

Assessing the Impact of Financial Literacy

Session 3

FINANCIAL LITERACY THROUGH MAINSTREAM MEDIA

Financial Education: How to Deliver it?

- Scope and reach of even most well-designed financial education is limited:
 - Supply side -- difficult and expensive
 - Demand side – challenging to attract and retain interest

Financial Education Delivery

- Scope and reach of even most well-designed financial education is limited:
 - Supply side -- difficult and expensive
 - Demand side – challenging to attract and retain interest
- Entertainment media offers a promising (potential) solution:
 - Broad outreach – nearly every household has access to a TV
 - Captive audience – emotional connections to storylines and actors

Persuasion in Entertainment Media

- Introduction of television linked to improved social outcomes:
 - Lower domestic violence and fertility rates in India and Brazil (Jensen and Oster, 2009; La Ferrara, et al., 2008),
 - Lower adolescent drug use and increased contraception adoption in Brazil (Verner and Cardoso, 2007).
- Facebook experiment on emotional contagion in social media (Kramer, et al., 2014)

Research Questions

- Can the reach and persuasive influence of mass media be exploited in finance to improve financial decisions?
- What underlying decision-making mechanism(s) can explain these results?

Setting

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 - Very high ratio of debt to disposable income (76%)
 - National Credit Regulator reports massive impaired credit records (>47%)

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 - National Credit Regulator reports massive impaired credit records (>47%)
- Incorporate debt management into two month long storyline of a popular soap opera, *Scandal!*
 - Nationally televised soap
 - Has been running four times a week for 8 years
 - Storyline was developed in partnership with the production company of *Scandal!* and the National Debt Mediation Association (NDMA)

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- Empirical Challenges
 - Identify and separate effect of soap from other sources of messaging
 - Sample selection and endogeneity
 - Appropriate counterfactual when soap is nationally televised
- Our Study
 - Randomized encouragement design

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- Provide encouragement to a randomly selected “treatment” group to watch Scandal
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 - Ask financial literacy and behavior questions as well (though not linked to incentive)

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 - Ask identical financial literacy and behavior questions
- Conduct final in-person survey 4 months after conclusion of storyline

Scandal!



The Storyline

Main Character : Maletsatsi

Wife, mother, and manager of local stokvel



e



Eddie, you don't understand.

**Malestatsi gives
into social
pressure to furnish
her guest room**

e



Eddie, you don't understand.

Malestatsi gives
into social
pressure to furnish
her guest room

e



I want to be accepted, not mocked.

Convinces her
husband, Eddie

e



**Buys furniture,
fridge, dining set,
and TV, all on shop
credit!**

e



uble-click to go to fullscreen, ctrl+click to snap to video size

And the TV? I don't need a new TV.

**Buys furniture,
fridge, dining set,
and TV, all on shop
credit!**

**Eddie is unhappy
but Maletsatsi is
convincing**

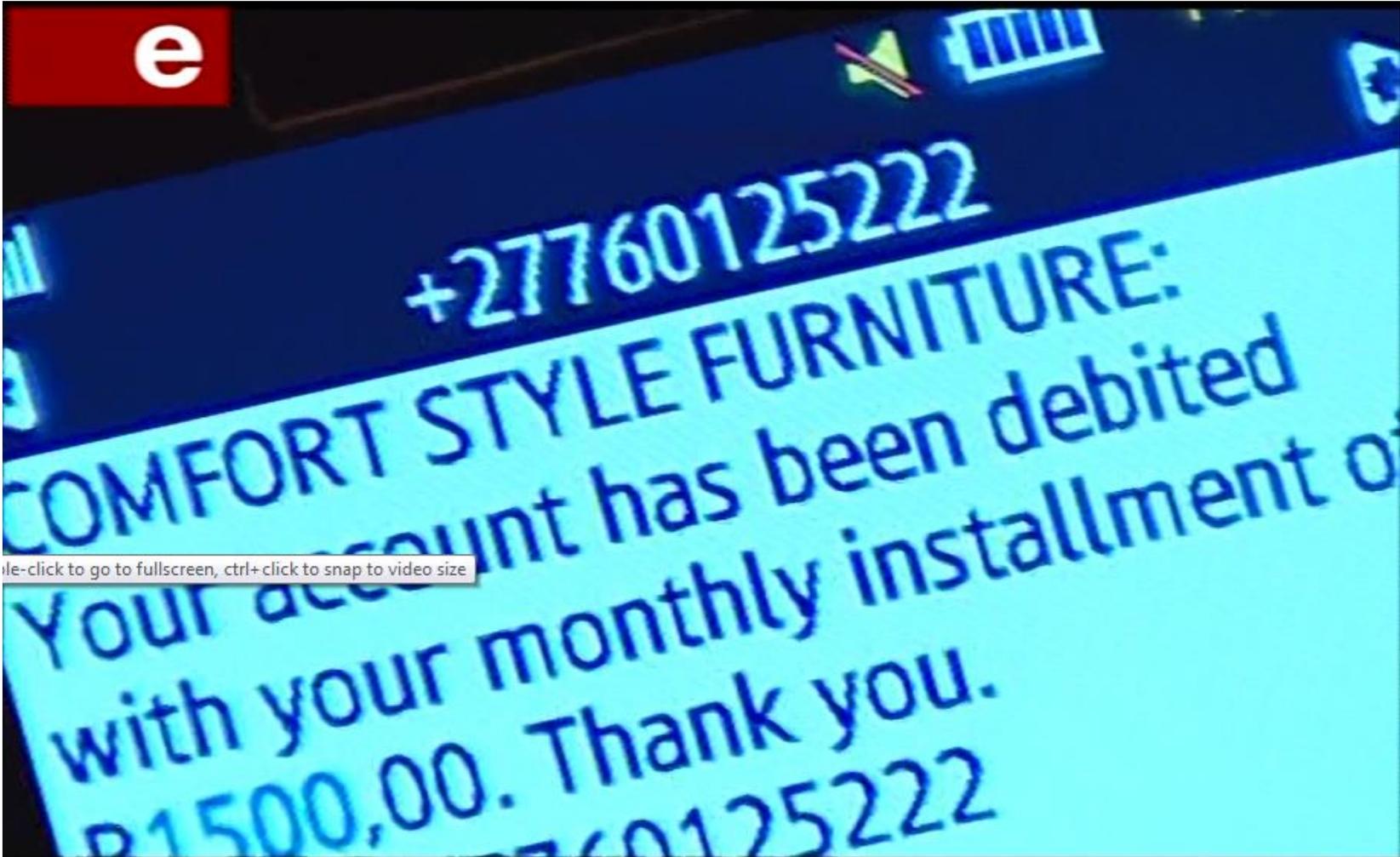
e



- No.

- No, you don't need it. You deserve it.

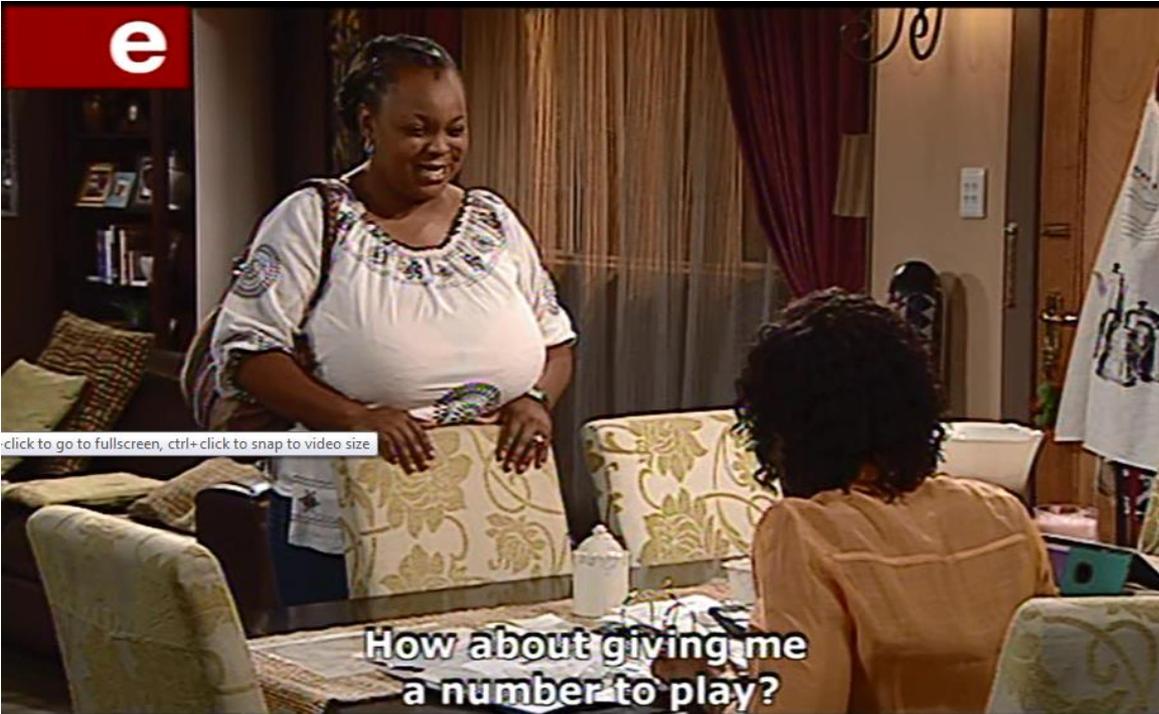
Payments come due and Maletsatsi realizes she cannot afford them



She dips into the Stokvel pot, but lands into trouble



e



click to go to fullscreen, ctrl+click to snap to video size

How about giving me
a number to play?

She turns to
gambling

e



click to go to fullscreen, ctrl+click to snap to video size

How about giving me
a number to play?

She turns to
gambling

And loses

e



Argh, man. Losing is part of the game.

e



I didn't know what else to do.
So I borrowed money from the stokvel.

**Eventually
Eddie finds
out**

e



I didn't know what else to do.
So I borrowed money from the stokvel.

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e



How can you be so irresponsible?

And is quite
unhappy

Together they seek help from the NDMA and work their way out of debt



Main Messages

- Over-indebtedness
 - Temptation spending
 - Borrowing on hire-purchase
- Gambling
- Help is available
 - National Debt Mediation Association

Analysis

- RCT allows for simple cross-sectional OLS using final follow-up data:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \cdot TRT_i + \gamma_1 \cdot M_i + \varepsilon_i$$

- Intent to Treat estimate
- ATE similar since take-up v. high (96%)

Summary Statistics

Summary Statistics and Tests of Randomization

	<u>Treatment</u>		<u>Control</u>		Test of Difference in Means (p-value)
	N	Mean	N	Mean	
Respondent is Female	553	0.69	478	0.71	0.577
Respondent is Black	553	0.99	478	0.99	0.432
Respondent Age	553	31.24 (10.42)	478	32.16 (11.07)	0.167
Respondent Has At Least Secondary Schooling	553	0.69	478	0.71	0.394
Respondent Has Above Median Financial Literacy	553	0.53	478	0.53	0.914
Respondent's Household Belongs to Lower LSM Group	553	0.46	478	0.43	0.357
Respondent Has a Job or Paid Work	553	0.49	478	0.48	0.689
Respondent Has Not Borrowed Money the Past 6 Months	553	0.58	478	0.58	0.986
Respondent Has Watched "Scandal!" in the Past 4 Weeks	553	0.48	478	0.47	0.830

Attrition

Final Follow-up Attrition

	Present in Final Follow-up (1)	Face-to-Face Interview in Final Follow-up (2)
Invited to Watch "Scandal!"	0.002 (0.016)	0.003 (0.023)
N	1031	1024
Dependent Variable Mean in Control Group	0.933	0.839

Results

Financial Knowledge

	Score on General Financial Literacy Test (1)	Score on Content Specific Financial Literacy Test (2)
Invited to Watch "Scandal!"	-0.010 (0.019)	0.045* (0.024)
R-squared	0.005	0.014
N	963	963
Dependent Variable Mean in Control Group	0.564	0.425

Debt Management

	Borrowed Money in the Past 6 Months from Any Source (1)	Borrowed Money in Past 6 Months from a Formal Bank (2)	Largest Borrowing in Past 6 Months is from a Formal Bank (3)
Invited to Watch "Scandal!"	-0.001 (0.030)	0.027* (0.015)	0.088** (0.043)
R-squared	0.003	0.004	0.014
N	963	963	315
Dependent Variable Mean in Control Group	0.327	0.045	0.130

Hire Purchase and Gambling

	Hire Purchase in the Past 6 Months	Gambled Money in the Past 6 Months
	(1)	(2)
Invited to Watch "Scandal!"	-0.043*	-0.052*
	(0.024)	(0.029)
R-squared	0.004	0.003
N	963	963
Dependent Variable Mean in Control Group	0.188	0.307



Debiasing on a Roll:
Changing Gambling Behavior through
Experiential Learning

Ferrari is a FAST Car!



Ferrari is a FAST Car!



But how fast is FAST?

Dimensions	
Weight	1365 kilo / 3009.3 lbs
Length / Width / Height	4702 mm (185.1 in) / 2035 mm (80.1 in) / 1147 mm (45.2 in)
Wheelbase / Track (fr/r)	2650 mm (104.3 in) / 1660 mm (65.4 in) / 1650 mm (65 in)

Performance figures	
Power	660 bhp / 492 KW @ 7800 rpm
Torque	657 Nm / 485 ft lbs @ 5500 rpm
BHP/Liter	110 bhp / liter
Power to weight	0.48 bhp / kg
Top Speed	350 km/h / 217 mph
0-60 mph	3.3 s

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Experience FAST!





Experience FAST!



**Concrete and
salient**



Experience FAST!



**Concrete and
salient**

**Instantaneous
reflection**



Experience FAST!



Concrete and salient

Instantaneous reflection

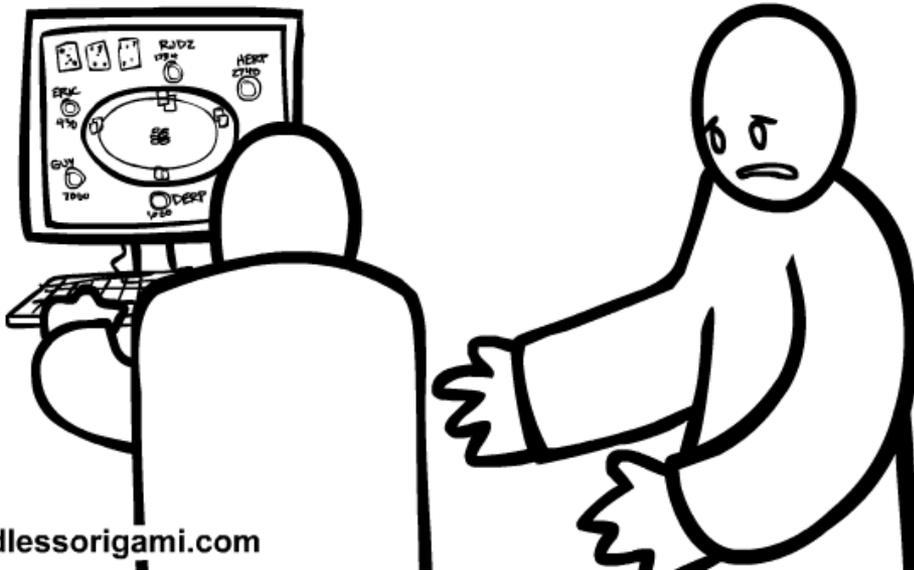
Memorable



Link to Development?

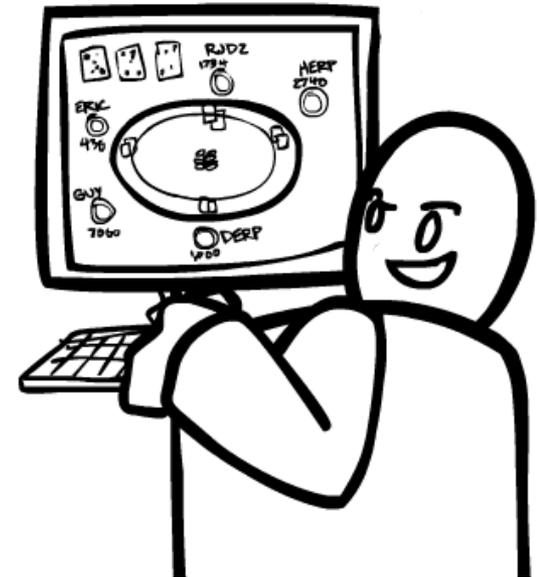
Link to Development?

ERIC I THINK YOU HAVE A SERIOUS
GAMBLING PROBLEM...



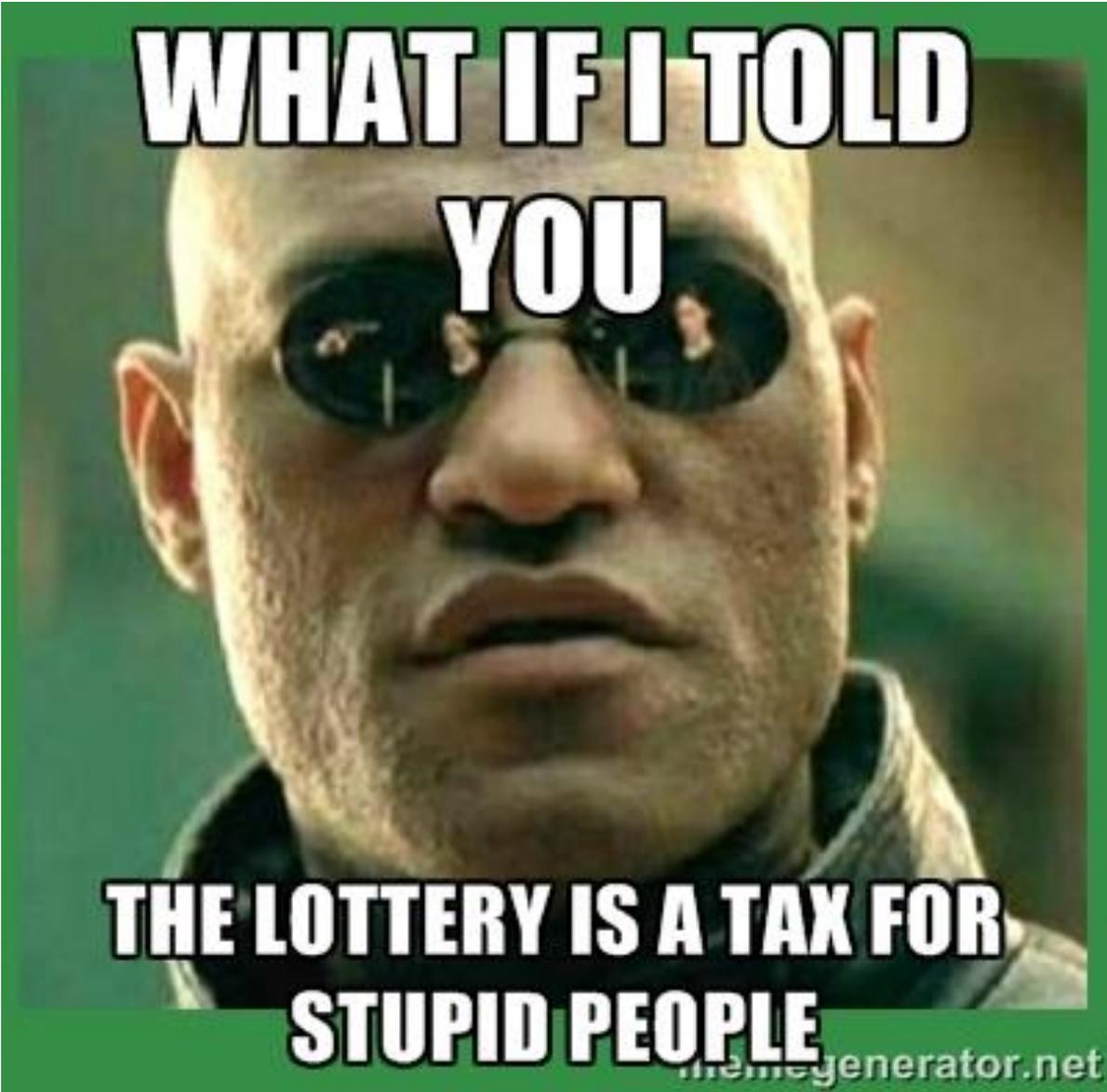
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YOU WANNA BET?



Gambling is Pervasive

- Gambling is an important pastime, especially in many
- developing countries (Custer & Milt 1985, McMillen 1996)
- Poor spend larger income share on gambling (Stearn & Borna 1995)
- In U.S., gambling crowds out 2% of household consumption
- (Kearney 2005). Potential for negative externalities within HH.
- **Puzzle:** Rational risk-averse agents should not engage in gambles with negative expected payoffs (Tversky & Wakker 1995).



**WHAT IF I TOLD
YOU**

**THE LOTTERY IS A TAX FOR
STUPID PEOPLE**





My office pooled money and bought 200 lotto tickets. I like our odds.

You have a 0.000114% chance of winning

Well when you put it that way it doesn't sound as good...

The truth hurts.



Why Play the Lotto?

Rational Reasons:

- Correct assessment of winning odds, but *entertainment/aspirational utility* from gambling (Kearney 2005)

Behavioral Reasons:

- Cognitive biases leads to *overestimation of small probabilities* (Kahneman & Tversky 1979, 1992).
- Decision heuristics, e.g. *availability bias* (Kahneman & Tversky 1973, Clothfelter & Cook 1989, Nisbett & Ross 1980).

Traditional Financial Literacy

In our sample, less than **50%** of participants knew the correct answer to the question: *“If you have R48, and I give you R58, how much will you have?”*



Visualization? Better... but still abstract



Rules of Thumb?

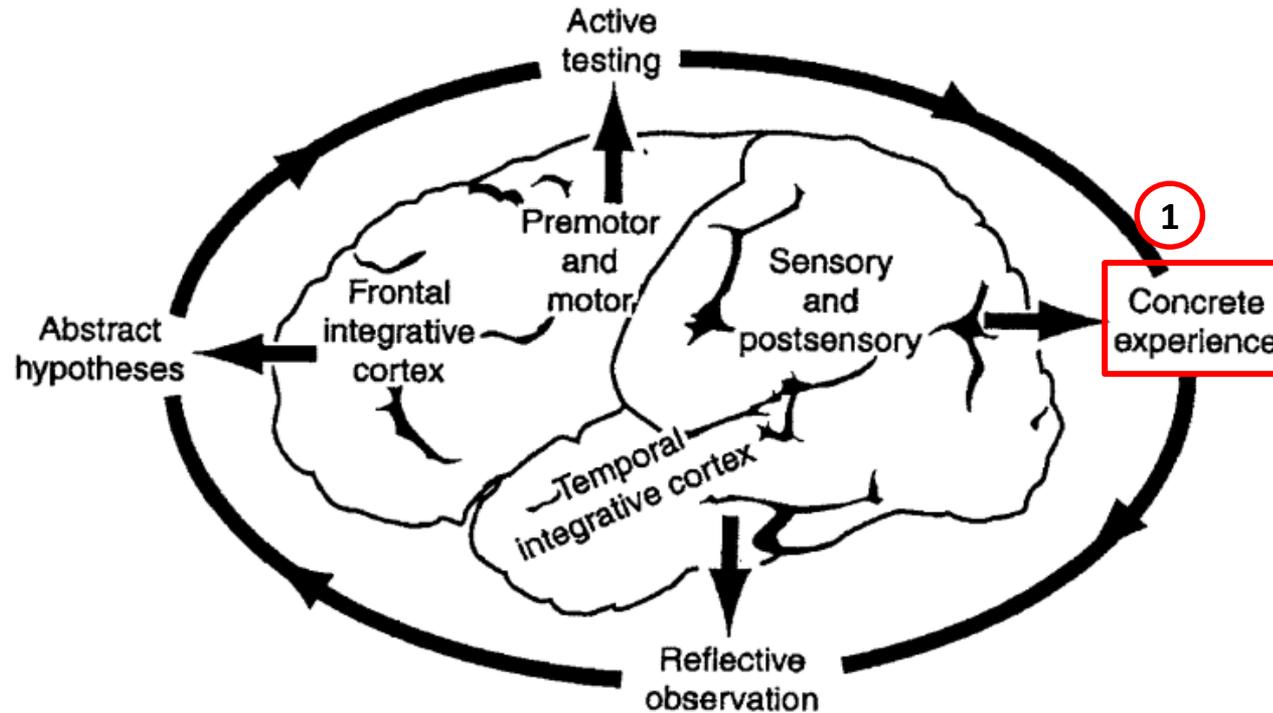


Experiential Learning?



Experiential Learning: 4-Stage Learning Cycle

(Zull 2002)

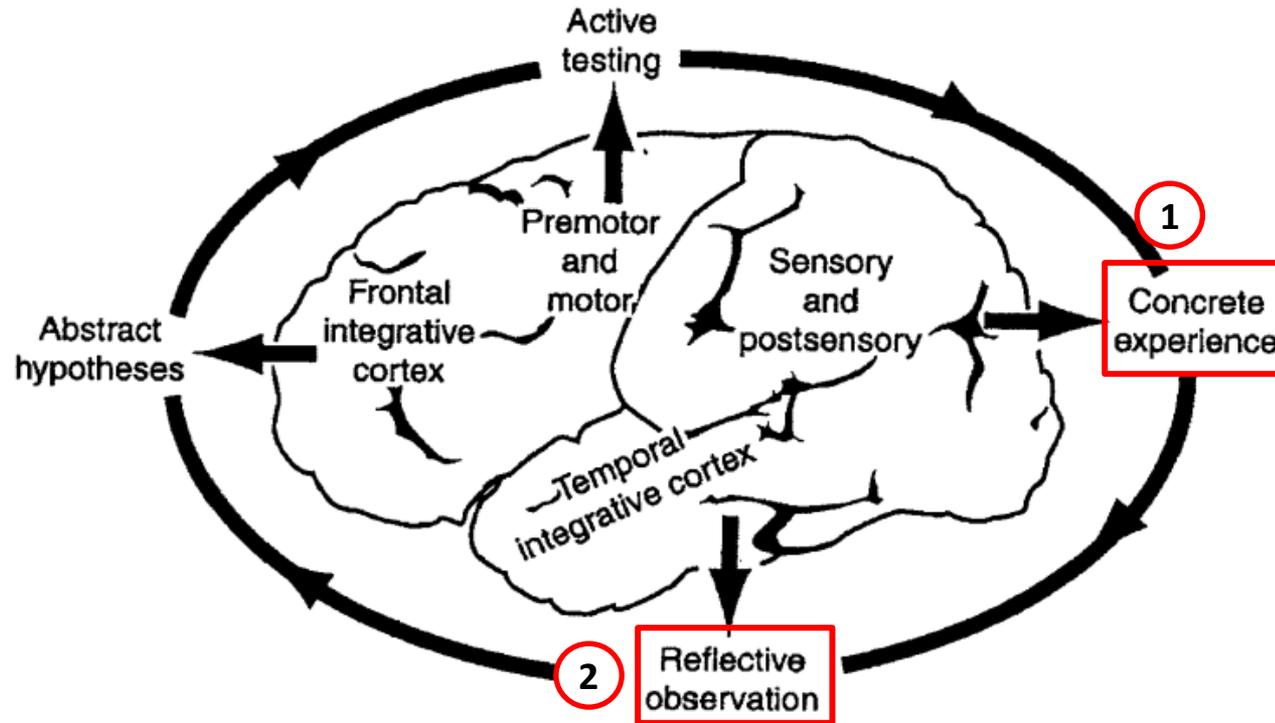


Roll 1 die till one 6
Roll 2 dice till all 6s



Experiential Learning: 4-Stage Learning Cycle

(Zull 2002)



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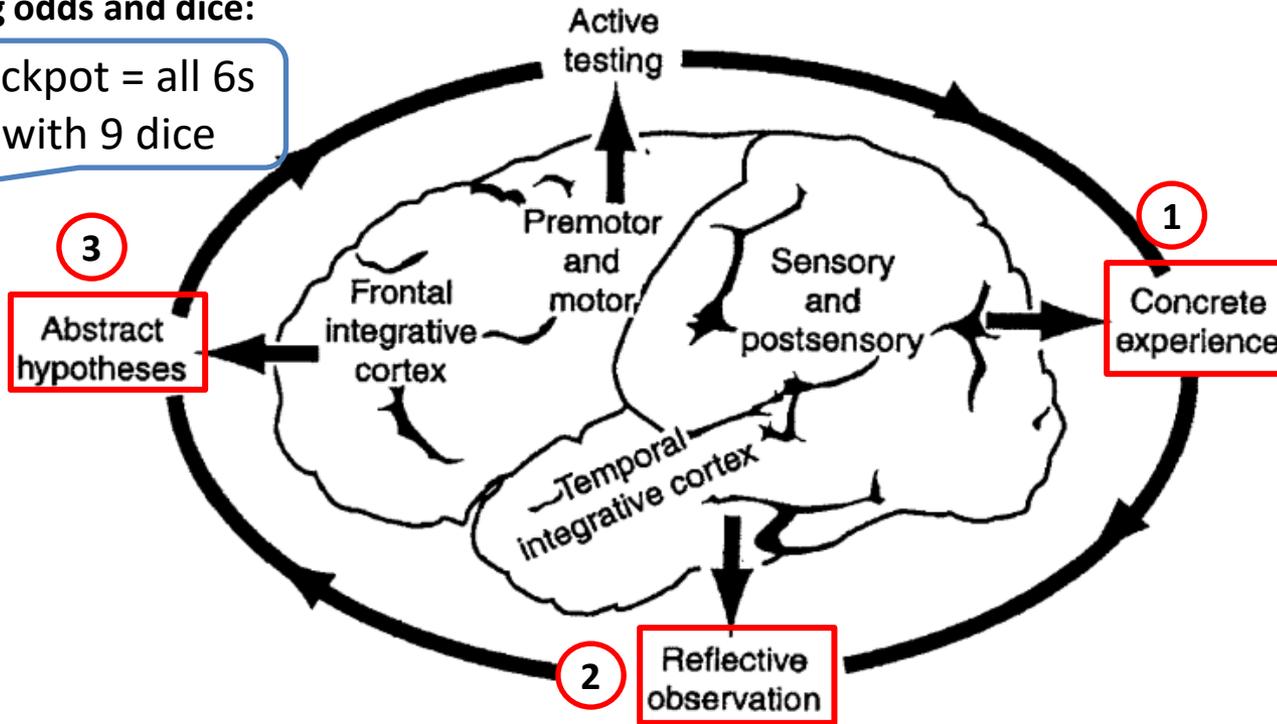
Getting all 6's is
difficult / easy!

Experiential Learning: 4-Stage Learning Cycle

(Zull 2002)

Relate winning odds and dice:

Jackpot = all 6s
with 9 dice



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Experiential Learning: 4-Stage Learning Cycle

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Let people roll 9 dice

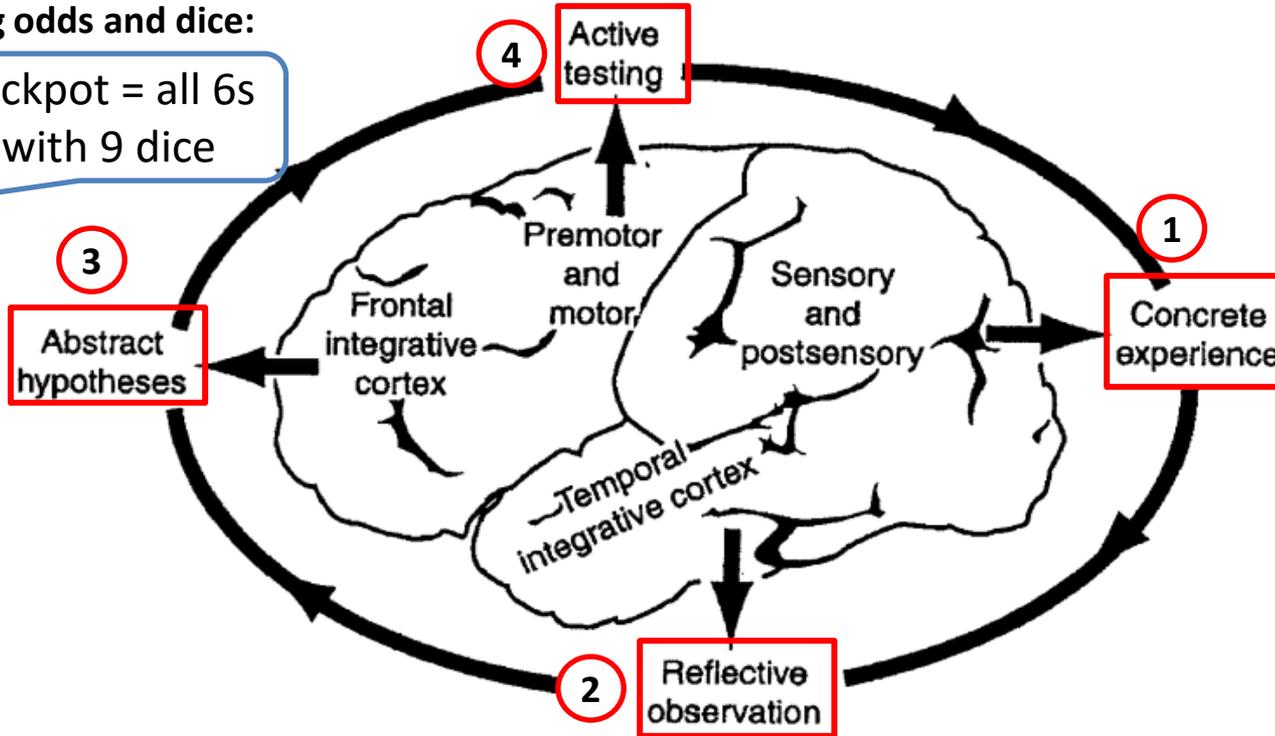


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Field Experiment

- **Sample:**
 - 840 people,
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 - Little formal education



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- **2-staged randomization:**

- 415 people assigned to gambling debias
- Random assignment of treatment intensity (# of dice rolls to get 2 sixes)



Field Experiment

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- **2-staged randomization:**

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- **Outcomes:**

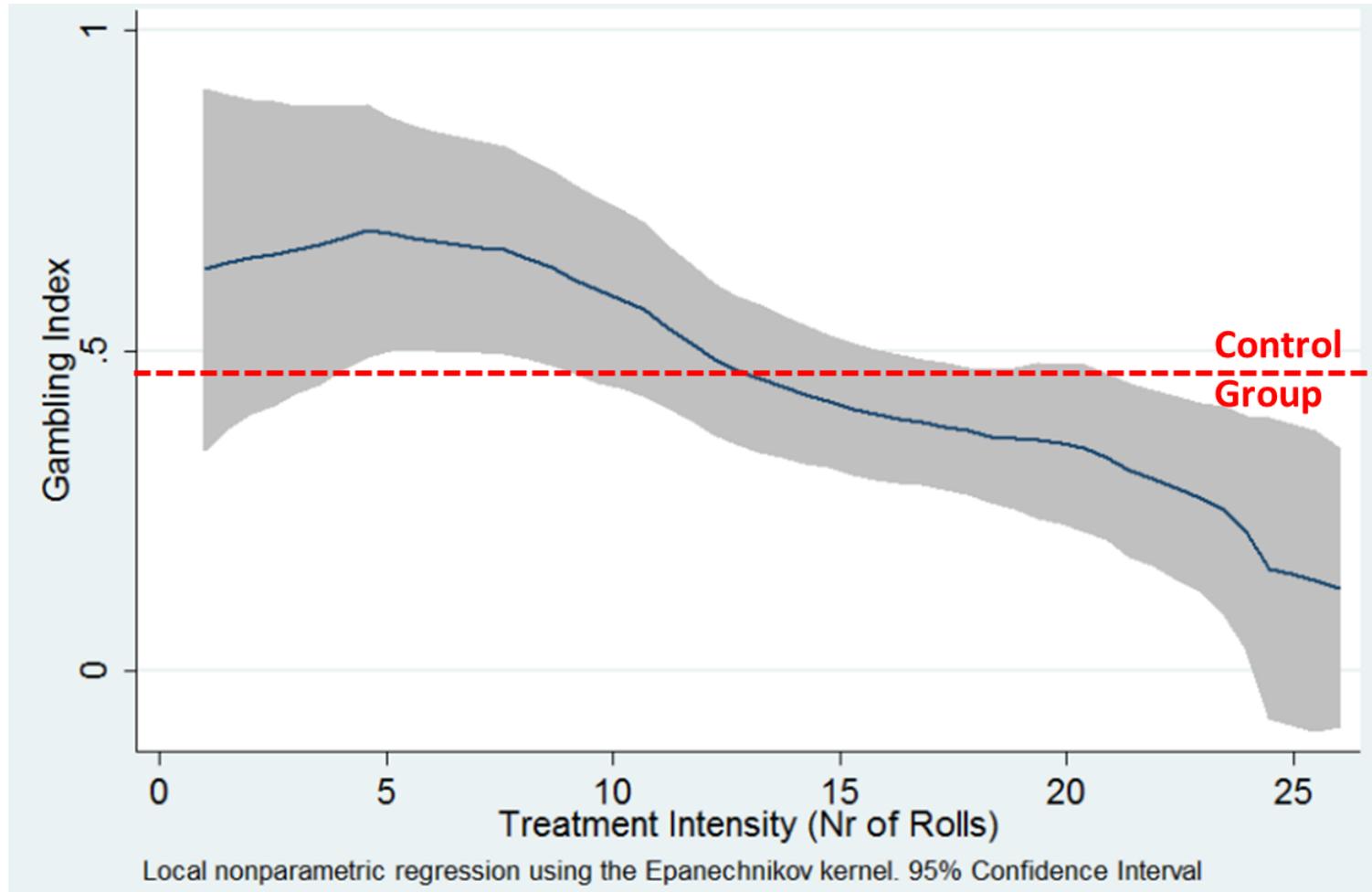
- Measured immediately, after 6 months, and 12 months



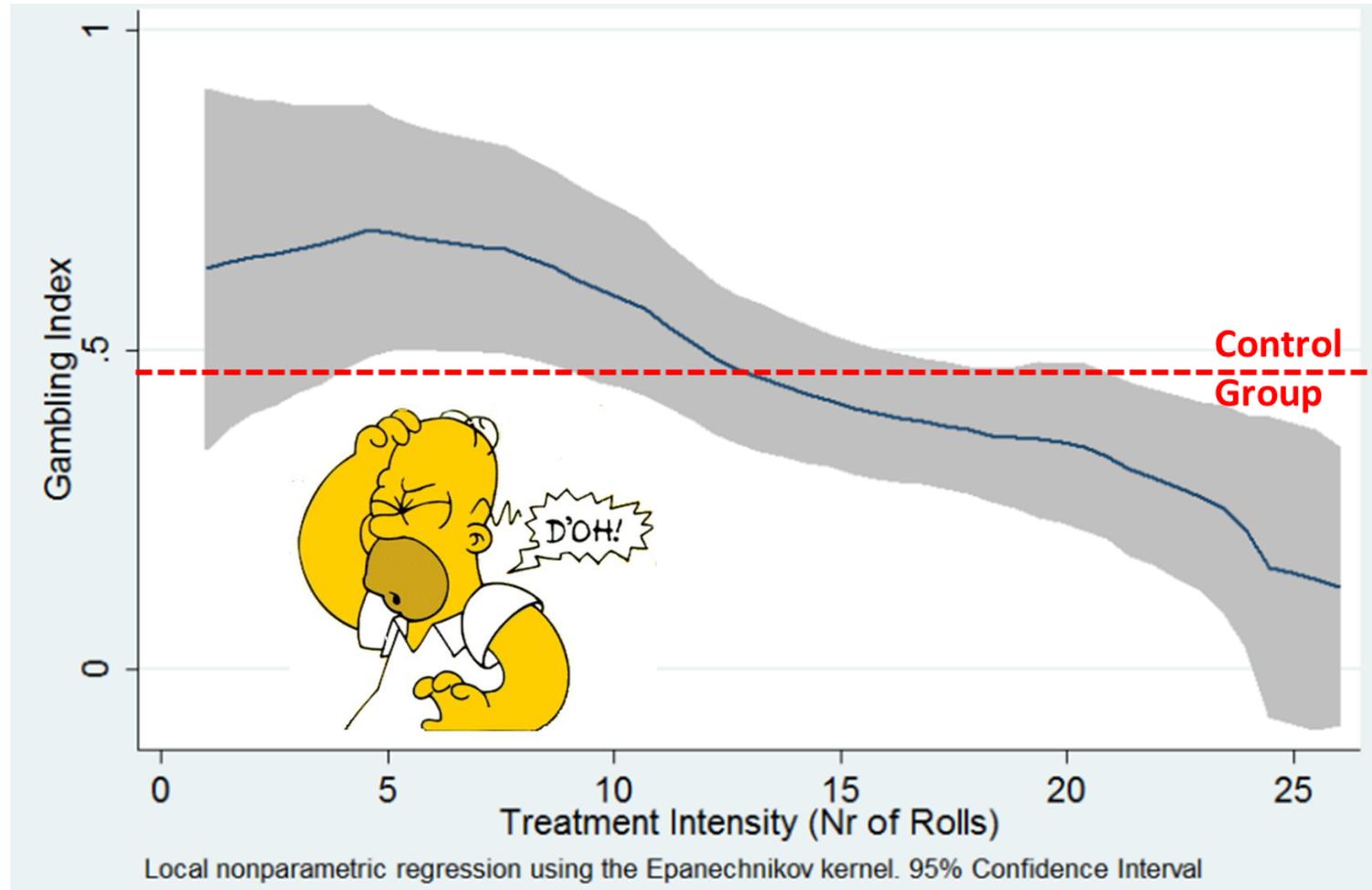
Main Specification

$$y_i = \alpha_0 + \beta_1 T_{low} + \beta_2 T_{high} + \gamma X_i + e_i$$

Experiential Learning Works!



Experiential Learning Works!



SAMPLING APPLICATION: CLUSTER SAMPLING

Context

- Evaluation of technical and business training for informal small scale enterprises in Uganda
- These SMEs operate in concentrated industrial pockets in the outskirts of Kampala
- Fairly diverse occupations – 9 separate industry types covered
- Sampling frame is all SMEs that are part of the Katwe Small Scale Industries Association (KASSIDA)

Distribution of Sample

	Prop. Of Sample
Sector 1: Barbershop/Hair Salon	0.096
Sector 2: Carpentry	0.064
Sector 3: Catering	0.146
Sector 4: Fitting and machinery	0.015
Sector 5: Electricals	0.016
Sector 6: Foundry and forgery	0.089
Sector 7: Metal fabrication	0.261
Sector 8: Shoe making and repair	0.049
Sector 9: Tailoring and knitting	0.263

Evaluation 101... Quick Review

- Important to establish a counterfactual group in order to assess impact
- We are implementing randomized evaluation where “treatment” of training is randomly assigned
- Hence, by design treatment status is not correlated with any socio-economic/demographic/business factors

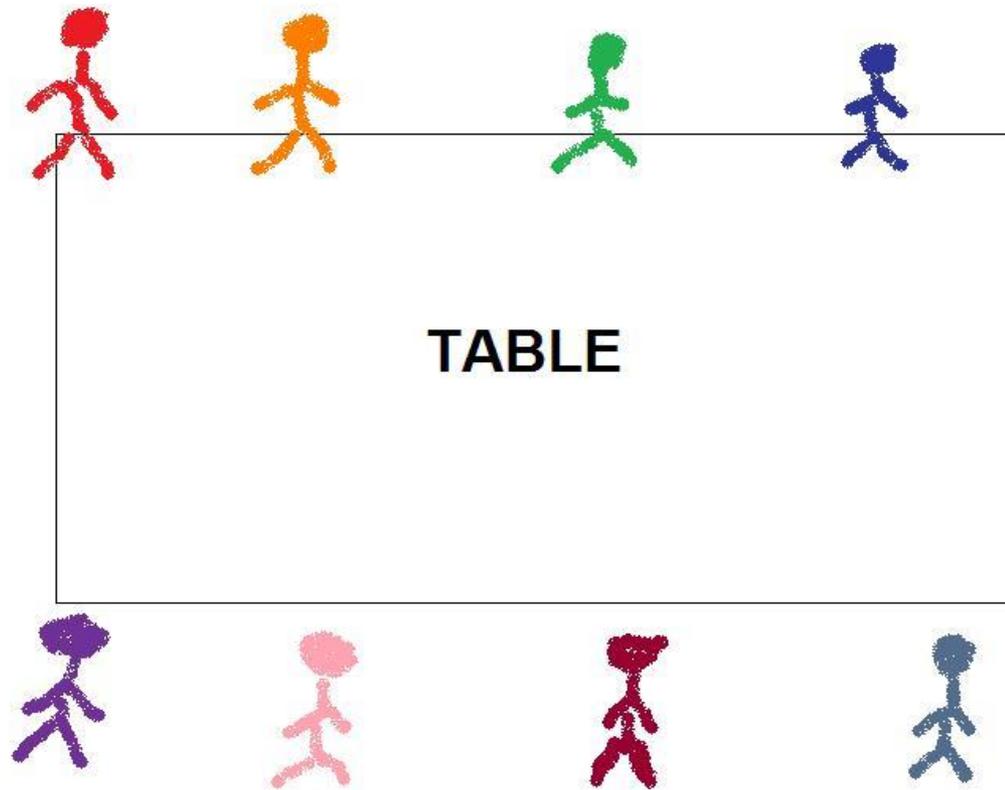
What is the Unit of Randomization?

- All else equal, we want to randomize at the lowest level possible – i.e. individual level.
- This maximizes power and reduces required sample size. Satisfies small budgets.
- Can we do this here?

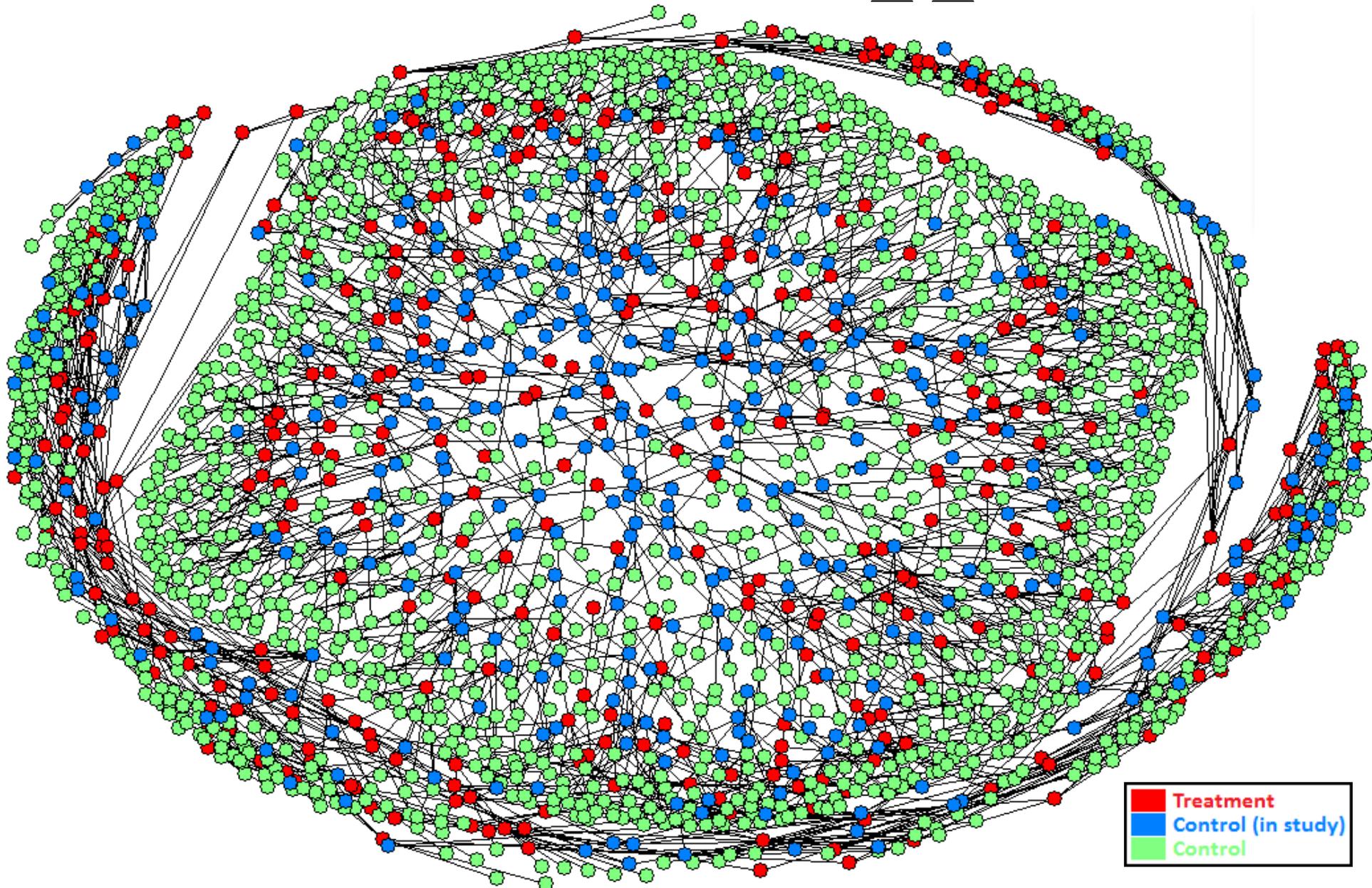
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- Can we do this here?
 - What is the potential problem?

Randomize This!



What a Cluster _ _ !!





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Spillovers...

- Sampling/Evaluation Challenge:
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 - How to disentangle effects of training from peer learning?
 - Clearly we have to move away from individual randomization to...
 - Group level randomization
 - But how to form groups?

Making Sense of Clusters

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 - Lump firms together by sector
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Making Sense of Clusters

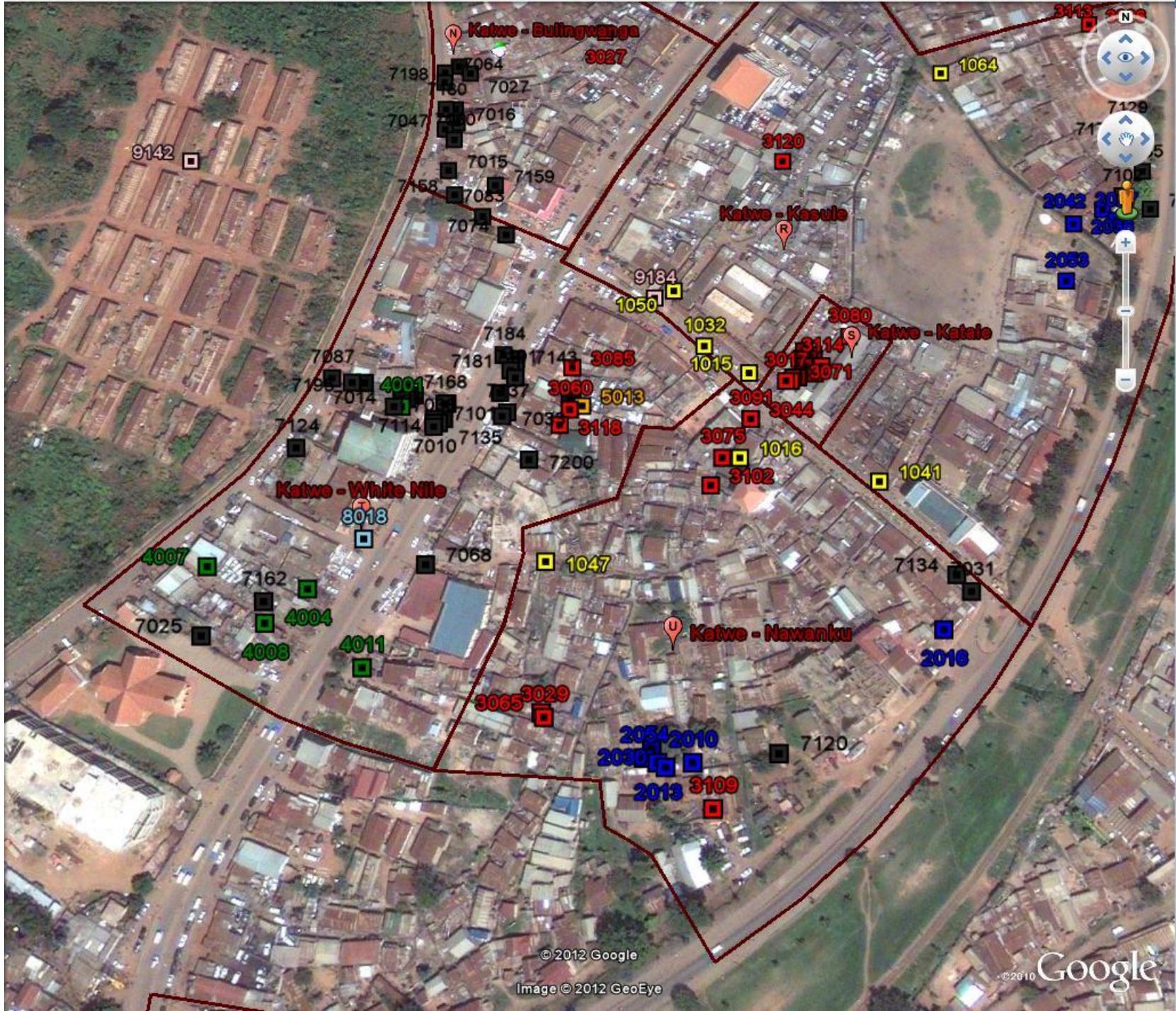
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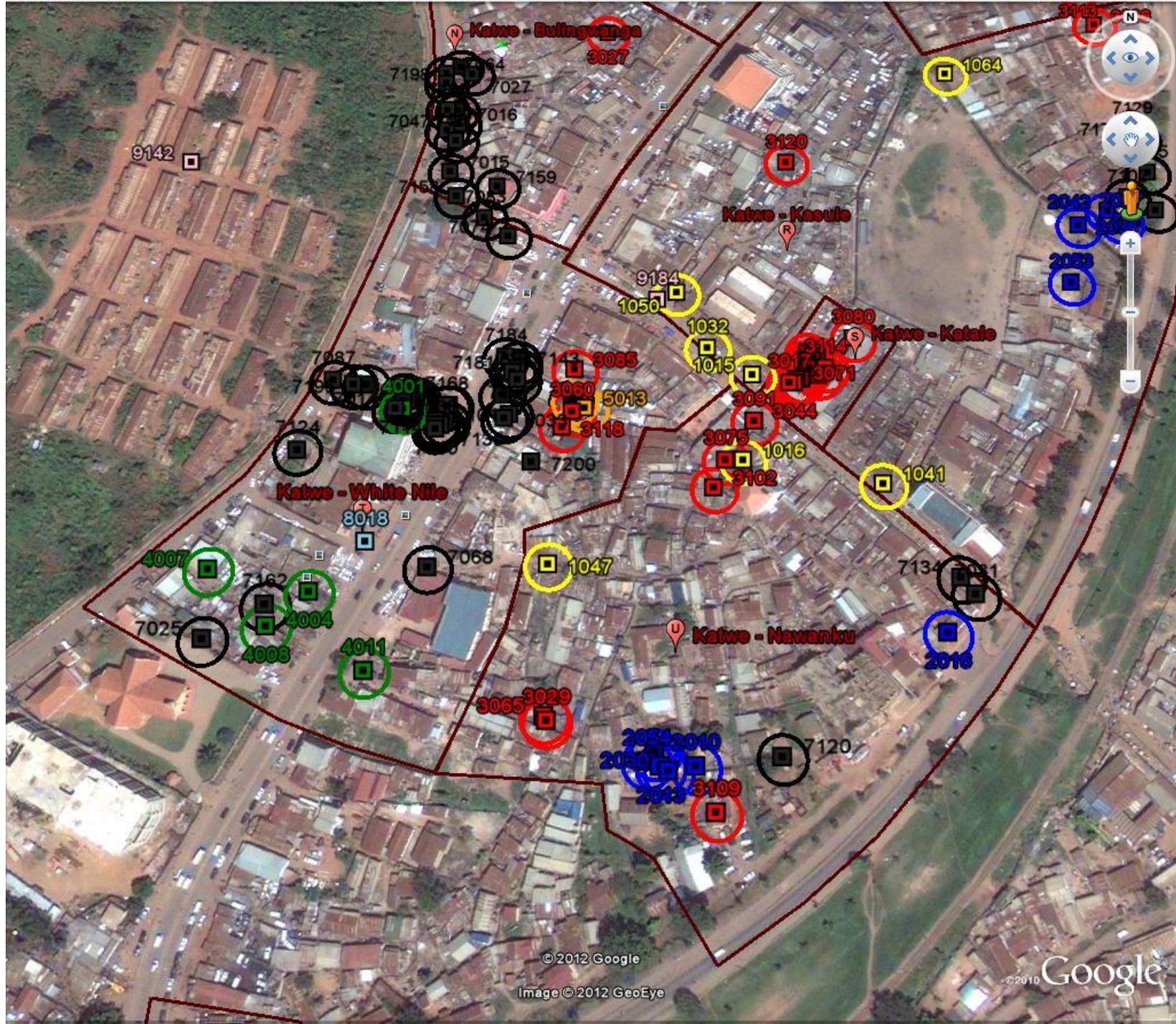
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- Randomization at cluster level





Summary

- Physical proximity often makes individual data less unique
- If we care about precise treatment effects, then we have to move to higher level of analysis
- In our case, this was done by forming clusters based on physical proximity and conducting analysis at cluster level
- As an aside, note that networks do not necessarily depend on physical proximity alone...