

Nudging IN POLICY MAKING



Global challenges, especially climate change requires long-term sustained behaviour change, from a consumerist lifestyle towards a simpler one with mindful consumption. However, it is a long drawn and complex process because many of our actions have become routine. Change requires people to think before every action, break their current habits, inculcate new ones consciously while simultaneously making a mental shift in toning down material aspirations that they have fostered over years.

To change individual behaviour, policymakers can resort to behaviour science applications to understand how people process information and make choices. One of such behaviour science theory being put forward is Nudge.

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I. What is Nudging and what counts as a nudge?

Nudge Theory is a concept rooted in behavioral economics, introduced by Nobel Laureate **Richard Thaler** and legal scholar **Cass Sunstein**.

- **Definition:** A nudge is an **intervention** that maintains freedom of choice but steers people in a particular direction.
- **Choice Architecture:** Nudge theory revolves around **structuring the decision-making environment** in a way that subtly **guides people towards certain choices** without restricting their freedom of choice.

This structuring of decision-making environments is referred to as **choice architecture**.

- One of the key principles of choice architecture is **setting appropriate defaults**. With limited time and an increasing number of alternatives, individuals are **likely to pick the default option** given to them, and defaults can be used to promote better choices.

Table 1.1. What Counts as a Nudge?

Characteristics	Nudge	Not a Nudge
Accessibility of Information	Making information accessible for altering behaviour. ➤ Ex. Placing nutritional information on front of food packages.	Mandating disclosure of information or penalties for non-compliance. ➤ Ex. Mandatory detailed nutritional labels on back.
Freedom of Choice (Default)	Preserves freedom of choice; individuals can opt out or choose alternatives. ➤ Ex. Automatic enrolment in pension schemes with opt-out option.	Reduces or removes freedom of choice; often involves mandates or bans. ➤ Ex. Mandatory pension enrolment.
Means of Influence	Non-coercive; does not force individuals into specific behaviour but remind them towards a particular behaviour. ➤ Ex. SMS reminders for vaccination appointments.	Coercive; forces individuals to follow a specific path or action. ➤ Ex. Penalties for missing vaccination.
Social influence	Promote positive social influences. ➤ Ex. "9 out of 10 people in your area pay taxes on time"	Social ostracization or using negative social influences like public name and shame. ➤ Ex. Publishing names of tax defaulters.
Transparency	Transparent and open about the intention behind the nudge. ➤ Ex. Monthly electricity reports comparing energy usage with neighbours.	Hidden or covert in its intention or mechanism. ➤ Ex. Funding energy conservation initiatives by increasing customers' bills under pretext of higher operational cost.
Warning	Warning towards certain behaviour. ➤ Ex. Graphic warnings on cigarette packets.	Banning is not a nudge. ➤ Ex. Banning tobacco products.
Use of Incentives	Relies on minimal or no financial incentives; focuses on altering behavior through subtle cues. ➤ Ex. Placing reusable bags prominently near the checkout counter.	Uses financial incentives, heavy rewards, or punishments to drive behavior. ➤ Ex. Imposing a fee for each plastic bag used.



2. Nudging in Public Policy

Nudging in public policy involves the **use of behavioral science techniques to subtly guide people** towards making decisions that are beneficial for both themselves and society, without eliminating their freedom of choice. By understanding how people process information and make decisions, policymakers can structure options in a way that steers individuals toward **preferred outcomes**.

Figure 2.1. Mechanisms for Nudging

Mechanism of Nudging in Public Policy



Default

Setting the default option to a socially or individually beneficial choice



Framing Effect

The way choices are framed significantly impacts decision-making. For instance, presenting organ donation as an opt-out system increases participation.



Salience

Making certain information or options more prominent and accessible.



Social Norms

Highlighting how many people in a community are engaging in a desired behaviour can nudge others to follow suit.



Simplification

Simplifying complex decisions encourages participation

2.1. What are the Applications of Nudging in Public Policy?

- ▶ **Public Health:** One of the most successful applications of nudging is in public health. Nudges can encourage healthier lifestyles and habits without requiring laws or regulations.
 - ▶ **Example:** Swachh Bharat Mission was one of the first policies with a focus on behaviour change. Within five years of being launched, household access to toilets increased to nearly 100 per cent in all states. Principles of behaviour economics were leveraged through the following actions:
 - » **Local ambassadors of change** were engaged in every village to create a sense of solidarity around the initiative, since people tend to adhere to and emulate someone they know.
 - » **Participatory rural appraisal** induced individuals to come together as a community to address the issue of sanitation collectively.
 - For people who did not work with the collective or those who resisted, it served as a **failure bias** that elicited the fear of attracting the scorn of the community as well as a **desire to fit in**.
 - » By attaching a **sense of disgust to open defecation**, SBM appealed to the emotions of the people, thus, moving people to change.
 - » By **invoking a sense of empowerment for girls and women**, SBM has been instrumental in improving the literacy rates and, consequently, discouraging early marriage of girls.
- ▶ **Environmental Policy:** Nudging can promote eco-friendly behavior by encouraging people to adopt sustainable practices. Successful examples include:
 - ▶ **Organic Farming Sikkim** - Including an understanding of organic farming in school curriculum helped inculcate sustainable farming practices from a young age.
 - ▶ **Conserving Wetlands, J&K:** Participation of local communities in conserving their regional waterbodies and wetlands. Locals are encouraged to join the movement through variety of awareness and informational campaigns and social media posts.
- ▶ **Financial Security:** Nudging has been used effectively to encourage savings and investment, particularly in retirement planning.
 - ▶ **Example:** By simplifying process of opening bank accounts, **India's Jan Dhan Yojana** brought millions of people into the formal banking system.
- ▶ **Civic Engagement and Compliance:** Governments use nudging to increase voter turnout and civic participation.
 - ▶ **Example:** Sending voters timely reminders about election dates or automated and simplified tax forms.
 - ▶ **Successful Example Social Practices:** Women of Muala Sani village in Madhya Pradesh follow the traditional wisdom of conserving indigenous seeds and pass it down next generation.
- ▶ **Education:** Nudges are used in education to improve student outcomes by encouraging behaviors that lead to better academic performance.
 - ▶ **Example:** Simplifying the process of applying for student loan can increase college enrollment.

➤ **Circular Economy:** Nudging can promote environmentally responsible behaviors, such as recycling and reducing waste.

➤ **Example: Kala Cotton Initiative, Gujarat** - It

encourages sustainable fashion, working with marginalized communities, who live in water-scarce regions. Communities realized long term benefits of moving to indigenous cotton, which is pest resilient.

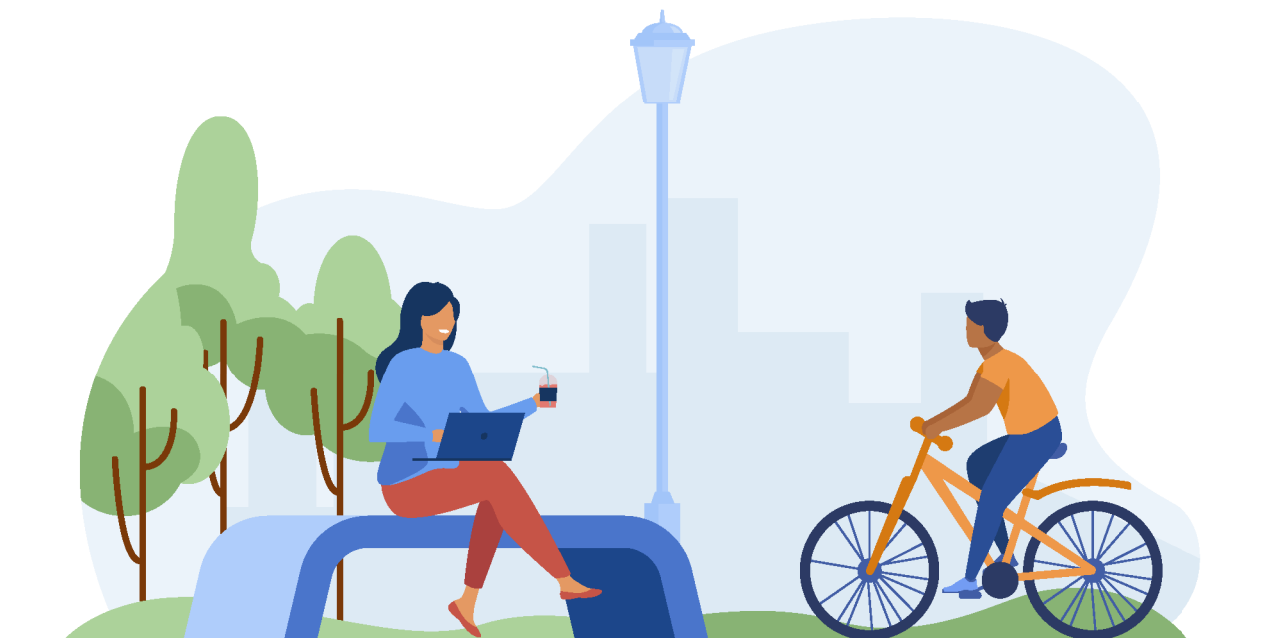
Box 2.1 : LiFE Framework:

LiFE Framework presents the different forces that need to act together to bring about change in modern lifestyles and curbing climate change. It reflects the importance of individual learnings based on:

- **Learnings:** A number of personal physical, material, and emotional factors;
- **Infrastructure:** Associated infrastructure that can make it easy for those who want to change to more sustainable behaviours to actually do so;
- **Facilitators:** Who can drive change in communities; and
- **Enabling conditions:** Which should be considered to encourage more mindful utilization of natural resources. With these factors working in tandem, great results can be achieved with smaller nudge-based changes. For instance, in the food sector, certain nudge based solutions are given below with their impact.

Table 2.1 : Adopted Solutions Linked with Human Habits to Reverse Global Warming

Sector	Solution	Description	Emissions Reduction* (GtCO ₂ -eq)
Food	Reduced food waste	Minimising food loss and wastage throughout the food supply chain from harvest to consumption	70.5-93.7
	Plant-rich diets	Eating more plant-based foods and fewer animal proteins and products (e.g., meat, dairy)	66.1-87.0
	Clean cook stoves	Using cookstoves that burn fuel more efficiently	15.8-24.3
	Composting	Converting biodegradable waste into a useful soil fertiliser instead of sending it to the landfill	2.3-3.6



Box 2.2. In Conversation: Nudging in Indian Policy



Vinay, I've been hearing a lot about nudging being used in Indian policy-making. How does it actually work?



Yeah, it's pretty interesting! A nudge helps guide people toward better decisions without forcing them.



Great! Can you explain that how the government uses nudging to guide people?



Sure! One great example is the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan under which government nudged people toward cleanliness by promoting the idea of a clean India.



Oh, that must have been one of the largest exercises in nudging people's behaviour.



Exactly! People weren't forced to clean, but they started feeling responsible for it. Another example is financial inclusion through Jan Dhan Yojana.



Now, I got it. Through Jan Dhan, government utilized advertising, simplified account opening processes and provided incentives, which acted as a nudge.



Yes. People get benefits or see positive examples, and they follow even without any mandate or legal requirement to do so.



Wow! It means that nudging has the potential to shift the behaviour of people without restricting their freedom.



Vini

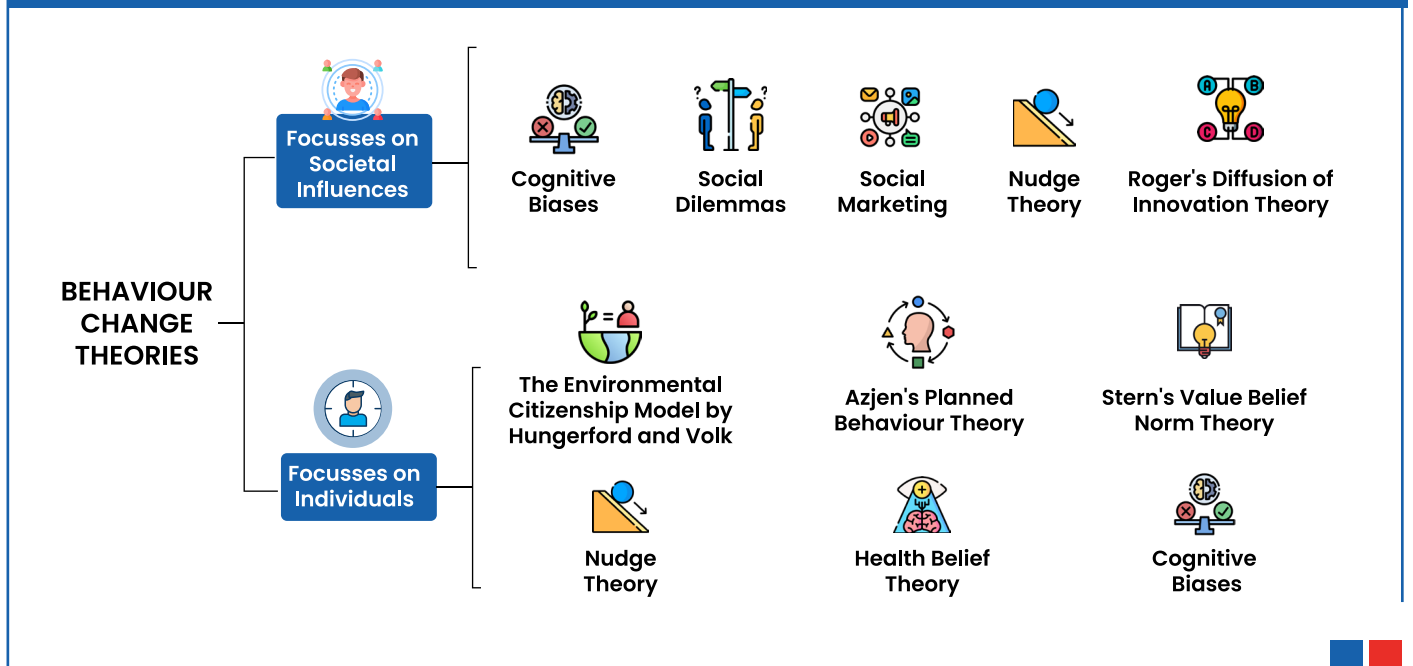


Vinay



3. What are the different behaviour change theories that can be utilized for nudging?

Figure 3.1. Behaviour Change Theories



➤ **Cognitive Bias:** Psychologists have identified more than 150 cognitive biases. Our evolution has conditioned our minds to focus on what is **immediately essential to our survival and not on complex long-term challenges** that threaten our existence.

➤ We also tend believe that someone else will deal with the crisis (the **bystander effect**) and larger the group, the stronger this bias.

➤ **Social Dilemma:** In the climate debate, decision-makers face social dilemmas in which their **personal interest may conflict with the common interest**.

➤ **Robert Gifford's general model of social dilemmas** lists a number of **psychological barriers to pro-environmental behaviour** and explains these influences on decision-making.

» The identification of these barriers and the use of good models of human decision-making are key to designing successful behaviour change interventions.

➤ **Environmental Citizenship Model by Hungerford and Volk:** Behaviour change in individuals should take into **consideration the level of the target audience** in the environment literacy ladder.

➤ This model is a framework/scale that can be employed to tell if a citizen is at the entry level (is sensitive to the issue at hand), **ownership level** (has in-depth knowledge and takes ownership of making a change), **empowerment level** (has the skills and intention to take positive action) or has grown to be an **environmentally responsible citizen**.

➤ **Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour:** It states that the most important determinant of an individual's behaviour is their **intent to perform that behaviour with three cognitive variables:**

➤ **Attitudes towards Behaviour:** Attitude reflect how positively or negatively an individual regards a specific behaviour;

➤ **Social norms:** Refer to the perceived social pressure to engage in the specific behaviour; and

➤ **Perceived behaviour control:** It is the extent to which they feel other factors, such as time, money, skills, ability etc., may influence their ability to perform a behaviour.

This framework has been widely used to understand how attitudes toward behaviour contribute to predicting behavioural tendencies and has been frequently applied to the transport and diet domains in climate change behaviour research.

➤ **Stern's Value Belief Norm Theory:** It explains that there is a **chain of influence** that controls an individual's pro-environmental actions.

➤ For instance, the **greater adoption of reusable menstrual products, and building homes with earth architecture** are likely because increasing number of people have a sense of obligation to take pro-environmental actions.

➤ **Health Belief Theory:** Beliefs help shape behaviour, and this theory suggests that when there is an increase in an **individual's assessed level of risk,**

it is more likely that the **individual will adopt recommended preventive behaviours.**

- ▶ Variables to consider are **perceived benefits of action and barriers to action.** Model also considers **demographic, socio-psychological and structural variables.**
- ▶ A **stimulus is required** to trigger the **health promoting behaviour.**
- ▶ **Social Marketing:** Social marketing emerged as a valuable behaviour change tool in the 1970s. Its main aim was to employ principles used to **market consumer goods to market ideas, attitudes and behaviours.**
- ▶ A social marketing campaign requires a clear **understanding of the problem** and the **social, demographical, cultural, behavioural and structural dynamics** influencing target audiences.
- ▶ **Roger's Diffusion of Innovation Theory:** It focuses on **how ideas spread through a culture.**

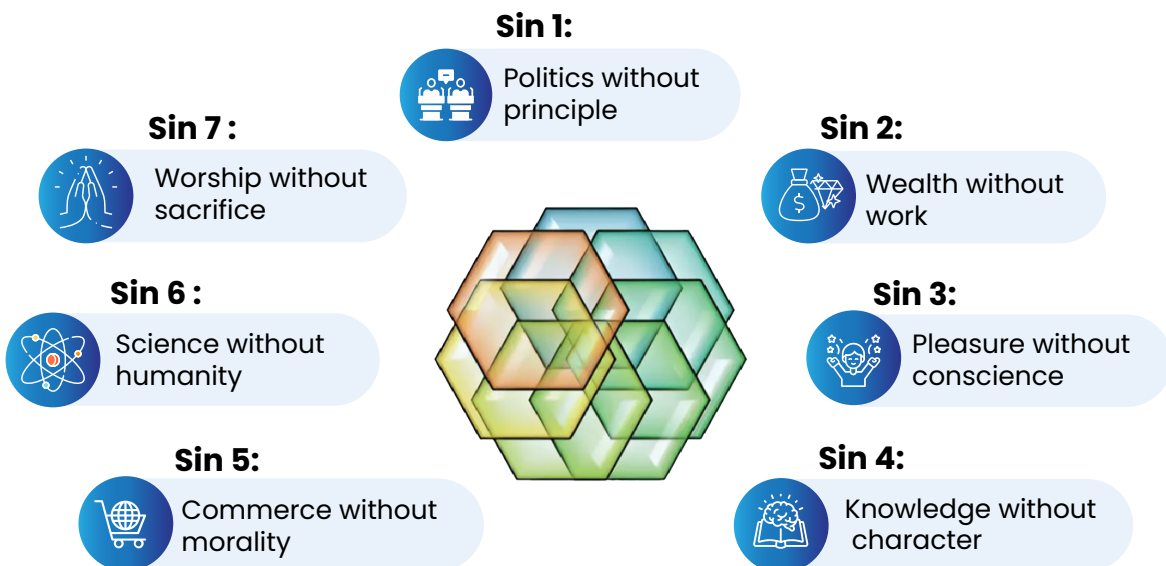
- ▶ It also highlights the **importance of opinion leaders/influential change agents** in the process and relies heavily on social capital.
- ▶ To address our environmental problems, change must occur at a collective level, and models such as these help implementers identify the critical ideas and create required infrastructure.
- ▶ **Voluntary Simplicity:** Influenced by the Swadeshi movement during India's struggle for independence, **Richard Gregg proposed the idea of "Voluntary Simplicity".**
- ▶ It means ordering and guiding our energy and desires, exercising partial restraint in some directions to **secure a greater abundance of life** in other directions.
- ▶ Gregg emphasized that **living simply** would significantly contribute towards cutting one's share in the exploitation of natural resources and contributions to the detriment of the planet as a whole.

Box 3.1. Mahatma Gandhi's seven social sins and Nudging

Mahatma Gandhi's Seven Social Sins, **published in Young India in 1925**, provide deep insights into the role of social and political conditions shaping human behaviour. Each of these is a statement of principle that can be interpreted and utilized for nudging people towards desirable behaviour.

Following examples demonstrate the nudging aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's social sins:

- ▶ **Pleasure Without Conscience:** When less deserving people claim benefits of a development programme, it is an act of pleasure without conscience or a sense of responsibility.
 - ▶ The nudge principle of **leveraging default rules** like making the **default 'opt-out' for availing subsidy**, etc. can be employed to nudge people.
- ▶ **Knowledge Without Character:** A lack of moral element underlying present explosion of information bears the risk of desensitizing societies to the ethics of harmony.
 - ▶ People can be nudged with messages matching their mental models to make them realize that biases exist and making them self-aware of their actions.



4. What are the limits of nudging?

- ▶ **Limited Scope:** Nudging can be effective for relatively small-scale, individual decisions (e.g., choosing healthier foods or saving more for retirement), but it may not address complex, large-scale societal problems like structural inequality.
- ▶ **Tricky to implement:** While nudging can have overwhelmingly positive effects, using it effectively is far from an easy task.
 - ▶ Before introducing a nudge, one should consider **many different factors**, including the extent to which it could have a positive impact.
- ▶ **Unexpected outcomes:** Its outcomes are not always easy to predict. Even in cases where the behavioural effects of an intervention seem obvious, nudging can backfire and even lead to entirely opposite outcomes.
- ▶ **Misuse:** At times, nudging is implemented in ways that do not necessarily benefit individuals or consumers.
 - ▶ For instance, when devising deceiving marketing strategies that encourage people to buy a specific product.
- ▶ **Manipulative practice:** Some nudges rely on non-transparent measures that transfer responsibilities to citizens in ways that should be regarded as manipulative and thus as illegitimate strategies of public policy in democratic systems.
- ▶ **Difficulty in Scaling Up:** In large, diverse populations, implementing effective nudging interventions can be logistically complex and expensive.

5. What is the key to successful nudging?

- ▶ **Transparency:** Empirical research suggests that individual commitments may increase if there were **transparency in the information available on the commitments** achieved by others in the community.
 - ▶ This transparency of information **helps create social norms and aspirations**, as well as associated emotions of pride and guilt.
- ▶ **Positive framing:** Research has also found that behaviour change is more likely when **challenges and solutions are framed positively**.
 - ▶ To facilitate action, we need to focus on issues that affect a community personally and provide an **enabling environment for them to identify local solutions**, focusing on the positive impact the solution will bring about.
- ▶ **Target audience:** Policymakers need a deep understanding of the target population's behavior, motivations, and the barriers that prevent them from making better choices.
 - ▶ Conducting behavioral research and **identifying cognitive biases that people might have—like the status quo bias**, loss aversion—is crucial.
- ▶ **Social and Cultural Context:** Nudges must be tailored to the specific social and cultural context of the audience. What works in one society or community may not work in another.
- ▶ **Appropriate Defaults:** One of the key principles of choice architecture is setting appropriate defaults. With limited time and an increasing number of alternatives, individuals are likely to pick the default option given to them, and defaults can be used to promote better choices.
 - ▶ **Simplifying options and reducing unnecessary complexity** can nudge people toward better choices.
- ▶ **Social marketing:** Social marketing encompasses the design, implementation, and monitoring of programmes created to influence the acceptability of social ideas.
 - ▶ Nudges that **leverage social norms**, such as displaying information about how neighbors are conserving energy or recycling more, can motivate individuals to align with the group norm.
- ▶ **Infrastructure:** The back-end facilitation of infrastructure is essential to allow for easy adoption of the behaviour, be it cycling tracks or easy availability of millets in neighbourhood stores.
- ▶ **Remove Barriers:** People are more likely to adopt desired behaviours when the friction or effort involved is minimal. Making the desired option easier, quicker, or more convenient can significantly increase uptake.
- ▶ **Feedback Mechanism:** Giving people feedback about their actions can reinforce positive behaviour. For instance, smart meters that show real-time energy consumption help users adjust their usage instantly.

5.1. How to nudge ethically?

- **Nudge for Good:** Nudges should always be in the best interest of the individuals and communities being nudged.
 - ▶ **Ethical Nudging** focuses on guiding people toward behaviors that improve their health, well-being, and social welfare.
- **Freedom of Choice:** Nudges should never eliminate or restrict freedom of choice.
 - ▶ It should create an environment where people feel empowered to make their own decisions without undue pressure or fear of negative consequences.
- **Transparency:** Nudges should be transparent, meaning individuals should be aware that they are being nudged.
 - ▶ Covert manipulation or hidden nudges, where people are unaware they are being influenced, violate ethical standards.
- **Human Dignity:** Nudges should ensure human dignity in their design and should not exploit human vulnerabilities or cognitive biases unfairly.
- **Value-Driven Nudging:** Nudges should align with widely accepted moral or ethical standards and consider cultural, social and moral values of society.
- **Proportionality:** Ethical nudges should be minimally intrusive, meaning that the level of influence exerted on an individual's choices should be proportionate to the policy goal.
- **Accountability:** Ethical nudges should be subject to public scrutiny, debate, and revision. Policymakers should be accountable for the design and implementation of nudges.

Box 5.1. Nudging to address social issues

- **Obesity:** DNA Nudge is a university startup utilizing DNA testing to tackle problem of obesity.
 - ▶ It nudges grocery shoppers towards picking healthy food items by personalized suggestions and adding game like environments in its food suggestion app.
- **Water Security:** To address water scarcity, restaurants in Mumbai have adopted half-filled water glasses during meals and paper napkins to replace water to wash hands.
- **Gender Equality:** India's Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao Initiative promotes a social norm in favour of celebrating birth of girl child and designed to address decline in child sex ratio.
- **Hunger:** As a result of automatic enrolment in free school meals programmes — a little nudge — over 15 million poor American children are now receiving free breakfast and lunch during the school year.
- **Social Security:** In both Denmark and the United Kingdom, automatic enrolment in pension programmes has produced massive increases in participation rates and enabling secured retirement.
- **Public Health:** A 'CARES' program was initiated in Philippines, which asked smokers to deposit their smoking money in savings account and they got access to their money after they quit smoking. This demonstrated wonderful results.



6. What are alternative behavioural frameworks to nudging?

- ▶ **Boost:** Boosts aim to help people by expanding (boosting) their abilities to make decisions that are aligned with their goals.
 - ▶ Additionally, boosts don't just **target people's choice environment but also their *heuristic repertoire* (skillset)**.
 - ▶ Boosts provide individuals with tools, knowledge, or skills to help them achieve their goals more effectively.
 - » For example, **teaching financial literacy skills** to help people manage their budgets or improve decision-making regarding long-term savings.
- ▶ **Nudge+:** Nudge+ combines the subtle guidance of a traditional nudge with **additional feedback and engagement** from the individual.
 - ▶ It addresses **concerns about manipulation** by actively involving people in the decision-making process, making them aware of the nudge.
 - ▶ With Nudge+, individuals are **informed that they are being nudged** and are invited to reflect on whether **they want to accept or reject the nudge**, promoting transparency and autonomy.
- ▶ **Shoves:** A shove is used to describe **explicit regulation of individual behaviours** in situations where the benefits to the individuals are perceived to outweigh the costs - e.g. a ban on smoking.
 - ▶ In other words, shoves are **regulatory or coercive measures** that involve the imposition of mandatory rules, prohibitions, or incentives to alter behaviour.
 - ▶ Unlike nudges, which preserve freedom of choice, shoves **compel behaviour** through laws or regulations.
 - ▶ For instance, **imposing a ban on smoking in public places** or taxing sugary drinks to reduce consumption are examples of shoves.
- ▶ **Budgets:** A budget is when **insights** from behavioural science are used by policy makers to decide **where and how to regulate against undesirable private sector actions**.
 - ▶ The key distinction with the nudges is that budgets focus on creating rules to **restrict harmful or manipulative practices by organizations** rather than individuals.
 - ▶ **Example:** Regulations requiring banks to display clear and transparent information about fees or requiring food companies to display accurate calorie counts are examples of budgets.
- ▶ **Think:** This approach advocates for engaging the public in a more deliberative, participatory process.
 - ▶ Unlike nudging or shoving, which focus on guiding behavior, Think **emphasizes democratic deliberation and education** to foster informed decision-making and collective responsibility.
 - ▶ **Public consultations on urban planning** or climate change strategies are examples of the Think approach.
- ▶ **Sludge:** Sludge refers to unnecessary or excessive frictions, barriers, or delays in decision-making processes that hinder people from making the right choices.
 - ▶ Unlike nudging, which simplifies choices, **sludge makes it harder for people to do something**.



Conclusion

Given the state of our planet and the rate and magnitude of changes required, nudges, by themselves, are woefully inadequate, but combined with measures like incentives and mandate based policies, they can be effective behaviour modifiers in some cases. Considering this, the architecture of the nudge should understand target audiences, social contexts, market forces, friction factors and nudge timing well to achieve desired results.

When local communities focus on specific problems and are involved in devising and implementing the solutions, there is greater ownership and hence, a sustained commitment. The work of small groups can also have a ripple effect because we evaluate ourselves by looking at others around us.



TOPIC AT A GLANCE

Nudging in Policy Making

A nudge is an intervention that maintains freedom of choice but steers people in a particular direction.



What Counts as a Nudge?

- ⊖ **Making information accessible** is nudge while penalties for non-compliance is not a nudge.
- ⊖ **Preserving freedom of choice** is nudge while mandate or ban is not a nudge.
- ⊖ **Non-coercive behaviour** is nudge while forcing a specific action is not a nudge.
- ⊖ **Promoting positive social influence** is nudge while social ostracization is not a nudge.
- ⊖ **Transparency** behind the intention is nudge while covert intention is not a nudge.
- ⊖ Nudge uses **minimal or no financial incentives** while using financial incentives extensively is not a nudge.



Different Behaviour Change Theories for Nudging

- ⊖ **Cognitive Bias:** Human mind focuses on what is **immediately essential to our survival and not on complex long-term challenges** that threaten our existence.
- ⊖ **Social Dilemma:** Robert Gifford's general model of social dilemmas lists a number of **psychological barriers to pro-environmental behaviour** such as unequal contribution from all members.
- ⊖ **Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour:** Most important determinant of an individual's behaviour is their **intent to perform that behaviour with three cognitive variables:** attitude, social norms and perceived behaviour control.
- ⊖ **Stern's Value Belief Norm Theory:** There is a **chain of influence** that controls an individual's pro-environmental actions.
- ⊖ **Health Belief Theory:** **When there is an increase in an individual's assessed level of risk**, it is more likely that the **individual will adopt recommended preventive behaviours.**
- ⊖ **Roger's Diffusion of Innovation Theory:** Elements that influence change include idea, communication channels, characteristics of early adopters, time and social system.
- ⊖ **Voluntary Simplicity:** **Living simply** would significantly contribute towards cutting one's share in the exploitation of natural resources.



Applications of Nudging in Public Policy

- ⊖ **Public Health:** **Swachh Bharat Mission** induced behaviour change through lead ambassadors of change, participatory rural appraisal, invoking sense of women empowerment etc.
- ⊖ **Environmental Policy:** Encouragement to sustainable practices seen in including **organic farming in school curriculum in Sikkim** and conservation of wetlands in J&K.
- ⊖ **Financial Security:** India's **Jan Dhan Yojana** brought millions of people into banking system.
- ⊖ **Civil Engagement:** Nudging is used to increase **voter turnout, tax filing**, incorporating responsible social practices etc.
- ⊖ **Education:** Simplifying the process of applying for student loan can increase college enrolment.



Key to Successful Nudging

- ⊖ **Transparency:** Transparency of information **helps create social norms and aspirations.**
- ⊖ **Positive framing:** Behaviour change is more likely when **challenges and solutions are framed positively.**
- ⊖ **Target audience:** Policymakers need a deep understanding of the target population's behavior, motivations, and the barriers that prevent them from making better choices.
- ⊖ **Appropriate Defaults:** With limited time and an increasing number of alternatives, individuals are likely to pick the default option given to them.
- ⊖ **Infrastructure:** Back-end facilitation of infrastructure is essential to allow for easy adoption of the behaviour.
- ⊖ **Feedback Mechanism:** Giving people feedback about their actions can reinforce positive behaviour.



Limits of Nudging

- ⊖ **Limited Scope:** Nudging can be effective for relatively small-scale, individual decisions.
- ⊖ **Tricky to implement:** Before introducing a nudge, one should consider **many different factors**, including the extent to which it could have a positive impact.
- ⊖ **Unexpected outcomes:** Its outcomes are **not always easy to predict.**
- ⊖ **Misuse:** At times, nudging is implemented in ways that **do not necessarily benefit individuals or consumers.**
- ⊖ **Manipulative practice:** Some nudges rely on **non-transparent measures.**
- ⊖ **Difficulty in Scaling Up:** In large, diverse populations, implementing effective nudging interventions can be logistically complex and expensive



Alternative Behavioural Frameworks to Nudging

- ⊖ **Boost:** Boosts aim to help people by expanding (boosting) their abilities to make decisions that are aligned with their goals.
- ⊖ **Nudge+:** Nudge+ combines the subtle guidance of a traditional nudge with **additional feedback and engagement** from the individual.
- ⊖ **Shoves:** A shove is used to describe **explicit regulation of individual behaviours** in situations where the benefits to the individuals are perceived to outweigh the costs - e.g. a ban on smoking.
- ⊖ **Budges:** A budge is when **insights** from behavioural science are used by policy makers to decide **where and how to regulate against undesirable private sector actions.**
- ⊖ **Think:** This approach advocates for engaging the public in a more deliberative, participatory process.
- ⊖ **Sludge:** Excessive frictions, barriers, or delays in decision-making processes that hinder people from making the right choices.

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