Why Are Small Businesses Slow 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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 - Retail (DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2019)
 - 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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 in productivity
 - Large retail chains in DellaVigna and Gentzkow (2019) forgo \$16M in annual profits (2% of revenue)

- Several things may be contributing:
 - Lack of information (Bloom, Eifert, Mahajan, McKenzie, and Roberts, 2013; Giorcelli, 2019)
 - Fixed costs and credit constraints (Bruhn, Karlan, and Schoar, 2018)
 - Misaligned incentives within firm (Atkin, Chaudhry, Chaudry, Khandelwal, and Verhoogen, 2017)

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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?

- Even in the absence of informational frictions, fixed costs, or misaligned incentives

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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%
OFFER TO LOWER

Hi,

We have great news for you!

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 can use _____ even more. We will lower your merchant fee with card 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 with your e-mail registered in

Form to change merchant fee*

This offer will only take 1 minute to complete.

Anticipated Reminder, Deadline



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To activate the promotion you will have to enter the following link and fill the form by October 6 with your e-mail registered in

Form to change merchant fee*

This offer will only take 1 minute to complete.

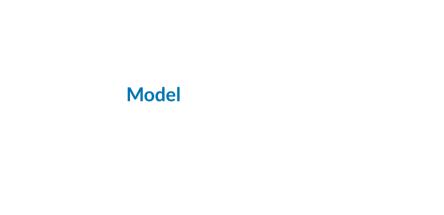
You will receive a reminder on October 5 if you still haven't activated the promotion.

- Reminders / take-up of lower merchant fee by 18%
 - Evidence that firms are forgetful

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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: $U = u_0 + \beta \left(\sum_{t=1}^{\infty} \delta^t u_t \right)$
 - Beliefs about present bias: $\hat{\beta} \in [\beta, 1]$. Naïve if $\hat{\beta} > \beta$.

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- Memory: prob. of remembering at time t conditional on remembering at t-1 is ho_t
 - Beliefs about memory $\hat{\rho}_t \in [0, 1]$. Overconfident about memory if $\hat{\rho}_t > \rho_t$.
- 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:

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

- $E_t[\hat{V}_{t+1}]$ 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

- Deadline in period T. By backwards induction from deadline, adopt if $c_t < c_t^*$

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ho}_{t+1} E_t\left[V_{t+1}
ight]
ight) \ E_{t-1}\left[V_t
ight] &= F\left(\hat{oldsymbol{c}}_t^*
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ight| \mathrm{act}
ight]
ight] + \left(1 - F\left(\hat{oldsymbol{c}}_t^*
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ight)\delta\hat{
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- The probability of adopting at period t is:

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

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 - \searrow take-up at t=1 compared to unanticipated reminder if firms are forgetful and have accurate beliefs about memory ($\hat{\rho}_t = \rho_t < 1$)
 - No effect on take-up at t=1 if firms are fully overconfident about memory ($ho_t<\hat{
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Model predictions

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 ho}_t =$ 1)
- 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

Research Partner

- FinTech payments company wanted to offer lower merchant fee to measure elasticities
- Firms in sample were <u>already</u> users of FinTech's point-of-sale (POS) hardware and app

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- 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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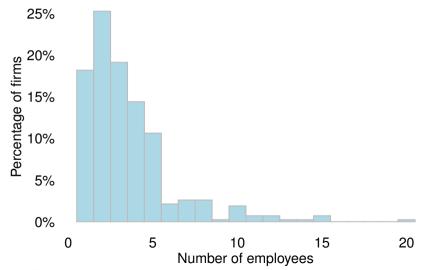
- Sample of 33,978 firms made up of top quartile of FinTech company's users
 - To ensure that offer would be sufficiently valuable
- Main outcome is take-up from administrative data
- Survey a small subsample of firms (N = 429) to explore mechanisms

Example of a Firm



Firm characteristics: Number of employees

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



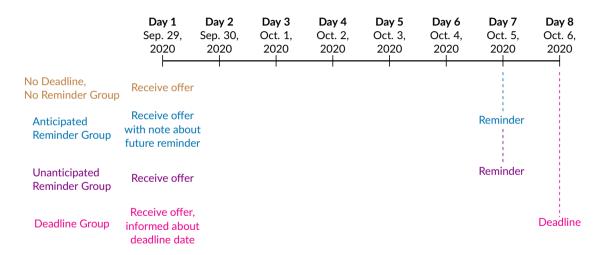
Firm characteristics and balance

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

	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	0.819***	-0.001	-0.001	0.002	0.001	0.939
Log average monthly sales volume	8.794***	-0.020	0.008	0.008	-0.005	0.501
Log average monthly transactions	2.059***	-0.009	0.001	0.008	0.003	0.968

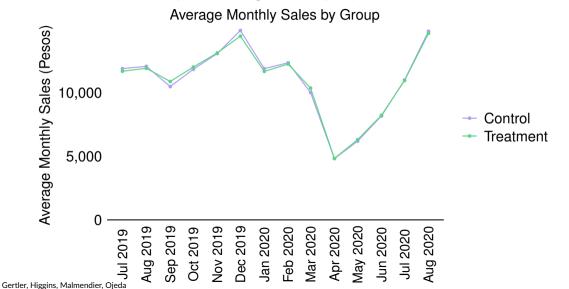
[▶] Percent of sales through FinTech platform

Experimental Design and Timeline



Experimental Design and Timeline

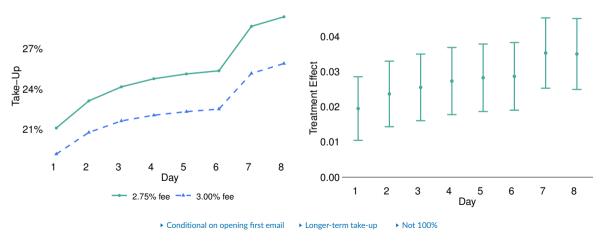
- Offers sent when sample on average back to pre-pandemic sales



Results

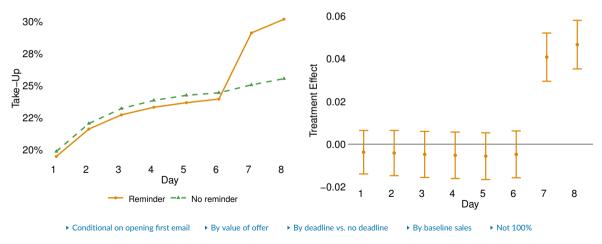
Higher Value Increases Take-Up

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



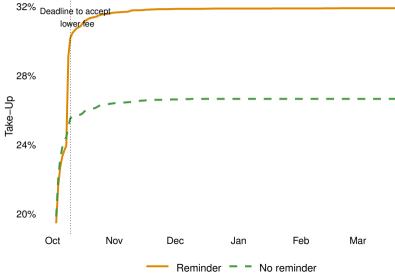
Reminders Increase Take-Up

- Reminder \nearrow take-up 5 pp compared to \sim 26% in no reminder group



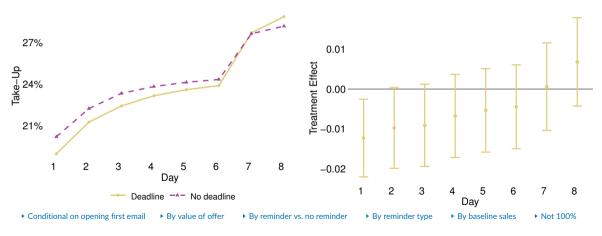
Reminders Increase Take-Up Beyond Deadline

- Reminder effect persists over time

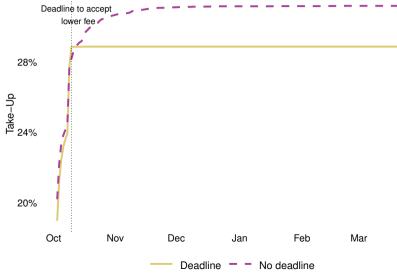


Deadlines Do Not Increase Take-Up

- Deadline \(\sqrt{a} \) day 1 take-up, but no difference by day 8
- Positive point estimate on day 8, but no deadline catches up quickly after deadline

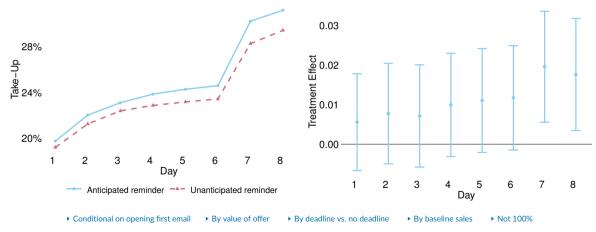


Continued Take-Up After Deadline in No Deadline Group



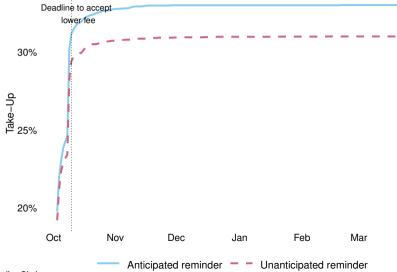
Anticipated Reminders Increase Take-up

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



Anticipated Reminders Increase Take-up Beyond Deadline

- Anticipated reminder effect persists over time



Mechanisms Behind Anticipated Reminder Effect

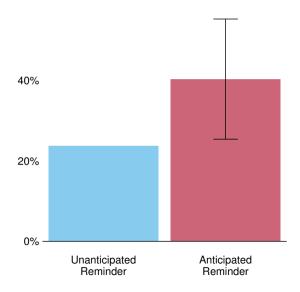
Anticipated Reminders Increase Perception of Offer's Value

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

Logins

Survey balance

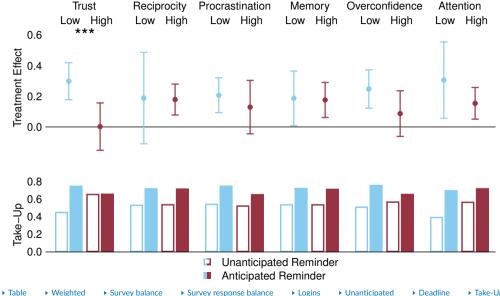
► Survey response balance



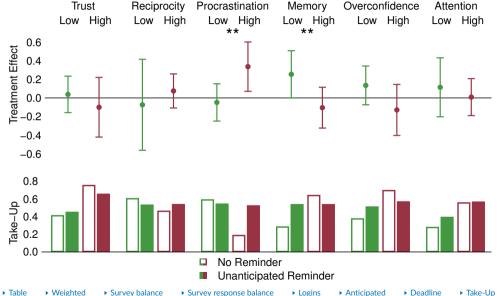
Heterogeneity Tests Using General Survey Measures

- 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

Anticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Less-Trusting

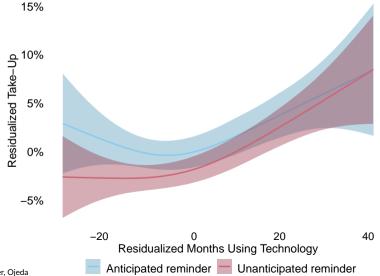


Unanticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Low-Memory



Anticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Less-Trusting

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



Elasticity of Electronic Payments

E-payment Usage Elasticity

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

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

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

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- y_{it} : $\log(\text{sales} + 1)_{it}$, $\log(\# \text{ transactions} + 1)$ or $\mathbb{I}(\text{Made at least 1 sale})_{it}$
- Standard errors clustered at firm level
- To calculate treatment-on-the-treated (TOT):
 - Replace $\mathit{Treated}_i \times \mathit{Post}_t$ with $\mathit{Adopt}_i \times \mathit{Post}_t$
 - Instrument $Adopt_i \times Post_t$ with $Treated_i \times Post_t$

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

- Being treated

 → electronic sales by ~ 10%
- \nearrow number of card transactions by \sim 3%
- / probability of using technology by 1 pp

	Log(sales + 1)	Log(# transactions + 1)	Made at least 1 sale
Post * Treated	0.103**	0.028*	0.010**
	(0.047)	(0.016)	(0.005)
Num. Obs.	662162	662162	662162
Num. Firms	33998	33998	33998
Cluster Std. Errors	Firm	Firm	Firm
Fixed Effects	Firm & month	Firm & month	Firm & month
Control Mean (levels)	21946.04	18.08	0.81
Control Mean (levels, winsorized)	11286.71	18.08	0.81

Lower Merchant Fee Leads to Increased Usage (TOT)

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

	Log(sales + 1)	Log(# transactions + 1)	Made at least 1 sale
Post * Adopted	0.355**	0.098*	0.036**
	(0.162)	(0.057)	(0.017)
Num. Obs.	662162	662162	662162
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Cluster Std. Errors	Firm	Firm	Firm
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Mechanisms Behind Elasticity



Conclusion

- Forgetfulness, overconfidence about memory, and a lack of trust can prevent firms from adopting a profitable opportunity

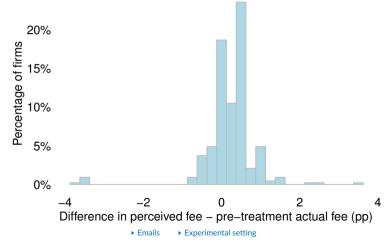
Conclusion

- Forgetfulness, overconfidence about memory, and a lack of trust can prevent firms from adopting a profitable opportunity
- Analysis of slow firm adoption of profitable opportunities will benefit from considering mechanisms beyond standard economic frictions
 - Well-known behavioral determinants of individuals failing to act can affect firms
 - Evidence that lack of trust is a key friction
 - Lack of trust may be prevalent in many firm-to-firm interactions



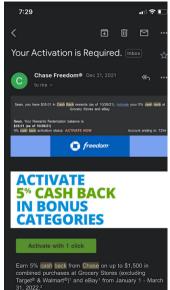
Firms have a good sense of their current fee

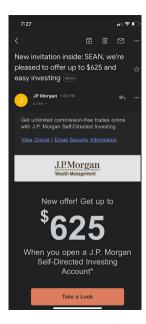
- And are more likely to overestimate current fee
 - Which would make them think offer is even more valuable



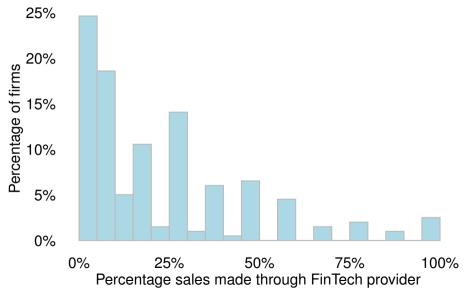
This Type of Email is Common



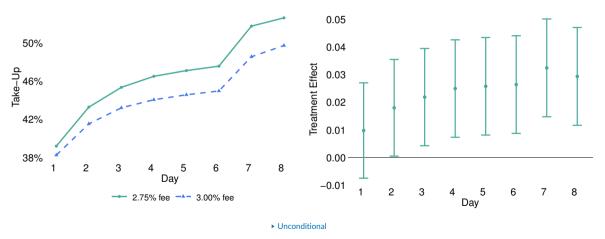




Percent of sales made through FinTech provider last week



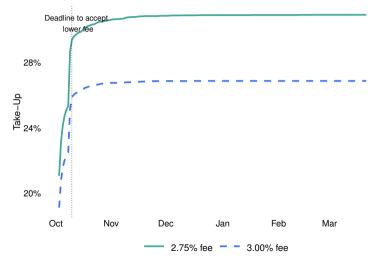
Higher Value Increases Take-Up Conditional on Opening First Email



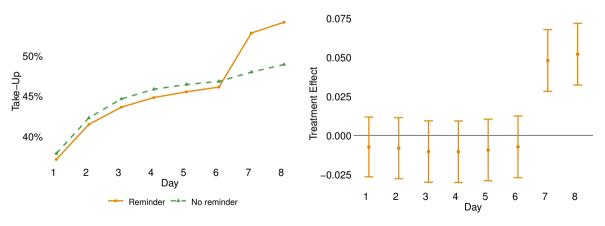
Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Higher Value Increases Take-up Beyond Deadline

- Higher value effect persists over time

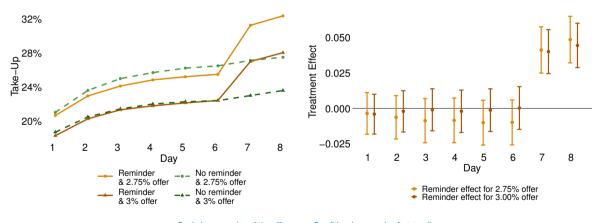


Reminders Increase Take-Up Conditional on Opening First Email



Unconditional

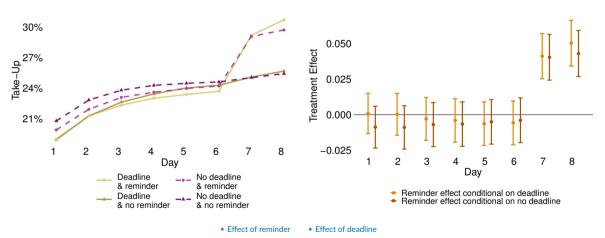
Effect of Reminder by Offer Value



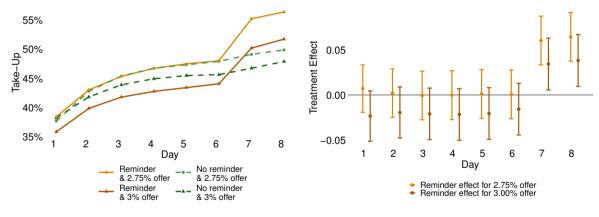
[▶] Pooled across value of the offer

[▶] Conditional on opening first email

Reminder Conditional on Deadline

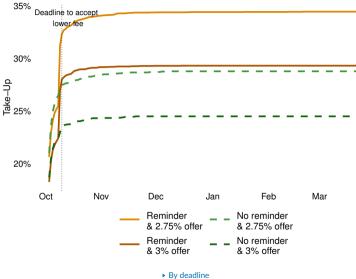


Effect of Reminder by Offer Value Conditional on Opening Email

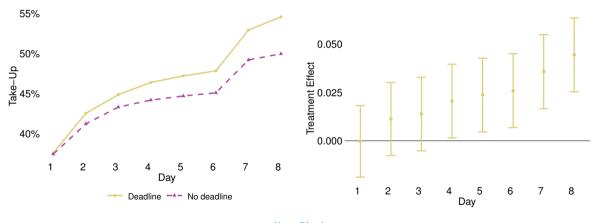


▶ Unconditional

Six-Month Effect of Reminder by Offer Value



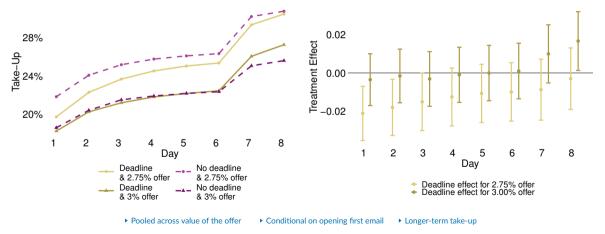
Effect of Deadline Conditional on Opening Email



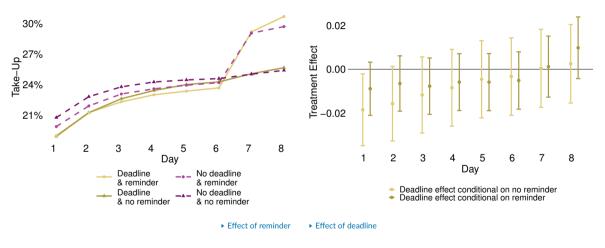
▶ Unconditional

Effect of Deadline by Offer Value

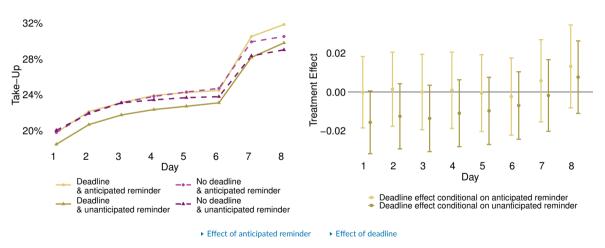
- Within higher-value offer (2.75% fee), deadline has no effect



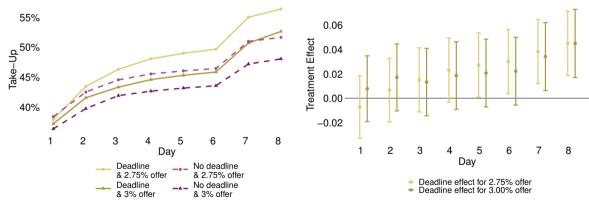
Deadline Conditional on Reminder



Deadline Conditional on Anticipated Reminder

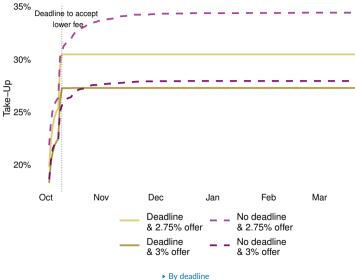


Effect of Deadline by Offer Value Conditional on Opening Email

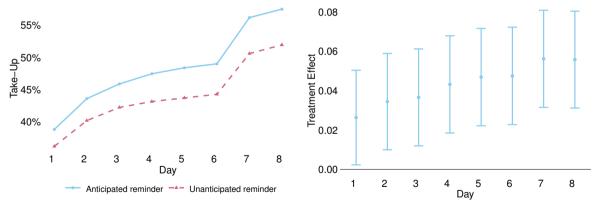


▶ Unconditional

Six-Month Effect of Deadline by Offer Value



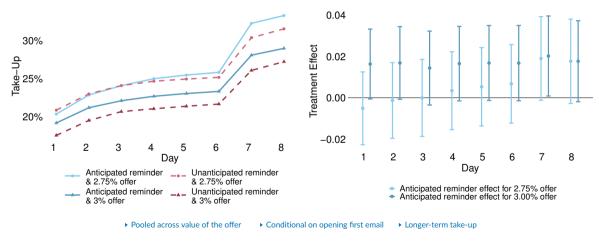
Anticipated Reminder / Take-Up Conditional on Opening Email



▶ Unconditional

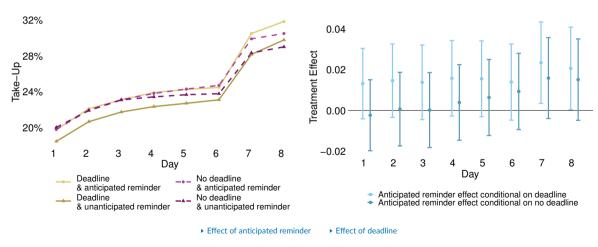
Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Offer Value

- - Cannot reject that effect is the same regardless of deadline

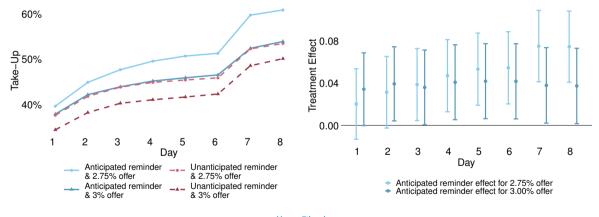


Anticipated Reminder Conditional on Deadline

- - Cannot reject that effect is the same regardless of deadline

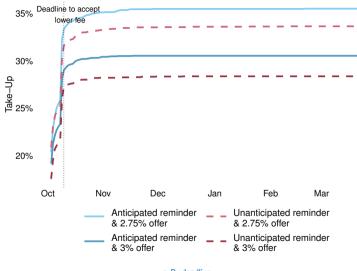


Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Offer Value | Opening Email

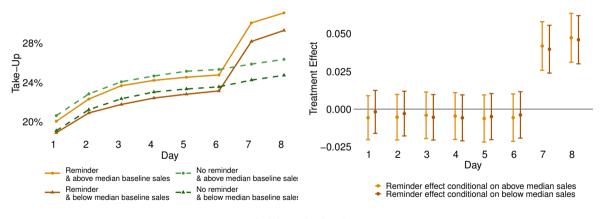


▶ Unconditional

Six-Month Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Offer Value



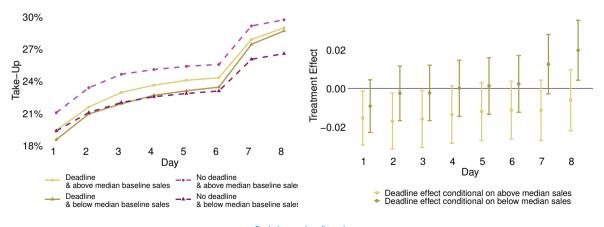
Effect of Reminder by Baseline Sales



[▶] Pooled across baseline sales

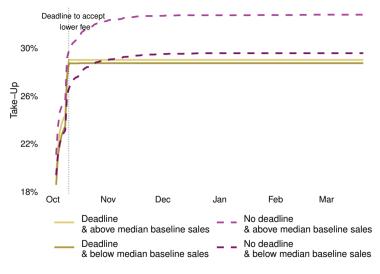
Effect of Deadline by Baseline Sales

- For above-median sales, deadline has no effect



Pooled across baseline sales

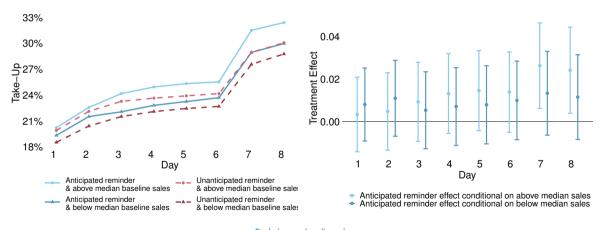
Six-Month Effect of Deadline by Baseline Sales



[▶] Pooled across baseline sales

Effect of Anticipated Reminder by Baseline Sales

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



▶ Pooled across baseline sales

Survey balance

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

	Intercept	Anticipated reminder	Unanticipated reminder	Deadline	2.75% Fee	F-stat p-value
Owner characteristics						
Owner sex female	0.400***	-0.079	-0.071	0.084*	0.122**	0.037
Owner age	41.23***	-1.40	-0.79	0.16	-0.70	0.887
Business type						
Beauty	0.158***	-0.096	-0.087	-0.034	0.018	0.115
Clothing	0.034	0.065*	0.062*	0.002	-0.022	0.626
Professionals	0.218***	0.027	0.058	-0.002	0.070	0.486
Restaurants	0.108**	0.031	0.043	0.001	-0.071**	0.182
Small retailers	0.344***	-0.142*	-0.108	0.017	0.047	0.299
Other	0.137*	0.115*	0.032	0.016	-0.042	0.130
Pre-treatment sales variables						
Months since first transaction	21.48***	0.61	2.92	1.92	-0.24	0.516
% months business made sales	0.854***	-0.035	-0.031	0.007	-0.014	0.841
Log average monthly sales volume	8.585***	0.104	0.159	-0.026	0.097	0.774
Log average monthly transactions	2.053***	-0.158	-0.041	0.135	-0.001	0.736

Gertler, Higgins, Malmendier, Ojeda

Anticipated reminder compliers

Unanticipated reminder compliers

Survey response balance by characteristics

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

	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

[▶] Anticipated reminder compliers

[▶] Unanticipated reminder 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

▶ Deadline compliers

[►] Anticipated reminder compliers

[▶] Unanticipated reminder compliers

Survey response correlated with take-up

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

	Responded survey
Intercept	0.251***
	(0.000)
Firm accepted offer by deadline	0.125***
	(0.000)
Num. Obs.	1399

[▶] Perception of offer's value

[►] Anticipated reminder compliers

[▶] Unanticipated reminder compliers

[▶] Deadline compliers

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	Viewed deposits					
Intercept	0.095***	0.037***					
	(0.003)	(0.002)					
Anticipated reminder	-0.003	0.000					
	(0.005)	(0.003)					
Num. Obs.	16254	16254					
* p < 0.1. ** p < 0.05. *** p < 0.01							

[▶] Perception of offer's value

[▶] Anticipated reminder compliers

[►] Unanticipated reminder compliers

[▶] Deadline compliers

Anticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Less-Trusting

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

Comparing anticipated to unanticipated reminder

	Firm accepted offer by deadline					
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Intercept	0.243***	0.305***	0.316***	0.311***	0.289***	0.202***
	(0.036)	(0.098)	(0.038)	(0.063)	(0.041)	(0.060)
Survey measure	0.177***	0.006	-0.019	-0.001	0.046	0.133*
	(0.068)	(0.103)	(0.068)	(0.073)	(0.064)	(0.070)
Anticipated reminder	0.123**	0.031	0.052	0.028	0.088	0.111
	(0.059)	(0.146)	(0.060)	(0.087)	(0.065)	(0.110)
Survey measure	-0.269***	-0.012	-0.080	-0.012	-0.152	-0.114
imes Anticipated reminder	(0.096)	(0.154)	(0.096)	(0.103)	(0.093)	(0.121)
Num. Obs.	389	389	389	389	389	389
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.301	0.897	0.348	0.626	0.386	0.787
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300
▶ Graph	▶ Weighted	▶ Survey balance	Survey respons	e balance	▶ Logins	

Unanticipated Reminder Effect Concentrated Among Low-Memory

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

- Comparing unanticipated reminder to no reminder

	Firm accepted offer by deadline					
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(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)
Num. Obs.	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 respons	se balance	▶ Logins	

Anticipated Reminder (Weighted)

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

- Comparing anticipated to unanticipated reminder

	Firm accepted offer by deadline					
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Intercept	0.243***	0.305***	0.316***	0.311***	0.289***	0.202***
	(0.036)	(0.098)	(0.038)	(0.063)	(0.041)	(0.060)
Survey measure	0.177***	0.006	-0.019	-0.001	0.046	0.133*
	(0.068)	(0.103)	(0.068)	(0.073)	(0.064)	(0.070)
Anticipated reminder	0.123**	0.031	0.052	0.028	0.088	0.111
	(0.059)	(0.146)	(0.060)	(0.087)	(0.065)	(0.110)
Survey measure	-0.269***	-0.012	-0.080	-0.012	-0.152	-0.114
imes Anticipated reminder	(0.096)	(0.154)	(0.096)	(0.103)	(0.093)	(0.121)
Num. Obs.	389	389	389	389	389	389
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.301	0.897	0.348	0.626	0.386	0.787
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300
▶ Graph	▶ Unweighted	▶ Survey balance	ce Survey respon	se balance	▶ Logins	

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Unanticipated Reminder (Weighted)

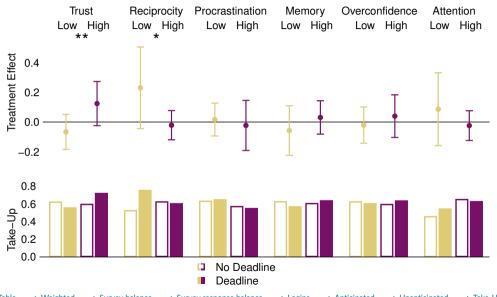
$$\mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Adopt})_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Survey\ measure})_i + \beta_2 \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Unant.\ remind})_i \\ + \beta_3 \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Survey\ measure})_i \times \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{Unant.\ remind})_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Comparing unanticipated reminder to no reminder

	Firm accepted offer by deadline					
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Intercept	0.214***	0.437*	0.377***	0.135**	0.200***	0.135*
	(0.062)	(0.228)	(0.091)	(0.063)	(0.065)	(0.081)
Survey measure	0.333	-0.190	-0.299***	0.273**	0.240	0.189
	(0.216)	(0.237)	(0.107)	(0.126)	(0.165)	(0.116)
Unanticipated reminder	0.029	-0.132	-0.061	0.176**	0.090	0.068
	(0.072)	(0.248)	(0.098)	(0.089)	(0.077)	(0.101)
Survey measure	-0.157	0.196	0.281**	-0.273*	-0.194	-0.056
imes Unanticipated reminder	(0.227)	(0.258)	(0.127)	(0.146)	(0.177)	(0.136)
Num. Obs.	228	228	228	228	228	228
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.301	0.897	0.348	0.626	0.386	0.787
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300
▶ Graph	▶ Unweighted	▶ Survey balance	ce Survey respor	nse balance	▶ Logins	

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Deadline Effect



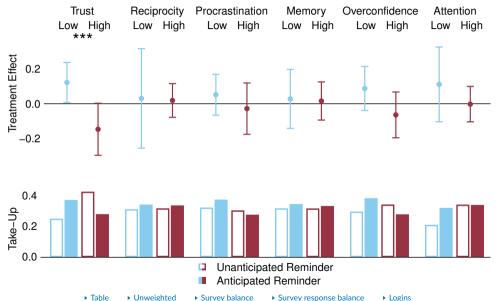
Deadline Effect

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

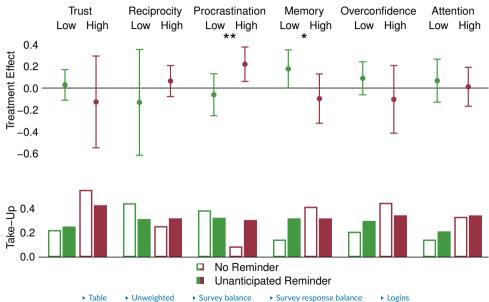
- Comparing deadline to no deadline

	Firm accepted offer by deadline							
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(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		
× Deadline	(0.097)	(0.148)	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.096)	(0.135)		
Num. Obs.	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 bal	ance Survey	response balance	▶ Logins ▶	Unanticipated reminder			

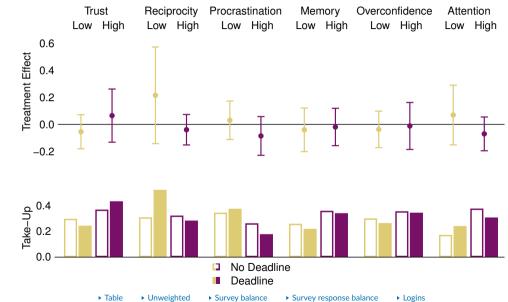
Anticipated Reminder (Weighted)



Unanticipated Reminder (Weighted)



Deadline (Weighted)



Deadline Effect (Weighted)

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

Comparing deadline to no deadline

	Firm accepted offer by deadline							
Survey measure	Trust	Reciprocity	Procrastination	Memory	Overconfidence	Attention		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
Intercept	0.289***	0.300***	0.337***	0.250***	0.292***	0.163***		
	(0.048)	(0.114)	(0.051)	(0.059)	(0.050)	(0.056)		
Survey measure	0.072	0.014	-0.083	0.101	0.056	0.206***		
	(0.082)	(0.121)	(0.077)	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.074)		
Deadline	-0.054	0.215	0.031	-0.040	-0.037	0.069		
	(0.064)	(0.182)	(0.072)	(0.082)	(0.069)	(0.112)		
Survey measure	0.119	-0.254	-0.116	0.021	0.025	-0.139		
imes Deadline	(0.119)	(0.191)	(0.103)	(0.108)	(0.112)	(0.129)		
Num. Obs.	429	429	429	429	429	429		
Prop. survey measure = 1	0.301	0.897	0.348	0.626	0.386	0.787		
Prop. firms took up treatment	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300	0.300		
► Graph ► Unweighted	▶ Survey b	alance • Surve	ey response balance	▶ Logins	 Unanticipated reminder 			

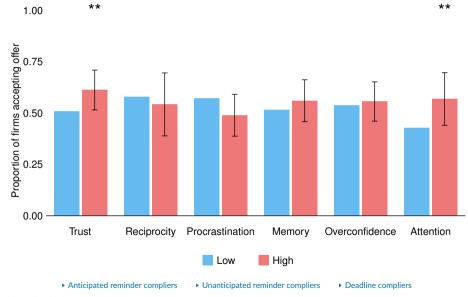
- Whether lowering merchant fee benefited FinTech partner depends on elasticity

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- Treatment-on-the-treated estimate: taking up offer \nearrow sales by $\sim 40\%$

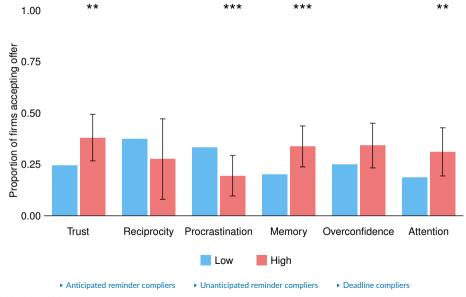
- Whether lowering merchant fee benefited FinTech partner depends on elasticity
- Treatment-on-the-treated estimate: taking up offer \nearrow sales by \sim 40%
- Sales Elasticity = $\frac{\%\Delta \text{Sales}}{\%\Delta \text{Fee}} \approx \frac{40\%}{-20\%} = -2$

- Whether lowering merchant fee benefited FinTech partner depends on elasticity
- Treatment-on-the-treated estimate: taking up offer \nearrow sales by \sim 40%
- Sales Elasticity = $\frac{\%\Delta \text{Sales}}{\%\Delta \text{Fee}} \approx \frac{40\%}{-20\%} = -2$
- ⇒ profitable for FinTech partner to lower merchant fee
 - More details
- ▶ Mechanisms
- Conclusion

Survey Measures and Take-Up



Survey Measures and Take-Up (Weighted)



Self-Reported Reasons for Not Adopting

