# DOMINATED PENSION INVESTMENTS: THE ROLE OF SEARCH FRICTIONS AND UNAWARENESS

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This study is registered in the AEA RCT Registry and the unique identifying number is: AEARCTR-0003139.

## BACKGROUND

- Differences in returns to savings account for a large fraction of wealth inequality
  - (Bach et al., 2017; Fagereng et al., 2020; and Hubmer et al., 2021)
- Different fees for the same investments dominated funds
  - Fee multiple of 30 among S&P500 index funds
  - 200 million USD expenses to be saved in S&P500 index funds alone (Choi et al., 2010)
  - One third of all assets of U.S. all-equity mutual funds were managed by closet index funds in 2009 (Petajistoo, 2013)
- High price dispersion indicates sizeable frictions affecting the demand side: **consumers' fund choices**

# RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- To what extent can information and search frictions explain why savers choose high-fee index funds, i.e., dominated funds?
  - Lack of awareness of price dispersion
  - Search costs
  - Exponential-growth bias
- Can an information intervention improve households' investments?

## METHOD

- A large-scale field experiment in the Swedish public pension system
- Sample: Pension savers in two dominated funds
  - Index funds that follow equivalent indices
  - There exists a cheaper index fund with the same investment strategy
- Randomize different treatment letters, including an incentivized search task, and observe real fund choices

## Preview of results

- Information letters that increase awareness of a dominated choice and reduce search costs of finding the dominating alternative improve many savers' real investment choices and can be justified from a cost-benefit analysis
- While the average effects are positive, a majority of previously active investors are unresponsive to information that eliminates search costs
- A lack of awareness and search costs account for at most 45 percent of dominated fund choices

Related Literature

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- SETTING
- 2 Experimental design
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- EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS
- 6 CONCLUSIONS

#### Institutional setting

#### The Swedish Premium Pension system

- A defined contribution part of the public pension where households are allowed to choose how their savings are invested
- 2.5 percent of each employee's labor income, subject to a cap
- A large set of mutual funds from which to choose: over 800
- A single platform for all pension savers Platform
- Real long-term investment decisions

## SAMPLE

- Individuals, age 25-64, who save some of their Premium Pension in either Fund<sup>m</sup> (medium fee) or Fund<sup>h</sup> (high fee)
  - Higher fees than Fund<sup>l</sup> (low fee)
  - Index funds that follow equivalent indices, i.e., same investment strategy
  - No difference in credit risk, or non-portfolio services
  - The savers have actively chosen the funds and opted out from a default fund

Age and gender distributions

Fund information

## DATA

#### Fund choices

- Individual pension savings in  $\operatorname{Fund}^h$ ,  $\operatorname{Fund}^m$ , and  $\operatorname{Fund}^l$
- $\bullet$  Portfolio shares in Fund<sup>h</sup>, Fund<sup>m</sup>, and Fund<sup>l</sup>
- Fund data

#### Individual-level registry data

- Labor income
- Year of birth
- Gender
- Municipality
- Marital status

Data source: The Swedish Pensions Agency

Construct: Expected future reward from switching to the dominating fund

Future rewards

Summary statistics

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## THE LETTERS

- A: Aware
  - A reminder of the individual's current choice of fund
  - It is not the cheapest index fund with that investment strategy
  - The fee difference
  - A short guide of how to implement fund switches and where to verify the information
- AN: Aware + Name
  - Letter A
  - The name of the dominating fund
- $\mathbf{AI}_a$ : Aware + Implication
  - Letter A
  - The expected gain at age 65, from immediately switching the savings in the dominated fund to the dominating fund
  - $\bullet$  A range of immediate search rewards  $a \in \{0, L, M, H\}$
- **ANI**: Aware + Name + Implication
  - Letter AN
  - Letter AI<sub>0</sub>

## Treatment assignment

- The letters were randomized to people who saved in Fund<sup>m</sup> or Fund<sup>h</sup>
- The control group received no letter
- Sample sizes:

Stratification

## **OUTCOMES**

Real choices (3 months after treatment)

- lacktriangle Switches from dominated to dominating fund,  $Y_i^{switch}$
- $\ensuremath{\mathbf 2}$  Increased portfolio share invested in the dominating fund,  $Y_i^l$
- ${\color{red} \bullet}$  Decreased portfolio share invested in the dominated funds,  $Y_i^{mh}$
- $\bullet$  Any investment change,  $Y_i^{any}$

We also observe the date of any investment change and the number of logins on the Premium Pension's website

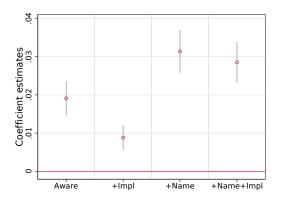
Theoretical framework

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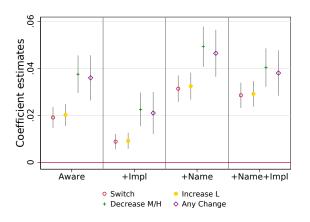
# RESULTS - SWITCHING FUNDS

 $Y_{isk}^{switch} = \gamma_k T_{ik} + \delta_s S_{is} + \varepsilon_{isk}$ , where  $k \in \{A, AN, AI_0, ANI\}$  and  $S_{is}$  are strata dummy variables



Hypothesis tests

# RESULTS - MULTIPLE OUTCOMES



The control group is the reference and has a mean of 0.001, 0.002, 0.018, and 0.036, for the respective outcome variables

Results Table

### RESULTS

#### H1. Awareness

Information that a cheaper index fund exists

⇒ increases probability of switching by 1.9 percentage points

#### H2. Search Costs

Eliminating the search costs of finding the cheapest fund  $\Rightarrow$  increases probability of switching by 1.2 percentage point

## H3. Monetary Implication

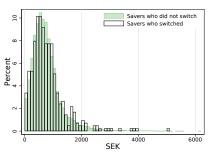
Information about the monetary implication of switching to the cheapest fund  $\Rightarrow$  increase the probability of switching

Intensive margin Logins Previous activity

## Cost-benefit analysis

- PV of saved expected expenses: 287 000 SEK (10% annual discounting)
- Costs of letters: 180 000 SEK
- Potentially larger general-equilibrium benefits

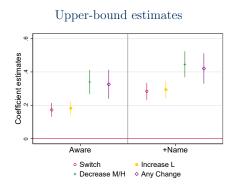
#### Discounted expected future rewards

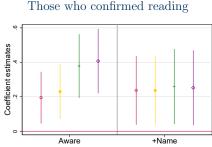


In total, 414 people switched and 22 314 people did not switch funds 11 percent confirmed reading the letters

## The role of information and search frictions

Treatment effects on the treated





Switch

+ Decrease M/H

Unawareness and search costs account for at most 45 percent of dominated fund choices

Readers

Increase I

Any Change

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#### EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS

- Heterogeneous treatment effects (Heterogeneity
- Does search uncertainty matter? Uncertainty
- Present bias and mental accounting
   Activity across immediate rewards
   Activity across discounted future rewards
- How costly is the search for a dominating fund? (Search cost distribution
- Procrastination Time of task completeness and fund switches

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## Conclusions

- Information letters about the existence of a dominating fund, and removed search costs for identifying this fund, significantly improve many pension savers' real investment choices
- However, a majority of previously active investors do not respond to information that removes search costs
- A lack of awareness and search costs account for at most 45 percent of dominated fund choices
  - Lack of understanding the concept of index funds
  - Low confidence in the own ability to comprehend and evaluate information regarding financial investments

# EXTRA SLIDES

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### • Dominated financial choices

Adams, Hunt, Palmer, and Zaliauskas (2021), Agnew and Szykman (2005), Ayres and Curtis (2015), Bhargava, Loewenstein, and Sydnor (2017), Bhutta, Fuster, and Hizmo (2021), Carlin (2009), Choi, Laibson, and Madrian (2010), Egan (2019), Elton, Gruber, and Busse (2004), Handel and Schwartzstein (2018), Hastings, Hortaçsu, and Syverson (2017), Hortaçsu and Syverson (2004), Johnson, Meier, and Toubia (2015), Petajistoo (2013), Salop and Stiglitz (1977), Sinaiko and Hirth (2011)

#### • Inactivity and inertia in default funds

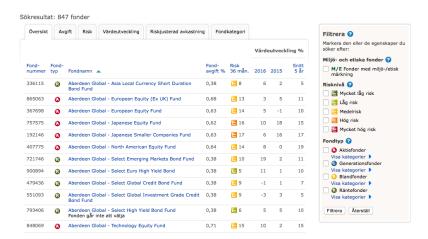
Beshears, Choi, Laibson, Madrian (2009) and (2018), Choi, Laibson, Madrian, and Metrick (2004) and (2006), Kempf and Ruenzi (2006), Kronlund, Pool, Sialm, and Stefanescu (2021), Madrian and Shea (2001), Samuelson and Zeckhauser (1988)

#### • Exponential-growth bias

Goda, Levy, Manchester, Sojourner, and Tasoff (2015), Levy and Tasoff (2016), Stango and Zinman (2009), Wagenaar and Sagaria (1975)

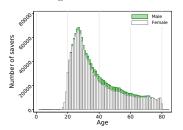
Back to preview of results

# THE PENSION FUND CHOICE

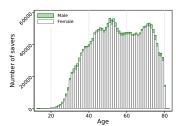


# AGE AND GENDER DISTRIBUTIONS

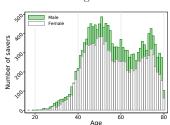
All savings in the default fund



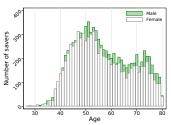
Not all savings in the default



Some savings in  $\mathrm{Fund}^m$ 



Some savings in  $Fund^h$ 



#### Fund information

| Fund                           | Index name      | No. savers       | Fee (%) | Correlation with Fund $^l$ |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------|----------------------------|
| Fund <sup><math>m</math></sup> | OMXS30<br>SIX30 | 31 281<br>19 462 | 0.20    | 0.9982<br>0.9960           |
| Fund <sup><math>l</math></sup> | SIX30RX         | 75 858           | 0.25    | 1                          |

The three indices track the performance of the 30 most traded shares listed on the Stockholm Stock Exchange. The number of savers only include Premium Pension savers.

# STRATIFICATION

#### 16 strata:

• Year of birth: 2 groups

• Fund: 2 groups

• Fund share: 2 quantiles

• Labor income: 2 quantiles

Randomization within each strata

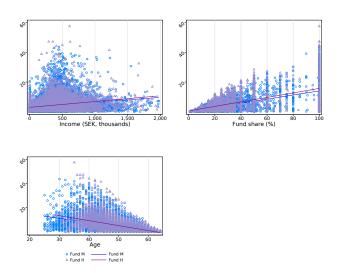
#### Monetary implication

We construct the variable future reward from switching  $R_{it}^{switch}$ 

Individual level forecast of expected additional pensions savings, at age 65, from immediately switching from the dominated to the dominating fund (where t is the number of years until age 65)

Standard assumptions for pension forecasts (labor income, fund balance and share, savings rate, administrative fee, fund fee, fund return)

# EXPECTED FUTURE REWARDS





# CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

|                    |         | Sample    |      |            | Population |
|--------------------|---------|-----------|------|------------|------------|
| Variable           | Mean    | Std. Dev. | Min  | Max        | Mean       |
| Labor income (SEK) | 416,718 | 376,614   | 0    | 2.82e + 07 | 314,000    |
| Year of birth      | 1967    | 7.6       | 1954 | 1993       |            |
| Female             | 0.46    | 0.50      | 0    | 1          | 0.50       |
| Married            | 0.54    | 0.50      | 0    | 1          | 0.44       |
| Future Reward      | 4,442   | 4,427     | 0    | 57,500     |            |

Savers in  $\mathrm{Fund}^m$  and  $\mathrm{Fund}^h$ , and a comparison with the Swedish population.

## Framework

The main outcome variable

$$Y_i^{switch} = f(\beta_{it}, E_i[R_{it}^{switch}], R_i^{search}, C_i^{admin}, C_i^{search}, I_i^{aware}) + \varepsilon_i$$

where Y = 1 if individual *i* switches, Y = 0 if not.

Whether or not to switch from the dominated to the dominating fund can be modeled with the following decision rule

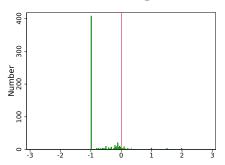
$$Y_i^{switch} = I_i^{aware} \times 1[Z_{it} > 0],$$

where

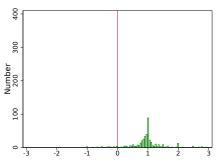
$$Z_{it} = u(R_i^{search} - C_i^{admin} - C_i^{search}) + \beta_{it}u(E_i[R_{it}^{switch}])$$

## Results - intensive margin

Relative fund share changes:  $Fund^{mh}$ 

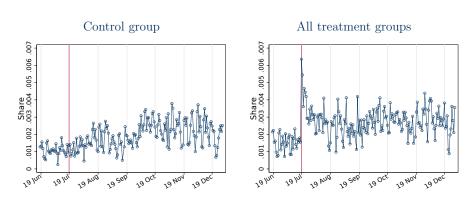


Relative fund share changes:  $Fund^l$ 



Fund share changes relative to the initial share invested in  $\operatorname{Fund}^m$  or  $\operatorname{Fund}^h$ , among those who switched.

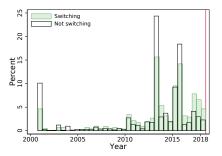
## LOGINS



Shares of savers that each day login to their accounts at the Pensions Agency's website, over time.

# HISTORICAL TRADING INTENSITY

#### Time of most recent fund choice



Years since most recent investment change

|           | Control | Treated |  |
|-----------|---------|---------|--|
| No switch | 6.27    | 6.23    |  |
| Switch    | 4.84    | 5.13    |  |

# READER CHARACTERISTICS

#### Saver characteristics across reading confirmation

|                     | Did not confirm | Did confirm | P-value |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------|
| Annual income       | 410,207         | 429,654     | 0.47    |
| Future reward       | 4,509           | 4,232       | 0.48    |
| Savings in fund M/H | 85,215          | 79,193      | 0.30    |
| Year of birth       | 1967            | 1967        | 0.75    |
| Share in fund M/H   | 0.28            | 0.27        | 0.52    |
| Female              | 0.44            | 0.45        | 0.92    |
| Married             | 0.58            | 0.63        | 0.31    |

#### RESULTS - ALL OUTCOMES

|                   | Outcomes |            |              |            |
|-------------------|----------|------------|--------------|------------|
| Treatments        | Switch   | Increase L | Decrease M/H | Any change |
| Aware             | 0.019*** | 0.020***   | 0.038***     | 0.036***   |
|                   | (0.002)  | (0.002)    | (0.004)      | (0.005)    |
| +Impl             | 0.009*** | 0.009***   | 0.023***     | 0.021***   |
|                   | (0.002)  | (0.002)    | (0.004)      | (0.005)    |
| +Impl+Task Reward | 0.018*** | 0.018***   | 0.033***     | 0.030***   |
|                   | (0.003)  | (0.003)    | (0.005)      | (0.006)    |
| +Name             | 0.031*** | 0.032***   | 0.049***     | 0.046***   |
|                   | (0.003)  | (0.003)    | (0.004)      | (0.005)    |
| +Name+Impl        | 0.029*** | 0.029***   | 0.040***     | 0.038***   |
|                   | (0.003)  | (0.003)    | (0.004)      | (0.005)    |
| Observations      | 22,728   | 22,728     | 22,728       | 22,728     |
| $R^2$             | 0.011    | 0.011      | 0.012        | 0.010      |

The control group is the reference and has a mean of 0.001, 0.002, 0.018, and 0.036, for the respective outcome variables.

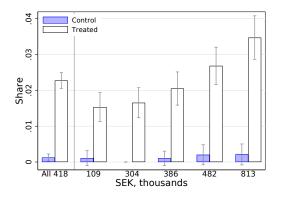
#### Hypothesis tests

| Hypothesis              | Treatments compared | Coef. diff. | P-value |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------|
| H1 Awareness            | A - Control         | 0.019       | 0.000   |
| <b>H2</b> Search costs  | AN - A              | 0.012       | 0.001   |
|                         | $ANI - AI_0$        | 0.020       | 0.000   |
| H3 Monetary implication | AI <sub>0</sub> - A | -0.010      | 0.000   |
|                         | ANI - AN            | -0.003      | 0.476   |

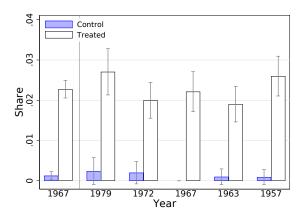
Outcome variable:  $Y^{switch}$ 

The equality in switches across treatments is assessed with Wald-tests.

# HETEROGENEITY - LABOR INCOME QUINTILES



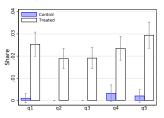
#### HETEROGENEITY - YEAR OF BIRTH



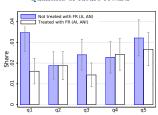
Shares who switch funds, by year-of-birth quintile.

#### HETEROGENEITY - FUTURE REWARDS

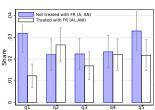
Quantiles of future reward



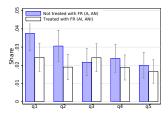
Quantiles of future reward



Quantiles of discounted future reward

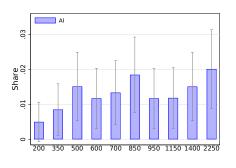


Quantiles of discounted future reward over labor income

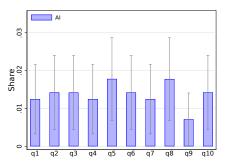


#### HETEROGENEITY - TOTAL REWARDS

Deciles of total discounted rewards



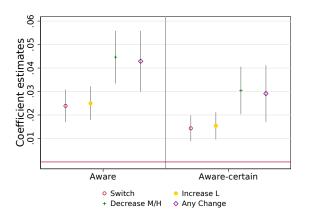
Deciles of total discounted rewards over labor income



Shares of savers switching funds, across total rewards.

### Does search uncertainty matter?

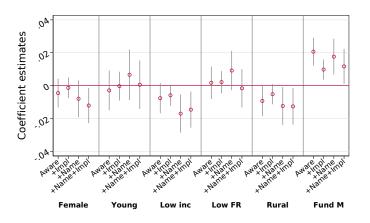
Does the option to verify if a fund is the dominating fund increase the probability of switching funds? (Subset of treatment Aware (A))



• Potential support for overload hypothesis. Back to main

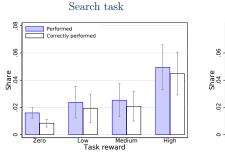
## HETEROGENEITY

$$Y_{isk}^{switch} = \gamma_k T_{ik} + \eta_{kj} T_{ik} \mathbf{X}_{ij} + \rho_j \mathbf{X}_{ij} + \delta_s S_{is} + \varepsilon_{isk}$$
, for covariates  $\mathbf{X}_j$ 

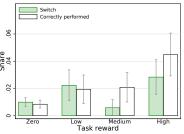


Heterogeneity income Heterogeneity age Heterogeneity future rewards Heterogeneity total rewards

#### HETEROGENEITY ACROSS IMMEDIATE REWARDS



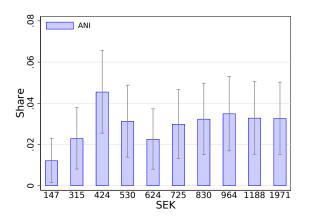
#### Search task and and switches



Treatment AI (Aware+Impl)

• The search rewards increase the probability that a saver searches and switches from the dominated to the dominating fund, but for the higher search rewards, there appears to be a greater discrepancy

#### HETEROGENEITY ACROSS FUTURE REWARDS

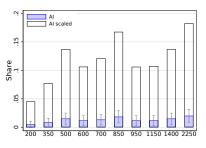


- Shares that switch funds, across deciles of discounted future rewards.
   Treatment ANI.
- Small variation in outcomes across discounted future rewards, when search costs are eliminated.

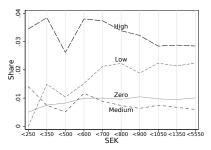
  Back to main

# How costly is the search for a dominating fund?

#### Total discounted rewards (SEK)

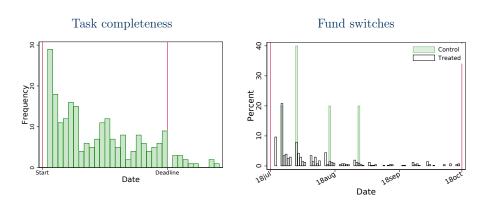


#### Discounted future rewards (SEK)



- Treatment AI (Aware+Impl)
- More than 80 percent of the savers find searching more costly than approximately 2 250 SEK (about 250 USD)
  - ⇒ Search costs on their own unlikely to explain unresponsiveness Back to main

### Time of task completeness and fund switches



- The time from the start to the deadline was 22 days. Fund changes made during weekends are registered on the following weekday.
- No direct signs of procrastination. Back to main