International development and behavioural insights

Summary report 2017-19



About this report

This report is a summary of international development work by the Behavioural Insights Team and its partners from 2017 to 2019.

It covers projects by staff across our London, New York, Singapore and Sydney offices.

More details of the team and its work can be found on our website: **www.bi.team**

If you would like to talk to us about any of these projects, share results of your own, or be involved in a future intervention, please get in touch: **www.bi.team/contact**



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Summary

We generate, apply and train organisations to use behavioural insights to address a range of social and environmental issues, from corruption to waste management. An increasing proportion of this work now takes place in low and middle income countries.

Highlights include:

Building capacity in Indonesia

We supported the tax office and social security agency to each establish a behavioural insights function, with the skills and structures to run their own projects. BIT builds capacity through applied practice, so we worked with a team of civil servants in each institution to design and test the impact of different email reminders on compliance behaviour. These projects brought forward millions of dollars in payments owed to the government and facilitated rapid adoption of evidence-based policy, ensuring better provision of public services for millions of Indonesian citizens. For example, the tax authority took the most successful email message from their randomised controlled trial and applied it nationally the following year.

Combating corruption in Nigeria

Not being able to show ID when requested by a public official leaves people vulnerable to demands for bribes. Working with a local office of the Federal Road Safety Corps of Nigeria, we tested the impact of sending an SMS reminder to people who had failed to pick up their new driver's licence after the first notification. The message, which used loss aversion by highlighting that the recipient had already paid for their licence, more than doubled the number of people who picked up their driver's licence in a two-month period.

Improving responses to intimate partner violence (IPV) in Georgia

We tested four different Facebook ads to encourage friends and family of IPV survivors to take supportive actions. An ad which used positive social norms about bystanders speaking out against IPV had a 50 per cent higher click rate when it offered tips for providing social support to survivors compared to connecting survivors to services. This study has generated useful insights about how to frame IPV-related campaigns in the future.

Promoting financial inclusion in Mexico

We tested a range of behavioural interventions to encourage beneficiaries of the conditional cash transfer programme Prospera to make better use of formal financial services. We tripled the number of beneficiaries that made a digital transaction at an agent banking point (retail outlets authorised to carry out banking services) by incentivising agents with a cap, thermos and folder.

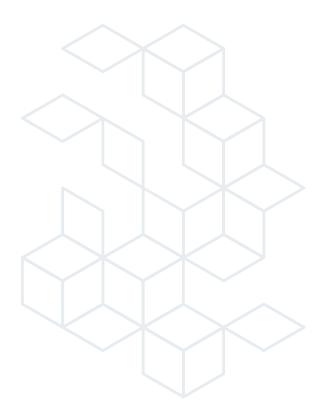


Increasing medication adherence in Moldova

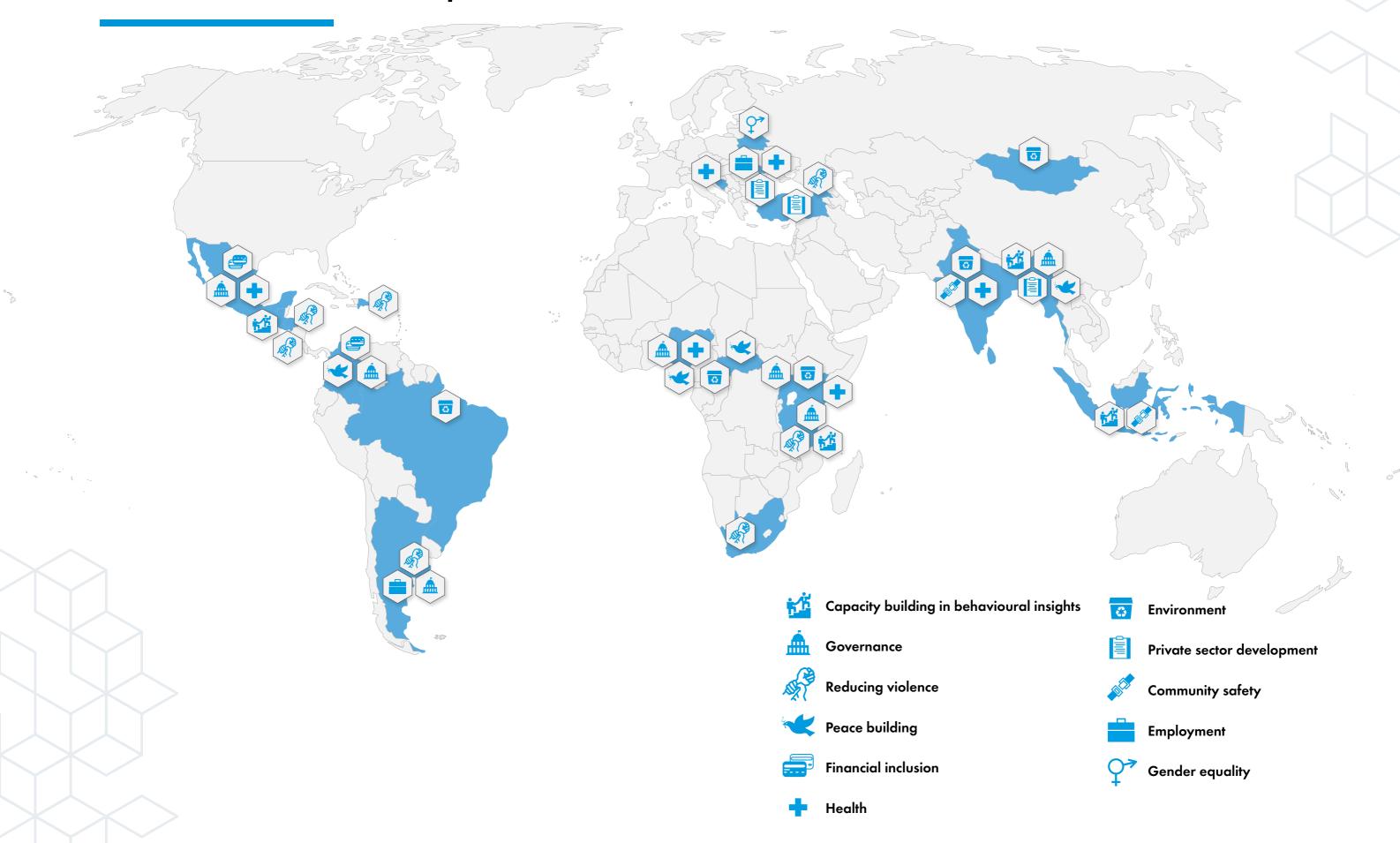
We made it easier for tuberculosis patients to take their daily medication under the supervision of a medical professional by allowing them to submit video evidence instead of visiting a clinic. This increased observed adherence from 44 per cent to 84 per cent, improving the chances of patients making a full recovery.

At BIT we believe that behavioural insights can make a positive contribution to addressing all policy challenges. In low and middle income countries, we are currently focusing on eight main areas, which we cover in this report.

We are also looking to expand our activities into new areas, especially where we have experience in high income countries which we could usefully apply in low and middle income countries. These include gender equality, employment, and community safety.



Our international development work





Indonesia, Guatemala, Bangladesh and Tanzania

Giving policy practitioners the tools to design behavioural interventions and find out what works for themselves, rather than rely on external evidence reviews, is one of the best ways we can achieve social impact.

Establishing government behavioural insights units in Indonesia, Guatemala and Bangladesh

With support from the Global Innovation Fund, BIT has been working closely with civil servants in Indonesia, Guatemala and Bangladesh to institutionalise behavioural approaches to public policy, including rigorous testing of interventions. We build capacity through applied practice (learning by doing). Therefore, we are conducting six to seven projects in each country which support local policy priorities and reduce poverty, such as increasing tax revenue, reducing social security contribution arrears by employers, promoting apprenticeships, strengthening financial inclusion and improving education outcomes.

For each project, we are:

- guiding our partners through fieldwork to understand the perspectives of the people whose behaviour they seek to change;
- co-designing interventions to promote positive outcomes; and
- empowering our partners to find out what works and what doesn't by randomising their trial sample and analysing the impact of interventions using data analysis software such as Stata, R and Excel.

In Indonesia, our work with the tax authority and social security agency has not only produced positive trial results (see below) but also built staff skills and facilitated new structures which will ensure sustainable behavioural insights functions within these organisations. The tax authority established a behavioural insights task force to run their own randomised controlled trials (RCTs) using a guide BIT created. Members of the task force have also been supporting regional and local tax offices to simplify the way they communicate with taxpayers. Similarly, since our collaboration with the social security agency's research team, staff have been using the Stata training BIT provided to conduct new types of data analysis which will inform an update of the agency's data systems. The research team is also exploring opportunities to apply a behavioural lens to extending social security coverage in the informal sector, and educating young people about their social security rights.

Increasing tax compliance with the Indonesian tax authority

Working with the Indonesian tax authority (Direktorat Jenderal Pajak, or DJP) on our second project together, we ran our largest RCT, with 11.2 million taxpayers. The aim was to encourage taxpayers to submit their annual tax return at least two weeks before the deadline. In previous years, the online filing system crashed and there were long queues at local tax offices for manual filing because many taxpayers filed at the last minute. Such situations can erode tax morale and negatively impact tax revenue.

Six weeks before the filing deadline in 2018, we tested six different email messages against a 'no email' control. These messages were co-designed with representatives from four DJP directorates, and most used very different language to conventional taxpayer communication in Indonesia, which tends to focus on regulations.

Our best-performing message (Figure 1) highlighted that early filing avoids problems, and it provided a link to a website where taxpayers could choose a filing date and receive reminders in the run-up to that date. Preliminary analysis indicates that it increased early filing by 7 per cent and overall filing by 2 per cent. It also brought forward an extra USD 1.93 million in tax payments at the point of filing, equivalent to USD 13.53 million if scaled to the whole sample.

The following year, DJP sent the email to all personal income taxpayers registered for online filing. This demonstrates that the adoption of evidence-based policy is often faster and more scalable when the evidence is generated by policy practitioners through capacity building initiatives.

Figure 1. DJP's best-performing email to encourage early tax filing (translated)

Dear Mr/Ms [Name] NPWP [XX.XXX.XXX.X-XXX.XXX]	
It's time to submit your 2017 Annual I 16, 2018.	ncome Tax Return. We will send a reminder to help you. Choose a date prior to March
	report the SPT before March 16, 2018 to make it easier. <u>Click here</u> rt the SPT before March 16, even if this makes it more difficult for me. <u>Click here</u>
Good planning in preparing the SPT	will make reporting easier. Nowadays, more Indonesians than ever are dutifully filing SPT.
Avoid problems when reporting	tax return at the end of March:
 Rejections because of submitting Website slowdown for e-Filing; Long queues for manual submission Imposition of fines if it passes the 	
Start preparing your SPT report now.	
Best regards, Robert Pakpahan Director General of Taxation	
Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia	

Reducing contribution arrears with the Indonesian social security agency

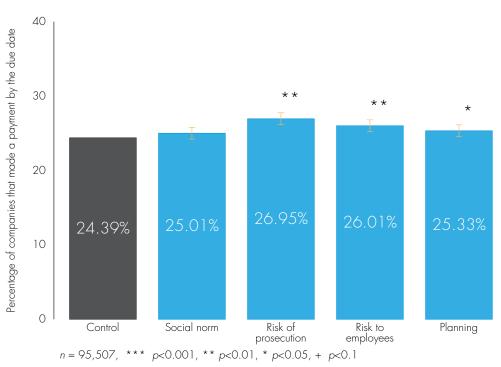
We partnered with the research team at BPJS Ketenagakerjaan (BPJSTK) – the Indonesian social security agency – to reduce arrears of mandatory social security contributions by employers. Around 313,000 companies registered with BPJSTK had arrears at least once between July 2017 and June 2018, leaving millions of Indonesian employees without workplace insurance or old age benefits.

We first conducted fieldwork with BPJSTK and found that companies were often not aware of the consequences of late payment or were unsure about how to pay. We then co-designed four payment reminder emails emphasising different motivations for paying on time, with clear and simple steps to do so:

- 1. Social norm: "62% of companies pay on time."
- 2. Risk of prosecution: "Last year, BPJSTK referred 5,756 cases to the Attorney General."
- 3. Risk to employees: "If your company has arrears, your employees are not protected."
- 4. Planning: "Take 5 minutes to choose a date and time in your calendar when you will make the payment."

With a sample of 95,156 companies, we compared the impact of these emails against a 'no email' control. We found that highlighting the risk of prosecution increased the number of companies that made a payment before the deadline by 2.6 percentage points (Figure 2). It also reduced arrears by 3.4 percentage points, resolving an extra USD 734,000 in old debt. This represents a USD 3.7 million reduction in arrears if the email had been sent to the whole sample.





Sample is 95,507 registered business units from 95,156 companies.

Creating a Centre for Behavioural Science in Tanzania

Advancing the capacity-building tools we developed with our partners in Indonesia, Guatemala and Bangladesh, we recently started working with the University of Dar es Salaam to provide technical assistance to its new Centre for Behavioural Science (CBS). Over the next two years, BIT will support the CBS to conduct two behavioural insights projects with the Government of Tanzania, helping to establish the first behavioural insights unit in Africa that we know of.

Sign up for updates on our capacity-building work: www.bi.team/capacitybuilding







Governance: Combating corruption

Colombia, Argentina, Mexico, Nigeria and Tanzania

Corruption prevents economies and societies from functioning optimally. It affects the quality of both public and private services, and fuels political instability and social disunity. While we cannot resolve all the corruption in a country with a single intervention, we can begin to shift the dial by targeting specific behaviours in specific governance contexts and systems.

Strengthening the integrity of government contractors and civil servants and in Colombia, Argentina and Mexico

In 2016, BIT launched a three-country programme of work with the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office to support the governments of Colombia, Argentina and Mexico in tackling high-priority corruption issues.

In Colombia, a national scandal erupted in 2016 over the school meals programme Programa de Alimentación Escolar. Evidence emerged that paid government contractors were providing inadequate quantities of food to school children, while deceiving parents and the government by taking photos of children with plates full of food. To address this issue, we partnered with the Colombian President's Office, the National Planning Department and the Inter-American Development Bank.

We designed a monitoring intervention with two components:

- 1. SMS to encourage parental monitoring of the school meals programme; and
- 2. Weekly audits of food quality and quantity in schools by specially hired contractors.

We first wanted to find out what kinds of text messages would engage parents in monitoring the provision of meals at their child's school. Over five weeks, we iteratively tested different message designs with five rapid RCTs. Based on the statistically significant response rates listed below, we ended up with five principles for engaging parents in monitoring (see Figure 3 for an example message):

- Send personalised messages (rather than generic) -27 per cent higher response rate.
- Ask closed questions (rather than open questions), e.g. "Did your child eat X?" 163 per cent higher response rate.
- Name three food items the child should have eaten (rather than one item), e.g. "Did your child eat rice, broccoli and beans?" 59 per cent higher response rate.
- Send messages about the parent's own child's food (rather than thousands of similar children) 32
 per cent higher response rate.
- Send messages in the morning (rather than afternoon) 45 per cent higher response rate.



Figure 3. Example message to parents (translated)

We then conducted an RCT with 213 schools to test the combined effect of weekly text messages to parents and food audits in schools. We did not find a statistically significant difference between treatment schools and control schools when we looked at (1) the quantity and quality of the food provided and (2) parents' satisfaction with the school meals programme.

One limitation of our experiment was that only five companies were contracted to provide meals to both the treatment and the control schools. This could have caused spillover effects whereby contractors improved their performance in control schools because they had experienced increased monitoring in treatment schools. We therefore conducted an exploratory before-and-after analysis, which found an increase in compliance with the audits among treatment schools. Given that this is not an experimental effect, we cannot infer causality. However, we consider this to be strong suggestive evidence that merits further testing.

You can find the results of our work in Argentina and Mexico on our website - soon to be published.



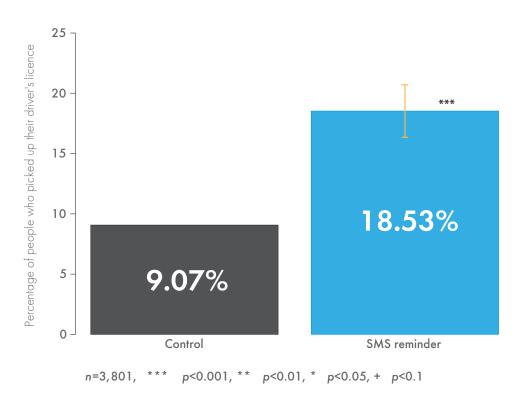
Reducing opportunities for bribery in Nigeria

BIT and Harvard University designed and delivered an anti-corruption training programme in Nigeria for public officials, civil society organisations, faith-based leaders and entertainment organisations. This was funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

As part of the training programme, over 30 groups applied for support to implement a behavioural intervention. The proposal from the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), which issues driver's licences in Nigeria, stood out for its capacity to reach thousands of Nigerians cost-effectively and to generate measurable impact. While most people in Nigeria pick up their new driver's licence once it is ready, thousands of people never get around to it. This leaves them vulnerable to being solicited for a bribe during traffic stops and in other instances when they need to show ID.

To address this problem, we developed two RCTs with the FRSC, both of which evaluated SMS interventions. The first RCT tested the impact of sending a text message to people who failed to collect their new driver's licence after the first notification. The message, which used loss aversion by highlighting that the recipient had already paid for their licence, more than doubled the number of people who picked up their driver's licence in a two-month period (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Driver's licence collection rate



The second RCT, which is ongoing, is testing whether behaviourally informed text messages are more effective at encouraging people to pick up their new driver's licence compared to the FRSC's current message. Results from this and other collaborations following on from the initial training programme in Nigeria will be available on our website in 2019.

Using social networks and norms to address health sector corruption in Tanzania

Over the next two years, we will be working with researchers from the Basel Institute on Governance, Utrecht University and the University of Dar es Salaam to fight corruption in Tanzania when people try to obtain health services - a moment when they are highly vulnerable. We will investigate how social networks and norms around reciprocity may not only be a source of corruption but can also be used to address it. Our work in Tanzania is funded by the UK Department for International Development's (DFID) Anti-Corruption Evidence Programme.







Governance: Strengthening the credibility of elections

Bangladesh

Credible elections are at the heart of democracy. The role of election observers is to prevent fraud and violence, but they only have the power to report irregularities, not intervene. Understanding their impact, and how to motivate them, is critical to ensuring citizens can freely choose leaders who will represent them.

During Bangladesh's 2018 national election - the first fully participatory election in a decade - The Asia Foundation (TAF) deployed approximately 15,000 volunteer election observers to polling stations around the country. In the lead-up, TAF trained 82 trainers, who then trained the election observers on how to observe and report suspicious and intimidating behaviour.

BIT and the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zürich worked with TAF to test the impact of a motivation intervention on the level of observer reporting, and to evaluate the impact of observers on actual levels of electoral fraud. This project was funded by DFID Bangladesh.

To motivate election observers, we designed a short behavioural intervention which involved public pledges of honesty and commitment, and a values affirmation exercise. We randomly allocated the motivation intervention to the standard training materials given to the trainers. The trainers in both the treatment and the control groups were told to use whichever materials they were given to train election observers in their constituency. We then randomised the list of polling stations in each constituency and dispatched observers in that order on the election day.

Throughout the election day, observers were asked to respond to a 67-question survey via SMS. We chose a subset of questions to construct three reporting indices: intimidation, miscounting and voter feedback. While the response rates were slightly higher for observers in the treatment group compared to the control group across all three indices (both individually and combined), the differences were not statistically significant (Figure 5). Therefore, we cannot say that the intervention increased the level of reporting by observers. However, given that the intervention was delivered indirectly to observers, we also cannot know the degree to which it was implemented as intended.

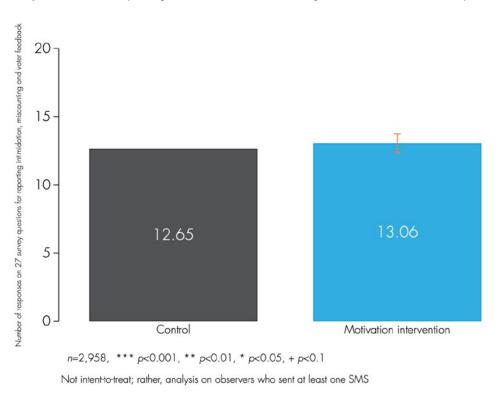


Figure 5. Overall reporting on intimidation, miscounting and voter feedback (27 questions)

To evaluate the causal impact of election observers on levels of electoral fraud, we are using advanced statistical techniques¹ to compare anomalies in voting results at polling stations with (1) no observer, (2) observers with standard training and (3) observers with standard training and the motivation intervention. The results of this analysis are due soon.







Reducing violence: Discouraging corporal punishment in refugee camps

Tanzania

Violence in school leads to lower educational attainment. However, there is little evidence on light touch interventions that can reduce physical punishment by teachers in humanitarian settings, who often don't know alternative classroom management techniques. BIT has been working in refugee camps to design and rigorously test behavioural approaches to address this problem.

Continuing our long-standing partnership with the International Rescue Committee, we tested different messaging to reduce teacher support for corporal punishment. We also piloted a behaviourally informed teacher training programme, EmpaTeach, aimed at reducing the use of violence by teachers in Tanzanian refugee camps.

An RCT we ran in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp found that empathy-building exercises, which asked teachers to take the perspective of children, led to a 31 per cent reduction in their level of agreement with corporal punishment, and a 26 per cent reduction in whether teachers thought that hitting children was acceptable in specific classroom situations (Figure 6). Sharing clinical evidence with teachers about the impact of violence on students' ability to learn also had a positive impact. However, compared to the control group, which received information about the rights of children and the rules that protect them, neither of these approaches were effective at encouraging teachers to sign up to receive additional information about how to make their classroom safe.

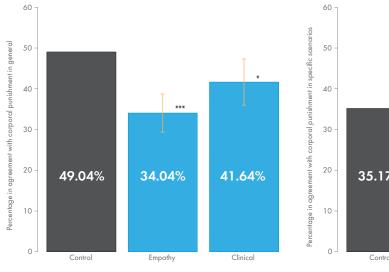
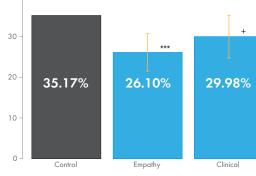


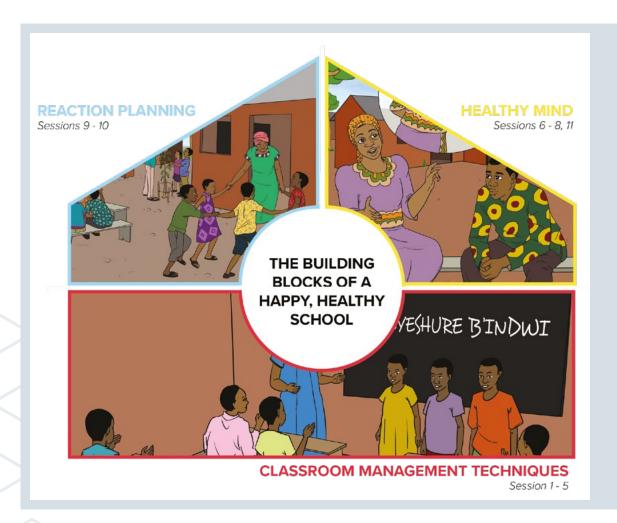
Figure 6. Teacher attitudes towards violence (using values-based and scenarios-based surveys)



n=1,002, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

In our second phase of work, we designed a programme to address some of the drivers of teacher violence, including poor classroom management skills and emotional self-regulation. Using tools inspired by cognitive – behavioural therapy and behavioural science, the programme is designed to help teachers identify their violence triggers, change destructive thought patterns and plan to use positive discipline techniques in their classrooms.

We ran a small-scale pilot in two schools in Mtendeli Refugee Camp to assess the acceptability and feasibility of the programme, with encouraging results. The next step is to conduct an RCT with 1,400 teachers in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp to understand the impact of this programme on actual teacher behaviour. This evaluation will be led by Dr. Karen Devries of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and managed by Innovations for Poverty Action.





Reducing violence: Improving responses to intimate partner violence

Georgia, South Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean

Intimate partner violence is a leading cause of death and disability for women worldwide. Increasing the responsiveness of bystanders and formal support services can improve outcomes for survivors and affected family members.

Encouraging bystander action in Georgia and South Africa

When intimate partner violence (IPV) occurs, the survivor's and perpetrator's friends, neighbours and family members often witness or suspect what is happening. These bystanders can play an important role in IPV reduction, offering help to a survivor or imposing consequences on a perpetrator. Frequently, however, bystanders look the other way and survivors are left unsupported.

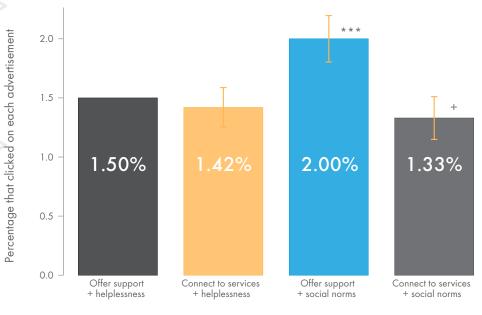
To address this issue, BIT and the United Nations Development Programme country teams in Georgia and South Africa collaborated to apply a behavioural approach to encourage bystanders to learn more about how to act against IPV. We used Facebook as our intervention delivery channel, designing a set of ads targeting different key barriers to bystander action (such as helplessness and social norms), which we identified through in-depth interviews, service mapping and other background research.

We tested two ads in South Africa and four ads in Georgia (see Figure 7 and the messages below Figure 8). In both countries, all the ads led to strong engagement from viewers, with click rates 30–100 per cent higher than those of average Facebook ad campaigns.² In South Africa we did not find a significant difference between the messages. In Georgia, however, there was a clear leader: the ad combining an offer to get tips for providing social support with positive social norms significantly outperformed the other three, suggesting that this combination could be an effective frame for further IPV-related campaigns in Georgia.

Figure 7. Facebook ad incorporating 'offer support' + 'social norms' in Georgia



Interestingly, the social norms message backfired (see grey column in Figure 8) when combined with an offer to get information on how to connect survivors to services. This highlights the need to test these messages before rolling them out at scale and to ensure that services are perceived to be useful.





Offer support + helplessness: "When someone is being mistreated by their partner, a friend makes a difference. You can be that friend. Learn what you can say or do to support them."

Connect to services + helplessness: "When someone is being mistreated by their partner, a friend makes a difference. You can be that friend. Learn how you can connect them to services, job centres and shelters."

Offer support + social norms: "Only a minority of Georgians think you should stay quiet if you know of someone being mistreated by their partner. Learn what you can say or do to support them."

Connect to services + social norms: "Only a minority of Georgians think you should stay quiet if you know of someone being mistreated by their partner. Learn how you can connect them to services, job centres and shelters."

Improving IPV survivor services in Latin America and the Caribbean

In April 2019, BIT and the Inter-American Development Bank will launch a white paper on applying behavioural insights to improving IPV survivor services in Latin America and the Caribbean. The paper summarises the behavioural barriers to help-seeking and effective service provision, which we identified through interviews with service providers in four countries. It also offers dozens of potential intervention ideas which could be adapted and tested for impact in different country contexts. Look out for it on our website.

n=149,445, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1



Nigeria, Myanmar, Central African Republic and Colombia

Since BIT's creation, we have helped governments and service providers to introduce and evaluate small, low-cost variations into policy and practice. Using this incremental approach to improve the performance of programmes and services has often produced large benefits. Key to this success has been rigorous testing, but this is often perceived as impossible in fast-changing environments with poor data, such as conflict-affected states.

Reducing conflict in Nigeria, Myanmar and Central African Republic

In 2018, BIT joined a consortium of non-governmental organisations to apply our approach to building sustainable peace in some of the world's most fragile states – Nigeria, Myanmar and Central African Republic. With funding from DFID's UK Aid Connect programme, the consortium will work on new approaches to dialogue and security reforms that can prevent and resolve cycles of conflict. Consortium members include Conciliation Resources, International Crisis Group, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, The Asia Foundation, Center for Security Studies at ETH Zürich, and Chatham House.

We will be designing interventions aimed at reducing inter-group discrimination and increasing civic engagement in peace processes. Importantly, we will bring new ideas for evaluating the causal impact of peace-building interventions using experimental and quasi-experimental approaches. Learning what works and what doesn't is critical for the consortium to be able to deliver value for money at a time when the number of people affected by conflict around the world is growing.

Supporting the social reintegration of ex-combatants in Colombia

Previously, through a small self-funded project, we worked with the Colombian President's Office to explore how behavioural insights could support the implementation of the peace accords in Colombia. We produced a series of ideas to promote social cohesion, support the reintegration of FARC³ ex-combatants and improve the well-being of civil servants working on post-conflict policies. We are continuing to explore opportunities to take some of these ideas forward.



Financial inclusion: Encouraging bank account usage

Mexico

Increasing the availability and equality of opportunities for people to access financial services can reduce poverty by enabling day-to-day transactions, safeguarding savings, supporting planning for recurring expenses and emergencies, and helping businesses to grow. Applying a behavioural lens ensures the benefits of financial inclusion programmes don't fall short.

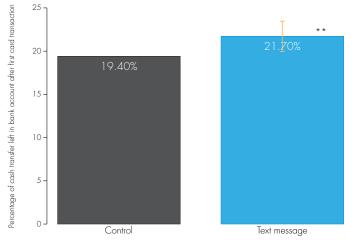
The Government of Mexico is currently digitising its flagship conditional cash transfer programme, Prospera. Beneficiaries will now receive money straight into a bank account, often their first, which provides new opportunities for promoting positive financial behaviours. However, with over three-quarters of beneficiaries withdrawing their payments in full after they are deposited, the first step is to encourage more active account usage. This includes leaving some money in the account, making transactions other than withdrawals and using access points beyond ATMs, such as small shops.

BIT and a consortium of partners – including the Mexican President's Office, Women's World Banking and CIDE (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas) – worked with Prospera to develop three interventions to introduce beneficiaries to the new payment system: a personalised letter, a training session and a series of text messages which included tips on how to use the bank card. We piloted the letter and training with over 15,000 beneficiaries in January and February 2018. Around 5,000 of these beneficiaries were then randomly assigned to receive the text messages or not.

We found that beneficiaries who received the text messages left more of their first digital payment in their account (a 12 per cent increase, from 19.4 per cent to 21.7 per cent) (Figure 9). They were also more likely to check their balance (a 5.7 per cent increase, from 53 per cent to 56 per cent). However, there was no impact of the text messages on other financial inclusion outcomes, such as payments in shops and deposits.

Following on from this pilot, we worked with Prospera to improve the letter, training session and text messages. These new versions are now being tested at scale with over 300,000 beneficiaries.

Figure 9. Proportion of digital payment not immediately withdrawn



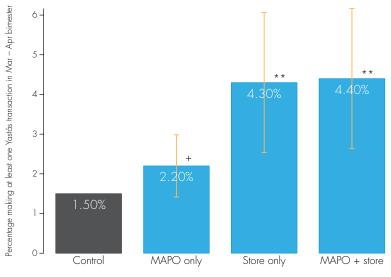
n=5,072, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

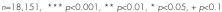
A second project similarly aimed to increase account usage. However, it focused on increasing the number of transactions made at agent banking points (retail outlets authorised to carry out banking services), and it involved Prospera beneficiaries who were already receiving their payments digitally.

We tested two interventions. The first was a large poster with a map showing nearby access points. This was presented to beneficiaries during bimonthly Prospera meetings ('MAPO' intervention). The second intervention was targeted at banking agents belonging to the Yastás network. The agents were provided with a poster to promote their services and incentivised with three small items (a cap, thermos and folder) if they completed more than 20 transactions with Prospera beneficiaries within two months ('Store' intervention).

The results show that both interventions were effective at increasing transactions at Yastás banking agents (Figure 10). The 'Store' intervention was the most effective, almost tripling the likelihood that beneficiaries would use Yastás agents at least once.

Figure 10. Transactions carried out at Yastás banking agents





Health: Increasing medication adherence

Moldova

There are still 1.6 million tuberculosis-related deaths a year around the world despite the availability of effective treatment. The barrier is largely behavioural – patients are required to take medication over a long period of time, typically six months, even when their symptoms have disappeared.

To increase tuberculosis (TB) medication adherence, World Health Organization guidelines recommend 'directly observed treatment' (DOT), where TB patients must be observed by a doctor or nurse when they take their daily medication. While this compulsory approach works for some TB patients, the inconvenience of visiting a clinic each day may lead to lower observed treatment adherence among others.

Moldova has one of the highest rates of multi-drug-resistant TB in the world and follows DOT.⁴ In partnership with the United Nations Development Programme, the Moldovan Ministry of Health and Act for Involvement, BIT created a virtual form of DOT (called VOT) where, rather than going to a clinic, patients can record a video of themselves taking their pills and submit it to a medical professional for verification.

With evidence from a small-scale RCT, we found that VOT increased observed adherence from 44 per cent for DOT patients to 84 per cent for VOT patients (Figure 11). The Moldovan Ministry of Health now plans to scale access to VOT across the country.

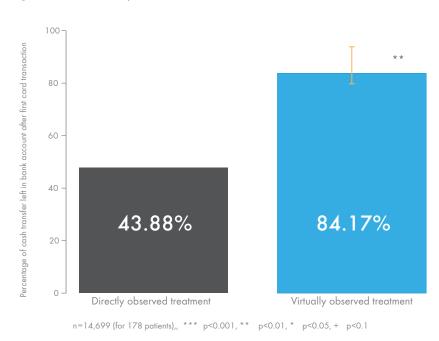


Figure 11. Observed patient adherence to TB medication

Health: Supporting sexual and reproductive health

India, Nigeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kenya

There are around 1.2 billion people aged between 10 and 19 years in the world (one in six of the world's population) and most live in developing countries. To help them make informed and healthy decisions about relationships, contraception and disease risk, we need better evidence on the impact of sexual and reproductive health programmes, as well as ways to address gaps in programme participation both within and outside school.

BIT has commenced a new partnership with the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) to work on comprehensive sexuality education (CSE). In collaboration with three of IPPF's Member Associations – in India, Nigeria, and Bosnia and Herzegovina – we will explore how we can evaluate the impact of CSE in terms of tangible sexual and reproductive health outcomes, improve the delivery of CSE by educators, and increase the take-up of CSE among young people.

We are also working with the Children's Investment Fund Foundation to increase contraceptive use among teenage girls in Kenya through a programme called In Their Hands.

We expect to publish the results of these partnerships in 2019 and 2020.





Environment: Improving waste management

Brazil

Waste management is a growing problem for emerging economies, with implications for population health and environmental sustainability. In these contexts, we have successfully applied lessons from our work in the US and UK on littering, fly-tipping and recycling.

Working with the City Government of Fortaleza, Brazil, we conducted exploratory work with the multiple agencies working in waste management. After engaging citizens in the vicinity of recycling centres (ecopontos), we identified immediate steps to reduce visible garbage on the streets, including placing dumpsters where people typically leave garbage bags and extending the opening hours of ecopontos, making it easier for people to engage in the desired behaviour.

We also developed an RCT to encourage citizens to recycle. The intervention was a posted invitation pack to visit an ecoponto with a map showing the nearest location and a card that allowed citizens to exchange recycling materials for discounts on energy bills and donations to charities (Figure 12). The results of the trial will be published in 2019.

Figure 12. Intervention to encourage citizens to visit a recycling centre





Private sector development: Encouraging exports

Turkey

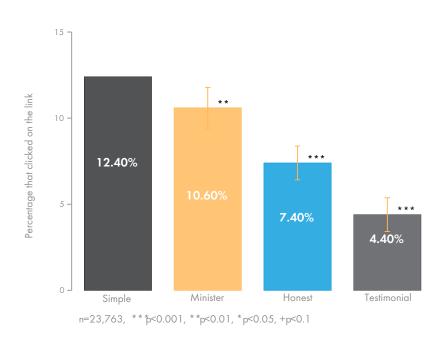
Exports play an important role in economic growth and employment. Many governments offer exporters financial assistance, but businesses often fail to take up this support due to low awareness and behavioural barriers such as uncertainty aversion and status quo bias.

Working in partnership with the Turkish Ministry of Economy (TME) and the British Embassy in Ankara, we designed emails about the government's export assistance programme to encourage applications from Turkish exporters that had not previously applied. We conducted an RCT to compare the impact of four different messages:

- 1. simple message about the process;
- 2. message from the Minister;
- 3. testimonial from another business; and
- 4. 'honesty email' that confronted the challenges of the application process as well as the benefits.

The simple message was the most effective in terms of encouraging businesses to visit the TME website to learn more about the assistance programme, with 12.4 per cent of recipients opening the email and clicking on the link. We will soon publish results on the effect of the emails on applications.

Figure 13. Response to emails about applying for export assistance



Conclusion

In eight years, BIT has grown from a small team of seven people in the UK Cabinet Office to a global social purpose company of 195 people working in more than 30 countries. We are proud of our international development work, which has grown in scale alongside our team.

This work has given us opportunities to collaborate with highly passionate people, in both government and non-government organisations, on important issues that affect the lives of millions of people, from gender-based violence to elections.

We aim to be humble about the impact behavioural approaches can have in addressing highly complex issues in cultures that are very different from the ones we are familiar with. This report shows that, through effective collaboration with local organisations, we can often make a difference. Going forward, we hope to build on those relationships in order to delve deeper into the drivers of positive and negative social and environmental behaviours that affect a country's prosperity and the well-being of its citizens.

In many ways, the development sector has been a leader in adopting behavioural insights and rigorous evaluation methods. This is partly because behavioural approaches to public policy and service delivery can be highly cost-effective. In addition, when public finances are limited, it is extremely important to know what works and what doesn't. However, until recently it was largely academics running behavioural insights projects in low and middle income countries, not governments or service providers.

While conducting RCTs can be challenging in resource-poor settings, we emphasise taking a practical approach that is fit for purpose. To answer the big public policy questions, it is important to draw on expert researchers in order to generate the best possible evidence. However, for most civil servants, conducting a basic RCT is sufficient to make better decisions about the wording of communications or to make small adaptations to existing systems. As this report shows, such measures can have a disproportionately large benefit given their extremely low cost. We have found that governments in low and middle income countries increasingly want this capacity so we have developed toolkits and training materials to scale this part of our work.

We hope this report has inspired a wider audience to adopt a behavioural lens and become experimenters when addressing development challenges.



Our team







Endnotes

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