drivers stating that they would be more likely to litter from their personal vehicle. Whether somebody is more or less inclined to litter from their personal or work vehicle may have to do with the value they place on preserving certain aspects of their image, as well as avoiding the repercussions associated with violating that aspect of their image. To this end, drivers with a desire to maintain their professional image are less likely to litter from their work vehicle than their personal vehicle. These drivers do not want to get caught on camera, or face professional repercussions for having littered from their work vehicle, since this will impact their professional image (and therefore, potentially, their work).

On the other hand, however, others may place more value in maintaining the image held of them by friends or family members, and seek to avoid the repercussions that could ensue from violating

that image (e.g. being judged by family members). These drivers are therefore less likely to litter from their personal, as opposed to their work, vehicle.

"I think if you're in a work vehicle, my vehicle is livery, so it's got the company name on the side of it. So, I'd be less inclined to throw something out of that window [as opposed to personal vehicle window], because as someone mentioned before, members of the public are all too quick to do you in."

"I wouldn't do it [litter in personal vehicle] because I know the wife would kick off, so I wouldn't do it."

5.2.4 Deterrents to vehicle littering

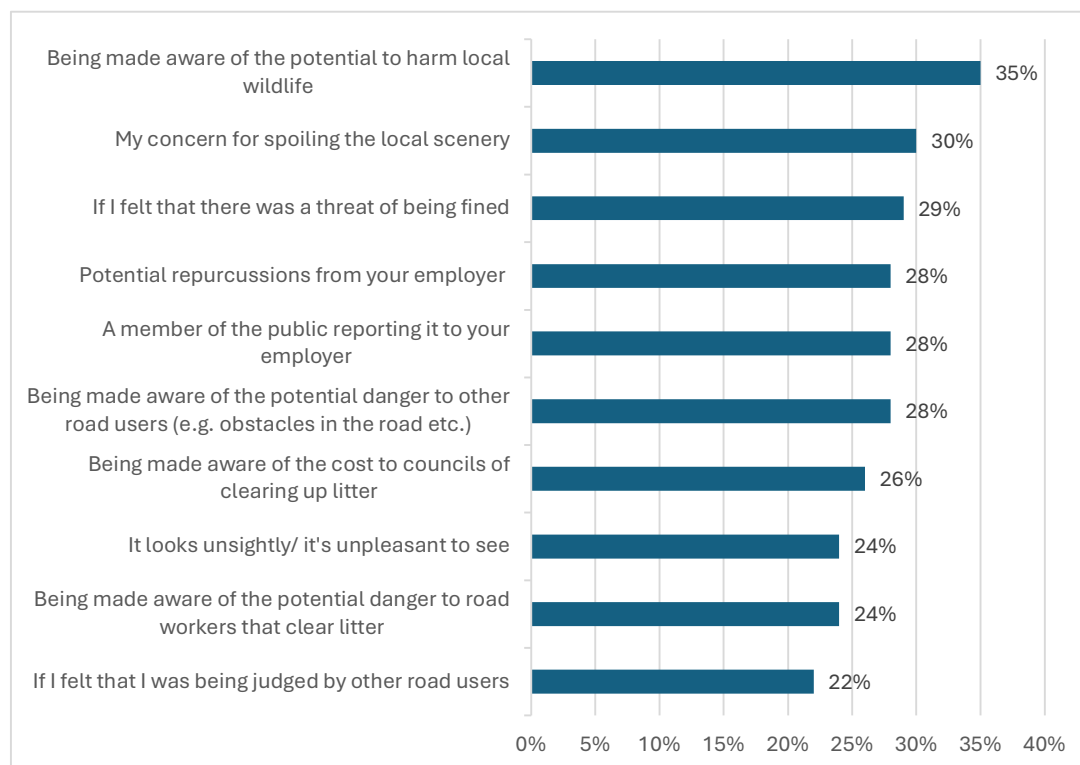
Harming wildlife and spoiling scenery deter vehicle littering

As shown in Figure 6, 'being made aware of the potential to harm local wildlife' is the most likely deterrent to discourage commercial drivers littering from their vehicle, with around a third (35%) of those surveyed saying so. While there was no specific mention of this within the focus groups, participants stated that littering their food waste aids wildlife by providing them food. Addressing this misconception, may therefore aid in reducing vehicle littering among this population.

"Of course, it [littering food] helps the wildlife, you get the foxes, the rats, they're biting away at the bins and all that.. They dive straight down and pick it up and take it back to their youngsters."

The second factor most likely to discourage commercial drivers from vehicle littering is their concern for spoiling the local scenery, with almost one in three (30%) saying as much. This aligns with the findings previously discussed, wherein the majority of commercial drivers surveyed feel that the cleanliness of public spaces is important to them. What's more, throughout the focus groups, it was evident that commercial drivers feel frustrated by the condition of our natural environment, due to the amount of rubbish accumulating within it. As such, highlighting the contradiction between caring for the local environment, while simultaneously harming it by littering, may aid in reducing the behaviour. Nevertheless, this should be approached with care (e.g. by using humour), so as not to elicit shame and thus provoke defensiveness among drivers.

Figure 6 – Factors that would act as a deterrent to vehicle littering among commercial drivers



Base: 505

Enforcement as a deterrent to vehicle littering

Over a quarter (29%) of commercial drivers surveyed would be discouraged from littering from their vehicle if they felt there was a threat of being fined. While not a majority, this makes enforcement among the three most likely deterrents to vehicle littering among commercial drivers. Despite 73% being aware that it is illegal to litter from their vehicle, a smaller proportion (52%) feel that it is likely that they would get caught and fined if they were to do so in the future. This discrepancy may give licence to the behaviour, for those who feel that there is little risk of repercussion. In order to tackle this issue, enforcement measures such as the use of cameras and issuing fines, may act to increase the perceived and actual 'threat' of enforcement and/or deter individuals from vehicle littering.

"I think the only way that would stop it is if you had a camera in a layby and you get fines like you would speeding offences or yellow boxes. That's the only way people stop doing stuff. If there was an ANPR camera in the layby that filmed that layby 24 hours a day, just for the aspect of rubbish, it would stop me doing it... We all know what it does to the environment, but there's no repercussions for it... the minute they start £100 fining you for throwing a can of Coke out the window, you're going to stop it, aren't you?"

As is the case with the general public, those who drive for work explicitly discussed enforcement as being an effective tool for reducing vehicle littering. This was also implicit throughout the discussions, since many drivers will litter at times where they feel the chance of being caught doing so (either by enforcement cameras, or a member of the public recording and reporting them), is reduced.

"I'll make sure it's a lane where there's no one around and have three or four looks [before littering]."

While enforcement may not act as a deterrent for all litterers, the threat of being caught and receiving a fine is undoubtedly a tool that should be utilised to reduce the instances of vehicle littering.

6. Conclusion

This research sought to understand the prevalence, motivations and barriers around vehicle littering behaviours among both the general public and commercial drivers in this country. A mixed methods approach was used, integrating surveys and focus groups to ensure a holistic understanding of the issue. The data gathered was compared to that of Keep Britain Tidy's previous report 'Understanding Vehicle Littering', which was produced in 2021. However, new insights and novel interpretations were also drawn out through this research process.

Vehicle littering remains a prevalent issue. Among those surveyed, the proportion of the general public who litter from their vehicle has slightly increased in the past five years, and this is also happening more frequently. Smelly, dirty and messy items remain the most likely items to be littered by this group, including fruit peels and chewing gum, since these items are less pleasant to have in the vehicle than other items which don't create a residue, or smell.

There are many psychological factors involved in the decision for drivers within the general public to litter from their vehicle. As highlighted in the focus groups, some items are seen as more acceptable to litter than others, with items such as cans being seen as less acceptable than others such as fruit cores/peels. The decision about whether an item is 'okay' to litter is rooted in the harm it may or may not cause to others or the environment, with more harmful items being seen as less acceptable to litter. One's emotional state when driving can also influence the likelihood of littering behaviours occurring, with negative emotions such as anger sometimes driving littering behaviour.

General public drivers expressed seeing their vehicle as an extension of themselves, and in order for it to represent their values of being clean and tidy, rubbish is removed (littered) from the vehicle. While these drivers value the cleanliness of their vehicle, they also care for the cleanliness of public spaces. As a result, littering leads to feelings of guilt, which are resolved by rationalising the behaviour in varying ways, allowing the behaviour to continue. Littering is also seen as the easiest, and most convenient way of dealing with waste, and reduces the mental load of waste disposal.

Situational factors including being alone in the vehicle, driving on quiet roads, and driving on long journeys increase the likelihood of vehicle littering among participants within the general public. A lack of facilities, such as a lack of bins, bins that don't have enough capacity, and bins not being emptied frequently enough, also make littering more likely among this group.

For this group, deterrents to the behaviour include being made aware of the harm that can be caused as a result of it. This may be to wildlife, the local scenery or to other road users.

Enforcement strategies, such as CCTV and penalties, are also likely to deter this group from littering from their vehicles.

The proportion of commercial drivers surveyed who admit to littering from their vehicles has declined in the past five years, though the behaviour remains more prevalent among this group than the general public. This group, however, are more likely to gather a wider variety of items within their vehicle which may ultimately be littered. Nevertheless, food items including those which smell and leave residue in the vehicle remain among the most likely to be littered.

Commercial drivers may litter as a means of preserving their professional image, by ensuring that the vehicle is clear of rubbish when with clients or colleagues. Enacting this behaviour results in feelings of guilt among this group also, though they resolve this feeling by placing the responsibility on external factors such as a lack of facilities (though, importantly, in some instances a lack of facilities creates a genuine perceived need to litter which should be recognised).

Commercial drivers, particularly HGV drivers, who took part in this research, expressed a shared narrative around inadequate facilities as being the reason for their littering behaviours. This, along with a lack of guidance and leadership from their employers around this issue, may result in a culture of littering within this group. As with drivers among the general public, commercial drivers express littering as being the easiest way of disposing of their waste, reducing the mental load of having to deal with it more responsibly.

As mentioned, a lack of facilities sometimes poses a genuine challenge for commercial drivers in being able to dispose of their waste correctly (particularly when disposing of waste such as black water). However, other situational factors such as being alone in the vehicle, being in a moving vehicle, and out of sight of other road users and/or cameras (as much as possible), also increase the likelihood of littering behaviours among commercial drivers.

This group are also most likely to be deterred from littering if made aware of the harm that may be caused to wildlife and the local scenery as a result of the behaviour. Enforcement is also seen as an effective deterrent to vehicle littering among commercial drivers.

Overall, these findings highlight that a mixture of psychological and situational factors afford the behaviour of vehicle littering among both the general public and commercial drivers. While there are similarities in the motivations and possible deterrents for each group, there are also nuances.

As such, tackling this behaviour will likely require a multi-pronged, targeted approach which looks to address different groups, and different motivations for littering, using varying approaches.

7. Recommendations

Communications

- Both groups experience feelings of guilt after littering from their vehicle, as a result of behaving in a way which contradicts their values of caring for the cleanliness of public spaces. To deal with these uncomfortable feelings, drivers justify their littering behaviours by minimising them, relieving themselves of responsibility (i.e. blaming others/systemic factors), or comparing themselves positively against others who litter 'more'. Using this knowledge campaigns/interventions may look to:
 - Highlight the disparity among drivers (both commercial drivers and those within the general public) in wanting to maintain a tidy vehicle (which promotes littering), while also valuing the cleanliness of public spaces. For instance, this may be achieved through bringing awareness to the ways in which littering impacts the cleanliness of the local environment.
 - Expose the flawed nature of frequently used justifications for participating in vehicle littering. For example, showcasing that there are always responsible ways to dispose of waste regardless of situational factors (e.g. bins being full), or signalling that all littering is harmful, no matter how much is littered/how often.
 - Harness the feeling of guilt being experienced by vehicle litterers by tapping into moral issues such as harm caused to the local environment, wildlife, and/or other road users, as a result of the behaviour. Guilt is more likely to be experienced when non-degradable items (e.g. bottles, cans etc) are littered, as they are perceived to be more harmful. Campaigns could harness this by focussing on these types of items (e.g. in the imagery used).
- Both groups value the opinions of others, and avoid littering in front of certain people in order to maintain a positive public or professional image, so as not to be seen in a negative light (e.g. the general public may not litter in front a family member, and commercial drivers may not do so in front of a colleague). Campaigns/interventions may draw on this knowledge, by presenting messaging which highlights the negative perceptions that others have of vehicle littering, to drivers. Further research to explore public perceptions of vehicle litterers and the organisations/businesses they represent may be conducted to inform this type of campaign/intervention.
- All drivers who litter, do so in locations where they are less likely to be seen (either by an enforcement camera or a member of the public who may record and report them). As such, messaging to increase the perception among drivers that they could be seen or caught littering, should be placed strategically in these locations. For example, placing campaign messaging on quiet and/or rural roads.

- Both the general public and commercial drivers continue to feel that they are helping to feed the local wildlife by littering food from their vehicle. However, both groups also ranked 'being made aware of the potential to harm local wildlife' as being most likely to deter them from engaging in the behaviour. Campaigns/interventions which address this misconception may therefore aid in reducing the littering of food items.
- When designing campaign messaging and/or interventions, be mindful that drivers experience negative emotions such as anger, frustration and overstimulation, which can trigger vehicle littering. Avoid creating campaign messaging and/or interventions which elicit these emotions and/or exacerbate the negative emotions drivers may already be feeling (identified through user testing).
- Campaign messaging which normalises the unwanted behaviour can increase its prevalence. Ensure that any communications developed to deter vehicle littering among both the general public and commercial drivers, do not inadvertently normalise the behaviour by creating the impression that most people currently litter in this way. Normative messaging should focus on the correct behaviour (responsible waste disposal) as being the norm, with littering being a deviation from this (i.e. people who litter are going against the norm of responsible waste disposal).
- Currently, there is little recollection of anti-littering campaigns and/or messaging among both groups (though this is particularly evident among the general public). Going forward, ensure that campaign messaging and/or interventions are memorable by utilising salient visual elements (colours, fonts, imagery), as well as (where possible) emotive elements (imagery, language). Use these elements to create simple, clear and impactful messaging, that drivers can recall/remember easily.

Facilities

While it is recognised that National Highways may not be able to influence the provision of facilities/infrastructure in many locations (due to local authority/private ownership), the following changes to facilities may aid in reducing vehicle littering:

- Where possible, improve bin infrastructure (by working with local authorities/ landowners where necessary) to provide more bins, and bins with increased capacity, particularly in key locations such as laybys on quiet, rural roads, or near industrial parks where commercial drivers may be likely to litter from their vehicle before returning to their depot. Research may be conducted to identify heavily littered areas where the installation of these facilities can and/or should be prioritised.
- Where possible, clear litter around existing bins to reduce the visibility of litter (which attracts more litter) in the environment. As feasible, work to increase the frequency of litter removal to ensure that litter on the roads is kept to a minimum, to avoid perpetuating the perception that littering is a social norm.

Engaging with employers

- Where possible, engage with companies that employ commercial drivers (particularly HGV drivers), to encourage the prioritisation of responsible waste disposal across the workforce. In doing so, highlight the risks to the organisation as a result of incorrect disposal behaviours (e.g. reputational damage, health and safety issues associated with litter), as well as the opportunities around corporate social responsibility. Promote practical solutions such as the use of in-vehicle bins, which can be easily removed from the vehicle at the end of each shift, helping to embed consistent responsible disposal habits. This recommendation may be achieved through direct contact with companies that employ commercial drivers, or via an industry body (e.g. Road Haulage Association [RHA], Logistics UK).

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