

Driving sustainable change in antimicrobial prescribing practice – How can social and behavioural sciences help?

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Short running title: Applying behavioural and social science to antimicrobial stewardship

1 **SYNOPSIS**

2 Addressing the growing threat of antimicrobial resistance is in part reliant on the complex challenge
3 of changing human behaviour- in terms of reducing inappropriate antibiotic use and preventing
4 infection. Whilst there is no ‘one size fits all’ recommended behavioural solution for improving
5 antimicrobial stewardship, the behavioural and social sciences offer a range of theories, frameworks,
6 methods and evidence-based principles that can help inform the design of behaviour change
7 interventions that are context-specific and thus more likely to be effective. However the state-of-the
8 art in antimicrobial stewardship research and practice suggests that behavioural and social influences
9 are often not given due consideration in the design and evaluation of interventions to improve
10 antimicrobial prescribing. In this paper, we discuss four potential areas where the behavioural and
11 social sciences can help drive more effective and sustained behaviour change in antimicrobial
12 stewardship: 1) defining the problem in behavioural terms and understanding current behaviour in
13 context; 2) adopting a theory-driven, systematic approach to intervention design; 3) investigating
14 implementation and sustainability of interventions in practice; and 4) maximising learning through
15 evidence synthesis and detailed intervention reporting.

16 **Key words:** antimicrobial stewardship, prescribing practice, behaviour change, behavioural science,
17 social science, behaviour change intervention

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30 **BACKGROUND**

31 In healthcare, gaps remain between clinical practice and recommendations based on evidence, policy,
32 and guidelines.⁽¹⁾ Antimicrobial prescribing is no exception to this, with many studies documenting
33 overuse and/or misuse of these vital agents in both secondary and primary care. ^(2, 3) Interventions to
34 promote prudent use of antimicrobials are collectively referred to as antimicrobial stewardship
35 programmes (ASPs). ASPs aim to ensure effective treatments for patients with infection, whilst
36 reducing unnecessary or inappropriate antimicrobial use.⁽⁴⁾ There is accumulating evidence that ASPs
37 are safe and effective.⁽⁵⁻¹⁰⁾ The most recent Cochrane review of 221 studies of interventions to
38 improve antibiotic prescribing practices for hospital inpatients **reported** high-certainty evidence that
39 ASPs can effectively increase compliance with antimicrobial policies, reduce length of hospital
40 admissions, and duration of antibiotic treatment, without increasing mortality. ⁽¹¹⁾

41 In light of this evidence, conducting additional trials to answer the question of ‘*whether or not ASPs*
42 *are effective*’ is unlikely to contribute useful new knowledge; instead future work should focus on
43 addressing the limitations and uncertainties surrounding existing stewardship interventions.⁽¹¹⁾ For
44 example, a key conclusion from the Cochrane review was that few interventions employed
45 behavioural theory or behaviour change techniques. ^(11, 12) While biomedical sciences are often the
46 primary drivers of healthcare, other disciplines also have an important role in helping change practices
47 and behaviours that influence health.⁽¹³⁾ Indeed, variation in patterns of antibiotic usage persist, that
48 are unlikely to be explained by biomedical mechanisms alone.^(2, 3) Behaviour change is also key to
49 tackling the growing problem of antimicrobial resistance, in terms of reducing inappropriate antibiotic
50 use and preventing infection.⁽¹²⁾ Despite this, systematic reviews of ASPs as well as a recent report by
51 the Department of Health and Social Care and Public Health in England have **shown** that behavioural
52 and social influences are often not given due consideration in the design and evaluations of ASPs.⁽¹⁴⁻
53 ¹⁶⁾

54 There have thus been calls for the urgent need to adopt a multidisciplinary approach to antimicrobial
55 stewardship, involving relevant expertise from the behavioural and social sciences.⁽¹⁵⁾ Behavioural
56 and social sciences cover a wide range of academic disciplines and research specialities, including but

57 not limited to: psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science.⁽¹³⁾ Collectively,
58 such disciplines provide theories, models, and methods for a more comprehensive and coherent
59 approach to behaviour and behaviour change, which take into account the wide-ranging contextual,
60 organisational and interpersonal determinants of behaviour in order to explain why people behave in
61 certain ways.⁽¹³⁾ Thereby representing an alternative, but complementary approach to large scale
62 quality improvement thinking and practice.⁽¹⁷⁾

63 In this paper, we discuss the potential means by which behavioural and social sciences can contribute
64 towards driving sustainable behaviour change in antimicrobial prescribing practice. We focus on four
65 key elements of the process of developing and evaluating complex behaviour change interventions: 1)
66 defining the problem in behavioural terms and understanding current behaviour in context; 2)
67 adopting a theory-driven, systematic approach to intervention design; 3) investigating implementation
68 and sustainability of interventions in practice; and 4) maximising learning through evidence synthesis
69 and detailed intervention reporting. We discuss antimicrobial stewardship across sectors, including
70 secondary care, primary care, and other clinical areas where practical implementation and behaviour
71 change concerns have been raised.

72 **1. Defining the problem in behavioural terms and understanding current behaviour in** 73 **context**

74 Interventions to change healthcare professional behaviours are often designed without an explicit
75 rationale for the selection of a specific intervention strategy.⁽¹⁸⁾ Rather, interventions are frequently
76 designed on the basis of intuitive ‘hunches’ or ‘best guesses’ of what needs to change.⁽¹⁹⁾ Often these
77 represent a set of arguably naïve assumptions that dissemination of guidelines, introduction of new
78 policies, or delivery of education will be sufficient to enable sustained behaviour change.^(20, 21)
79 However, one would not prescribe a particular medication without first assessing patient symptoms,
80 and using this diagnosis as a basis for selecting the treatment that is most likely to be effective.
81 Similarly, a key recommendation from the behavioural and social sciences is that interventions to
82 change behaviour should also be designed on the basis of a thorough ‘behavioural diagnosis’ of why
83 behaviours are as they are and what needs to change in order to bring about the desired behaviour.⁽²²⁾

84 This is particularly important for antimicrobial stewardship - an arguably highly complex set of
85 behaviours. It involves multiple actions, performed at different time points across the care continuum,
86 including: adhering to guidelines, assessing benefit/risk, decision-making around initiation (drug
87 choice, route, dose, duration, and timely drug administration) and review (switching or stopping) of
88 treatment.⁽¹²⁾ Moreover, antimicrobial stewardship is an inter-professional effort involving a range of
89 healthcare professionals from different clinical specialties and of different levels of seniority (e.g.
90 senior and junior physicians, nurses, pharmacists).⁽⁴⁾ The influences on these different behaviours are
91 likely to be wide-ranging and to vary within and across different healthcare professionals, and
92 different organisations across sectors of health care delivery;⁽²³⁾ emphasising the need for a tailored
93 approach to improvement.⁽²⁾

94 Therefore, **the behavioural and social sciences recommend that** an essential first step is to be clear as
95 to whose and which behaviours are being targeted for change. Vaguely specified target behaviours,
96 such as ‘infection control’ do not provide the behavioural specificity and precision required for an
97 informative behavioural analysis or targeted intervention.^(22, 24) Rather, it is necessary to describe the
98 ‘problem’ of interest as precisely as possible in behavioural terms, that is: *who*, needs to do *what*
99 differently, to *whom*, where and *when*.⁽²²⁾ A behaviourally specific example in the context of
100 stewardship is: ‘Surgeons [*who*] working on the cardiac surgery ward [*where*] stopping antibiotics
101 [*what*] 24 hours after surgery [*when*] for coronary artery bypass graft patients [*whom*].⁽²⁵⁾ Such more
102 precisely specified behaviours are also easier to measure, and therefore offer a baseline and metric for
103 evaluating the success of an intervention.⁽²⁴⁾

104 Conducting a behavioural diagnosis is facilitated by the use of theory. Clinical practice is a form of
105 human behaviour, which can be understood through conducting empirical research and the application
106 of theories from the behavioural and social sciences that have been used to explain or predict
107 behaviour in the general population.^(26, 27) However, **though multiple behaviour change theories are**
108 **available, systematic procedures for selecting one theory over another are only now beginning to**
109 **emerge⁽²⁸⁾. Moreover, many non-specialists find the whole area ‘mystifying’.**⁽²⁹⁾

110 In turn, behavioural and social scientists have invested in efforts to synthesise available theories and
111 frameworks, in order to reduce complexity resulting from the overlap between individual theories, and
112 increase the accessibility of theory. Two examples of such synthesis efforts are the COM-B model
113 and the Theoretical Domains Framework (TDF), which were developed by synthesising a core set of
114 33 behaviour change theories (Figure 1; Table 1).^(22, 26, 30, 31) COM-B is a simple model of behaviour,
115 which postulates that three basic pre-conditions must be met in order for behaviour to occur: an
116 individual has to have the Capability (i.e. knowledge and skills), Motivation, and Opportunity
117 (physical and social) to perform the behaviour ⁽³⁰⁾ (Figure 1). These COM-B components can be
118 further elaborated into 14 Theoretical Domains, which represent the range of potential factors
119 influencing behaviour (i.e. barriers/enablers). These range from individual knowledge, skills,
120 memory, attention, decision-making, beliefs about capabilities and consequences, goals, and
121 emotions, to broader physical and social contextual factors, including resource availability and social
122 norms, professional boundaries/roles, etc. (Table 1).

123 **[Figure 1 Here]**

124 Both COM-B and the TDF has been applied to conduct behavioural diagnoses of ‘what needs to
125 change’ for numerous clinical behaviours.⁽³²⁾ In the context of antimicrobial stewardship, the TDF has
126 been used to design surveys and semi-structured interview topic guides to explore the factors
127 influencing antimicrobial prescribing across various healthcare settings, including hospitals, general
128 dental practice and long-term cares facilities.^(23, 33-35) Table 1 illustrates examples of barriers/enablers
129 within each of 14 TDF domains using findings from these studies; representing the role that each
130 domain plays in hindering and/or enabling changes to antimicrobial prescribing.

131 **[Table 1 here]**

132 It is particularly critical to recognise that individual behaviour occurs in a wider social and cultural
133 context. A number of studies have applied social science methodologies and analytical approaches to
134 study antimicrobial prescribing,^(36, 37) to diagnose the socio-cultural influences on behaviour. Charani
135 *et al's* study of prescribing in secondary care,⁽³⁷⁾ showed that antimicrobial prescribing decisions are
136 heavily shaped by hierarchies and ‘prescribing etiquette’- a set of unwritten social rules that

137 healthcare professionals recognise and abide by – that over-rule policy and guidelines.⁽³⁷⁾ Similarly, a
138 recent qualitative study of antimicrobial decision making in surgery ⁽³⁸⁾ reported that surgical teams
139 often faced multiple competing priorities alongside resource constraints, resulting in the responsibility
140 for, and communication about, antimicrobial decision making becoming diffuse and uncoordinated.
141 Understanding how different clinical teams operate, and what demands they must face given available
142 resources, is key to designing ASPs that not only target drivers of individual behaviour change, but
143 also address the underlying socio-cultural factors that shape behaviour.

144 Collectively, the evidence generated by these studies illustrate that there is no single, uniform
145 influence on antimicrobial prescribing. Rather, these findings support the notion that antimicrobial
146 prescribing is a complex behaviour influenced by an equally complex combination of factors.⁽³⁹⁾

147 **2. Adopting a theory-driven, systematic approach to intervention design**

148 Conducting such behavioural diagnoses of the underpinning factors that drive behaviour can inform
149 the design of targeted interventions. Interventions are more likely to be effective if they are tailored to
150 the context of interest, and include components that target the key influences on behaviour and
151 behaviour change.⁽⁴⁰⁾ For instance, providing education around antimicrobial stewardship is only
152 likely to be effective if the key barrier is a deficit in knowledge. Table 1 demonstrates that the factors
153 influencing antibiotic prescribing extend beyond knowledge; highlighting the importance of
154 considering additional intervention strategies and techniques that consider the broader social and
155 environmental context.

156 The Medical Research Council guidance for developing and evaluating complex interventions
157 advocates taking a systematic, theoretically-based approach to intervention design.^(41, 42) However, the
158 guidance provides limited recommendations as to how to do this. The behavioural and social sciences
159 offer a range of methods and recently developed, inter-related frameworks that aim to help
160 intervention designers to systematically move from behavioural diagnosis to intervention
161 development in a theoretically-informed way.^(22, 24)

162 For example, the Behaviour Change Wheel (BCW) (Figure 2) ⁽³⁰⁾ is an increasingly used behavioural
163 science framework that was developed to promote a structured, theory- and evidence-based approach
164 to designing behaviour change interventions. In order to identify the type of intervention that is likely
165 to be effective, it is important to consider the full range of options and techniques available and use a
166 rational system for selecting from among them. This requires an appropriate method/framework for
167 characterising or describing interventions and synergistically linking them to an understanding of the
168 target behaviour. The BCW and associated behaviour change technique taxonomy offer such
169 frameworks.^(22, 30, 43) The BCW was developed from a synthesis of 19 behaviour change frameworks.
170 At the hub of the BCW is the COM-B model and Theoretical Domains Framework (Figure 2). These
171 are surrounded by nine intervention functions (i.e. broad types of intervention strategies; e.g.
172 environmental restructuring, enablement, persuasion), alongside seven policy domains to support
173 intervention implementation (i.e. guidelines, legislation).⁽³⁰⁾ Intervention functions are made up of
174 smaller component behaviour change techniques (e.g. goal setting, action planning, problem solving).
175 The taxonomy defines 93 discrete behaviour change techniques, each with accompanying criteria for
176 its operationalisation. As different functions and techniques are likely to be more or less effective in
177 targeting different types of influences on behaviour, matrices have been developed based on expert-
178 behavioural science consensus, which pair functions from the BCW and techniques from the
179 taxonomy with the COM-B/TDF domains they are most likely to be effective in targeting.

180 **[Figure 2 here]**

181 These frameworks therefore interlink to form eight steps for moving systematically and
182 synergistically from initial behavioural diagnosis to intervention design (Figure 3). Potentially all
183 functions from the BCW could be relevant to improving stewardship, depending on what factors are
184 shown to be driving stewardship related behaviours in a behavioural diagnosis. This appears to be the
185 case; given the aforementioned studies that used the TDF to explore factors influencing antimicrobial
186 prescribing identified at least one barriers/enablers across all 14 domains. This is illustrated in the
187 examples provided in Table 2., whereby the aforementioned studies consulted the BCW and
188 taxonomy to identify potential intervention functions and techniques that are likely to be most

189 effective in addressing the key barriers and enablers identified by their behavioural diagnosis (Table
190 1).^(23, 33-35)

191 [Figure 3 here]

192 [Table 2 here]

193 Interventions will be more impactful if the socio-cultural context for behaviour is also considered.
194 For example, Charani *et al's* ⁽³⁸⁾ findings suggest that in order to optimise antimicrobial prescribing,
195 intervention strategies need to engage specialties outside infection disease and microbiology, and to
196 engage senior doctors and opinion leaders to engender a shift in norms and expectations. Local and
197 national cultural influences on prescribing need to be initially understood, recognised, and
198 subsequently incorporated into local policy and practice to bolster interventions targeting individual
199 practice.

200 Although behavioural and social science theories, methods and frameworks have primarily been
201 applied in such a 'bottom-up' approach to designing interventions, they also have value in refining
202 existing interventions. Indeed, a common scenario in healthcare quality improvement is not that of
203 'starting from scratch' to design new interventions, but rather, of having existing interventions that
204 have already been implemented in practice, yet have achieved only modest or inconsistent success,
205 and may thus benefit from refinement. A pre-requisite for identifying potential refinements is fully
206 specifying the current intervention and the behaviour change techniques it incorporates. For example,
207 Steinmo *et al.* ⁽⁴⁴⁾ aimed to improve a multi-component intervention to increase the implementation of
208 a sepsis care bundle that had been implemented with moderate success within three pilot wards of a
209 UK hospital. To specify the existing intervention, they observed the intervention being delivered and
210 conducted a content analysis of the intervention materials; applying the BCW and taxonomy to
211 characterise the intervention in terms of intervention functions and techniques. They found 19
212 behaviour change techniques (e.g. prompts/cues, instruction on how to perform the behaviour) and
213 seven intervention functions (e.g. education, enablement, training).⁽⁴⁵⁾ They then used the TDF to
214 conduct interviews with intervention designers, providers, and recipients to characterise the

215 intervention's potential theoretical mechanisms of action and barriers/enablers to its implementation.
216 On the basis of their findings, they were able to propose a number of theory-based modifications to
217 the intervention package, including: changes to the existing staff education programme to address
218 fears about harming patients (e.g. with intravenous fluid) (i.e. behaviour change technique:
219 'information about health consequences'), and provision of sepsis equipment bags to Night Co-
220 ordinators, who previously reported lack of access to the necessary equipment as a key barrier (i.e.
221 behaviour change technique: 'adding objects to the environment').⁽⁴⁶⁾

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223 Importantly, development of antimicrobial stewardship interventions can benefit from drawing on
224 broader research that provides evidence of how to optimise particular types of behaviour change
225 interventions. A frequently used strategy in ASPs is audit and feedback,⁽⁶⁾ defined as 'providing a
226 summary of the clinical performance of healthcare provider(s) over a specified time period.'⁽⁴⁷⁾ There
227 is a growing body of evidence as to what makes for more effective audit and feedback,⁽⁴⁸⁾ and
228 recommendations for optimising the design and delivery of feedback.⁽⁴⁹⁾ For example, a Cochrane
229 review of the effects of audit and feedback on healthcare professional practice showed that feedback
230 is more likely to be effective when it is: 1) delivered using multiple modalities (e.g. textual and
231 graphic); 2) provided more than once (i.e. up to monthly, repeated feedback); 3) delivered by a trusted
232 colleague or supervisor; 4) targeted at behaviours where there is significant room for improvement
233 (i.e. baseline performance of targeted clinical practice behaviours is low, < 75%, but stronger effects
234 observed if less than < 25 % compliance); and 5) accompanied by explicit recommendations for
235 changing practice (i.e. goals and action plans).⁽⁴⁸⁾ Such findings represent a generalizable body of
236 evidence from the broader behaviour change literature that intervention designers can draw upon to
237 inform how best to deliver a particular type of intervention component or technique in the context of
238 antimicrobial stewardship to maximise likely effectiveness.

239 There is growing evidence to support the effectiveness of antimicrobial stewardship interventions
240 designed on the basis of behavioural theory and evidence. For example, one intervention based on
241 Social Learning Theory aiming to increase primary care clinicians' motivation and confidence to

242 change their prescribing practice resulted in significant reductions in all cause antibiotic prescribing in
243 over one year, with no accompanying significant changes to hospital admissions, repeat consultations
244 or costs.^(15, 50)

245 **3. Investigating implementation and sustainability of interventions in practice**

246 Interventions to change clinical practice, such as ASPs, are increasingly complex - involving multiple
247 components, targeting multiple groups and levels in the health system, across multiple
248 organisations.⁽⁵¹⁾ They are also highly context-dependent.⁽⁵²⁾ Combined, these factors increase an
249 intervention's susceptibility to variable implementation. As such, once an intervention has been
250 designed, it cannot be assumed that it will be faithfully and consistently delivered and responded to as
251 intended when implemented on scale.⁽⁴²⁾ Nor can it be assumed that an intervention that is shown to
252 lead to initial changes in practice will sustain over the longer-term, or will be equally effective when
253 replicated in new settings. In one example, an evaluation of an educational outreach antimicrobial
254 stewardship intervention found an initial decrease in use of a target antibiotic; however, after seven
255 years the intervention was stopped due to resource constraints. Within two years of the intervention
256 ending antibiotic use and costs increased.⁽⁵³⁾ Similar **unsustained** effects have been observed for
257 interventions to improve implementation of sepsis care bundles; with one programme achieving initial
258 implementation levels of 39% which rapidly reduced to 23% within a year.^(54, 55)

259 Investigating implementation and sustainability of interventions in practice is often the focus of
260 process evaluations, which aim to examine 'how' and 'why' interventions succeed or fail in attaining
261 target outcomes.⁽⁴²⁾ The benefits of conducting process evaluations are widely recognised.⁽⁵¹⁾ In
262 addition to faults in intervention design, interventions may achieve limited effects because the
263 intervention is implemented with inadequate fidelity (i.e., not strictly as intended), with inappropriate
264 'dosage' or intensity, with poor coverage of target participants or services – and so on. Conversely,
265 interventions may achieve intended outcomes despite inconsistent or poor implementation.⁽⁴²⁾
266 Interventions may also have unintended or unexpected consequences on a service or organisation,
267 which typically extend beyond the initial remit of changing a behaviour or improving a practice.⁽⁵⁶⁾
268 Process evaluations can thus assess programme fidelity as well as barriers and facilitators to

269 implementation. Such findings can increase scientific confidence by enabling more accurate
270 interpretation of intervention outcomes.

271 The UK Medical Research Council has recently also published updated guidance for designing and
272 conducting process evaluations for complex interventions, which was led by social and behavioural
273 scientists.⁽⁴²⁾ Process evaluations frequently use behavioural and social science methods,
274 including:ethnography (i.e. in-depth observational study of practices and behaviours in their natural
275 settings) and qualitative and interviews.⁽⁵¹⁾ For example, an ethnographic process evaluation of
276 *Matching Michigan*,⁽⁵⁷⁾ a UK national programme to reduce central line infections in intensive care
277 units (ICUs) modelled on a successful US programme to change behaviour and culture, reported
278 challenges in replicating the core components of the programme. It also highlighted how the impact of
279 the program was modified by the national and local context. Engagement with the program overall
280 was undermined by a history of national infection control policies coupled with heavy-handed use of
281 performance management-based strategies. Impact of the programme at the level of individual ICUs
282 was influenced by the unit's past experience of quality improvement, local culture, leadership, and the
283 quality of data collection and feedback systems.⁽⁵⁸⁾

284 An additional example of a process evaluation is a qualitative study of a programme to improve sepsis
285 detection and management through the implementation of the Sepsis Six care bundle, using
286 ethnographic methods.^(59, 60) This study showed that hospitals used effective implementation strategies
287 to change behaviours through engaging, reminding, and educating staff. These strategies targeted
288 staff's motivation, recall and capability to complete the Sepsis Six care bundle within the target
289 timeframe. However, staff also faced additional unanticipated challenges that arose from difficulties
290 in coordinating multiple interdependent tasks, prioritisation, and scheduling. This highlighted the need
291 for additional strategies to increase implementation, such as allocating specific roles and
292 responsibilities for completing the Sepsis Six in ways that reduced the need for coordination and task
293 switching, and the use of process mapping to identify system failures along the trajectory.⁽⁵⁹⁾

294 Collectively such findings demonstrate barriers to implementation of interventions and the work
295 required to embed an intervention in practice; issues that may be overlooked in developing strategies

296 for widespread and sustained improvements. A key lesson to learn from these examples is that
297 interventions may not be implemented in practice as intended, and improvements may be impeded by
298 unanticipated contextual factors or barriers arising from local systems and cultures. As such assessing
299 implementation using social scientific methods is vital for enabling successful and sustainable
300 implementation of interventions.

301 **4. Evidence synthesis and detailed intervention reporting**

302 A final area where behavioural and social sciences can contribute to behaviour change in
303 antimicrobial stewardship is through maximising potential learning, by supporting evidence syntheses
304 and improved intervention reporting. A frequent finding from systematic reviews is that the
305 effectiveness of behaviour change interventions is highly variable, with limited clarity as to what
306 makes one intervention more effective than another.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The application of behavioural and social
307 sciences theories and frameworks in evidence syntheses can help disentangle observed heterogeneity
308 to identify the ‘active ingredients’ of interventions that are associated with increased effect
309 estimates.⁽⁶¹⁾

310 For example, in the Cochrane review of ASPs the main comparison was between any intervention to
311 improve antibiotic prescribing for hospital versus standard practice (i.e. no intervention).⁽¹¹⁾ To
312 explore heterogeneity, the Behaviour Change Wheel (BCW)⁽³⁰⁾ was applied as a coding framework to
313 classify the functions of included interventions, as described in published reports, and the behaviour
314 change technique taxonomy⁽⁴³⁾ was used to identify and characterise the components of included
315 interventions. Analyses of effect modifiers in 29 randomized controlled trials and 91 interrupted time
316 series studies **showed** that interventions which included either the BCW function ‘enablement’ or
317 ‘restriction’ were associated with greater improvements in outcomes, and interventions including both
318 functions had cumulative effects. The ability to identify which specific intervention components were
319 associated with increased effectiveness was limited by the fact that few studies included behaviour
320 change techniques, such as goal setting or action planning. However, enabling interventions that also
321 included the behaviour change technique ‘feedback on behaviour’ were shown to be more effective
322 than those that did not include feedback.⁽¹¹⁾ Such findings go beyond addressing the issue of whether

323 ASPs are effective, and point to the specific types of interventions and components that contribute to
324 effectiveness. The inclusion of such functions and techniques in the design of future ASPs, or the
325 refinement of existing ASPs, has the potential to maximise likely effectiveness.

326 What we can learn from syntheses of the published literature is, however, often limited by the
327 systemic issue of sub-optimal, sometimes cursory, reporting of behavioural interventions.⁽⁶²⁾ Reviews
328 have **shown** that on average only 50% of the original intervention components are fully described in
329 published reports.^(63, 64) Where detail is provided, this typically concerns the delivery parameters of the
330 intervention rather than specifics around the intervention content and underlying theory. Furthermore,
331 variable terminology is often used, with different labels applied interchangeably to describe the same
332 component **techniques in behavioural interventions** (e.g. ‘daily diaries’ **versus** ‘self-monitoring’).⁽⁶²⁾ As
333 a result, the content of complex behaviour change interventions has been referred to as ‘black
334 boxes.’⁽⁶²⁾ This applies to descriptions of ASPs. **The Cochrane review of ASPs reported** that the
335 majority of published descriptions lacked critical detail about the design, characteristics and delivery
336 of intervention.^(5, 12)

337 Poor or inadequate reporting of behavioural interventions contrasts with descriptions of
338 pharmacological interventions, where the formula, dose, and mechanisms of action are typically
339 reported with precision. There have thus been calls to increase the scientific reporting of behavioural
340 interventions to enable more accurate interpretation and evidence syntheses.⁽⁶²⁾ Comprehensive
341 intervention descriptions are also a pre-requisite for replication and implementation of interventions.
342 It is thus important that future studies reporting ASPs fully and transparently report their
343 interventions, and clearly and consistently label the components. There are a number of tools and
344 frameworks available to facilitate this. Guidelines and reporting checklists have been developed to
345 promote more complete reporting of behavioural interventions.^(65, 66) For instance, the TIDieR
346 checklist (i.e. **T**emplate for **I**ntervention **D**escription and **R**eplication)⁽⁶⁷⁾ recommends including
347 descriptions of: ‘why’ (i.e. intervention rationale, theory, aims), ‘what’ (i.e. materials, procedures,
348 content), ‘who’ (i.e. provider), ‘how,’ ‘where,’ ‘when and how much,’ ‘tailoring,’ ‘modifications,’
349 and ‘how well’ (i.e. extent of implementation as intended). Specifying the ‘what’ (i.e. content of

350 interventions) can be facilitated by using the behaviour change technique taxonomy to describe the
351 techniques constituting the intervention package.⁽⁴³⁾ The taxonomy was developed to provide a
352 common language, including standardised technique labels and precise definitions, through which to
353 describe the components of behavioural interventions. It has been used to identify and characterise the
354 content of behavioural interventions across a range of contexts.⁽²²⁾

355

356 **Summary and Recommendations**

357 The success of ASPs is reliant on the complex challenge of changing human behaviour.⁽²⁾ Yet the
358 majority of current quality improvement research and practice in antimicrobial stewardship has not
359 drawn adequately upon the behavioural and social sciences to help address this challenge.⁽¹⁴⁾ In order
360 to make best use of what are often limited quality improvement and research resources, it is necessary
361 to consider how to maximise the potential impact of ASPs. In this paper, we discussed four potential
362 areas where the behavioural and social sciences can help drive sustained behaviour change in
363 antibiotic prescribing. The aim is not to provide ‘magic bullets’ to solving the problem of
364 antimicrobial use in secondary care. It is important to recognise that these disciplines cannot offer a
365 ‘one size fits all’ recommendation for improving stewardship behaviours, nor would they wish to do
366 so. The overarching principle and recommendation is that any strategy to change behaviour should be
367 targeted and context specific, and informed by an understanding of the factors influencing the
368 behaviour of interest.

369 Nonetheless, regardless of context, healthcare quality improvement almost always requires change,
370 typically behaviour change. The behavioural and social sciences offer general recommendations as to
371 how to approach behaviour change in a structured, theory- and evidence-informed way that is more
372 likely to be effective. These include:

- 373 • Avoid **‘rushing’ to intervention**. Often those working in quality improvement skip straight
374 to ‘doing’ or ‘trying something’ (i.e. intervening) without first considering their rationale for
375 their choice of specific intervention strategy or planning for its implementation and

376 evaluation. Instead, where possible, the behavioural and social sciences recommend
377 intervention designers:

378 • **Be specific about what you wish to change:** Start by defining your ‘problem’ of interest in
379 behavioural terms, as precisely as possible.⁽²²⁾ Map out the ‘system’ of different behaviours
380 that might be contributing to your problem (e.g. prescribing, reviewing, initiating or stopping
381 antibiotics). Importantly, consider whose behaviour needs to change? To what extent?
382 Where, when and for whom (e.g. which patient groups)? The ‘who’ is of particular
383 importance in healthcare quality improvement as often more than one healthcare professional
384 group needs to change their behaviour (e.g. pharmacists, nurses, doctors).⁽⁶⁸⁾ Select specific
385 behaviour(s) to target based on likely feasibility, generalisability, safety, acceptability and
386 impact.^(22, 24)

387 • **Conduct a ‘behavioural diagnosis,’ considering the broader social and environmental**
388 **context:** Ask yourself: *What is current behaviour? Why is it the way it is? What factors are*
389 *facilitating or hindering the target behaviour? What would need to change in order for the*
390 *target behaviour to occur?* Look beyond lack knowledge and resource deficits, as these are
391 rarely the only barriers. Indeed, the evidence summarised in this review highlights that there
392 are numerous wide-ranging, interrelated factors influencing antimicrobial stewardship,
393 particularly social and cultural influences.^(37, 38) The behavioural and social sciences offer a
394 number of theories and models that outline potential factors to consider (e.g. COM-B,
395 Theoretical Domains Framework,^(26, 30, 31) and methods of scientific enquiry through which to
396 investigate these (e.g. qualitative interviews, ethnography).

397 • **Consider the full range of intervention strategies and techniques. Match the selection of**
398 **intervention to your behavioural diagnosis:** Interventions to change behaviour are more
399 likely to be effective if they are designed to target the key factors influencing the behaviour of
400 interest.⁽⁴⁰⁾ If education is rarely the only barrier, then education alone is unlikely to be the
401 solution. Therefore, rather than base the choice of intervention strategy on the basis of
402 (potentially inaccurate) intuitive assumptions or guesses as to what needs to change, design

403 the intervention on the basis of a contextual ‘behavioural diagnosis.’ Consider the full range
404 of potential intervention strategies and techniques and select those that are most congruent
405 with the barriers/enablers to the behaviour you are trying to change.^(22, 30) Behavioural science
406 offers numerous inter-linked frameworks to guide decision-making and facilitate this process
407 in a structured and transparent manner, of which the Behaviour Change Wheel is just one.<sup>(22,
408 30, 43, 69, 70)</sup> It is possible to adopt this approach when designing ‘new’ interventions, but also to
409 identify opportunities to optimise and/or refine existing interventions that have already been
410 implemented in practice.⁽⁴⁶⁾

411

412 • **Look at the evidence in the broader behaviour change literature:** Many intervention
413 strategies that are frequently used in ASPs, such as audit and feedback,⁽⁴⁷⁾ have also been
414 widely used to try and improve the quality of care for other clinical areas and behaviours.
415 There are also an increasing number of systematic reviews applying behavioural science
416 frameworks to their analysis in order to go beyond meta-analyses comparing interventions
417 against standard practice, to disentangling heterogeneity and pinpointing the precise ‘active
418 ingredients’ (i.e. behaviour change techniques) associated with improved effects.⁽¹¹⁾
419 Therefore, the design and implementation of ASPs may benefit from looking outside of the
420 antimicrobial stewardship context to draw on the evidence, recommendations and lessons
421 learnt from the broader behaviour change literature.

422 • **Do not assume your intervention will be implemented as intended, nor sustained longer**
423 **term.** Complex interventions, such as ASPs, may not work as expected when implemented in
424 practice. Furthermore, interventions that have been shown to be initially promising may not
425 sustain their effects longer term, or when implemented on a larger scale or in new settings.
426 Effect estimates alone do not provide policy makers and healthcare systems with the
427 necessary knowledge around factors ‘what works better, for whom, and why,’ needed to
428 inform the implementation of interventions in new contexts. Therefore, it is vital to also
429 **investigate ‘how’ and ‘why’ interventions are implemented, not just whether or not they**

430 are effective. This can help generalise learning from implementation ‘successes’ as well as
431 ‘failures.’

432 • **Describe and report your intervention as comprehensively as possible.** What can be learnt
433 from the existing evidence base and quality improvement practice is hampered by poor
434 intervention reporting. There is thus an accompanying need to adopt a more systematic
435 approach to comprehensively describe and document the rationale and content of ASPs, using
436 available reporting guidelines and taxonomies to structure intervention descriptions.^(43, 67)
437 This is vital to enable more accurate intervention of intervention effects and facilitate
438 replication and scalability of interventions in new settings.

439 Behavioural and social sciences offer a number of theories, frameworks, methods, and evidence-based
440 principles that can facilitate progress in each of these areas.. Although there is growing number of
441 recent studies investigating the behavioural and social influences on antimicrobial stewardship, the
442 potential for behavioural and social sciences to contribute to antimicrobial stewardship is contingent
443 on the urgent need for more researchers and practitioners in the field to work collaboratively across
444 disciplines. Despite a multidisciplinary approach potentially requiring additional time and resource, it
445 is critical to moving the field forward and addressing many of the limitations in intervention design,
446 evaluation and reporting that are currently faced by antimicrobial stewardship research and practice.
447 More importantly, such an approach will help realize the potential to minimise the various health and
448 socio-economic consequences associated with inappropriate antimicrobial prescribing and to combat
449 the threat of antimicrobial resistance.

450

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476

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649 **Table 1.** Domains from the COM-B model and Theoretical Domains Framework, with example
 650 themes within each domain representing barriers/enablers to antimicrobial prescribing across different
 651 clinical contexts

COM-B Component	TDF Domain	Definition	Reported Barrier/Enabler Theme	Study, Setting
CAPABILITY (psychological and physical)	Knowledge	An awareness of the existence of something, for example, procedural knowledge	‘Poor clinical microbiology knowledge’	Chaves et al. 2014, Tertiary hospitals
			‘Lack of awareness of clinical guidelines around appropriate antimicrobial prescribing practices’	Fleming et al. 2014, Long-term care facilities
	Skills	An ability or proficiency acquired through practice, for example, competence	‘Vacomycin doses are incorrectly adjusted by doctors’	Chaves et al. 2014, Tertiary hospitals
			‘Lack of training specific to geriatric pharmacotherapy and lack of communication of clinically relevant information on drugs to avoid for older patients’	Cullinan et al. 2014, older hospitalised patients
	Memory, Attention, Decision Making	The ability to retain information, focus selectively on aspects of the environment and choose between two or more alternatives, for example, decision-making	‘Antimicrobial prescribing decisions are contingent on the type of patient’	Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice.
			‘Highly pressured prescribing environment limits attention doctors can give each patient and their medicines’	Cullinan et al. 2014, older hospitalised patients
	Behavioural regulation	Anything aimed at managing or changing objectively observed or measured actions, for example, self-monitoring	‘Desire for audit and feedback on antibiotic prescribing practice’	Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice.
OPPORTUNITY (Social and physical)	Environmental context and resources	Any circumstances of a person’s situation or environment that discourages or encourages the development of skills and abilities, independence, social competence and adaptive behaviour, for example, resources	‘Lack of diagnostic equipment and interpretation of microbiology results is a significant challenge for doctors and nurses’	Fleming et al. 2014, Long-term care facilities
			‘Lack of time plays a big part in managing bacterial infections’	Newlands et al. 2016, General dental
			‘Lack of IT infrastructure’	

COM-B Component	TDF Domain	Definition	Reported Barrier/Enabler Theme	Study, Setting
				practice. Cullinan et al. 2014, older hospitalised patients
	Social influences	Those interpersonal processes that can cause individuals to change their thoughts, feelings or behaviours, for example, social pressure	<p>‘Patient behaviour or demands influence prescribing decisions’</p> <p>‘Nurses acting as a ‘gate keeper’ role, doctors depend on nurses to detect patients’ signs of infection’</p> <p>‘Patients and /or patients’ families can influence prescribing, with pressure from patients/families leading doctors to prescribe medications they are not completely happy with’</p>	<p>Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice.</p> <p>Fleming et al. 2014, Long-term care facilities</p> <p>Cullinan et al. 2014, older hospitalised patients</p>
MOTIVATION (reflective and automatic)	Social Professional Role/ Identity	A coherent set of behaviours and displayed personal qualities of an individual in a social or work setting, for example, professional confidence	‘The role of the pharmacist is primarily to screen for drug interactions and provide medicines information rather than influencing the antibiotic prescribing process’	Fleming et al. 2014, Long-term care facilities
	Beliefs about Capabilities	Acceptance of the truth, reality or validity about an ability, talent or facility that a person can put to constructive use, for example, self-confidence	<p>‘Doctors need assistance choosing antimicrobials’</p> <p>‘Doctors are confident in deviating from clinical guidelines based on clinical expertise and judgment’</p>	<p>Chaves et al. 2014, Tertiary hospitals</p> <p>Fleming et al. 2014, Long-term care facilities</p>
	Beliefs about consequences	Acceptance of the truth, reality or validity about outcomes of a behaviour in a given situation, for example, outcome expectancies	<p>‘Alternative treatments to remove source of infection (i.e. local measures) sometimes make things worse’</p> <p>‘Beliefs that prudent use of antimicrobials will reduce resistance’</p>	<p>Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice.</p> <p>Chaves et al. 2014, Tertiary hospitals</p>

COM-B Component	TDF Domain	Definition	Reported Barrier/Enabler Theme	Study, Setting
	Reinforcement	Increasing the probability of a response by arranging a dependent relationship, or contingency, between the response and a given stimulus, for example, rewards	‘There are no incentives to conducting local measures to remove the source of infection as an alternative to prescribing antibiotics’	Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice.
	Intention	A conscious decision to perform a behaviour or resolve to act in a certain way, for example, stability of intentions	‘Difficult to know which antibiotics are restricted so I just wait for a pharmacist to tell me’	Chaves et al. 2014, Tertiary hospitals
	Goals	Mental representations of outcomes or end states that an individual wants to achieve, for example, goal/target setting	‘Lack of clear targets for antibiotic usage and use of antibiotic care bundles’	Fleming et al. 2014, Long-term care facilities
	Optimism	The confidence that things will happen for the best or that desired goals will be attained, for example, optimism, pessimism	‘Lack of confidence that local measures as an alternative to prescribing will solve issues successfully on their own’	Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice.
	Emotion	A complex reaction pattern, involving experiential, behavioural and physiological elements, by which the individual attempts to deal with a personally significant matter or event, for example, anxiety	‘Anxiety about letting somebody go without antibiotics’ ‘Antimicrobials are often continued because doctors are worried about missing something’	Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice. Chaves et al. 2014, Tertiary hospitals

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Table 2. Examples of suggested intervention strategies identified by applying the Behaviour Change Wheel approach to emerging studies of theoretical determinants of antimicrobial prescribing

Study, Setting	Key Barrier/Enabler Theme, Corresponding Theoretical Domains Framework (TDF) Domain	Intervention function(s) identified using TDF x Behaviour Change Wheel mapping matrix	BCTs identified using TDF x Behaviour Change Technique mapping matrices	Suggested intervention
Newlands et al. 2016, General dental practice	‘Although dentists had the knowledge required for evidence-based management of bacterial infections, most reported difficulties following this day-to-day due to lack of time during the consultation to implement alternative local measures to remove the source of infection (e.g. draining dental abscesses)’ (Environmental context and resources)	Restriction, Enablement	-Restructuring the social/physical environment -Instruction on how to perform the behaviour -Information on health consequences of the behaviour	‘Introduction of more emergency slots to booking system. Time management course for dentists, practice managers and receptionists who book appointments and initially deal with patients’
Fleming et al. 2014, Long-term care facilities	‘Lack of clear targets for antibiotic usage and use of antibiotic care bundles’ (goals/behavioural regulation)	Enablement, Persuasion	-Feedback on outcome of the behaviour -Discrepancy between current behaviour and goals -Social comparison	Audit and feedback outlining deviations from guidelines/evidence-based practice, and benchmarking antibiotic usage against other long-term care facilities
Cullinan et al. 2014, Hospitalised older patients	‘Prescribers feel ill-equipped to prescribe appropriately due to lack of knowledge around geriatric pharmacotherapy’ (Knowledge/ Skills)	Training	-Instruction on how to perform the behaviour -Information about health consequences of the behaviour	Geriatric pharmacotherapy knowledge and skills based training for undergraduate medical trainees; On-going CPD courses for other clinical staff.

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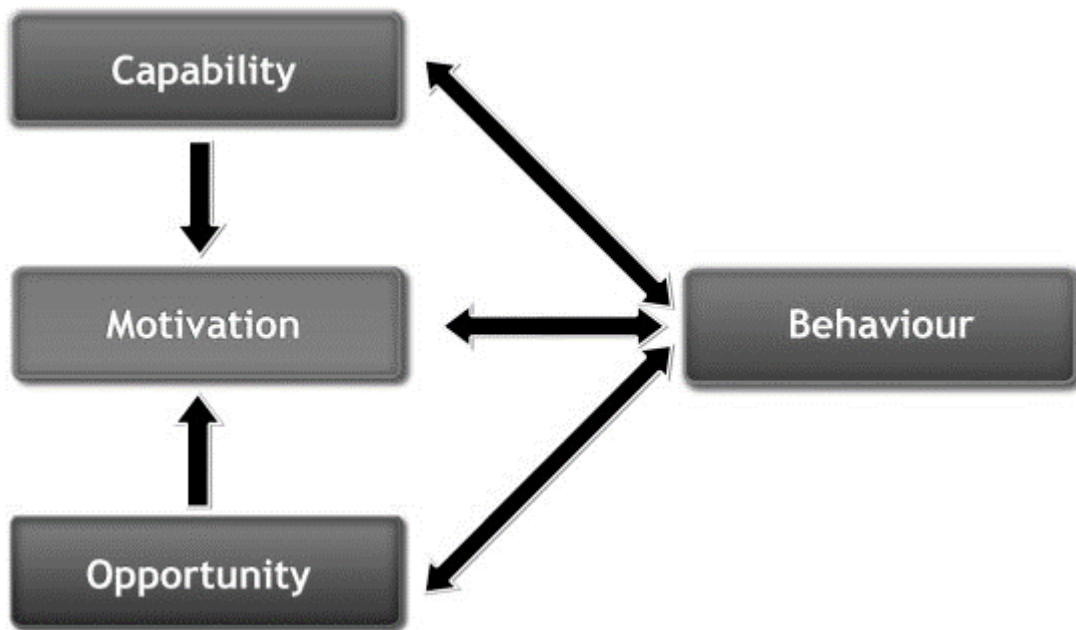
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665 **Figure 1.** The COM-B model of behaviour change

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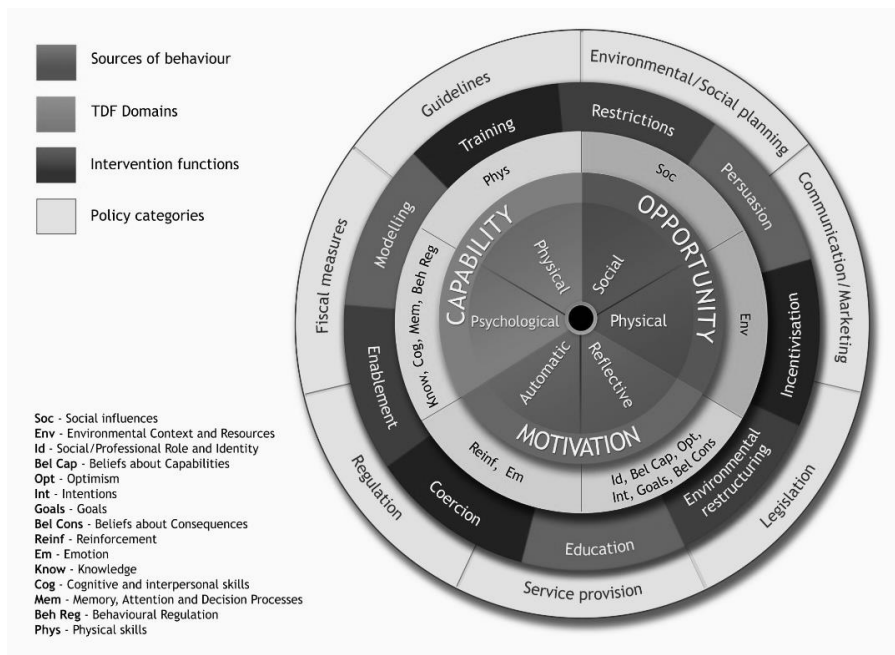
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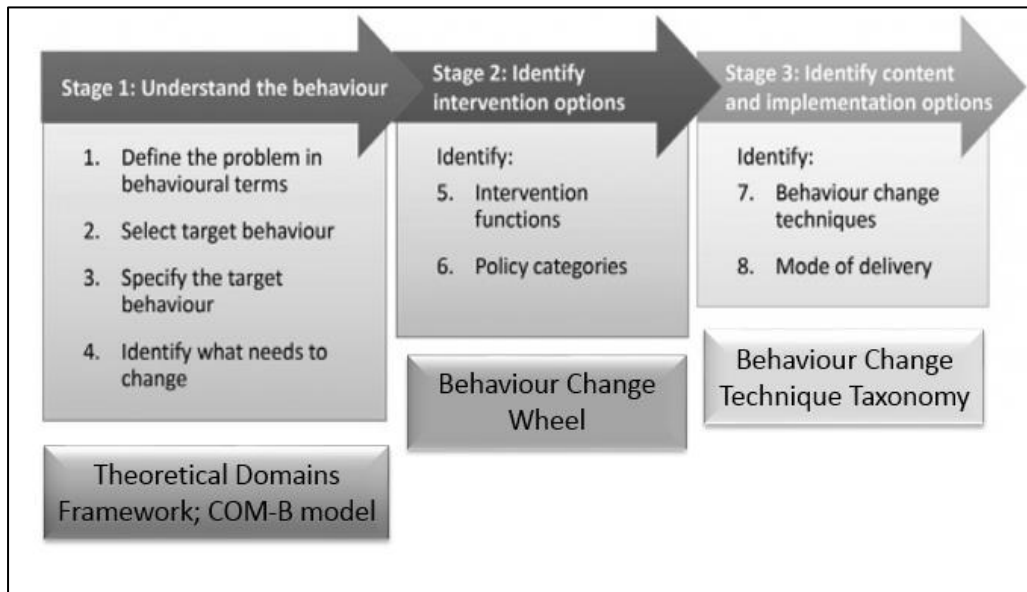
683 **Figure 2.** The Behaviour Change Wheel framework [30] and its linkage to the COM-B
 684 model and Theoretical Domains Framework



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701 **Figure 3.** Steps in the Behaviour Change Wheel approach to intervention design [22] ¹

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¹ Permission to reproduce Figures 1 and 2 has been obtained from the authors of Michie S, Atkins L, West R. The behaviour change wheel: a guide to designing interventions. 2014;26:146.