# Appendix: 5-Minute-Survey (for online publication only)

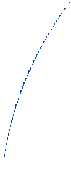
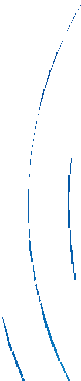
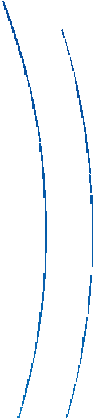
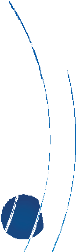
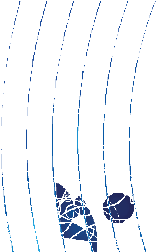
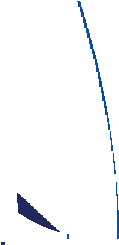
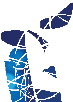
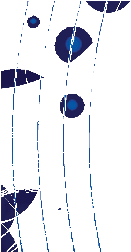
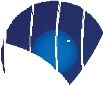
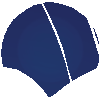
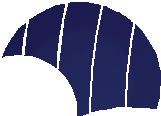
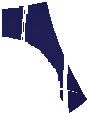
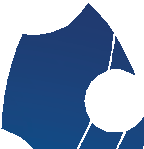
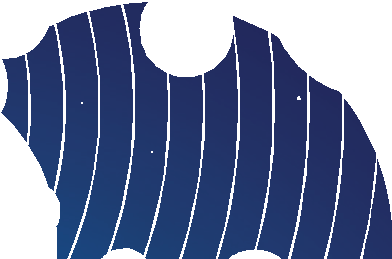
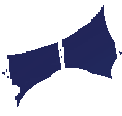
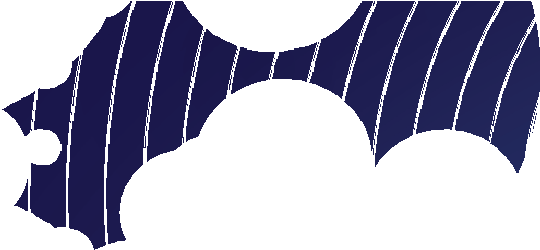
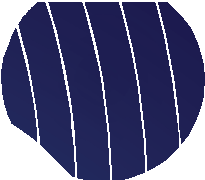
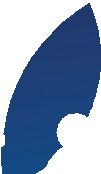
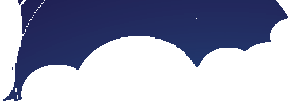
As first step, the questionnaire was handed out on September 5-6, 2019, to attendees during breaks in the conference program. Participants had three options of returning the completed form: either directly in person to me, via email, or in one of the boxes placed at the entrance hall of the conference venue. The personal contact led to a good response rate: Of 152 handed out questionnaires, 43 (28.3%) respondents returned a completed survey form.

As second step, a slightly modified online version of the questionnaire was created.20 All BX2019- attendees who indicated their email address in the conference app and who were identified to belong to one of the three target groups – academic researchers, behavioural insight team members, public servants – were contacted via email. The personalized email was sent out on September 16, 2019. It asked to reply with “YES” when the attendee was willing to participate in the survey, otherwise she would not be contacted again.21 The response rate was much lower than during the personal contact. Of 260 individuals contacted via email, 45 replied with “YES” and received the link to the online survey. Only 27 of them used the link and answered the questions (10.4%).

20Main modifications of the online version were that I split some of the more complex questions into two and made use of the possibility to set junctions. This made respondents receive a slightly different set of questions depending on

whether they had indicated to be a researcher, behavioural insight team member or public servant.

21This study fully complies with German data protection law, hence a follow-up reminder to non-respondents was not feasible.



**5-Minute-Survey**

***Dear participant of the Behavioural Exchange 2019,***

*This is an anonymous survey about our common interest: research motivated by behavioral insights. My current study focusses on a review of experimental research conducted in cooperation with a public partner. I would highly appreciate if you take the time to answer*

*this questionnaire. Please put the completed document into one of the boxes marked with “5-Minute-Survey” or hand it directly to me.*

*Thank you very much in advance!*

**Katja Fels**

RWI - Leibniz Institute for Economic Research, Germany

* 1. **In your view, what is the greatest advantage of cooperative research with a public partner?**

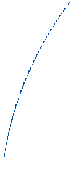
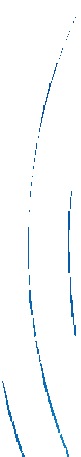
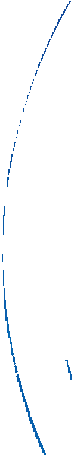
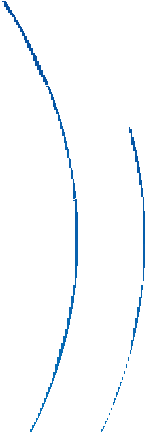
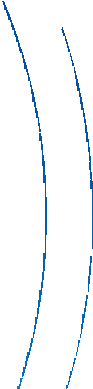
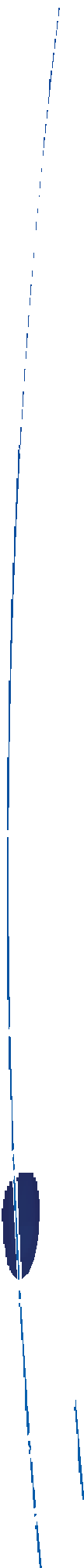
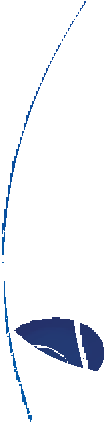
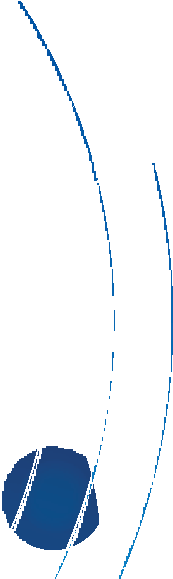
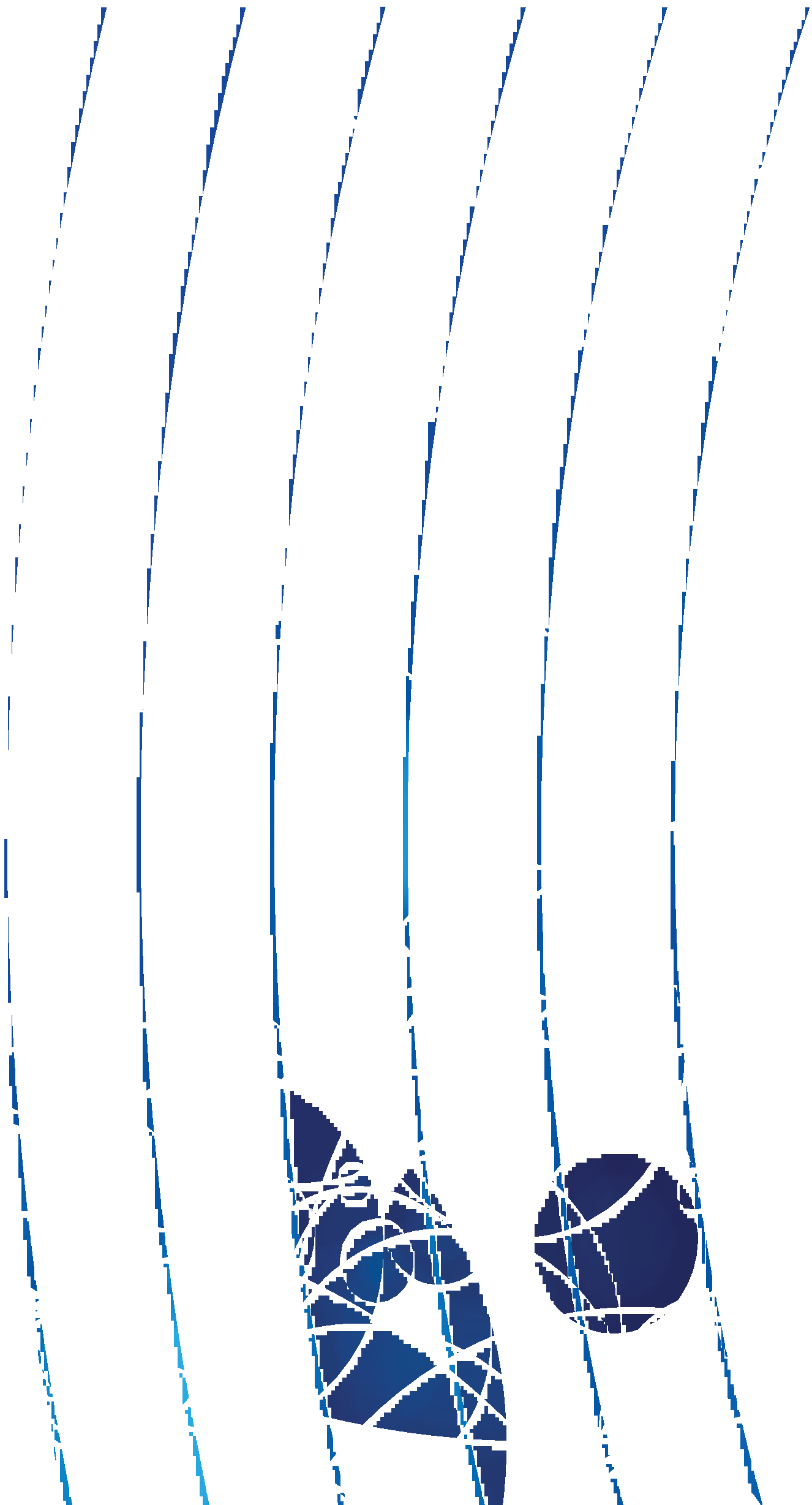
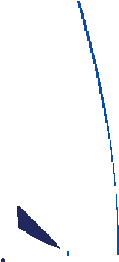
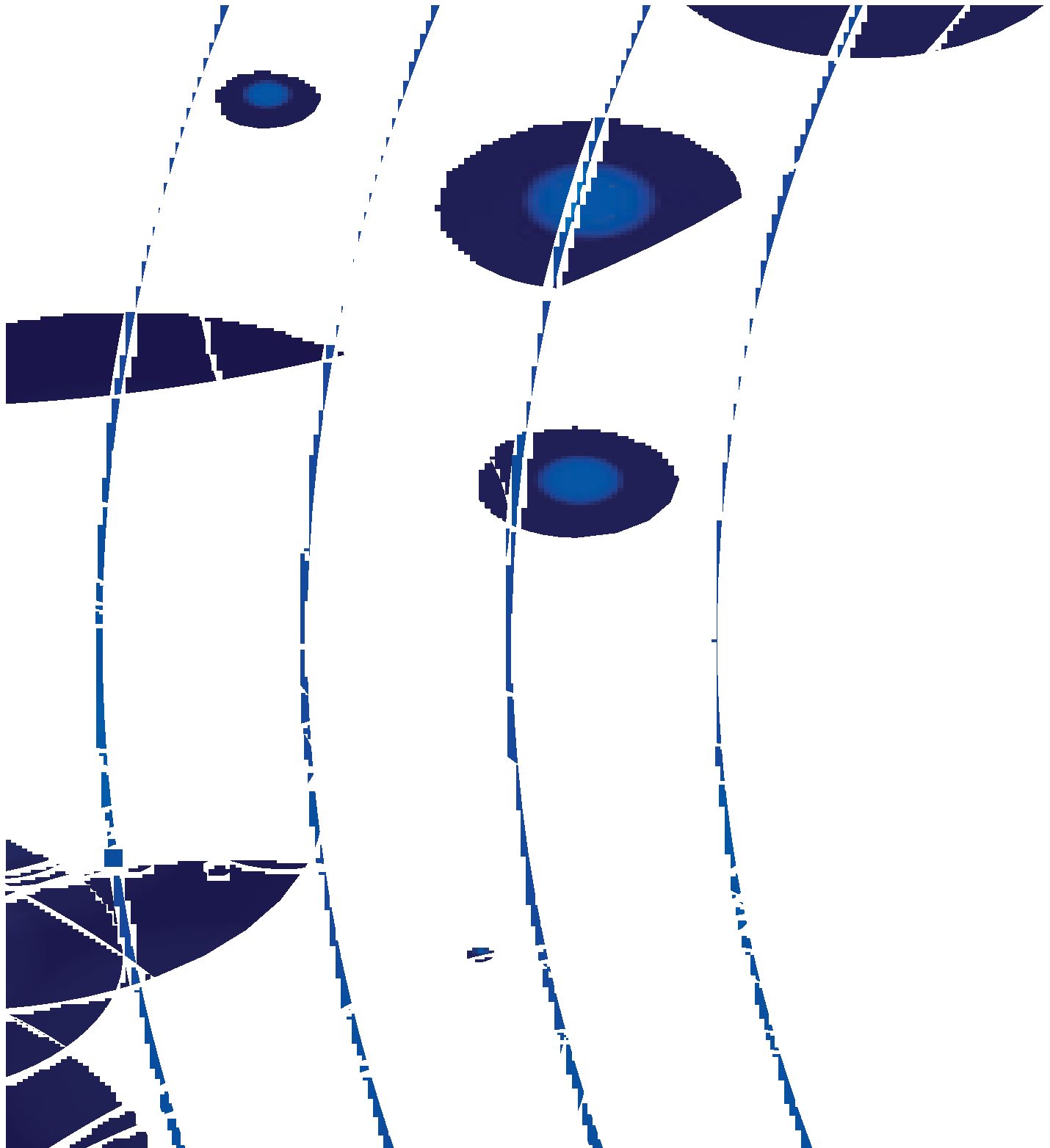
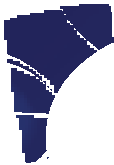
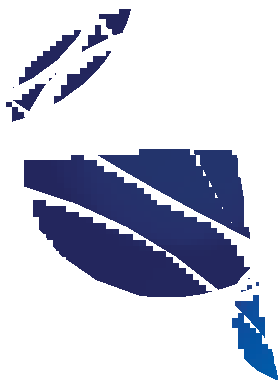
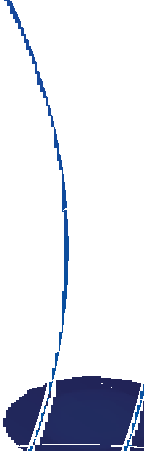
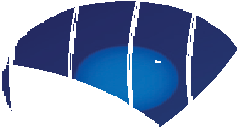
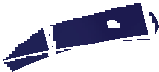
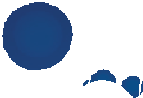
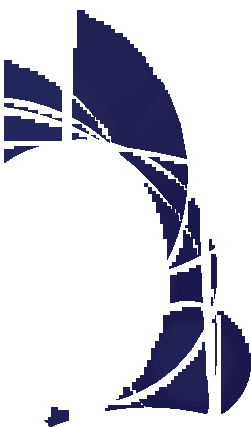
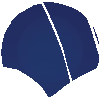
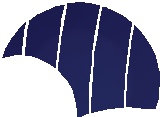
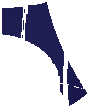
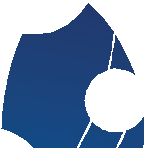
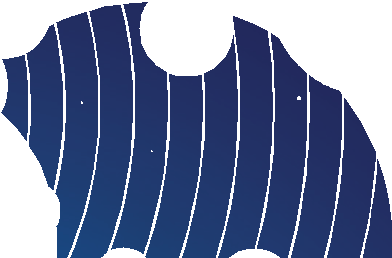
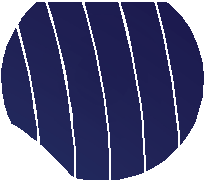
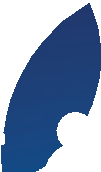
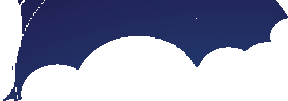
Increased political and practical relevance of research Access to new types of data

New starting points for research (knowledge gap identified by practitioners) Other (please specify):

* 1. **CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING FIELDS OF PUBLIC POLICY:**
     1. **Which fields would you consider most relevant for conducting experiments testing behavioral insights?**
     2. **In which fields of public policy did you test a behavioral insights intervention?**

(Please choose your top 5, (a) starting with 1 for the highest priority, (b) starting with 1 for the field with the most ex- periments. If you haven’t conducted any experiments with a public partner, please answer only a.)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **FIELD OF PUBLIC POLICY MOST RELEVANT MOST OWN EXPERIMENTS**  (rank 1.-5.) (rank 1.-5.) | | |
| AGRICULTURE |  |  |
| CONSUMER PROTECTION |  |  |
| CRIME AND INNER SECURITY |  |  |
| DEFENCE |  |  |
| EDUCATION |  |  |
| ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT |  |  |
| FOREIGN RELATIONS |  |  |
| HEALTH AND NUTRITION |  |  |
| INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT |  |  |
| JUSTICE |  |  |
| PUBLIC FINANCE |  |  |
| SOCIAL SECURITY |  |  |
| TAXATION |  |  |
| TRANSPORTATION |  |  |
| WORK AND PENSION |  |  |
| OTHER (please specify): |  |  |



**5-Minute-Survey**

* 1. **CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING NUDGES:**
     1. **If a public partner offered you to implement any intervention you like, which interventions would you consider most relevant to be tested?**
     2. **Which of these interventions did you test in an experiment with a public partner?**

(Please choose your top 5, (a) starting with 1 for the highest priority, (b) starting with 1 for the intervention with the most own experiments. If you haven’t conducted any experiments with a public partner, please answer only a.)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **TYPE OF INTERVENTION MOST RELEVANT MOST OWN EXPERIMENTS**  (rank 1.-5.) (rank 1.-5.) | | |
| COMMITMENT DEVICES |  |  |
| DEFAULT RULES |  |  |
| DISCLOSURE |  |  |
| ELICITING IMPLEMENTATION INTENTIONS |  |  |
| FEEDBACK |  |  |
| INCREASE IN EASE AND CONVENIENCE |  |  |
| LABELING (WARNINGS, GRAPHICS ETC.) |  |  |
| LETTER DESIGN |  |  |
| MONETARY INCENTIVES VERSUS NUDGES |  |  |
| REMINDERS |  |  |
| SIMPLIFICATION |  |  |
| SOCIAL COMPARISON |  |  |
| SOCIAL NORMS |  |  |
| TIMING |  |  |
| OTHER (please specify): |  |  |
| OTHER (please specify): |  |  |

* 1. **How many field experiments have you conducted in collaboration with a public partner?**

None (please move forward to question 12) 1-2

3-4

**Public partners include:**

* Government departments
* Government agencies and public bodies such as the Taxation Oﬃce, the Teaching Regulation Agency, or the Animal and Plant Health Agency
* Public institutions such as schools & universities

5-6

More than 6

* 1. **In which countries did your experimental research in cooperation with a public partner take place?**

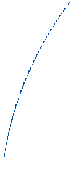
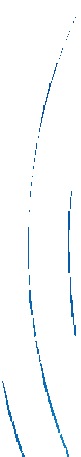
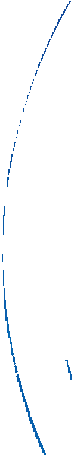
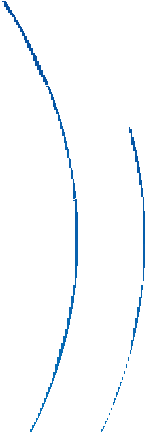
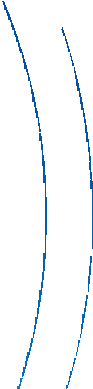
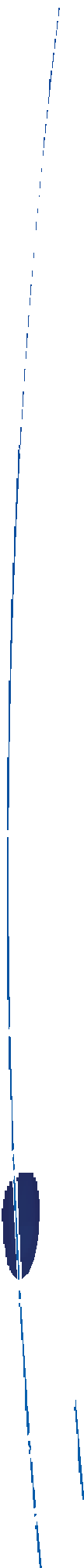
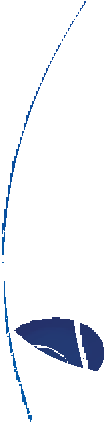
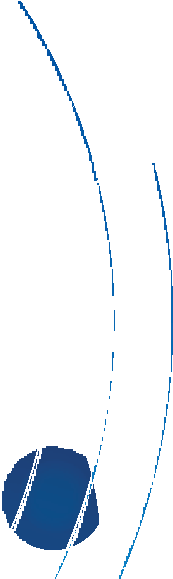
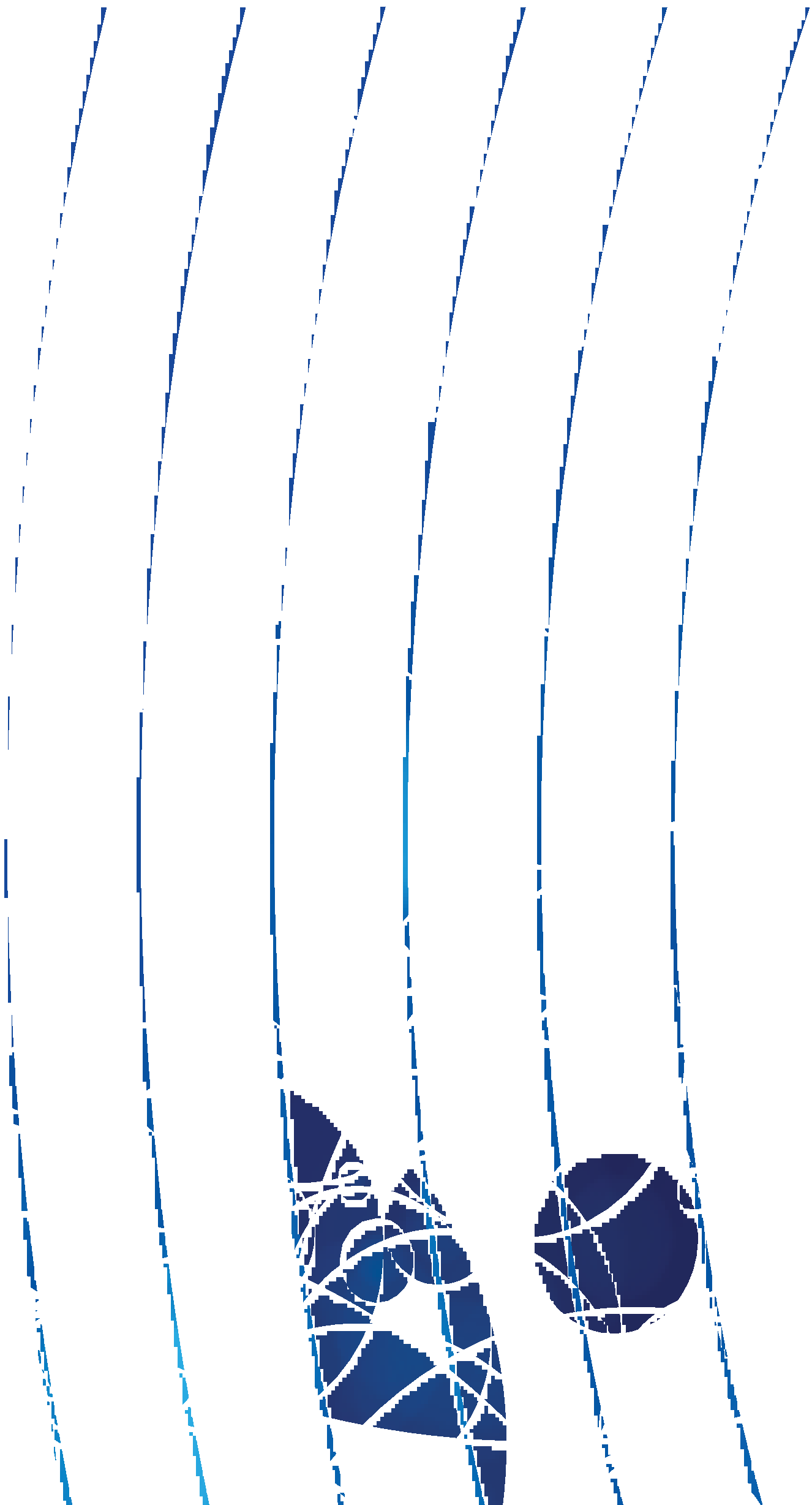
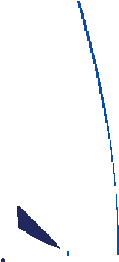
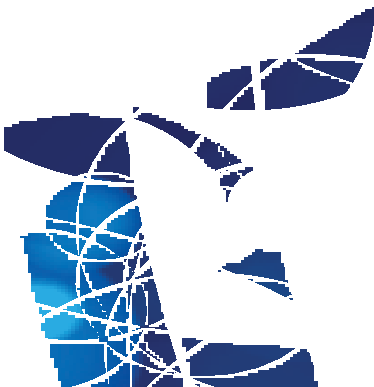
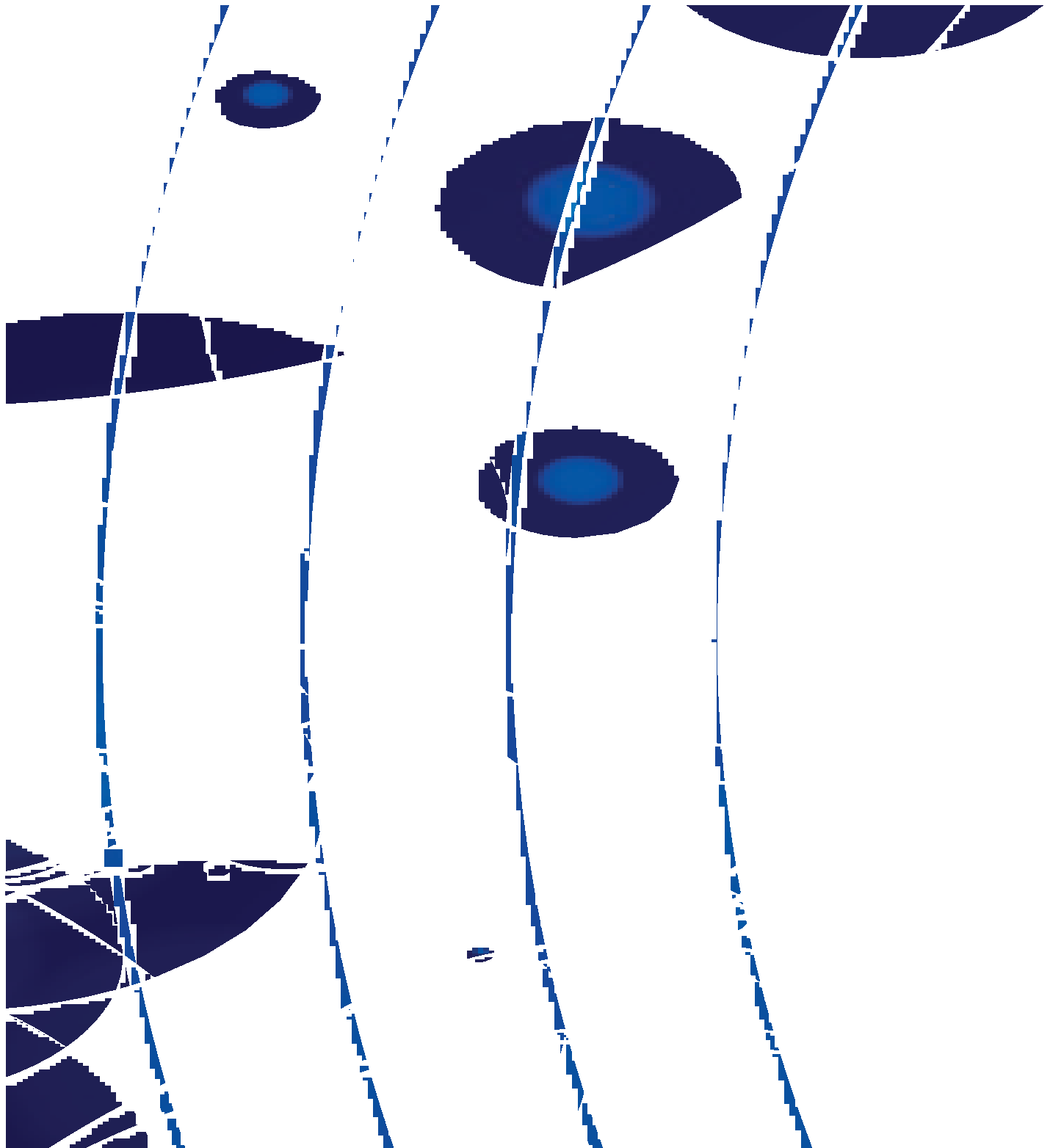
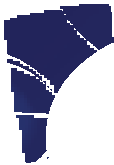
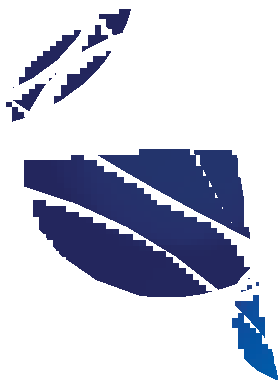
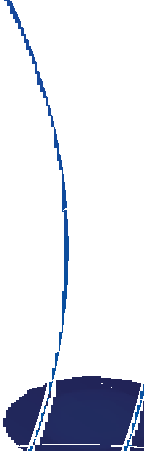
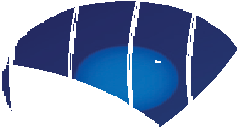
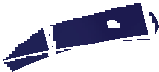
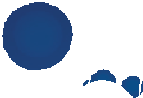
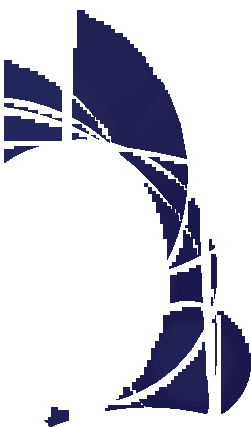
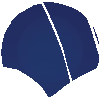
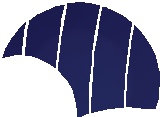
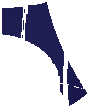
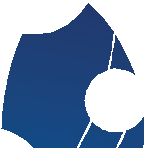
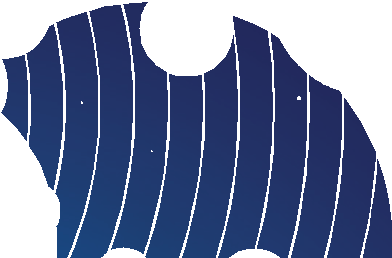
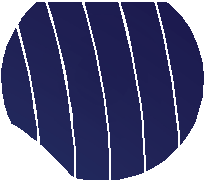
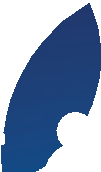
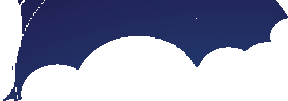
(If more than one, please rank the top five according to the number of experiments.)

1.

2. 3.

4.

5.



**5-Minute-Survey**

* 1. **In this collaborative research, how was the research question derived?**

(If you conducted more than one experiment with a public partner, please indicate the most frequent case.)

1. **In comparison to experiments with other partners, how frequently did you register a pre-analysis plan for your experiment/s with a public partner (e.g. in the AER RCT registry)?**

A knowledge gap identiﬁed by the resear- cher/s was the starting point for developing the research question.

A knowledge gap identiﬁed by the public partner was the starting point for developing the research question.

Consultations between the researcher/s and the public partner were the starting point for developing the research question.

* 1. **Who selected the sample?**

(If you conducted more than one experiment with a public partner, please indicate the most frequent case.)

The researcher/s were free to choose any sample from the target population.

The researcher/s chose the experimental sample from a sub-population, which the public partner selected beforehand.

The sample was chosen by the public partner.

* 1. **In comparison to experiments with other partners, how frequently did you have the impression your research opportunities were limited by a high degree of risk aversion in your public cooperation partner?**

More frequent Less frequent Equally frequent

I only conduct experiments with public partners and experience high risk aversion.

I only conduct experiments with public partners and do not experience high risk aversion.

More frequent Less frequent Equally frequent

I only conduct experiments with public partners and pre-register them.

I only conduct experiments with public partners and do not pre-register them.

1. **When considering all your experiments, what was the maximum period of observation to measure a (long term) effect?**
2. **How often did you have the impression you had to move away from an ideal scientific approach in order to accommodate the requirements of your cooperation partner?**

Never

In the minority of cases 50 % of the time

In the majority of cases Always

1. **Which of the following applies to you?**

I am a researcher from a university or a public research institute collaborating with public partners in order to run experiments on public policy issues.

I am an employee of a government department or of a behavioral insights unit.

I am an employee or oﬃcial from a privately ﬁnanced institution running studies on behavioral insights.

None of the above. I am \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

# Appendix: Email to conference attendees (for online publication only)

All BX2019-attendees who indicated their email address in the conference app and who were identified to belong to one of my the three target groups – academic researchers, behavioural insight team mem- bers, public servants – were contacted via email. The personalized email was sent out on September 16, 2019.

Dear <personalized name>,

At BX2019, I have been running a 5-minute-survey on cooperative field experiments with public bodies. Many of the participants have already filled in the questionnaire. Now I would like to ask for your help: If you haven’t participated yet, I would be very grateful if you could complete the questionnaire in its electronic version.

It takes 5 minutes and is a completely anonymous survey. It will help me to complete my PhD.

If you agree to participate in the survey, please reply ‘‘YES’’ to this email and I will send you the link (data protection regulation). Otherwise I will not contact you again on this matter.

Thank you very much in advance! Best, Katja

Katja Fels

Head of communications / Researcher

RWI - Leibniz Institute for Economic Research

# Appendix: List of interview partners (for online publication only)

The first interview took place on 6 September 2019, at the BX2019 conference in London. The other interviews were conducted via video call between 25 June and 14 July 2020 and between 11 August and 17 August 2021. The duration of the interviews varied between 27 and 52 minutes. Each interviewee agreed to recording the video call to facilitate documentation.

Table 7: List of interview partners

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Name | Position | Category | Experience |
| Dan Ariely, PhD | James B. Duke Professor of Psychology and Behavioral Economics  *Duke University, United States* | Academic Researcher | Participated in over 30 experiments.  In 1996, Ariely founded the Center for Advanced Hindsight; he and his team are offering research into be- havioural sciences to organizations and (public sector) partners. |
| Christian Gillitzer, PhD | Lecturer  *The University of Sydney, Australia* | Academic Researcher | Participated in 1 experiment.  Gillitzer was part of a publicly funded research cooperation with the Australian Taxation Office. The collaborative study was recently published in JEBO: Gillitzer & Sin- ning (2020). |
| Johannes Haushofer, PhD | Assistant Professor of Economics  *Stockholm Univer- sity, Sweden* | Academic Researcher | Participated in over 10 experiments.  In 2011, Haushofer conducted his first field experiment with a public partner, the central government of Sierra Lione, and has continued to work in this field since. He is the founder and scientific director of the Busara Center of Behavioral Eco- nomics, a non-profit research organ- isation in Nairobi. |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dina Pomeranz, PhD | Assistant Professor of Applied Eco- nomics  *University of Zurich, Switzerland* | Academic Researcher | Participated in 7 experiments.  As PhD student Pomeranz con- ducted her first collaborative exper- iment with the Chilenean Tax Au- thority. The study was published in the AER: Pomeranz (2015). Her current work mainly focuses on tax- ation and public procurement. |
| Dr. Alex Sutherland | Chief Scientist/ Director of Research and Evaluation  *The Behavioural In- sights Team (BIT), United Kingdom* | Behavioural insight team member | Participated in 15 experiments.  Sutherland came to BIT in 2019 af- ter he had worked 5 years at RAND Europe. As director of research and evaluation, he is responsible for ensuring the overall standards and quality of BIT’s research. |
| Ruth Persian | Senior Advisor  *The Behavioural In- sights Team (BIT), United Kingdom* | Behavioural insight team member | Participated in 13 experiments and quasi-experimental evaluations.  After first experiences in field exper- imentation at the World Bank, Per- sian joined BIT in 2016. Her current focus is on applying behavioural in- sights and rigorous evaluation to public policy and programmes in low and middle income countries. |
| Paul Adams | Manager, Be- havioural Economics and Design Unit [until 2019]  *Financial Conduct Authority (FCA), United Kingdom* | Behavioural insight team member | Participated in 18 field experiments.  First contact with behavioural in- sights when he joined the FCA in 2012. In March 2019, Adams changed to the Consumer Behaviour team of the Authority for the Fi- nancial Markets, Netherlands. All quotes refer to his work at the FCA. |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Wilte Zijlstra, PhD | Consumer Behavior Expert  *Authority for the Financial Markets (AFM),*  *The Netherlands* | Behavioural insight team member | Participated in 5 experiments plus several online choice experiments.  Having a professional background in Evolutionary Biology, field experi- mentation has long been a standard scientific method for Zijlstra. He joined the AFM in 2006. When the internal behavioural insight unit was founded in 2016, Zijlstra be- came part of the team. |
| Helen Aki | Manager Behavioural Science Aotearoa  *Ministry of Justice, New Zealand* | Public Servant | Participated in over 20 experiments.  Aki has worked for different policy institutions for the past 19 years. Her first experience with an RCT was in 2007 at the Office for Na- tional Statistics, United Kingdom. In May 2020, she took on her cur- rent position with the aim to apply and test behavioural insights across the justice sector in NZ. |
| Jaap Drooglever | Project Manager for Civil Participation  *Ministry of Internal Affairs and King- domrelations, The Netherlands* | Public Servant | Participated in 12 experiments.  Drooglever has worked for the Min- istry for almost 14 years. He is responsible for a civil participation program on natural gas free neigh- bourhoods. Within this program, he coordinates pilot trials in dif- ferent municipalities. In addition to that his team initiated a spe- cific trial with focus on testing be- havioural insights. |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Lindsey Maser | Communications and Behavioural Science Advisor  *City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, United States* | Public Servant | Participated in 16 experiments.  As part of the grant-funded “What Works City”-initiative, the City of Portland entered a partnership with BIT. They have also partnered with Ideas42 and the Center for Ad- vanced Hindsight. Even though her official position focuses on sustain- ability issues, Maser acts a liaison and coordinator for all behavioural experiments that take place within of the City of Portland. |
| Thomas Tangen | Senior Communica- tions Advisor  *The Norwegian Tax Administration (NTA), Norway* | Public Servant | Participated in 1 experiment.  As Communications Advisor, Tan- gen works in the Directorate, the administrative part of the tax ad- ministration. In 2013, he was part of a collaborative field study with academic researchers (published in Management Science: Bott et al. 2019). |

# Appendix: Interview guides (for online publication only)

## Questions for public servants

* + - Personal details
      * What is your professional background?
      * What are your personal experiences in experimental research between researchers and public collaboration partners?
    - Motivation for cooperative research:
      * In your view, what are the advantages and disadvantages of collaborative studies between researchers and the public sector?
      * What do you, as a public servant, hope to get out from these studies?
    - Influence of public servants:
      * In your experience, do you feel you have a “gatekeeper function” in collaborative studies?
      * Why would public servants be interested in having a strong influence on the design of studies?
      * Is this more a risk or an opportunity for the study? How often have you cancelled a collaborative experiment because of concerns?

∗ What were the specific reason for this?

∗ Do you feel you have the freedom to stop an experiment at any time?

* + - Pre-registry / refereed publication
      * How could high scientific standard be ensured in collaborative experiments?
      * One idea is to upload a pre-analysis plan before running the experiment, which specifies the research question, outcome variables and sometimes even hypotheses that are tested. Is this something you could imagine doing with future experiments?
      * Another idea is to require all experiments to be written up and submitted to a peer-reviewed journal. Which hurdles do keep the experimental partners from doing that and how could these be addressed?
    - Ways forward
      * Do you have any suggestions what would need to change structurally in order to improve collaborative research?

## Questions for academic researchers

* + - Personal details
      * What is your professional background?
      * What are your personal experiences in experimental research with public collaboration partners?
    - Motivation for cooperative research
      * In your view, what are the advantages and disadvantages of collaborative studies between researchers and the public sector?
      * What do you, as a researcher, hope to get out from these studies?
      * Do you think your priorities are different than those of the public body?
    - Difference to other experimental research
      * When you compare the public sector to other collaboration partners in experimental re- search – are public collaboration partners different and if yes, in what way?
    - Influence of public servants
      * In your experience, do you feel that public servants have a “gatekeeper function” in collab- orative experiments?
      * Is this more a risk or an opportunity for the study?
    - Difference between experiences of researchers and behavioural insight team members
      * How often have you cancelled a cooperative experiment because of concerns?

∗ What were the specific reason for this?

∗ Do you feel you have the freedom to stop an experiment at any time?

∗ Is your position different to a member of a behavioural insight team?

∗ What are the advantages/disadvantages of your role?

* + - Pre-registry / refereed publication
      * How could high scientific standard be ensured in collaborative experiments?
      * One idea is to upload a pre-analysis plan before running the experiment, which specifies the research question, outcome variables and sometimes even hypotheses that are tested. Is this something you could imagine doing with future experiments?
      * Another idea is to require all experiments to be written up and submitted to a peer-reviewed journal. Which hurdles do keep the experimental partners from doing that and how could these be addressed?
    - Ways forward
      * Do you have any suggestions what would need to change structurally in order to improve collaborative research?

## Questions for members of behavioural insight teams

* + - Personal Details
      * What is your professional background?
      * What are your personal experiences in experimental research with public cooperation part- ners?
    - Motivation for collaborative research
      * In your view, what are the advantages and disadvantages of collaborative studies with the public sector?
      * What do you, as a behavioural insight team member, hope to get out from these studies?
    - Influence of public servants
      * In your experience, do you feel that public servants have a “gatekeeper function” in collab- orative experiments?
      * Is this more a risk or an opportunity for the study?
      * What are the main reservations of the public body you are facing when implementing an experiment?
    - Difference between experiences of researchers and behavioural insight team members
      * What are the differences between you and an external researcher when you implement an experiment?
      * What advantages does your role bring about? What disadvantages?
      * How often have you cancelled a cooperative experiment because of concerns?

∗ What were the specific reason for this?

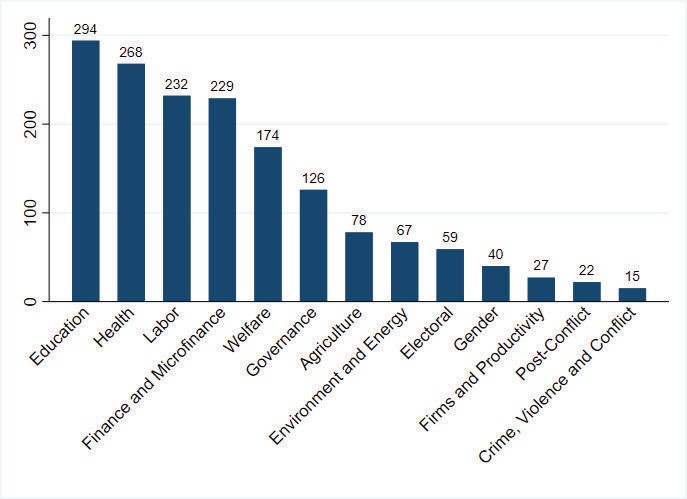
∗ Do you feel you have the freedom to stop an experiment at any time?

* + - Pre-registry / refereed publication
      * How could high scientific standard be ensured in cooperative experiments?
      * One idea is to upload a pre-analysis plan before running the experiment, which specifies the research question, outcome variables and sometimes even hypotheses that are tested. Is this something you could imagine doing with future experiments?
      * Another idea is to require all experiments to be written up and submitted to a peer-reviewed journal. Which hurdles do keep the experimental partners from doing that and how could these be addressed?
    - Ways forward
      * Do you have any suggestions what would need to change structurally in order to improve collaborative research?

# Appendix: Comparison with completed trials in the AEA registry (for online publication only)

On 15 May 2020, 1,159 trials in the AEA registry were enlisted to have been completed. Similar to the nominations of this study’s respondents, education and health gather the top 2 positions (25.4% respective 23.1% of completed trials). Labor ranks third (20% of completed trials), a policy field that corresponds to “work and pension” in the questionnaire and gathers the 5th most nominations by study respondents.

Yet, also some remarkable differences occur. Firstly, while energy and environment is deemed very important by study respondents (3rd most nominations), it only achieves rank 8 (5.8% of completed trials) in the AEA registry. This difference might be due to the fact that study respondents were asked which policy fields they find most relevant for cooperation studies with public partners while in the AEA registry, of course, not only trials conducted with a public partner are enlisted. However, in the field of energy conservation the most natural cooperation partners are private energy providers. Hence allowing greater freedom with respect to potential cooperation partners (as in the AEA registry), should rather drive results upwards than downwards.

Figure 5: Policy fields – number of completed trials

*Note:* Total number of completed trials in the AEA RCT registry on 15 May, 2020: 1,159. Each trial may belong to multiple policy fields.

The opposite is true for policy fields like crime and inner security which, secondly, show a clear gap between relevance assessment and realization. While study respondents put crime and inner security on rank 7 of the relevance assessment, the corresponding policy field “crime, violence and conflict” makes up only 1.3% of completed trials; it holds the final position in the AEA RCT registry. In this

case, a potential upward bias of study respondents’ answers seems to be likely because crime and inner security is a core policy field of the public hand, and they were asked about cooperative research with a public partner.

Thirdly, among study respondents the policy field agriculture is not deemed very relevant (fourth to last rank), while it makes up for 6.7 percent of actually completed trials (more than energy and environment). This might be due to the fact that the most popular region for trials enlisted in the AEA RCT registry is Africa where agriculture plays a crucial role for income generation. Study respondents, on the other hand, mainly focus their research on Anglo-Saxon countries (see section 2.2) and hence might take a different perspective.

Unfortunately, policy fields like consumer protection, transportation, justice, and taxation, which are deemed highly relevant by study respondents, do not have an equivalent category in the AEA RCT registry. A possible explanation is that these fields do not make up many of the studies enlisted in the registry, since otherwise the categories would have been added, but this interpretation is up for further investigation.

# Appendix: Internal and external behavioural insight teams (for online publication only)

During the qualitative interviews, several interesting differences in the features of internal and external behavioural insight teams came up. They are summarized in this chapter.

Members of an internal behavioural insight unit have the great advantage that they know the institution from the inside, as Wilte Zijlstra (2020) from the behavioural insight team of the Dutch Authority of Financial Markets (AFM) points out: “You know what’s going to fly, what’s not going to fly, what’s feasible, what’s not feasible. It’s harder for an external consultant or an external researcher. Because I work at the AFM, I know better what my colleagues want and I know where the goals are.” Helen Aki (2021) from the Ministry of Justice in New Zealand puts it in a similar way: ”What I realised from doing this work is you have to be super connected into the business. If you are somehow outside that world, I don’t think you would have the right contact or knowledge or understanding of the people or how to get things done in an organisation.“

This view is also confirmed by academic researcher Christian Gillitzer (2020) who worked with the behavioural insight team of the Australian Taxation Office (ATO): “They’re much closer to the institution, they are ATO staff. Many of them have worked in operational parts of the organization themselves before coming to the behavioural insight team. I think they are more receptive to academic research than the rest of the organization. Their priority is demonstrating usefulness on a day to day basis to the ATO’s activities.” “The fact that it’s a known quantity for the government is helpful, and if you have it inhouse, then it’s sort of known by definition”, Johannes Haushofer (2021) from Stockholm University consents.

Yet “you also have to deal with the realities of an institution”, Wilte Zijlstra (2020) from the behavioural insight team of the Dutch Authority of Financial Markets points out. One main challenge for internal behavioural insight units seem to be gaining reputation and support within their admin- istration. “The understanding of what behavioural science is and how it can work is not well known across New Zealand. So we can’t expect people to come to us. We have to be very, very proactive in going out and seeking those opportunities. It’s a lot of work to do that”, Helen Aki (2021) from the Ministry of Justice describes. Lindsey Maser (2020) from the City of Portland confirms this view and calls for a stronger engagement of leadership: “There’s not yet much awareness at the higher levels of our city government of behavioural science and randomized control trials. Our efforts are initiated by staff rather than leadership so far. We’re fortunate to have such engaged, interested employees, but in order to grow our behavioural insights and RCT efforts, we’ll need someone in leadership to champion this work.” Christian Gillitzer (2020) from the University of Sydney sees this as the main task of internal behavioural insight teams: “I think it’s the role of the behavioural insight team internally to do some of that selling and convincing of the operational teams.” But it still seems to be a long way to go: “I would like it to be even more demand-driven, so that colleagues in supervision and policy

would know better about us and approach us”, Wilte Zijlstra (2020) from the behavioural insight team of the AFM says.

External units like the BIT, on the other hand, are called to the table when the decision of potentially applying behavioural insights to policy design has already been made. “We are a research consultancy, both in terms of business model but also in the way we look at problems”, Ruth Persian (2020) describes. “Because of our early ties to government, we still have good relationships with people within that space. This network, combined with the fact that many of our staff are previous civil servants, means that we can navigate the government landscape quickly and effectively”, Alex Sutherland (2020) points to differences between working with the BIT and working with academic partners. For the public body, also BIT’s expertise and contacts seem to play a crucial role: “It’s very hard to run a randomized controlled trial with a small sample size. BIT helped cities overcome this challenge by coordinating multi-city efforts. With this we could see trends and differences of what worked and what didn’t among different populations”, Lindsey Maser (2020) from the City of Portland says.