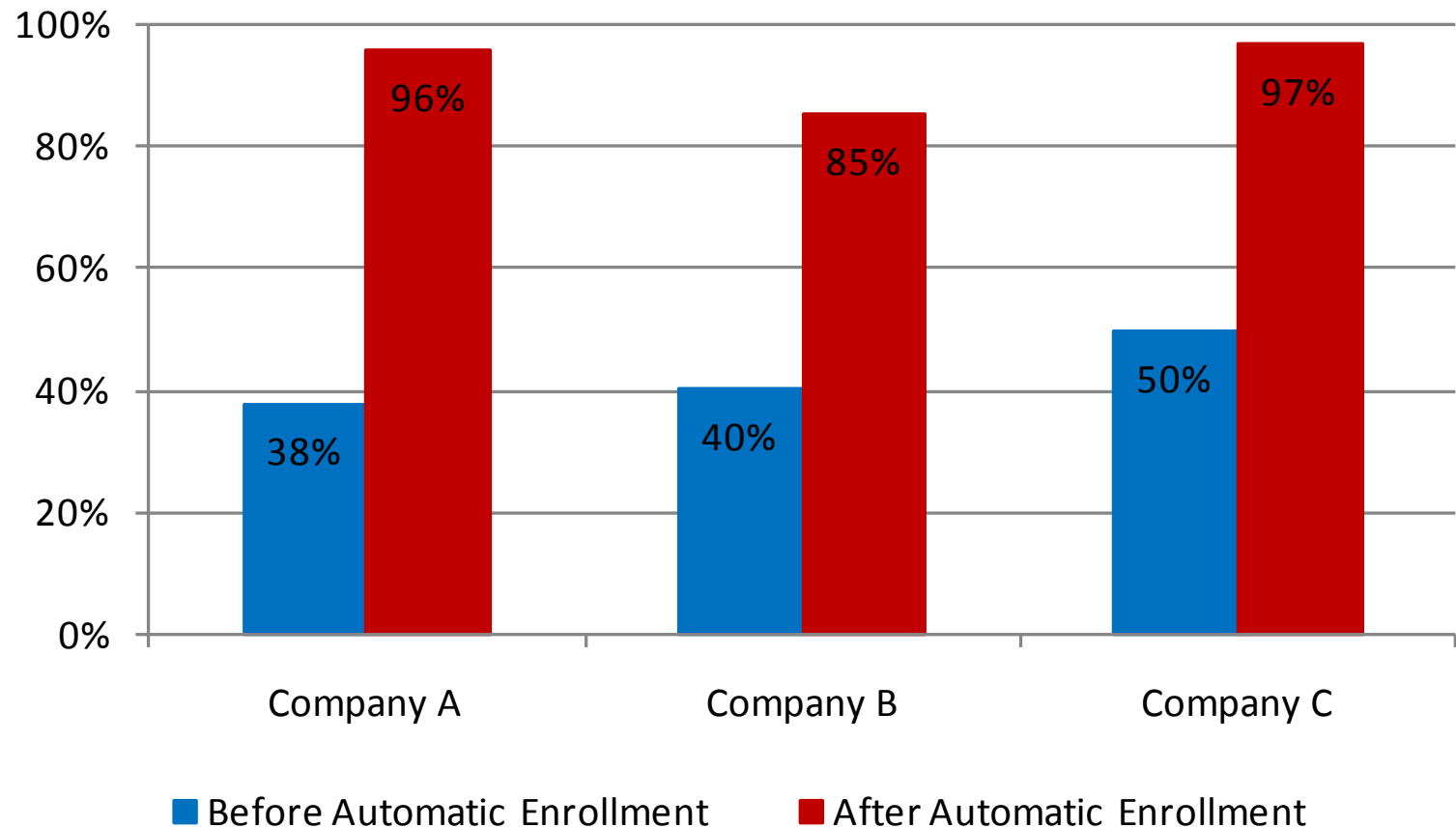


# **The Limitations of Defaults**

John Beshears, James J. Choi,  
David Laibson, Brigitte C. Madrian

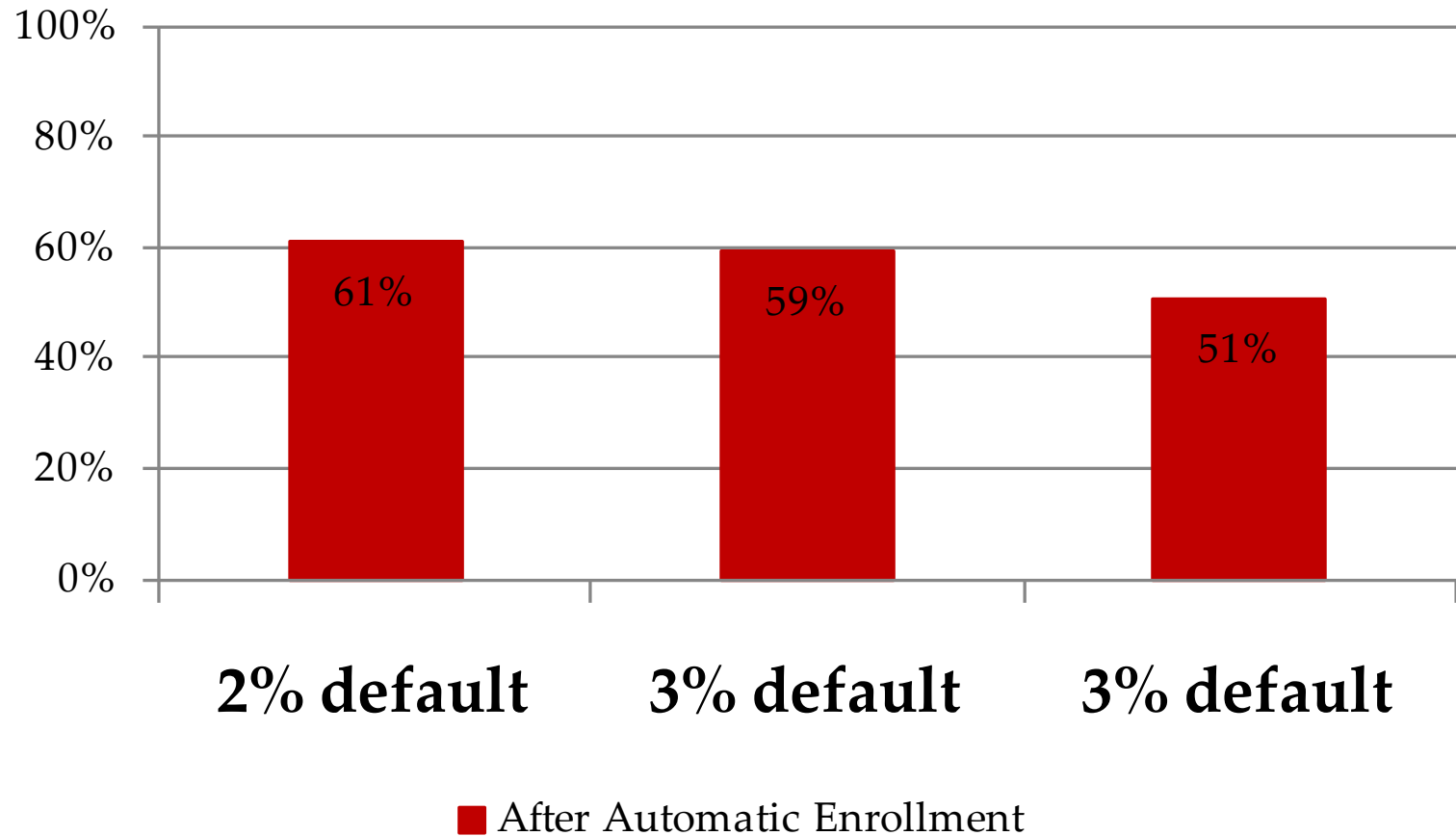
# Defaults and Participation

## Savings Plan Participation at 12 Months of Tenure



# Default Stickiness

## Fraction at Default at 12 Months of Tenure



# How Far Can Defaults Take Us?

Study a savings plan with a 12% default

Also, why are defaults sticky?

- Because individuals would have chosen similar options anyway?
- Because of procrastination, endorsement, lack of expertise, and high costs of action?

# Plan Details

Large U.K. firm, employees eligible upon hire

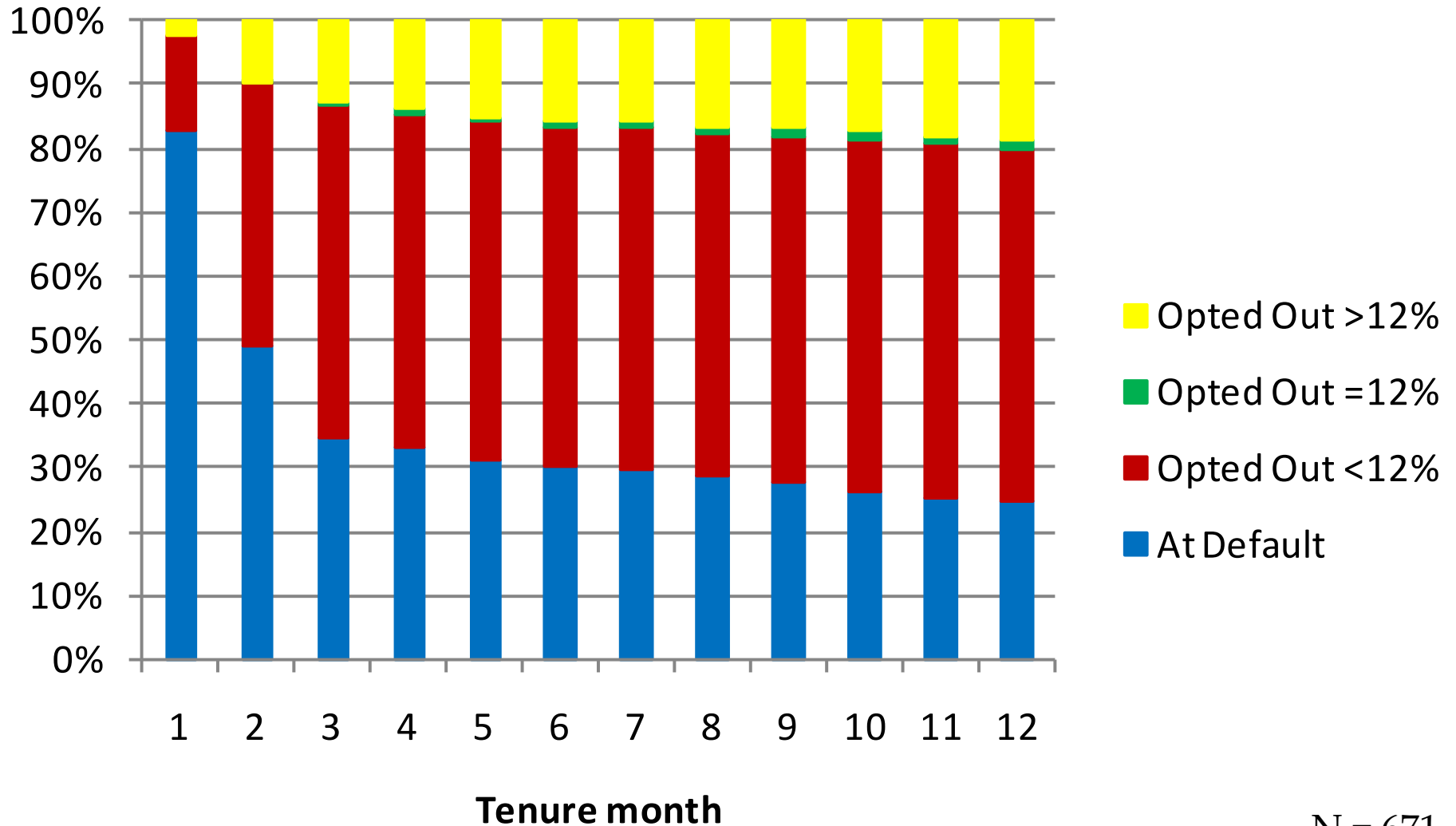
Minimum employee contribution rate 4%

One-for-one employer match on contributions between 12% and 18%

Immediate automatic enrollment at 12%

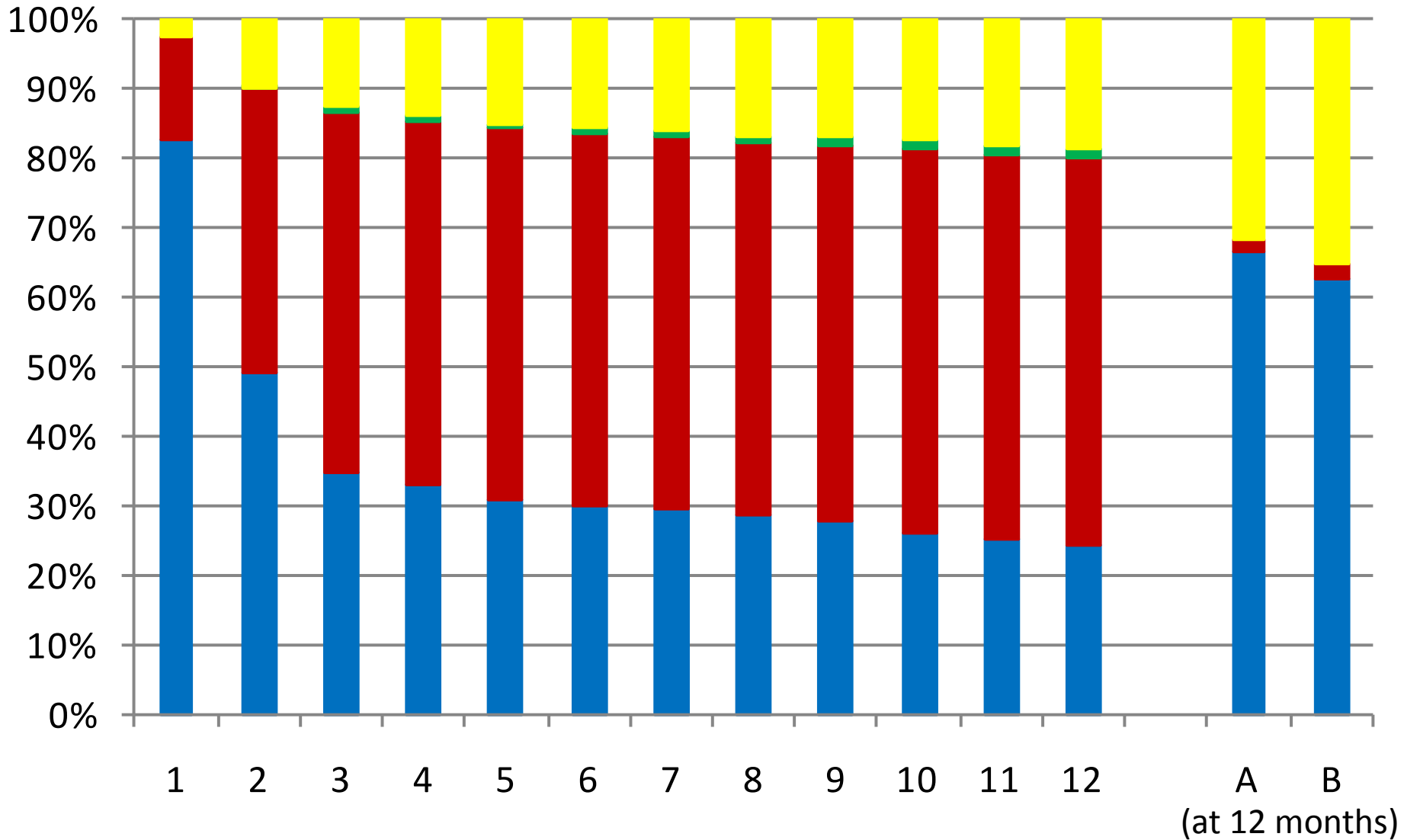
Study new hires, July 2006 – June 2007

# Opting Out of the Contribution Rate

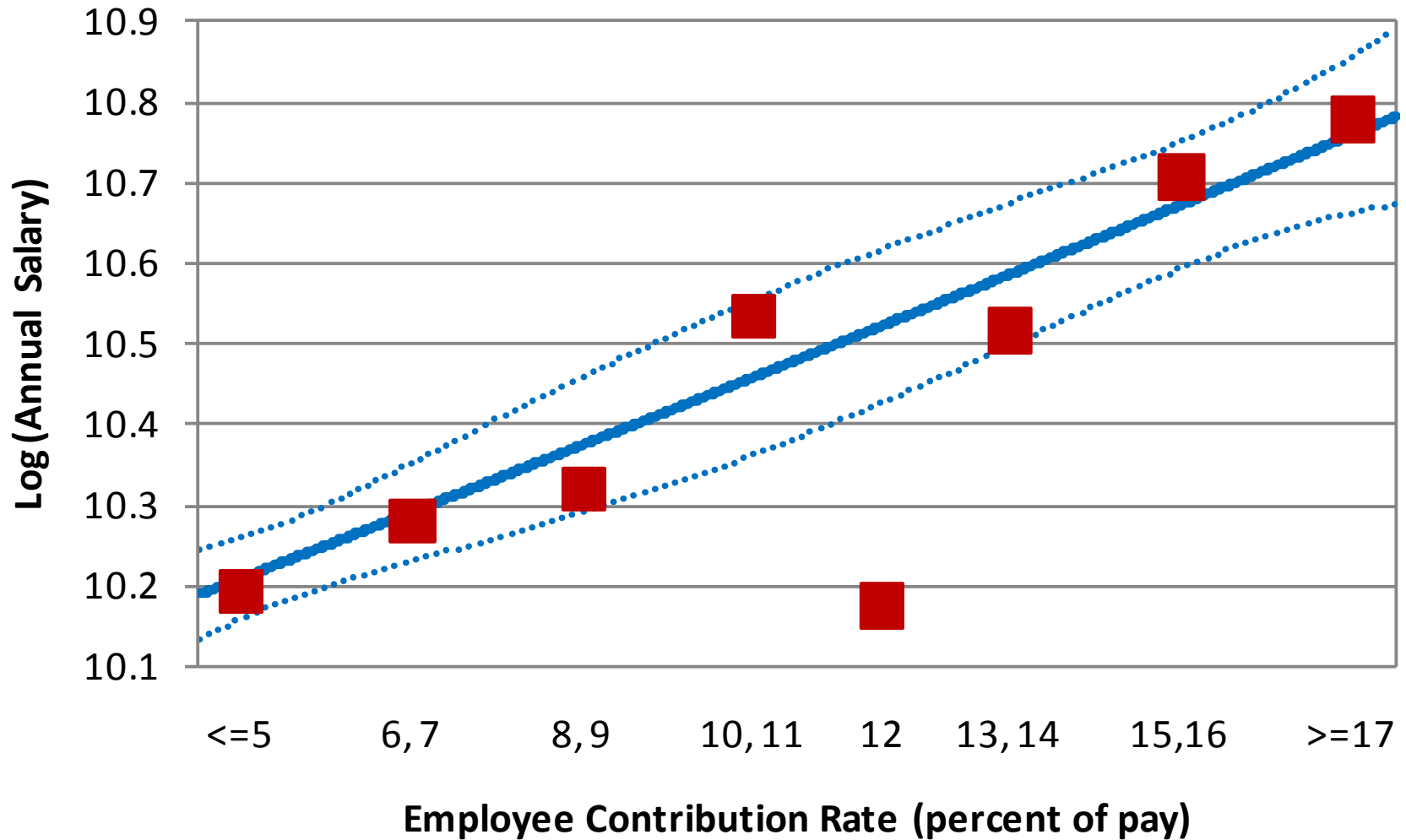


N = 671

# Opting Out of the Contribution Rate



# Who Stays at the Default?





# Interpreting the Evidence

Employees with low income are more likely to remain at the default

Consistent with findings of Choi et al. (2004)

Evidence suggests that low-income employees have higher barriers to active decision-making

However, high-income employees also have strong matching incentives to opt out

# Implications

If increasing contributions is socially desirable, high defaults may not be best

It may be better to have modest initial defaults and automatic contribution escalation (see Thaler and Benartzi, 2004)

Policymakers who set defaults might want to keep in mind that defaults disproportionately affect individuals with low human capital