

Failures of Contingent Reasoning in Annuitization Decisions

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Abstract

This paper studies psychological biases in take-up of annuities, using an incentivized experiment with a probability-based sample ($N = 3,038$). Choosing an annuity was payoff-maximizing in the experiment at all prices, but take-up was incomplete and price elastic. Reformulating decisions as insurance against a “bad” outcome rather than insurance against “longevity risk” did not increase take-up. Instead, we find substantial failures of contingent reasoning: participants underappreciated how annuitization mitigated the need for less-efficient means of saving for retirement. Increasing the salience of the interaction with savings decisions, or eliminating the need to think through this interaction altogether, substantially increased annuity take-up.

JEL Codes: D14, D15, D9, G5, J26

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Optimally preparing for retirement requires people to navigate a complex set of decisions with intricate dynamics, nuanced interactions between different financial instruments, and many sources of uncertainty. One important source of uncertainty is longevity—the longer one lives, the more resources one needs for old age. As first articulated by Yaari (1965), annuities provide insurance against this “longevity risk.”

Consider, for example, an individual who in period 1 is “young” and earns income, in period 2 is “old” and does not earn income, and survives to period 2 with 50% chance. Normalizing the interest rate to 0, suppose that it is optimal to save amount s of period-1 earnings for retirement if no annuities are available. Then, an actuarially fair annuity that costs $p = s/2$ and pays out $a = s$ in period 2 if the individual survives increases consumption. By purchasing the annuity, the individual maintains the same level of retirement consumption in the event of survival, but does so at only half the cost to period-1 consumption. In fact, the annuity need not be actuarially fair: purchasing any annuity at price $p < s$ and payout $a \geq s$ increases consumption in both periods.

This paper analyzes a tightly controlled, incentivized experiment that uses variations of the example above to study how and why people may fail to optimally allocate resources for retirement. Clean evidence for systematic mistakes in annuity take-up is important for elucidating the mechanisms behind the remarkably low demand for annuities that is observed in reality (Mitchell et al., 2011; Poterba et al., 2011). Although at least partial annuitization is optimal under broad conditions (Yaari, 1965; Davidoff et al., 2005), Brown (2009) reviews a host of more-involved “rational” explanations for the low take-up (e.g., Ameriks et al., 2011; Lockwood, 2012; Reichling and Smetters, 2015; Peijnenburg et al., 2017). Observational data is inconclusive about the role of mistakes versus preferences, as well as which “rational” or psychological explanations are most relevant.

Our intentionally simple experimental setting—motivated by the two-period model in Davidoff et al. (2005)—isolates key aspects of decisions about annuities, allowing us to investigate systematic biases that may affect annuity take-up. Our experiment avoids the ambiguities of prior work because choosing an annuity was always payoff maximizing—and in fact stochastically dominant for all but the most suboptimal savings choices. Participants played a game in which they allocated tokens between stage 1 and stage 2, where stage 2 was reached with 50% chance. Tokens in each stage were converted to rewards by a concave function: participants had to maintain at least 40 tokens in each stage, received \$0.25 per token for each additional token from 41 to 80, and received no additional reward for additional tokens beyond that. In the Benchmark condition, participants first chose whether or not to purchase an annuity for stage 2 at a price that was less than actuarially fair, and then decided on the level of savings. The variation in the other conditions was designed to evaluate two key psychological biases that might depress annuity take-up. We ensured that participants understood the game by providing clear explanations that included examples and comprehension checks, and by allowing participants to continue only if they passed most of the comprehension checks.

Our first hypothesized bias—first described in Brown (2009)—was that a combination of narrow

bracketing and other heuristics employed in choice under risk (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981; Read et al., 1999; Rabin and Weizsäcker, 2009) make it counterintuitive to pay for a financial instrument that not only has uncertain returns but also pays out in a “good” state of the world, such as longer life. In most cases where people purchase insurance, the state with higher marginal utility from money is a “bad” state with lower absolute utility. To test this hypothesis, we designed a condition in which the payoffs to people’s decisions were identical, but the stage-2 correlation between the marginal value of a token and the absolute payout was reversed. In this Reverse-Correlation condition, participants always reached stage 2, but the uncertainty was whether with 50% chance they would then receive additional income of over 80 tokens. The annuity was described as insurance against losing their stage-2 income. Because additional tokens above 80 generated no reward, incentives for annuitizing and saving were identical to the Benchmark condition.

Our second hypothesized bias was *failures of contingent reasoning*. A growing body of work in psychology and economics shows that people struggle with the kind of hypothetical thinking necessary for working through decision trees in dynamic and uncertain environments (e.g., Shafir and Tversky, 1992; Esponda and Vespa, 2014; Li, 2017; Esponda and Vespa, 2021; Martínez-Marquina et al., 2019). Most starkly, this work shows that difficulties with contingent reasoning can lead to violations of dominance: a person who prefers alternative a over alternative b in *every* state of the world may nevertheless choose b over a when the state of the world is not revealed. Analogously, although our experiment guaranteed that the annuity was payoff-maximizing even for suboptimal levels of savings, difficulties with contingent reasoning could lead people to underappreciate its value.

We designed four different Salient-Contingencies conditions that made the consequences of choosing an annuity easier to grasp. In the first condition, people made their decisions about savings—both for the case in which they have an annuity and for the case in which they don’t—before deciding whether to get the annuity or not. The second condition built on the first by clarifying the levels of savings (previously chosen by the participants) tied to their annuity decision, and the resulting number of tokens in each stage. The third condition removed all context appearing in the second condition and simply offered people a choice over tokens in stage 1 and stage 2. The fourth condition modified the third condition by adjusting savings associated with the annuity to make the annuity stochastically dominant.

Not having an annuity was the status quo in the Benchmark condition, and participants needed to decide whether or not to buy the annuity. However, the Salient-Contingencies conditions lacked a status quo because this enabled us to better spell out the contingencies for each choice. To assess status-quo effects, we included a condition in which people made a direct choice but where the contingencies were not made salient. Additionally, we varied the price of the annuity.

We present four main sets of results. First, we find that even though the annuity was strictly stochastically dominant for 78% of participants and payoff-maximizing for all, only 71% took it up in the Benchmark condition. However, take-up increased to 88% when the annuity price was lowered to be better-than-actuarially-fair—indicating that participants were not just heuristically

avoiding the annuity altogether, but instead misconstruing its value.

Second, and contrary to our initial hypothesis, take-up was *lower* in the Reverse-Correlation condition. This suggests that the notion of longevity insurance is not unnatural to participants per se, and in fact may be more natural than other forms of insurance.

Third, our Salient-Contingencies conditions increased take up to 83%, on average. The majority of this effect was not due to removing the non-annuity status quo, as this manipulation increased take-up to only 75%. Simply putting the savings decisions before the annuity decisions increased take-up to 81%, while collapsing the decision tree by fully spelling out the consequences of choosing an annuity increased take-up to 87%. Ensuring that annuities led to stochastically-dominant payoffs had no additional effect, suggesting that a combination of suboptimal choice of additional savings and extreme levels of risk aversion was not contributing to incomplete take-up.

Fourth, we find that our Salient-Contingencies treatments had the *largest* effect on people with the highest levels of financial literacy and comprehension of our experimental setting. This suggests that failures of contingent reasoning in the annuity context are a deep-seated bias that does not just affect people who are the least financially literate or the least motivated to optimize their choices.

To our knowledge, our paper is the first to investigate how reverse correlation and failures of contingent reasoning affect take-up of annuities. The only papers conducting controlled, incentivized experiments on annuity choice (Agnew et al., 2008; Gazzale and Walker, 2009) focused on the role of status-quo bias and demographic covariates, such as gender. More papers have used surveys to investigate possible behavioral biases in annuity choice. Brown et al. (2008), Brown et al. (2013), Beshears et al. (2014), and Brown et al. (2016) show that manipulating the language and framing of an annuity decision can alter people’s stated preferences for take-up, which is suggestive of behavioral biases. However, as in observational data, the normative benchmark for take-up is ambiguous in these studies, which limits inference about the type and magnitude of behavioral biases. Brown et al. (2017) and Brown et al. (2021) provide evidence of a buy-sell spread in hypothetical annuity transactions, and show that it is mediated by the complexity of a decision and participants’ financial sophistication. These two papers are consistent with our secondary finding of moderate status-quo bias.

More broadly, our work contributes to literatures on bounded rationality in public economics and household finance (see Bernheim and Taubinsky, 2018 and Beshears et al., 2018, respectively, for reviews). The novel finding of a failure of contingent reasoning in our simple experimental rendition of a retirement savings decision suggests that it would be valuable to investigate whether this bias matters in other settings involving dynamic consumption decisions with multiple financial instruments (Chakraborty and Kendall, 2022).

1 Experimental Design

Platform. The experiment was implemented through the AmeriSpeak panel from the National Opinion Research Corporation. This online panel has over 48,000 members and is designed to be

representative of the U.S. household population. Households are randomly selected and heavily incentivized to participate in the panel, which reduces selection biases that can make samples unrepresentative on unobserved characteristics. On average, panelists are invited to participate in studies two to three times a month. We recruited individuals aged 18 or older.

Decision tasks. Our “Life-Planning Game” was based around the annuity choice model of Davidoff et al. (2005). The game described the two periods as “stage 1 - when you’re young” and “stage 2 - when you’re old.” Stage 2 had equally likely outcomes: “you survive” or “you don’t survive.” Participants received an endowment of “90 tokens of income” in stage 1, some of which could be used to “buy an annuity” and some of which needed to be “saved” for stage 2. If the stage-2 outcome was “you survive,” participants got the tokens they had saved for stage 2 and received tokens from the annuity (if they had one). If the stage-2 outcome was “you don’t survive,” participants got no tokens in stage 2. The Supplementary Study Instructions Appendix contains the complete study instructions.¹

There were two ways of transferring tokens to stage 2: saving tokens and buying an annuity. Therefore, participants made two types of decisions in the experiments. In *savings decisions*, participants chose how many tokens from stage 1 to save for stage 2. In *annuity decisions*, participants chose whether or not to buy an annuity. Each token saved was converted into 1 token in stage 2 when they “survived” and 0 tokens when not, generating a stage-2 expected value of 0.5 tokens. The annuity cost either 10 or 20 tokens in stage 1 (low and high price, respectively) and always paid out 30 tokens in stage 2 when alive and 0 tokens otherwise. Therefore, each token transferred using the annuity generated a stage-2 expected value of 0.75 or 1.5 tokens, respectively.

The payout in each decision was based on the final token allocation in each stage. The first 40 tokens in stage 1 and in the alive state in stage 2 were mandatory and did not generate pay. Tokens 41 to 80 paid \$0.25 each, and tokens above 80 paid \$0 each. If participants tried to transfer an amount that would result in less than 40 tokens in stage 1 or the alive state in stage 2, they were reminded of the 40-token minimum and required to adjust their savings. Analogous to concave utility creating incentives to smooth consumption, this concave payoff structure with a subsistence minimum created the need to transfer tokens from stage 1 to stage 2.

In the savings decisions, we showed participants how many tokens they had in each stage from income and any annuity, and asked “How many tokens would you like to save from stage 1 for stage 2?”. These savings decisions involved different possible annuity outcomes, not just the ones chosen by participants. This was because one of our experimental manipulations consisted of asking the savings decisions first. The three savings decisions varied in the number of tokens in stage 1 and in stage 2: no annuity (90 tokens in stage 1 and 0 tokens in stage 2 when alive), having a low-price annuity (80 tokens in stage 1 and 30 tokens from the annuity in stage 2 when alive) and having a high-price annuity (70 tokens in stage 1 and 30 tokens from the annuity in stage 2 when alive). The order of the savings choices was randomized, but they were always presented consecutively as one block.

¹Available at: <https://users.nber.org/~luttmer/StudyInstructionsAppendix.pdf>

Figure 1 presents the primary conditions of annuity choice in our experiment. We first describe the randomization, and then explain each condition. First, participants were randomized into the regular arm (left) or reverse-correlation arm (right). In each arm, participants completed a block with two annuity questions, a block with one annuity question, and the block with three savings questions.

Within the regular arm, both annuity choices in the 2-question block were randomized into the same condition: Benchmark, No Status Quo, or Salient Contingencies I. One of these annuity choices was randomized into the High-Price condition, the other to the Low-Price condition. The annuity choice in the 1-question block always involved a high-price annuity and was randomly assigned to Salient Contingencies II, III or IV.

Within the reverse-correlation arm, the decisions in the 2-question block were the Low- and High-Price Benchmark conditions adapted to the Reverse-Correlation condition, while the decision in the 1-question block was the Salient-Contingencies IV condition adapted for the reverse-correlation setting.

In total, each participant faced at least 6 choices: 3 savings decisions and at least 3 annuity decisions.² At the end of the study, participants saw which choice and outcome were randomly selected for payout, what they chose in the selected decision, and their bonus pay computation. Appendix Table A1 contains additional details on randomization, the order of the blocks, and cell sizes.

Comparisons across Salient Contingencies II, III and IV are between-participant, since each participant only faced one of these three conditions. Comparisons of Salient Contingencies II, III and IV with Benchmark, No Status Quo or Salient Contingencies I involve both within- and between-participant variation.³ Comparisons across Benchmark, No Status Quo, Salient Contingencies I and Reverse Correlation are between participants. Comparisons between Reverse Correlation and the Reverse-Correlation version of Salient Contingencies IV are within participants. All price variation is within participants.

To ensure that our results were not driven by wording effects, in the regular arm we randomized across participants whether the annuity was described as “annuity,” “Social Security,” or “insurance.” The Reverse-Correlation conditions used only the “insurance” wording because that was the most natural word to use.

Experimental Conditions. We constructed the High-Price Benchmark Condition to resemble the conditions of annuity decisions that people typically face: the status quo is not owning an

²After collecting data on 1,049 of the 3,038 participants, we added a fourth annuity decision to better study price and ceiling effects. This additional decision was a Salient-Contingencies condition II, III or IV, and it differed from the same type of question asked earlier only in terms of the price of the annuity. To ensure comparability across the entire sample, the additional decision was always the last choice that respondents made. This decision was not specified in our analysis plan and not used in the paper’s main analyses.

³Participants in the regular arm faced two annuity decisions (high and low price) from one of three conditions (Benchmark, No Status Quo or Salient Contingencies I), and one annuity decision (high price) of Salient Contingencies II, III or IV. Therefore, when comparing Salient Contingencies II, III and IV with Benchmark, No Status Quo or Salient Contingencies I, some respondents faced both conditions of interest while others faced only one. Hence, these comparisons use both within- and between-participant variation.

annuity, the choice involves a worse-than-actuarially fair (high-price) annuity, and participants had not yet made their savings choices. The Low-Price Benchmark served to measure responsiveness to price, and was identical except that it had a low-price annuity.

In the Benchmark condition, the annuity choice was presented on two screens. The first screen showed a description and a diagram of what participants “currently have,” which displayed an option without an annuity. The second screen read “Here is what you currently have,” followed by the same diagram, and asked if they “would like to buy” an annuity at a given price, as in Figure 2.

The No-Status-Quo condition was identical to the Benchmark condition, except that it presented two options next to each other on a single screen without making one the status quo. The options were labeled “Option A” and “Option B,” with the position of the annuity option randomized. We created this condition as the comparison for the Salient-Contingencies conditions, which had no status quo because there was no natural way of keeping a status quo in those conditions.

To investigate potential failures of contingent reasoning in annuity decisions, we designed four Salient-Contingencies conditions. In Salient Contingencies I, the annuity question was presented exactly as in the No-Status-Quo condition, except that we asked it after participants had made their savings choices for each possible annuity ownership (owning no annuity, a low-price annuity, or a high-price annuity). This treatment increased the salience of the savings choices and thereby encouraged respondents to think through the dynamic decision using backwards induction.

The condition Salient Contingencies II additionally told participants how much they had to save if they chose the annuity and how much they had to save if they didn’t. These savings levels corresponded to the savings choices they had just made, but we did not point that out. This treatment was used the same context-rich setting as (I), but showed in the diagram the final number of tokens in each stage for each option. This condition eliminated the need to use backwards induction because the diagram showed all consequences of choosing the annuity.

Condition Salient Contingencies III (II + No Context) was a modification of Salient Contingencies II. The diagram was identical, but the text used no contextual terms such as “income” or “annuity,” and presented options solely in terms of final tokens received in each stage, without mentioning their sources.

Condition Salient Contingencies IV (III + Dominance) was a modification of Salient Contingencies III designed to ensure that the annuity option stochastically dominates the no-annuity one. We adjusted savings in the option with the annuity such that the number of tokens in stage 2 would be identical to the number of tokens chosen by the participant in the no-annuity option. This adjustment ensured that the annuity option had strictly more tokens in stage 1, because the annuity was a cheaper way of transferring tokens from stage 1 to stage 2 relative to saving. Hence, in this condition, the annuity strictly dominated the no-annuity option, while maintaining the same variance.

The goal of the Reverse-Correlation condition was to study a potential heuristic aversion to allocating income to states of the world in which marginal utility and absolute utility are both

high. In this condition, instead of an “annuity,” people could buy “insurance” against a loss of stage-2 income. The two possible outcomes in stage 2 were presented as “you don’t get income” and “you get income,” which were designed to parallel “you survive” and “you don’t survive,” respectively. As such, the financial instrument paid out only if the outcome was “you don’t get income” in stage 2. If the outcome was “you get income,” then the payoff in stage 2 was more than 80 tokens, so that the marginal utility of an additional token was zero. Thus, feasible savings and the marginal utility of tokens in the Reverse-Correlation treatment were identical to the Benchmark condition. The only difference in the Reverse-Correlation condition is that the marginal utility of tokens was high when the outcome in stage 2 was “bad” (not getting income) rather than “good” (surviving).

Because analyzing the impact of salient contingencies in the reverse-correlation arm was not of primary interest, we presented only the Salient-Contingencies condition that we hypothesized would have the largest effect so that we could study ceiling effects: Reverse-Correlation Salient Contingencies IV. This condition was identical to the regular Salient Contingencies IV, except that it was asked using the reverse-correlation setup.

Comprehension Questions. After a detailed explanation of the “Life Planning Game,” participants faced seven comprehension questions: one True/False question (Q1), five multiple choice questions (Q2-Q6), and one with a numerical answer that had to be typed in a box (Q7). Only Q7 was not used to screen out participants.

The questions tested whether participants understood the probability of each outcome in stage 2, the minimum amount of savings in different scenarios if they had an annuity, the marginal value of tokens in different scenarios, the token-to-dollar conversion, and bonus pay computation. Question Q7 tested if participants could do a simple arithmetic computation, which helped rule out simplification of the arithmetic as a mechanism for Salient Contingencies II, III, or IV.

If a participant failed to correctly answer one of the first six comprehension questions, the next screen would show an explanation of the correct answer and reasoning. In the case of Q2-Q6, the participant would be asked to retake the same question, and the order of the alternatives would be randomized.

Participants were screened out of the experiment if they failed to correctly answer more than two of the six Q1-Q6 comprehension questions on their first try, or if they failed to correctly answer a retake question. Screened-out participants were redirected to the end of the study and did not make savings or annuity choices. Our final sample comprises only those who passed the comprehension checks and completed the study.

Incentive Compatibility. All decisions in the experiment were incentive compatible. Before making any decision, participants were informed that at the end of the experiment one of the decisions would be randomly selected for payout and that their bonus pay would be determined by their choice in that particular decision. The bonus averaged \$5.17, and was paid in addition to the base pay of \$2.

Since any choice could be selected for payout, participants were always incentivized to select the utility-maximizing option. If a savings decision was selected for payout, the participant’s final token allocation in each stage of that decision determined their bonus pay, according to the token-to-dollar conversion. If an annuity decision was selected for payout, the participant’s savings choice corresponding to that particular annuity decision was used to determine the final token allocation across stages and, consequently, the bonus pay.

Demographic Information. AmeriSpeak collects data on financial literacy and demographic characteristics of its panel members, including educational attainment, age, gender, income, and ethnicity.

Sample. The experiment ran from January 28, 2021 to March 4, 2021, with a pre-registered target of 3,000 participants who pass the screening questions. A total of 3,038 participants passed the screening questions and completed the study. The median duration of the study was 21.7 minutes.

Appendix Table A2 presents a summary of the demographics of our final sample, and how it compares to the U.S population. Relative to the US population, our sample is substantially more educated, but broadly similar on other demographics such as income.

2 Results

A participant not purchasing the annuity must save at least 40 tokens out of their 90-token endowment to obtain the required 40-token minimum in stage 2 if they survive. By saving 40 tokens, they retain 50 tokens for a payoff of \$2.50 from stage 1 (tokens 41 to 50 each pay \$0.25) and a payoff of \$0 from stage 2 (because they have no tokens above 40 if they survive). Saving more than 40 tokens reduces the expected payoff, and not purchasing the annuity therefore results in a sure payoff of \$2.50 when savings are chosen optimally. A participant purchasing the annuity needs to save only 10 tokens for stage 2 to reach the required 40 tokens, because the annuity gives 30 tokens upon survival. With the high-price annuity costing 20 tokens, a participant retains $90 - 20 - 10 = 60$ tokens in stage 1, for a payoff of \$5.00 (tokens 41 to 60 each pay \$0.25) and no payoff in stage 2. Saving in excess of 10 tokens decreases the expected payoff, and thus purchasing the high-price annuity increases the payoff from \$2.50 to \$5.00 if savings are chosen optimally.

We first examine mean annuity take-up in the Benchmark conditions, and then investigate the role of psychological biases in annuity decisions by comparing take-up across experimental conditions. All standard errors are robust and clustered by participant.

Appendix Table A3 provides a complete summary of take-up in all experimental cells. Appendix Table A4 summarizes savings choices in all experimental conditions that were varied between participants, and shows that they are virtually identical across all conditions. Except for some of the heterogeneity analyses and the specification that pools the Salient-Contingencies treatments, all results in the figures of the body of the paper were pre-specified in the analysis plan. Appendix G describes where the other pre-specified analyses are reported.

2.1 Annuity take-up in the Benchmark conditions

High-price Benchmark. The first spike in Figure 3A shows that 71.4% (s.e.: 1.6) of participants in the High-Price Benchmark condition bought the annuity. This leaves 28.6% of participants who didn't choose the payoff-maximizing option.

Even if savings are not chosen optimally, the expected payout is weakly higher with the annuity. Buying the annuity keeps expected payoffs constant only if a participant saves optimally without an annuity and makes the payoff-*minimizing* savings choice with the annuity. This occurs for 14.1% of participants, but take-up for the remaining 85.9% is only 72.0%. Even among the 78.3% for whom the annuity was strictly stochastically dominant, take-up is 73.6%. Hence, suboptimal savings choices do not explain the lack of annuity take-up.

Low-price Benchmark. In the Low-Price Benchmark condition, the price of the annuity is 10 tokens rather than 20 tokens. Optimal savings remain unchanged, but a participant making optimal savings decisions now earns \$7.50 from buying the annuity.

The second spike of Figure 3A shows that annuity take-up increased to 88.2% (s.e.: 1.1) at the lower price. This 16.8 (s.e. 1.7) percentage-point change shows that at least 58.7% of participants who declined to buy the high-price annuity did not do so out of some immutable unwillingness to buy annuities or due to disengagement from the experiment.

2.2 Reverse correlation – receiving a contingent payment in the low-payoff state

The third spike of Figure 3A shows that the Reverse-Correlation treatment reduced take-up by 5.8 (s.e.: 2.4) percentage points. This finding rejects the hypothesis that a reluctance to buy state-contingent contracts that pay out in “good” states contributes to low annuity take-up. This rejection implies that the incomplete take-up of stage-contingent contracts is not specific to annuities, but also applies to insurance more generally. Failures of contingent reasoning may thus be relevant not just to annuities but also to insurance take-up in environments where people can both buy insurance and self-ensure through precautionary savings.

The analysis plan specified that if, in the High-Price Benchmark Condition, take-up for the insurance wording was not significantly different from the other two wordings at the 10% level, the Reverse-Correlation condition would be compared to all three wordings in the Benchmark condition, as we have done above. The p-value for this is 0.571, implying that wording choice did not significantly affect participant decisions. Appendix Table A3 presents take-up by wording in all conditions, showing that it has no systematic effect on outcomes.

2.3 Failures to reason through contingencies

Overall effect of Salient-Contingencies manipulations. The first two spikes of Figure 3B show the two Benchmark cases as reference. The third spike shows that removing the status quo increased take-up by 3.8 (s.e.: 2.2) percentage points. This increase is only marginally significant

(p-value: 0.089), but qualitatively consistent with Brown et al. (2017) and Brown et al. (2021). The fourth spike shows that 83.3% (s.e.: 0.7) chose the annuity when contingencies were made salient through any of the four Salient-Contingencies treatments. The 8.1 (se.: 1.7) percentage-point increase over the No-Status-Quo condition equals 48.2% of the effect size of lowering the price in the Benchmark conditions, indicating that failures of contingent reasoning are a meaningful impediment to annuity take-up.

Effects by type of Salient-Contingencies manipulation. Figure 4 examines take-up separately by each variant of the Salient-Contingencies manipulations, and again compares these to take-up in the No-Status-Quo condition. The second spike shows take-up for Salient Contingencies I, where the annuity decision came after the three savings questions rather than at the very start of the decision tasks. This manipulation increased annuity take-up by 5.8 (s.e.: 2.1) percentage points.

In Salient Contingencies II, we specified the participant’s prior savings choices with and without the annuity. The third spike shows that this manipulation insignificantly (p-value 0.270) increased take-up relative to the No-Status-Quo condition, but decreased it relatively to Salient Contingencies I. Because this treatment instructed participants how much they had to save with and without the annuity (without reminding them that these were their own choices), participants may have perceived a loss of autonomy. As Bartling et al. (2014) show, people value autonomy in decision-making. Hence, the perceived loss of autonomy may have led them to disengage with the experiment and/or attenuate their perception of the incremental value of annuity option.

In Salient Contingencies III, we kept the diagram the same as in Salient Contingencies II, but the introductory text no longer described the tokens as coming from income, savings, or an annuity. This lack of context removed the potential perceived loss of autonomy over savings decisions. The fourth spike shows that this condition increased take-up to 87.3% (s.e.: 1.2), which nearly matches the Low-Price Benchmark take-up rate of 88.2% (s.e.: 1.1). Relative to the No-Status-Quo condition, this implies a treatment effect of 12.1 (s.e.: 2.0) percentage points.⁴

The effect of Salient Contingencies II and III is unlikely to be due to simpler arithmetic calculations, as participants had easy access to an online calculator displayed on their decision-making screen. Moreover, for the 82.7% of participants who correctly answered the comprehension question consisting of an arithmetic calculation analogous to the types required in the experiment (Q7), the treatment effects of Salient Contingencies II and III relative to the No-Status-Quo condition were similar, at 3.7 (s.e.: 2.4) and 12.1 (s.e.: 2.2) percentage points, respectively.

Salient Contingencies IV presents the annuity choice in exactly the same way as in Salient Contingencies III, but alters the saving level corresponding to the annuity to ensure that it is stochastically dominant and that the number of tokens in stage 2 is the same as without the annuity. The fifth spike shows that Salient Contingencies IV results in a 87.1% (s.e.: 1.2) take-up, which is almost identical to take-up without the adjustment. Moreover, if we limit the sample to

⁴This treatment is in the spirit of Ambuehl et al. (2022).

participants for whom we needed to adjust the savings rate to ensure dominance, the difference in take-up rates between Salient Contingencies III and IV remains statistically indistinguishable from zero (see Appendix Table A5). The lack of an effect of the dominance adjustment implies that small-stakes risk aversion does not play a role in annuity take-up. The 13% of participants who selected a transparently stochastically dominated option in a context-free environment were likely participants who had disengaged from the experiment.

Finally, we find that Salient Contingencies IV results in a take-up of 87.5% (s.e.: 1.6%) percent in the reverse-correlation condition, which is 21.9 (s.e.: 2.4) percentage points higher than in the Reverse-Correlation condition with status quo and without salient contingencies (Appendix Table A3). This suggests that failures of contingent reasoning also affect regular insurance decisions.

2.4 Heterogeneity by measures of decision-making sophistication

Figure 5A shows annuity take-up rates for the sample as a whole (the horizontal line with a confidence interval), and separately for three measures of decision-making sophistication: answering the three standard financial literacy questions (Lusardi and Mitchell (2011)) correctly (diamonds and squares), selecting payoff-maximizing savings choices (circles and triangles), and answering all comprehension questions correctly in the first attempt (plusses and crosses). Responses by those with lower levels of decision-making sophistication are shown on the left in orange-reddish colors, and those with higher levels of sophistication are on the right in blue-greenish colors. The panel shows that more sophisticated participants react more strongly than less sophisticated ones to the two treatments that elicit a strong response in the sample as a whole: changing the price of the annuity and making contingencies salient.

Because all three measures of decision-making sophistication show the same pattern, we combine the underlying values (i.e., fraction of financial literacy questions answered correctly, fraction of payoff-maximizing savings choices made, and fraction of comprehension questions answered correctly) into a single index to by standardizing the variables and taking their average. The red circles and green squares in Figure 5B show responses by those with below- and above-median sophistication, respectively, while the horizontal lines show average treatment effects. Treatment effects by each of the three measures separately are shown in Appendix Figure A2. Reducing the price of the annuity by half causes more-sophisticated participants to increase their annuity take-up by about twice as much as less-sophisticated ones. The Salient-Contingencies treatment elicits an increase in take-up among more-sophisticated participants that is four times as large as among less-sophisticated ones.

This indicates that reasoning through contingencies is cognitively challenging, and not concentrated on the least-sophisticated individuals. A possible explanation of why less-sophisticated participants exhibited smaller treatment effects is that their choices are driven by automatic heuristics that are not necessarily taking into account key features of the alternatives, like the specified price or the displayed payoffs.

Appendix Figure A1 presents the impact of each type of Salient-Contingencies treatment by the

sophistication index. More-sophisticated participants significantly increase their take-up in response to each type of treatment. However, the first two treatments have zero or even negative effects on the take-up of less-sophisticated participants. Treatments III and IV increase less-sophisticated participants' take-up, but to a lesser degree than that of the more-sophisticated participants. Appendix Figure A3 replicates Figure 5B for financial literacy, education, income, and age. Appendix tables A6 and A7 provide heterogeneity analysis by sample cuts around the median in number of correct answers to the financial literacy questions, income, educational attainment, and age. There is significant heterogeneity in treatment effects of salient contingencies by education and financial literacy—with participants who are better educated and more financially literate reacting more strongly—but not by age or income.

3 Concluding Remarks

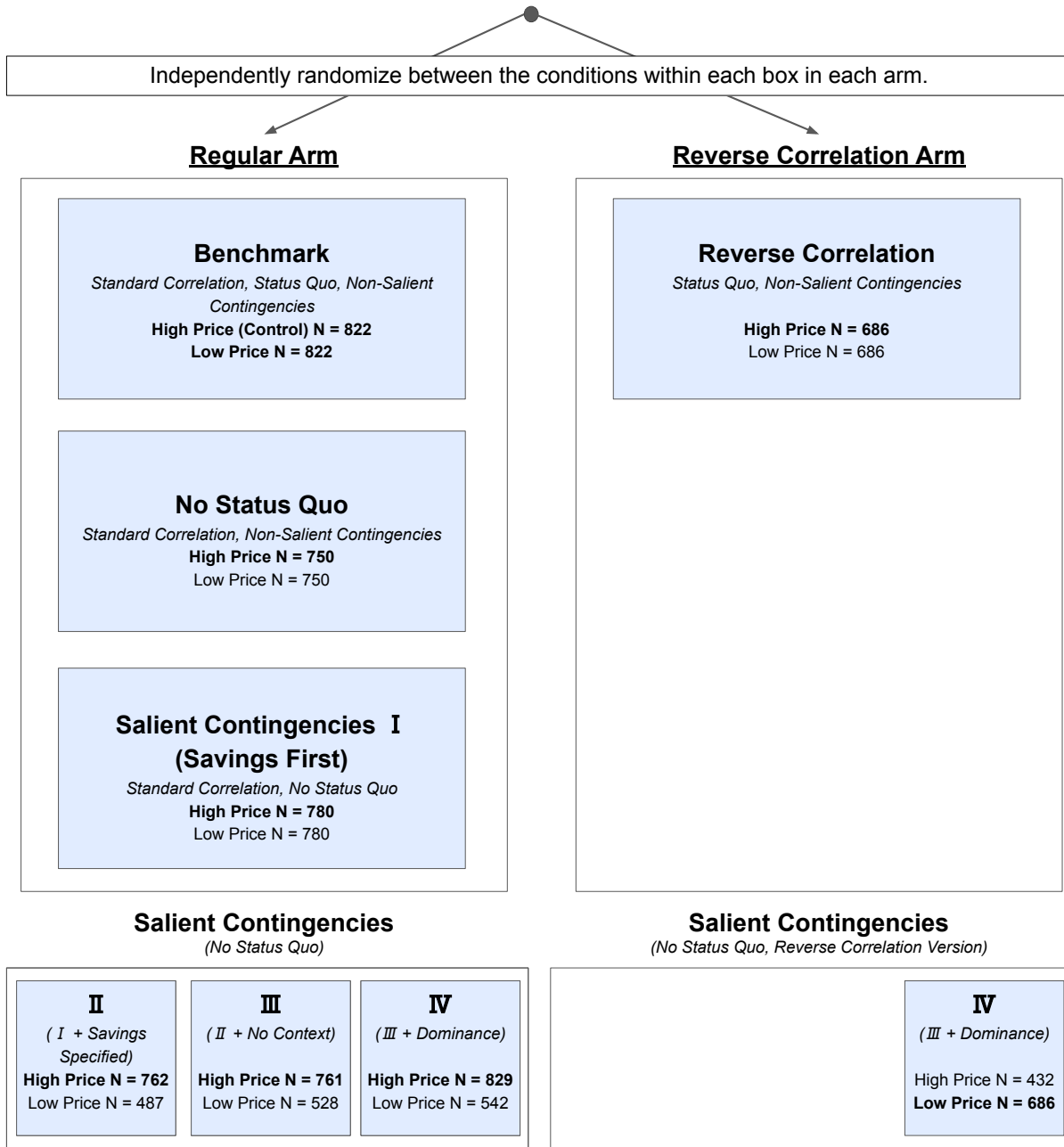
In a tightly controlled experiment, we find that take-up of annuities increases in response to treatments that reduce failures of contingent reasoning. However, we reject the hypothesis that people find “longevity insurance” less natural than insurance for a “bad” state of the world. In fact, our results suggest that failures of contingent reasoning may lower take-up of insurance in other domains where people can self-insure through precautionary savings. Our experiment was intentionally stylized to generate an unambiguous benchmark for optimal choice and to cleanly elucidate psychological barriers to take-up. However, we believe that the biases we identify likely carry over to “the field:” whereas the stakes are higher in people’s actual annuity decisions, reasoning through contingencies is also much more complex because in practice people must consider many more contingencies.

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Figure 1: **Experimental Design**

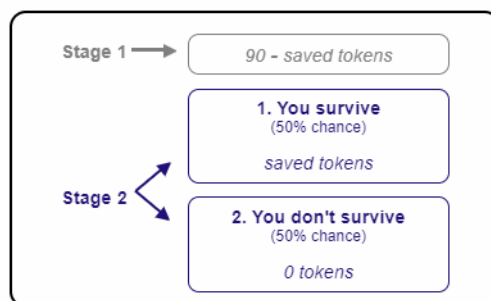


Notes: This figure details the pre-specified experimental design. The light-blue shapes denote treatment conditions. In total, each participant made three annuity decisions. In the upper boxes, participants were randomized to one of the light-blue rectangles, within which participants made two annuity decisions, once for a high-price annuity and once for a low-price annuity (order randomized). In the lower boxes, participants were randomized to one of the light-blue squares, within which participants made a single annuity decision, randomized to either the high-price version or the low-price version. The randomizations in the two boxes of each arm were independent. The Ns refer to the number of responses to each annuity decision. The nine bolded counts refer to treatments pre-specified in the analysis plan.

Figure 2: Experimental Screenshot, Decision Screen

Life Planning Game 1 - Part 2

Here is what you currently have:



| Reminder: Bonus pay in each stage | |
|--|--|
| First 40 tokens | \$0 for each token You must end up with at least 40 tokens in each stage when you're alive |
| Tokens 41 to 80 | \$0.25 for each token You get \$0.25 for 41 tokens, \$0.50 for 42 tokens etc. |
| Tokens above 80 | \$0 for each token over 80 You get \$10.00 if you have 80 tokens or more |

[Click Here to Review Explanation](#)

Would you like to pay 20 tokens in stage 1 to buy an annuity that pays out 30 tokens in stage 2 if you survive (and 0 tokens if you do not survive)?

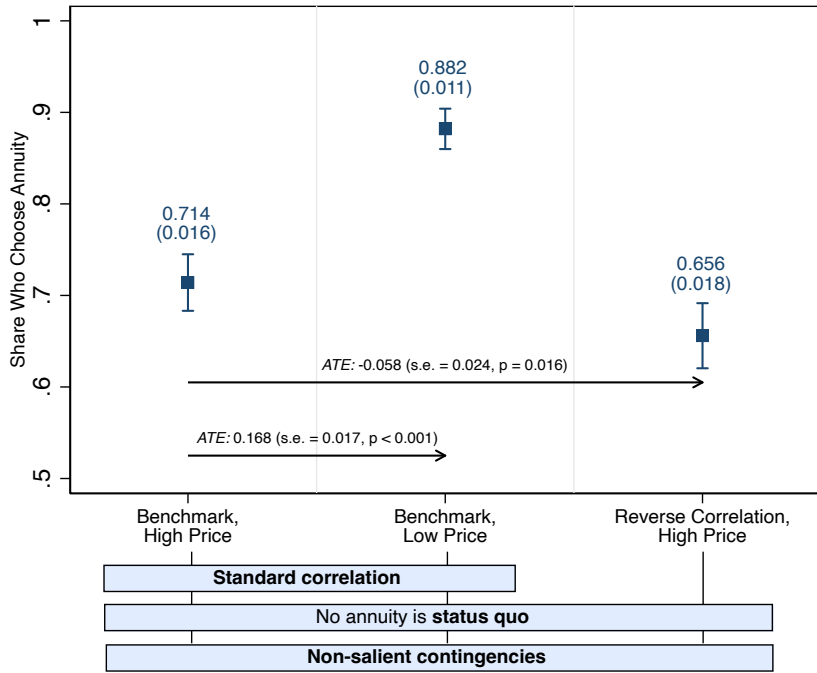
Yes, I would like to buy the annuity.

No, I want to keep what I currently have, as shown above.

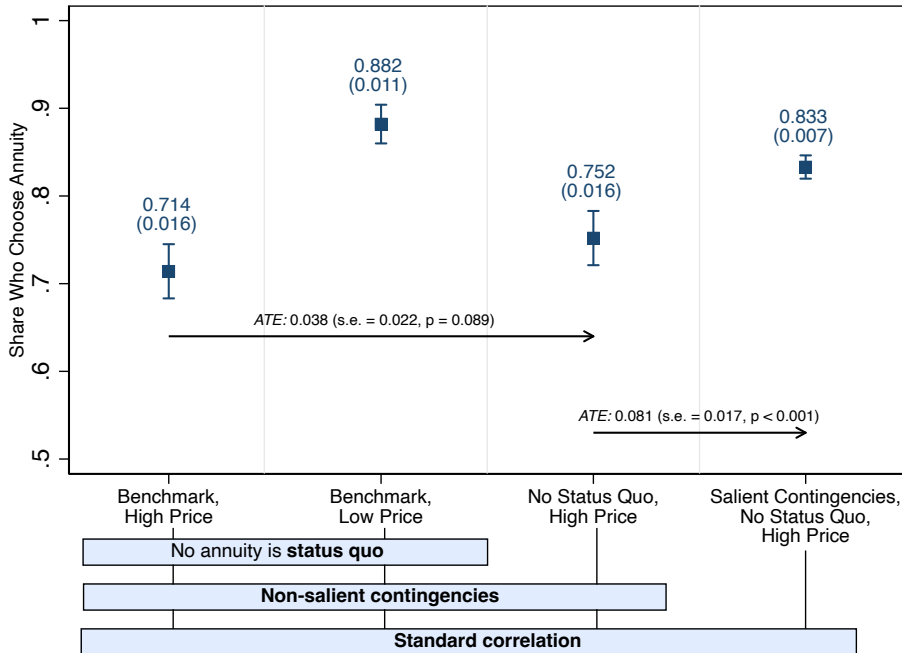
Notes: This figure presents a screenshot of a decision screen that participants in the High-Price Benchmark condition faced, with the annuity wording. All experimental instructions are contained in the Supplementary Study Instructions Appendix, <https://users.nber.org/~luttmer/StudyInstructionsAppendix.pdf>.

Figure 3: Share Choosing Annuity by Treatment Group

(a) Reverse Correlation

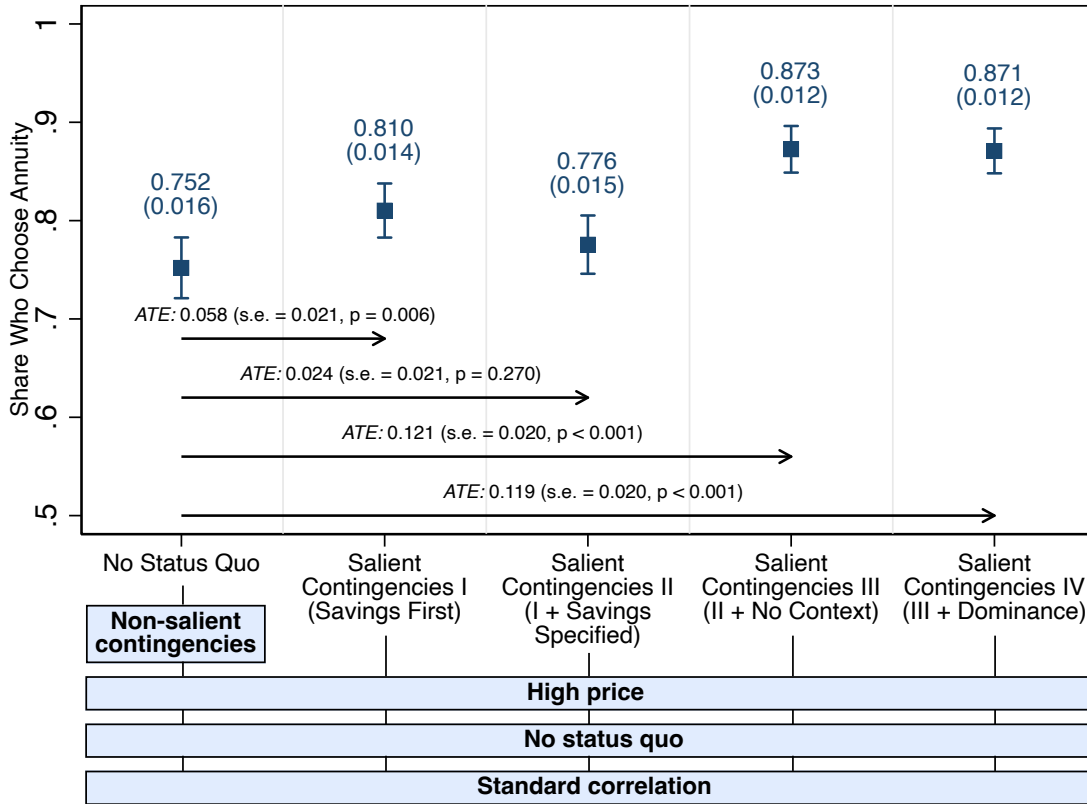


(b) Salient Contingencies



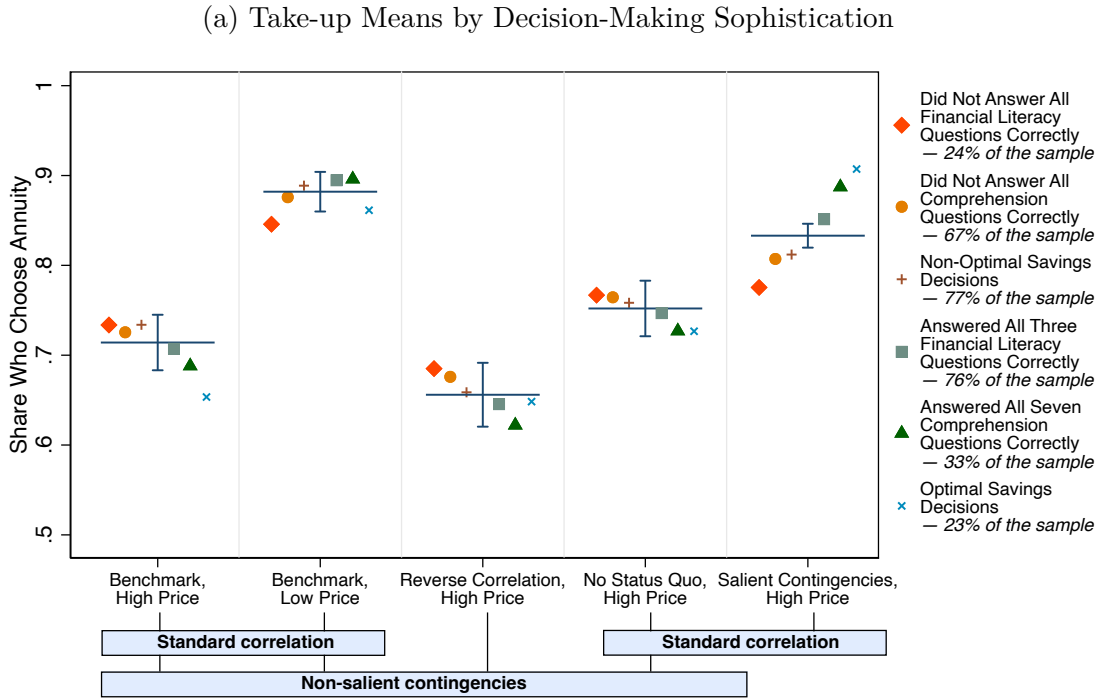
Notes: The spikes in this figure show the share of participants in each group who took up the annuity. The arrows indicate average treatment effects (ATEs) of the experimental treatments under the arrowheads relative to the experimental conditions under the beginning of the arrows. Above each spike is the mean take-up within the group (indicated by the marker), with the standard error in parentheses. The vertical lines in the spikes represent 95% confidence intervals. All standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

Figure 4: Share Choosing Annuity by Salient-Contingencies Condition

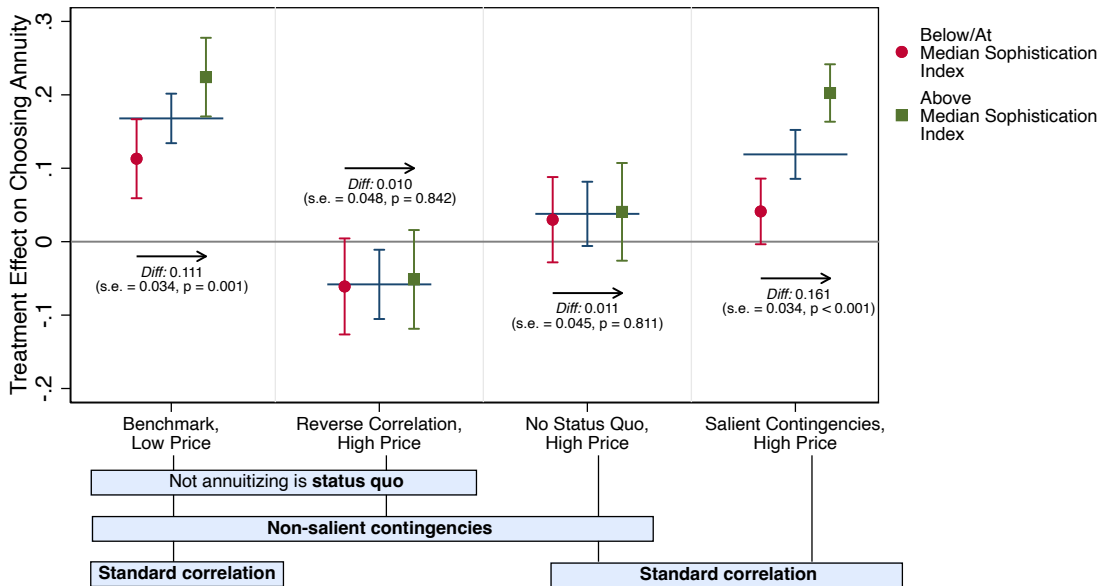


Notes: The spikes in this figure show the share of participants in each group who took up the annuity. The arrows indicate average treatment effects (ATEs) of the experimental treatments under the arrowheads relative to the experimental conditions under the beginning of the arrows. Above each spike is the mean take-up within the group (indicated by the marker), with the standard error in parentheses. The vertical lines in the spikes represent 95% confidence intervals. All standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

Figure 5: Annuity Take-up and Treatment Effects by Decision-Making Sophistication



(b) Treatment Effects by Decision-Making Sophistication



Notes: Panel (a) shows the share of participants who took up the annuity by experimental group and by proxies for decision-making sophistication. Panel (b) shows the treatment effect on annuity take-up by an index for decision-making sophistication, constructed by standardizing the three comprehension proxies and taking their mean. The treatment effects for the first three groups are relative to the High-Price Benchmark group. The treatment effect of the fourth group (Salient Contingencies, High Price) are relative to the No-Status-Quo High-Price group. The text below the arrows reports the difference in treatment effects between participants with above- versus below-median values of the sophistication index. In all panels, the vertical spikes indicate the 95% confidence interval and standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

Online Appendix

Failures of Contingent Reasoning in Annuitization Decisions



Erzo F.P. Luttmer  Priscila de Oliveira  Dmitry Taubinsky

Table of Contents

| | | |
|----------|---|-----------|
| A | Additional Experimental Details | 2 |
| B | Demographics | 3 |
| C | Annuity Take-Up for All Treatment Cells | 4 |
| D | Mean Savings by Condition | 6 |
| E | Differences in Average Treatment Effect by Salient-Contingency Condition | 7 |
| F | Heterogeneity Analysis | 9 |
| G | Pre-Analysis Appendix | 16 |
| | G.1 Overview | 16 |
| | G.2 Primary analyses | 16 |
| | G.3 Secondary analyses | 17 |

A Additional Experimental Details

Table A1: Order of questions

| Expected Fraction | Nr. of People | Savings First | Annuity Block 1 | Savings Second | Annuity Block 2 | Annuity Block 3 (Added partway through) |
|---|---------------|---------------|---|----------------|---|--|
| Regular Arm, Benchmark (Savings Second) | | | | | | |
| 1/8 | 426 | | Low-Price Benchmark | X | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |
| 1/8 | 396 | | High-Price Benchmark | X | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |
| Regular Arm, No Status Quo (Savings Second) | | | | | | |
| 1/8 | 380 | | Low-Price No Status Quo | X | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |
| 1/8 | 370 | | High-Price No Status Quo | X | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |
| Reverse-Correlation Arm (Savings Second) | | | | | | |
| 1/8 | 325 | | Low-Price Reverse Correlation | X | Low-Price Reverse-Correlation Salient Contingencies IV | High-Price Reverse-Correlation Salient Contingencies IV |
| 1/8 | 361 | | High-Price Reverse Correlation | X | Low-Price Reverse-Correlation Salient Contingencies IV | High-Price Reverse-Correlation Salient Contingencies IV |
| Regular Arm, Salient Contingencies (Savings First) | | | | | | |
| 1/16 | 209 | X | Low-Price Salient Contingencies I | | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |
| 1/16 | 193 | X | High-Price Salient Contingencies I | | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |
| 1/16 | 195 | X | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | | Low-Price Salient Contingencies I | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |
| 1/16 | 183 | X | High-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV | | High-Price Salient Contingencies I | Low-Price Salient Contingencies II or III or IV |

Notes: This table describes all of the different experimental cells for annuity take-up decisions. Cells in gray were not included in the pre-analysis plan and in the analysis in the body of the paper. Additionally, the three possible wordings (“annuity,” “Social Security,” “insurance”) were randomized at the participant level in the regular arm; the reverse-correlation arm used only the insurance wording.

B Demographics

Table A2: Demographic characteristics

| | Experimental Sample | U.S. Adult Population |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Female | 0.54 | 0.52 |
| Age (median) | 54.0 | 47.0 |
| Bachelor's degree or higher | 0.53 | 0.31 |
| Employed | 0.65 | 0.63 |
| Household income (\$, median) | 67500 | 78040 |
| Non-Hispanic White | 0.77 | 0.65 |
| Non-Hispanic Black | 0.06 | 0.13 |
| Hispanic | 0.09 | 0.16 |
| Married | 0.58 | 0.51 |
| Financial literacy I (interest) | 0.92 | - |
| Financial literacy II (inflation) | 0.85 | - |
| Financial literacy III (risk exposure) | 0.91 | - |

Notes: Column 1 of this table reports means (unless stated otherwise) for various demographic variables for the 3,038 participants who completed the study. The second column reports the statistics for the U.S. adult population living in households from the 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates Public Use Microdata Sample. The variable *Financial literacy* is an indicator for whether the participant answered the following three questions from Lusardi and Mitchell (2011) correctly: “Suppose you had \$100 in a savings account and the interest rate was 2% per year. After 5 years, how much do you think you would have in the account if you left the money to grow: more than \$102, exactly \$102, or less than \$102?” (which corresponds to Financial literacy I in the table above), “Imagine that the interest rate on your savings account was 1% per year and inflation was 2% per year. After 1 year, with the money in this account would you be able to buy: more than, exactly the same as, or less than today?” (Financial literacy II) and “Do you think that the following statement is true or false? Buying a single company stock usually provides a safer return than a stock mutual fund” (Financial literacy III).

C Annuity Take-Up for All Treatment Cells

Table A3: Annuity take-up means for all treatment cells

| | N | All wordings | Take-up mean by wording used | | |
|--|-----|------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | | | “Annuity” | “Social security” | “Insurance” |
| Panel A. Benchmark (has status quo, regular correlation) | | | | | |
| High price | 822 | 0.714 (0.016) | 0.660 (0.029) | 0.752 (0.026) | 0.726 (0.026) |
| Low price | 822 | 0.882 (0.011) | 0.873 (0.021) | 0.903 (0.018) | 0.870 (0.020) |
| Panel B. No Status Quo (has regular correlation) | | | | | |
| High price | 750 | 0.752 (0.016) | 0.738 (0.029) | 0.749 (0.028) | 0.767 (0.026) |
| Low price | 750 | 0.827 (0.014) | 0.797 (0.026) | 0.831 (0.024) | 0.848 (0.022) |
| Panel C. Reverse Correlation (only has insurance wording) | | | | | |
| <i>Status Quo, non-salient contingencies</i> | | | | | |
| High price | 686 | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | 0.656 (0.018) |
| Low price | 686 | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | 0.810 (0.015) |
| <i>No status quo, Salient Contingencies IV (III + dominance)</i> | | | | | |
| High price | 432 | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | 0.875 (0.016) |
| Low price | 686 | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | n/a n/a | 0.854 (0.013) |
| Panel D. Salient Contingencies (has no status quo, regular correlation) | | | | | |
| <i>High price</i> | | | | | |
| Salient Contingencies I, (savings first) | 780 | 0.810 (0.014) | 0.805 (0.023) | 0.801 (0.026) | 0.826 (0.024) |
| Salient Contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | 762 | 0.776 (0.015) | 0.765 (0.026) | 0.786 (0.027) | 0.777 (0.026) |
| Salient Contingencies III, (II + no context) | 761 | 0.873 (0.012) | 0.888 (0.020) | 0.866 (0.021) | 0.863 (0.022) |
| Salient Contingencies IV, (III + dominance) | 829 | 0.871 (0.012) | 0.878 (0.020) | 0.891 (0.019) | 0.845 (0.022) |

| | N | All wordings | Take-up mean by wording used | | |
|--|-----|------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | | | “Annuity” | “Social security” | “Insurance” |
| Panel D (continued). Salient contingencies (has no status quo, regular correlation) | | | | | |
| <i>Low price</i> | | | | | |
| Salient Contingencies I, (savings first) | 780 | 0.864 (0.012) | 0.869 (0.020) | 0.838 (0.024) | 0.884 (0.021) |
| Salient Contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | 487 | 0.877 (0.015) | 0.864 (0.027) | 0.887 (0.026) | 0.879 (0.025) |
| Salient Contingencies III, (II + no context) | 528 | 0.879 (0.014) | 0.868 (0.026) | 0.891 (0.023) | 0.876 (0.025) |
| Salient Contingencies IV, (III + dominance) | 542 | 0.893 (0.013) | 0.892 (0.024) | 0.908 (0.021) | 0.880 (0.024) |

Notes: This table reports the means of annuity take-up by wording used and by the specified treatments. Rows in gray were not included in the pre-analysis plan. Panel A displays the results for the Benchmark groups; panel B displays the results for the groups in which there is no status quo in the annuity choice; panel C displays the results for the groups with reverse correlation; panel D displays the results for the groups with salient contingencies. All standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

D Mean Savings by Condition

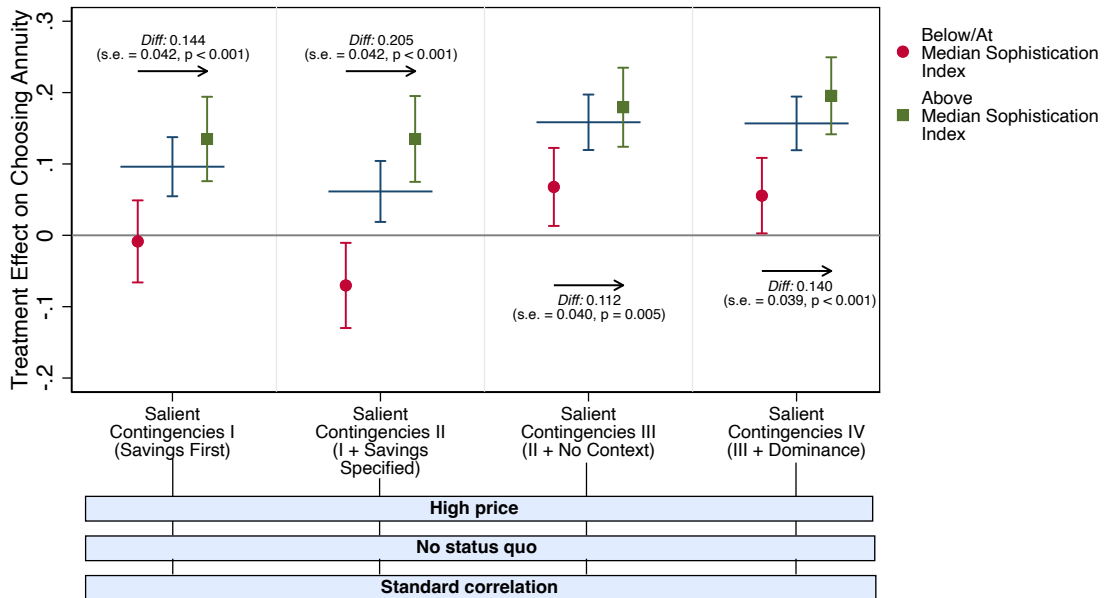
Table A4: Mean savings by annuity condition

| | Number of Participants | No annuity (Optimal savings = 40) | Low-price annuity (Optimal savings = 10) | High-price annuity (Optimal savings = 10) |
|--|------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Panel A. Full sample, of which: | 3038 | 43.24 (0.08) | 25.75 (0.22) | 20.30 (0.15) |
| Arm: Savings first | 780 | 43.57 (0.15) | 26.63 (0.43) | 21.02 (0.30) |
| Arm: Savings second, Benchmark (regular correlation, status quo) | 822 | 43.01 (0.15) | 24.40 (0.42) | 19.33 (0.29) |
| Arm: Savings second, no status quo (regular correlation) | 750 | 43.37 (0.16) | 27.12 (0.44) | 21.37 (0.31) |
| Arm: Savings second, reverse correlation (status quo, insurance wording only) | 686 | 42.99 (0.16) | 24.85 (0.47) | 19.49 (0.33) |
| Panel B. Sample with regular correlation, of which: | 2352 | 43.31 (0.09) | 26.01 (0.25) | 20.54 (0.17) |
| Arm: Savings first | 780 | 43.57 (0.15) | 26.63 (0.43) | 21.02 (0.30) |
| Arm: Savings second | 1572 | 43.18 (0.11) | 25.70 (0.30) | 20.30 (0.21) |
| Panel C. Sample with regular correlation, of which: | 2352 | 43.31 (0.09) | 26.01 (0.25) | 20.54 (0.17) |
| Annuities wording | 793 | 43.40 (0.15) | 26.20 (0.42) | 20.98 (0.30) |
| Social security wording | 762 | 43.10 (0.15) | 25.52 (0.44) | 20.21 (0.31) |
| Insurance wording | 797 | 43.41 (0.15) | 26.29 (0.44) | 20.42 (0.30) |
| Panel D. Sample with savings second, status quo, and insurance wording, of which: | 971 | 43.09 (0.14) | 24.97 (0.40) | 19.53 (0.28) |
| Arm: Regular correlation (Benchmark, insurance wording only) | 285 | 43.31 (0.26) | 25.26 (0.73) | 19.65 (0.50) |
| Arm: Reverse correlation (insurance wording only) | 686 | 42.99 (0.16) | 24.85 (0.47) | 19.49 (0.33) |

Notes: These panels report the mean savings by the specified experimental conditions. Panel A contains a summary of the full sample, while panels B, C, and D focus on the effect of the savings order, effect of wording used, and effect of reverse correlation respectively. All standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

E Differences in Average Treatment Effect by Salient-Contingency Condition

Figure A1: Treatment Effects by Decision-Making Sophistication



This figure shows the treatment effect on annuity take-up by an index for decision-making sophistication, constructed by standardizing the three comprehension proxies and taking their mean. The treatment effects are relative to the High-Price No-Status-Quo group. The text below the arrows reports the difference in treatment effects between participants with above- versus below-median values of the sophistication index. The vertical spikes indicate the 95% confidence interval and standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

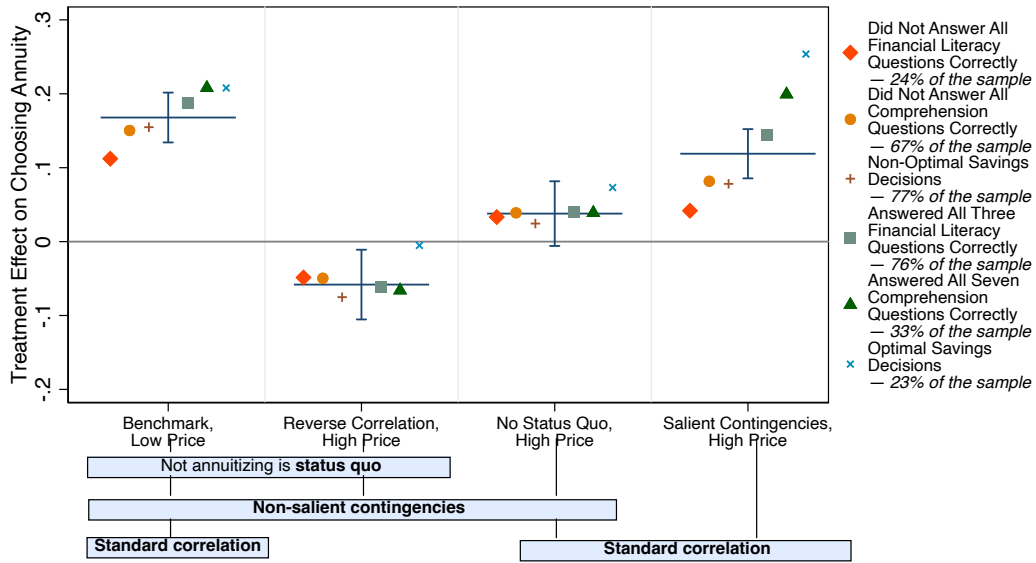
Table A5: Differences in average effects of Salient Contingencies treatments on annuity take-up

| Treatment Group | Reference Group | Number of Observations | Difference in Effects |
|--|---|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Panel A. Across all salient contingencies conditions | | | |
| Salient contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | Salient Contingencies I, (savings first) | 1,542 | -0.035* (0.020) |
| Salient contingencies III, (II + no context) | Salient Contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | 1,523 | 0.097*** (0.019) |
| Salient contingencies IV, (III + dominance) | Salient Contingencies III, (II + no context) | 1,590 | -0.002 (0.017) |
| Panel B. By savings adjustments in “Salient Contingencies III (II + no context)” and “Salient Contingencies IV (III + dominance)” | | | |
| Savings not adjusted — Salient contingencies IV, (III + dominance) | Savings would not be adjusted — Salient Contingencies III, (II + no context) | 516 | -0.031 (0.026) |
| Savings adjusted — Salient Contingencies IV, (III + dominance) | Savings would be adjusted — Salient Contingencies III, (II + no context) | 1,074 | 0.014 (0.022) |
| Savings adjusted, annuity already dominant — Salient Contingencies IV, (III + dominance) | Savings would be adjusted, annuity already dominant — Salient Contingencies III, (II + no context) | 729 | -0.014 (0.024) |
| Savings adjusted, annuity not already dominant — Salient Contingencies IV, (III + dominance) | Savings would be adjusted, annuity not already dominant — Salient Contingencies III, (II + no context) | 345 | 0.063 (0.044) |

Notes: This table reports the estimates of differences in average treatment effects from a linear probability model of annuity take-up, along with standard errors clustered at the participant level. The difference in treatment effects is estimated as the difference in annuity take-up between the treatment group and the reference group. For participants in the Salient-Contingencies III group who make optimal savings choices, choosing the annuity dominates forgoing the annuity. In Panel B, the groups in rows 4 through 7 are all subsets of Salient Contingencies IV and Salient Contingencies III. For Salient Contingencies IV, the sample descriptions (“savings not adjusted,” “savings adjusted, annuity already dominant,” “savings adjusted, annuity not already dominant”) refer to whether savings was actually adjusted. For Salient Contingencies III, these descriptions refer to how savings would have been adjusted if the adjustment rule in Salient Contingencies IV had been applied to Salient Contingencies III as well. *, **, *** denote differences in treatment effects that are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively. All standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

F Heterogeneity Analysis

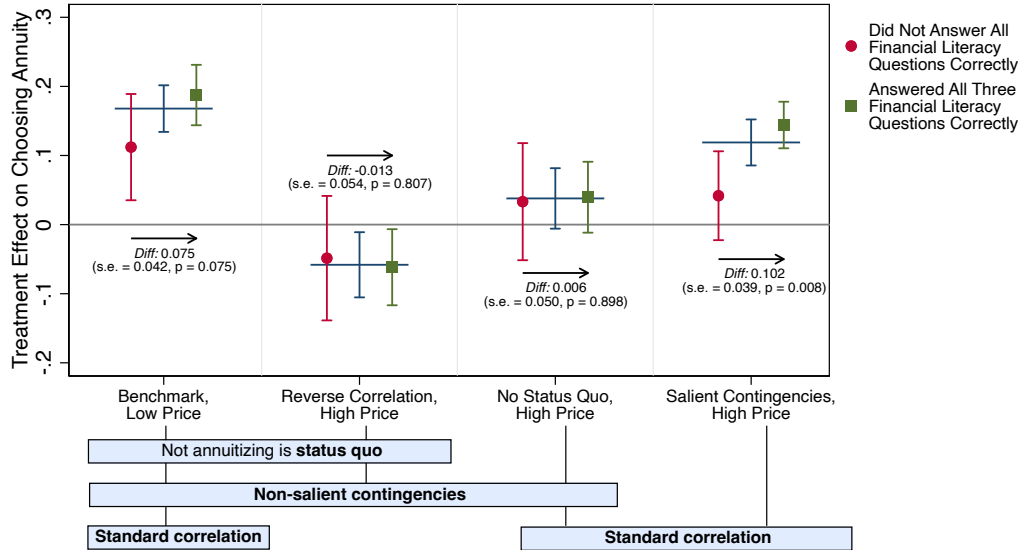
Figure A2: Treatment Effects on Annuity Take-up by Financial Literacy and Comprehension



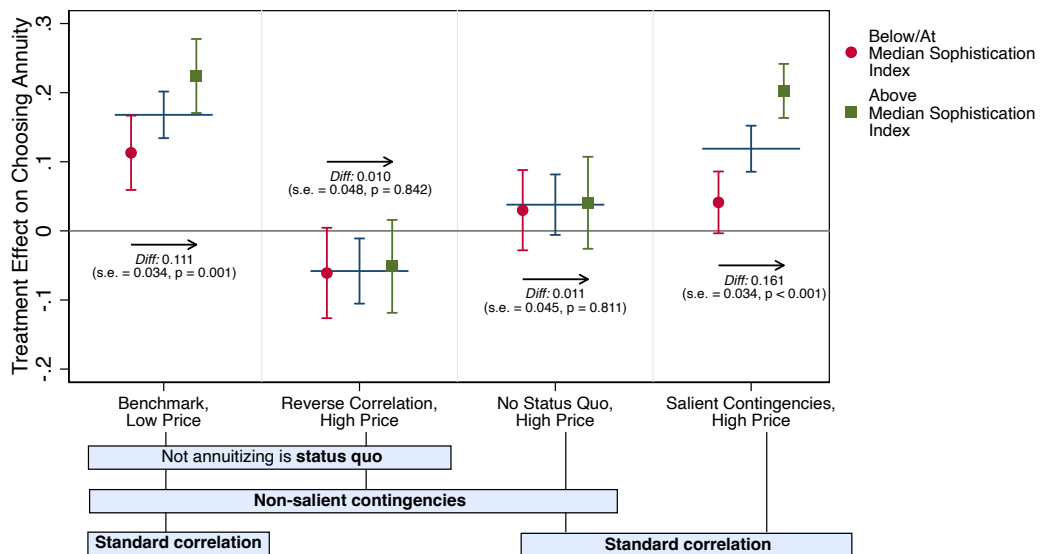
Notes: This figure presents treatment effects, relative to the High-Price Benchmark condition, by three proxies for decision-making sophistication.

Figure A3: Heterogeneity of Treatment Effect on Annuity Take-up

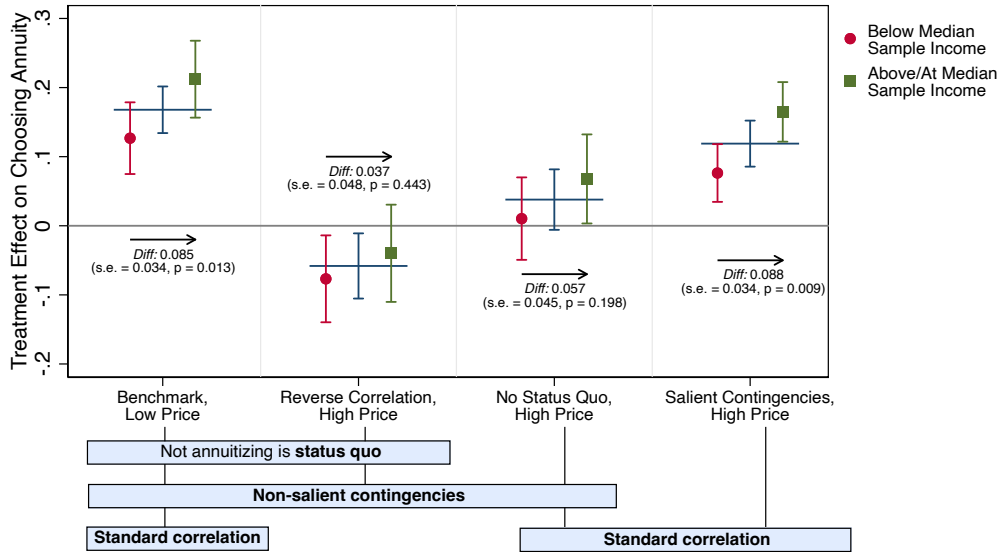
(a) Treatment Effect on Annuity by Accuracy on Financial Literacy Questions



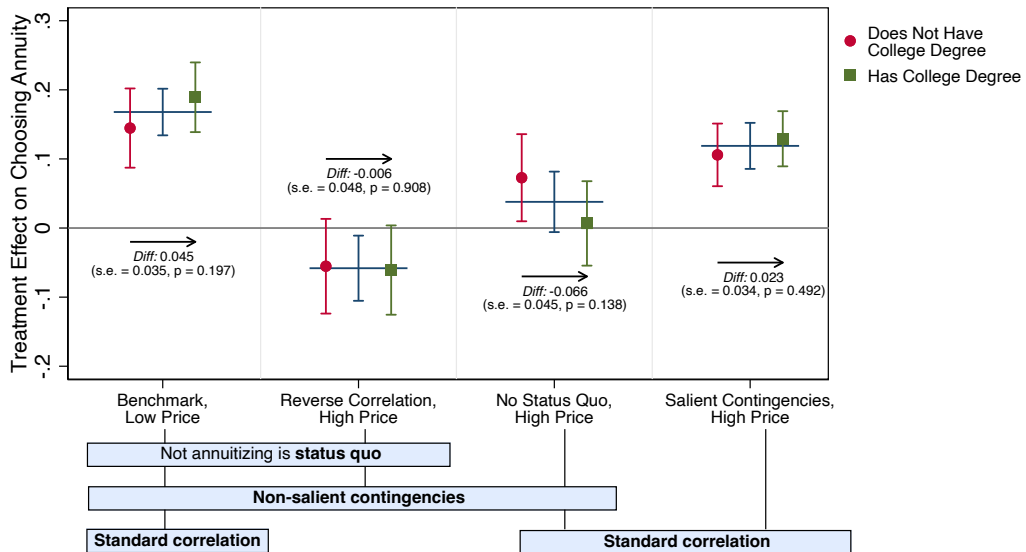
(b) Treatment Effects on Annuity by Comprehension Proxy Index



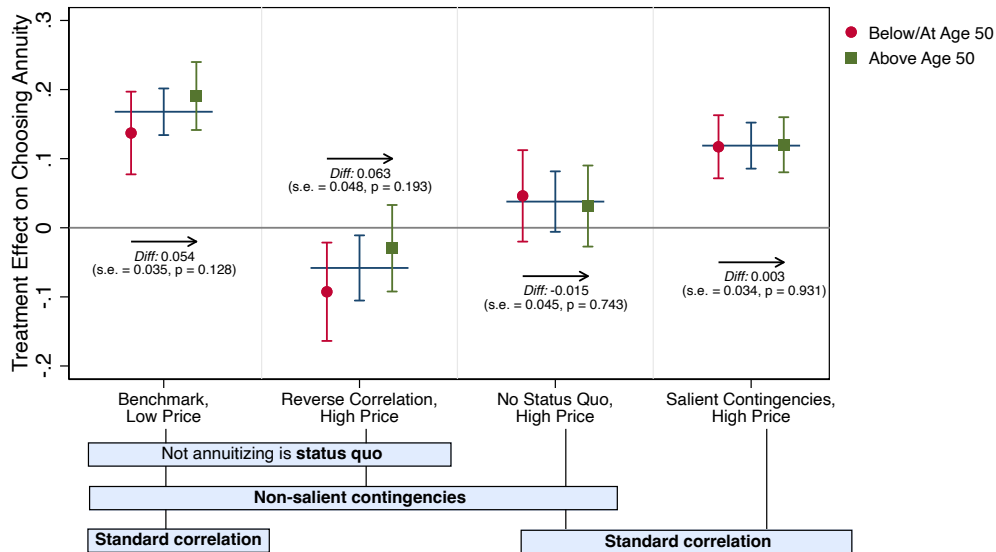
(c) Treatment Effect on Annuity by Income



(d) Treatment Effect on Annuity by Education



(e) Treatment Effect on Annuity by Age



Notes: Panel (a) shows the treatment effects on annuity take-up by whether the participant correctly answered all financial literacy questions in the survey. Panel (b) shows the treatment effects on annuity take-up by a sophistication index, constructed by standardizing the underlying values of the three comprehension proxies (i.e., the fraction of financial literacy questions answered correctly, the fraction of payoff-maximizing savings choices made, and the fraction of comprehension questions answered correctly) and taking their mean. Panel (c) shows the treatment effects on annuity take-up by a binary split across the median income in the sample. Panel (d) shows the treatment effects on annuity take-up by whether the participant has a bachelor’s degree. Panel (e) shows the treatment effects on annuity take-up by by a binary split across age 50. The text below the black horizontal bars indicates the difference in treatment effect between the green and red spikes. In all panels, the vertical spikes indicate the 95% confidence interval and standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

Table A6: Interaction effects of treatment and demographic characteristics on annuity take-up

| Treatment Group | Reference Group | Number of Participants | Effect of treatment on take-up | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|---|---|--------------------|
| | | | Answered all financial literacy questions correctly (N=2,275) | Did not answer all financial literacy questions correctly (N=763) | Difference |
| Panel A. Financial Literacy | | | | | |
| No Status Quo | Benchmark, high price | 1,572 | 0.040 (0.026) | 0.033 (0.043) | 0.006 (0.050) |
| Salient Contingencies I, (savings first) | No Status Quo | 1,530 | 0.071*** (0.024) | 0.016 (0.044) | 0.055 (0.050) |
| Salient Contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | No Status Quo | 1,279 | 0.055** (0.024) | -0.065 (0.044) | 0.119** (0.050) |
| Salient Contingencies III/IV, (II + no context, dominance) | No Status Quo | 1,823 | 0.145*** (0.020) | 0.043 (0.036) | 0.101** (0.042) |
| Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price | 1,508 | -0.062** (0.028) | -0.049 (0.046) | -0.013 (0.054) |
| Benchmark, low price | Benchmark, high price | 822 | 0.188*** (0.019) | 0.112*** (0.038) | 0.075* (0.042) |
| Panel B. Income | | | | | |
| | | | Above/at median income (N=1,444) | Below median income (N=1,594) | Difference |
| No Status Quo | Benchmark, high price | 1,572 | 0.068** (0.033) | 0.010 (0.030) | 0.057 (0.045) |
| Salient Contingencies I, (savings first) | No Status Quo | 1,530 | 0.078** (0.030) | 0.040 (0.029) | 0.037 (0.042) |
| Salient Contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | No Status Quo | 1,279 | 0.022 (0.031) | 0.025 (0.030) | -0.002 (0.043) |
| Salient Contingencies III/IV, (II + no context, dominance) | No Status Quo | 1,823 | 0.142*** (0.025) | 0.098*** (0.025) | 0.044 (0.035) |
| Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price | 1,508 | -0.040 (0.036) | -0.077** (0.032) | 0.037 (0.048) |
| Benchmark, low price | Benchmark, high price | 822 | 0.212*** (0.025) | 0.127*** (0.024) | 0.085** (0.034) |

| Treatment Group | Reference Group | Number of Participants | Effect of treatment on take-up | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| | | | Has college degree (N=1,623) | Does not have college degree (N=1,415) | Difference |
| Panel C. College Degree | | | | | |
| No Status Quo | Benchmark, high price | 1,572 | 0.007 (0.031) | 0.073** (0.032) | -0.066 (0.045) |
| Salient Contingencies I, (savings first) | No Status Quo | 1,530 | 0.093*** (0.029) | 0.018 (0.031) | 0.075* (0.042) |
| Salient Contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | No Status Quo | 1,279 | 0.071** (0.029) | -0.034 (0.032) | 0.105** (0.043) |
| Salient Contingencies III/IV, (II + no context, dominance) | No Status Quo | 1,823 | 0.165*** (0.024) | 0.069*** (0.025) | 0.095*** (0.035) |
| Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price | 1,508 | -0.061* (0.033) | -0.055 (0.035) | -0.006 (0.048) |
| Benchmark, low price | Benchmark, high price | 822 | 0.189*** (0.022) | 0.145*** (0.027) | 0.045 (0.035) |
| Panel D. Age | | | | | |
| | | | Above/at age 50 (N=1,773) | Below age 50 (N=1,265) | Difference |
| No Status Quo | Benchmark, high price | 1,572 | 0.033 (0.029) | 0.045 (0.034) | -0.012 (0.045) |
| Salient Contingencies I, (savings first) | No Status Quo | 1,530 | 0.062** (0.028) | 0.054* (0.032) | 0.008 (0.043) |
| Salient Contingencies II, (I + savings specified) | No Status Quo | 1,279 | 0.031 (0.028) | 0.012 (0.032) | 0.019 (0.043) |
| Salient Contingencies III/IV, (II + no context, dominance) | No Status Quo | 1,823 | 0.129*** (0.023) | 0.107*** (0.027) | 0.021 (0.036) |
| Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price | 1,508 | -0.034 (0.032) | -0.090** (0.037) | 0.057 (0.049) |
| Benchmark, low price | Benchmark, high price | 822 | 0.187*** (0.022) | 0.141*** (0.028) | 0.046 (0.035) |

Notes: This table reports estimates of the interaction effects of treatment and various demographic characteristics from a linear probability model of annuity take-up. Panel A displays the results for participants who answered all financial literacy questions correctly and for participants who did not answer all financial literacy questions correctly; panel B displays the results for participants above and below the median income within the sample; panel C displays the results for participants with a college degree and participants without a college degree; panel D displays the results for participants above and below age 50. The treatment effect is estimated as the difference in annuity take-up between the treatment group and the reference group. In row 4 of each panel, participants in the Salient Contingencies III and Salient Contingencies IV groups are pooled. *, **, *** denote estimates that are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively. All standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

Table A7: Joint significance of interaction effects of treatments and demographic characteristics on annuity take-up

| Treatment Groups | Number of Participants | χ^2 statistic | p-value |
|---|------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| Panel A. Financial Literacy | | | |
| All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV) | 2,352 | 8.10 | 0.044 |
| No Status Quo; All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV); Reverse Correlation | 3,038 | 17.42 | 0.004 |
| Panel B. Income | | | |
| All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV) | 2,352 | 2.77 | 0.428 |
| No Status Quo; All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV); Reverse Correlation | 3,038 | 10.78 | 0.056 |
| Panel C. College Degree | | | |
| All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV) | 2,352 | 8.31 | 0.040 |
| No Status Quo; All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV); Reverse Correlation | 3,038 | 8.71 | 0.121 |
| Panel D. Age | | | |
| All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV) | 2,352 | 0.46 | 0.927 |
| No Status Quo; All Salient Contingencies (I, II, III/IV); Reverse Correlation | 3,038 | 2.38 | 0.794 |

Notes: This table reports test statistics and p-values from tests of the joint significance of the interaction effects of the treatments listed in the row and the demographic characteristic listed in the panel heading. In all cases, the Salient-Contingencies treatments III and IV are pooled. Hence, the top row of each panel tests for the joint significance of three treatment effects interacted with the listed demographic characteristic and the bottom row of each panel tests for the joint significance of five treatment effects interacted with the listed demographic characteristic. Specifically, panel (a) displays the results for the interaction effect of the listed treatments and of answering all financial literacy questions correctly; panel (b) displays the results for the interaction effect of the listed treatments and of having an income at or above the sample median; panel (c) displays the results for the interaction effect of the listed treatments and of having a college degree; panel (d) displays the results for the interaction effect of the listed treatments and of being above age 50. All standard errors are clustered at the participant level.

G Pre-Analysis Appendix

G.1 Overview

The results in the figures of the body of the paper were all pre-specified in the analysis plan, with two exceptions. First, we added a pooled version of the Salient-Contingencies treatments in Figure 3B because this allowed us to convey the main message of the paper in a single figure without overwhelming the reader with the details of the four different versions of the Salient-Contingencies treatments. Second, we focused the heterogeneity analysis in the body of the paper on the type of heterogeneity for which we had the most interesting results: heterogeneity by decision-making sophistication. The analysis plan pre-specified five dimensions of heterogeneity, including financial literacy and optimality of savings decisions, which are both metrics of decision-making sophistication. We supplemented these two pre-specified metrics with one additional metric of decision-making sophistication, namely answering all comprehension questions correctly. The heterogeneity analysis in the body of the paper shows that the pattern of heterogeneity is the same for each of these three metrics of decision-making sophistication. For the estimation of heterogeneity in treatment effects, we pool the three metrics to increase statistical power.

All pre-specified analyses are reported somewhere in the paper, either in its body or in the appendices. The next two subsections summarize the pre-analysis plan and describe where each of the pre-specified analyses is reported.

G.2 Primary analyses

The pre-analysis plan specified nine main experimental groups. These groups are: 1: Benchmark, High Price (called “G0” in the pre-analysis plan); 2: No Status Quo (“G1”); 3: Salient Contingencies I (“G2”); 4: Salient Contingencies II (“G3”); 5: Salient Contingencies III (“G4”); 6: Salient Contingencies IV (“G5”); 7: Reverse Correlation (“G10”); 8: Benchmark, Low Price (“G20”); and 9: Reverse Correlation, Salient Contingencies IV, Low Price (“G35”). Unless explicitly specified otherwise, the annuity is less than actuarially fair (so “high price”) in these nine groups. We pre-specified three sets of primary analyses based on these groups.

First, we specified that we would report the mean annuity take-up in each of these nine main experimental groups, together with the standard errors. This is presented in Figures 3 and 4, and, more comprehensively, in Appendix Table A3.

Second, we pre-specified reporting the average treatment effects of nine comparisons between two experimental groups, G_a, G_b . The nine treatment effects of interest are defined by the following pairs of reference group (listed first) and treatment group (listed second): 1. G0 vs. G1; 2. G1 vs. G2; 3. G1 vs. G3; 4. G1 vs. G4; 5. G1 vs. G5; 6. G0 vs. G10; 7. G0, insurance wording only, vs. G10; 8. G0 vs. G20; and 9. G0 vs. G35. We specified that we would estimate average treatment effects using the following linear probability model

$$y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbf{1}_{G_b} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where $y_{ij} \in \{0, 1\}$ is an indicator that equals 1 if participant i takes up the annuity in cell $j \in \{G_a, G_b\}$ and where the sample is limited to these two cells. In this and all other regressions, we compute robust standard errors clustered by participant where appropriate (i.e., where some participants appear in multiple cells). Seven of the nine treatment effects listed above are reported in Figures 3 and 4 in the body of the paper. We did not report the remaining two treatment effects in the body of the paper for the following reasons. First, following a pre-specified test from our analysis plan, we designated treatment effect 6 (“G0 vs. G10”) as the preferred specification for the Reverse-Correlation effect (and reported it in the body of the paper). The non-preferred specification, treatment effect 7 (“G0, insurance wording only, vs. G10”) is reported in row 2 of Table A8, but not in the body of the paper. Second, we had included treatment effect 9 (“G0 vs. G35”) in the pre-analysis plan to illustrate ceiling effects. This treatment included everything that we expected to increase annuity take-up. Contrary to our expectations, however, the Reverse-Correlation treatment did not increase annuity take-up and, as a result, the largest take-up did not occur in treatment group G35. Hence, this treatment lost its relevance as an illustration of ceiling effects. We therefore reported it in row 2 of Table A8 rather than in the body of the text.

Third, we pre-specified that we would report differences in the average effects of Salient-Contingency treatments on annuity take-up, in the entire sample and for select subsamples. These differences in treatment effects are presented in Appendix Table A5.

Table A8: Average treatment effect on annuity take-up

| | Treatment group | Reference group | Effect of treatment on take-up |
|---|--|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price | -0.058** (0.024) |
| 2 | Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price, insurance wording only | -0.070** (0.032) |
| 3 | Reverse Correlation, low price, Salient Contingencies IV | Benchmark, high price | 0.140*** (0.021) |
| 4 | Benchmark, high price, insurance wording only | Benchmark, high price, other wording | 0.019 (0.033) |

Notes: This table reports the estimates of average treatment effects from a linear probability model of annuity take-up, along with standard errors clustered at the participant level. The treatment effect is estimated as the difference in annuity take-up between the treatment group and the reference group. In row 4, either “annuity” or “Social Security” wording was used in the reference group. *, **, *** denote treatment effects that are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.

G.3 Secondary analyses

The first set of secondary results comprised replicating the primary analyses on a subsample of participants who made optimal savings decisions in both of the following two cases: (i) no annuity and (ii) high-priced annuity. The mean annuity take-up in each of the nine main experimental

groups for this subsample is presented in Figure 5 (Panel A) in body of the paper or in Appendix Table A9 below.

Table A9: Mean annuity take-up - Subsample with optimal savings choices

| Group | Annuity take-up mean |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1 Benchmark, high price | 0.653 (0.034) |
| 2 No Status Quo | 0.727 (0.037) |
| 3 Salient Contingencies I | 0.893 (0.024) |
| 4 Salient Contingencies II | 0.890 (0.025) |
| 5 Salient Contingencies III and IV | 0.922 (0.014) |
| 6 Reverse Correlation | 0.648 (0.035) |
| 7 Benchmark, low price | 0.861 (0.024) |
| 8 Reverse-Correlation Salient Contingencies IV, low price | 0.940 (0.018) |

Notes: This table reports the mean annuity take-up rate and the share of participants who made optimal savings choices in the no annuity and high-price annuity cases for different treatment groups, along with standard errors. The sample for estimating take-up means is restricted to participants with optimal savings choices in the no annuity and high-price annuity cases. For participants in the Salient-Contingencies III group with optimal savings choices, choosing the annuity dominates forgoing the annuity, so we pre-specified that this group should be pooled with the Salient-Contingencies IV group.

The corresponding treatment effects in the subsample with optimal savings choices can be found in Appendix Figure A2 or in Appendix Table A10 below. Finally, the differences in the average effects of Salient-Contingency treatments on annuity take-up for this subsample are presented in Appendix Table A11 below.

Table A10: Average treatment effect on annuity take-up - Subsample with optimal savings choices

| Treatment group | Reference group | Effect of treatment on take-up |
|---|--|--------------------------------|
| 1 No Status Quo | Benchmark, high price | 0.073 (0.050) |
| 2 Salient Contingencies I | No Status Quo | 0.167*** (0.044) |
| 3 Salient Contingencies II | No Status quo | 0.163*** (0.044) |
| 4 Salient Contingencies III and IV | No Status Quo | 0.195*** (0.039) |
| 5 Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price | -0.005 (0.049) |
| 6 Reverse Correlation | Benchmark, high price, insurance wording only | 0.048 (0.069) |
| 7 Benchmark, low price | Benchmark, high price | 0.208*** (0.036) |
| 8 Reverse-Correlation Salient Contingencies IV, low price | Benchmark, high price | 0.286*** (0.038) |
| 9 Benchmark, high price, insurance wording only | Benchmark, high price, other wording | -0.082 (0.072) |

Notes: This table reports the estimates of average treatment effects from a linear probability model of annuity take-up, along with standard errors clustered at the participant level. The treatment effect is estimated as the difference in annuity take-up between the treatment group and the reference group. In row 9, either “annuity” or “Social Security” wording was used in the reference group. The sample is restricted to participants with optimal savings choices in the no annuity and high-price annuity cases. For participants in the Salient-Contingencies III group who made optimal savings choices, choosing the annuity dominates forgoing the annuity, so we pre-specified that this group should be pooled with the Salient-Contingencies IV group. *, **, *** denote treatment effects that are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.

Table A11: Differences in average effects of treatment on annuity take-up - Subsample with optimal savings choices

| | Treatment group | Reference group | Difference in effects |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Salient Contingencies II | Salient Contingencies I | -0.004 (0.034) |
| 2 | Salient Contingencies III and IV | Salient Contingencies II | 0.032 (0.028) |

Notes: This table reports the estimates of differences in average treatment effects from a linear probability model of annuity take-up, along with standard errors clustered at the participant level. The difference in treatment effects is estimated as the difference in annuity take-up between the treatment group and the reference group. The sample is restricted to participants who made optimal savings choices in the no annuity and high-price annuity cases. For participants in the Salient-Contingencies III group who made optimal savings choices, choosing the annuity dominates forgoing the annuity, so we pre-specified that this group should be pooled with the Salient-Contingencies IV group. *, **, *** denote differences in treatment effects that are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.

Second, we pre-specified the analysis of the interaction of six selected treatment effects with four dummy variables for: answering all three financial literacy questions correctly, having an income above the median in our sample, having a college degree, and being older than 50 years. To test for the interaction of a particular treatment with a particular demographic covariate d , we run the regression

$$y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbf{1}_{G_b} + \beta_2 d + \beta_3 \mathbf{1}_{G_b} \cdot d + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (2)$$

with robust standard errors clustered by participant where appropriate. The coefficient β_3 corresponds to the interaction effect of interest. Appendix Table A6 presents the interaction effects of the 4 demographic dummy variables with these these six pre-specified treatment effects.

Because the power of the interaction-effect tests above may be limited, we pre-specified that we would also run tests for interaction effects using specifications that pool several treatment effects. We run four types of tests for each of the four demographic covariates. In the first set of tests, we test for the joint significance of the interaction of one of the four demographic covariates with five pre-specified treatment effects. In the second set of tests, we test for the joint significance of the interaction of one of the four demographic covariates with three Salient-Contingencies treatment effects. These two sets of tests can be found in Appendix Table A7. We also test whether there is heterogeneity with respect to d in which Salient-Contingencies treatments elicit the strongest response. In the third set of tests we compare the treatment effect of Salient Contingencies III and IV (pooled) relative to No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies I (pooled) and interact this treatment effect with one of the four demographics. In the fourth set of tests, we compare the treatment effect of No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies IV (pooled) relative to Salient Contingencies I and II (pooled) and interact this treatment effect with one of the four demographics. These two sets of tests are presented in Appendix Table A12 below.

Table A12: Heterogeneity of interaction effects of pooled treatments and demographic characteristics in annuity take-up

| Pooled Treatment Groups | Pooled Reference Groups | Effect of pooled treatments on take-up | | |
|------------------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------|
| Panel A. Financial Literacy | | Answered all financial literacy questions correctly | Did not answer all financial literacy questions correctly | Difference |
| Salient Contingencies III and IV | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies I | 0.107*** (0.015) | 0.035 (0.029) | 0.072** (0.033) |
| Salient Contingencies I and II | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies IV | -0.016 (0.016) | -0.040 (0.030) | 0.025 (0.034) |
| Panel B. Income | | Above/at median income | Below median income | Difference |
| Salient Contingencies III and IV | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies I | 0.104*** (0.019) | 0.078*** (0.019) | 0.026 (0.027) |
| Salient Contingencies I and II | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies IV | -0.028 (0.020) | -0.015 (0.020) | -0.013 (0.028) |
| Panel C. College Degree | | Has college degree | Does not have college degree | Difference |
| Salient Contingencies III and IV | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies I | 0.116*** (0.018) | 0.061*** (0.020) | 0.055** (0.027) |
| Salient Contingencies I and II | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies IV | -0.009 (0.019) | -0.038* (0.022) | 0.029 (0.029) |
| Panel D. Age | | Above/at age 50 | Below age 50 | Difference |
| Salient Contingencies III and IV | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies I | 0.097*** (0.018) | 0.080*** (0.021) | 0.016 (0.027) |
| Salient Contingencies I and II | No Status Quo and Salient Contingencies IV | -0.023 (0.019) | -0.019 (0.022) | -0.004 (0.029) |

Notes: This table reports estimates of the interaction effects of treatment and financial literacy from a linear probability model of annuity take-up, along with standard errors clustered at the participant level. The treatment effect is estimated as the difference in annuity take-up between the pooled treatment groups and the pooled reference groups. *, **, *** denote estimates that are statistically significantly different from 0 at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.