Why Small Firms Fail to Adopt Profitable Opportunities

Paul Gertler UC Berkeley Sean Higgins Northwestern Ulrike Malmendier UC Berkeley Waldo Ojeda Baruch College

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- Across many domains:
 - Manufacturing (Atkin, Chaudhry, Chaudry, Khandelwal, and Verhoogen, 2017; Giorcelli, 2019)
 - Banking (Mishra, Prabhala, and Rajan, 2021)
 - Retail (DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2019)
 - Healthcare (Celhay, Gertler, Giovagnoli, and Vermeersch, 2019)

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 - Healthcare (Celhay, Gertler, Giovagnoli, and Vermeersch, 2019)
- And across various types of opportunities:
 - Cost-saving technologies (Atkin, Chaudhry, Chaudry, Khandelwal, and Verhoogen, 2017)
 - Management practices (Bloom, Eifert, Mahajan, McKenzie, and Roberts, 2013; Bruhn, Karlan, and Schoar, 2018)
 - Optimal pricing (DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2019)

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 - Large retail chains in DellaVigna and Gentzkow (2019) forgo \$16M in annual profits (2% of revenue)

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 - Lack of information (Bloom, Eifert, Mahajan, McKenzie, and Roberts, 2013; Giorcelli, 2019)
 - Fixed costs and credit constraints (Bruhn, Karlan, and Schoar, 2018)
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 - "Managerial inertia" (DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2019)
 - "Stickiness in organizational structures and practices" (Mishra, Prabhala, and Rajan, 2021)

This Project

Research question: Why do firms exhibit inertia in organizational practices even though these behaviors reduce their profits?

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Method:

- Randomized controlled trial (RCT) in Mexico to test three potential explanations:
 - Limited memory
 - Present bias
 - Lack of trust
 - ... as well as potentially distorted beliefs about these
- Offer lower merchant fee to 33,978 firms already using FinTech payments technology
- For the median firm, expected reduction in fee equal to 3% of profits Variation

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Method:

- Randomize:
 - Value of offer (how much we reduce merchant fee)
 - Deadlines
 - Reminders
 - Whether FinTech says in advance that it will send a reminder ("anticipated reminder")
- RCT design motivated by augmented version of Ericson (2017) model
 - How present bias and limited memory affect task completion
 - We augment the model to include trust

This Project: Examples of Treatments

No Reminder/Unanticipated Reminder, No Deadline

2.75% 2.75% OFFER TO LOWER OFFER TO LOWER Hi.I We have great news for you! We have great news for you! Here at , we care the most about our clients' well-being and their Here at , we care the most about our clients' well-being and their businesses. Thanks to your continuous use, we are offering a promotion so you businesses. Thanks to your continuous use, we are offering a promotion so you can use even more. We will lower your merchant fee with card even more. We will lower your merchant fee with card can use transactions to 2.75% + VAT until March 31 2021*. transactions to 2.75% + VAT until March 31 2021*. To activate the promotion you will have to enter the following link and fill the form To activate the promotion you will have to enter the following link and fill the with your e-mail registered in form by October 6 with your e-mail registered in This offer will only take 1 minute to complete. This offer will only take 1 minute to complete. You will receive a reminder on October 5 if you still haven't activated the promotion.

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Knowledge of fee

Anticipated Reminder, Deadline

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- Anticipated reminders 🗡 final take-up more than unanticipated reminders
 - By an additional 7%
 - Anticipated reminders change firms' perceptions of the offer's value
 - Effect of anticipated reminder concentrated among low-trust firms

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- Present bias: $U = u_0 + \beta \left(\sum_{t=1}^{\infty} \delta^t u_t \right)$
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- Memory: prob. of remembering at time t conditional on remembering at t 1 is ρ_t
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- We add the probability the firm assigns to the offer being true, $\alpha_t \in [0, 1]$

- Cost c_t drawn each period from a known distribution F(c)
- Agent decides to act based on current value function:

$$V_t = egin{cases} eta \delta lpha_t \mathbf{y} - \mathbf{c}_t & ext{if act} \ \hat{
ho}_{t+1} eta \delta \mathbf{E}_t[\hat{V}_{t+1}] & ext{if do not act} \end{cases}$$

- $E_t[\hat{V}_{t+1}]$ is the perceived continuation value
 - E_t denotes expectations over future cost draws
 - The hat on $E_t[\hat{V}_{t+1}]$ denotes that it's a function of $\hat{\beta}$ rather than β

Model: Equilibrium behavior

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$$\begin{aligned} \boldsymbol{c}_{t}^{*} &= \beta \delta \left(\alpha_{t} \boldsymbol{y} - \hat{\rho}_{t+1} \boldsymbol{E}_{t} \left[\hat{\boldsymbol{V}}_{t+1} \right] \right) \\ \boldsymbol{E}_{t-1} \left[\boldsymbol{V}_{t} \right] &= \boldsymbol{F} \left(\hat{\boldsymbol{c}}_{t}^{*} \right) \left[\delta \alpha_{t} \boldsymbol{y} - \boldsymbol{E} \left[\hat{\boldsymbol{c}} \right] \right] + \left(1 - \boldsymbol{F} \left(\hat{\boldsymbol{c}}_{t}^{*} \right) \right) \delta \hat{\rho}_{t+1} \boldsymbol{E}_{t} \left[\hat{\boldsymbol{V}}_{t+1} \right] \\ \boldsymbol{E} \left[\hat{\boldsymbol{c}} \right] \operatorname{act} \right] &= \int_{0}^{\hat{\boldsymbol{c}}_{t}^{*}} \boldsymbol{c} \ \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{F}(\boldsymbol{c}) \end{aligned}$$

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$$c_t^* = \beta \delta \left(\alpha_t y - \hat{\rho}_{t+1} E_t \left[\hat{V}_{t+1} \right] \right)$$

$$E_{t-1} \left[V_t \right] = F \left(\hat{c}_t^* \right) \left[\delta \alpha_t y - E \left[\hat{c} \right] \operatorname{act} \right] + \left(1 - F \left(\hat{c}_t^* \right) \right) \delta \hat{\rho}_{t+1} E_t \left[\hat{V}_{t+1} \right]$$

$$E \left[\hat{c} \right] \operatorname{act} = \int_0^{\hat{c}_t^*} c \ dF(c)$$

- The probability of adopting at period *t* is:

$$\Pr(\text{adopt at } t) = \prod_{\substack{j=1 \\ \text{Pr(remember)}}}^{t} \rho_j \prod_{\substack{k=0 \\ \text{Pr(not adopted before } t)}}^{t-1} (1 - F(c_k^*)) F(c_t^*)$$

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 - No effect on take-up at t = 1 if firms are fully overconfident about memory ($\rho_t < \hat{\rho}_t = 1$)

Model predictions

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- 5. Anticipated reminders and post-reminder take-up:
 - Do not affect take-up compared to unanticipated reminder if firms inherently trust the offer ($\alpha_t = 1$)
 - → post-reminder take-up compared to unanticipated reminder if some firms distrust offer and if anticipated reminder → trust

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- Firms in sample were <u>already</u> users of FinTech's point-of-sale (POS) hardware and app

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Merchant Fee

- Merchant fee is a percent of the sale that firm pays to accept card payments
- Prior to our experiment, firms paid 3.5% or 3.75% merchant fee > Knowledge of fee
- In experiment, offer 2.75% or 3% fee (randomly determined) for next 6 months

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Logistics

- Messages sent by FinTech company via email and SMS
- Online form to accept lower fee; takes about one minute to complete
- Owner of firm was email recipient for 88% of sample

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- Main outcome is take-up from administrative data
- Survey a small subsample of firms (N = 429) to explore mechanisms

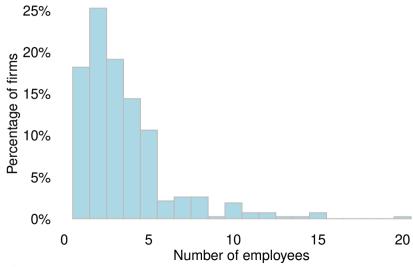
Example of a Firm



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Firm characteristics: Number of employees

- Mean = 3.5 employees; median = 3 employees (from survey data)



Firm characteristics and balance

 $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\text{Ant. remind})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\text{Unant. remind})_i + \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Deadline})_i + \beta_4 \mathbb{1}(2.75\% \text{Fee})_i + \varepsilon_i)$

	Intercept	Anticipated reminder	Unanticipated reminder	Deadline	2.75% Fee	F-stat p-value
Owner characteristics						
Owner sex female	0.442***	0.002	-0.003	-0.003	0.002	0.925
Owner age	39.40***	0.29*	0.23	-0.01	-0.03	0.367
Business type						
Beauty	0.087***	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.988
Clothing	0.089***	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	1.000
Professionals	0.239***	-0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.000	0.999
Restaurants	0.123***	0.001	0.002	0.000	-0.001	0.996
Small retailers	0.260***	-0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.000	0.999
Other	0.202***	0.002	0.000	-0.003	0.001	0.969
Pre-treatment sales variables						
Months since first transaction	24.11***	0.10	0.11	-0.08	0.12	0.930
% months business made sales	0.818***	0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.957
Log average monthly sales volume	8.780***	-0.019	0.009	0.008	-0.003	0.548
Log average monthly transactions	2.044***	-0.007	0.001	0.007	0.004	0.986

Percent of sales through FinTech platform

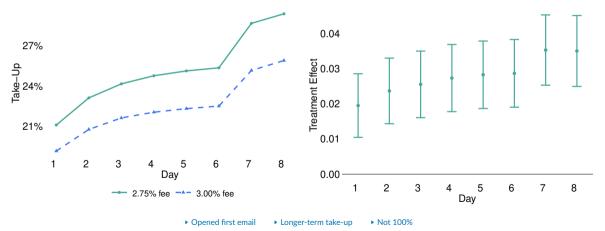
Experimental Design and Timeline

	Day 1 Sep. 29, 2020	Day 2 Sep. 30, 2020	Day 3 Oct. 1, 2020	Day 4 Oct. 2, 2020	Day 5 Oct. 3, 2020	Day 6 Oct. 4, 2020	Day 7 Oct. 5, 2020	Day 8 Oct. 6, 2020
No Deadline, No Reminder Group	Receive offer	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι		
Anticipated Reminder Group	Receive offer with note abou future reminder	-					Reminder	
Unanticipated Reminder Group	Receive offer						¦ Reminder	
Deadline Group	Receive offer, informed about deadline date	t						Deadline

Results

Higher Value Increases Take-Up

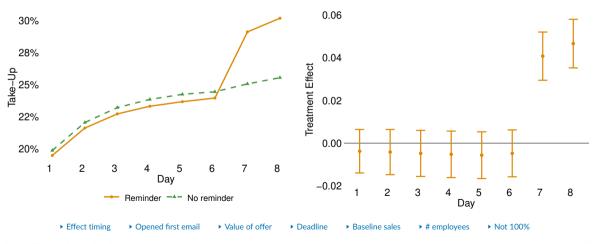
- Random variation in value of offer (2.75% fee better than 3% fee)



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Reminders Increase Take-Up

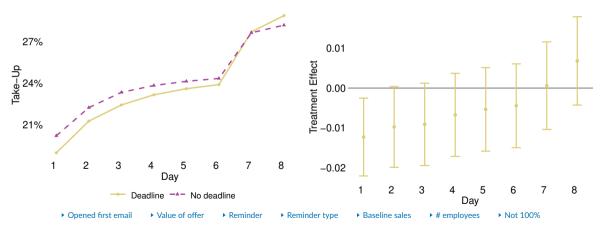
- Reminder *∧* take-up 5 pp compared to ~26% in no reminder group



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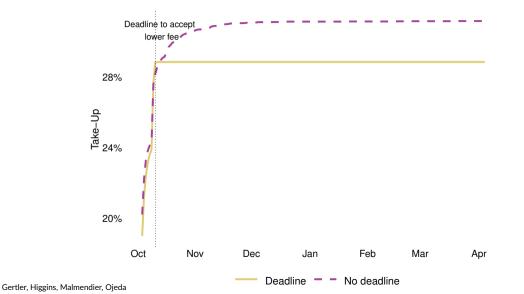
Deadlines Do Not Increase Take-Up

- Deadline 🔪 day 1 take-up, but no difference by day 8
- Positive point estimate on day 8, but no deadline catches up quickly after deadline



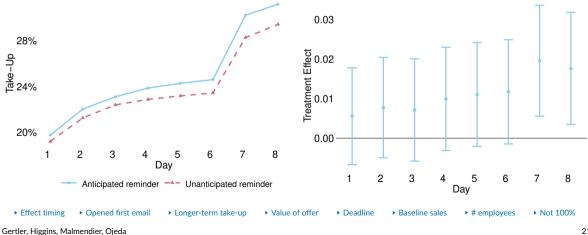
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Continued Take-Up After Deadline in No Deadline Group



Anticipated Reminders Increase Take-up

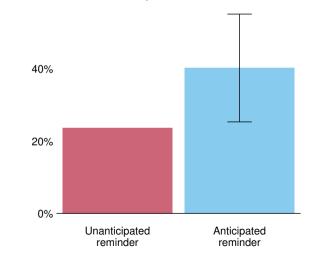
- Anticipated reminders do not reduce take-up on day 1
- Anticipated reminders \nearrow take-up 2 pp more than unanticipated by day 8



Mechanisms Behind Anticipated Reminder Effect

Anticipated Reminders Increase Perception of Offer's Value

% Firms for Which Reminder Changed Perception of Offer Value



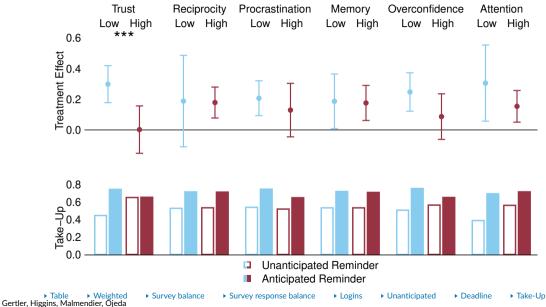
- Survey question: "Did the reminder change your perception of the offer's value?"

► Logins ► Survey balance ► Survey response balance

Heterogeneity Tests Using General Survey Measures

- Trust: I trust advertised offers
- **Reciprocity**: I am more inclined to do business with people who live up to their promises
- **Procrastination**: I tend to postpone tasks, even when I know it is better to do them immediately
- **Memory**: I tend to have good memory about pending tasks that I have to do and complete
- **Overconfidence**: I tend to think my memory is better than it really is
- Attention: I can focus completely when I have to finish a task
- 1-5 scale; code dummy as "High" if agree or completely agree, "Low" otherwise

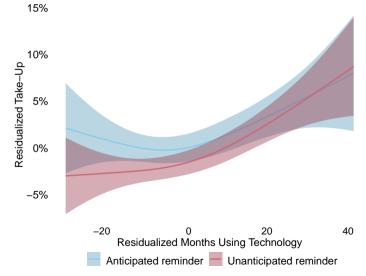
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Anticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Less-Trusting

Anticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Newer Users

- Firms that have used the technology longer likely have higher trust in FinTech company



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 - Elasticity of card sales with respect to fee pprox -2 ightarrow More details ightarrow Mechanisms
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- Evidence that lack of trust is a key friction
 - Lack of trust may be prevalent in many firm-to-firm interactions

Appendix

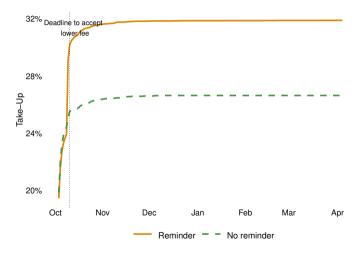
Experimental Design and Timeline

- Offers sent when sample on average back to pre-pandemic sales



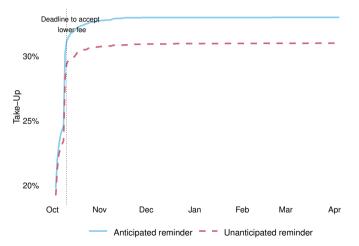
Reminders Increase Take-Up Beyond Deadline

- Reminder effect persists over time

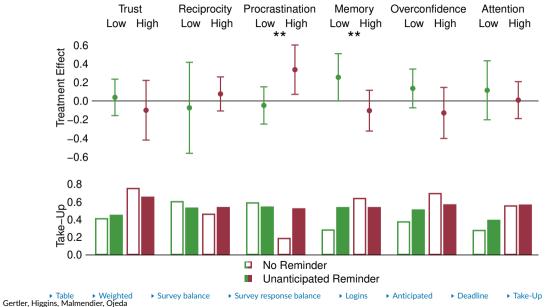


Anticipated Reminders Increase Take-up Beyond Deadline

- Anticipated reminder effect persists over time



Unanticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Low-Memory



Elasticity of Electronic Payments

E-payment Usage Elasticity

How does e-payment usage respond to lower merchant fee?

$$y_{it} = \gamma_i + \delta_t + \beta \operatorname{Treated}_i \times \operatorname{Post}_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

- y_{it} : log(sales + 1)_{it}, log(# transactions + 1) or $\mathbb{1}(Made at least 1 sale)_{it}$

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- Standard errors clustered at firm level
- To calculate treatment-on-the-treated (TOT):
 - Replace *Treated*_i \times *Post*_t with *Adopt*_i \times *Post*_t
 - Instrument $Adopt_i \times Post_t$ with $Treated_i \times Post_t$

Lower Merchant Fee Leads to Increased Usage (Intent-to-Treat)

- Being treated \nearrow electronic sales by $\sim 10\%$
- \nearrow number of card transactions by \sim 3%
- \nearrow probability of using technology by 1 pp

	Log(sales + 1) (1)	Log(# transactions + 1) (2)	Made at least 1 sale (3)
Post * Treated	0.114** (0.047)	0.030* (0.017)	0.012** (0.005)
Observations	696,140	696,140	696,140
Number of firms	33,978	33,978	33,978
Cluster std. errors	Firm	Firm	Firm
Fixed effects	Firm & month	Firm & month	Firm & month
Control mean (levels)	22,074	27.75	0.800
Control mean (levels, winsorized)	11,301	18.15	0.800

Lower Merchant Fee Leads to Increased Usage (TOT)

- Taking up offer \nearrow electronic sales by \sim 40%
- Electronic sales elasticity = $\frac{\% \Delta Sales}{\% \Delta Fee} \approx \frac{40\%}{-20\%} = -2$
- \nearrow increases number of card transactions by $\sim 10\%$
- \nearrow increases probability of using technology by \sim 4 pp

	Log(sales + 1) (1)	Log(# transactions + 1) (2)	Made at least 1 sale (3)
Post * Adopted	0.395**	0.102*	0.040**
	(0.164)	(0.057)	(0.017)
Observations	696,140	696,140	696,140
Number of firms	33,978	33,978	33,978
Cluster std. errors	Firm	Firm	Firm
Fixed effects	Firm & month	Firm & month	Firm & month
Control mean (levels)	22,074	27.75	0.800
Control mean (levels, winsorized)	11,301	18.15	0.800

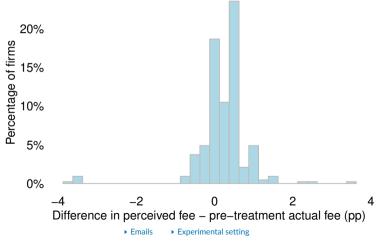
Mechanisms Behind Elasticity

What impact has this promotion had on your business?



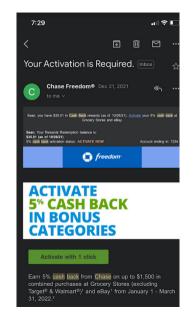
Firms have a good sense of their current fee

- And are more likely to overestimate current fee
 - Which would make them think offer is even more valuable



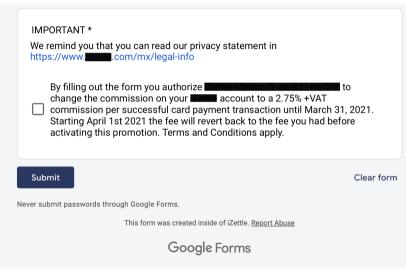
This Type of Email is Common





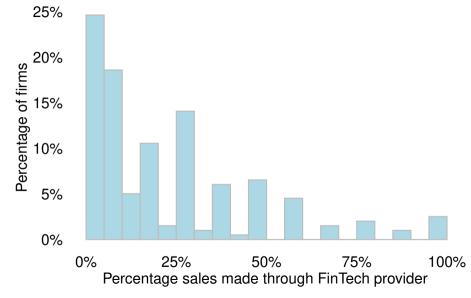
Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Terms & Conditions are Short and Easy to Understand



Emails

Percent of sales made through FinTech provider last week



Effect of Reminder by Number of Employees

- Reminder effect does not change with # employees.

	Firm accepted offer	
	(1)	(2)
Intercept	0.450***	0.583***
	(0.112)	(0.143)
Above median # of employees	0.076	
	(0.160)	
More than 1 employee		-0.139
		(0.172)
Reminder	0.135	0.001
	(0.118)	(0.156)
Above median # of employees	-0.012	
× Reminder	(0.168)	
More than 1 employee		0.184
× Reminder		(0.185)

Median number of employees: 3.

Pooled across # employees

Effect of Deadline by Number of Employees

- Deadline effect does not change with # employees.

	Firm accepted offer	
	(1)	(2)
Intercept	0.571***	0.600***
	(0.052)	(0.083)
Above median # of employees	0.070	
	(0.069)	
More than 1 employee		0.013
		(0.091)
Deadline	-0.002	-0.029
	(0.073)	(0.113)
Above median # of employees	0.000	
\times Deadline	(0.096)	
More than 1 employee		0.034
× Deadline		(0.125)

Median number of employees: 3.

Pooled across # employees

Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Number of Employees

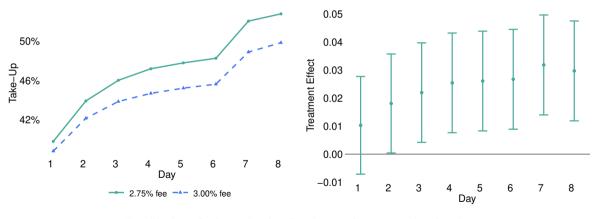
- Anticipated reminder effect does not change with # employees.

	Firm accepted offer	
	(1)	(2)
Intercept	0.481***	0.485***
	(0.056)	(0.087)
Above median # of employees	0.080	
	(0.074)	
More than 1 employee		0.051
		(0.096)
Anticipated reminder	0.205***	0.203*
	(0.076)	(0.120)
Above median # of employees	-0.037	
imes Anticipated reminder	(0.099)	
More than 1 employee		-0.022
\times Anticipated reminder		(0.132)

Median number of employees: 3.

Pooled across # employees

Higher Value Increases Take-Up Conditional on Opening First Email



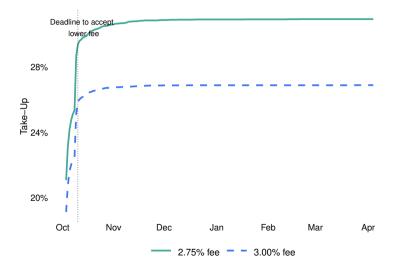
Unconditional
 Baseline covariates & email openings

Survey measures & email openings

Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Higher Value Increases Take-up Beyond Deadline

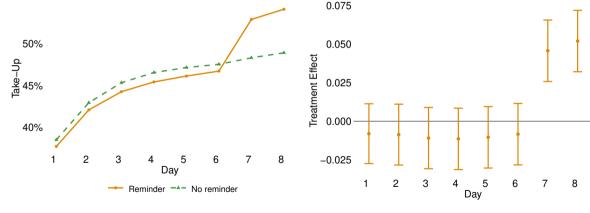
- Higher value effect persists over time



By deadline

Reminders Increase Take-Up Conditional on Opening First Email

- Reminder
→ take-up 5 pp conditional on opening first email before reminder



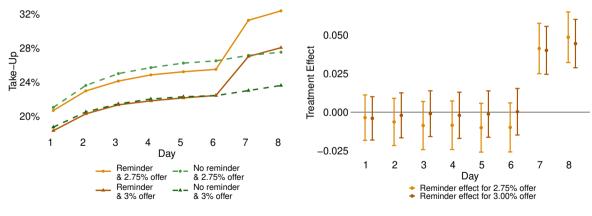
Unconditional

onditional Baseline covariates & email openings

Survey measures & email openings

Effect of Reminder by Offer Value

- Reminders
→ take-up regardless of offer value

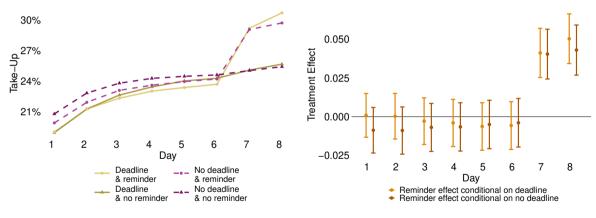


Pooled across value of the offer

Opened first email

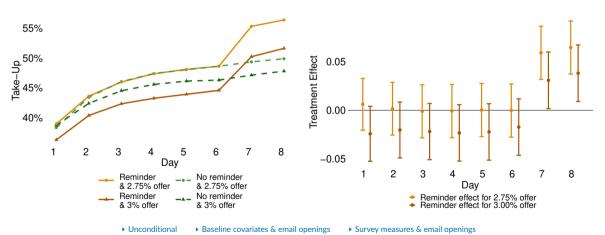
Reminder Conditional on Deadline

- Reminders
→ take-up regardless of deadline



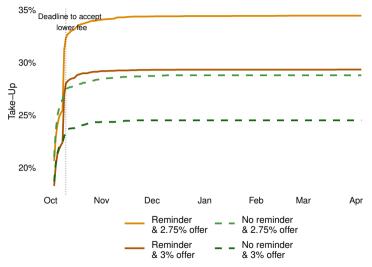
Effect of reminder
 Effect of deadline

Effect of Reminder by Offer Value Conditional on Opening Email



Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Six-Month Effect of Reminder by Offer Value

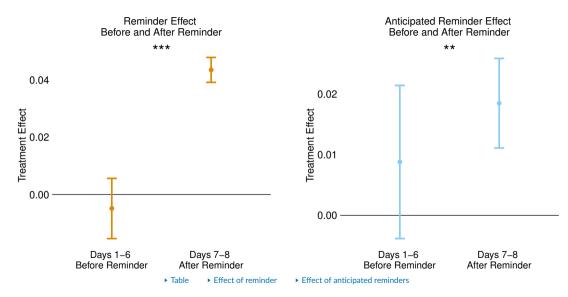


Reminders Increase Take-Up Only After Reminders Sent

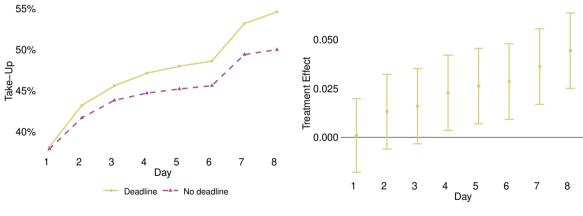
	Firm acce	pted offer
	(1)	(2)
Reminder	-0.005	
	(0.005)	
Reminder $ imes$ Post reminder	0.048***	
	(0.002)	
Anticipated reminder		0.009
		(0.006)
Anticipated reminder \times Post reminder		0.010**
		(0.004)
Num. Obs	202,616	130,032
Num. Firms	25,327	7,172
Cluster Std. Errors	Firm	Firm
Fixed Effects	Day	Day
Mean Control Take-Up on Day 6	0.244	0.234

► Graphs ► Effect of reminder ► Effect of anticipated reminders

Reminders Increase Take-Up Only After Reminders Sent



Effect of Deadline Conditional on Opening Email



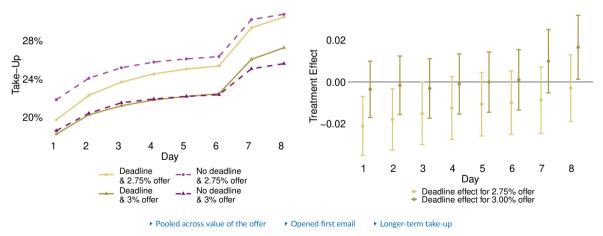
Unconditional
 Baseline covariates & email openings

Survey measures & email openings

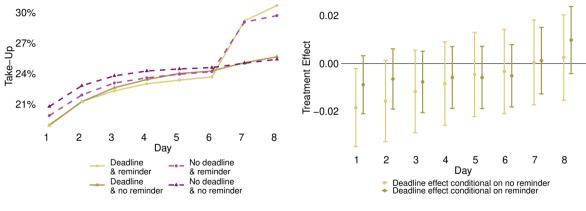
Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Effect of Deadline by Offer Value

- Within lower-value offer (3.00% fee), deadline *∧* take-up 2 pp
- Within higher-value offer (2.75% fee), deadline has no effect



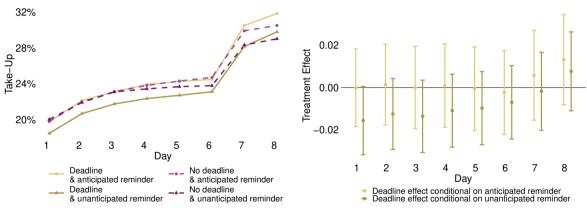
Deadline Conditional on Reminder



Effect of reminder

Effect of deadline

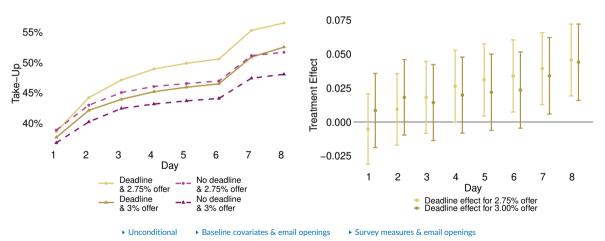
Deadline Conditional on Anticipated Reminder



Effect of anticipated reminder

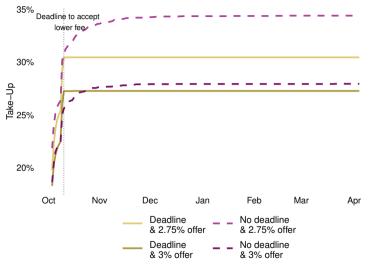
Effect of deadline

Effect of Deadline by Offer Value Conditional on Opening Email

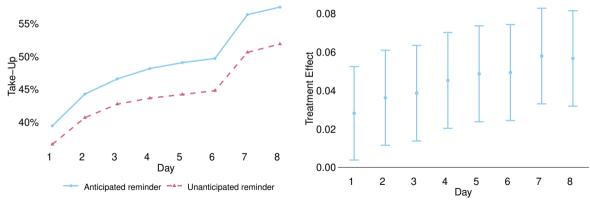


Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Six-Month Effect of Deadline by Offer Value



Anticipated Reminder \nearrow Take-Up Conditional on Opening Email

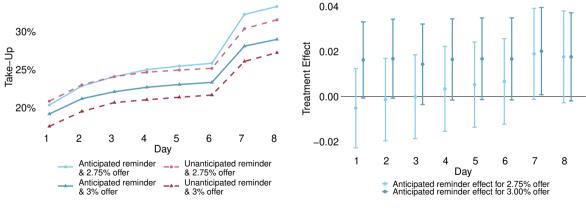


Unconditional
 Baseline covariates & email openings
 Surve

Survey measures & email openings

Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Offer Value

- Anticipated reminders appear to \nearrow take-up regardless of offer value
 - Cannot reject that effect is the same regardless of deadline

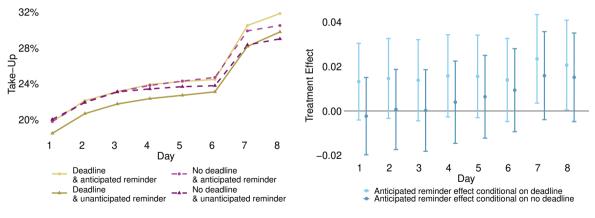


Pooled across value of the offer

Opened first email

Anticipated Reminder Conditional on Deadline

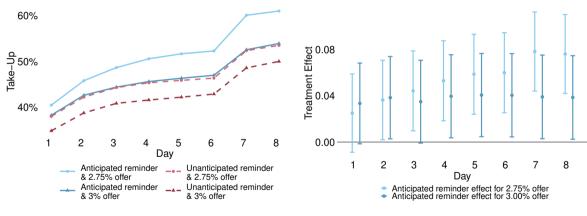
- Anticipated reminders appear to \nearrow take-up regardless of deadline
 - Cannot reject that effect is the same regardless of deadline



Effect of anticipated reminder

Effect of deadline

Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Offer Value | Opening Email



Unconditional
 Baseline covariates & email openings

Survey measures & email openings

Relation Between Baseline Covariates and Email Openings

		ned email of reminder
Owner characteristics		
Owner sex female	-0.038***	-0.041***
Owner age	0.002***	
Business type		
Beauty	-0.041***	-0.034***
Clothing	-0.032**	
Professionals	0.055***	0.070***
Restaurants	-0.015	
Small retailers	-0.007	
Pre-treatment sales variables		
Months since first transaction	0.002***	0.002***
% months business made sales	-0.002	
Log average monthly sales volume	0.019***	
Log average monthly transactions	-0.016***	-0.008***
Number of firms	25,327	25,327

Survey measures & email openings

Fee |email Reminder |email

▶ Reminder × fee |email

Deadline |email ▶ Deadline × fee |email

Anticipated reminder lemail ▶ Anticipated reminder × fee |email

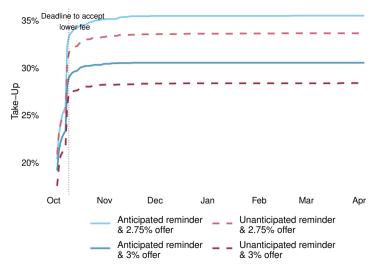
Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Relation Between Survey Measures and Email Openings

	Firm opened email
Intercept	0.817***
Trust	-0.032
Reciprocity	-0.092
Procrastination	0.074
Memory	0.044
Overconfidence	-0.036
Attention	-0.101*
Number of firms	429

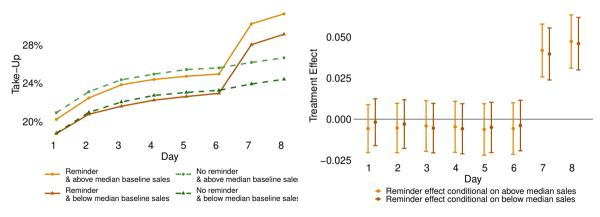
Baseline covariates & email openings
 Survey measures
 Survey measures & email openings
 Fee |email
 Peninder × fee |email
 Poadline |email
 Poadline × fee |email
 Poadline ×

Six-Month Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Offer Value



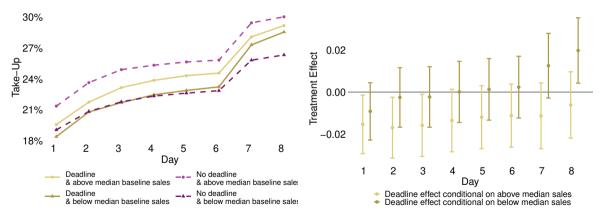
Effect of Reminder by Baseline Sales

- Reminders
→ take-up regardless of baseline sales

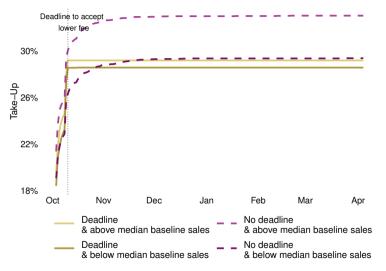


Effect of Deadline by Baseline Sales

- For below-median sales, deadline *∧* take-up 2 pp by deadline
- For above-median sales, deadline has no effect

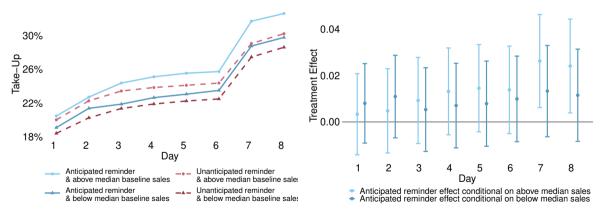


Six-Month Effect of Deadline by Baseline Sales



Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Baseline Sales

- Anticipated reminders appear to \nearrow take-up regardless of baseline sales
 - Cannot reject that effect is the same regardless of baseline sales



Survey balance

 $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\text{Antic. reminder})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\text{Unantic. reminder})_i + \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Deadline})_i + \varepsilon_i$

	Intercept	Anticipated reminder	Unanticipated reminder	Deadline	F-stat p-value
Owner characteristics					
Owner sex female	0.459***	-0.076	-0.061	0.083*	0.287
Owner age	40.87***	-1.41	-0.84	0.18	0.872
Business type					
Beauty	0.167***	-0.096	-0.085	-0.034	0.076
Clothing	0.024	0.065*	0.060*	0.003	0.591
Professionals	0.252***	0.029	0.064	-0.003	0.814
Restaurants	0.074*	0.030	0.037	0.002	0.924
Small retailers	0.367***	-0.141*	-0.104	0.016	0.300
Other	0.116*	0.114*	0.029	0.017	0.115
Pre-treatment sales variables					
Months since first transaction	21.36***	0.61	2.90	1.93	0.356
% months business made sales	0.856***	-0.042	-0.043	0.006	0.710
Log average monthly sales volume	8.653***	0.080	0.136	-0.035	0.867
Log average monthly transactions	2.056***	-0.164	-0.052	0.131	0.586

Perception of offer's value
 Anticipated reminder compliers

Unanticipated reminder compliers

Deadline compliers

Survey response balance by characteristics

 $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\text{Respond})_i + \varepsilon_i$

	Did not respond	Responded	Difference	P-value
Owner characteristics				
Owner sex female	0.423	0.438	0.016	0.589
Owner age	39.83	39.94	0.11	0.867
Business type				
Beauty	0.085	0.068	-0.017	0.261
Clothing	0.085	0.082	-0.003	0.853
Professionals	0.258	0.291	0.034	0.197
Restaurants	0.116	0.105	-0.012	0.520
Small retailers	0.260	0.263	0.004	0.888
Other	0.197	0.191	-0.006	0.801
Pre-treatment sales variables				
Months since first transaction	25.16	23.89	-1.27	0.221
% months business made sales	0.817	0.820	0.003	0.824
Log average monthly sales volume	8.745	8.741	-0.004	0.944
Log average monthly transactions	2.015	2.029	0.014	0.866

► Perception of offer's value Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda Anticipated reminder compliers

Unanticipated reminder compliers

Deadline compliers

Survey response balance by treatment arm

 $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\text{Ant. remind})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\text{Unant. remind})_i + \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Deadline})_i + \beta_4 \mathbb{1}(2.75\% \text{Fee})_i + \varepsilon_i$

	Responded survey
Intercept	0.300***
	(0.045)
Anticipated reminder	-0.005
	(0.045)
Unanticipated reminder	-0.013
	(0.045)
Deadline	0.002
	(0.025)
2.75% fee	0.028
	(0.025)
Num.Obs.	1399

Perception of offer's value
 Anticipated reminder compliers
 Unanticipated reminder compliers
 Deadline compliers

Survey response correlated with take-up

	Responded survey
Intercept	0.251***
	(0.016)
Firm accepted offer by deadline	0.125***
	(0.025)
Num.Obs.	1399

• •

Logins to Check Current Fee or Sales

- Administrative data on logins to partner's platform to check current fee or sales
- Compare anticipated and unanticipated reminder groups

	Log in (1)	Viewed deposits (2)
Intercept	0.095***	0.037***
	(0.003)	(0.002)
Anticipated reminder	-0.003	0.000
	(0.005)	(0.003)
Number of firms	16,254	16,254

Anticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Less-Trusting $\mathbb{I}(Adopt)_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{I}(Survey measure)_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{I}(Ant. remind)_i$

 $+ \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i \times \mathbb{1}(\text{Ant. remind})_i + \varepsilon_i$

- Comparing anticipated to unanticipated reminder

	Firm accepted offer beyond deadline					
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Intercept	0.444***	0.526***	0.538***	0.532***	0.505***	0.387***
	(0.048)	(0.115)	(0.044)	(0.073)	(0.050)	(0.088)
Survey measure	0.206***	0.006	-0.020	0.000	0.058	0.173*
	(0.072)	(0.121)	(0.080)	(0.084)	(0.073)	(0.097)
Anticipated reminder	0.298***	0.188	0.206***	0.186**	0.247***	0.305**
	(0.061)	(0.152)	(0.058)	(0.091)	(0.064)	(0.127)
Survey measure	-0.296***	-0.009	-0.077	-0.011	-0.160	-0.151
imes Anticipated reminder	(0.100)	(0.160)	(0.106)	(0.108)	(0.099)	(0.137)
Number of firms	389	389	389	389	389	389
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.366	0.895	0.315	0.683	0.420	0.841
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611
► Graph	 Weighted 	 Survey balanc 	e Survey respons	se balance	Logins	

Unanticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Low-Memory $1(Adopt)_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 1(Survey measure)_i + \beta_2 1(Unant. remind)_i$

 $+ \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i \times \mathbb{1}(\text{Unant. remind})_i + \varepsilon_i$

- Comparing unanticipated reminder to no reminder

		Fi	irm accepted offe	r beyond d	eadline	
Survey measure	Trust (1)	Reciprocity (2)	Procrastination (3)	Memory (4)	Overconfidence (5)	Attention (6)
Intercept	0.406***	0.600***	0.586***	0.278***	0.370***	0.273**
	(0.088)	(0.221)	(0.092)	(0.107)	(0.094)	(0.135)
Survey measure	0.344*	-0.143	-0.404***	0.359**	0.322**	0.279*
	(0.178)	(0.237)	(0.149)	(0.148)	(0.160)	(0.164)
Unanticipated reminder	0.038	-0.074	-0.048	0.254*	0.135	0.114
	(0.100)	(0.249)	(0.102)	(0.129)	(0.106)	(0.162)
Survey measure	-0.138	0.149	0.384**	-0.359**	-0.264	-0.106
imes Unanticipated reminder	(0.192)	(0.266)	(0.170)	(0.171)	(0.176)	(0.191)
Number of firms	228	228	228	228	228	228
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.366	0.895	0.315	0.683	0.420	0.841
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611
► Graph	 Weighted 	 Survey balance 	e Survey respon	se balance	▶ Logins	

Anticipated Reminder (Weighted)

 $\mathbb{1}(\text{Adopt})_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\text{Ant. remind})_i$

 $+ \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i \times \mathbb{1}(\text{Ant. remind})_i + \varepsilon_i$

- Comparing anticipated to unanticipated reminder

	Firm accepted offer beyond deadline					
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Intercept	0.351***	0.434***	0.436***	0.437***	0.406***	0.311***
	(0.045)	(0.114)	(0.043)	(0.073)	(0.048)	(0.080)
Survey measure	0.200***	-0.002	-0.015	-0.007	0.058	0.148*
	(0.073)	(0.120)	(0.079)	(0.084)	(0.073)	(0.090)
Anticipated reminder	0.305***	0.187	0.220***	0.189**	0.261***	0.286**
	(0.063)	(0.161)	(0.062)	(0.096)	(0.067)	(0.130)
Survey measure	-0.305***	0.000	-0.090	-0.003	-0.173*	-0.121
imes Anticipated reminder	(0.107)	(0.170)	(0.111)	(0.114)	(0.104)	(0.142)
Number of firms	389	389	389	389	389	389
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.358	0.895	0.324	0.681	0.420	0.832
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510
► Graph	Unweighted	Survey balance	ce • Survey respon	nse balance	Logins	

Unanticipated Reminder (Weighted)

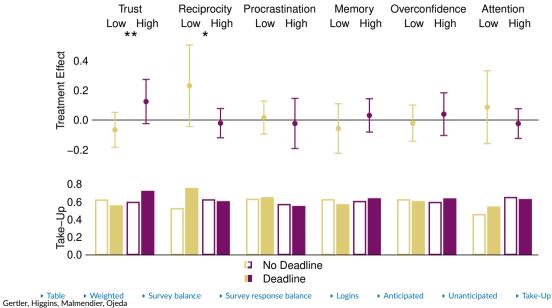
 $\mathbb{1}(\text{Adopt})_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\text{Unant. remind})_i$

 $+ \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i \times \mathbb{1}(\text{Unant. remind})_i + \varepsilon_i$

- Comparing unanticipated reminder to no reminder

	Firm accepted offer beyond deadline					
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Intercept	0.310***	0.496**	0.482***	0.201**	0.278***	0.197*
	(0.078)	(0.230)	(0.095)	(0.085)	(0.081)	(0.108)
Survey measure	0.353*	-0.140	-0.354***	0.333**	0.318*	0.249*
	(0.200)	(0.243)	(0.129)	(0.140)	(0.167)	(0.143)
Unanticipated reminder	0.042	-0.062	-0.045	0.236**	0.127	0.113
	(0.090)	(0.257)	(0.104)	(0.112)	(0.094)	(0.135)
Survey measure	-0.153	0.138	0.340**	-0.340**	-0.260	-0.101
imes Unanticipated reminder	(0.213)	(0.272)	(0.151)	(0.163)	(0.182)	(0.169)
Number of firms	228	228	228	228	228	228
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.358	0.895	0.324	0.681	0.420	0.832
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510
► Graph	 Unweighted 	Survey balan	ce	nse balance	Logins	

Deadline Effect



Deadline Effect

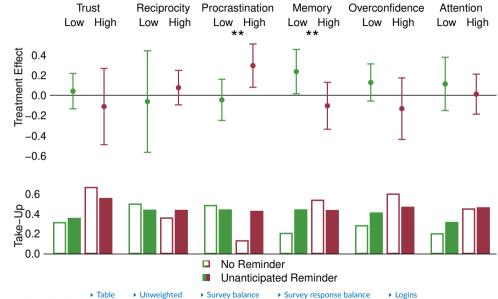
$\mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Adopt})_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Survey measure})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Deadline})_i \\ + \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Survey measure})_i \times \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Deadline})_i + \varepsilon_i$

- Comparing deadline to no deadline

		F	irm accepted offe	r beyond d	eadline	
Survey measure	Trust (1)	Reciprocity (2)	Procrastination (3)	Memory (4)	Overconfidence (5)	Attention (6)
Intercept	0.618***	0.520***	0.628***	0.622***	0.621***	0.452***
	(0.042)	(0.100)	(0.040)	(0.057)	(0.044)	(0.077)
Survey measure	-0.026	0.100	-0.060	-0.020	-0.030	0.195**
	(0.070)	(0.107)	(0.073)	(0.070)	(0.068)	(0.085)
Deadline	-0.066	0.230	0.017	-0.057	-0.021	0.086
	(0.060)	(0.140)	(0.056)	(0.085)	(0.062)	(0.125)
Survey measure	0.190**	-0.251*	-0.040	0.088	0.060	-0.110
imes Deadline	(0.097)	(0.148)	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.096)	(0.135)
Number of firms	429	429	429	429	429	429
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.366	0.895	0.315	0.683	0.420	0.841
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611	0.611
► Graph ► Weighted	Survey ba	lance • Surve	y response balance	Logins	· Unanticipated reminder	

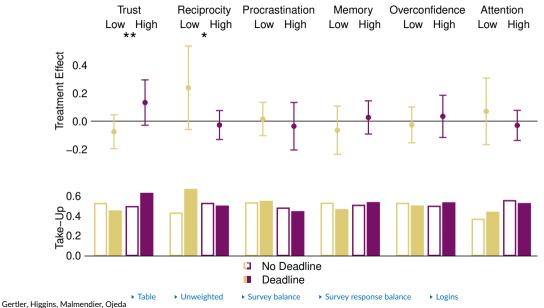
Trust Reciprocity Procrastination Memory Overconfidence Attention Low High Low High Low High Low High Low High Low High *** * Treatment Effect 0.4 0.2 0.0 -0.2 0.6 4.0[–]0 1946– 0.0 **Unanticipated Reminder** Anticipated Reminder Survey response balance Table Unweighted Survey balance Logins

Anticipated Reminder (Weighted)



Unanticipated Reminder (Weighted)

Deadline (Weighted)



Deadline Effect (Weighted)

 $\mathbb{1}(\text{Adopt})_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\text{Deadline})_i$

 $+ \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\text{Survey measure})_i \times \mathbb{1}(\text{Deadline})_i + \varepsilon_i$

- Comparing deadline to no deadline

		F	irm accepted offe	r beyond d	eadline	
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Intercept	0.522***	0.425***	0.528***	0.524***	0.523***	0.364***
	(0.044)	(0.099)	(0.043)	(0.060)	(0.046)	(0.073)
Survey measure	-0.032	0.098	-0.052	-0.021	-0.029	0.187**
	(0.074)	(0.106)	(0.076)	(0.074)	(0.072)	(0.083)
Deadline	-0.076	0.238	0.015	-0.065	-0.027	0.070
	(0.062)	(0.152)	(0.061)	(0.088)	(0.065)	(0.121)
Survey measure	0.208**	-0.266*	-0.052	0.091	0.061	-0.100
\times Deadline	(0.103)	(0.161)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.101)	(0.133)
Number of firms	429	429	429	429	429	429
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.358	0.895	0.324	0.681	0.420	0.832
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510
► Graph ► Unweighted	Survey b	alance 🔹 🕨 Surv	ey response balance	Logins	Unanticipated reminder	•

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- Sales Elasticity =
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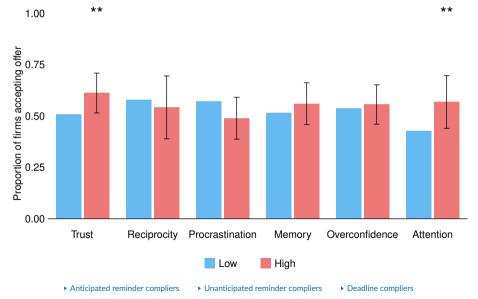
- Whether lowering merchant fee benefited FinTech partner depends on elasticity
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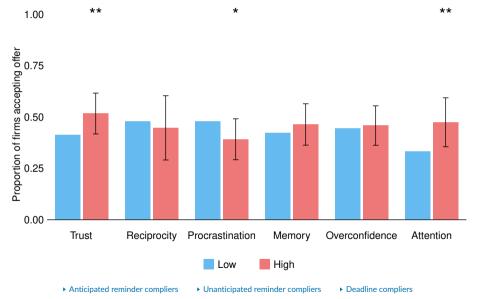
- \Rightarrow profitable for FinTech partner to lower merchant fee

More details
 Mechanisms

Survey Measures and Take-Up



Survey Measures and Take-Up (Weighted)



Self-Reported Reasons for Not Adopting

Why didn't adopt offer

