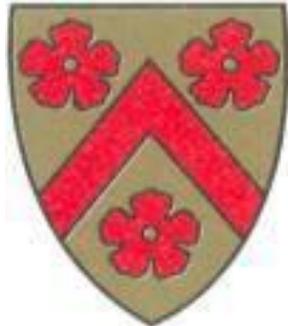


**RES Easter School: Behavioural Economics
Brasenose College Oxford, 22-25 March 2015**

Present-Bias and Time-Inconsistency II: Applications

Vincent P. Crawford

**University of Oxford, All Souls College,
and University of California, San Diego**



UC San Diego



European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

Thaler and Benartzi's (2004 *JPE*) "Save More Tomorrow" plan

Recent shifts in the U.S. and other countries from defined benefit to defined contribution retirement plans have left employees with more flexibility and much more responsibility for their retirement savings.

There's a widespread perception that many aren't saving nearly enough.

Thaler and Benartzi's (2004 *JPE*) "Save More Tomorrow" plan

Recent shifts in the U.S. and other countries from defined benefit to defined contribution retirement plans have left employees with more flexibility and much more responsibility for their retirement savings.

There's a widespread perception that many aren't saving nearly enough.

Thaler and Benartzi's "Save More Tomorrow" plan ("Save More Tomorrow: Using Behavioral Economics to Increase Employee Saving," 2004 *JPE*) allows employees to decide now allocate a portion of their future salary increases toward retirement savings:

"Our goal was to design a program to help those employees who would like to save more [for retirement], but lack the willpower to act on this desire. [The] plan gives workers the option of committing themselves now to increase their savings rate later. Once employees join, they stay in the plan until they opt out."

The Save More Tomorrow plan has four basic components:

- Employees are approached about increasing their contribution rates approximately three months before their scheduled pay increase.

The Save More Tomorrow plan has four basic components:

- Employees are approached about increasing their contribution rates approximately three months before their scheduled pay increase.
- Once an employee joins, her/his contribution rate is increased beginning with the first paycheck after a raise.

The Save More Tomorrow plan has four basic components:

- Employees are approached about increasing their contribution rates approximately three months before their scheduled pay increase.
- Once an employee joins, her/his contribution rate is increased beginning with the first paycheck after a raise.
- Her/his contribution rate continues to increase with each scheduled raise until it reaches a preset maximum.
(When employees reach the maximum allocation, they keep saving at the maximum unless they actively request to change it.)

The Save More Tomorrow plan has four basic components:

- Employees are approached about increasing their contribution rates approximately three months before their scheduled pay increase.
- Once an employee joins, her/his contribution rate is increased beginning with the first paycheck after a raise.
- Her/his contribution rate continues to increase with each scheduled raise until it reaches a preset maximum.
(When employees reach the maximum allocation, they keep saving at the maximum unless they actively request to change it.)
- An employee can opt out of the plan at any time.

The Save More Tomorrow plan:

- Exploits employees' present bias (in the benign sense of using their bias to help them) by delaying the cost of increased contributions.

The Save More Tomorrow plan:

- Exploits employees' present bias (in the benign sense of using their bias to help them) by delaying the cost of increased contributions.
- Limits possible adverse effects of loss aversion by linking increases to nominal raises and exploiting money illusion in reference points.

The Save More Tomorrow plan:

- Exploits employees' present bias (in the benign sense of using their bias to help them) by delaying the cost of increased contributions.
- Limits possible adverse effects of loss aversion by linking increases to nominal raises and exploiting money illusion in reference points.
- Eliminates the need for employees to make additional decisions or exercise further self-control by making future increases automatic.

The Save More Tomorrow plan:

- Exploits employees' present bias (in the benign sense of using their bias to help them) by delaying the cost of increased contributions.
- Limits possible adverse effects of loss aversion by linking increases to nominal raises and exploiting money illusion in reference points.
- Eliminates the need for employees to make additional decisions or exercise further self-control by making future increases automatic.
- Reduces a worker's incentive to opt out via present bias.

The Save More Tomorrow plan:

- Exploits employees' present bias (in the benign sense of using their bias to help them) by delaying the cost of increased contributions.
- Limits possible adverse effects of loss aversion by linking increases to nominal raises and exploiting money illusion in reference points.
- Eliminates the need for employees to make additional decisions or exercise further self-control by making future increases automatic.
- Reduces a worker's incentive to opt out via present bias.
- Works for present-biased employees whether naïve or sophisticated.

The Save More Tomorrow plan:

- Exploits employees' present bias (in the benign sense of using their bias to help them) by delaying the cost of increased contributions.
- Limits possible adverse effects of loss aversion by linking increases to nominal raises and exploiting money illusion in reference points.
- Eliminates the need for employees to make additional decisions or exercise further self-control by making future increases automatic.
- Reduces a worker's incentive to opt out via present bias.
- Works for present-biased employees whether naïve or sophisticated.

The plan helps employees overcome adverse effects of any self-control problems, while almost completely preserving their freedom of choice.

The Save More Tomorrow plan:

- Exploits employees' present bias (in the benign sense of using their bias to help them) by delaying the cost of increased contributions.
- Limits possible adverse effects of loss aversion by linking increases to nominal raises and exploiting money illusion in reference points.
- Eliminates the need for employees to make additional decisions or exercise further self-control by making future increases automatic.
- Reduces a worker's incentive to opt out via present bias.
- Works for present-biased employees whether naïve or sophisticated.

The plan helps employees overcome adverse effects of any self-control problems, while almost completely preserving their freedom of choice.

And not distorting choices of those who have no self-control problems:
“Libertarian paternalism” (but libertarians still don't like it).

Results from the first tests with individual employers:

- A high proportion of employees, 78%, joined the plan.
- 80% stayed in through their fourth pay raise.
- Over 40 months, average saving rates increased from 3.5% to 13.6%.

Several subsequent implementations of the SMT plan have taken place.

Heidhues and Köszegi's (2010 *AER*) analysis of credit markets

There is a certain kind of economist who thinks that competition among firms will eliminate abusive practices in real-world markets, even if consumers have behavioral biases.

Heidhues and Köszegi's (2010 *AER*) analysis of credit markets

There is a certain kind of economist who thinks that competition among firms will eliminate abusive practices in real-world markets, even if consumers have behavioral biases.

Yet experience with credit cards, subprime mortgages, etc. suggests that many consumers overborrow, do not comply fully with repayment terms, and pay abusively large penalties for small deviations from compliance.

Heidhues and Köszegi's (2010 *AER*) analysis of credit markets

There is a certain kind of economist who thinks that competition among firms will eliminate abusive practices in real-world markets, even if consumers have behavioral biases.

Yet experience with credit cards, subprime mortgages, etc. suggests that many consumers overborrow, do not comply fully with repayment terms, and pay abusively large penalties for small deviations from compliance.

With time-consistent or sophisticated present-biased borrowers, in theory that would not happen in a competitive (or monopolistic) credit market.

Heidhues and Köszegi's (2010 *AER*) analysis of credit markets

There is a certain kind of economist who thinks that competition among firms will eliminate abusive practices in real-world markets, even if consumers have behavioral biases.

Yet experience with credit cards, subprime mortgages, etc. suggests that many consumers overborrow, do not comply fully with repayment terms, and pay abusively large penalties for small deviations from compliance.

With time-consistent or sophisticated present-biased borrowers, in theory that would not happen in a competitive (or monopolistic) credit market.

Heidhues and Köszegi studied lenders' loan contracts and borrowers' repayment behavior and welfare in a model of a competitive market for credit contracts where borrowers are present-biased and may be naive.

(Studying competitive markets is a natural rhetorical choice here, but the results would be very similar for a monopolistic market.)

Recall the notions of naiveté and sophistication previously introduced (O'Donoghue and Rabin 2001 *QJE*):

- Naifs falsely believe future selves will maximize today's preferences.
 - Solution concept: maximization (mispredict future discount rates)
- Sophisticates have rational expectations.
 - Solution concept: subgame perfect equilibrium in game among selves.
- Partial naiveté.
 - Solution concept: subgame perfect equilibrium, using $\hat{\beta}$ such that $\beta < \hat{\beta} < 1$. (Naifs use $\hat{\beta} = 1$ and sophisticates use $\hat{\beta} = \beta$.)

Recall the notions of naiveté and sophistication previously introduced (O'Donoghue and Rabin 2001 *QJE*):

- Naifs falsely believe future selves will maximize today's preferences.
 - Solution concept: maximization (mispredict future discount rates)
- Sophisticates have rational expectations.
 - Solution concept: subgame perfect equilibrium in game among selves.
- Partial naiveté.
 - Solution concept: subgame perfect equilibrium, using $\hat{\beta}$ such that $\beta < \hat{\beta} < 1$. (Naifs use $\hat{\beta} = 1$ and sophisticates use $\hat{\beta} = \beta$.)

For non-present-biased, time-consistent people, naïve is the same as sophisticated behavior by definition.

Present bias seems to be part of the explanation for abusive credit practices, because the initial terms offered borrowers are usually much more favorable than the eventual terms.

Present bias seems to be part of the explanation for abusive credit practices, because the initial terms offered borrowers are usually much more favorable than the eventual terms.

But present-bias alone is not enough, because much borrowing, e.g. to purchase a durable good, has up-front effort costs and delayed benefits.

Moreover, competition (or monopoly) limits abusive credit practices even for present-biased but sophisticated borrowers.

Present bias seems to be part of the explanation for abusive credit practices, because the initial terms offered borrowers are usually much more favorable than the eventual terms.

But present-bias alone is not enough, because much borrowing, e.g. to purchase a durable good, has up-front effort costs and delayed benefits.

Moreover, competition (or monopoly) limits abusive credit practices even for present-biased but sophisticated borrowers.

Heidhues and Köszegi assume present bias and partial naiveté.

They focus on the effects of present bias and partial naiveté by assuming that competing lenders know everything about borrowers; and borrowers know everything about firms and themselves, except that partially naïve borrowers don't know their own true β s.

In a standard model of credit contracting (competitive or monopolistic), the lender proposes a contract and the borrower says Yes (under competition, to the best contract that any firm has offered) or No:

Yes yields a binding contract, and No ends the process without a contract. (Richer models yield similar outcomes.)

In a standard model of credit contracting (competitive or monopolistic), the lender proposes a contract and the borrower says Yes (under competition, to the best contract that any firm has offered) or No:

Yes yields a binding contract, and No ends the process without a contract. (Richer models yield similar outcomes.)

If the borrower can accurately predict the consequences of a contract, a lender benefits by eliminating any inefficiency in the proposed contract:

Not because the lender cares about the borrower's welfare, but because eliminating the inefficiency allows it to charge the borrower more.

In a standard model of credit contracting (competitive or monopolistic), the lender proposes a contract and the borrower says Yes (under competition, to the best contract that any firm has offered) or No:

Yes yields a binding contract, and No ends the process without a contract. (Richer models yield similar outcomes.)

If the borrower can accurately predict the consequences of a contract, a lender benefits by eliminating any inefficiency in the proposed contract:

Not because the lender cares about the borrower's welfare, but because eliminating the inefficiency allows it to charge the borrower more.

Therefore, for non-present-biased, time-consistent borrowers (naïve or sophisticated) or present-biased but sophisticated borrowers, equilibrium contracts (competitive or monopolistic) are Pareto-efficient; and rules prohibiting abusive credit practices are nonbinding and unnecessary.

In Heidhues and Köszegi's model, there are three periods: 0, 1, and 2.

If the borrower borrows $c \geq 0$ in period 0 and repays $q \geq 0$ and $r \geq 0$ in periods 1 and 2, self 0's utility is $c - k(q) - k(r)$, where $k(\cdot)$ repayment cost.

In Heidhues and Köszegi's model, there are three periods: 0, 1, and 2.

If the borrower borrows $c \geq 0$ in period 0 and repays $q \geq 0$ and $r \geq 0$ in periods 1 and 2, self 0's utility is $c - k(q) - k(r)$, where $k(\cdot)$ repayment cost.

Self 0 is *not* present-biased in favor of c over reducing $k(r)$.

(This captures the idea that borrowing is mostly for future consumption)

In Heidhues and Köszegi's model, there are three periods: 0, 1, and 2.

If the borrower borrows $c \geq 0$ in period 0 and repays $q \geq 0$ and $r \geq 0$ in periods 1 and 2, self 0's utility is $c - k(q) - k(r)$, where $k(\cdot)$ repayment cost.

Self 0 is *not* present-biased in favor of c over reducing $k(r)$.

(This captures the idea that borrowing is mostly for future consumption)

Self 1 maximizes $-k(q) - \beta k(r)$ for $0 < \beta \leq 1$, present-biased for $\beta < 1$.

In Heidhues and Köszegi's model, there are three periods: 0, 1, and 2.

If the borrower borrows $c \geq 0$ in period 0 and repays $q \geq 0$ and $r \geq 0$ in periods 1 and 2, self 0's utility is $c - k(q) - k(r)$, where $k(\cdot)$ repayment cost.

Self 0 is *not* present-biased in favor of c over reducing $k(r)$.

(This captures the idea that borrowing is mostly for future consumption)

Self 1 maximizes $-k(q) - \beta k(r)$ for $0 < \beta \leq 1$, present-biased for $\beta < 1$.

Self 2 makes no decisions: Her/his only role is to repay, and suffer....

The consumer may be sophisticated, naïve, or partially naïve.

In Heidhues and Köszegi's model, there are three periods: 0, 1, and 2.

If the borrower borrows $c \geq 0$ in period 0 and repays $q \geq 0$ and $r \geq 0$ in periods 1 and 2, self 0's utility is $c - k(q) - k(r)$, where $k(\cdot)$ repayment cost.

Self 0 is *not* present-biased in favor of c over reducing $k(r)$.

(This captures the idea that borrowing is mostly for future consumption)

Self 1 maximizes $-k(q) - \beta k(r)$ for $0 < \beta \leq 1$, present-biased for $\beta < 1$.

Self 2 makes no decisions: Her/his only role is to repay, and suffer....

The consumer may be sophisticated, naïve, or partially naïve.

Thus self 0 believes self 1 will maximize $-k(q) - \hat{\beta}k(r)$ for some $\beta \leq \hat{\beta} \leq 1$.

$\hat{\beta} = \beta$ is perfect sophistication and $\hat{\beta} = 1$ is perfect naiveté.

(Heidhues and Köszegi allow heterogeneous naiveté, but not important.)

A competitive market is cleared by contracts in period 0, with borrowers' 0 selves either choosing among the contracts offered by the lenders or choosing no contract, which yields them an exogenous reservation utility.

In equilibrium with homogeneously naïve borrowers:

- Each borrower chooses the contract that seems optimal in period 0.

A competitive market is cleared by contracts in period 0, with borrowers' 0 selves either choosing among the contracts offered by the lenders or choosing no contract, which yields them an exogenous reservation utility.

In equilibrium with homogeneously naïve borrowers:

- Each borrower chooses the contract that seems optimal in period 0.
- Each lender makes zero expected profit.
- No lender can earn positive profit by deviating to another contract.

A competitive market is cleared by contracts in period 0, with borrowers' 0 selves either choosing among the contracts offered by the lenders or choosing no contract, which yields them an exogenous reservation utility.

In equilibrium with homogeneously naïve borrowers:

- Each borrower chooses the contract that seems optimal in period 0.
- Each lender makes zero expected profit.
- No lender can earn positive profit by deviating to another contract.
- In period 1, borrowers, however sophisticated, follow their actual β s.

A competitive market is cleared by contracts in period 0, with borrowers' 0 selves either choosing among the contracts offered by the lenders or choosing no contract, which yields them an exogenous reservation utility.

In equilibrium with homogeneously naïve borrowers:

- Each borrower chooses the contract that seems optimal in period 0.
- Each lender makes zero expected profit.
- No lender can earn positive profit by deviating to another contract.
- In period 1, borrowers, however sophisticated, follow their actual β s.

Thus we solve via backward induction in any case.

But only sophisticated borrowers' decisions are in subgame-perfect equilibrium in the game among their selves, and only sophisticated borrowers' decisions are time-consistent.

Heidhues and Köszegi restrict attention to non-redundant contracts.

We can then think of a lender as selecting borrower's consumption c and a "baseline" repayment schedule borrower's self 0 expects to choose, and a sophisticated borrower actually would choose; plus the alternative repayment schedule a partially naïve borrower actually will choose.

Recall that competing lenders are assumed to know everything about borrowers; and borrowers to know everything about lenders and themselves, except partially naïve borrowers don't know their true β s.

In equilibrium each lender chooses the contract that maximizes profit, given how the borrower actually behaves, subject to constraints:

- Borrower's self 0 weakly prefers the baseline repayment schedule to its reservation utility (a standard participation constraint, but with a partially naïve borrower's incorrect beliefs).

In equilibrium each lender chooses the contract that maximizes profit, given how the borrower actually behaves, subject to constraints:

- Borrower's self 0 weakly prefers the baseline repayment schedule to its reservation utility (a standard participation constraint, but with a partially naïve borrower's incorrect beliefs).
- Borrower's self 0 expects to choose the baseline repayment schedule, and must therefore expect borrower's self 1 to prefer it to the alternative schedule (a standard incentive-compatibility constraint).

In equilibrium each lender chooses the contract that maximizes profit, given how the borrower actually behaves, subject to the constraints:

- Borrower's self 0 weakly prefers the baseline repayment schedule to its reservation utility (a standard participation constraint, but with a partially naïve borrower's incorrect beliefs).
- Borrower's self 0 expects to choose the baseline repayment schedule, and must therefore expect borrower's self 1 to prefer it to the alternative schedule (a standard incentive-compatibility constraint).
- Lenders' contracts must yield zero profit (otherwise a lender could compete away all borrowers by slightly improving its contract terms).

In equilibrium:

- For present-biased and less than perfectly sophisticated borrowers, a competitive firm's profit-maximizing contract has cheap baseline repayment terms; but they are inefficiently front-loaded and noncompliance incurs a large penalty.

In equilibrium:

- For present-biased and less than perfectly sophisticated borrowers, a competitive firm's profit-maximizing contract has cheap baseline repayment terms; but they are inefficiently front-loaded and noncompliance incurs a large penalty.
- The baseline repayment terms are inefficient because the lender chooses them to appeal to the borrower's self 0, who must be induced to sign the contract, and whose naiveté distorts trade-offs.

In equilibrium:

- For present-biased and less than perfectly sophisticated borrowers, a competitive firm's profit-maximizing contract has cheap baseline repayment terms; but they are inefficiently front-loaded and noncompliance incurs a large penalty.
- The baseline repayment terms are inefficient because the lender chooses them to appeal to the borrower's self 0, who must be induced to sign the contract, and whose naiveté distorts trade-offs.
- The large penalty for noncompliance is inefficient because it exceeds the cost of noncompliance to the lender, while a naïve borrower doesn't expect to pay the penalty, again distorting trade-offs.

In equilibrium:

- For present-biased and less than perfectly sophisticated borrowers, a competitive firm's profit-maximizing contract has cheap baseline repayment terms; but they are inefficiently front-loaded and noncompliance incurs a large penalty.
- The baseline repayment terms are inefficient because the lender chooses them to appeal to the borrower's self 0, who must be induced to sign the contract, and whose naiveté distorts trade-offs.
- The large penalty for noncompliance is inefficient because it exceeds the cost of noncompliance to the lender, while a naïve borrower doesn't expect to pay the penalty, again distorting trade-offs.
- Naïve borrowers borrow more than sophisticated borrowers.

In equilibrium:

- For present-biased and less than perfectly sophisticated borrowers, a competitive firm's profit-maximizing contract has cheap baseline repayment terms; but they are inefficiently front-loaded and noncompliance incurs a large penalty.
- The baseline repayment terms are inefficient because the lender chooses them to appeal to the borrower's self 0, who must be induced to sign the contract, and whose naiveté distorts trade-offs.
- The large penalty for noncompliance is inefficient because it exceeds the cost of noncompliance to the lender, while a naïve borrower doesn't expect to pay the penalty, again distorting trade-offs.
- Naïve borrowers borrow more than sophisticated borrowers.
- Naïve borrowers are induced to back-load repayment, thereby incurring large and unanticipated penalties.

In judging welfare, Heidhues and Köszegi focus on the borrower's self 0, which in their model has no present bias.

(In other models, present bias is usually kept out of welfare judgments.)

- By this standard naïve borrowers have discontinuously lower welfares than otherwise identical sophisticated borrowers, no matter how close to sophisticated they are.

In judging welfare, Heidhues and Kőszegi focus on the borrower's self 0, which in their model has no present bias.

(In other models, present bias is usually kept out of welfare judgments.)

- By this standard naïve borrowers have discontinuously lower welfares than otherwise identical sophisticated borrowers, no matter how close to sophisticated they are.
- With non-present-biased borrowers, however naïve, competition does police the market.
- But competition fails badly with even slightly naïve present-biased borrowers: Competitive firms *must* exploit them or be out-competed.

In judging welfare, Heidhues and Kőszegi focus on the borrower's self 0, which in their model has no present bias.

(In other models, present bias is usually kept out of welfare judgments.)

- By this standard naïve borrowers have discontinuously lower welfares than otherwise identical sophisticated borrowers, no matter how close to sophisticated they are.
- With non-present-biased borrowers, however naïve, competition does police the market.
- But competition fails badly with even slightly naïve present-biased borrowers: Competitive firms *must* exploit them or be out-competed.

Mildly coercive paternalism such as prohibiting large, non-cost-based penalties for deferring small amounts of repayment—akin to recent U.S. regulations—can raise welfare.

In judging welfare, Heidhues and Köszegi focus on the borrower's self 0, which in their model has no present bias.

(In other models, present bias is usually kept out of welfare judgments.)

- By this standard naïve borrowers have discontinuously lower welfares than otherwise identical sophisticated borrowers, no matter how close to sophisticated they are.
- With non-present-biased borrowers, however naïve, competition does police the market.
- But competition fails badly with even slightly naïve present-biased borrowers: Competitive firms *must* exploit them or be out-competed.

Mildly coercive paternalism such as prohibiting large, non-cost-based penalties for deferring small amounts of repayment—akin to recent U.S. regulations—can raise welfare.

Some such regulations can benefit naïve borrowers without affecting sophisticated borrowers: “libertarian paternalism” again.