

BEHAVIOURAL PUBLIC POLICY: New Opportunities and Challenges for Kazakhstan and the Eurasia Region

This study on Behavioural Public Policy is based on insights from behavioural economics and psychology intending to transform people's behaviour into desirable behaviour by using 'nudges' and correcting cognitive bias. While many countries around the world have actively embraced behavioural insights into public policies, this topic remains a relatively new field for the governments in the post-Soviet Eurasia region, including Kazakhstan. The study attempts to fill the gap and facilitate the understanding of behavioural public policy in the region.

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Prologue

Policy makers and government officials in many countries have actively embraced behavioural insights in public policy examining what actually drives the decisions and behaviours of citizens and businesses rather than relying on traditional assumptions of how they should act. This knowledge is what **Behavioural Public Policy** (BPP) could provide.

BPP includes all means and modes of public policy aiming at influencing human behaviour by using insights from behavioural economics, behavioural sciences, psychology, or neurosciences. Based on scientific evidence and research from multi-disciplinary teams, BPP can help government bodies to understand why citizens and businesses behave as they do and pre-test which policy solutions would be the most effective in predicting desired behaviour and better outcomes before implementing them on a large-scale.

With the UK, the US and Singapore being among the forerunners, behavioural public policies can nowadays be found in many countries across Western Europe, Central America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. However, while Anglo-American democracies have actively embedded behavioural insights into policymaking, BPP remains a relatively new field for governments from the post-Soviet Eurasia region, including from Kazakhstan.

This publication is designed to improve knowledge and understanding of government officials and practitioners from the post-Soviet Eurasia region about behavioural insights, potential benefits, challenges, and ethical issues associated with application of behavioural policies. It provides a brief overview of international experience across sectors and countries with a particular focus on the UK as a case study. Also, this publication shares some methodological standards developed by behavioural teams of various governments and international organisations.

Thus, it is a useful introductory guide into behavioural policy for government officials and practitioners from the Eurasia region as well as local scholars, university teachers and students who are interested in the field of public policy and public administration, by highlighting opportunities, benefits, and challenges associated with behavioural insights.

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About the Astana Civil Service Hub (ACSH)

The Astana Civil Service Hub is a flagship initiative of the Government of Kazakhstan and the United Nations Development Programme. It was created in 2013 by five international organisations and 25 countries; now comprising 43 participating countries. The geographical range of its participants stretches from the Americas and Europe through the CIS, the Caucasus, and Central Asia to ASEAN countries, demonstrating that partnerships for civil service excellence is a constant and universal need for all nations.

Its primary mandate is to assist in the promotion of public service effectiveness by supporting the efforts of governments of its participating countries in building institutional and human capacity; and thus, contributing to the improvement of civil service systems in the countries of the region and beyond.

The Astana Civil Service Hub is a multilateral institutional platform for the continuous exchange of knowledge and experience in the field of public service development, aiming at supporting government in the region through fostering partnerships, capacity building and peer-to-peer learning activities, and evidence-based research.

More information at www.astanacivilservicehub.org

Table of Contents

Prologue	
Acknowledgements	
About the Astana Civil Service Hub (ACSH)	
Table of Contents]
Abbreviations & Acronyms	IV
Key Definitions	V
1. What is Behavioural Public Policy?	1
2. Global Perspectives on Behavioural Public Policy	3
Models of Behavioural Units	3
3. UK Case Study	6
4. Emergence of Behavioural Public Policy in the Eurasia	9
Potential benefits of behavioural insights	9
Potential challenges of behavioural insights	10
Social norms	10
5. Methodological guidance for government bodies of Kazakhstan and the Eurasia region	11
Assembling a project team	13
Key lessons to apply behavioural insights by the OECD	13
6. Final remarks	15
References	16

Abbreviations & Acronyms

ACSH Astana Civil Service Hub

BEAR Behavioural Economics in Action at Rotman

BETA Behavioural Economics Teams of the Australian Government

Bl Behavioural Insights

BIG Behavioural Insights Group
BIT Behavioural Insights Team

BPA Behavioural Public Administration

BPP Behavioural Public Policy

BSPA Behavioural Science and Policy Association

BVA French Nudge consulting company

CARR Centre for Analysis of Risk and Regulations

DITP French public transformation unit

DWP Department for Work and Pensions

DVLA Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency

EAST Easy, Attractive, Social, Timely

EU European Union

eMBeD Mind, Behaviour, and Development Unit

HEC Hautes Etudes Commerciales – Business School

HMRC His Majesty's Revenue and Customs

ICU Intensive care unit

J-PAL Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab

LSE London School of Economics

MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OIRA US Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs

OPSI Observatory of Public Sector Innovation
PHEBI Public Health England Behavioural Insights

PRECIS Political support, Resources, Expertise, Coverage, Integration, and Structure

RCT Randomised Control Trial

SBST Social and Behavioural Science Team

SGMAP Secretariat-General for Government Modernisation

SMS Short-messaging System
TEN European Nudging Network

UAE United Arab Emirates
UK United Kingdom
UN United Nations

USA United States of America

Key Definitions

There is no single agreed upon term for behavioural science among scholars and practitioners. The following terms are used interchangeably such as Behavioural Science and Behavioural Insights. Under the headings of 'Behavioural Public Policy' (BPP) and 'Behavioural Public Administration' (BPA), knowledge of behavioural science increasingly informs the study, design, and implementation of public policy.

Behavioural Public Policy is predominantly based on insights from behavioural economics and psychology in order to 'nudge' people to act in line with specific aims and to overcome the dilemma of behaviour that contradicts economic rationality.

<u>Behavioural Public Administration</u> is an interdisciplinary research field that studies public administration topics by connecting insights from public administration with psychology and, more broadly, the behavioural sciences.

Behavioural Insights is an inductive approach to inform policy makers of the human behaviours driving economic and societal outcomes. Driven by experimentation and piloting, it combines insights from psychology, cognitive science, and social science with empirically tested results to discover how humans "actually" make choices.

Bounded Rationality is a human decision-making process through which human beings attempt to satisfice, rather than optimize. In other words, they seek a decision that will be good enough, rather than the best possible decision.

<u>Nudge</u> is as an intervention, from either private or public institutions, that affects people's behaviour while fully maintaining their freedom of choice. Nudges are generally viewed as low-cost, behaviourally informed, choice-preserving solutions to various personal and societal issues. Examples of nudges include reminders, simplification of forms, increases, or decreases in portion sizes, choice of colours for products, and decisions about the order in which items are placed on a website, ballot, or menu, or in a cafeteria, GPS device, etc.

<u>Cognitive bias</u> is a systematic error in thinking that occurs when people are processing and interpreting information in the world around them and affects the decisions and judgments that they make.

Randomised control trial (RCT) is a trial in which subjects are randomly assigned to one of two groups: one (the experimental group) receiving the intervention that is being tested, and the other (the comparison group or control) receiving an alternative (conventional) treatment. The two groups are then followed up to see if there are any differences between them in outcome. The results and subsequent analysis of the trial are used to assess the effectiveness of the intervention, which is the extent to which a treatment, procedure, or service does subjects better than harm.

1. What is Behavioural Public Policy?

Governments across the world are experiencing increasing pressure from their citizens and businesses to introduce more effective and cost-efficient policies. Governments are searching for simple and effective solutions to provide better quality public services and promote more efficient outcomes with less financial resources and less additional rules and sanctions.

A key role of policy makers and government officials is to design effective policies, anticipate the impact of these policies and assess the likelihood of achieving desired outcomes. Finding the right policy design is a long process of experimentation, error, and learning-by-doing.

These are examples of questions which the governments in the Eurasia region are asking and searching for answers:

- Will increase of retirement age of women lead to increase of women's pension savings and economic development, or will it make women more economically and socially disadvantaged?
- Will increase of unemployment benefits provide effective support to those who have lost their jobs, or will it stimulate 'laziness' and reliance of citizens on government's support?
- Will the anti-corruption messaging campaign discourage corrupt behaviour among businesses and civil servants or will it 'backfire' by increased corruption?

Policy makers have assumptions and certain beliefs about the factors which drive people's decisions and influence their behaviour in these and many other policy decisions. The classic theory of economics and other social sciences has been the rational choice model. Citizens were generally assumed as self-interested, rational agents who analyse benefits and costs of different options and choose the best option for their interest. Policy makers assumed that people would respond rationally and predictably to various choices. Thus, it was accepted that the right policy was the policy which created incentives for the desired behaviour.

Over the last forty years behavioural economics introduced psychology into economics arguing that people do not always act rationally or in a way consistent with their long-term interests (Strabheim, 2020). This could be for many various reasons: they may not be able to access the pros and cons of various options correctly or it may be too complicated for them to do so; they may not have the willpower to act in their own interests; or their decisions may be shaped by cognitive biases.

More recently, behavioural insights have inspired policy makers across the globe offering a 'recipe' by helping to design and implement 'right' policies considering how people make their decisions – not how they assume that their citizens would make decisions, and not how public policy and economics books suggest people would make choices. In Nudge, an influential book on behavioural economics and public policy the authors argue that since all problems and policies have to be framed in some way, governments should take seriously the idea of choice architecture and seek to structure their policies in ways that nudge people towards the better choices (Thaler and Cass, 2008).

Nudges are the most prominent subtype of behavioural change: the rearrangement of fruit and vegetables in cafeterias to focus our attention on healthy options; graphic warnings on cigarette packages; messages to stop people from using too many paper towels or urging them to switch off the light when they leave the office – these and other interventions have become part of everyday life (Thaler and Cass, 2008).

Over the last decade governments around the world are paying increasing attention to behavioural insights to inform decision making across all policy areas. The use of behavioural insights helps governments identify the systems and processes influencing human behaviour. Its rise in popularity among governments seeking (for example) to promote public safety and health, or to increase economic growth, has led to a simultaneous increase in the number and types of frameworks designed to help policy makers diagnose and apply BI in their work.

Bl frameworks can be applied in various ways to serve different policy goals – whether it be through robust literature reviews, behavioural experimentation and testing, or impact evaluation. In some cases, the use of Bl has produced beneficial outcomes for large numbers of people (for example, default consent for participating in the organ donation or pension scheme). Contributions from cognitive psychology, anthropology, social psychology, behavioural economics, sociology, and other behavioural sciences are reshaping public policy interventions and debates in a number of policy fields.

The interest to behavioural insights has emerged both in the UK and US right from the start. Following the publication of the Nudge book, the coalition government elected in the UK in 2010, led by former Prime Minister David Cameron, set up the world's first nudge unit — Behavioural Insights Team. Cass Sunstein, one of the co-authors of 'Nudge', was appointed by ex-President Obama as Administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, effectively taking on a nudge coordination position within the US federal administration.

There has been a growing number of new research institutes and companies often led by academics to support government agencies in applying behavioural insights. In the UK and US as well as many OECD countries where governments traditionally funded (for example, through research councils) development of scientific knowledge, nudge studies were supported facilitating knowledge transfer from academia to policy makers. These are some examples to illustrate the application of nudges:

- Automatic enrolment in retirement plans has been found to have a larger impact on savings than significant tax incentives.
- A social norms approach to energy conservation, informing people of how their energy use compares to that of their neighbours, has had the same impact in reducing energy use as an 8–20 percent short-term increase in the price of electricity.

International organisations have played a critical role in sharing behavioural insights, especially if they are dominated by economists. The World Bank, EU, OECD, and United Nations are the major sponsors of behavioural research using behavioural insights across a large and diverse spectrum of policy areas.

The behavioural science team for the *World Bank, the Mind, Behaviour, and Development Unit* (eMBeD) has been involved in more than 100 projects in over 70 countries. eMBeD works closely with World Bank teams and policy makers from around the world by conducting fieldwork, identifying bottlenecks to policy and programme success, and designing and evaluating behaviourally informed interventions.

Founded in 2011 the OECD Observatory of Public Sector Innovation (OPSI) works with governments, academia, industry and global NGOs and civil society to support public institutions to apply BI to improve public policy, including in its design, implementation, and evaluation. OPSI developed an interactive map showcasing BI units and projects around the world as well as a pre-registration portal to enable BI practitioners to share pre-analysis plans at the early stages of experimentation and policy testing. BI Knowledge Hub allows to search for BI projects across 35 policy areas including health, finance, education, consumer policy, climate change, social welfare, public governance, tax policy, mental health, agriculture, cybersecurity, gender, family planning.

With the recent growth of behavioural science application to the Sustainable Development Goals, there has been a significantly increased appetite for sharing and collaboration across UN Entities. Driven by the growing interest, the *UN Behavioural Science Group of the UN Innovation Network* fosters the application of behavioural science across the UN system by promoting awareness, providing learning opportunities, and encouraging exchange and collaboration among UN Entities (UN, 2021).

The Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL) is a global research centre working to reduce poverty by ensuring that policy is informed by scientific evidence. Anchored by a network of more

than 750 affiliated researchers at universities around the world, J-PAL conducts randomized impact evaluations to answer critical questions in the fight against poverty. J-PAL co-founders Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, with long-time affiliate Michael Kremer, were awarded the 2019 Nobel Prize in Economics for their pioneering approach to alleviating global poverty. J-PAL is based at the Economics Department of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Cambridge and has seven regional offices at leading universities in Africa, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, North America, South Asia, and Southeast Asia.

The following section provides a brief overview of the global perspectives on behavioural insights sharing some international practices.

2. Global Perspectives on Behavioural Public Policy

BPP has been undergoing through evolutionary development during the last decade. In a first phase of interaction and institutionalization between 2010 and 2012, several British government departments established small behavioural research teams. The first unit created inside government was the UK's Behavioural Insights Team (BIT) which was aimed to provide advice to UK policy makers on applying behavioural insights to policies. Initially, in 2010, BIT was located within the Cabinet Office, and later in 2014 was made quasi-independent of government.

At the first phase the BIT had already developed well-established contacts with the US Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA), the central unit reviewing the executive branch regulations, headed by Cass Sunstein from 2009 to 2012. At the European level, the BIT was interlinked with a small group of behavioural specialists at the Institute for Health and Consumer Protection in the European Commission's Joint Research Centre. Many countries have followed BIT's lead and established their own units, including Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Netherlands, Singapore, and the U.S (World Bank, 2018). For example, since 2012 the BIT started several long-term partnerships with other early adopters, such as the Government of New South Wales in Australia and the Ministry of Manpower in Singapore.

A second phase of standardisation and internationalisation between 2014 and 2018 is characterized by the international emergence of new behavioural-expertise organisations and by the expansion of existing links and collaborations (Baggio et al., 2021). The number of staff at the BIT has grown impressively, especially since its partial privatization in 2014. Multiple international partnerships have been established between the BIT and, for example, the Behavioural Insights Network in the Netherlands (2014), the Mexican Ministry of Finance (2016) and the New York City Housing Authority (2016). Other behavioural units are also multiplying their collaborations with national, international, and transnational actors.

In a third phase of diversification since 2018, it has become clear that behavioural science is operating, and embedded in, complex regulatory regimes consisting of multi-level, decentralized procedures, interactions between states and networks of non-state actors and multiple modes of societal coordination. As in the Dutch case, these may collaborate in a loose form of informal networks, knowledge-exchange groups, working groups or strategic projects (Feitsma, 2019). International and transnational organisations (OECD, UN, World Bank, J-Pal) have played an important role in the spread of behavioural approaches in different regions of the Global South.

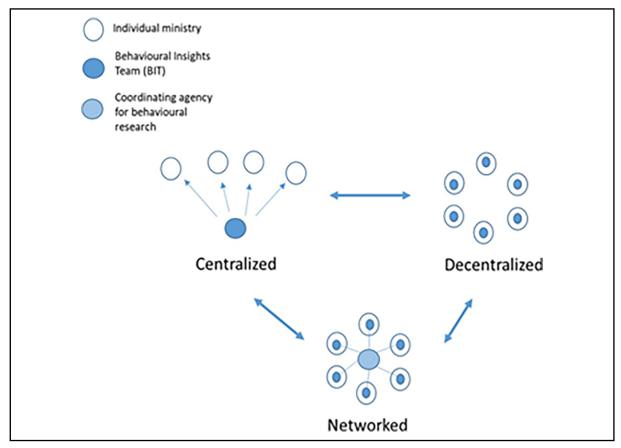
In 2021 Nesta, the UK's innovation agency, has acquired BIT in a £15.4 million deal to accelerate social innovation. Nesta announced a 10-year mission to halve obesity rates, eliminate the school readiness gap, and slash household carbon emissions by 28 percent to reach net zero (Nesta, 2021).

Models of Behavioural Units

There are three main variations in institutional setup of behavioural units: centralized, decentralized, and networked. In some cases – behavioural units are located within the government structure

at the central level and/or within government agencies; in other cases – behavioural units are outside the government; and there are many examples when behavioural teams are located within universities and research centres which work closely with government agencies.

Figure 1: Models of Behavioural Insights Teams within government



Source: Based on Afif et al. (2019) and Mukherjee & Giest (2020).

In the United States ex-President Barack Obama established the practice of using behavioural science in 2015. The Federal Government agencies were instructed to apply behavioural science insights to the design of their policies and programmes. The Social and Behavioural Science Team (SBST) was created under the National Science and Technology Council. The SBST is a multi-disciplinary group of applied behavioural scientists, programme officials, and policy makers to provide guidance to the Federal agencies.

The Behavioural Economics Team of the Australian Government (BETA) is the first central unit of the Australian Government dedicated to the application of behavioural science to policy design. BETA is located within the Prime-Minister's Office and is a joint initiative of 17 government bodies. Here are some examples of BETA's behavioural projects (World Bank, 2018):

- Presenting key information in a simpler manner facilitated understanding of financial products and decision-making on these products for Australians over 45 years old.
- Adding energy labels incentivized the purchase of energy-efficient appliances compared to having no labels, helping to close the 'energy-efficiency gap.'
- Sending a confirmation SMS to parents after they updated their details with the Child Support Scheme reduced the number of parents who called a hotline.
- Reducing credit card debt through reminder emails incorporating framing and motivational messages.
- Reducing missed outpatient hospital appointments using SMS messaging incorporating seven different behavioural tools: messages about avoiding loss to patient and avoiding loss to hospital were the most effective.

In France in 2013, the Secretariat-General for Government Modernization (SGMAP), one of the Prime Minister's services, began running behavioural insights projects with the support of outside groups. A nongovernmental organization (NGO), NudgeFrance, was co-founded by the SGMAP in 2015 in partnership with the behavioural research and consulting firm BVA to promote behavioural insights in France. NudgeFrance has run a number of behavioural insights challenges. Later, since 2017, behavioural insights efforts fall under the newly created French public transformation unit (DITP). DITP is now under the authority of the Ministry of Economy and Finance. In other cases, ministries have teamed with academics in order to run and evaluate programmes. French government research has also taken the behavioural sciences and choice architecture into account. Examples from France include:

- Encouraging more energy efficient practices in an effort to reduce energy bills.
- Encouraging physical activity of the elderly.
- Promoting online tax payment services through a series of nudges tested on 2.5 million taxpayers using SMS and email messages.

Germany is another example of the centralized approach. In 2015, Germany set up a team in the Office of the Federal Chancellor in the Policy Planning Unit to lead a 'Government Effectiveness' project. This team's objective is to raise government effectiveness by promoting the use of the empirical methods of the social sciences, including behavioural insights. The unit works with German government departments to design and implement interventions. Some examples of behavioural projects in Germany are:

- Improving patient safety by empowering ICUs to identify sustainable ways to provide better hand hygiene.
- Spreading better information about measles and the measles vaccines to citizens in an effort to increase measles vaccinations.
- Simplifying income tax forms.
- Testing whether lifespan labels on white goods create purchase transparency and thereby help consumers make more sustainable choices.

In the Netherlands, the government adopted a networked model, where – following a conference for all ministers and heads of departments on the topic – it was decided that each ministry would form its own behavioural insights team, with the Ministry of Economic Affairs playing the role of common secretariat. Examples from Netherlands include:

- Encouraging waste separation in high-rise buildings to help move closer towards a Circular Economy using a variety of interventions across multiple municipalities.
- Improving the distribution of goods within cities through a reduction of the number of trips.
- Used online messaging, reminders, and SMS messages to increase by 60 percent the likelihood that jobseekers completed an online questionnaire.
- Field experiments with mortgage providers to study the effects of behavioural based interventions as well as financial incentives to activate customers with an interest-only mortgage to reduce their mortgage debt.

There are examples of the units outside government which bring public, private, academic, and voluntary sectors together. The European Nudging Network (TEN) managed by the Initiative for Science, Society and Policy in collaboration with the OECD and HEC Paris was created in 2014 to support dissemination of behavioural policies and ideas across Europe. The Nudge Database offers resources for stakeholders and practitioners.

In the USA ideas42 – a non-profit organisation initially launched in Harvard in 2018 – was the first behavioural design lab created in the world. Ideas42 unites together professionals and practitioners from various backgrounds to work together on complex policy problems in health, education, criminal justice, international development.

Furthermore, there are associations such as the Behavioural Science and Policy Association (BSPA)

and various international networks. Also, there are behavioural centres and labs inside academia. For example, the Centre for Analysis of Risk and Regulation (CARR) located at the London School of Economics (LSE) is an interdisciplinary research centre which focuses of risk management and regulatory practices.

The Behavioural Insights Group (BIG) was launched in Harvard in 2013 bringing together faculty, students, and researchers. BIG works with government agencies that engage in application of behavioural science to policies.

In Canada the Behavioural Economics in Action at Rotman (BEAR), is the largest academic group which empirically test policy tools to facilitate behavioural change. In France the French Nudge Project at Sciences Po analyses behavioural science from the legal and philosophical point of view.

More recently, interest in applying behavioural science to public policy has expanded across the globe, with an increasing number of countries applying and testing behavioural insights. For example, countries such as Mexico, Indonesia, Kuwait, Kenya, Qatar, and the U.A.E. have explored behavioural science in public policy by partnering with groups like BIT, ideas42, the World Bank, as well as other leading experts in the field.

The South Korean government launched the proactive administration initiative in 2017 which has been widely implemented in the public sector through behavioural approach. The South Korean administration established a new principle of protecting public officials who practice proactive administration and of rewarding excellent results that exempts public officials from audit inspections or disciplinary actions for the results of proactive service and ensures that their achievements are rewarded through special promotion and similar measures (Kim, 2022).

In general, most countries have moved towards a decentralized system, with some working through a centralized network. Within the 10 countries examined by the World Bank (2018), at least 26 units and teams have been established at the department level, with other teams and units established at the state/regional/provincial level. Some countries continue to rely on networks (Netherlands and Denmark), while other countries have formed a team or unit within the central government playing a coordinating role and establishing links to academic experts in the field.

This section has provided a brief overview of global perspectives on behavioural insights. There is no 'perfect' institutional model for applying behavioural insights within government bodies. Different institutions can co-exist within the same government. In the countries where a behavioural unit exists in the centre of the government, it co-exists with various other units in government bodies and initiatives outside government. In the initial phase of applying behavioural insights, the focus is on application, 'learning by doing'.

As the use of behavioural insights is more widespread within the public sector, there is a growing need for capacity building support for the government bodies and quality control of reliability of policy tools. Experts in the behavioural units closely cooperate with universities and research centres. Such partnerships help to identify potential areas of application; bring the required expertise from outside government; conduct trials, experiments, and pilot tests; evaluate results and transfer them into policymaking. The use of academic knowledge and experimentation are fundamental for behavioural science.

3. UK Case Study

This section presents the UK experience in design and application of behaviourally informed policymaking. The UK evolved from a centralized into a decentralized model following the success of the BIT, with departments across the UK government coordinating their own behavioural insights functions and projects. In 2010, the first behavioural insights unit was established on a two-year trial basis in the Cabinet Office. The UK BIT started with a small team of eight staff members and an annual budget of £0.5 million. Some departments and regulatory bodies in the United Kingdom,

such as Ofcom (the communications regulator) and the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs were already experimenting and utilizing behavioural insights in their work prior to the establishment of the BIT.

In its first year of operation, BIT successfully demonstrated the benefits of applying behavioural science in public health, consumer empowerment, and energy efficiency. Some interventions, such as increasing organ donor registration, encouraging energy efficiency, and increasing tax compliance, became the most discussed and replicated. These interventions became staples of the promise of behavioural science and were subsequently replicated in multiple countries (BIT, 2018).

Due to the success of the team, BIT has become a limited company, jointly owned by the UK government, Nesta (the innovation charity), and their employees. Meanwhile, government and regulatory agency behavioural science usage has spread; over 24 entities within the UK government and reporting to the UK government have either established their own dedicated behavioural science teams or have individuals tasked as behavioural insights specialists.

Departments and regulatory agencies with dedicated teams include Public Health England; the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs; the Food Standards Agency; the Financial Conduct Authority; Department for Work and Pensions; Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy; Office of Gas and Electricity Markets; and the Department for Education. Other agencies with significant behavioural insights operations include the Department for Transport, Ofcom (the communications regulator), and the Health and Safety Executive.

Additionally, in 2018 the UK government selected six vendors to provide behavioural insights support to all UK public sector bodies, including local authorities, charities, police services, and universities. It is expected that £16 million will be spent over the next four years on behavioural insights support.

Public Health England¹

Public Health England is an executive agency of the Department of Health and Social Care that works to protect and improve public health in the UK PHE Behavioural Insights (PHEBI) was founded in 2013, at the same time that Public Health England was established, and worked with the Cabinet Office BIT for the first three years (World Bank, 2018).

PHEBI² has a five-person team consisting of behavioural insights researchers (health psychologists and behavioural economists). PHEBI sometimes has public health specialty registrars and PhD students on placements. PHEBI does a variety of work, including conducting literature reviews and behavioural analyses, advising on policy and programmes, designing interventions, running trials, and delivering training.

Examples of behavioural interventions (Public Health England, 2021):

- Decreasing inappropriate antibiotic prescribing by sending doctors a feedback letter from the Chief Medical Officer.
- Doubling enrolment in child weight management services by behaviourally enhancing the National Child Weight Management Programme results letter.
- Encouraging healthier food purchasing by altering product availability and positioning in hospital vending machines.
- Using behaviourally informed communications to increase the uptake of flu vaccination.
- Embedding behavioural science in digital behaviour change interventions.

¹ Public Health England was replaced by the UK Health Security Agency in October 2021.

² Behavioural and Social Science Team (BeSST) originally worked as Public Health England Behavioural Insights (PHEBI). BeSST works across the Office for Health Improvement and Disparities (OHID) to support national and regional teams, local authorities and other relevant stakeholders on the application of behavioural science methods and evidence to the development and delivery of public health policy.

Department for Work and Pensions

The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) has a multidisciplinary behavioural science team, established with the aim of building on the department's successful implementation of automatic enrolment into workplace pensions. The focus is on examining and improving the assumptions about behaviour that underlie policy and process decisions in the Department. The team integrates behavioural expertise from social scientific perspectives with departmental knowledge, scientific rigor, and systems and design thinking. The team do not conduct any RCTs or experiments themselves, but instead partner with their analytical colleagues (DWP has the largest and most well-developed analytical function in the UK government) and facilitate collaborative exploration and resolution of behavioural problems (World Bank, 2018). The Department for Work and Pensions have a behavioural science team of 15–20 people who are fulfilling the following tasks: exploring how to improve information provision for careers; improving benefit claims systems; and using behavioural science to improve HRM and finance processes within the department.

Default pension enrolment

Automatic pension enrolment has been one of the UK's most successful behavioural policy interventions. Making sure workplaces have to enrol their employees into a pension plan by default, rather than relying on people to set up a pension themselves, has resulted in around 90 percent of eligible workers becoming enrolled in a workplace pension.

Flexible working standard in UK government agencies

Government calls for flexible working to be normalised – giving employees the option to things like part-time and flexi time, working from home and job shares. New research from the UK government and jobs website Indeed reveals offering flexible working arrangements increases job applications by 30 percent. A national shift to flexible working would boost productivity and particularly help women and those outside major cities.

The BIT's research, which analysed nearly 20 million applications and is the largest of its kind ever conducted in the UK, shows greater transparency in job adverts would create at least 174,000 flexible jobs to the UK economy per year. With more people working flexibly due to COVID-19, the report argues that now is the time to normalise it across the country. The number of applications for jobs with flexible working advertisements would be boosted by 20 percent. This would help employment in areas away from major cities and help to provide more job opportunities for women who are doing unpaid domestic work.

Sugar tax

In April 2018, to protect children from excessive sugar consumption and tackle childhood obesity, the UK government introduced a 2-tier sugar tax on soft drinks. The tax was targeted at manufacturers of the drinks to incentivise them to reduce the sugar content of soft drinks. Researchers from the Epidemiology Unit at the University of Cambridge tracked changes in the levels of obesity in children in England in reception year and year 6 between 2014 and 2020. The team found that the introduction of the sugar tax was associated with an 8 percent relative reduction in obesity levels in year 6 girls, equivalent to preventing 5,234 cases of obesity per year in this group alone. Reductions were greatest in girls whose schools were in deprived areas, where children are known to consume the largest number of sugary drinks, those living in the most deprived areas saw a 9 percent reduction. Research studies are continuing to identify the impact of sugar tax on boys and younger children (UK Research and Innovation, 2023).

Vehicle Tax

The BIT worked with the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency (DVLA) to test the efficacy of different messages upon individuals who fail to tax their vehicles. It is estimated that there are around 250,000 unlicensed vehicles in the UK, representing around £40m in lost revenue, so this is a significant problem. The BIT tested the original DVLA letter against a new letter with simpler, harder-

hitting messages (such as 'Pay Your Tax or Lose Your [Make of Vehicle]'). Simplifying the letter does not seem to have had an impact for this group, perhaps indicating the clarity of the original letter. What does seem to work well, though, is including an image of the vehicle within the letter, which attracts the attention of recipients and makes the idea of losing their vehicle more salient. Note that this image not only attracts attention, but also involves a strong element of personalisation, as drivers are shown an image of their own car.

4. Emergence of Behavioural Public Policy in the Eurasia

Over the last five years, the growth of behavioural interventions across different countries of the post-Soviet Eurasia region has been significant. However, most of these efforts have taken place in silos, with limited discussion and exchange between the government agencies who were driving them. This report highlights some of behavioural interventions in the post-Soviet space, though these policies might not be referred explicitly to as 'behavioural'.

Encouraging action to address domestic violence in Georgia

In Georgia a study revealed that 14 percent of ever-partnered women have been abused by their partners. UNDP investigated what keeps bystanders from reporting violence (UNDP, 2021). The results have shaped a behaviourally informed campaign that was rolled out across the country during 2019-2020 to change the perception that intimate partner violence is a private matter and increase bystanders' and survivors' confidence and motivation to take action. A randomised controlled trial was conducted to assess the impact on reporting rates.

Increasing uptake of cervical cancer screening in Armenia

A randomised control trial in Armenia, implemented by UNDP's SDG Innovation Lab, tested the impact of low-cost interventions of letters and reminders on the uptake of a national cervical cancer screening programme (UNDP, 2021). Overall, 20,800 letters and 13,000 reminders were sent to a population of 36,508 women. The letters increased participation in the programme by about 350 percent compared to the control group. Letters were especially effective when reinforced by reminders, increasing participation by about 460 percent compared to the control group that received no letters.

Preventing spitting in public spaces in Kazakhstan

In Kazakhstan spitting in public spaces have become a widely shared concern among citizens and government officials. Since 2023 spitting in public spaces have been considered as a punishable act under the Code of Administrative Offenses "Pollution of public places". The financial penalty for spitting is 5 monthly calculation indices (MCI) which equals 17,250 tenge or around 35 Euro. In case of repeated violations, the fine for spitting may be increased up to 10 MCI or 34,500 tenge (around 70 Euro). The Centres for Operational Control in Astana and Almaty cities provide monitoring of public behaviour through CCTV cameras and registration of violations. When a spitting act is detected, a police squad is sent to identify the violator on the spot and issue an administrative penalty. The impact of the legislative change on spitting is to be assessed.

Ban on energy drinks sale for children under 18 in Azerbaijan and Belarus

Both Azerbaijan and Belarus have introduced a ban for sale of energy drinks to children under 18 years old. Energy drinks containing caffeine and alcohol make a detrimental impact on the health of young people who are the main consumers. Studies have shown that excessive consumption of energy drinks can harm teenagers, pregnant women, and people with cardiac, nerve or blood problems. The impact of this ban for sale on energy drinks is to be assessed.

Potential benefits of behavioural insights

BI could help policymakers in the Eurasia region by providing them with a clear methodology that generates evidence on how people "actually" behave and enhances the analysis, design, and

delivery of public policies. Through experimentation and trialling, BI offers a cost-effective way of testing multiple policy responses at once and on a smaller scale to determine the best course of action (Ewert et.al., 2021). This approach limits the risk of committing resources to the full implementation of a given policy solution, which may have to be revisited at a later date. Evidence shows that this approach is having a real impact by providing countries with the resources necessary to learn, iterate and implement innovative policies.

While methodological debates still exist, BI principles continue to be applied successfully to a wide variety of policy domains, ranging from energy and environmental behaviour to financial practices, health and, more recently, topics on development economics. Academic and policy literature are also exploring domains that were traditionally outside the scope of BI, such as organisational behaviour, digital transformation, and macroeconomics.

Potential challenges of behavioural insights

In the past two decades BPP has received criticism both from academic scholars and practitioners as serious limitations of behavioural approaches have become evident during their implementation. For example, behavioural approaches have yet to be applied to more complex problems, rather than merely focusing on 'low hanging fruits' (Hansen, 2018: 195).

The increased use of behavioural insights requires a broader consensus on practical guidelines and standards, even if we have seen some efforts in this direction (OECD, 2019; Sunstein and Reisch, 2019). There is still limited knowledge about how behavioural insights can transfer across different contexts of countries and policy sectors, considering their methodological basis.

This point is particularly relevant for policy makers in the post-Soviet Eurasia. There exists limited knowledge in analysing how behavioural insights would be translated into the complex environment of the Eurasia region given the bureaucratic nature and risk-averse culture of government institutions. Introducing innovations in the public sector is very challenging, but it is particularly challenging for top-down hierarchical contexts. The governments in the post-Soviet space are likely to be faced with potential risks of unethical use of behavioural science due to the limited transparency and accountability.

When applying behavioural insights in the post-Soviet Eurasia region, it is essential to recognise that context matters. Something that works well in one area of policy in the Western countries might not work quite so well in the target region. Similarly, some behavioural effects can have unintended consequences if misapplied. Misapplication of behavioural insights might result in reinforcing a negative behaviour by using social norms that suggest that the 'problem behaviour' is relatively widespread.

Social norms

Post-Soviet governments are characterised by a highly legalistic approach to policymaking: government officials are fixated on the legislative amendments and introducing new laws as a policy solution to address socio-economic problems (Knox and Janenova, 2023). However, legislative changes would not be able to address social behaviours, for example, household waste littering. Let us compare Kazakhstan and the UK in addressing household waste collection.

In modern Kazakhstan, if one considers only the financial penalty and the probability of being caught littering (for example, leaving household waste in a public space), the individuals may well find littering a rational course of action as the expected penalty of doing so is insignificant, there are fewer chances that policemen would follow and catch them in the act, and they do not face strong disapproval from others. When Kazakhstani citizens refrain from proper household waste collection, probably they are not thinking about a policeman catching them in the act.

What stops British people from household waste littering is the disapproval from neighbours and other people, intrinsic sense of responsibility they feel towards the society shaped by years of socialisation in a country where littering is not a socially approved norm. Social attitudes and

economic incentives, therefore, work together to bring about behavioural change.

While social norms take longer than price incentives to adjust (and the effectiveness of measures to change social norms may be harder to predict), the results from changing norms are likely to be more long-lasting than if only price incentives were changed. Policymakers should be aware of how their policies can induce desirable or detrimental shifts in norms.

The behavioural intervention in the form of a financial penalty for leaving household waste in the public space is impeded by a collective action problem in the context of Kazakhstan. Whether social norms are better shaped through education, persuasion, economic incentives, or regulations depends on the particular context. Policymakers need to develop a deeper understanding of the role of social norms and the presence of collective action problems, in order to design policies that are effective in the long run.

There is a clear sign of increasing interest from policy makers and government officials in the post-Soviet Eurasia region towards behavioural insights. However, there is limited knowledge and understanding about early attempts of the post-Soviet governments in testing and implementing behavioural policies. What have been the outcomes of these experiments? Have any of the behavioural policies resulted in desired behavioural change and expected outcomes? How have these interventions been designed and who was driving these changes?

To find answers to these questions, there is an urgent need for further studies to examine translation and adaptation of behavioural insights into a complex environment such as the Eurasia. There is a need for strong high-level support both at the national and organisational level in the target region if government agencies are interested to consider application of behavioural insights. This would require close collaboration and partnerships with international and local academic institutions that can help build research capacity and capabilities within the government.

5. Methodological guidance for government bodies of Kazakhstan and the Eurasia region

This section provides a brief overview of key frameworks and methodological guidance offered by various international organisations and behavioural teams to help policy makers and government officials from the Eurasia region including from Kazakhstan in the design and application of simple behavioural projects. The methodological guidance accumulated through decades of learning, successes and failures, trial and experimentation in the Western context could provide valuable knowledge for practitioners from the Eurasia region including from Kazakhstan. Practitioners from the target region and Kazakhstan should review this information knowledge through the lens of political and socio-economic contexts of their countries which would require careful adaptation of Western experience to the local needs and conditions.

The EAST framework

The EAST framework was developed by the BIT in 2012 as an introduction for policy makers before moving to more complex frameworks and typologies. The EAST framework offers four simple principles to encourage a behavioural change: make it Easy, Attractive, Social and Timely (EAST). These four principles for applying behavioural insights are based on the BIT's own work and the wider academic literature. The BIT has found that policy makers and practitioners find it useful to have a simple, memorable framework to think about effective behavioural approaches.

Box 1. The EAST framework: four simple steps

1. Make it Easy

- Harness the power of defaults.
- Reduce the 'hassle factor' of taking up a service.
- Simplify messages.

Example: Pension defaults studies in the US, Chile, Mexico, Denmark, and Sweden show that automatically enrolling individuals into retirement plans and allowing them to opt out (rather than expecting them to opt into existing systems) is a highly effective way of increasing pension savings - as well as being popular among employees.

2. Make it Attractive

- Attract attention.
- Design rewards and sanctions for maximum effect. Financial incentives are often highly effective, but alternative incentive designs - such as lotteries - also work well and often cost less.

Example: Drawing the attention of those who fail to pay road tax. When letters to non-payers of car tax included a picture of the offending vehicle, payment rates rose from 40 to 49 percent.

3. Make it Social

- Show that most people perform the desired behaviour.
- Use the power of networks.
- Encourage people to make a commitment to others.

Example: Using social norms to increase tax payments. When people were told in letters from HMRC that most people pay their tax on time, it significantly increased payment rates. The most successful message led to a 5-percentage point increase in payments.

4. Make it Timely

- Prompt people when they are likely to be most receptive.
- Consider the immediate costs and benefits.
- Help people plan their response to events.

Example: Increasing payment rates through text messages. Prompting those owing Courts Service fines with a text message 10 days before the bailiffs are to be sent to a person's home doubles the value of payments made, without the need for further intervention.

Source: BIT (2014) EAST: Four simple ways to apply behavioural insights, https://www.bi.team/publications/east-four-simple-ways-to-apply-behavioural-insights/

PRECIS framework

Similarly, the EC proposes the **PRECIS** perspective, where the acronym PRECIS stands for Political support, Resources, Expertise, Coverage, Integration, and Structure (Lourenço et al., 2016). These dimensions highlight how BITs can be most effectively examined by scrutinizing the way that they are embedded in the institutional structure, how many financial and human resources they have, their experience and seniority, as well as their policy scope and whether they are internal, centralized, or decentralized.

Political support: this dimension embeds the level of engagement of political representatives (e.g., Prime-Minister, ministers, etc); and the existence of an official and clear mandate.

Resources: the number of experts in the team and budget resources available for trials and experiments.

Expertise: this dimension should indicate the experience and multi-disciplinarity of the team based on information from recent trials, articles and reports carried out and published by the team.

Coverage: the extent to which the activity of the team has a horizontal breadth or is limited to a specific policy field. The broader the coverage, the higher the level for this dimension.

Integration: this dimension refers to whether the team is set up within the government or this is partly owned by the government. No judgement of value is given as to whether full integration is preferred.

Structure: whether the team is centralised or the extent to which behavioural capacity is distributed across a number of ministries. An effective structure requires a centralised team of experts in close connection with officials working in policy departments.

Assembling a project team

Another methodological guide is offered by the BIT as an introduction to help to run a simple behavioural project (BIT, 2022). This guide will be most useful for teams who have the required technical skills but need direction in how different methods and activities fit together to run an impactful project. The objective of this guide is to provide a practical, step-by-step outline on how to run a simple BI project. More complex behavioural challenges will require more complex methods.

Bl projects need people with various skill sets, so including people in your team with the right background and expertise will be crucial. The core project team, which will be in charge of driving forward the project, should be small (initially 2-4 people) with a range of skills and experience. Box 2 presents the different skills and experience which are useful for members of your project team. One individual might cover several areas of expertise - for example, the Project delivery expert might also have a background in Quantitative research.

Key lessons to apply behavioural insights by the OECD

Based on comprehensive review of behavioural initiatives in the world, the OECD has provided key lessons to apply behavioural insights (OECD, 2019):

 Embed BI throughout the policy cycle as a part of the ex-ante evaluation and ex-post review.

Applying BI from the start can help better define the problem and identify behavioural barriers that can potentially undermine the effectiveness of the policy.

Box 2: Skills needed to run a simple BI project

Project delivery skills/experience:

- Experience overseeing projects within your organisation.
- Well-connected within your organisation and able to get the sign-off needed throughout the delivery of the project.

Role: Overall management, stakeholder relationships, and project delivery which includes planning and monitoring timelines and budget.

Behavioural insights skills/experience:

- Understanding of behavioural science and experience in applying this understanding to intervention design.
- Experience designing behavioural interventions.

Role: Analysing barriers during Explore phase; designing a Solution grounded in behavioural science.

Quantitative research skills/experience:

- Experience in quantitative data analysis and impact evaluation.
- Familiar with the administrative data available within your organisation and partner organisations.

Role: Conducting Explore data analysis; designing and analysing a Trial.

Qualitative research skills/experience:

 Experience conducting qualitative research such as interviews and observations and analysing qualitative data.

Role: Designing and leading qualitative Explore work and user testing during Solution phase.

Policy and contextual knowledge skills/experience:

- Understanding of the target audience, including current behaviours and potential barriers/ facilitators or key influences.
- Understanding of the current systems, social structures and norms, and relevant organisations or programmes.

Role: Providing expert advice throughout the project, especially during the Target, Explore and Solution phases.

For full guidance, please, see: BIT (2022) Target, Explore, Solution, Trial, Scale: an Introduction to running simple behavioural insights projects, https://www.bi.team/publications/testsguide/

Consider the behaviour of public and private organisations and not just individuals.

Most BI interventions have focused on individuals as citizens or consumers but less frequently as employees. As policy-relevant decisions are often made by organisations, applying BI to organisations may have widespread policy implications.

Investigate long-term effects of BI interventions.

As relatively little is known about long-term effects of BI interventions, OECD suggest the next phase to prioritise pursuing projects that can be monitored and provide benefits in the longer term.

Explore the effectiveness of BI interventions and more broadly policy interventions in different contexts.

As more countries are integrating BI to policy design and delivery, there may be more opportunities to replicate similar studies and gain a more global understanding of behavioural biases to inform public policy.

Invest time and resources in scoping the policy problem.

This stage serves to "identify, define, evaluate and select those behavioural problems contained within a wider policy challenge that are particularly suitable for a BI approach" (OECD, 2019).

A plurality of robust and cost-effective methods is available for behavioural policymaking.

Appealing to different methodologies, such as randomised controlled trials, quasi-experiments, theoretical models, and laboratory research, can allow researchers to harness the complementary strengths of these approaches.

From research to policy.

In order to maximise the potential for a BI intervention to be scaled up into a policy strategy, studies should aim for full applicability of experimental results. Dissemination of results should also be "behaviourally informed" and aim for a level of clarity that will be easily accessible and understandable to all relevant stakeholders and policymakers.

 Always keeping ethics in mind. Behavioural practitioners and policymakers can rely on available ethical guidelines to ensure they are applying BI responsibly.

6. Final remarks

The key purpose of this publication is to introduce practitioners in the post-Soviet Eurasia region including from Kazakhstan with behavioural insights as one among many policy tools accessible for policy makes and government officials aimed at transforming people's behaviour into desirable 'good' behaviour and correcting cognitive bias. A brief overview of international practices in behavioural policies has been presented with a particular focus on the UK case study. Governments in the Eurasia region are increasingly using behavioural insights to design, enhance, and reassess their policies and services. A few examples from the Eurasia region have been illustrated above, though limited knowledge about impact and effectiveness of these behavioural interventions exists to date.

This publication is not aimed at prescribing behavioural insights as a 'panacea' for addressing socio-economic problems in the Eurasia; nor it provides a 'one size fits all' recipe for those who would be inspired to drive these changes forward. As argued above, there is no 'perfect' institutional model for implementing behavioural insights. Different institutional models (centralised, decentralised, and networked) can co-exist within the same government to design and run behavioural projects.

Governments in the Eurasia region including from Kazakhstan might consider behavioural insights as an alternative approach to other interventions which could potentially complement and improve the ways how governments make decisions. Behavioural insights should inform more comprehensive policy approaches, combined with legislative regulation and financial incentives. The more behavioural knowledge spreads across policy areas, the more policy integration would succeed in developing comprehensive policy approaches.

Several challenges have been identified in relation to introduction of behavioural insights in the Eurasia region including limited impact and focus on 'easy-to-measure' changes at the expense of bigger impact; weak research capacity to produce evidence base; neglect of the local social context during transfer of Western behavioural practices; and ethical concerns about limited transparency and accountability of governments and public sector organisations in the target region. There is an urgent need for research capacity building within the government of the Eurasia region, need for orientation towards evidence-based policy making.

As Howlett and Leong (2022) argue, policymakers and scholars must be more prepared for wrong answers in the behavioural turn, or that there are no right ones, in their research and practices and build into policies the means to learn and correct mistakes. Are the governments in the Eurasia region ready to embrace behavioural insights; to change punitive nature of public sector environment for mistakes and errors; to engage actively with local scholars; to develop research capacity; and to design policies based on research evidence? These questions have no quick easy answers and need to be addressed by policy makers and government officials from the Eurasia region who would feel inspired to face behavioural turn in public policy.

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