ANCHORS, TARGET VALUES, AND CREDIT CARD PAYMENTS

Daniel Bartels and Abigail Sussman
University of Chicago Booth School of Business

Fed/GFLEC Financial Literacy Seminar May 5, 2016

Credit Card Debt

- Primary source of liquidity for households in US
- \$880 billion revolving debt in US; mean of \$6,000 per hh
- Roughly 1/3 of borrowers
 - Pay in full
 - Pay close to the minimum
 - Pay a mixture
- FICO (not income) correlates strongly with payments
 - 10% with FICO <620 pay in full
 - 25% with FICO = 720 pay in full
 - 75% with FICO > 800 pay in full

(Agarwal et al., 2015; Federal Reserve, 2014; Keys and Wang, 2014)

The CARD Act (2009)

- Credit card statements must include
 - Total time and cost to pay off balance, paying only minimum
 - Monthly payment needed to pay off the total loan in 3 years

If you make no additional charges using this card and each month you only pay	You will pay off the balance shown on this statement in about	And you will end up paying an estimated total of
Only the minimum payment	9 years	\$2,950.00
\$61.00	3 years.	\$2,188.00 (Savings=\$762.00)

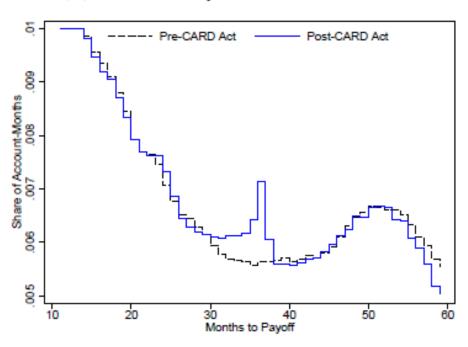
 How do the numbers a person sees on her credit card statement affect repayment decisions?

Research on Minimum Payments on Credit Card Statements

- Removing minimum payment value increases payment amount (Stewart, 2009)
- Borrowers are more likely to pay the minimum amount as this value rises (Navarro-Martinez et al., 2011; Wang & Keys, 2014)
- Including 3 year figure increased the number paying that amount
 - But led to negative effect overall by decreasing likelihood of paying more than that amount (Salisbury, 2014)
 - But did not change overall payment amounts (Agarwal et al., 2015)

Agarwal et al. (2015) on effects of CARD





36-month payoff value increased share of account holders paying close to 36 month value (from 30-38 months) by 0.4% on a base of 5.3%

Research on Credit Card Statements

PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE

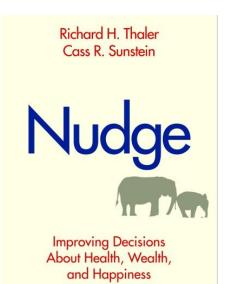
- Minimum payment: Acts as anchor
- Removing this value increases payment amount (Stewart, 2009)

Short Report

The Cost of Anchoring on Credit-Card Minimum Repayments

Neil Stewart

University of Warwick



"Credit cards minimum payment... this can serve as an anchor and as a nudge that this minimum payment is an appropriate amount" (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008, p. 149)

(See also, e.g., Stewart, 2009; Navarro-Martinez et al., 2011; Salisbury, 2014; Agarwal et al., 2015; McHugh & Ranyard, forthcoming)

Often we don't know if a value acts as a target or an anchor.

Anchor: "I want to pay in that general range"

Target: "I want to pay at least that amount"

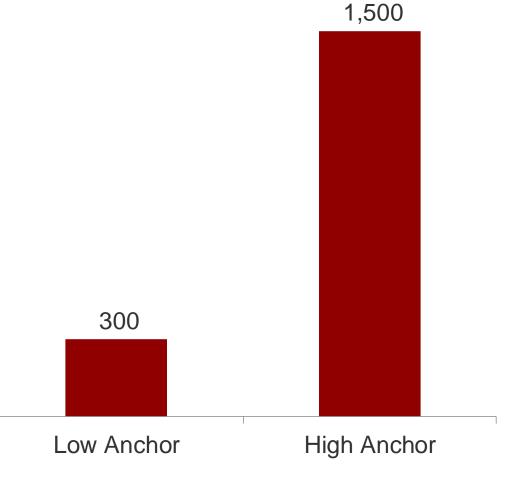
Do payoff amounts on credit card statements act as anchors, or as target values for cardholders?

Anchoring

Is the Mississippi River longer or shorter than [70/ 2,000] miles?

What is the length of the Mississipi River (in miles)?

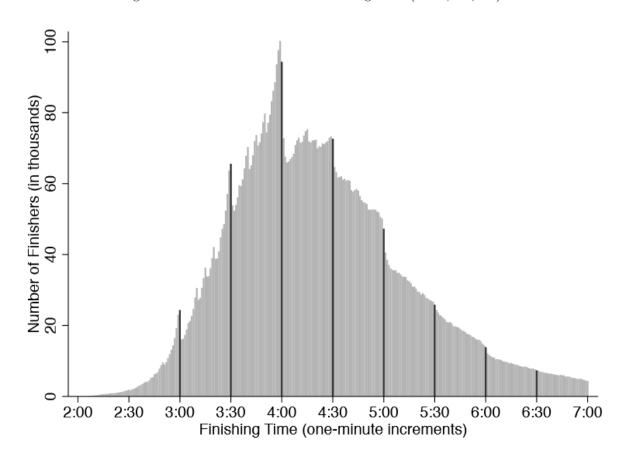




Jacowitz and Kahneman, 1995

Targets Distribution of Marathon Finishing Times

Figure 2: Distribution of marathon finishing times (n = 9, 524, 071)



NOTE: The dark bars highlight the density in the minute bin just prior to each 30 minute threshold.

Values as Targets or Goals

"Mere" goals take on properties of Prospect Theory's value function

Loss aversion \rightarrow being below goal by x units is perceived as a loss; work harder to increase performance than when above goal by x units

Diminishing sensitivity → exert less effort moving away from goal, but more when approaching goal

- Far from goal: Extra effort yields low reward
- · Close to goal: Extra effort yields high reward

(Heath, Larrick, & Wu, 1999)

Properties of Targets (vs. Anchors)

Factors increasing consumer effort

- Financial benefits: Avoid penalties, earn rewards
- Psychological benefits: Motivational importance, satisfaction from goal achievement

Factors decreasing consumer effort

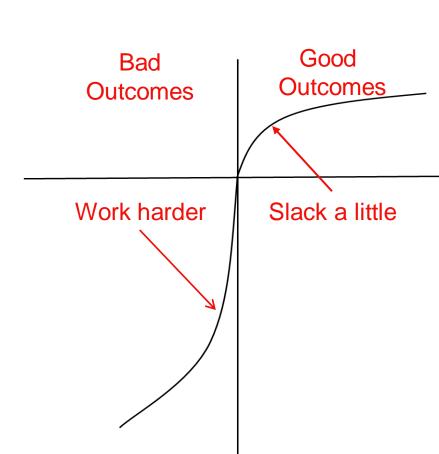
- Goal is too high: Why bother? Backfire
- Goal is too low: Lack of motivation after goal achievement

Project Motivation

- 2009 CARD Act increased information presented to consumers on credit card statements
- Behavioral scientists, when they weigh in, say those numbers act as anchors, but might they be influencing motivation, acting as target values?
- Can we tell whether values on credit cards act as anchors vs. target values?
- Does this distinction matter for repayment behavior?

Are numbers on credit card statements motivationally meaningful?

- If numbers on credit card statements act as target values:
- 1. People might feel bad about not paying the suggested amount
- 2. They might work hard to scrounge up the money to pay that amount, especially if they're close
- 3. They might reduce effort when their performance exceeds target, especially when they're further past the target
- 4. We might observe discontinuities in responses near the target value

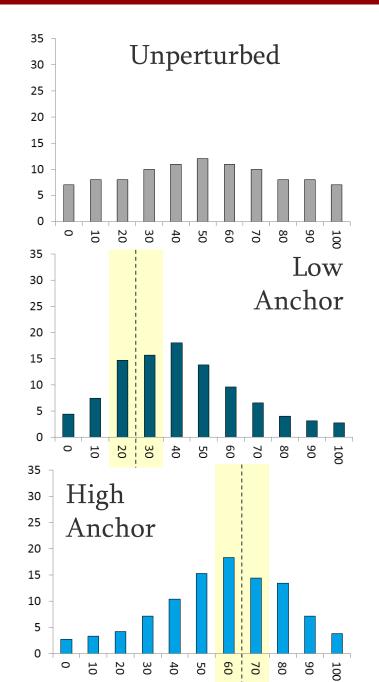


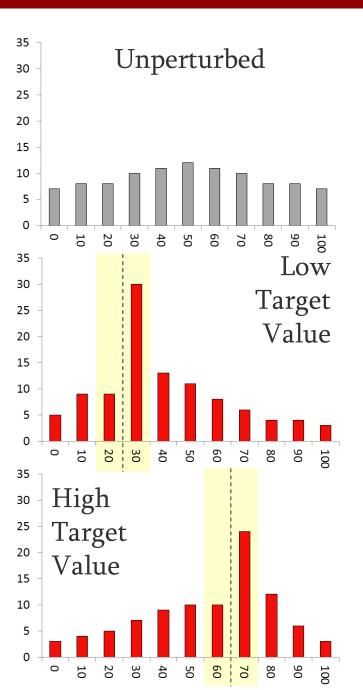
Project Outline

- Distinguishing anchors from target values based on distributional properties
- II. Using scenario studies to determine whether values on credit card statements take on properties of anchors or target values
 - Motivational
 - Distributional
- III. An examination of self-selected targets as motivating values for customers in Chase Blueprint

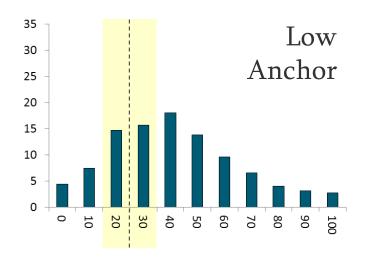
Distinguishing anchors from target values

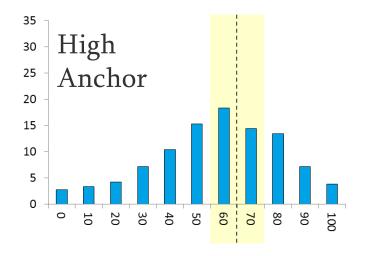
A Stylized Contrast

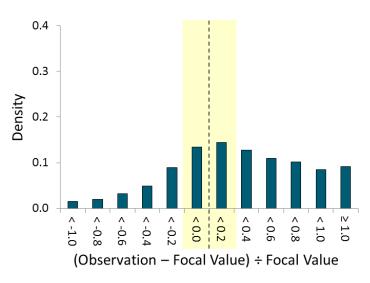


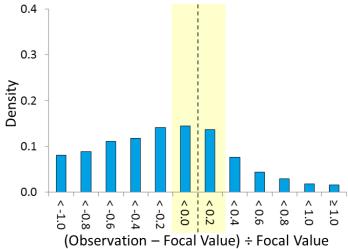


Rescaling distributions in terms of their focal value...

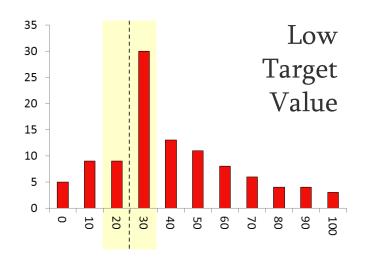


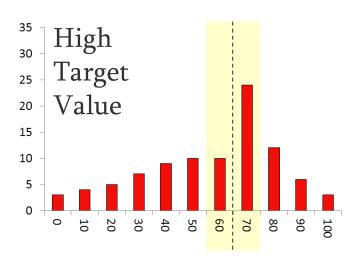


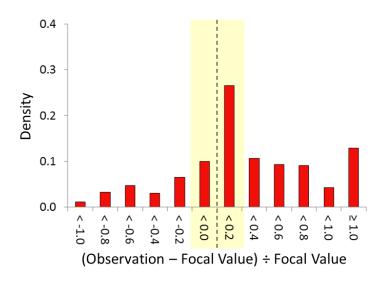


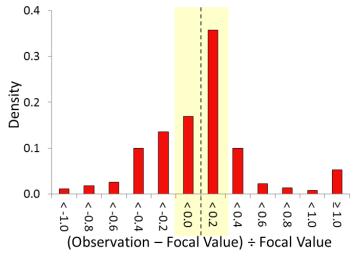


Rescaling distributions in terms of their focal value...

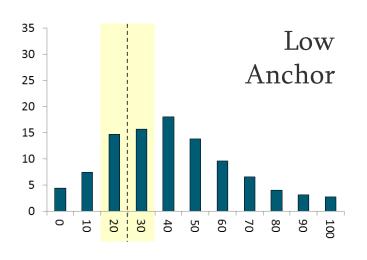


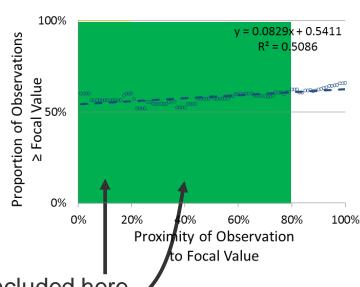






Another way to represent these distributions...

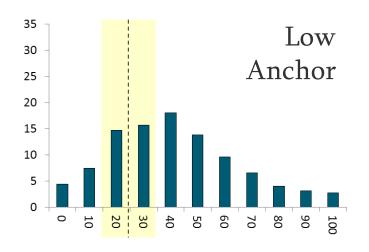


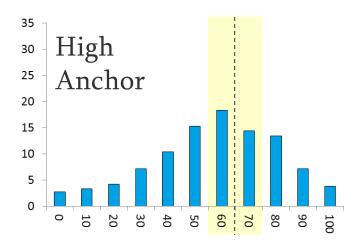


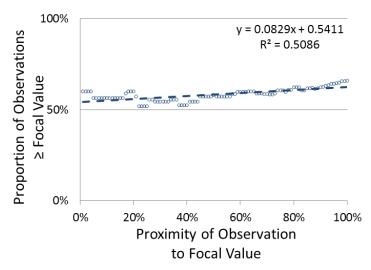
Only the closest 20% of observations are included here

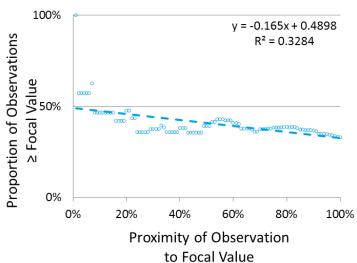
The closest 80% are included here

Another way to represent these distributions...

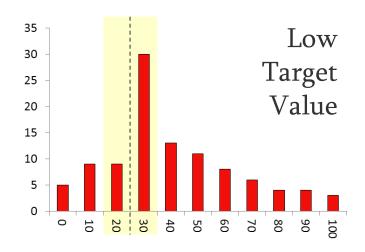




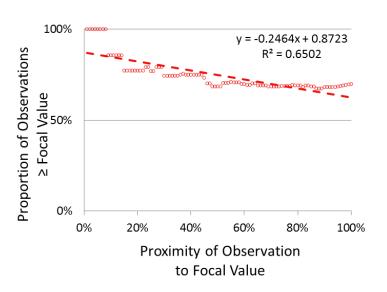


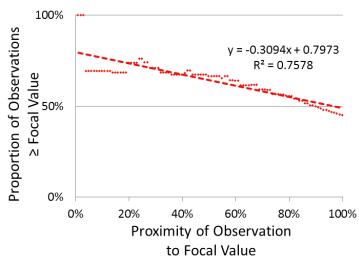


Another way to represent these distributions...

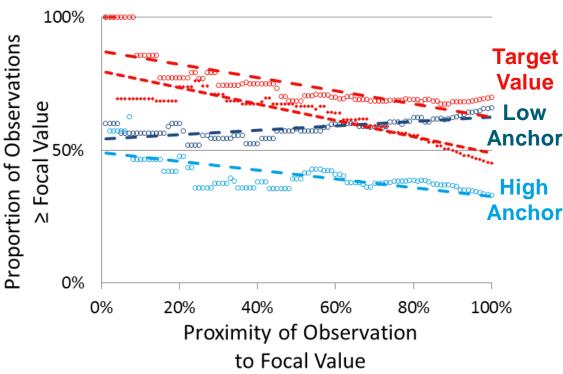








One representation of these four stylized examples



- Do anchoring and target value-based distributions differ in the slope imputed here?
- How about in the intercept?

Here's what we did

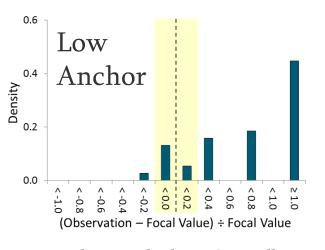
- Collected a convenience sample of anchoring distributions (plus one of our own), N = 22
- Collected as many target-value-related distributions as we could (plus a handful of our own), N = 10

Domain	Target	N
Corporate earnings	Proj. EPS	179,978
NFL kickoff returns fielded in endzone	20 yd line	2,252
Federal tax liability	Est. payments+whold	115,594
Marathon finishing times	Goal time	1,550
Husbands, wives reported income on census	Wife's income	33,676

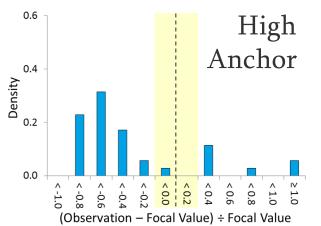
^{*} Thank you to Shane Frederick, Robyn LeBoeuf, Daniel Mochon, Leif Nelson, Joe Simmons, Daniel Feenberg, Etan Green, Sam Hartzmark, Emir Kamenica, Alex Rees-Jones, George Wu

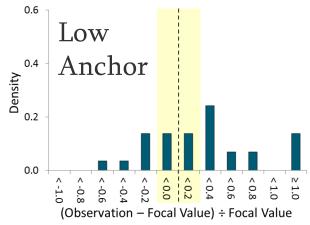
Tendencies of Anchoring Distributions

- 1. No pronounced discontinuity around anchor
- 2. Most of mass to right (low)/left (high)

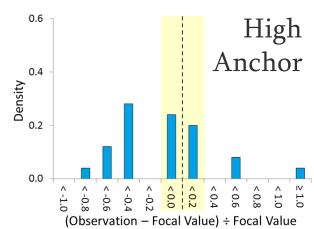


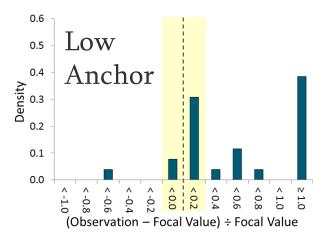
Is the Brandenburg Gate taller or shorter than 25 (150) meters?



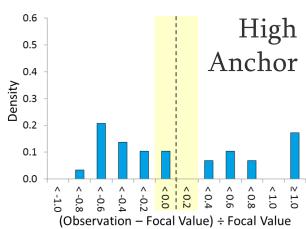


Is the length of the Mississippi River longer or shorter than 1,200 (3,500) miles?



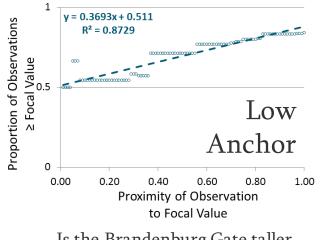


Is the population of Chicago smaller or larger than 800,000 (5,000,000)?

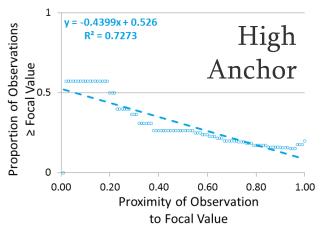


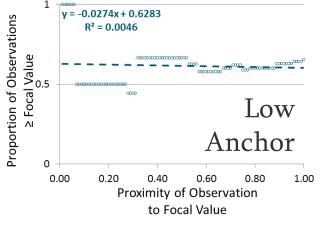
Tendencies of Anchoring Distributions

- 1. Start middling
- 2. Slope upward (low) / downward (high)

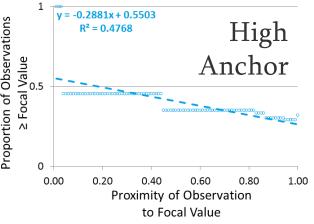


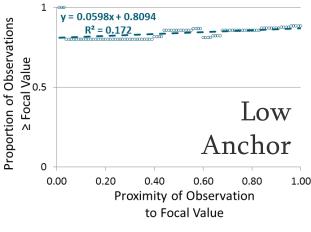
Is the Brandenburg Gate taller or shorter than 25 (150) meters?



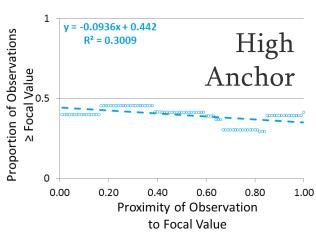


Is the length of the Mississippi River longer or shorter than 1,200 (3,500) miles?





Is the population of Chicago smaller or larger than 800,000 (5,000,000)?

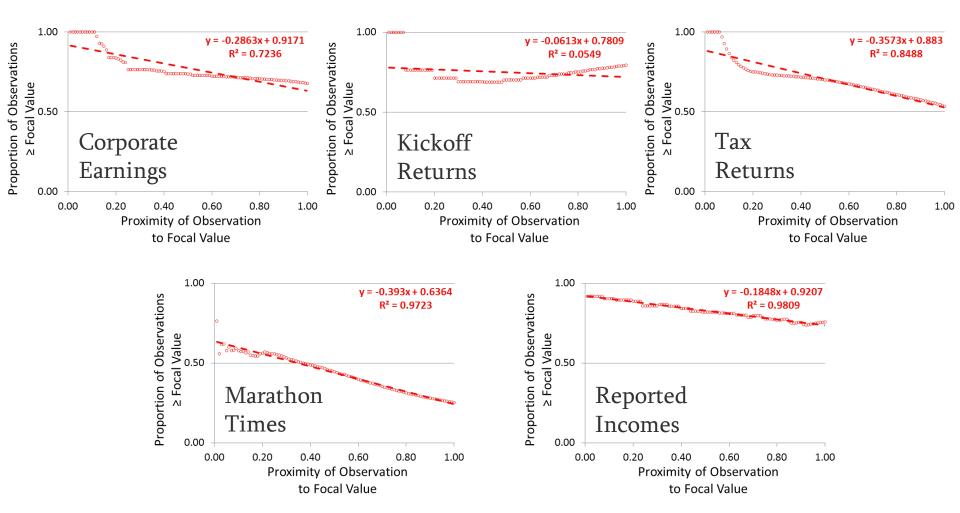


Major Tendency of Target Value Distributions: Discontinuity around target

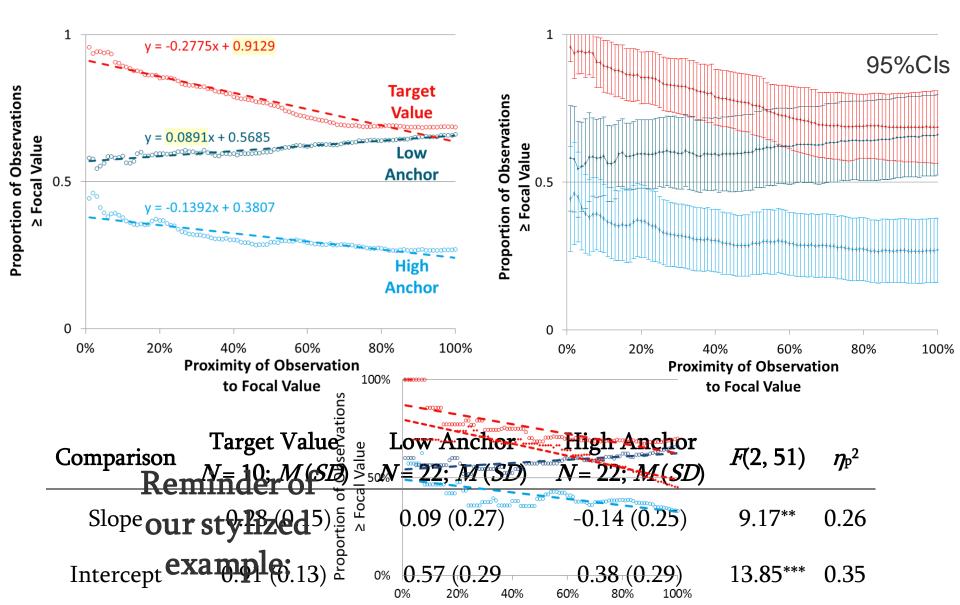


Tendencies of Target Value distributions

- 1. Start higher
- 2. Slope downward



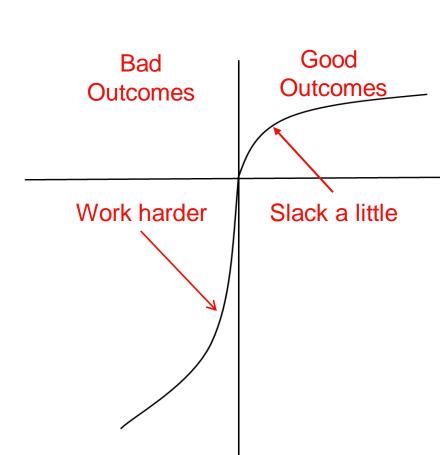
All distributions



The focused question: Are numbers on credit card statements more like anchors or target values?

Are numbers on credit card statements motivationally meaningful?

- If numbers on credit card statements act as target values:
- 1. People might feel bad about not paying the suggested amount
- 2. They might work hard to scrounge up the money to pay that amount, especially if they're close
- 3. They might reduce effort when their performance exceeds target, especially when they're further past the target
- 4. We might observe discontinuities in responses near the target value



Five scenario studies: Credit card suggested payments

Most credit cards require a minimum payment... the questions that follow are about a new type of credit card... instead of having a minimum... gives a "suggested payment amount"... you do not have to pay the suggested amount and can pay any amount you'd like

Comprehension questions:

Does the card described above have a minimum payment amount? (No) If you do not pay off the total balance in full, will you be charged interest? (Yes)

. . .

Credit Card Statement

. . .

Suggested Payment Amount: \$111.92 (\$335.77) [\$1007.30]

Five scenario studies: Credit card suggested payments

Most credit cards require a minimum payment... the questions that follow are about a new type of credit card... instead of having a minimum... gives a "suggested payment amount"... you do not have to pay the suggested amount and can pay any amount you'd like

Comprehension questions:

Does the card described above have a minimum payment amount? (No)

If you do not pay off the total balance in full, will you be charged interest? (Yes)

. . .

Credit Card Statement

. . .

Suggested Payment Amount: \$111.92 (\$335.77) [\$1007.30]

Five scenario studies: Credit card suggested payments

Most credit cards require a minimum payment... the questions that follow are about a new type of credit card... instead of having a minimum... gives a "suggested payment amount"... you do not have to pay the suggested amount and can pay any amount you'd like

Comprehension questions:

Does the card described above have a minimum payment amount? (No) If you do not pay off the total balance in full, will you be charged interest? (Yes)

. . .

Credit Card Statement

. . .

Suggested Payment Amount: \$111.92 (\$335.77) [\$1007.30]

Some scenario studies: Credit card suggested payments

Credit Card Statement

Account Number 1234 5678 9876 5432

Current Total Account Balance: \$5,596.12

Annual Percentage Rate (APR): 15%

Suggested Payment Amount: \$111.92 (\$335.77) [\$1007.30]

If numbers on credit card statements act as target values...

- 1. People might feel bad about not paying the suggested amount
- 2. They might work hard to scrounge up the money to pay that amount, especially if they're close
- They might reduce effort when their performance exceeds target, especially when they're further past the target
- 4. We might observe discontinuities in responses near the target value

Kerry and Mary both have the credit card described above. Each of them has a total account balance of \$5,596.12.

This month, Kerry's suggested payment is \$335.77, and she is able to pay \$671.54.

This month, Mary's suggested payment is \$1,007.30, and she is able to pay \$671.54.

$$Kerry = 5.00$$

$$Mary = 2.59$$

<u>DV</u>: How do you think each of these cardholders feels about her payment? (1 = very disappointed; 6 = very happy)

Adapted from HLW 1999, Problem 1;
$$N = 50 \rightarrow 46$$

paired-
$$t(45) = 11.90$$
, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .76$
41 of 46 participants express this difference

Follow up: Payment Satisfaction

 $(3 \times 5 \text{ between-subjects}; N = 785 \rightarrow 729)$

3: Suggested Payment

- Low = \$111.92
- Medium = \$335.77
- High = \$1,007.30

Low Sugg; Overpay 10%

Sheri has the credit card described above. She has a total account balance of \$5,596.12.

This month, Sheri's suggested payment is \$111.92, and she is able to pay \$123.11

5: Actual Payment

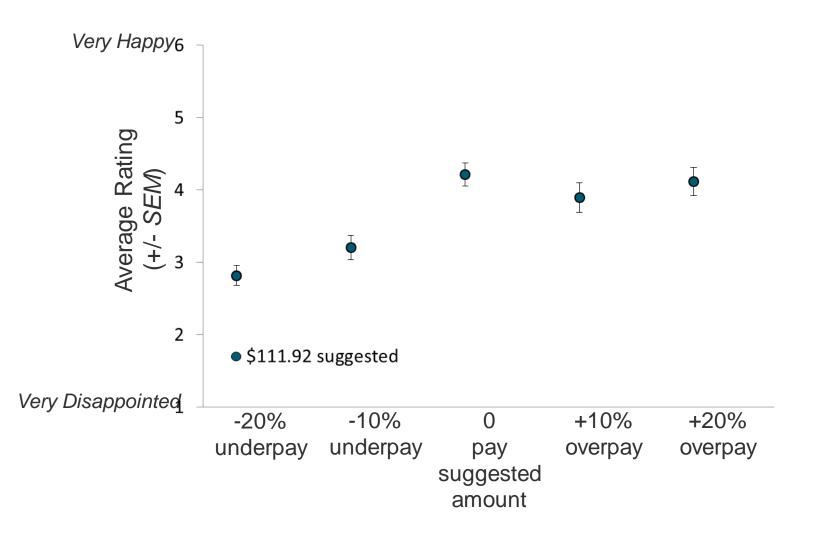
- Underpay by 20%
- Underpay by 10%
- Pay Suggested Amount
- Overpay by 10%
- Overpay by 20%

Med Sugg; Underpay 10%

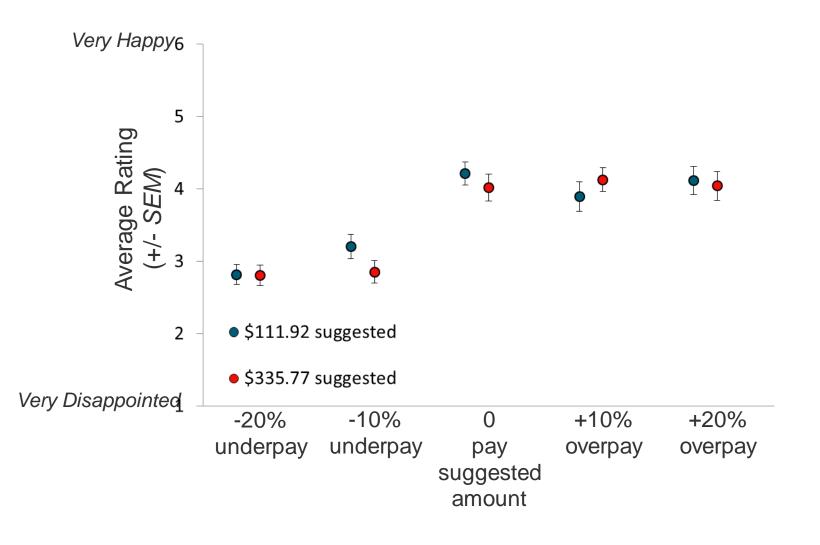
Terri has the credit card described above. She has a total account balance of \$5,596.12.

This month, Terri's suggested payment is \$335.77, and she is able to pay \$302.19.

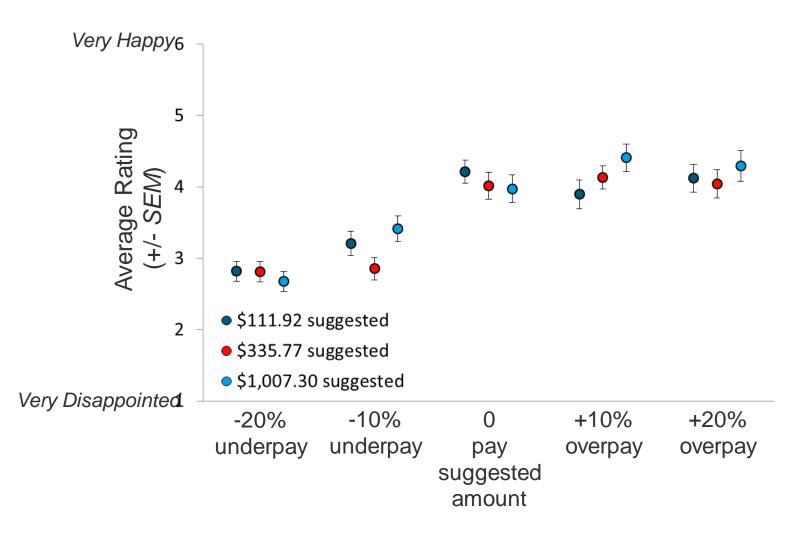
Low Suggested Payment Conditions



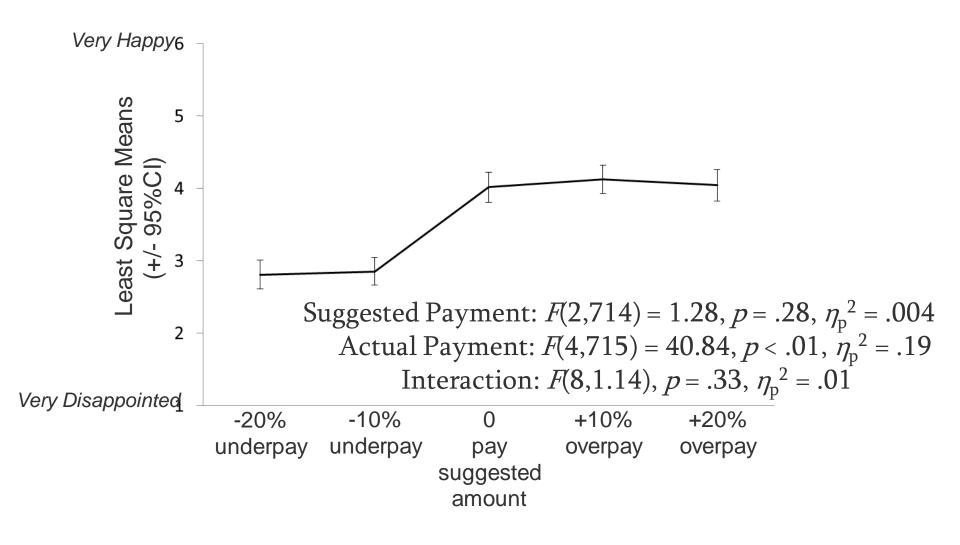
Low and Medium Suggested Payment Conditions



Low, Medium, and High Suggested Payment Conditions



Upshot: Meeting or Not Meeting Suggested Amount Matters



If numbers on credit card statements act as target values...

- People might feel bad about not paying the suggested amount
- 2. They might work hard to scrounge up the money to pay that amount, especially if they're close
- They might reduce effort when their performance exceeds target, especially when they're further past the target
- 4. We might observe discontinuities in responses near the target value

Barry and Gary both have the credit card described above. Each of them has a total account balance of \$5,596.12.

This month, Barry's suggested payment is \$1,134.00. The payment is due in one week, and as of yesterday, Barry was able to pay \$1,077.30.

This month, Gary's suggested payment is \$2,154.60. The payment is due in one week, and as of yesterday, Gary was able to pay \$1,077.30.

Barry =
$$$35.16$$

$$Gary = $26.86$$

Each of them just received a tax refund of \$50 in the mail today.

<u>**DV**</u>: How much of this money do you think each will put toward their credit card bill?

(Adapted from HLW 1999, Problem 6; $N = 76 \rightarrow 70$)

paired-
$$t(69) = 2.51$$
, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$
24 of 70 participants express this pattern

If numbers on credit card statements act as target values...

- People might feel bad about not paying the suggested amount
- They might work hard to scrounge up the money to pay that amount, especially if they're close
- 3. They might reduce effort when their performance exceeds target, especially when they're further past the target
- 4. We might observe discontinuities in responses near the target value

Harry and Larry both have the credit card described above. Each of them has a total account balance of \$5,596.12.

This month, Harry's suggested payment is \$335.77. The payment is due in one week, and right now, Harry is able to pay \$1,057.67.

This month, Larry's suggested payment is \$1,007.30. The payment is due in one week, and right now, Larry is able to pay \$1,057.67.

$$Harry = 2.70$$

$$Larry = 3.57$$

<u>DV:</u> How hard do you think each of these cardholders will try to come up with more money for their payments in the next week?

Harry/Larry will... (1 = not try at all; 6 = try extremely hard)

(Adapted from HLW 1999, Problem 6; $N = 64 \rightarrow 61$)

paired-
$$t(60) = 4.52$$
, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$ 39 of 61 participants express this pattern

If numbers on credit card statements act as target values...

- People might feel bad about not paying the suggested amount
- 2. They might work hard to scrounge up the money to pay that amount, especially if they're close
- They might reduce effort when their performance exceeds target, especially when they're further past the target
- 4. We might observe discontinuities in responses near the target value

Study Overview

- 797 mTurk Participants
 - 54 failed the comprehension check. So, N = 743
- 2 x 3 between-subjects design
 - Factor 1: Minimum payment vs. suggested payment
 - Factor 2: Low vs. Medium vs. High suggested value
- Also asked about measures of financial status
 - Household income, perceived purchase ability, number of months of emergency savings, ratio of credit card debt to emergency savings

Suggested Payment Conditions

Most credit cards require a minimum payment... the questions that follow are about a new type of credit card... instead of having a minimum... gives a "suggested payment amount"... you do not have to pay the suggested amount and can pay any amount you'd like

Comprehension questions:

Does the card described above have a minimum payment amount? (No)

If you do not pay off the total balance in full, will you be charged interest? (Yes)

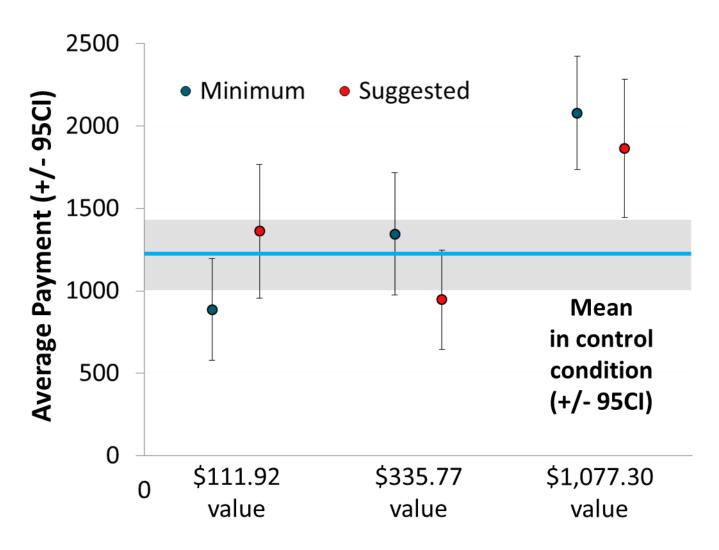
. . .

Credit Card Statement

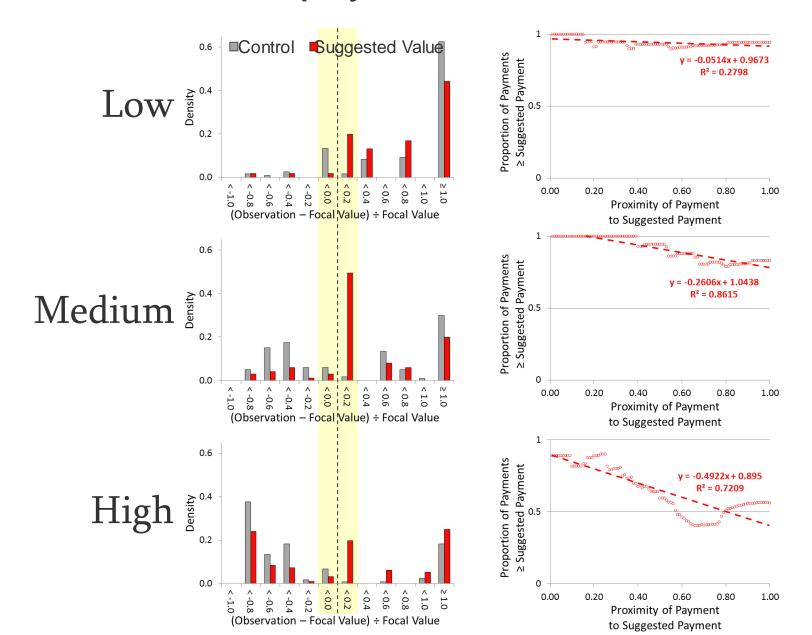
. . .

Suggested Payment Amount: \$111.92 (\$335.77) [\$1007.30] How much would you pay?

Do these focal values make a difference?



Distributions of payment amounts



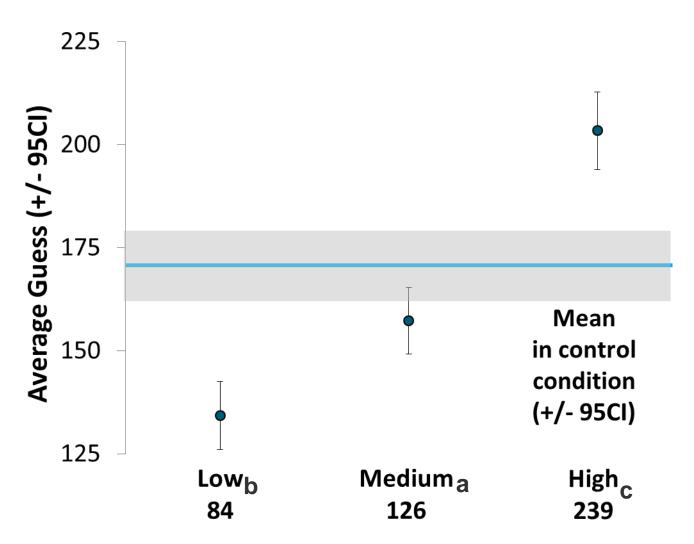
An Anchoring Task (for illustrative purposes)



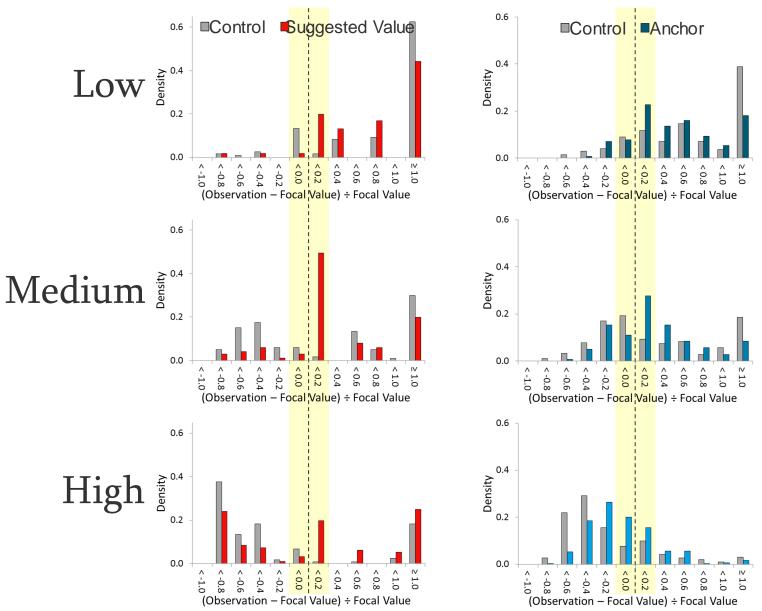


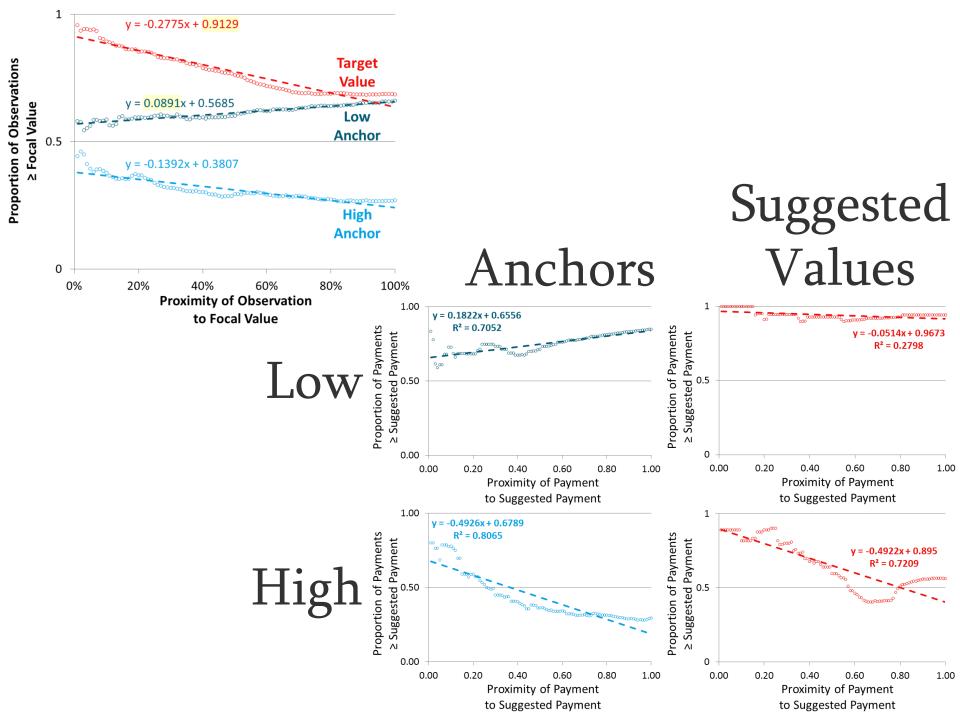
- Online participants guessed how many starburst fruit chews were in this canister (\$30 prize)
- Three conditions:
 - Control (unperturbed)
 - Low Anchor (set at 18th pctile of control distribution; like low value in previous study)
 - Medium Anchor (set at the 49th pctile of control distribution, like medium value in previous study)
 - High Anchor (set at 77th pctile of control distribution, like high value in previous study)

Do anchors make a difference?



Credit Cards vs. Starburst





Summary so far

- Evidence consistent with values on credit card statements inducing loss aversion (without diminishing sensitivity)
 - People try to meet or exceed these values, for hypothetical choices and in the real world
 - Meeting or exceeding these values results in more satisfaction/less disappointment than not doing so
 - Some evidence for discontinuities in distributions of repayments that don't look much like the smoother, more symmetric-looking distributions produced by anchoring
- Evidence for which we may need diminishing sensitivity (weaker)
 - Being closer to reference point results in more motivation for credit repayment (Studies 3 and 4)

Bank Data

Suggested Payments



Practical Consequences

- Introducing additional values could encourage consumers to pay more each month
 - If suggested values on credit card statement are processed as goals (e.g., vs. anchors), values that are unrealistically high may backfire
 - Understanding whether these values have motivational importance influences how we would help consumers pay down their debt



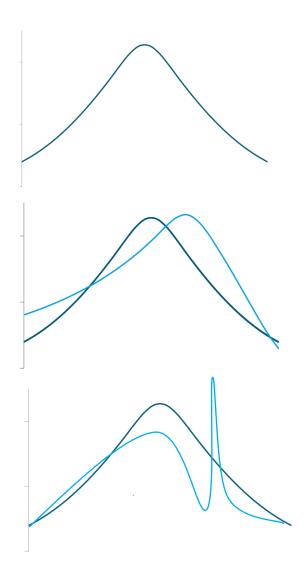
Possible Predictions

Additional values are ignored

Additional values act as anchors

Additional values act as goals*

*(if achievable)



Key Questions

For people who are motivated to repay (i.e., opt in)

- Can values alter the distribution of payments?
- Are people able to meet the targets they set for themselves?
- Does success vary as a function of the chosen target?

Chase Blueprint Overview

- Each consumer sees:
 - Her total outstanding balance
 - Her minimum payment due
 - A "goal" amount, based on enrollment in one of two programs
- 1. Debt Decumulation: Pay down balances faster
 - Set an amount you wish to pay and a time period over which you with to pay it off
 - goal amount ≈ f(remaining amount ÷ remaining time)
- 2. Spending Categories: Pay specific categories in full
 - Pick categories for which you never want to pay revolving interest
 - goal amount ≈ f(spending categories + min payment)

from CHASE P.O. BOX 15123 WILMINGTON, DE 19850-5123

20000 F

Blueprint is Active Blueprint Payment = \$283.55 Payment Due Date: New Balance Minimum Payment: 04/19/12 \$1,815.30 \$61.00

Account number: 1234 5678 9012 3456

\$___

Amount Enclosed

Make your check payable to: Chase Card Services.

···l

aallidadadadadhaddaadhidaalladaalladhid

CARDMEMBER SERVICE PO BOX 15153 WILMINGTON, DE 19886-5153

00558 BEX Z 08109 D JOHN A. SMITH 123 MAIN ST ANYTOWN, DE 19806

The Blueprint payment is the amount you pay to stay on track with your active Blueprint plans. It includes your account minimum payment due, so only one payment is needed.

slate



Manage your account online: www.chase.com/creditcards

Additional contact information conveniently located on reverse side

ACCOUNT SUMMARY

Account number: 1234 5678 9012 3456

Account number: 1254 3070 3012 3430			
Previous Balance	\$1,373.58		
Payments, Credits	-\$140.00		
Purchases	+\$566.30		
Interest Charged	+\$15.42		
New Balance	\$1,815.30		
Opening/Closing Date	2/23/12 - 03/23/12		
Total Credit Line	\$10,000.00		
Available Credit	\$8,184.70		
Cash Access Line	\$2,000.00		
Available for Cash	\$2,000.00		

View all of your Blueprint activity in one place.

PAYMENT INFORMATION

New Balance	\$1,815.30
Payment Due Date	04/19/12
Minimum Payment Due	\$61.00

Late Payment Warning: If we do not receive your minimum payment by the date listed above, you may have to pay up to a \$35.00 late fee and your APRs will be subject to increase to a maximum Penalty APR of 29.99%.

Minimum Payment Warning: If you make only the minimum payment each period, you will pay more in interest and it will take you longer to pay off your balance. For example:

If you make no additional charges using this card and each month you only pay	You will pay off the balance shown on this statement in about	And you will end up paying an estimated total of
Only the minimum payment	9 years	\$2,950.00
\$61.00	3 years.	\$2,188.00 (Savings=\$762.00)

If you would like information about credit counseling services, call 1-866-797-2885.

BLUEPRINT SUMMARY

Here are your Blueprint goals for this month:

Full Pay	Split	Finish It
\$90.50	\$60.00	\$80.00

BLUEPRINT Payment

\$283.55

NOTE: Pay this amount to stay on track with your BLUEPRINT Plan. This amount also satisfies your minimum payment due

See the BLUEPRINT Feature Activity section of this statement for more details on this month's activity.

ACCOUNT ACTIVITY Date of Transaction Mei 03/10 PAYMENT - THANK YOU 03/03 BILL'S FURNITURE 03/03 √OE'S OIL ANNI CHOP 03/05 03/09 Icons indica \square JC 03/10 \square 03/11 03/20 FRANKS GAS AND GO 03/22 **B HOTEL** 03/21 CORNER GROCERY

INTEREST CHARGES

Your Annual Percentage Rate (APR) is the annual interest rate on your account.

roan rannaarr oroonitago riato (ra raj lo allo allinaal lintoroot it	ato on your dooddin.			
Balance Type	Annual Percentage Rate (APR)	Balance Subject To Interest Rate	Interest Charges		
PURCHASES					
Purchases Blueprint Split - Furniture: Sofa Finish It: My Balance	•	This section provides financial information for each of your Blueprint Finish It or Split plans.			
CASH ADVANCES					
Cash advances	12.49%(v)	\$0.00	\$0.00		
BALANCE TRANSFERS					
Balance transfers	12.49%(v)	\$0.00	\$0.00		
(v) = Variable Rate			29 Days in Billing Per		

Please see Information About Your Account section for the Calculation of Balance Subject to Interest Rate, Annual Renewal Notice, How to Avoid Interest on Purchases, and other important information, as applicable.

BLUEPRINT FEATURE ACTIVITY



Full Pay

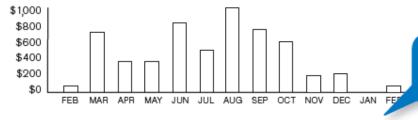
Full Pay Payment Due: \$90.50

Below is your spending in your Full Pay categories. You can avoid interest when you pay these purchases in full each month, even when you carry a balance. Remember, you can change your categories any time.

Full Pay	Category	Number of	
Category	Spending	Transactions	
Grocery Stores	\$50.50	2	
Gas Stations	\$40.00	3	
Drugstores	\$00.00	0	
Total	\$90.50		

Your plan payments are shown here on every statement, which is included in your Blueprint payment amount.

Full Pay Historical Spending



Check here each month for a personalized Blueprint message.

Great news: You avoided interest on the purchases that were included in your selected Full Pay categories! Please continue to make your Blueprint payment each month to take full advantage of the Full Pay benefits.

Data Overview

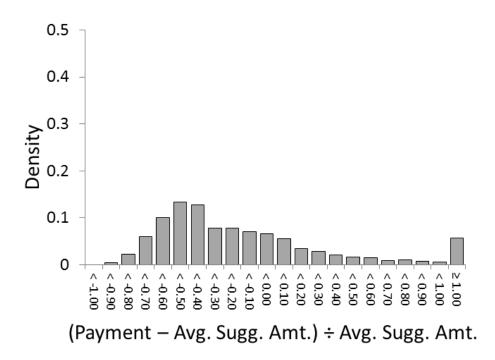
	Debt Decumulation	Spending Categories
Unique accounts	7,045	12,774
Transactions	292,968	280,027
Balance	\$2,933	\$2,751
Goal	\$209	\$154
Age	42	52
Income	\$51,571	\$51,492
Credit score	706	736
Male	39%	41%

Payments

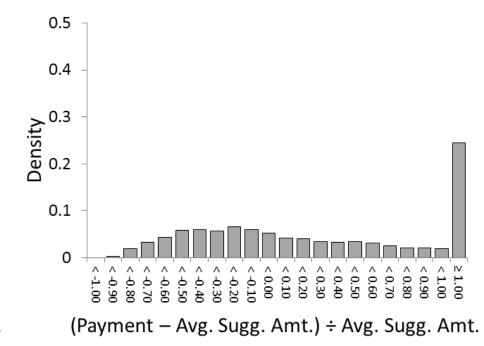
Plan	Period	Minimum	Goal	Balance	Other
Debt	PRE	23%		2%	75%
Decumulation	POST	14%	27%	1%	58%
Spending	PRE	8%		7%	86%
Categories	POST	8%	8%	5%	79%

Does payment behavior change with introduction of suggested payment?





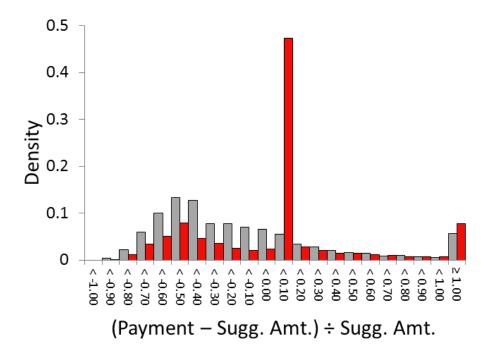
Spending Categories



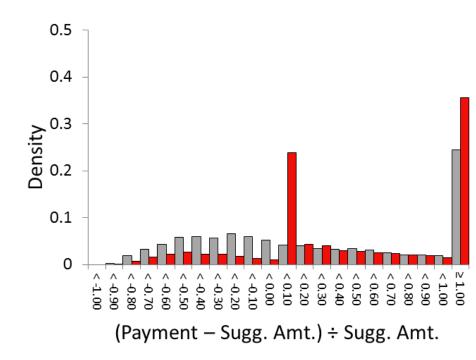
Pre-Enrollment
Post-Enrollment

Does payment behavior change with introduction of suggested payment?





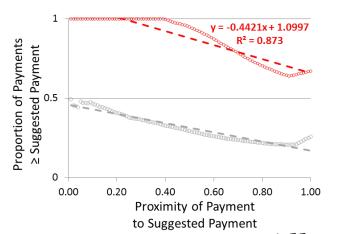
Spending Categories



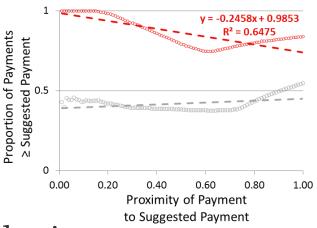


Comparison to all distributions

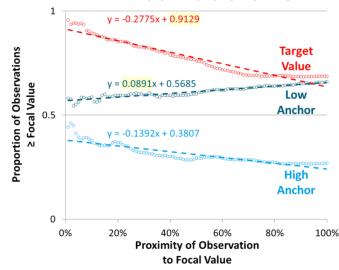




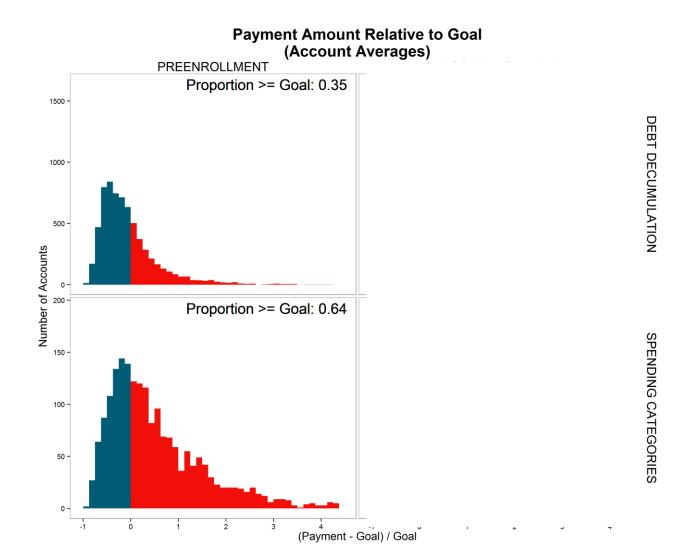
Spending Categories



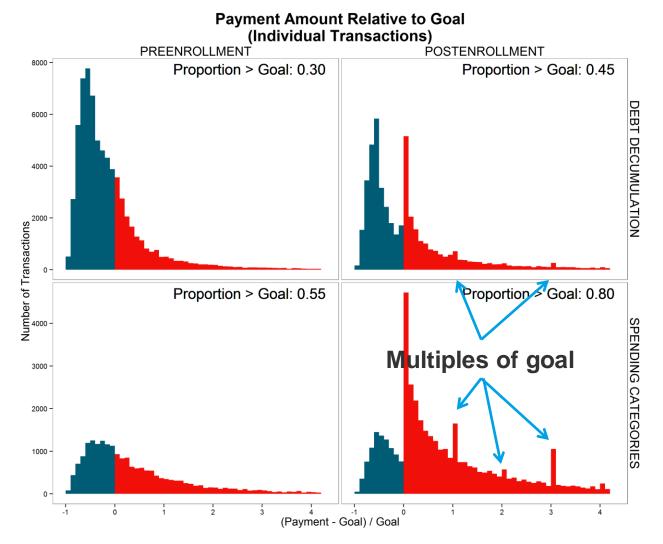
All Distributions



Does the Value Change Payments?



Anchor or Goal? Consequences?



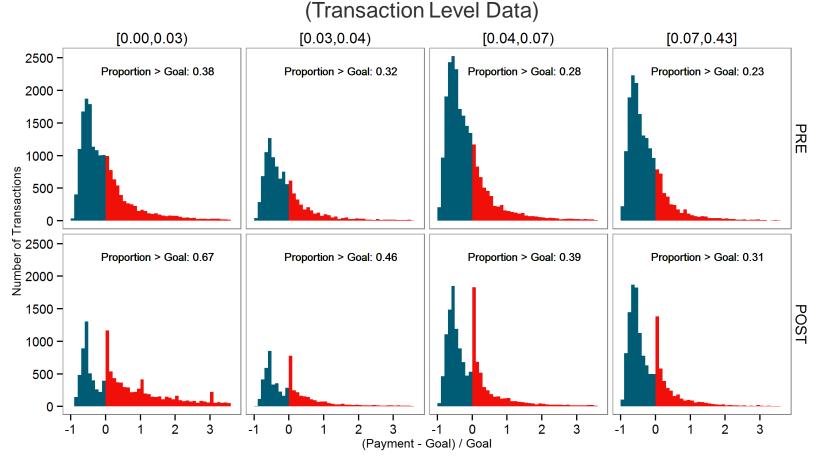
Excluding transactions of exactly the goal amount

Does the Ambition of the Goal Amount Matter?

Goal "ambition": The ratio of an account's average goal amount to the account holder's monthly income

Goal Amount as a Function of Monthly Income – Debt Decumulation Program

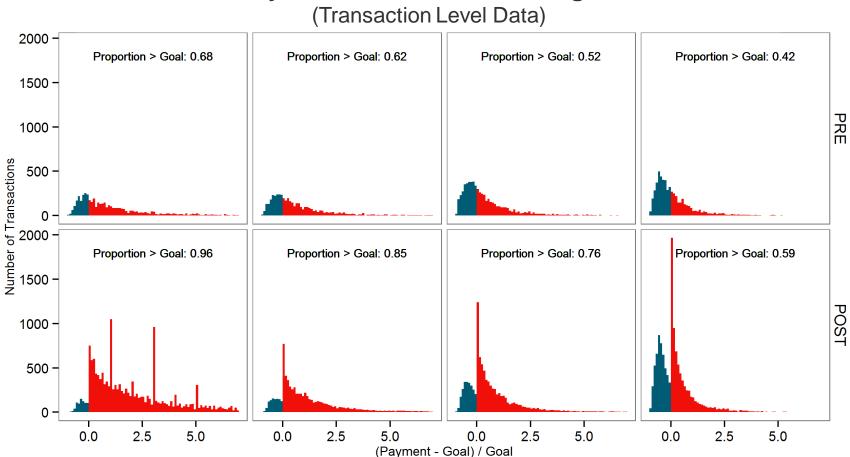
Payment Amount Relative to goal



Excluding transactions of exactly the goal amount

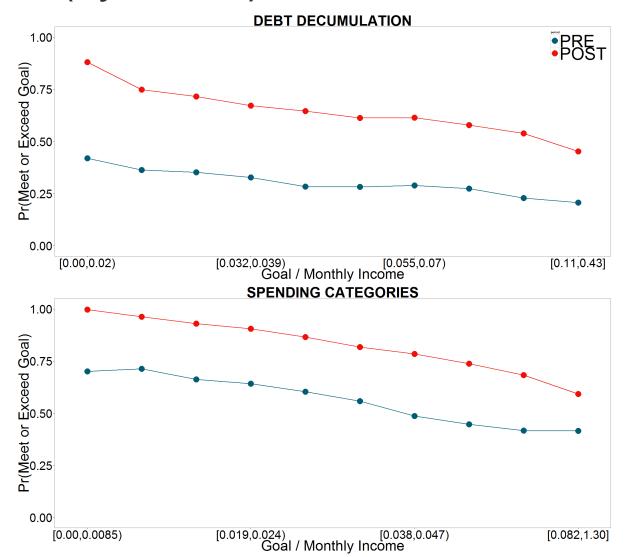
Goal Amount as a Function of Monthly Income – Spending Categories Program

Payment Amount Relative to goal



Excluding transactions of exactly the goal amount

Goal Amount as a Function of Monthly Income (by decile)



Round Numbers and "Pilina I In" from Farlier

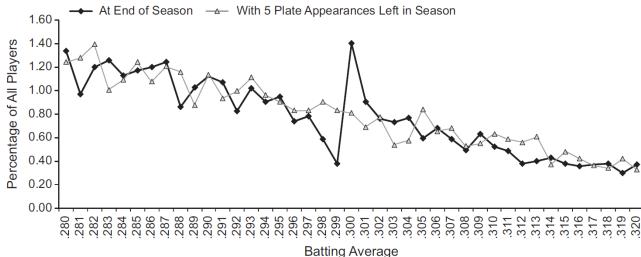


Figure 2: Distribution of maratho

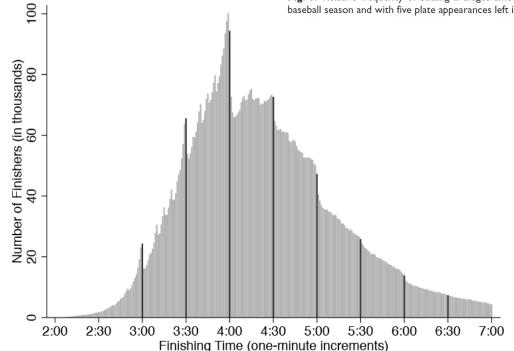
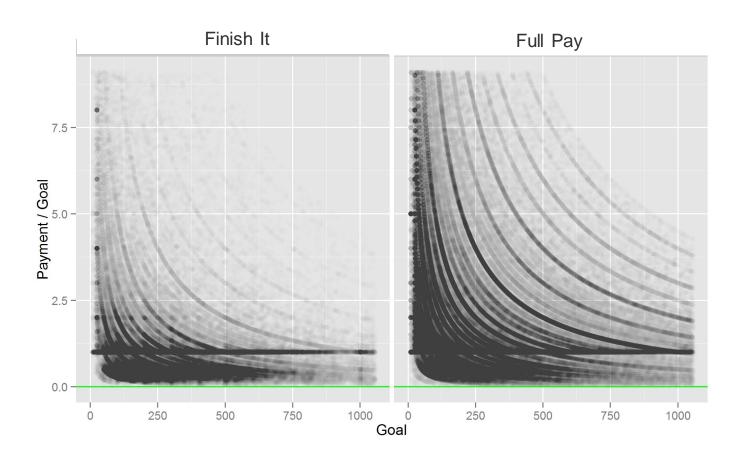


Fig. 1. Relative frequency of batting averages among Major League Baseball players between 1975 and 2008. Batting averages at the end of the baseball season and with five plate appearances left in the season are shown. The graph includes only player-seasons with at least 200 at bats.

In Our Bank Data...



Conclusions

We can distinguish numbers that are motivationally relevant (target values) from those that aren't (anchors)

- People feel good (bad) about outcomes that do (don't) meet targets
- People work harder when just short of target
- People slack as they move further from a surpassed target
- Discontinuities: target value distributions start high and slope downward

People treat suggested values on statements as targets, and these targets alter payment amounts

Conclusions

Self-selected targets

- People are successful at achieving goals they set for themselves
- No evidence that high goals backfire and demotivate action
- Evidence that motivated consumers can leverage low goals to encourage themselves to make higher payments
- Open questions
 - Overall effects on outstanding debt levels
 - Optimal goal recommendations

THANK YOU

abby@chicagobooth.edu

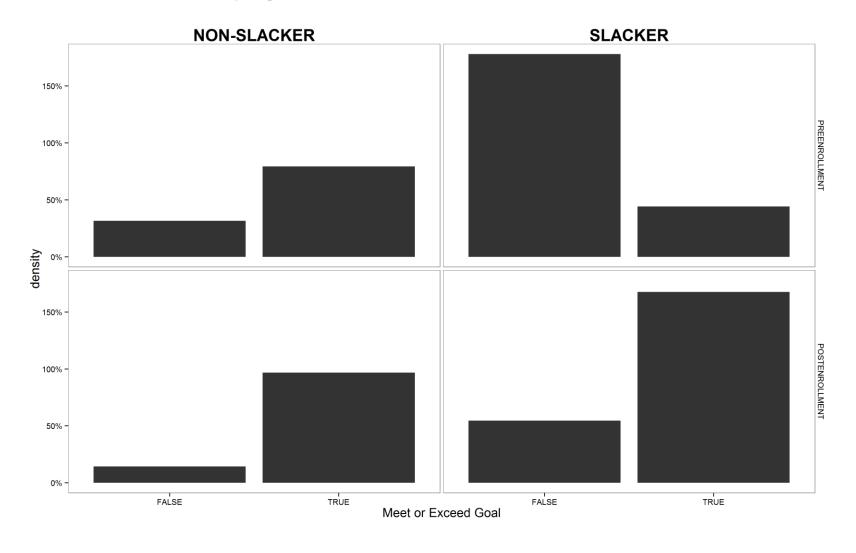
APPENDIX

% of Pre-enrollment Payments by Group

Group	Min +/- \$50	Paid in Full	Mixed Behavior
Finish It	50	26	18
Full Pay	32	1	69
Matched Sample	56	26	18

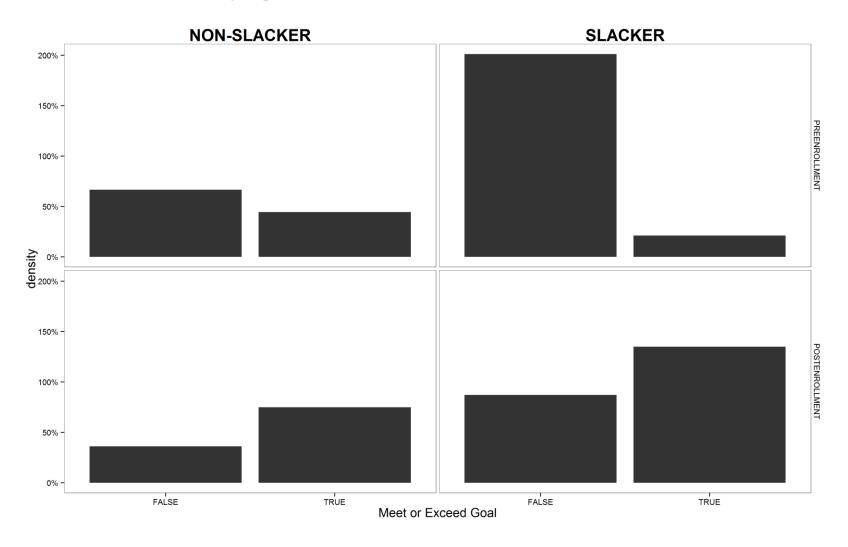
Full Pay: Pr(Meet or Exceed Goal)

Slacker = someone paying w/in \$50 min. pre-enrollment

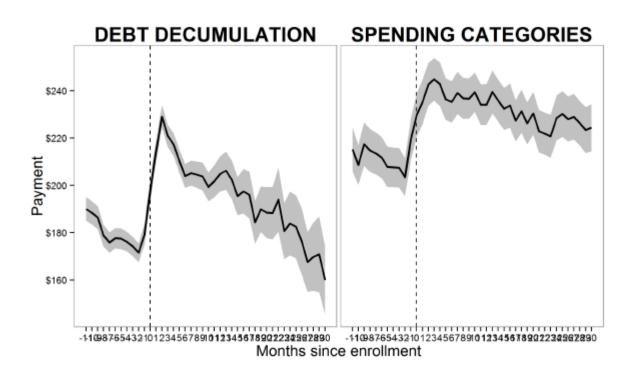


Finish It: Pr(Meet or Exceed Goal)

Slacker = someone paying w/in \$50 min. pre-enrollment



Payment by Month



Payment/ Balance by Month

