

# How Do Consumers Finance Increased Retirement Savings?

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MIT Sloan & NBER

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# Motivation

- Governments are heavily invested in promoting contributions to retirement plans.
  - **Forced savings program:** e.g., Australia's superannuation plans
  - **Financial incentives:** e.g., most OECD countries offer tax advantage for ret. savings
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- Yet we have limited understanding of the impact of  $\uparrow$  saving **inside** retirement accounts on:
  - **net** wealth accumulation
    - depends on the crowd-out of outside savings and debt
  - aggregate **welfare**
    - little guidance on how to design tax-incentives, income caps, matching formulas

## This paper

**Q:** What is the effect of increasing retirement contributions on **saving, borrowing, consumption** & **welfare**?

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**Challenge:** need retirement plan data × comprehensive personal finance data

### **This paper:**

- ① Introduce new dataset with merged bank and pension account data
- ② Estimate how UK workers finance increase in minimum contribution rate
- ③ Explore long-run effects via quantitative life-cycle model
- ④ Use sufficient statistics approach to discuss welfare and policy implications

# Literature: does retirement saving crowd-out private savings?

## 1. Effect of Forced Saving

Feldstein '74; Attanasio-Brugiavinni '03; Attanasio-Rohwedder '03

- Some evidence of private saving crowd-out
- Chetty et al. '14: limited crowd-out but may not extrapolate to other programs
  - ↓ take-home pay is zero (↑ employer contrib.)  
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## 2. Effect of Saving Nudges

Madrian Shea '01; Choi et al. '04 '06; Cribb and Emmerson '16

- No effect on unsecured debt from AE in the US (Beshears et al. '21)  
or text-message savings nudge in Mexico (Medina and Pagel, '23)
- Increase in unsecured debt and mortgages from AE in UK (Beshears et al. '24)



# Outline

- ① Data and Policy Variation
- ② Empirical results
- ③ Life-cycle Model and Long-run Effects
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# New Dataset on Saving, Spending, Borrowing

## UK Bank customer data 2012-2019

- Monthly flows:
  - Spending in aggregate categories from checking account and credit cards
  - Employment earnings and other income receipts
- Month-end balances:
  - Checking accounts, savings accounts, credit card balances **with this bank**
  - Mortgage and non-mortgage debt balances **with this bank**
- Demographic characteristics (age, gender)

## + merged w/ large UK pension provider data

- Monthly pension contributions + balances

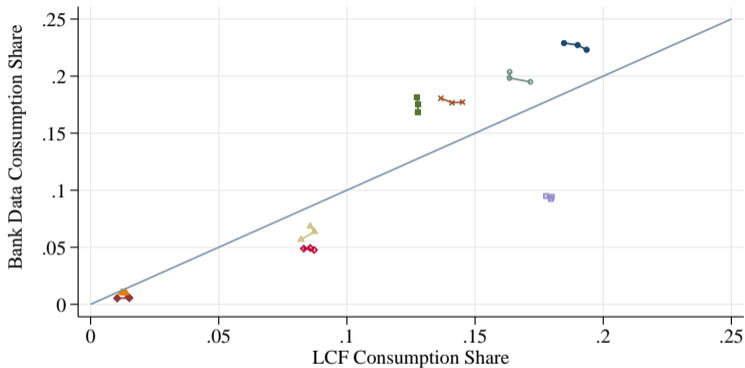
## Data caveats

- Data only captures what is observed by our partner bank
  - Affects debt products especially (loans, CCs with other banks)
  - Restrict to those w/ paycheck deposited in their current account with partner bank
  - Can see outflows and transfers
- Usefully, debit card share of UK card spending is ~80% (UK Finance, '19)

# Budget shares line up with representative survey data

Level of spending

Housing expdtr



## (Simplified) Policy Variation

**Context:** National policy for all UK private sector employees

**Variation:** min. default contribution rate stepped up in April 2018 and April 2019

Effective date	Min. total contribution	Min. employer contrib.	Employee contrib.
Rollout btw. Oct '12 & April '17	2%	1%	1%

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Effective April 2019	<b>8%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>5%</b>

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=> Policy should lead to a **£0.66 drop in take-home pay per £1** of extra pension contrib.



## Policy = change in default + large change in incentives

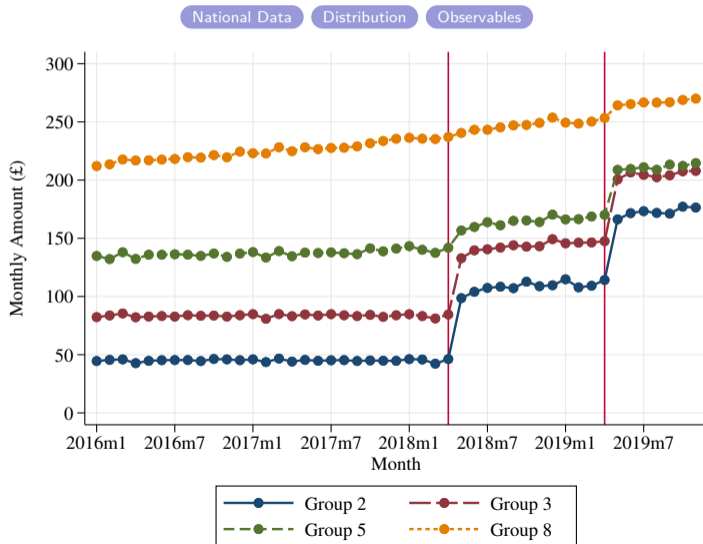
- Employees and firms can choose to contribute  $>$  minimum
- But opting out expensive: lose **all** employer contributions if contribute  $<$  min
- Policy increases financial returns to participating from 1% to 3% of salary

⇒ Stronger teeth than typical AE nudge:

↑ default option + ↑ financial incentives

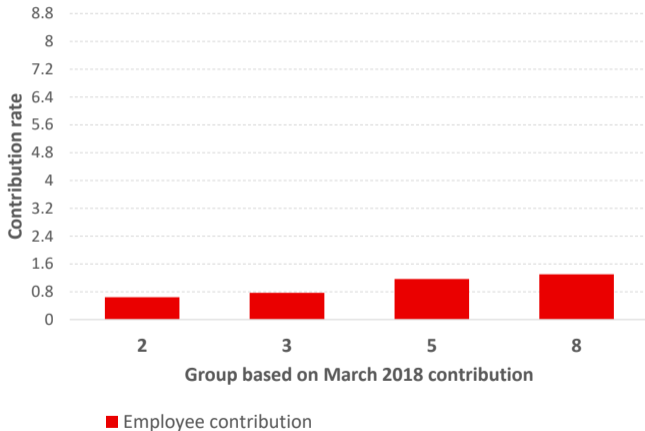
# Treated groups' contributions show strong reaction

Average monthly total pension contributions by contribution rate group



## Employer contributions determine group assignment

We have data on split between employee/employer contributions for ~20% of participants



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Caveat: employees can affect their employer contributions through a salary sacrifice scheme

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## Empirical Approach

Two dimensions of comparison:

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- ② **Affected vs not affected:** control for time trends

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**Approach 1:** Treatment effect from policy using Dynamic Event Study (Sun and Abraham, 2021) relative to AE date  $E_i$

$$Outcome_{it} = \beta \cdot \sum_{\ell} \mu_{\ell} \mathbb{1}\{t - E_i = \ell\} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

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**Approach 2:** Elasticity to changes in contributions using 2SLS

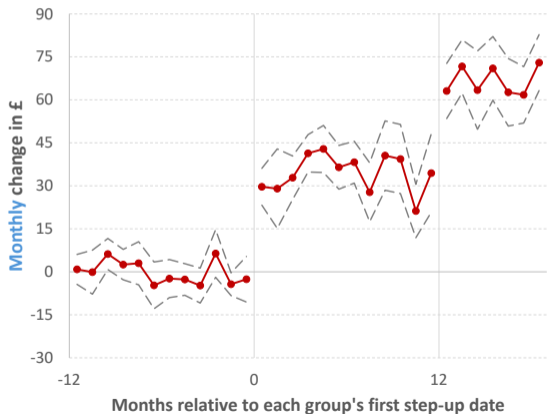
$$Outcome_{it} = \beta \cdot PensionContributions_{it} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
$$PensionContributions_{it} = \sum_{s \in \{1,2\}} \sum_{k \in \{2,3,5\}} \pi_{ks} Group_i^k \times Post_t^s + \psi_i + \phi_t + v_{it}$$



# Result I: ↓ in take-home pay and total spending

Opt out

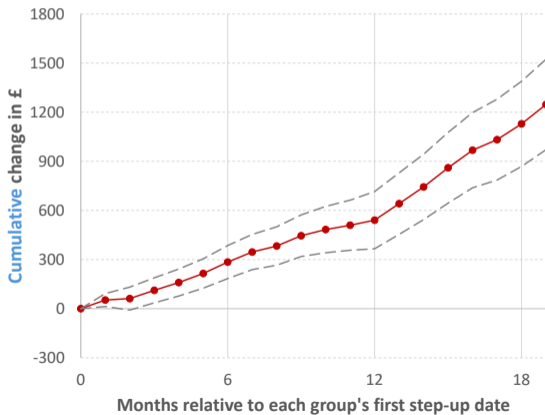
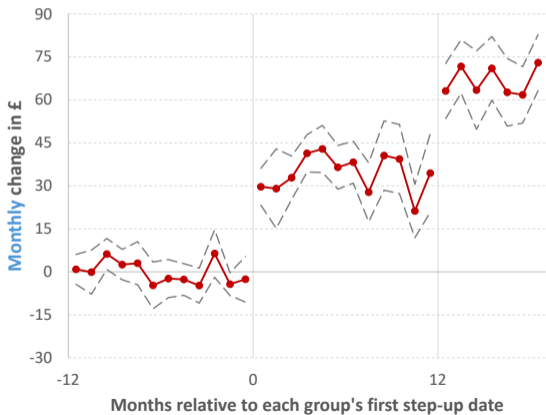
In April 2018 and 2019: ↑ employee default by 2% and employer default by 1%



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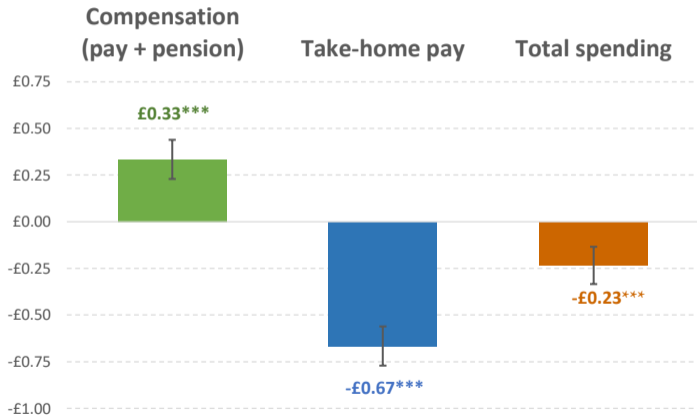
- For every £1 increase in pension contribution:

- 2/3 come from higher employee contrib. and lower take-home pay
- ~1/3 of this income reduction is financed with reduced spending

Incidence

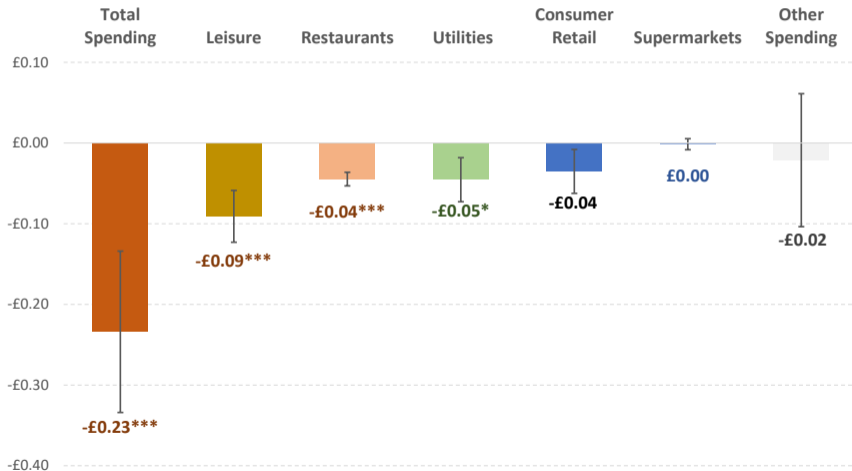
Event study

Event study



## Result II: larger ↓ in discretionary spending

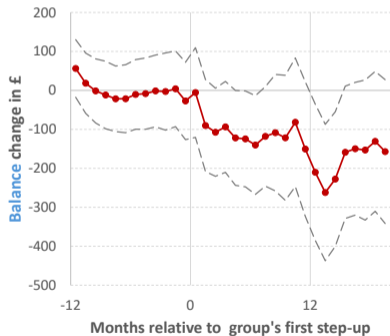
Pension contrib ↑ by £1 ⇒ take-home pay ↓ 67 cts ⇒ total spending ↓ 23 cts



## Result III: ↓ in checking account balances

Liquid checking account balances ↓

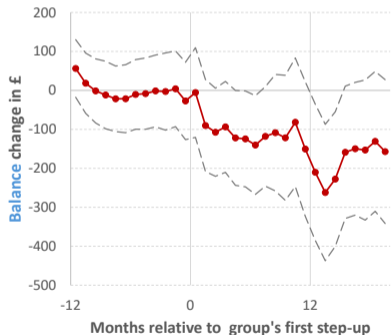
Checking account balance



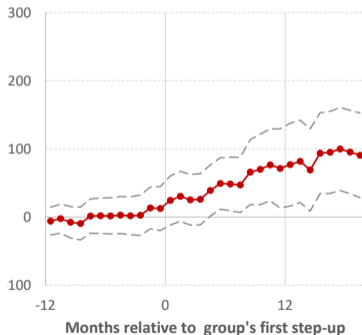
## Result III: ↓ in checking account balances + ↑ borrowing

Small ↑ avg. credit card balance ( $\neq$  Beshears et al, 21; Medina and Pagel '22)

Checking account balance



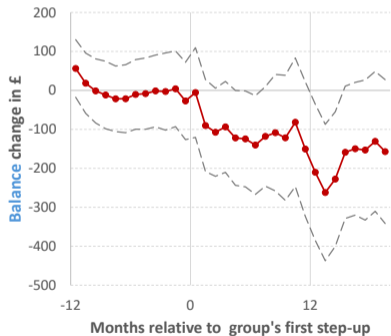
Credit card balance



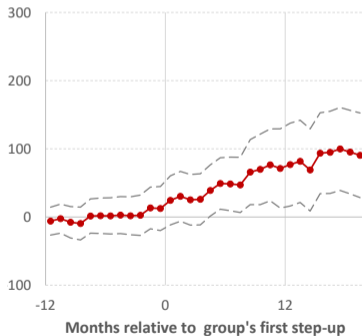
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↑ other borrowing (consistent w/ [Beshears et al, 24](#))

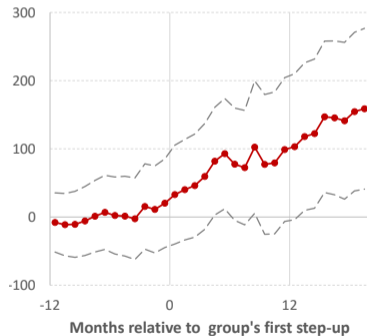
### Checking account balance



### Credit card balance



### Other non-mortgage loans balance



# Taking stock: cumulative contributions after 19 months

Event study

+ £1,247

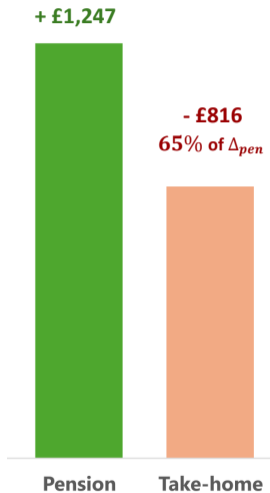


Pension



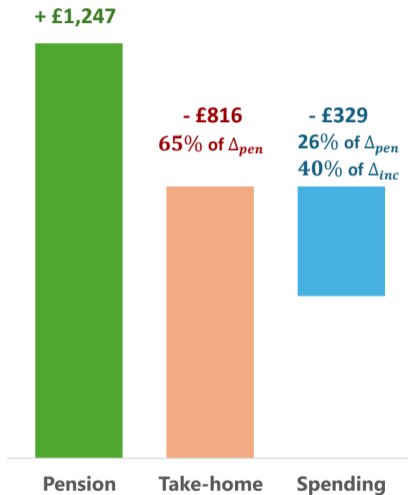
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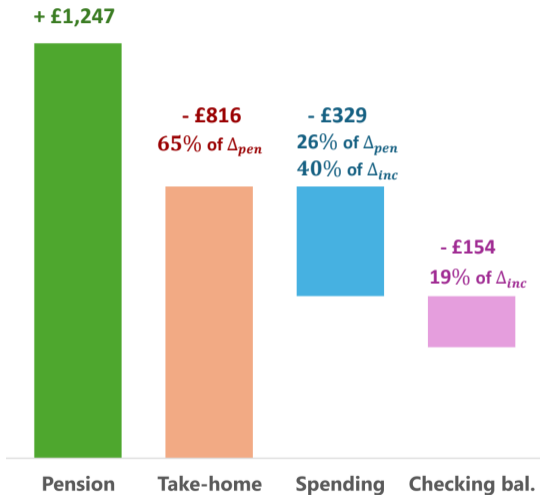
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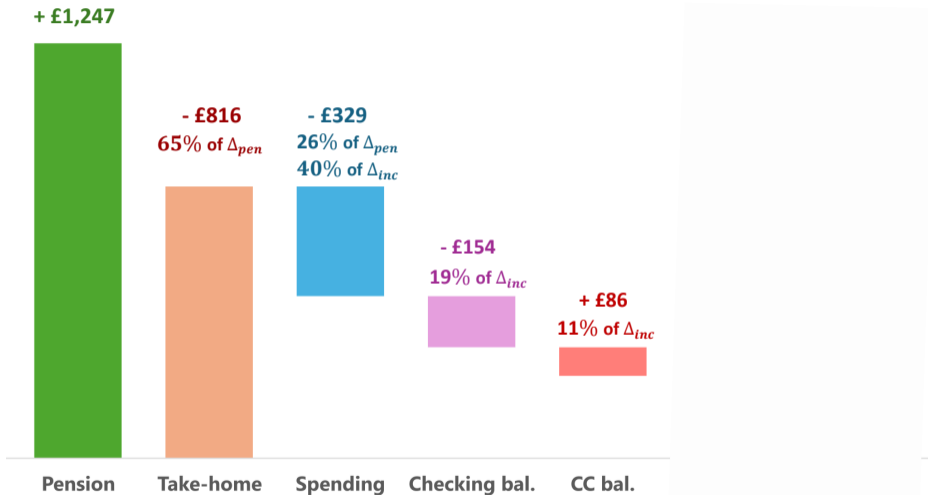
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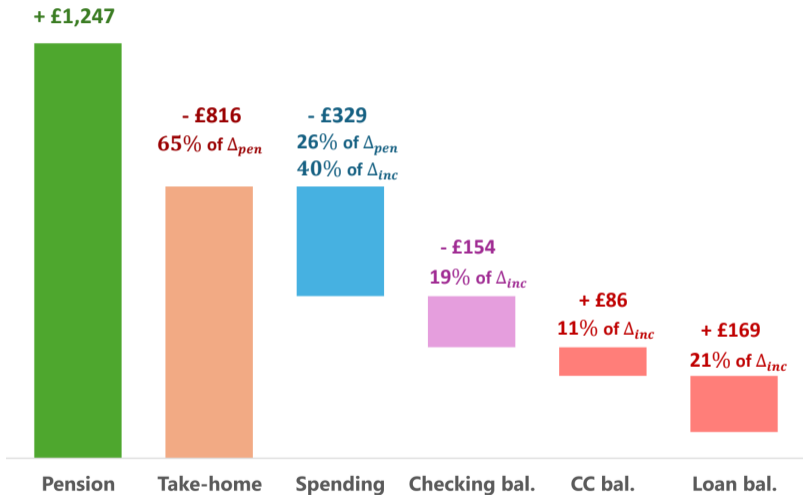
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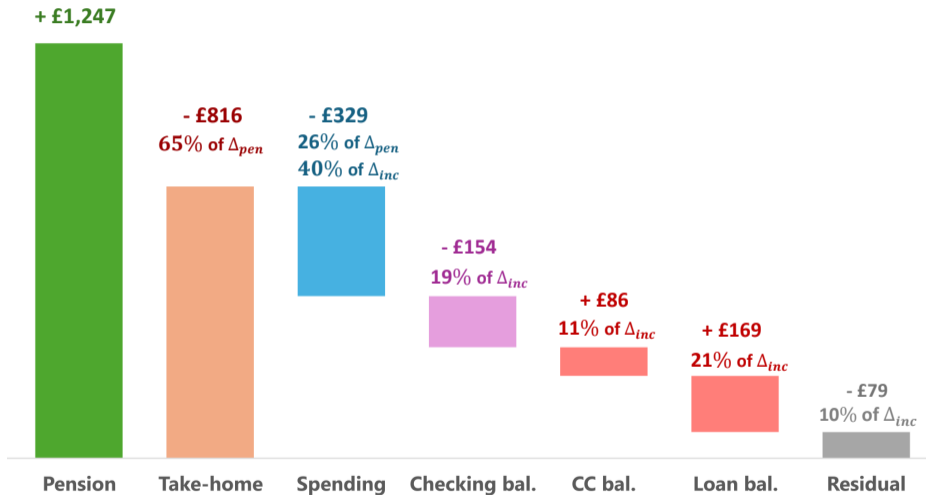
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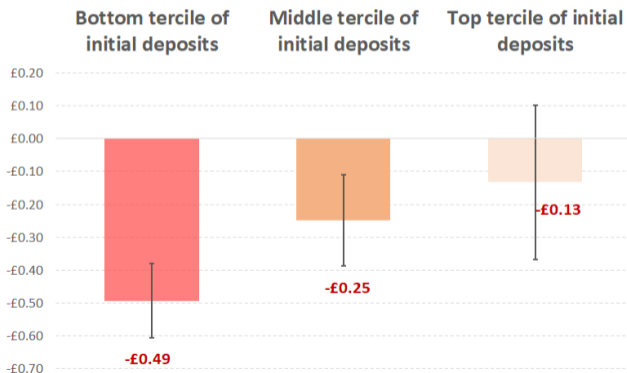
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## Result IV: Heterogeneity in Spending Responses

Pension  $\uparrow$  by £1/month  $\Rightarrow$  take-home pay  $\downarrow$  67cts/month

**Heterogeneity:**  $\downarrow$  49cts for low initial deposits vs  $\downarrow$  13cts for high initial deposits



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# Life-cycle Model

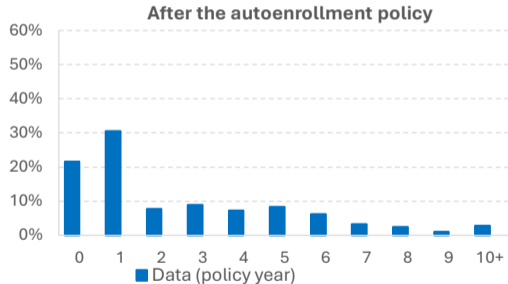
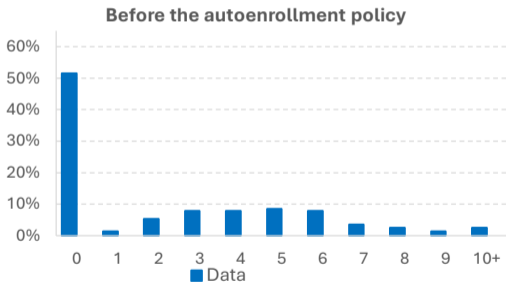
- Simulate policy in quantitative lifecycle model building on Choukhmane (2024)
- Features rich economic environment: [Model details](#)
  - ① **Assets:** realistic retirement account, liquid saving, and unsecured debt
  - ② **Labor market:** income and employment risk varies with age and tenure
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- + parsimonious specification of preferences:
- ① **Time preferences:** EIS ( $\sigma = 0.52$ ) exponential discounting ( $\delta = 0.96$ )
    - extension with heterogenous naive present bias ( $\beta$  mean: 0.7; sd: 0.16)
  - ② **Opt-out cost:** switching cost (£ 171) to make an active contribution change

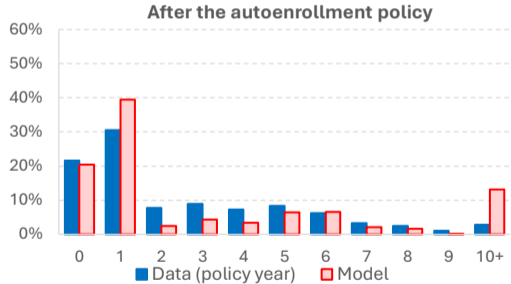
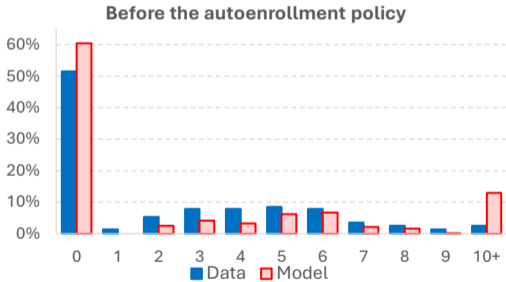
# Model Matches Data I

Mandatory Autoenrollement for all U.K. private employees at 1%



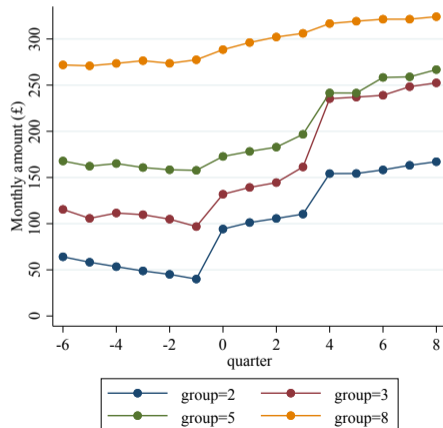
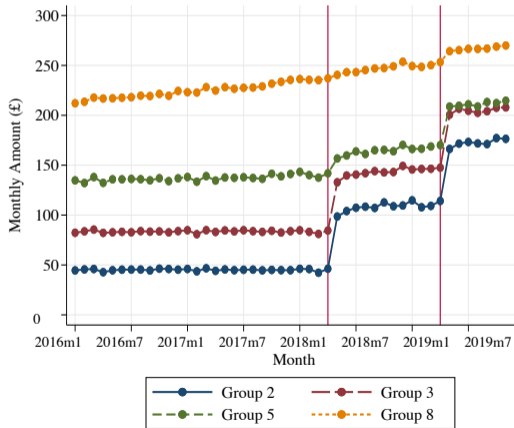
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# Model Matches Data II

Average monthly total pension contributions by contribution rate group



## Purposes of the Model

- ① Compare elasticities estimates using 2SLS to RCT (e.g. groups are endogeneous)
- ② Examine effect of different assumptions about incidence (e.g. employers cut wages)
- ③ Examine different assumptions about anticipation (e.g., policy announced in 2012)
- ④ Examine long-run dynamics (fade out, savings buffer, etc.)
- ⑤ Assess welfare effect of changes in retirement policies

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## Model Matches Data III

Step-up of employee (employer) default contributions to 3% and 5% (2% and 3%)

calibration w/ exponential discounting PresentBias

Bottom tercile of initial deposits



Middle tercile of initial deposits



Top tercile of initial deposits



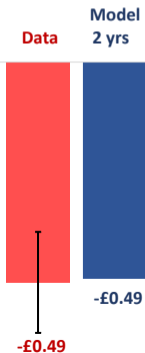


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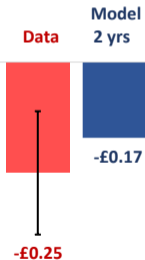
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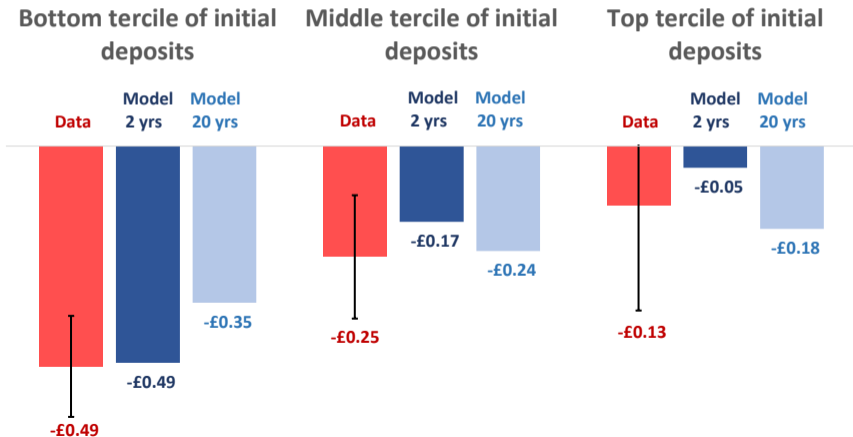
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## Model Matches Data II + Partial Fade-out

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# Conceptual framework

- Simple behavioral public finance framework [Bernheim, Taubinsky '18](#); [Alcott, Taubinsky '23](#)
- Paternalistic social planner think individuals are too impatient due to either:  
[Moser and Olea de Souza '19](#); [Beshears et al. '23](#)
  - behavioral biases (e.g. present bias) [Laibson '97](#)
  - externalities for social safety programs [Sleet, Yeltekin '06](#)
- Assume individuals are otherwise unbiased
  - no bias in intra-temporal consumption/portfolio choice! [Skip to results](#)

## Decision utility vs Normative utility

- Individual  $i$  chooses consumption  $c_i$ , retirement contributions  $ret_i$ , and liquid savings/borrowing  $liq_i$  taking the generosity  $\gamma$  of retirement saving incentives  $s(\cdot, \gamma)$ , taxes  $\tau(\cdot)$ , and state variables  $\pi_i$  as given:

$$\max_{c_i, ret_i, liq_i} u(c_i) + \beta_i V_i(ret_i, liq_i, \pi_i)$$

$$s.t. \quad c_i = y_i - liq_i - ret_i + s(ret_i, \gamma, \pi_i) - \tau_i(\gamma, \pi_i)$$

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$$s.t. \quad c_i = y_i - liq_i - ret_i + s(ret_i, \gamma, \pi_i) - \tau_i(\gamma, \pi_i)$$

- Social welfare when planner thinks each individual  $p_i\%$  too impatient

$$W(\gamma) = \int_i \omega_i [u(c_i(\gamma)) + \beta_i(1 + p_i) V_i(ret_i(\gamma), liq_i(\gamma))] di + \mu \int_i (\tau_i(\gamma) - s_i(ret_i(\gamma), \gamma)) di$$

where  $\omega_i$  are welfare weights and  $\mu$  is marginal value of gov't revenue

## Welfare effect of a small reform

A small reform increasing the generosity  $\gamma$  of retirement saving incentives:

$$\frac{dW(\gamma)}{d\gamma} = \int_i \omega_i \left\{ \underbrace{\frac{dc_i}{d\gamma} u'(c_i)}_{\text{cons. response}} + \beta_i (1 + p_i) \left[ \underbrace{\frac{dret_i}{d\gamma} V'_1}_{\text{retirement sav. response}} + \underbrace{\frac{dliq_i}{d\gamma} V'_2}_{\text{crowd-out liquid sav.}} \right] \right\} di$$

$$+ \mu \int_i \left\{ \underbrace{\frac{d\tau_i(\gamma)}{d\gamma} - \frac{ds_i(\gamma)}{d\gamma}}_{\text{fiscal effect}} \right\} di$$

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$$+ \mu \int_i \left\{ \underbrace{\frac{d\tau_i(\gamma)}{d\gamma} - \frac{ds_i(\gamma)}{d\gamma}}_{\text{fiscal effect}} \right\} di$$

If FOCs hold then **consumption** response is a **sufficient statistic** for welfare:

$$\frac{dW(\gamma)/d\gamma}{\mu} = \int_i \left\{ g_i p_i \left[ \underbrace{\left( -\frac{dc_i}{d\gamma} \right)}_{\text{cons. response}} + \underbrace{\frac{ds_i}{d\gamma} - \frac{d\tau_i}{d\gamma}}_{\text{mechanical effect}} \right] \right\} di + \int_i \underbrace{(g_i - 1) \left[ \frac{ds_i}{d\gamma} - \frac{d\tau_i}{d\gamma} \right]}_{\text{redistribution effect}} di$$

where  $g_i = \frac{\omega_i u'(c_i)}{\mu}$  is the marginal social welfare weight on  $i$



## Welfare effect of a small reform

Abstracting from redistribution motive ( $g_i = 1$ ):

$$\frac{dW(\gamma)/d\gamma}{\mu} = \int_i \left\{ \underbrace{p_i}_{\text{bias}} \left[ \underbrace{\left( -\frac{dc_i}{d\gamma} \right)}_{\text{change in behavior}} + \underbrace{\frac{ds_i}{d\gamma} - \frac{d\tau_i}{d\gamma}}_{\text{mechanical effect}} \right] \right\} di$$

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- If the planner is not paternalistic ( $p_i = 0$ ): no welfare effect

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## Targeting Retirement Interventions

- Average Treatment Effect on retirement saving  $E(\Delta ret_i)$ , is a poor guide for welfare: what matters are the **covariances** ! [Alcott et al., 2023](#)

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- We can assess these covariance for alternative policies in the model

## Liquidity correlates w/ take-up ...

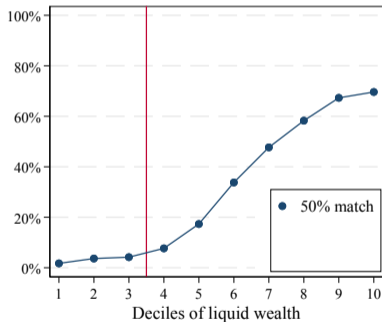
One-time subsidy to  $\uparrow$  annual retirement contributions by 1 p.p.

calibration w/ 2/3 exponential discounter + 1/3 present biased

No PB

Only PB

Match take-up (%)



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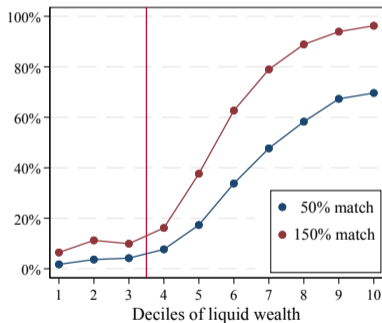
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- High liquidity = most likely to take-up financial incentives ...

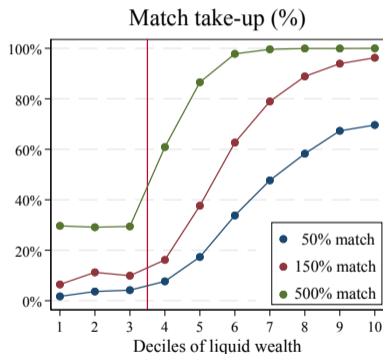
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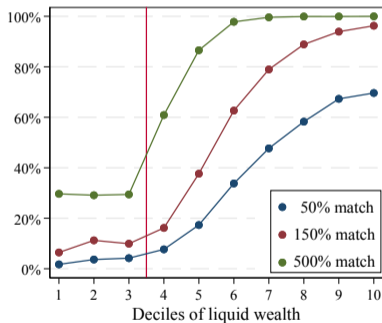
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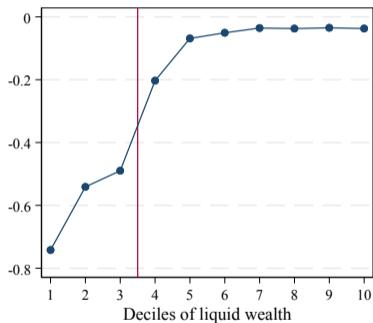
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$\Delta$  Consumption /  $\Delta$  Ret. contrib.



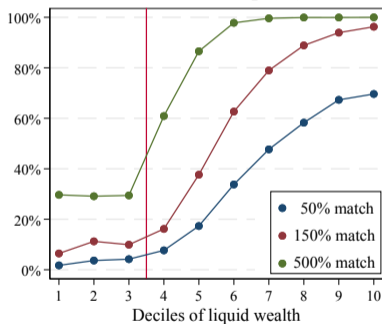
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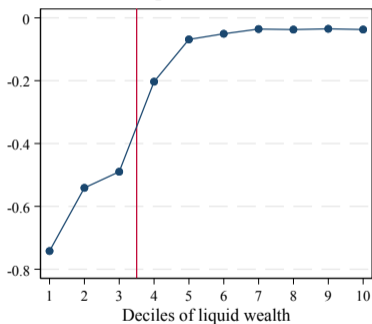
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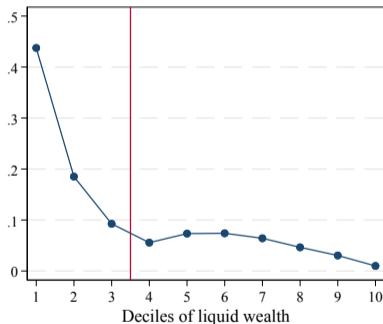
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$\Delta$  Consumption /  $\Delta$  Ret. contrib.



Present-bias (1- $\beta$ )



- High liquidity = most likely to take-up financial incentives ...
- ... have the smallest consumption response  $cov(\Delta ret_i, -\Delta cons_i) < 0$
- ... are the least present biased  $cov(\Delta ret_i, bias) < 0$

## Policy implications

- **Tax & match incentives:** often poorly targeted:
  - Taken up by those with more liquidity (Choukhmane et al, '23) who have ...
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  - At the top, liquidity constraints do not bind  $\Rightarrow$  small spending response
  - Those with high wealth reveal their (low-bias) type
- **Illiquidity:** new argument against higher **withdrawal penalties:**
  - May  $\uparrow$  savings but worsen targeting (i.e., less desirable for low-liquidity individuals) (Mitchell, Utkus, Yang, '07; Briere, Poterba, Szafraz, '22)

# Outline

- ① Data and Policy Variation
- ② Empirical results
- ③ Life-cycle Model and Long-run Effects
- ④ Welfare and Targeting
- ⑤ Conclusion

## Conclusion

### **How do consumers finance increase retirement contributions?**

- For every £1 ↓ in take-home pay, we see £0.40 reduction in spending
- The rest is financed out of liquid savings & borrowing
- Stronger spending response for those w/ low initial checking account balances

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### **How do consumers finance increase retirement contributions?**

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### **What is the welfare effect of an intervention promoting retirement savings?**

- Covariance between contribution response, spending elasticity, and undersaving bias determines social welfare ( $\neq$  Average Treatment Effect)
- Financial incentives (i.e., 1.5% of US GDP every year) often poorly targeted:
  - Taken-up by those least likely to cut spending and be (present-)biased
- Income/asset limits can be efficient (no trade-off btw. equity and efficiency)

## Baseline differences across groups

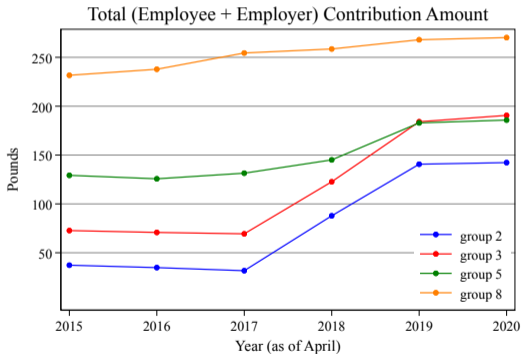
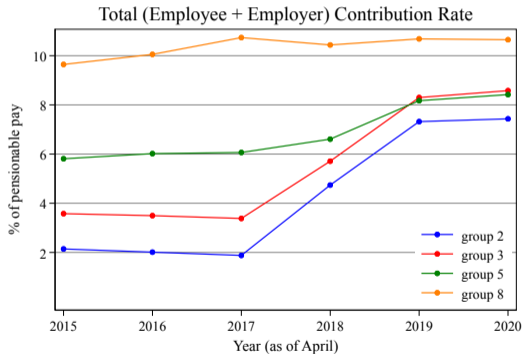
Back

### Summary Statistics in March 2018 by Contribution Rate Groups

Contribution Rate Group	2%	3%	5%	8%
Contribution Rate	2.0	3.4	6.0	11.0
	(0.28)	(0.57)	(0.88)	(2.24)
Net Wage Income	2101.1	2478.8	2567.8	2471.6
	(2322.2)	(3089.0)	(3000.6)	(1990.3)
Pension Contribution Amount	41.5	84.9	153.3	270.7
	(46.2)	(110.4)	(181.1)	(218.8)
Total Spending	1248.8	1387.6	1389.2	1447.4
	(1831.0)	(1767.4)	(2083.7)	(2215.6)
Number of Individuals	27,533	21,473	20,889	36,450

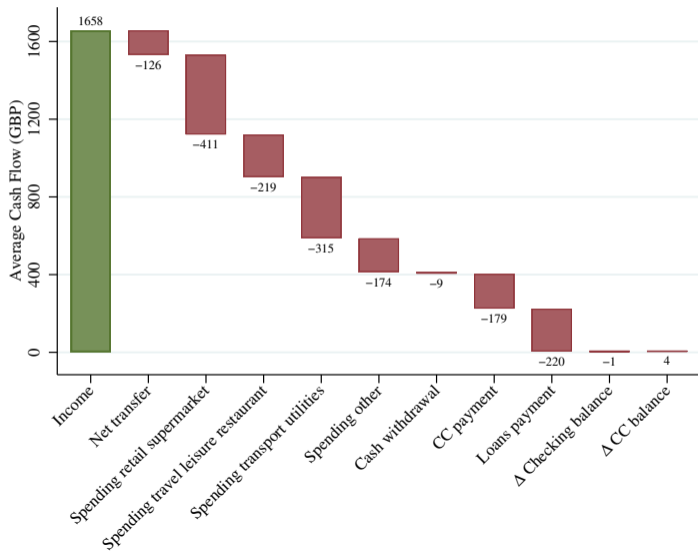
# Comparison with nationally representative data

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# Flows in/out of checking accounts - Middle income tercile

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## Data: housing expenditures by residential status

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Residential status is available for half of the customers in the sample

		Residential status			
	UK National avg. for '17 (ONS)	Renter	Mortgage	Own outright	Live with parent
Freq. (%)	---	29.4%	49.0%	7.2%	14.4%
Avg. Rent expense	£403*	£182	£22	£20	£185
Avg. mortgage	£620**	£56	£471	£108	£68

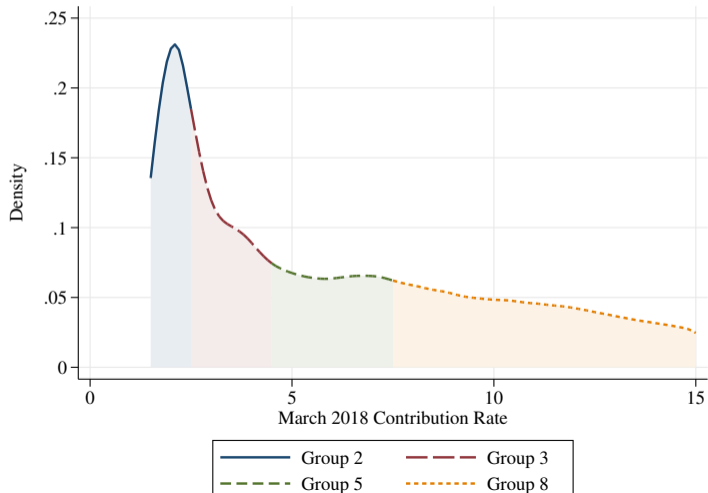
\* Weekly net rent by renter x 4

\*\* Weekly mortgage by mortgage holders x 4

## Empirical Strategy: below vs above the new default

[Back](#)

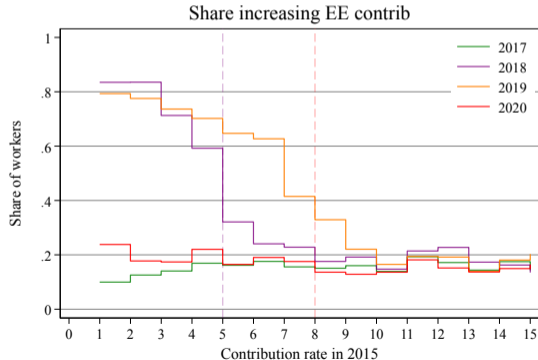
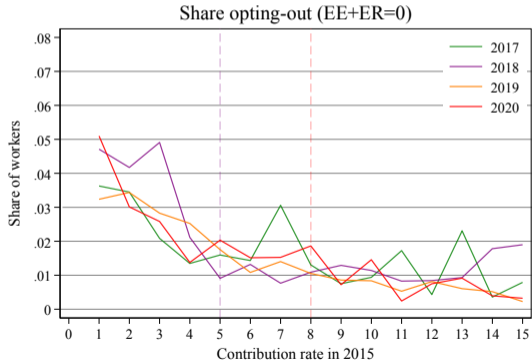
Distribution of March 2018 Total Contribution Rates by Group



# Opt-out rate vs. contribution

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No significant change in opt-out among treated groups (ASHE data)



# Result I: ↓ in take-home pay and total spending

Back

ASHE data from 2012 to 2020: 158,304 worker-year observations

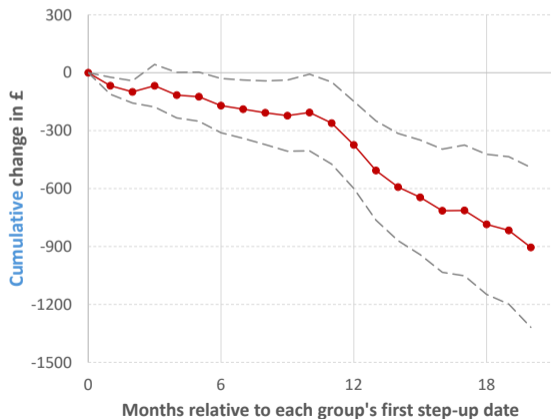
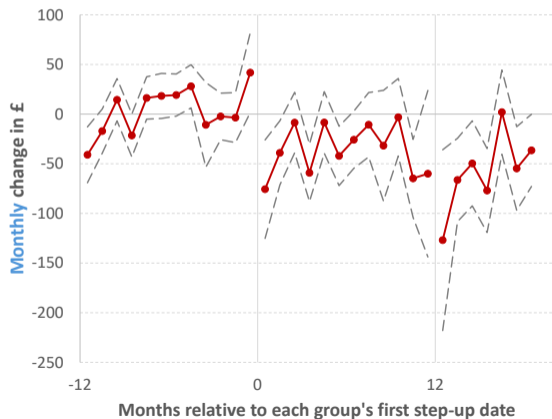
s.e. clustered at the employer level

	Employee contrib.	Total paid hours	Paid overtime dummy	Monthly gross pay	Overpay earnings	Incentive pay
Total contrib.	0.593*** (0.0317)					
Employer contrib.		-0.00858 (0.00646)	-0.000845 (0.000436)	-0.317 (1.901)	0.488 (0.428)	-0.509 (0.402)
Kleibergen-Paap F-stat	24.2	8.419	8.419	5.242	5.242	5.242
Cragg-Donald F-stat	75.65	26.96	26.96	13.66	13.66	13.66
R2	0.325	-0.0347	-0.0783	-0.0145	-0.0484	-0.0823

# Result I: ↓ in take-home pay and total spending

Back

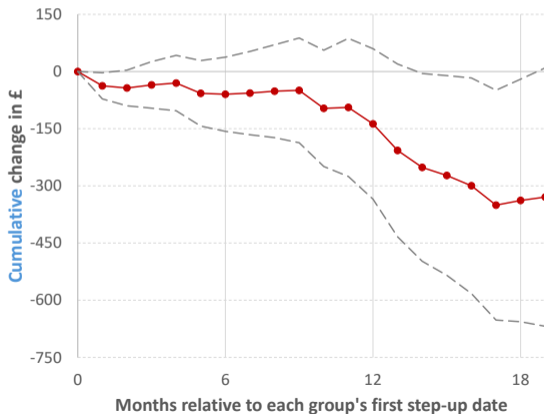
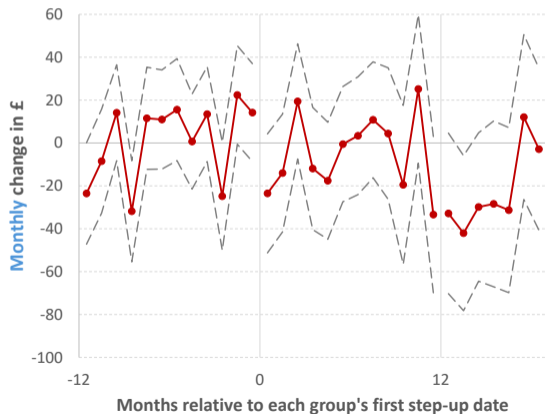
In April 2018 and 2019: ↑ employee default by 2% and employer default by 1%



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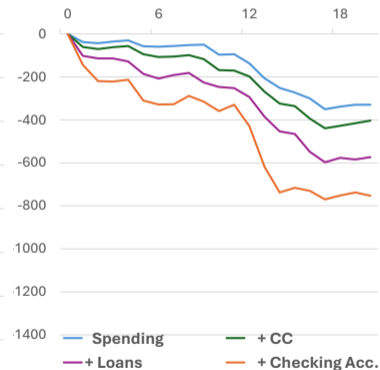
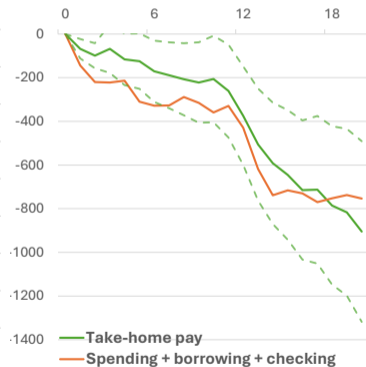
[Back](#)

In April 2018 and 2019: ↑ employee default by 2% and employer default by 1%



# Taking stock: dynamic of cumulative effects

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# Model Environment

Back

- Lifecycle consumption model at quarterly frequency btw ages of 22y and 90y
- Two assets :
  - Retirement asset  $dc_t$  with return  $R^{DC}$
  - Liquid asset  $l_t$  :
    - $l_t > 0$  : liquid wealth with interest rate  $R^{liq} < R^{DC}$
    - $l_t < 0$  : unsecured debt w/ interest rate  $R^{cc} > R^{liq}$
    - Borrowing limit:  $l_t \geq \lambda_t \bar{y}$
- 4 employment states:

$$\left[ V_t^{Emp}, V_t^{J2J}, V_t^{Unemp}, V_t^{Ret} \right]$$



## Environment (I): Employment

$$\left[ V_t^{Emp}, V_t^{J2J}, V_t^{Unemp}, V_t^{Ret} \right]$$

- Labor income:
  - Deterministic component: cubic in age  $a_t$
  - Stochastic component: labor productivity  $\theta_t$  follows an AR(1)
  - Progressive income tax
- Contribute a percentage  $s_t$  of income to a DC plan:
  - Contributions are tax-deferred up to a limit
  - Employers contribute according to a formula that varies across jobs

## Environment (II): Job-to-job Transitions

$$\left[ V_t^{Emp}, V_t^{J2J}, V_t^{Unemp}, V_t^{Ret} \right]$$

- With probability  $\pi^{J2J}(a, ten, \theta)$  transition to a new job:
  - New wage on average higher than in previous job
  - Face a new employer contribution formula and new default contribution rate
  - 1st period in a job:  $d_t = \bar{d}^e \sim E(\cdot)$   
 $\bar{d}^e$  is exogenous and = 0 if Opt-in, > 0 if AE
  - Later periods:  $d_t = s_{t-1}$   
equals to previous period contribution rate

## Environment (III): Unemployment

$$\left[ V_t^{Emp}, V_t^{J2J}, V_t^{Unemp}, V_t^{Ret} \right]$$

- With probability  $\pi^{EU}(a, ten, \theta)$  transition to unemployment:
  - Receive unemployment insurance (= percentage of last wage)
  - Early withdrawals from DC wealth are not permitted in the UK
- With probability  $\pi^{UE}(a)$  transition back to a employment with on avg. lower wage than last job

## Environment (IV): Retirement

$$\left[ V_t^{Emp}, V_t^{J2J}, V_t^{Unemp}, V_t^{Ret} \right]$$

- Deterministic retirement at age  $A^{ret} = 65y$ :
  - Flat State Pension based on UK benefit level post-2016
  - Can access DC wealth subject to income taxation

## Agent's Problem

$$V_t^{PB}(X_t) = \max_{s_t, l_{t+1}} u_a(c_t - \mathbb{1}_{(s_t \neq d_t)} k) + \beta \cdot \delta \cdot (1 - m(a)) \cdot \mathbb{E}_t[V_{t+1}(X_{t+1})]$$

- Discount factor  $\delta$  and (naive) quasi-hyperbolic discount factor  $\beta \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha_1, \alpha_2)$
- Mortality risk:  $m(a)$
- CES utility with equivalence scale  $n_a$  (i.e., cons. more valuable when middle age w/ dependents)

$$u_a(\cdot) = n_a \cdot \frac{\left(\frac{\cdot}{n_a}\right)^{1 - \frac{1}{\sigma}}}{1 - \frac{1}{\sigma}}$$

$\sigma$	$\delta^4$	$k$	$\beta$
0.52	0.96	£171	$\sim \text{beta}(5, 2)$

# Calibration

Back

## Labor market parameters:

- **Earning process:** 2-steps Minimum Distance estimator (ASHE)

$\rho$	$\sigma_{\xi_1}^2$	$\sigma_{\xi}^2$	$\sigma_m^2$
0.974	0.184	0.0125	0.10

- **Labor-market transition:** EU, JJ and UE

$$Pr(emp_{t+1}|emp_t) = \sum_{k=0}^5 \beta_k \cdot a_j^k + \sum_{j=1}^9 \iota_j \cdot \mathbb{1}(ten_{i,t}=j) + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

- **Other labor market parameters:**

Initial unemp.	22%	J2J premium	4.8%	EU penalty	7.8%
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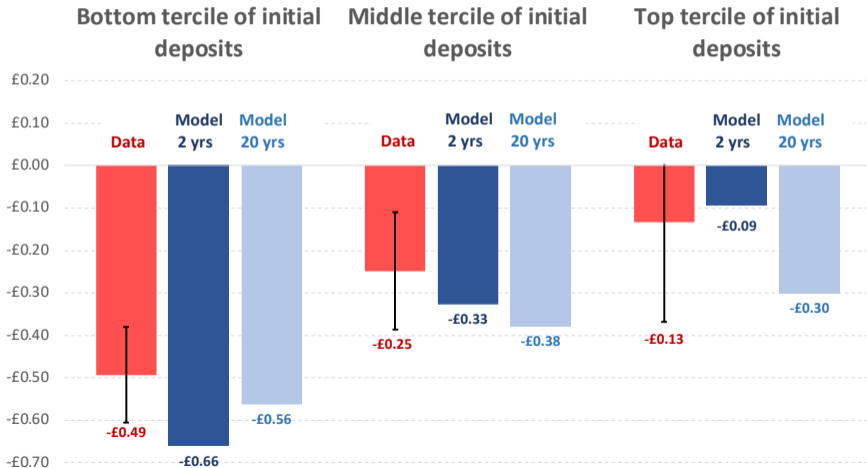
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## Preference parameters:

# Model Matches Data II + Partial Fade-out

Back

Step-up of employee (employer) default contributions to 3% and 5% (2% and 3%)

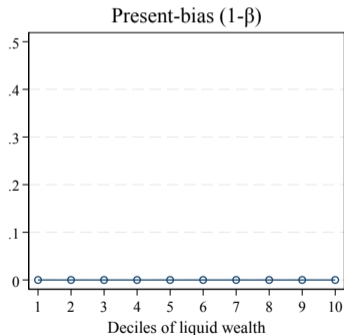
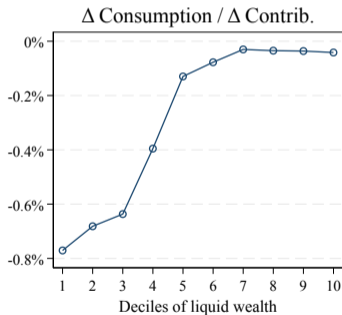
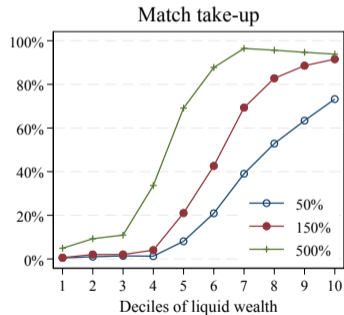




# Liquidity correlates w/ take-up, smaller consumption drop & small bias

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calibration w/ everyone exponential discounter [Back](#)



# Liquidity correlates w/ take-up, smaller consumption drop & small bias

One-time subsidy to  $\uparrow$  annual retirement contributions by 1 p.p.

calibration w/ everyone (heterogeneously) present biased [Back](#)

