using eye tracking to study migrant remittances and welfare

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Very preliminary and incomplete. Check with authors before citing.

#### setting expectations/disclaimer

- 1. There are two types of randomized field experiments in this project
  - 1.1 Phase I: Lab-in-the-field experiments (so to speak)
  - 1.2 Phase II: Natural field experiments
- 2. Recently finished data collection for Phase I
  - 2.1 So, don't expect regressions!
- 3. As such, we welcome comments on
  - 3.1 Phase I: Empirical strategy
  - 3.2 Phase II: Design

#### starting to motivate the problem

- 1. Migrant remittances are a significant driver of global development (World Bank 2015, Yang 2011).
- 2. Remittances to developing countries will reach US\$ 479 billion in 2017 (far exceeding official development assistance).

Remittance flows to developing countries **decreased by 2.4 percent to \$429 billion** in 2016 but are **larger than Official Development Assistance** (ODA) and **more stable than private capital flows** 



#### continuing to motivate the problem

- 1. Yet, sending remittances remains costly.
  - 1.1 Global average for sending US200 has held steady at 8%
  - 1.2 In some instances, fees may surpass 20%
- 2. Concern
  - 2.1 Some portion of these fees could be going towards "development"
- 3. 2009 G8 summit: Lower costs through
  - 3.1 Information
  - 3.2 Transparency
  - 3.3 Competition
  - 3.4 Cooperation

# a potential solution

- 1. Creation of publicly available comparison databases with costs, speed, and reliability of sending remittances.
- 2. A familiar analog
  - 2.1 Metasearch sites in the travel industry kayak, orbitz, trivago, cheaptickets, ...
- 3. E.g. Morton et al. (2015) find that consumers benefit from simple, low-cost ways to make comparisons.
  - 3.1 A likely necessary condition is that consumers (migrants) actively engage in comparison-shopping or are perceived to.
- 4. This in turn requires metasearch sites to be simple and accessible.

## a potential problem to the potential solution

- 1. E.g. LoVoi et al. (2016) find that while migrants compare remittance fees across select brick-and-mortar providers, they do not necessarily compare that set to online providers.
  - 1.1 Claim: 'migrants don't use online banking ... too confusing'.
  - $1.2\;$  Despite online fees being 20-30% lower than in-store fees.
- 2. In short
  - 2.1 Metasearch sites have potential to disrupt remittance industry.
  - 2.2 But, the market segment that could potentially benefit most (\$200 and below) seems NOT to be using such sites.
  - 2.3 This research
    - 2.3.1 Why has take-up been low?
    - 2.3.2 Are there behavioral costs to search/comparison-shopping in this context?
    - 2.3.3 Combine choice data and non-choice (eye-tracking) data.

#### how will the study achieve this?

- 1. Partner with www.remitright.com.
  - 1.1 First World Bank-certified metasearch platform for online money transfers from the US to select corridors.
  - 1.2 Unlike some travel sites, you cannot "transact" via RR.
- 2. Phase I (May-Oct 2017)
  - 2.1  $\,\sim$  380 migrants from El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala residing in the DMV area.
  - 2.2 Other criteria:  $\geq$  18; sends remittances; read/write; no bifocals.
  - 2.3 Recruited through Casa de Maryland Workers' Centers to complete a "job/task" (our remittance study).
  - 2.4 On average, 60 mins [\$50 & 10% of \$100 or \$300 sent to family via chosen carrier]
  - 2.5 Sequence of events

Pre-survey – experiment (eye-tracking) – post-survey

- 3. Phase II (Spring-Summer 2018)
  - 3.1 Live field experiments on site (details tbd).

- 1. Experiment design
- 2. Basic demographics of the sample
- 3. Some preliminary anecdotes

## the site's landing page



Questions

# the site's results page (where the action is)

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	Ria Money Transfer ★★★☆☆☆ 386 Trustpilot reviews	USD to MXN: 19.020	Receive 3,804 M0N Transfer time: 4 business days Receive in bank account or cash	Costs \$0.65 More SEND MONEY	
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	voridremit ***** 7063 Trustpilot reviews	USD to MON: 17.092	Receive 3,418 M0N Transfer time: One day or less Receive in bank account, cash or home delivery	Costs \$21.73 More SEND MONEY	Questors?

## overall design (two treatments a and b)

- 1. What do they have in common?
  - 1.1 Subjects see three pages; so ultimately, make three choices
    - Five minutes to review each page and choose preferred company
  - 1.2 Both treatments have the following basic info as their first page
    - 1.2.1 List of company names with
    - 1.2.2 Transfer fee + exchange rate (when applicable) and
    - 1.2.3 Whether the funds arrive in cash and/or a bank account
- 2. How are they different?
  - 2.1 Treatment A
    - Page 2: Basic + processing time
    - Page 3: Basic + processing time + customer reviews
  - 2.2 Treatment B
    - Page 2: Basic + customer reviews
    - Page 3: Basic + customer reviews + processing time
- 3. Other random variations
  - 3.1 Amount sent: \$100 or \$300 (between-subjects)
  - $3.2\;$  Fee discount for one of the companies & list order

# example of treatment

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## framework and main data points

- 1. Choice data (site clicks)
  - 1.1 Discrete choice model (resembling incentivized choice experiments).
- 2. Non-choice data (eye-tracking)
  - 2.1 Dynamic search model with computational processes.
  - 2.2 E.g. fixation (continuous look for  $\geq 50$  ms).
  - 2.3 Reutskaja et al. propose three types of models
    - 2.3.1 Optimal search with zero costs.
    - 2.3.2 Satisficing model.
    - 2.3.3 Hybrid model.
    - 2.3.4 Need for a habit (anchoring) type model? Instead of assuming random initial search, a nonrandom anchor.
- 3. Survey data
  - 3.1 Typical patterns/habits/inertia.
  - 3.2 Preferred attributes consistent with eye-tracking (welfare?)
- 4. Post-survey data (anecdotes/practical suggestions).

#### some context

- 1. Literature that may come to mind at this point
  - 1.1 Search (IO)  $\rightarrow$  Stahl (1989) ...
  - 1.2 Eye-tracking (neuro/comp sci)  $\rightarrow$  Reutskaja et al. (2011) ...
  - 1.3 Choice overload (psych)  $\rightarrow$  Igenyar et al. (2000, 2004) ...
  - 1.4 Marketing  $\rightarrow$  Russo and Rosen (1975) ...
- 2. Contributions (Phase I)
  - 2.1 Computational processes deployed by "remittance" consumers (i.e. migrants) during the search and decision processes?
    - 2.1.1 Of particular note here is the context, i.e. relatively low-income, low-education migrants in a relevant day-to-day field context.
    - 2.1.2 Most prior work has been in conventional lab and/or with "sophisticated" consumers (related, small *N*).
  - 2.2 Response to varying degrees of information.
  - 2.3 Does this lead to different (potentially "better") choices, e.g. lower fees?
    - 2.3.1 Break with "habit" of typical carrier?



- 1. 53% women
- 2. Average age: 42 years
- 3. 51.65% ES, 15.78% HON, 32.57% GUA
- 4. \$2600 monthly HH income
- 5. HH size: 4
- 6. Remittance: \$237.73

# preliminary anecdotes

- 1. Inertia: There might be a significant part of the sample that chooses based on what they already do outside of the study.
- 2. Constraints to adopting site ("internet" more generally)
  - 2.1 Technology (cannot use PC or does not have; phone? unclear)
  - 2.2 Trust (workable through referrals)
  - 2.3 Compare by calling (workable with a larger service or self-reports by companies)
  - 2.4 Unclear whether company delivers where family is (workable)
  - 2.5 Existing companies that do NOT appear on site (workable)
- 3. Eye-tracking will shed light on whether "behavioral constraints" are buried underneath.