

# Welfare Assessment of Default-Setting Policies

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# The Argument

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Default Policies

Welfare

5 Explanations

Conclusions

- i. *Default effect* an empirical regularity between context and behaviour
- ii. Explanation of this regularity controversial: 5 different accounts
- iii. Welfare assessment of default policies dependent on which explanation is assumed to be correct

# The Argument

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- i. *Default effect* an empirical regularity between context and behaviour
  - ii. Explanation of this regularity controversial: 5 different accounts
  - iii. Welfare assessment of default policies dependent on which explanation is assumed to be correct
- ⇒ Non-robustness, context-dependence of welfare assessment.

# What is a Default Effect?

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## Default:

*"Choose between A,B,C. If you do not indicate a choice, you will receive the default option"*

# What is a Default Effect?

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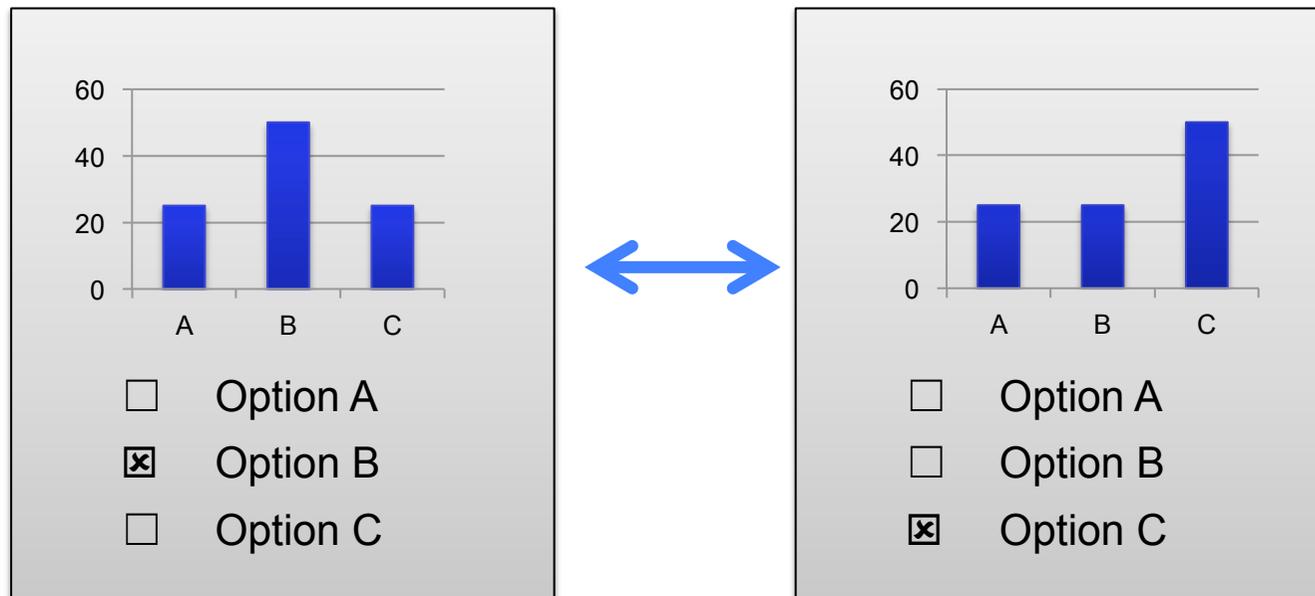
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## Default effect:



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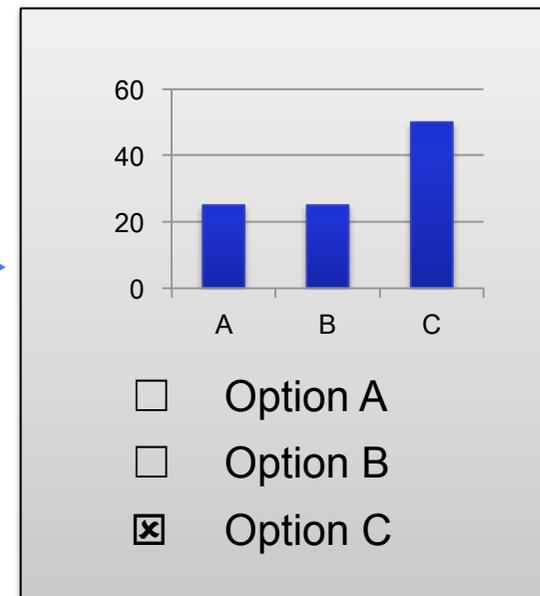
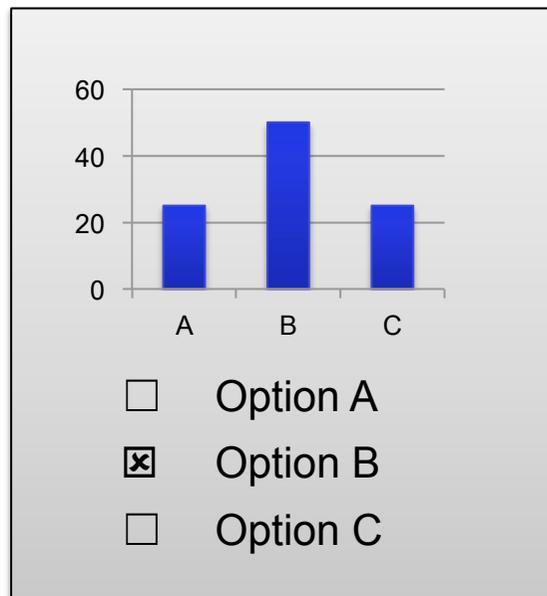
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## Default:

*"Choose between A,B,C. If you do not indicate a choice, you will receive the default option"*

## Default effect:



*Empirical effects:  
25 - 70%*

# What are Default Policies?

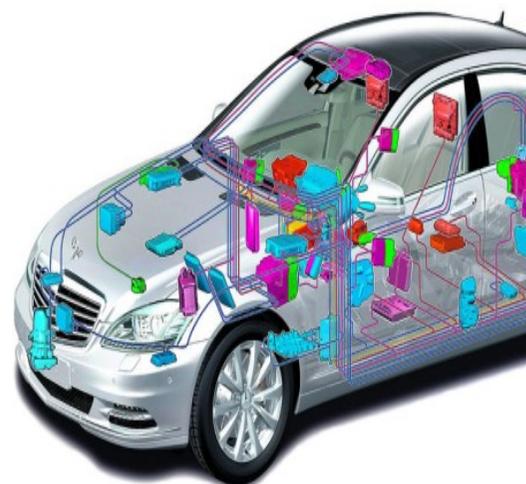
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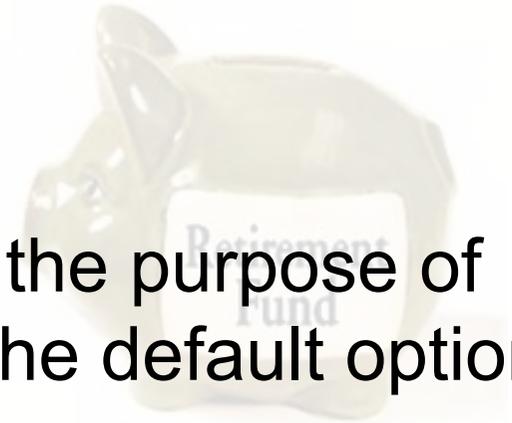
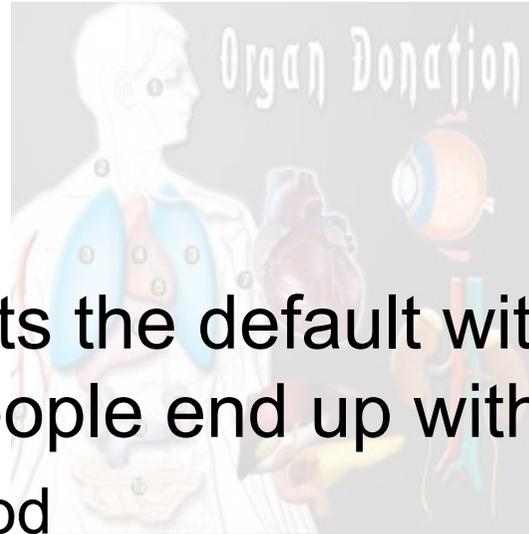
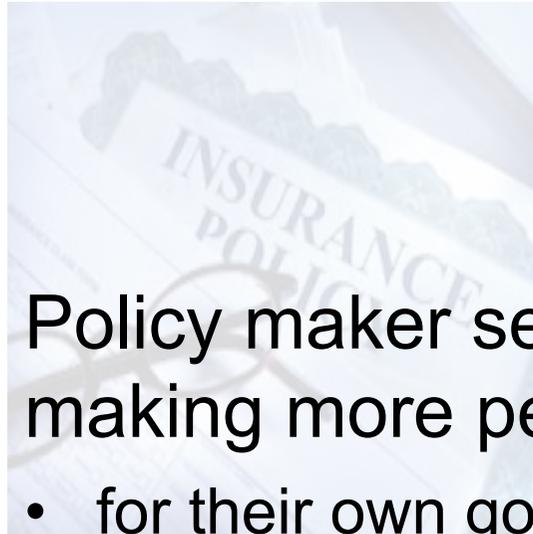
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Policy maker sets the default with the purpose of making more people end up with the default option

- for their own good
- for some other (e.g. social or commercial) reason



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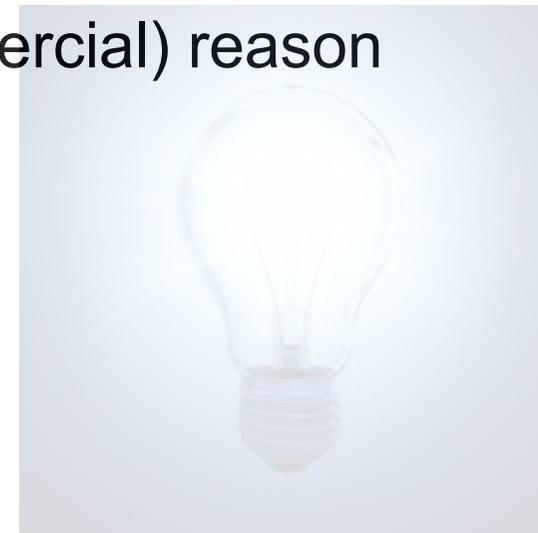
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Policy maker sets the default option to make more people choose it

- for their own good

- for some other (e.g. social or commercial) reason

What welfare criterion?



# What Welfare Criterion?

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*"In some cases individuals make inferior decisions in terms of **their own welfare**— decisions that they would change if they had complete information, unlimited cognitive abilities, and no lack of self-control." (Sunstein and Thaler 2003, 1162)*

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*"In some cases individuals make inferior decisions in terms of **their own welfare**— decisions that they would change if they had complete information, unlimited cognitive abilities, and no lack of self-control." (Sunstein and Thaler 2003, 1162)*

*"Note that defaults can lead to two kinds of misclassification: **willing donors who are not identified** or **people who become donors against their wishes**." (Johnson and Goldstein 2003, 1339)*

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**W** = Proportion of people who have their optimum (according to their true preferences) satisfied.

# 3 Differential Effects of Defaults on W

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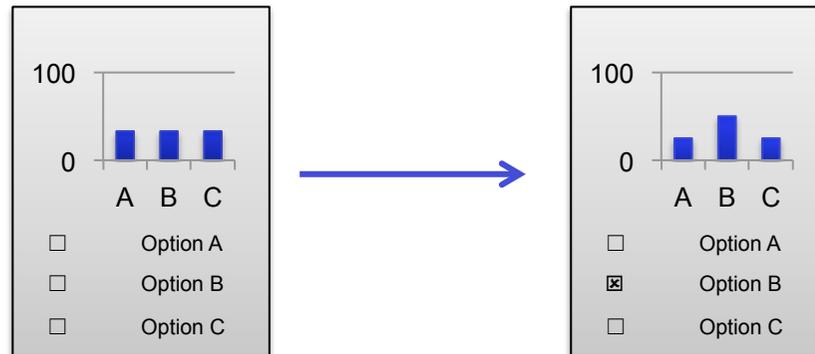
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## 1. Individual Welfare Relevance



# 3 Differential Effects of Defaults on W

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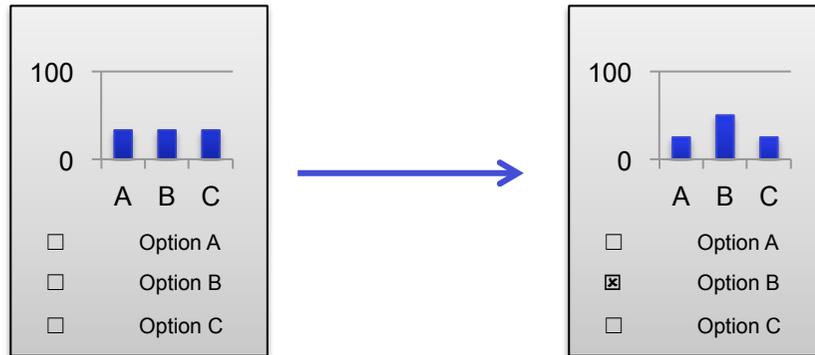
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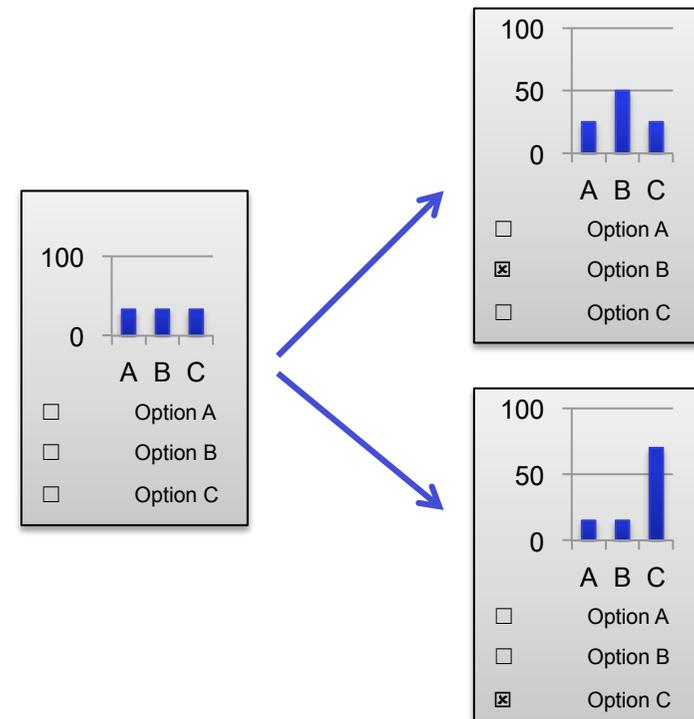
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## 1. Individual Welfare Relevance



## 2. Effect Asymmetry



# 3 Differential Effects of Defaults on W

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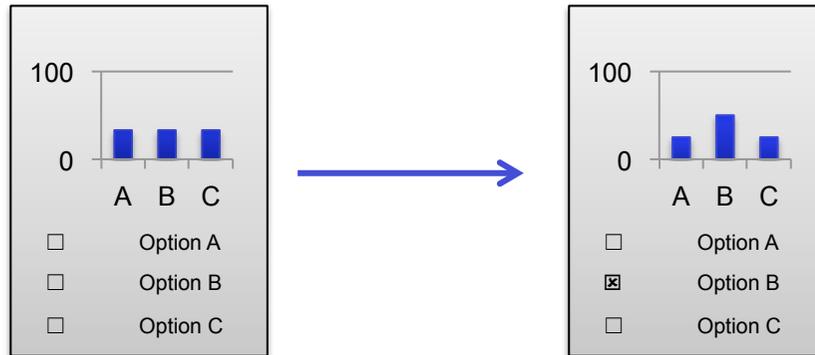
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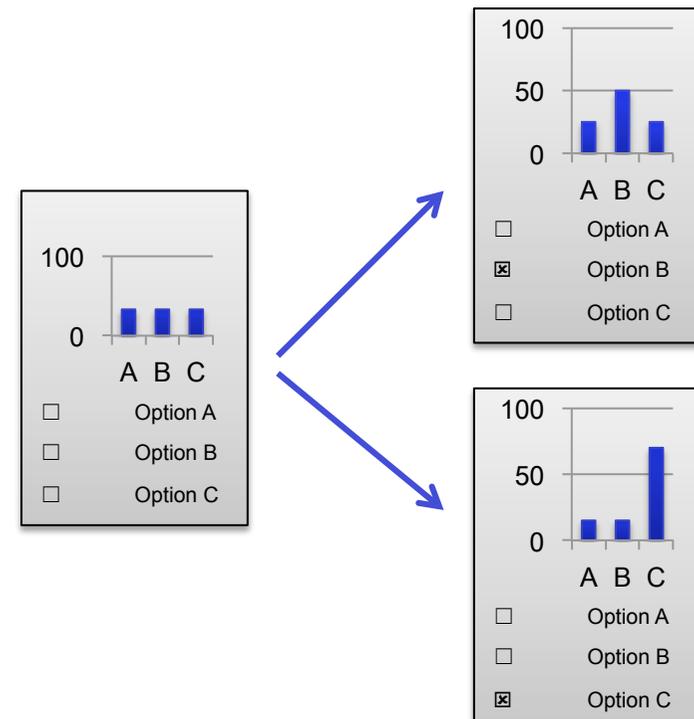
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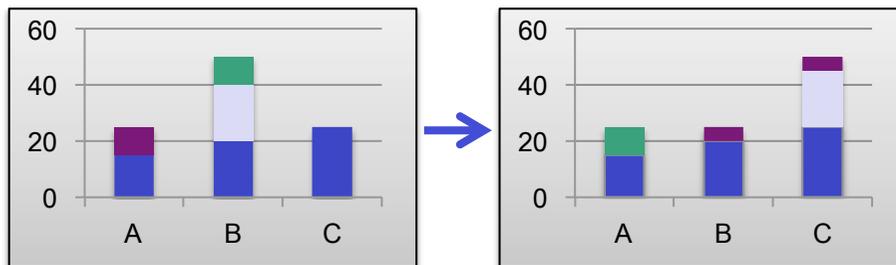
## 1. Individual Welfare Relevance



## 2. Effect Asymmetry



## 3. Heterogeneous Switching



# What Brings About Default Effects?

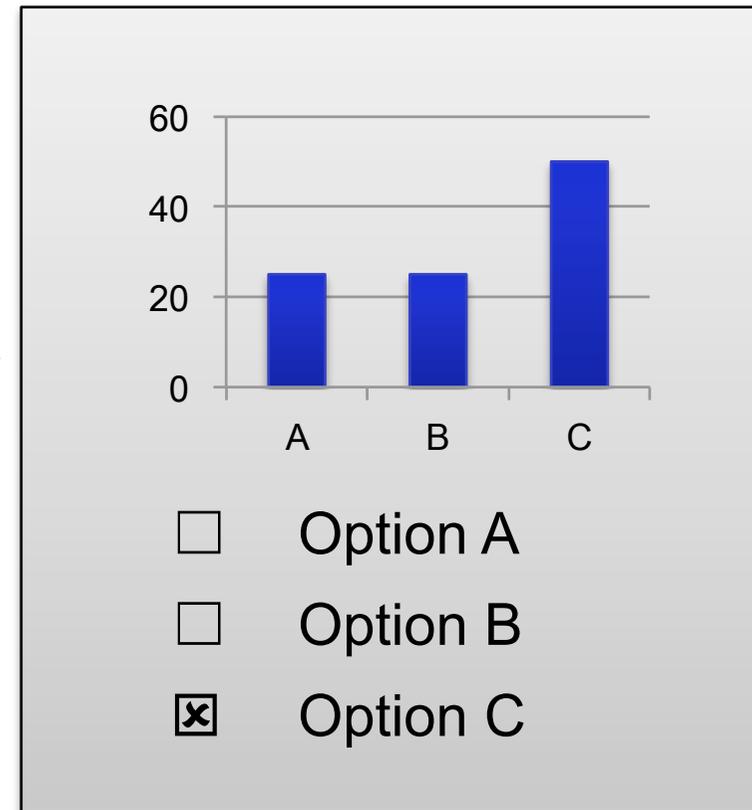
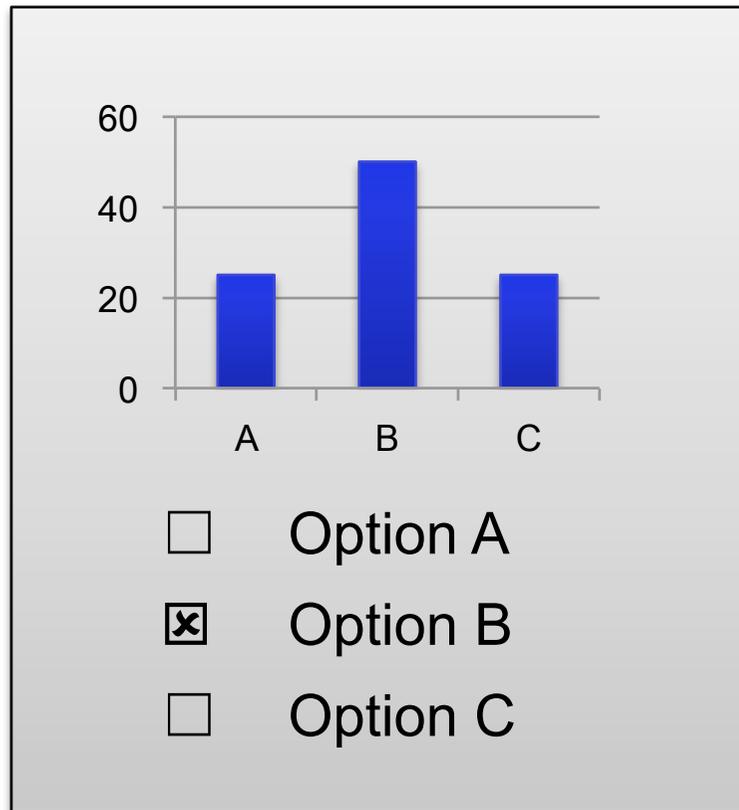
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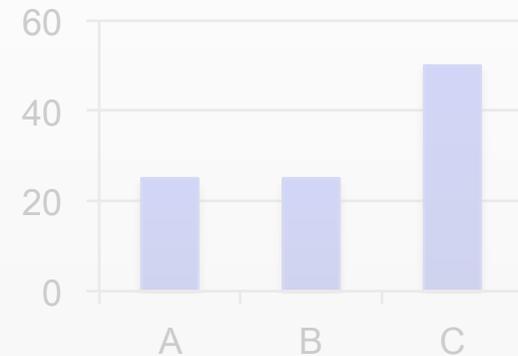
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## 5 competing explanations:

1. Cognitive effort
2. Switching costs
3. Loss aversion
4. Recommendation effect
5. Change of meaning



- Option A
- Option B
- Option C

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## 5 competing explanations:

1. Cognitive effort
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Resolution of preference conflict too much effort. Choose with default heuristic instead: *"If there is a default, do nothing about it"*.

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1. Not welfare relevant
  2. Symmetric
  3. Heterogeneous switch

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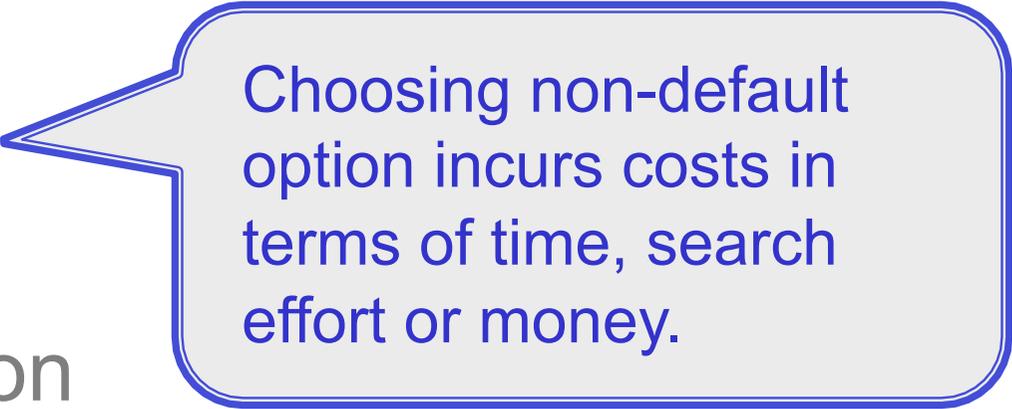
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## 5 competing explanations:

1. Cognitive effort
2. **Switching costs**
3. Loss aversion
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Choosing non-default option incurs costs in terms of time, search effort or money.

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## 5 competing explanations

1. Cognitive effort
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Preferences between options involve trade-off between dimensions. Default setting increases impact of those dimensions that are considered a "loss" on preference judgment.

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Chooser interprets default as signal from policymaker that default option is particularly recommended.

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## 5 competing explanations:

1. Cognitive effort
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Setting default affects meaning of options. E.g. under opt-in, being a donor means something different than being a donor under opt-out.

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## 5 competing explanations:

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1. Prob. welfare relevant
  2. Asymmetric
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# Summary: Differential W-Effects by Explanation

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	Individual welfare relevance	Asymmetric effect	Heterogeneous Switching
Cognitive effort	No	Symmetric	Heterogeneous
Switching costs	No	Symmetric	Homogenous
Loss aversion	No	Asymmetric	Heterogeneous
Recommendation	Yes	Asymmetric	Homogenous
Meaning Change	Probably yes	Asymmetric	Heterogeneous

# A Numerical Example

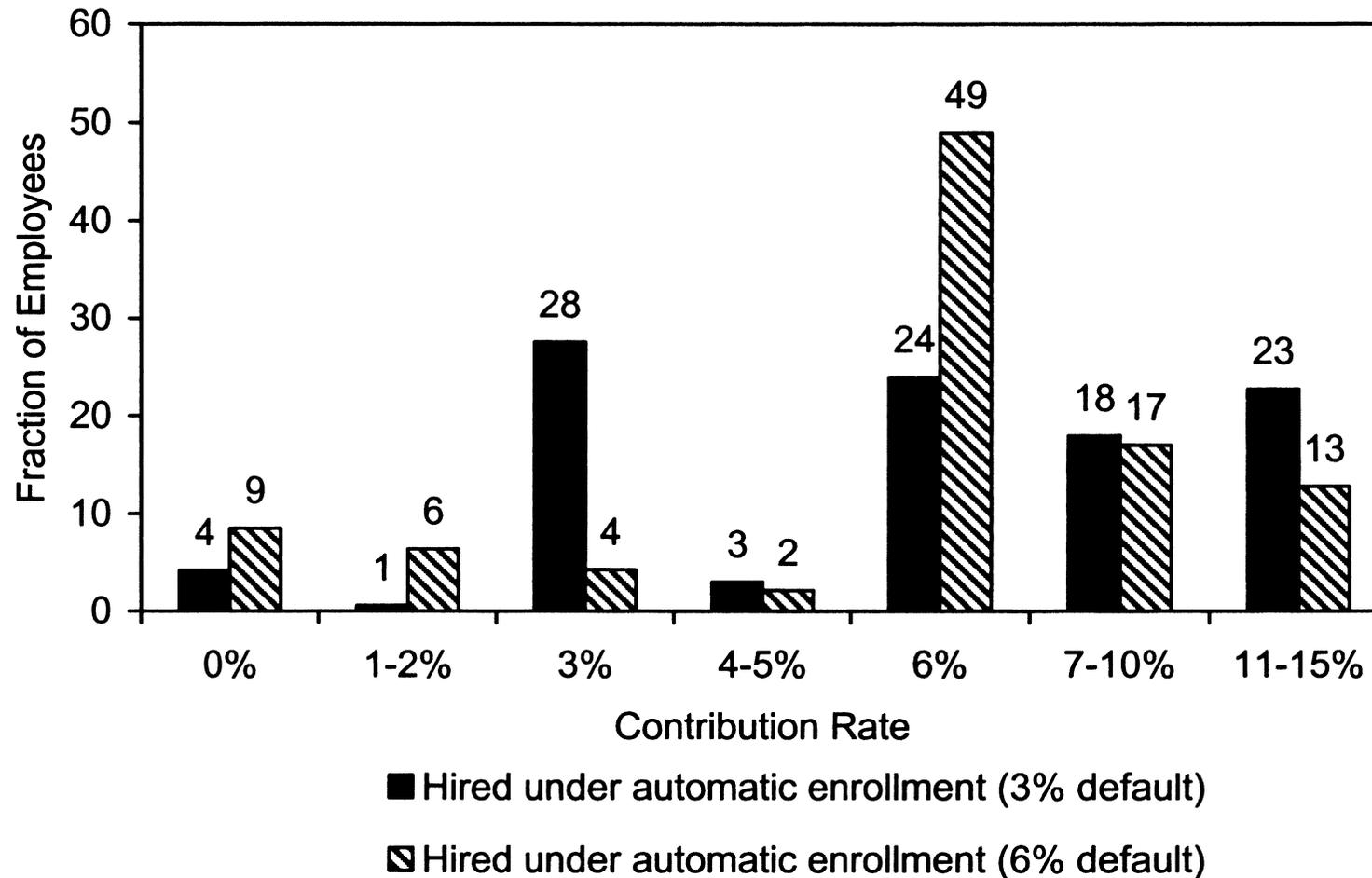
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Distribution of 401k contribution rates under two defaults (Beshears, Choi, Laibson and Madrian 2009, 173)

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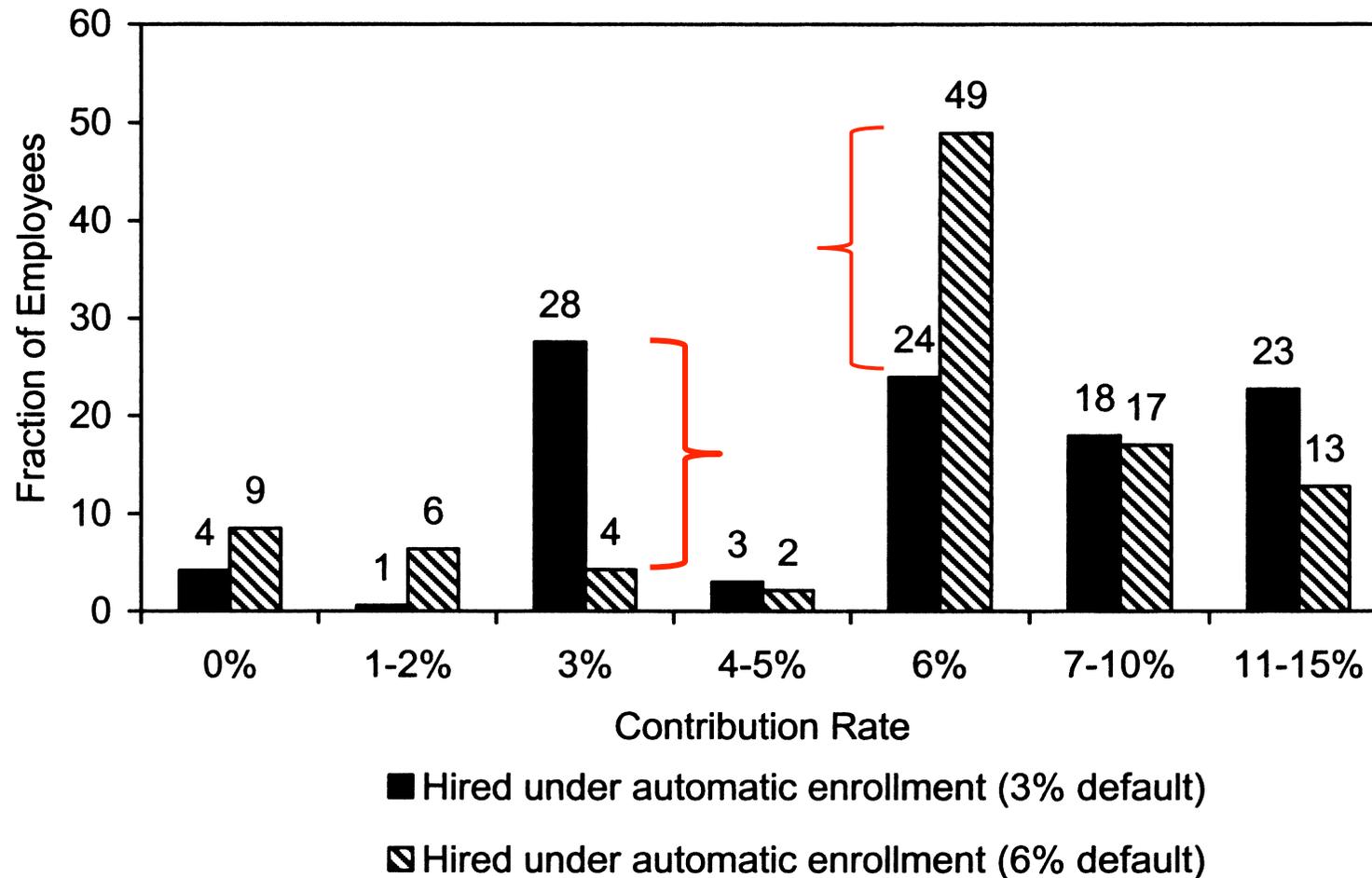
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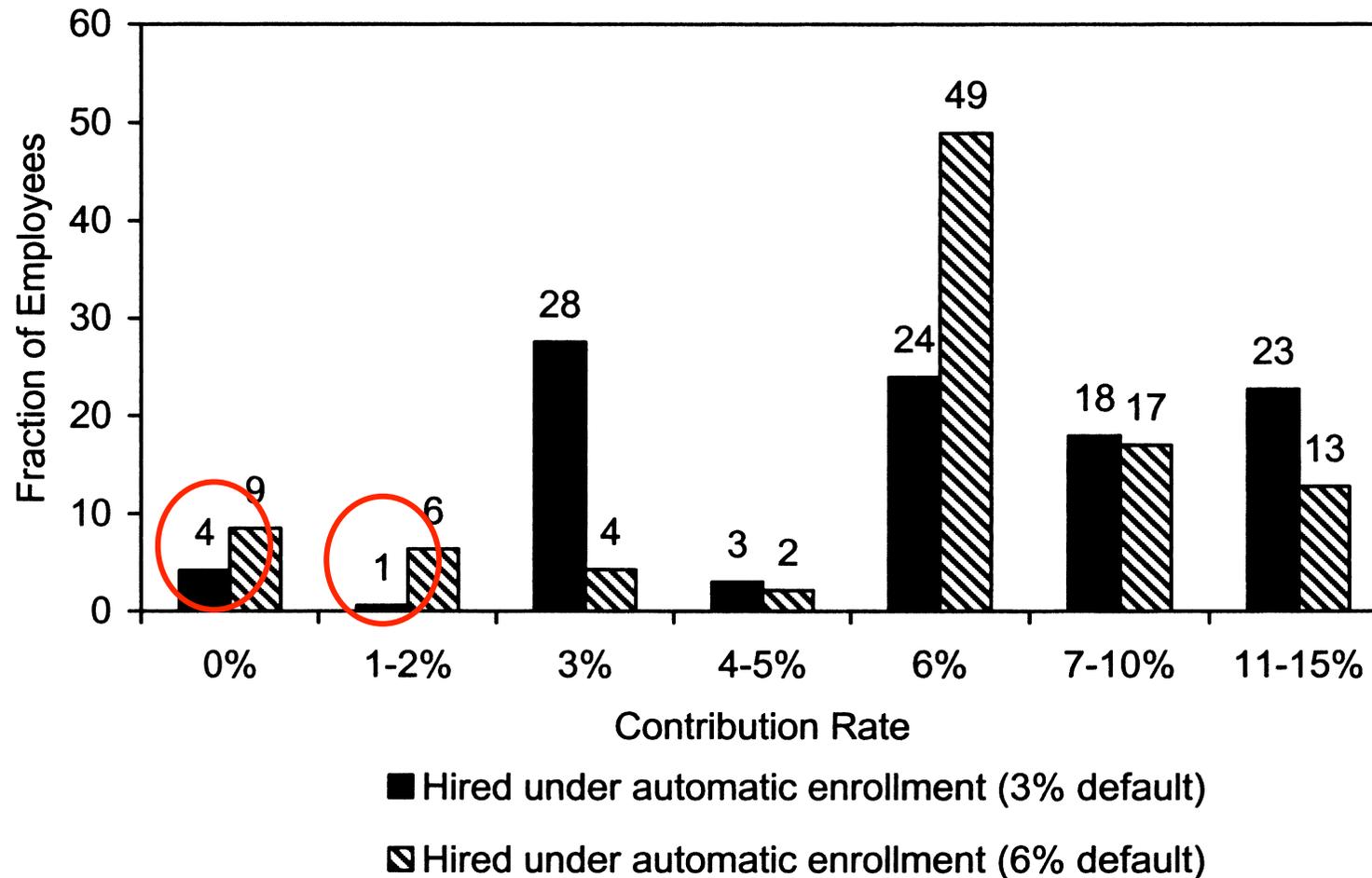
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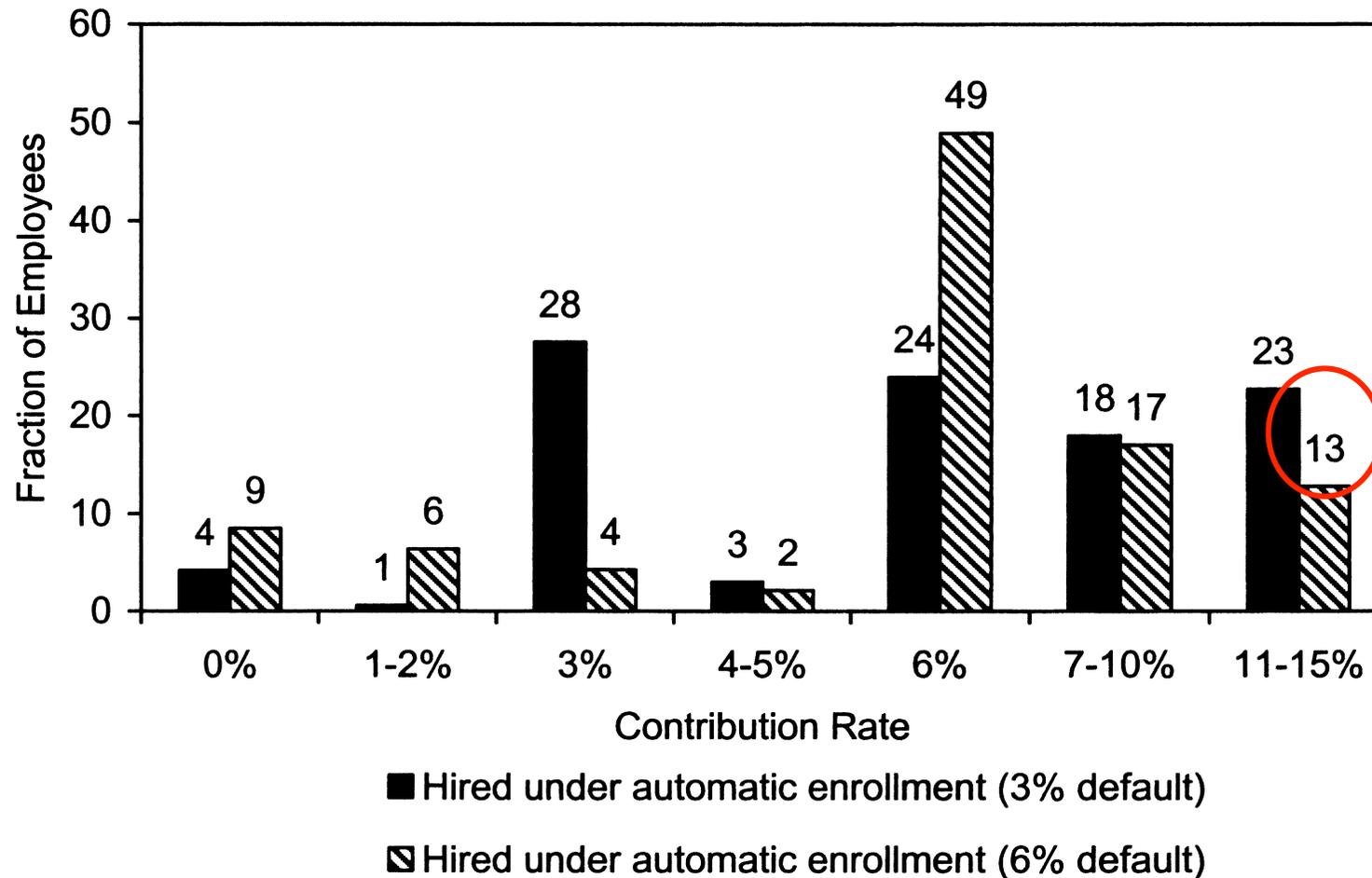
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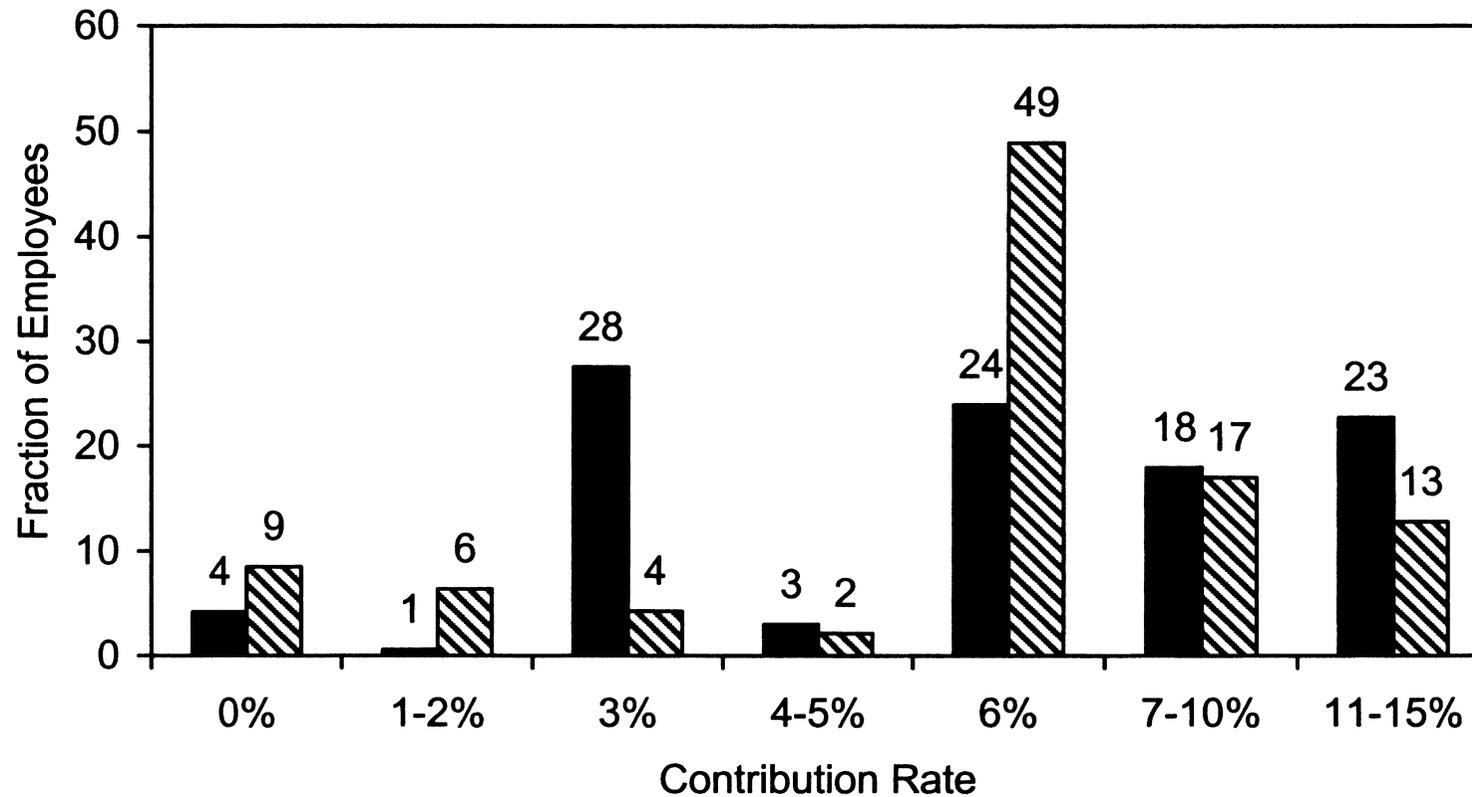
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**Mean: 6.88%** ■ Hired under automatic enrollment (3% default)  $\sigma=3.97$

**Mean: 6.31%** ▨ Hired under automatic enrollment (6% default)  $\sigma=3.47$

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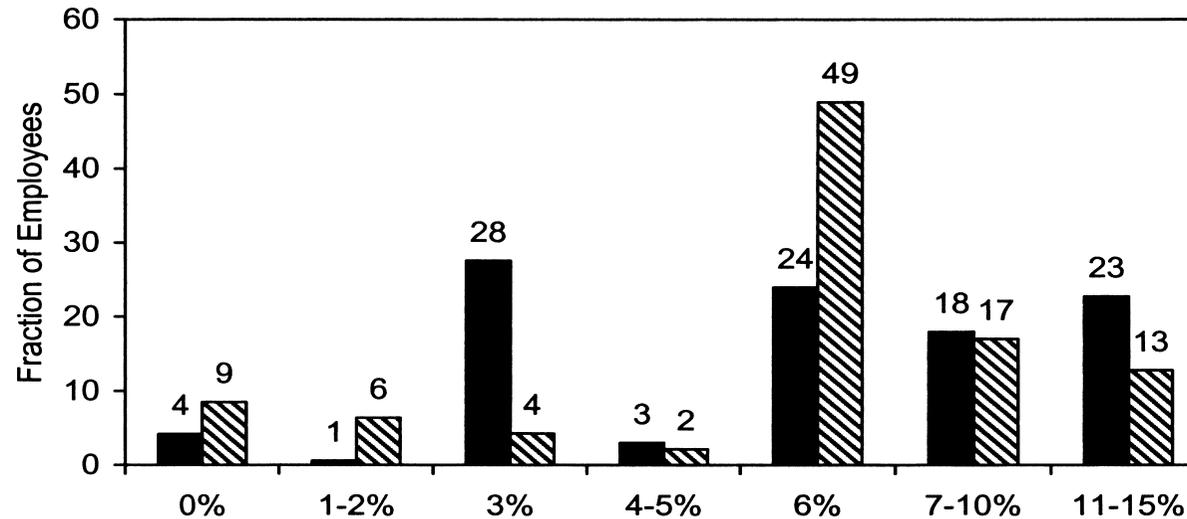
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Worst-Case Scenario: e.g. Loss Aversion

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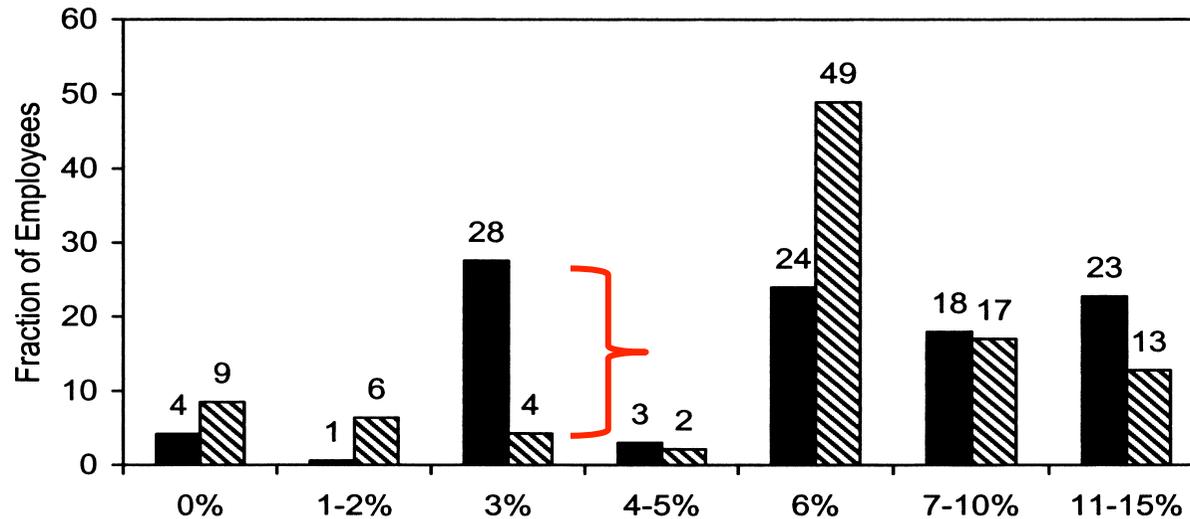
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## Worst-Case Scenario: e.g. Loss Aversion

- Default set at 3%: 24 individuals choose against their preferences

# A Numerical Example

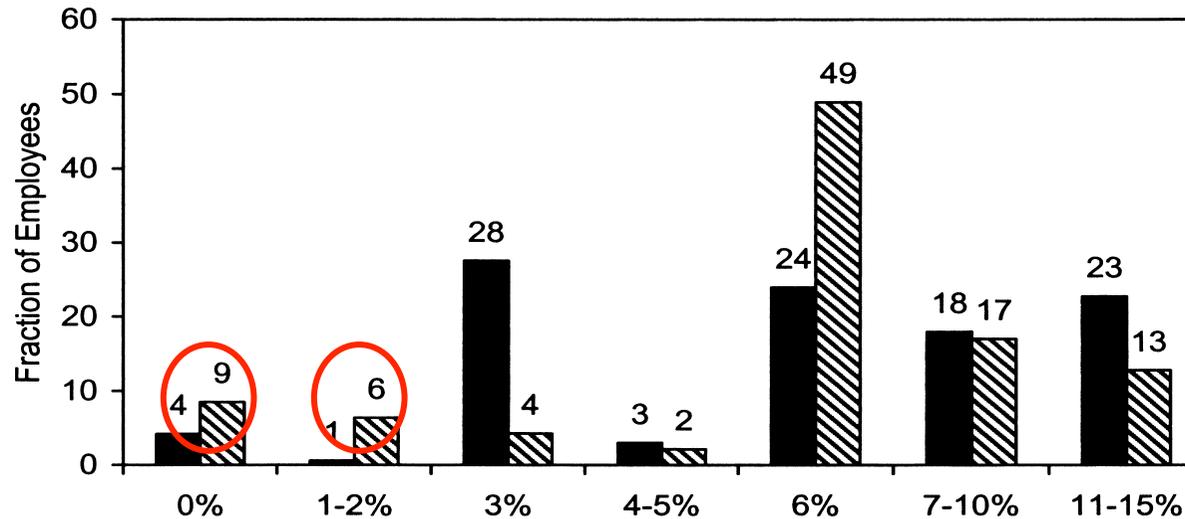
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## Worst-Case Scenario: e.g. Loss Aversion

- Default set at 3%: 24 individuals choose against their preferences
- Default switched to 6%:
  - $5+5=10$  switch from default to non-default

# A Numerical Example

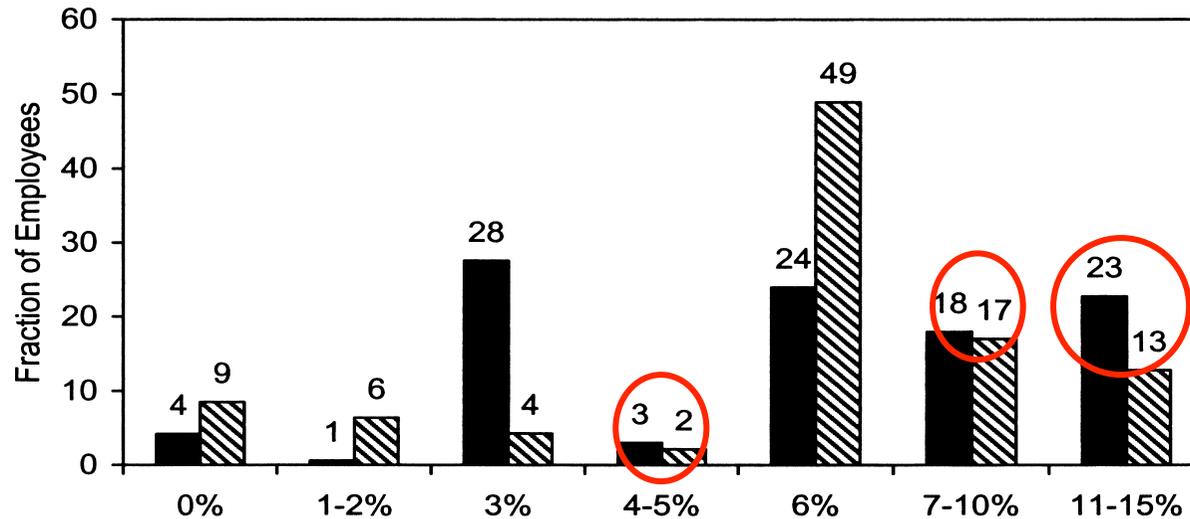
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## Worst-Case Scenario: e.g. Loss Aversion

- Default set at 3%: 24 individuals choose against their preferences
- Default switched to 6%:
  - $5+5=10$  switch from default to non-default
  - $1+1+10=12$  switch from non-default to default

# A Numerical Example

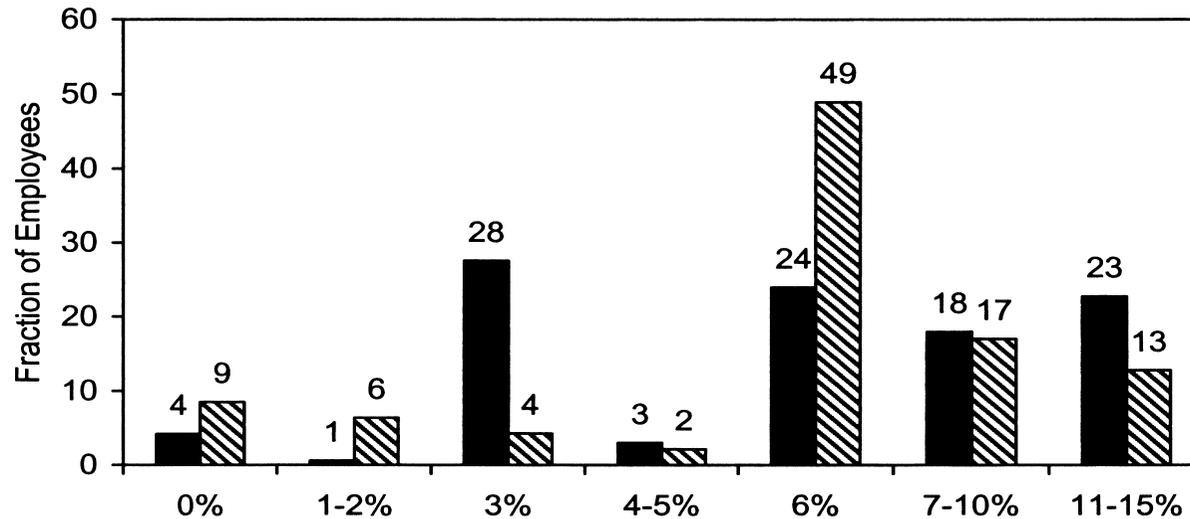
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- Default set at 3%: 24 individuals choose against their preferences
- Default switched to 6%:
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Altogether 46 individuals choose against their true preferences

# A Numerical Example

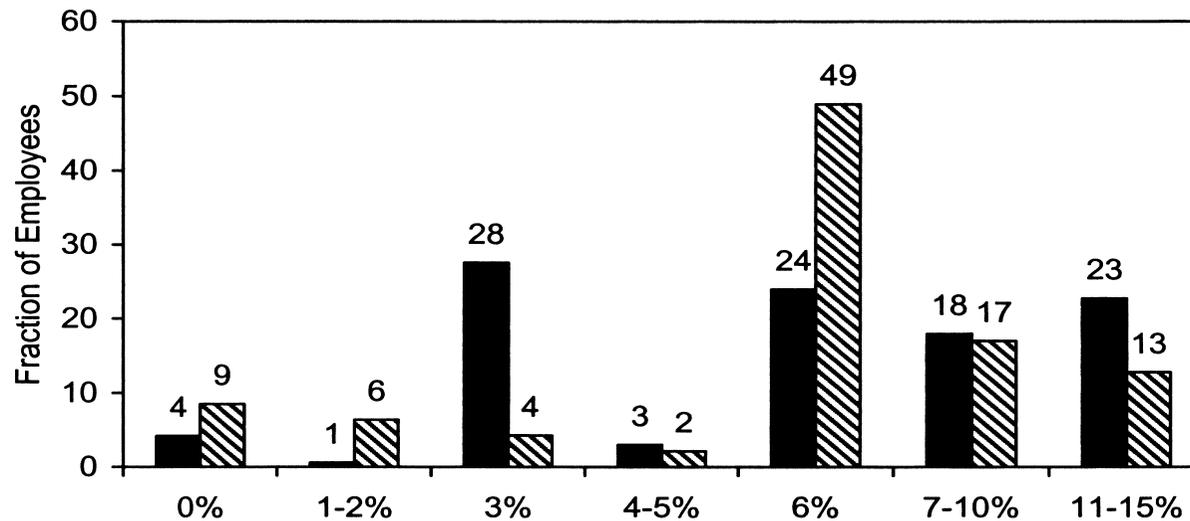
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## Best-Case Scenario: e.g. Recommendation Effect

- Default set at 3%: 24 adjust their preferences according to recommendation
- Default switched to 6%:
  - For 10, new recommendation isn't strong enough to choose default
  - For 12, recommendation is strong enough to choose default

Everybody's welfare-relevant preferences are satisfied

# Conclusion

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- Non-robustness result: welfare assessment of default policy depends on assumption about underlying causal mechanisms
- Need for detailed investigation of context before policy is implemented
- A welfare economics that relies only on choices and ancillary conditions (e.g. Bernheim & Rangel 2009) is hopeless