THE EFFECT OF WARNINGS ON IRRESPONSIBLE ONLINE PURCHASE BEHAVIOUR

Research Challenge
Technical Report

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Abstract

Consumers take financially irresponsible decisions when they buy products that they cannot really afford. We pose that online buying in particular has a low associated “pain of paying” and therefore carries a higher risk of irresponsible spending. In our research, we investigate the effectiveness of warnings during online payments in triggering more responsible decision-making. We hypothesize that this “last moment” before committing to a purchase can be used to raise the pain of paying, by highlighting the opportunity costs of the purchase, thereby lowering the purchase rate. Through crowdsourced data gathering, we find that warnings are an effective mechanism to reduce spending, and that severe warnings are the most effective ones. We confirm that these warnings are associated with a more negative emotional response, which we attribute to a higher pain of paying. Our results provide insights for further study, in particular on warning types and the effects on high-risk buyer demographics, and are encouraging for future implementation in online payment applications.

Keywords: Nudges, Warnings, Online payments, Pain of paying

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Economics has long assumed people behave rationally and use their resources in an optimal way by weighing their choices and deciding what is in their best interest. When considering the options, it is not only about what we end up choosing, but also the alternatives we give up on. While this seems logical, in practice people rarely think about opportunity costs. Ariely and Kreisler argue that this lack of consideration for the opportunity costs "is our biggest money mistake and the reason we make many other mistakes" (Ariely, & Kreisler, 2017).

When this lack of consideration of our future interests leads to unpaid credit card bills or mortgage payments, then it becomes problematic, not just for the individuals themselves, but for a society as a whole. International statistics paint a bleak picture: according to Dutch financial advice organisation Nibud, 37% of households in the Netherlands have issues paying back their debts, and for 22% their situation is considered problematic (Van der Schors et.al, 2015). Credit card debt in the US is at an all-time high of $6.534, per person1 and the in the UK is reportedly "in the grip of a personal debt crisis" with levels of unsecured borrowing predicted to hit a record of £19,000.- per household in 20222, and household debt reaching £1,887 billion last year. (Harari, 2017).

The growth of online shopping poses further challenges to manage our finances well. Advanced and targeted marketing, social media pressure and attractive product presentation all contribute to us spending more: worldwide online spending has grown to 1.9 trillion US$ in 2016 and expecting to grow to 4 trillion US$ in 20203. In 2017, e-retail sales accounted for 10.2 percent of all retail sales worldwide, and this figure is expected to reach 17.5 percent in 20214.

The user experience for online payments also continues to improve, with features like wallets, one-click ordering and shortened authentication processes lowering the “pain” we feel when we shop online.

The “pain of paying” in Zellermayer’s original definition, is a “direct and immediate displeasure or pain from the act of making a payment,” and is generally & Matthijsen, 2013). The two main determinants of the “pain of paying” are:

1. **The temporal gap between payment and consumption** - This refers to the time gap between payment and consumption. The less we link the act of payment to the consumption itself, the more we consume.

2. **The salience of the payment situation** - This refers to the payment method, and the attention this creates to the payment details such as the payment amount. Having to take out our wallet and counting the cash we are handing over results in more “pain” than a one-click payment at online shopping or a quick signature on the credit-card bill. We are more conscious of the amount we are spending, and feel more like we are “parting” with our money.

Given these components, paying with credit cards, for example, is shown to cause higher levels of spending than paying with cash (Van der Horst & Matthijsen, 2013). Online payments have several characteristics that further lower the associated
pain of paying compared to credit card payments. The payment action is often further removed from the time of consumption, and the payment action itself is increasingly easy and abstract. So, as our buying habits shift towards increasingly low-pain methods, we expect that the issue of irresponsible online payments is also likely to grow.

What is needed to create more financially responsible behaviour? Financial literacy education geared towards improving forward-thinking financial capability, like “how to save for retirement” or “how to select a mortgage” tend to have limited impact on our day-to-day actions. Even experts get it wrong - in the US 46% of financial advisors do not have a retirement plan themselves (Ariely & Kreisler, 2017). Education and awareness are often not sufficient - to override the desire for the short-term gratification associated with consumption, we need stronger levels of self-control at key decision moments (Ariely & Kreisler, 2017).

Thaler and Sunstein have argued that “nudges” offer a more effective way to steer people towards better choices. (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). Nudging is a way to limit the options available, so that we do not have to rely on self-control alone to help us act responsibly. So how can we “nudge” people towards financially responsible behaviour? Creating effective “triggers” in their day-to-day digital actions may offer a better chance of success. (Weinmann et al, 2016).

In our research, we create these “digital nudges” by adding a warning to the payment screen at the time participant is about to complete a payment, highlighting a possible consequence of the payment. The aim of our research is to see if people will be more likely to cancel an irresponsible purchase if they receive a reminder for its opportunity cost. By raising awareness of the opportunity costs of the purchase right at the time of payment, we aim to create a “last chance” moment of consciously weighing the purchase need, benefits and costs.

We define irresponsible purchases for the purpose of our research, as a purchase for which the bank account of the purchaser contains insufficient funds, so would lead to the person going into overdraft.

To compare the number of irresponsible purchase we define the purchase ratio as the ratio of purchases that are completed (as opposed to cancelled by the user) to the overall number of purchases. A purchase ratio of 40% means that 60% of the purchases were cancelled by the participants.

Hypotheses

Our base hypothesis is that financial warnings presented at the moment of payment decrease the number of a financially irresponsible purchases, or the purchase ratio. We hypothesize what type of warnings will be most effective in decreasing the purchase ratio:

H1. Severe warnings decrease the purchase ratio more than less severe warnings (experiment 1)

H2. Short-term consequences decrease the purchase ratio more than longer-term consequences (experiment 2)

H3. Concrete consequences decrease the purchase ratio more than abstract consequences (experiment 2)
2. Methodology

2.1 Overview
To validate our hypotheses, our experiments consist of a questionnaire in which we simulate online purchases of shoes, electronics or concert tickets. These products were chosen as items that are generally desired, but not always essential, and within a similar price range. Once the participants have chosen their preferred object to purchase, they are presented with a brief description of the purchase situation, and the payment screen, where the participant can choose to "buy" or "cancel" the product. For every purchase, the bank account balance is lower than the price they are about to pay, therefore completing the payment means going into debt. We vary the warning messages at the time of payment, and record whether the participant decides to cancel rather than buy the product. The participants' purchase decisions are aggregated to calculate the purchase ratio: the percentage of products purchased compared to all purchases.

2.2 Experimental setup
Our study consisted of two experiments, conducted serially. In experiment 1, the effect of financial warnings on the purchase ratio was tested by comparing the purchase ratio without a warning at the moment of payment to the purchase ratio in case of a suggestion and a more severe warning. This experiment evaluated hypothesis 1.

In experiment 2 the participants were presented with warnings with a short-term or long-term consequence, and with warnings varying in concreteness (financial/numerical, or more abstract). In this experiment, we compared the effectiveness of these different types of warnings, evaluating hypothesis 2 and 3.

Both experiments used a questionnaire consisting of three pre-questions, followed by three purchase scenarios with randomized warning messages, and four post-questions to evaluate the emotional impact of the warnings, the financial capability of the participant, and the participants' appreciation of the functionality.

The main difference between the two experiments was in the warning messages that were shown at the time of payment.

2.2.1 Pre-questions
Both questionnaires started with three pre-questions which were used to select the details in the remainder of the questionnaire. Participants were asked about their income level, their product preference and their name.

The goal of asking for the income level was two-fold. First, we wanted to ensure that the product price corresponded to what a person with that income range would generally be willing to pay for the chosen product. We determined relevant pricing for our original Dutch questionnaire from the survey on household spending from the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS)\(^5\). In this overview, average yearly spending per product category is given for different Dutch income brackets. For the English questionnaire, we adjusted the income brackets based on US income ranges\(^6\), the associated prices per income bracket were kept constant. The second reason to request the participant’s income was to be
able to validate if the income level would affect the response to different warnings.

Next, participants were asked to choose which product they would most like to buy: electronics, concert tickets or shoes. We selected these three products to create a comparable level of interest for the purchase across the test population, since according to the CBS data, all income brackets spend on average similar amounts on these products per year (around 1%).

Lastly, the participants were also asked to fill in their names, to create a more realistic situation on the payment screen. Names and other identifying elements have been removed from the results file, as indicated to the participant at the start of the task.

### 2.2.2 Purchase scenarios

Once the pre-questions were completed, the participants were shown three consecutive purchase scenarios for the product of their choice. After each scenario, they were asked to record their emotional state.

To increase the resemblance to a real purchase, a guiding description of the situation was written to trigger their desire to buy the product. These guiding texts were always shown in the same order to create a storyline, emphasizing that the scenarios are independent and take place months away from each other, throughout a full year. The participants then saw a picture representing the product and the payment screen, modelled after the ING Bank iDeal payment screen.

To create an irresponsible buying condition, all scenarios are designed to create an overdraft situation. The price of the products was set up based on the income brackets selected by the participant in the pre-questions. In all scenarios, the price of the product exceeded the available bank account balance, corresponding to approximately 50% of the product price. So, if the shoes cost $200, the current bank account held around $100, and completing the purchase would make the participant go into debt.

A small variation in the payment amount was added to help the participant see the three purchases as three distinct transactions. The prices for the participants’ income bracket were adjusted with - $10, $0 and +$10, randomly distributed to each of the three scenarios presented.

Each purchase was accompanied by a different warning. The warning scenarios as well as the product images were presented to the participant in random order. The warnings presented to the user vary in warning severity (experiment 1), warning timing (experiment 2), and warning concreteness (experiment 2).

Warning severity refers to the level of danger in the expected negative consequence that is expressed with the warning. “Are you sure?” expresses a lower level of danger than “Warning!” Our “no warning” condition, where the participant sees the payment screen but receives no warning, corresponds to the lowest severity level.

Warning timing refers to the timeframe that a described consequence will take effect: this week, this month, or this year.

Warning concreteness refers to the level of abstraction in the warning messages. For example, “You may not be able to do further purchase this
month" is more abstract than "You will pay $14 in interest this month."

The detailed warnings for the two experiments are described in sections 2.3.1 Scenarios of experiment 1 and 2.3.2: Scenarios of experiment 2.

In the screen showing the payment as well as the random warning, the participant was then requested to select “buy” or “cancel” for this purchase. The purchase ratio is calculated by the number of bought products divided by the total number of products.

To understand if our participants were emotionally affected by the warnings after their buy or cancel action, we assessed the emotional response immediately after the cancel or purchase decision. If highlighting the consequence of a payment is effective by raising the "pain of paying", then we would expect that more effective warnings should trigger more negative emotions. We used Ritchins' Consumer Emotional Scale (CES) (Richins, 2007). This scale was developed specifically to assess buyer emotions. The scale consists of 47 terms, balanced in terms of positive and negative ones. Richins notes that researches do not need to use the entire spectrum of the scale, but can choose the emotional categories that are appropriate for the specific research situation. We selected the 10 most relevant emotions for our payment situation: satisfied, happy, excited, relieved, angry, unhappy, worried, sad, ashamed, guilty. Participants could also answer "I don’t know."

2.2.3 Post-questions

Having completed the purchase scenarios, the participants were asked to answer questions validating their level of financial capability, their rationale for cancelling any of the purchases, and their appreciation for the functionality. The answers to these post-questions are used in further interpreting our results.

We validated participants' financial capability using two relevant questions from the OECD Financial Behaviour scale (Atkinson, 2016): "Before I buy something I carefully consider whether I can afford it" and "I pay my bills on time." The answers are scored in the following way: for “Agree” participants received 1 point, for “Disagree” or “I don't know” the participants received 0 points. This corresponds to scoring in the OECD study, which uses a Likert scale, but as in our setup, counts the responses “very likely” and "likely" as a 1-point score, and the remaining answers as 0-point scores. The sum of these two scores was taken as a measure to approximate the financial capability of the participant (low, medium or high).

If the participant cancelled a payment, this could be the result of the persuasive warning, and the resulting judgment by the participant that the purchase is financially irresponsible. Alternatively, they may cancel the payment because they dislike the product being shown, or consider the price too high, or are bored or inattentive to the task. The experimental setup randomizes the warning messages, so any significant difference in purchase ratio with different warnings is assumed to be the effect of the warning itself. However, to further validate this, the participant was asked to select their “reason for cancelling” in a post-question.

Furthermore, we wanted to learn whether participants would appreciate having this kind of warning functionality. Participants were asked, after completing the questionnaire, if they would turn on such functionality if it was made available.
Lastly, the participants were able to leave their free-format comments about the questionnaire and the functionality. The comments were collected and scored based on the topic and positive or negative sentiment expressed.

2.3 Warning scenarios

2.3.1 Warning scenarios of Experiment 1

In the first experiment the effect of the severity of warnings in online purchases was tested. The scenario’s tested were: a scenario with no warning, a scenario with a light suggestive warning not to purchase, and a scenario with a severe warning, stating the participant has insufficient funds in their bank account at this time.

The language of the notification messages was derived from warning messaging generally used in online applications. The notifications, as can be seen in Table 1, draw the participant’s attention to the consequence of the payment with increasing severity.

As described in the methodology section, each participant was asked to complete three purchase scenarios. The explanatory storyline is presented in the same order to all participants, while the three warnings are presented to the participant in random order.

Figure 1: Template design for the scenario where the participant is given a warning about the potential financial consequence of the transaction

Table 1: Scenarios for Experiment 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Notification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No warning</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>Are you sure? You may not be able to do any further purchases this month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warning</td>
<td>Warning! You have insufficient balance to complete this purchase.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.2 Scenarios of Experiment 2

In the second experiment, we tested the effectiveness of warnings with varying timing and concreteness. Warning timing refers to short-term consequences, now, versus medium and long-term consequences, in a month’s time, in a year’s time. We would like to understand how adding short-term versus long-term consequences of the payment impacts the decision to cancel the purchase.

We would also like to understand if the concreteness of a consequence may positively impact the purchase ratio. Warning concreteness compares a more abstract consequence to a concrete financial consequence.

We also included an alternative value consequence. Consequences of a purchase are typically financial in nature: the buyer may go into overdraft, or will not be able to reach their savings target. But alternative consequence types are also possible. Previous studies have shown that people regard different forms of value differently, even if they represent equal monetary value. In particular, one study showed that translating monetary value into "hours worked" would typically lower its appeal." In short, we found that the consideration of time is not a remedy to induce more responsible spending decisions. The main identified reason for this is time misperception and underweighting of its opportunity cost" (StarTeam, 2017).

So, as part of our warning setup, we include a condition that highlights the consequence of a purchase by translating the value of the purchase into equivalent work hours. Although this provides a concrete numerical consequence (the purchase corresponds to doing approximately 7 hours of work in figure 2), based on our previous study we would expect that consequences identified in terms of hours of work would be less effective in preventing irresponsible payments than other more concrete financial warnings. The resulting set of scenario’s is listed in Table 2.

![Figure 2: Financial warning expressed in the equivalent hours of work.](image-url)
### Table 2: Scenarios for Experiment 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Warning timing</th>
<th>Now</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Warning concreteness</strong></td>
<td>Are you sure? You don’t have sufficient balance to complete this purchase right now.</td>
<td>Are you sure? You may not have sufficient balance for your rent or mortgage next month.</td>
<td>Are you sure? You may not reach your savings target this year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Timed Suggestion</strong></td>
<td>Are you sure? You don’t have sufficient balance to complete this purchase right now.</td>
<td>Are you sure? You may not have sufficient balance for your rent or mortgage next month.</td>
<td>Are you sure? You may not reach your savings target this year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concrete Warning</strong></td>
<td>Warning! Your account balance will be (value). The interest rate is 14% per year, or $ (cost) per week.</td>
<td>Warning! Your account balance will be (value). The interest rate is 14%, or $ (cost) per month.</td>
<td>Warning! Your account balance will be (value). The interest rate is 14%, or $ (cost) per year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Hours of Work | Please note - this purchase amount equals approximately (value) hours of work. |

The value for the “hours of work” impact was computed as \( \text{Cost} / (\text{Yearly Income} / 2080 \text{ hours}) \). For the concrete, numerical warning the cost varied with the timing of the consequence: the yearly interest amount was computed as \( |(\text{Balance} - \text{Cost})| \times 14\% \). For the monthly rate and weekly rate this was further divided by 12 months or 52 weeks. The interest rate of 14% was taken as a reasonable average based on research on current interest rates for checking account debt across a variety of banks in the UK and US, and the Netherlands.

As in the first experiment, each participant was asked to complete three purchase scenarios. The explanatory storyline is presented in the same order for all participants, but the warnings were randomized. We assigned a random timing condition to the timed suggestion and the concrete warning, and presented the two results together with the hours worked scenario in random order to the participant.

### 2.4 Conducting the experiment

#### 2.4.1 Crowdflower setup

Crowdsourcing has demonstrated value in allowing for quick, cheap, realistic and reliable testing of research scenarios (Timmermans, 2015). We distributed our questionnaire via the Crowdflower crowdsourcing platform.

Based on our experience with previous crowdsourcing experiments, we aimed to obtain a minimum of 1000 participants. Initially the experiment was set up for Dutch users, but this was changed to English speaking users in order to reach a larger audience. To ensure the reliability of the results, the task was published in the US, UK, Australia and Canada, in order to reach a large base of native English-speaking participants. The "crowd workers" were paid a financial reward of $0.25 for a completed questionnaire. The tasks were accessible for a period of two weeks each. We included several measures to allow evaluation of the reliability of the crowd worker’s answers. These measures are explained and evaluated in the section 2.4.2.

#### 2.4.2 Metrics for evaluating data quality

To be able to filter out low quality judgements, we relied on a number of data quality measures: platform analytics, allowing contradictory answers, recording time spent, and free-format feedback.

The Crowdflower-platform itself pre-scores the reliability of participants based on previous tasks. In addition, the platform identifies “suspicious” activity,
such as multiple questionnaires sent from the same IP-address. These were immediately removed from the datasets.

In crowdsourcing experiments generally, unreliable judgments can be identified by comparing the answers of participants across their input data. In our experiments there was only a single instance of the crowdsourcing task, containing the three scenarios to be completed. Therefore, we relied on allowing the contributors to give contradicting answers within the questionnaire to a number of validation questions, a method that was previously applied successfully (Timmermans et al, 2015). These validation questions were embedded as post-questions.

First, in the statements to validate financial capability, the participant could select multiple options from “Agree,” “Disagree” and “I don’t know.” If the participant selected Agree as well as Disagree, this participant’s answers were deemed unreliable and removed from the dataset.

Furthermore, we allowed contradiction in the post-question about the reason for cancelling a payment. The possible answers to this question were: “It was not financially responsible”, “I didn’t want to buy the product” or “Not applicable (I bought all three products)”. In the case where a participant bought all products, but still gave a reason for cancelling, as well as in the case where a user cancelled all three purchases but nevertheless chose “not applicable (I bought all three products),” these answers were rated as contradicting, and the data of these participants was judged unreliable and removed.

Aside from detecting contradicting answers, we also recorded time spent on each scenario. Participants that spent less than three seconds on any scenario, were also not considered reliable, as they would not have had sufficient time to read the actual payment and warning text.

In the free-format feedback, five users indicated that they could not always cancel the purchase because the cancel button did not work. Through this feedback we identified an issue with the questionnaire with a limited number of mobile operating systems on Android or iPhone devices. We removed all participants in this situation from the data.

As a result of these measures, 428 participants (27.6%) were removed from the results.

Lastly, to correct for any bias as a result of product photos or the storyline, we validated whether product choice had any impact on the purchase ratio. The electronics product category was selected most often by the participants, as can be seen in Table 3. We found similar overall purchase ratios for the products, although for tickets fewer participants indicated they cancelled the purchase because they had “no interest” in the product, rather than because it was financially irresponsible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Purchase ratio</th>
<th>Had no interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothing</strong></td>
<td>386</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Electronics</strong></td>
<td>803</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tickets</strong></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Product choice in comparison to purchase ratio
3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Participation
The two experiments were run on crowdsourcing platform CrowdFlower for a period of two weeks each. As can be seen in Table 4, the first experiment was performed by 925 participants, and the second experiment by 628 participants. Each participant judged three scenarios, resulting in 4659 judgements. Based on the data validation measurements discussed in section 2.4.2, 27.6% of participants were removed, resulting in a total of 3375 judgments, 1872 for experiment 1 and 1503 for experiment 2.

Filtering out these potentially unreliable answers increased the probability that the remaining data were reliable. In the following sections the hypotheses will be evaluated based on these datasets. The full dataset and code used to filter and aggregate the data can be downloaded from github.

3.2 Decreasing financially irresponsible purchases

3.2.1 Results of Experiment 1
The objective of the first experiment was to assess whether warnings at the time of payment reduce financially irresponsible purchases, with our first hypothesis that more severe warnings are more effective in decreasing the number of financially irresponsible purchases.

In the control scenario - a purchase without a warning - the purchase ratio was 50%. This means that half of the population completed the purchase, despite going into overdraft as a result. Comparing this baseline to the two warning conditions, the suggestion ("Are you sure?") and the more severe warning ("Warning!") it is evident that the warnings are effective in reducing the purchase ratio, with the warning lowering the purchase ratio by 39 percentage points, or 78%.

The results for experiment 1 are shown below in Table 5.

Using ANOVA, we find that the difference in purchase ratio between the three warning conditions is significant (F=57.4 p=2.95e-25). We conclude that the warning messages effectively decreased the purchase ratio, and we accept our first hypothesis that more severe warnings decrease the ratio of financially irresponsible purchases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Number of judgments gathered per experiment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participants</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experiment 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experiment 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Purchase Ratio results for experiment 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Purchase Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Warning</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warning</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Results of Experiment 2

Having established in experiment 1 that warnings make a difference and more severe warnings are more effective in lowering the purchase ratio, experiment 2 tests the effect of warning timing and warning concreteness. The resulting purchase ratios are in table 6.

The second hypothesis tested whether warnings with a short-term consequence decrease the purchase ratio more than longer-term warnings. This was tested by highlighting short-term, medium-term or long-term consequences of the purchase in the warning message. The expectation was that short-term consequences are more convincing than long-term consequence in changing purchase behaviour.

This pattern was confirmed for the more abstract Timed Suggestion scenario, in which the short-term warning purchase ratio of 16% was significantly lower (p=0.00029) than the 31% purchase ratio for the warning with a long-term consequence.

For the Concrete Warning scenario, however, we found the opposite result. The purchase ratio for the long-term consequence was significantly lower (p=0.024) at 10% than for the short-term warning with a purchase ratio of 17%.

We expect this difference can be explained by that the fact that the long-term consequence also is greater in absolute impact: the long-term consequence describes the interest to be paid back in a year’s time, as opposed to the monthly or weekly interest to be paid. The greater financial impact appears more convincing to the participants to cancel their purchase.

Even though the unexpected effect for the Concrete Warning was less pronounced than the expected effect for the Timed suggestion warning, based on this experiment alone we are unable to accept the hypothesis that more immediate consequence warnings decrease the ratio of financially irresponsible decisions. Since the scenario’s received 150-180 annotations each, more data could potentially help to improve the explanation for the findings, in particular the role of the absolute (financial) size of the impact.

The third hypothesis evaluates whether concrete warnings are more effective in decreasing the purchase ratio than more abstract warnings. The warning concreteness was represented by two different warnings in which the consequence described differed in concreteness – a potential future financial effect, to a most concrete warning listing the financial interest rate and incurred cost. The Hours of Work warning is added a separate warning condition.

Table 6: Purchase ratio results for experiment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Overall Purchase Ratio</th>
<th>Now</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timed Suggestion</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete Warning</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of Work</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This pattern is confirmed, with the Concrete Warning (14%) being more effective than the Timed Suggestion (24%) in lowering the purchase ratio. The difference in effect of the different warnings in experiment 2 was significant (F=24.7 p=2.14e-11) and the most concrete warning had the lowest purchase ratio. Because of this we accept the third hypothesis that more concrete warnings decrease the purchase ratio more than warnings describing more abstract consequences.

As expected, the Hours of Work scenario appears fairly ineffective, only slightly lowering the purchase ratio compared to the control scenario with no warning in the first experiment.

3.3 Exploring other impacts on the purchase ratio

To further explore and understand our results, we looked at a number of other relationships in our data: whether the purchase ratios differed per income bracket, whether financial capability predicted the purchase ratio, and whether the purchase decision had an impact on the emotional response. We also discuss results on the participants’ appreciation for the functionality.

In this section, we discuss combined data from experiments 1 and 2.

3.3.1 Income

The first relationship investigated concerns the income-bracket. The income bracket was asked as a pre-question in order to create a relevant pricing for the products for participants from each income bracket. The income distribution was similar for both experiments, with a participant count of 248 for incomes up to $25k, 340 for $25k to $50k, 247 for $50k to $75k, 182 for $75k to $100k and 108 above $100k. The higher income groups were less represented as expected in the crowdworker population, yet frequent enough to be included in the analysis.

![Figure 3: Purchase ratio per income bracket for the different scenarios](image-url)
Based on the income distribution we investigated whether the purchase ratio varied with income. As can be seen in Figure 3, overall the income did not appear to have an influence on the purchase ratio, with the purchase ratio remaining relatively constant across all income brackets. One “outlier” was the Suggestion scenario from experiment 1, which for the $75k - $100k income bracket the purchase ratio shows an unexplained peak.

When the purchase ratios for experiment 2 are broken down in their different timing conditions, however, the results do show differences per income bracket, as can be seen in Figure 4. For the timed suggestion warnings in red, the short-term suggestion was most effective for the lowest income brackets (9%). The longer-term suggestions referring to year-end savings or month-end worries were less convincing for this group at 30% and 34% purchase ratios respectively. For the concrete warnings in green, the long-term warning (with the highest overall cost impact) was particularly effective for high income groups. This warning reduced the purchase ratio to zero for the highest income group. For this group, the short-term concrete warning (with the low overall cost impact) is much less effective, possibly pointing to a different impact-assessment strategy.

3.3.2 Financial capability

The financial capability of the participants was measured with questions from the OECD-financial behaviour scale (Atkinson, 2016).

To validate the answers from our participants, we compare our results on these questions to those in the OECD study. For the question “Before I buy something I carefully consider whether I can afford it,” 91.5% of our participants agreed, compared to 79% in the reference study in OECD countries. For the question “I pay my bills on time” our participants agreed in 91.4% of the questionnaires, compared to 84% in OECD countries. (Atkinson, 2016). So, overall our participants report themselves slightly more capable than the population of the reference study.

Figure 4: Purchase ratio per income bracket for different timing consequences
There appears to be a correlation between the overall financial capability and the purchase ratio, as can be seen in Table 7. The purchase ratios are generally higher for participants that consider themselves less financially capable, as indicated by a “Disagree” or “Don’t know” answer. This relationship is especially pronounced in the case for the first question “Before I buy something, I carefully check whether I can afford it”.

There were just 26 participants that considered themselves “low” in financial capability, therefore no definitive conclusions can be drawn. Overall, however, the results do support the idea that people who consider themselves to be less financially capable appear less affected by the warnings, with participants buying all three products despite the warnings given at 11.5% for those scoring “low” and at 2.9% for those scoring “high”. We consider it important to do further research to confirm this, and to identify ways to better engage this group at risk.

3.3.3 Emotional response

After completing a scenario, participants reported their emotional state, by selecting one or more emotions from the following list: satisfied, happy, excited, relieved, angry, unhappy, worried, sad, ashamed, guilty. Participants could also answer “I don’t know.” The reported emotions, aggregated into positive and negative emotions, are summarized in Table 9. Participant are counted as having a positive emotional score if at least one positive emotion is selected. Participant are counted as having a negative emotional score if at least one negative emotion is selected. Participants selecting both positive and negative emotions have therefore been included in both positive and negative response percentages.

The key finding regarding post-purchase emotions was that the most effective warnings were also associated with the most negative emotions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7: Purchase ratios for different financial capabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I check whether I can afford it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I pay my bills on Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase Ratios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Warning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timed Suggestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete Warning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: The number of participants that indicated financial responsibility and their actual financial behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Responsibility</th>
<th>No Purchases</th>
<th>One Purchase</th>
<th>Two Purchases</th>
<th>All Purchased</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low (0)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3 (11.5%)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (1)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17 (13.5%)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (2)</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>28 (2.9%)</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>48 (4.3%)</td>
<td>1125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Percentage of participants that expressed any positive or negative emotions after purchasing or not purchasing for each scenario.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Purchased Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Cancelled Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Warning</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warning</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timed Suggestion</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of Work</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete Warning</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The severe warning in experiment 1, which was the most effective scenario overall in lowering the purchase ratio, resulted in the least positive feelings (64%) and most negative (40%) after purchase, and also in the least positive (25%) and most negative (75%) feelings in case the purchase was cancelled. The concrete warning from experiment 2, which was the second most effective warning overall in lowering the purchase ratio, resulted in only slightly fewer negative emotions (78%, 33%) and was associated with only slightly fewer negative emotions (32%, 69%). We interpret this increase in negative emotion as a confirmation that the warnings indeed create an increased “pain of paying.”

Across both experiments, the positive feelings that were expressed at the end of each scenario were Satisfied (779), Happy (547), Relieved (473) and Excited (280). The negative selected emotions were Unhappy (799), Sad (694), Worried (481), Angry (280), Ashamed (279), Guilty (186). Looking at the intensity of emotions, generally the subtler ones have been selected: the more intense positive emotion Excited and the more intense negative emotions, like Ashamed and Guilty were expressed least often. We would need to replicate the study in real-life payments to understand if this intensity is the “natural” emotional response, or a result of the fictitious nature of the purchase situation.

3.3.4 Appreciation for the warning functionality

Despite reporting frequent negative emotions, most participants also reported that they would appreciate financial warnings, as shown in Table 10. This positive feedback was supported overall by the unstructured feedback given in the free-format comment field of the task, although some questions were also raised as well on the possible intrusiveness of this feature (see discussion in section 3.3). Overall, this result is encouraging for implementation.
A correlation appears between participants’ appreciation for the functionality and their financial capability score, with highly financially capable participants reporting higher appreciation for the functionality (81% vs 60%) and low financial capability reporting higher percentages of “no interest” (20% vs. 15%). This further supports our understanding that the “low capability” participants are less affected by the current set of warnings and less interested in being coached or reminded in this way.

The general positive reception of the feature tested here is also reflected in the participant feedback received from the end of the questionnaire.

3.3 Participant feedback

The participants had the option to leave a free-format comment about the questionnaire. Out of 202 relevant comments, 122 were explicitly positive about the questionnaire and/or the functionality, 33 of these directly expressing thankfulness for raising awareness and welcoming the functionality.

Five comments were explicitly negative, finding the warnings condescending, intrusive or ‘pushy’. A further 12 participants indicated that they check their balance anyway before they complete a purchase, suggesting that the functionality is unnecessary.

The “hours worked” warning received very mixed feedback.

There were 18 participants who had some misunderstandings regarding the task. Most of them thought that the purchase would take place in a real shop, not in a webshop, assuming that the sales assistant would then be able to see their financial information.

Another 5 people indicated that the cancel button did not work for them, those questionnaires have been removed from this evaluation as well as from the data analysis, as discussed in section 2.4.2 Metrics for evaluating data quality.

Based on this unsolicited feedback from the participants we can conclude that a majority of participants would welcome such a functionality, especially if privacy concerns were clarified and they understood that the warnings are coming from their own bank based on information the bank already has access to.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Responsibility</th>
<th>Desire</th>
<th>No Desire</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Ratio of participants that would appreciate the financial warning functionality.
4. Conclusions

4.1 Key outcomes

The key outcomes of this study are as follows:

1) Warnings at the time of payment are effective in reducing irresponsible purchases. Warnings highlighting a severe consequence are most effective, reducing the purchase ratio by 39 percentage points, or 78%.

2) The most effective warnings are associated with a more pronounced negative emotional response. We interpret this as a reflection of a higher “pain of paying” associated with these warnings.

3) Self-reported financial capability appears to have a correlation with the purchase ratio. People who self-report to be less financially capable are more likely to buy a product they cannot really afford. They appear to be less impacted by the warning messages. Further research is needed to see how we can most effectively trigger this group.

4) Income appears to influence the effect of warnings: low-income participants were more convinced in our study by short-term consequences even when they were less concrete, high-income participants were more affected by long-term concrete consequences. Because the longer-term messages were also higher in absolute impact, further research is needed to better interpret these results.

4.2 Future work

While our base hypothesis that warnings lower the purchase ratio, and our first two hypotheses concerning the impact of the severity and concreteness of the warnings on the purchase ratio received support, we do identify several areas where further research is needed. Short-term consequences in warnings were found to vary in effectiveness with different results depending on warning concreteness and income. Presenting users with warning messages tailored to their income group could be the subject of a further investigation.

Our results support the idea that people who consider themselves to be less financially capable appear less affected by the warnings, and more research should be done to confirm better strategies for influencing this group towards more responsible behaviour.

We would like to experiment with “reward substitution,” using messages highlighting a positive consequence of cancelling the payment, such as “Congratulations, you just saved another 50 euros for your vacation,” or a third button next to “pay” and “cancel” allowing you to deposit unspent money directly into your savings account. We expect this reward substitution could be a further nudge to strengthen the self-control mechanisms of online buyers.

To be impactful, the current results will need to be replicated in actual rather than fictitious payment situations, where the warnings are presented after the buying journey has actually been completed, and the payment will be real rather than simulated. The expressed desire for the functionality by the participants provides a positive reinforcement to take the results forward to real-life payments. One application area we envisage is to built-in warning mechanisms in the iDeal-functionality of banks.
Since we would expect similar effectiveness for credit card and mobile payments, these would also be a potential application areas. Clearly, regulatory and other stakeholder concerns, such as retailers', will need to be considered, so a focus on higher-risk groups, where any improvement in financially responsible behaviour is a common interest, would be a good starting point for implementation.

To further improve the effectiveness of the warnings, it would be helpful to improve the predictive model for cancelling the payment. In addition to the severity, timing and concreteness of warning, elements such as buyer demographics including age, their current financial situation across different banks, a more encompassing financial capability score, buyer's current emotional state and other factors could be tested to improve the current model. The model would also benefit from incorporation of psychological factors. Shephard et al. (2017) find that psychological variations such as in optimism, impulsiveness, goal orientation and locus of control are predictors of financially capable behaviour.

Further optimisation of the warning will then be possible, through increased relevance to the personal situation of the buyer. Enriched in this way, any implementations based on this model are likely to require buyer opt-in and stringent privacy safeguards. It remains to be tested if with such increased personal relevance the high level of appreciation for the functionality is retained, or whether this starts to tap into the annoyance factor for over-reaching advisory bots.

To fine-tune this individual line between welcome support to improve responsible behaviour, while preserving the sense of autonomy and freedom of choice, is the next step. But the "last chance-moment" between purchase decision and definitive payment clearly offers many opportunities for helping buyers act more responsibly online.
5. Notes

1. U.S. credit card debt figures from: https://www.experian.com/blogs/ask-experian/state-of-credit/
3. Online buying statistics from: https://www.statista.com/topics/871/online-shopping/
7. Our crowdsourcing platform: https://www.crowdflower.com/
8. The dataset and code used to filter and aggregate the data can be downloaded from https://github.com/bouncer/financial-responsibility.
6. References


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