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Higher School of Economics Seminar 2020 SWORDS INTO BANK SHARES: FINANCIAL APPROACHES TO MITIGATING POLITICAL POLARIZATION AND CONFLICT

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BRITAIN'S BREXIT HANGOVER, June 2016:



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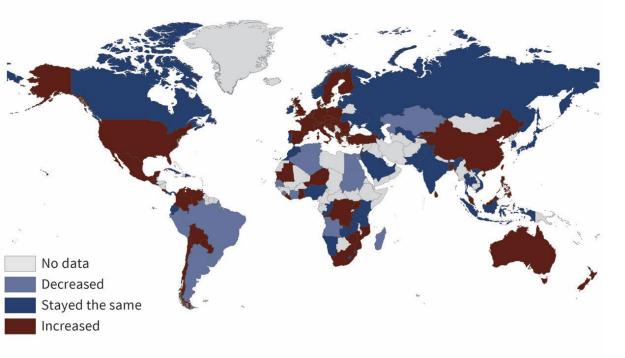
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"What is the EU?" is the second top UK question on the EU since the #EURefResults were officially announced

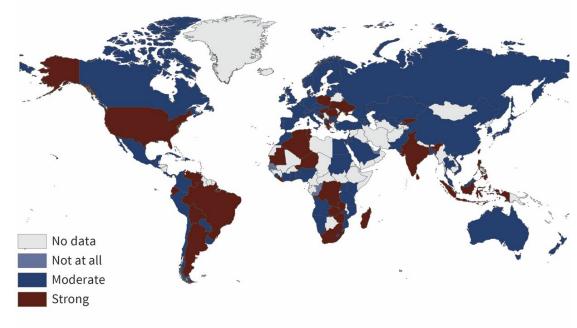
TOP QUESTIONS ON THE EUROPEAN UNI in the UK since Brexit result officially announced	ION Google Trends
1 What does it mean to leave the EU?	
2 What is the EU?	
3 Which countries are in the EU?	
4 What will happen now we've left the EU?	
5 How many countries are in the EU?	
4:25 AM - 24 Jun 2016	
24,821 Retweets 17,160 Likes 👔 🌚 🎲 🖪 🍪	۹۶ 🚱 🚯
Ç 574 îl 25K ♡ 17K ⊠	

POPULISM IS ON THE RISE, ASSOCIATED WITH LARGE INCREASES IN POLICY UNCERTAINTY GLOBALLY IN LAST 5 YRS.

Change of Populism in the Last 5 Years



© ifo Institute

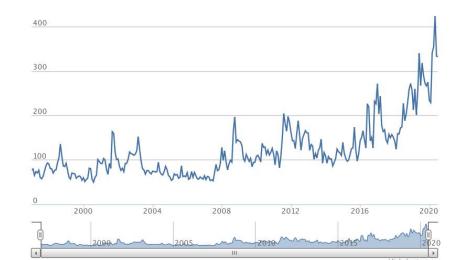


Source: ifo World Economic Survey (WES) II/2017.

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Monthly Global Economic Policy Uncertainty Index

Zoom 1m 3m 6m 1y 7y All



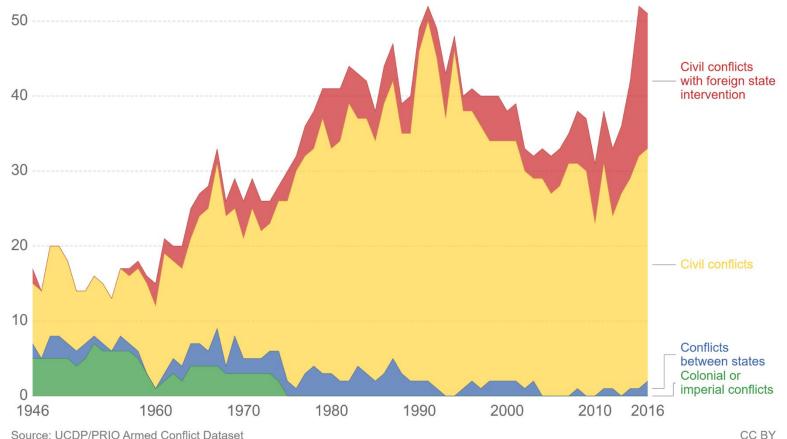
Source: Baker, Bloom and Davis, to end July 2020

(CIVIL) CONFLICTS CONTINUE, PARTICULARLY IN THE POOREST STATES.

State-based conflicts since 1946



Only conflicts in which at least one party was the government of a state are included. Ongoing conflicts are represented for every year in which they resulted in at least 25 battle-related deaths.



Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset

Note: The war categories paraphrase UCDP/PRIO's technical definitions of 'Extrasystemic', 'Internal', 'Internalised internal' and 'Interstate' respectively.

WITH INCREASING POLICY UNCERTAINTY, BASIC FINANCIAL LITERACY IS ARGUABLY EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. WOMEN TEND TO LAG BEHIND.

`Big Three' Questions:

<u>Numeracy:</u> Suppose you had \$100 in a savings account and the interest rate was 2% per year. After 5 years, how much do you think you would have in the account if you left the money in the account for the entire period?

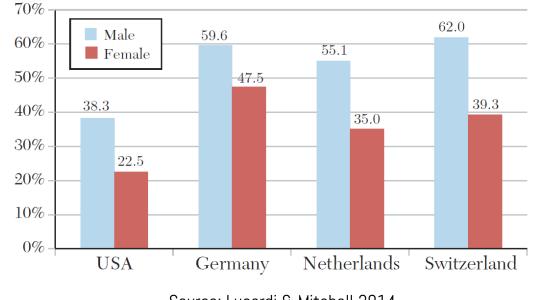
(i) > \$102; (ii) = \$102; (iii) < \$102; (iv) DK.

<u>Compounding:</u> Suppose you had \$100 in a savings account and the interest rate is 20% per year and you never withdraw money or interest payments. After 5 years, how much would you have in this account in total? (i) >\$200; (ii) = \$200; (iii) < \$200; (iv) DK

<u>**Riskiness: Stocks vs Funds:**</u> True or False: Buying a single company's stock usually provides a safer return than a stock mutual fund. (i) T, (ii) F, (iii) DK

Panel 1B. By sex

(percent providing correct answers to all three financial literacy questions)



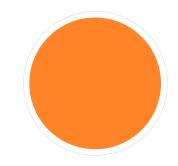
Source: Lusardi & Mitchell 2014

TWO KEY QUESTIONS FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT: CAN WE DESIGN INTERVENTIONS THAT:



EMPOWER CITIZENS IN BOTH RICH AND POOR COUNTRIES,

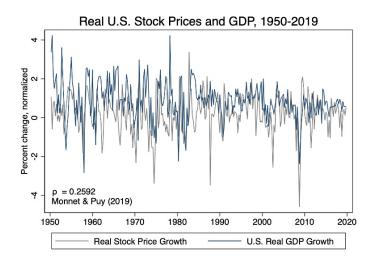
EQUIPPING THEM WITH TOOLS TO HELP MITIGATE THE RISKS OF THE MODERN ECONOMY?

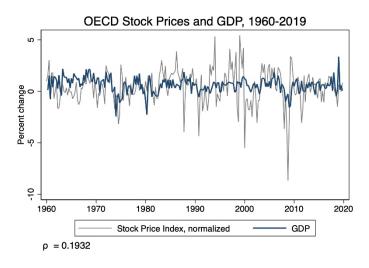


AND BY EMPOWERING THEM, CAN WE <u>MITIGATE POLITICAL</u> <u>POLARIZATION AND VIOLENT</u> <u>CONFLICT?</u>

WHAT CAN THEORY AND HISTORY TEACH US?

WHY MIGHT FINANCE BE A PROMISING AVENUE?





ON THE INCENTIVE SIDE: SHARING THE FUTURE

 BENCHMARK: MARKOWITZ: In the absence of transaction costs, elites and non-elites should all hold the same (market) portfolio of risky assets. Aligns incentives.

QUALMS:

1. What about non-insurable risks? We can't trade ethnicity / human capital.

- 2. Won't potential losers mobilize to block reforms?
- 3. The -ve correlation with unemployment is weaker (rho= -.16)
- 4. Listed firms today in the US: ~3.6K vs 7.3K in 1996.
- 5. Covid: `the economy' vs health/lives.

THE PROJECT:



Natural Experiments/ Cases:

3 revolutionary states where financial innovations were key for solving political problems, and subsequently led the world in GDP growth:

17C UK, 18C US, 19C Japan

S. Africa, Malaysia, Namibia

(Jha, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 2015, Jha *World Financial Review 2014*, Jha, Mitchener, Takashima in progress)

Field Experiments:

``Valuing Peace'': Israel/ Palestine Conflict

(Jha Shayo *Econometrica 2019*)

``Trading Stocks'': Financial Literacy and the Gender Confidence Gap

(Jha Shayo working paper)

``Remaining European'': Brexit Vote

(Jha Margalit Shayo, in progress)

Discussion:

The Conflict and Polarization Lab

Alternative approaches?

SHAREHOLDING APPROACHES TO MITIGATING CONFLICT

Africa's 40 Richest

Abdulsamad Rabiu

39

f Share

12

🔰 Tweet

0

in Share

0

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The World's

Billionaires

Follow

At a Glance

Age: 60

Forbes 400

Cyril Ramaphosa

Net Worth \$675 M As of November 2012

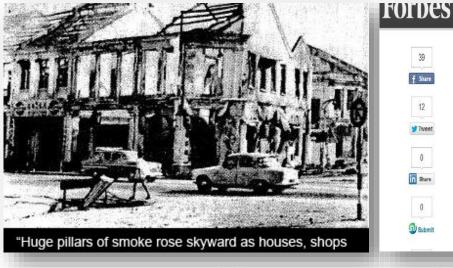
World's Most

Richest Americans Powerful Peopl

Forbes Lists

#21 Africa's 40 Richest

Browse list 🔻



Malaysia, 1969:

NEP: 30% of ethnic Chinese profits go into trust redistributed to *bumiputras* BEE: 20%+ Black ownership provides advantages in procurement

South Africa, 2001 onwards:



An Alternative: Japan, 1868.

1,800,000 samurai (endogamous) caste, hereditary warriors administrators, recently re-militarized, biggest potential losers to reforms

Japan `one of the world's most fractured polities'

Yet, Japan succeeds in rapid modernization, centralization within a generation. How?

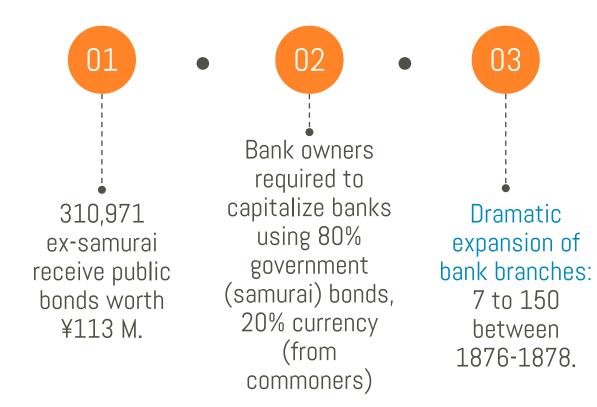
Note: Reinforce Ethnic Divisions.

Namibia: NEEEF

'SWORDS INTO BANK SHARES' (Jha, Mitchener & Takashima, in progress)







'SWORDS INTO BANK SHARES'

1876 1877

Shibusawa Eiichi, Founder of Daichi Bank

04 Cross-ethnic institutions: In 1878, 29,360 ex-samurai and nobles controlled ¥ 30.5 M in bank stock, compared with ¥ 8.8 M held by 4730 commoners.

Violent samurai revolts end, "popular rights movements" in favor of constitutional rights.

05

06 Bank ownership aligns incentives of ex-samurai credibly with society against political risk!

1820

1840

GDP per capita

Japan 🔶 China

1900

Note: Also undermines ethnic divisions.

"SWORDS INTO BANK SHARES": FINANCIAL SOLUTIONS TO THE THREAT OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE



source: Last Samurai, 2003



Shibusawa Eiichi, Founder, Dai-Ichi Bank, in 1876 (left), and 1877 (right) Theory + empirics to document how financial innovations which allow the risks and returns of human capital/ ethnicity to be shared have aligned incentives in favor of peace + broader reforms.

<u>1. Japan (1876-77)</u>: 1.8M samurai and non-samurai => 80% Bonds/ National Banks=> peace (Jha, Mitchener and Takashima, in progress)

<u>2. Britain (C17)</u>: merchants and non-merchants => Joint Stock Companies=> representative government, peace (Jha Quarterly Journal of Economics 2015)</u>

3. US (1790s): veterans, bank speculators and politicians => lowered political risk (Jha, in progress)







Masayoshi.

Alexander.

Anatoly.

But can financial innovations mitigate <u>contemporary</u> ethnic conflict? (*Jha, World Financial Review 2013*)

CAN FINANCIAL APPROACHES MITIGATE CONTEMPORARY ETHNIC CONFLICT?



Gaza, 2014

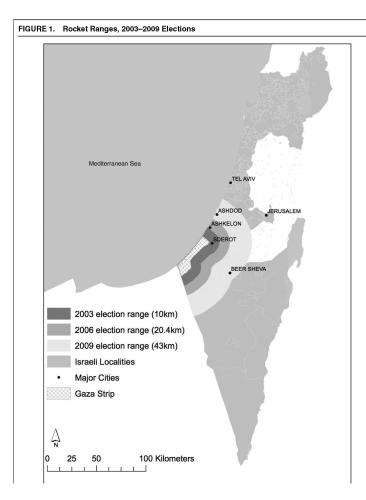


RAND:

Two State Solution: +\$123 B for Israel, +\$50 B Palestine Return to Widespread Conflict: -\$250 B for Israel, -\$46B Palestine



CAN FINANCIAL APPROACHES MITIGATE CONTEMPORARY ETHNIC CONFLICT? (Jha and Shayo, Econometrica, 2019)



1. Conflict costly. But making concessions for peace is also risky.

2. People have different personal exposure to risks and returns from conflict and peace, and may not internalize the gains from peace and risks faced by the country or region as a whole.

Can exposure to financial markets

-- that help individuals learn and internalize the economic costs of conflict --

change individuals' attitudes towards war and peace

... and even their votes?

And can this happen even in the context of a <u>persistent ethnic</u> <u>conflict?</u>

In Israel, yes.

Getmansky and Zeitzoff APSR 2014

CAN EXPOSURE TO FINANCIAL MARKETS EFFECT INDIVIDUAL'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS PEACE AND EVEN THEIR VOTES?

Trading

Endogenous in most observational data

 \checkmark both who invests and in what assets

Also hard to randomize, with real asset prices at scale, particularly for novices.

- First study to randomly assign financial assets, provide incentives to trade those assets and study
 effects on financial literacy and on political behavior.
- Randomly assign 1345 likely Jewish voters to a specific financial asset. Encourage them to trade on our own online platform during a period of 4-7 weeks

Israeli stocks

Palestinian stocks

Voucher (tradable for stocks)

Control

Outcomes: attitudes and votes

Main measure: vote in the March 2015 Israeli general elections Other measures: self-reported attitudes towards peace deal

MAIN RESULT (VALUING PEACE)

- Exposure to incentives to trade in financial markets increases likelihood of voting for left parties (pro-peace initiatives) by 4-6 percentage points (relative to 25% vote share in control).
 - Similarly reduces probability for right parties by 4-5pp (relative to 36% vote share in control)
- Exposure also increases willingness to support the making of deals for peace and reduces opposition to specific costly concessions
- Effects persist (and even cumulate) one year later.

MECHANISM

Consistent with human capital formation: learning about both financial markets <u>and</u> the economic costs of conflict.

Direct evidence for:

- Increases in Financial Literacy (based upon standard test questions- see next); (Self- reported) familiarity with the stock market
- (Persistent) Increases in Consumption of Financial News and knowledge of financial market performance.
- Increased evaluation of Benefits of a Peace Settlement to the Israeli Economy relative to status quo (particularly for the risk-averse)
- Political Effects stronger for ex ante inexperienced investors, who become like those experienced investors in their votes and political attitudes.

Find no evidence for, or can rule out other mechanisms, including:

- Direct Material Incentives.
- Wealth Effects/ Changes in Subjective Well-Being
- Change in Knowledge of Political Platforms / Facts
- Change in Overall Consumption or Slant of Non-Financial (Political) Media
- Short-term Attention

Exposure to in-group vs out-group assets have similar overall political effects, but appear to operate through different learning channels.

FURTHER, IN *`TRADING STOCKS INCREASES FINANCIAL LITERACY AND COMPRESSES THE GENDER CONFIDENCE GAP'*, WE FIND:

Exposure to incentives to trade in financial markets increases financial confidence, and reduces the gender gap between men and women. Does so through in four ways:

1. <u>Objective Financial Literacy</u>

Raises probability of getting all "Big 3" (numeracy, compounding, relative risk of funds vs stocks) questions correct by 5.8pp (ITT)- 8.5pp (TOT), compared to mean of 50.1%.

- 2. <u>Self-Assessed Financial Knowledge</u>
- 3. <u>Risk Tolerance</u>
- 4. Investment Behavior

pre-treatment: 26% of women, 47% of men invested in stocks in long exposure sample. post-treatment: 41% of women, 48% of men reinvest on platform (& report investing 2 months later.)

Both men and women become more self-reliant in their decisions.

Different types of stock exposure can teach different things,

- e.g.: being exposed to Arab stocks increases propensity to invest in Arab stocks subsequently.
- Being exposed to index funds enhances understanding of their relative riskiness.

SOME RELATED LITERATURES

First study to randomly assign financial assets, provide incentives to trade those assets and study effects on: 1. political behavior or 2. financial confidence and literacy.

The Persistence of Ethnic Conflict/ Hatreds vs *Economic Complementarities and Ethnic Tolerance*

Lots, eg. Voigtlander & Voth *OJE 2013*, Shayo & Zussman *OJE 2011*, Sambanis and Shayo *APSR 2013*, Besley & Reynal-Querol *APSR 2014*, Montesquieu 1748, Hirschman 1977, Polachek & Sieglie 2006, Martin, Mayer & Thoenig *ReStud 2008*, Rohner, Thoenig & Zilibotti *ReStud 2013*, Jha *APSR 2013,* Jha *JEBO 2014*, Diaz-Cayeros & Jha 2020

Financial Inclusion and Literacy [and the Gender Gap]

eg Microfinance (lots), *Bursztyn et al ECMA 2015, Lusardi and Mitchell JEL 2014,* Van Rooij, Lusardi and Alessie *JFinE 2011*, Bucher-Koenen et al *NBER 2014,* Hastings et al *Ann Rev Econ 2014, Carpena et al 2015, Hsu 2015, Mullainathan, Noeth and Schoar 2012, Niederle and Vesterlund*

Familiarity, Learning by Doing, Home Bias and Attrition in Financial Markets

eg Coval and Moskowitz 1999, Huberman, 2001, van Nieuwerburgh and Veldkamp 2009, Nicolosi et al. JFM 2009, Seru et al. RFS 2009 and Campbell et al. 2013 , Anagol, et al. 2019

Conflict as Bargaining Failures/ the Political Coase Theorem

eg Acemoglu & Robinson AER 2000, Fearon 1996 and related literature.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Population: Jewish Israeli citizens that participate in a large internet panel

~60,000 internet panel, nationally representative in terms of age and sex. Commonly used for commercial market research, political opinion polling and academic studies.

Not a lot of super-rich (but effects similar for both rich and poor).

Invited to a study on investor behavior

Consent; complete baseline survey

Enter a lottery to win financial assets that track Israeli and foreign stocks from the region.

If wins: notified on asset allocation and quizzed on understanding rules

בטבלה הבאה מופיעה הרשימה המלאה של הנכסים הפיננסיים שישתתפו במחקר. הרשימה כוללת גם <u>מניות של חברות מסויימות</u> וגם <u>מדדים</u> (index funds).

- המניות כוללות בנקים וחברות תקשורת.
- המדדים עוקבים אחר הערך של כמה מהחברות הציבוריות הגדולות בכל מדינה (בדרך כלל מדד מסוים כולל בין 20 ל-30 חברות).

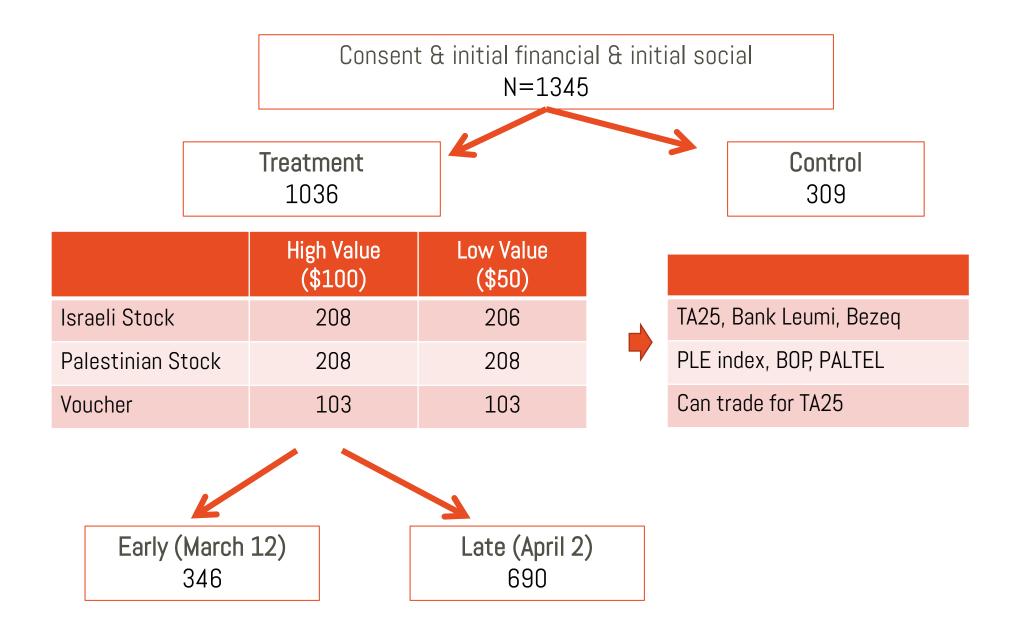
•Here is a list of all the שימי לב במיוחד לנכס שבו זכית ולמספר המניות שברשותך. אותו מספר המניות יעמוד לרשותך גם בשבוע הבא. לפיכך, אם המחיר של הנכס יעלה - ערך הנפסים שלך יעלה בהתאם, אם assets participating...

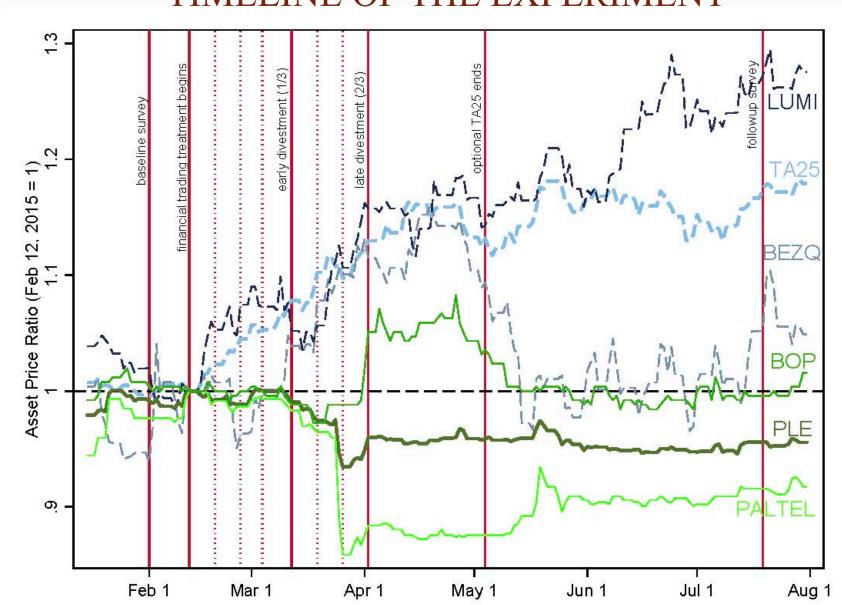
הרשימה מסודרת בסדר אלפביתי לפי סימול המניה או המדד באנגלית.

and index funds (explained).		ערך הנכסים שלי (בש"ח)	ער <i>ך ה</i> נכסים שלי (כמשבע מקו <i>ו</i> זי)	מספר המניות שברשותי	מחיר הנכס היום (במטבע מקומי)	מטבע	סימול	שם באנגלית	שם		
)				8.55	TRY	AKBNK	Akbank Turkey	בנק אקבנק, טורקיה		
					2,186.18	JOD	AMGNRLX	Amman SE General Index Fund	מדד של בורסת רבת עמון בירדן		
	\backslash				663.10	ILS	BEZQ	Bezeq	בזק (חברת תקשורת ישראלית)		
	\mathcal{V}				2.80	JOD	BOJX	Bank Of Jordan	בנק ירדן		
 Note the asset you won 					2.78	JOD	BOP	Bank Of Palestine	בנק פלסטין		
and the # of shares you own.					44.44	EURO	CYFT	Cyprus/FTSE Top 20 Index Fund	מדד של 20 המניות הגדולות בקפריסין		
• If the price of your asset increases, the value of	total value	value		value	total value	# shares	current price in	EGP	EGX30	Egypt EGX 30 Index Fund	מדד של 30 המניות הגדולות בבורסת קהיר במצרים
your assets will increase		in NIS	in JOD	310103	JOD	EGP	ETEL	Telecom Egypt	מצרים טלקום		
accordingly. If the price		$\bigvee $	\searrow	\searrow	3.36	JOD	JTEL	Jordan Telecom	ירדן טלקום		
					1,288.00	ILS	LUMI	Валк Leumi	בנק לאומי לי <u>שראל</u>		
goes down		200	36.36	6.122	5.94	JOD	PALTEL	Palestine Telecommunications	פלסטין טלקומיוניקיישן (חברת תקשורת פלסטינית)		
					504.76	JOD	PLE	Palestine Stock Exchange Index Fund	מדד של הבורסה הפלסטינית בשכם		
					1,452.46	ILS	TA25	Tel Aviv TA-25 Index Fund	מדד תל-אביב 25		
					14.80	TRY	TCELL	Turkcell	טורקסל (חברת תקשורת טורקית)		
				5.90	EGP	UNBE	Union National Bank of Egypt	בנק יוניון הלאומי של מצרים			
					106,359.21	TRY	XU030	Borsa Istanbul 30 Index Fund	מדד של 30 המניות הגדולות בבורסת איסטנבול בטורקיה		
					1.00	ILS	CASH		כסף מזומן		

• Both company stocks

(SUB-) TREATMENTS





TIMELINE OF THE EXPERIMENT

(SUB-) TREATMENTS (cont.d)

• Treatment Group: weekly trades of 10% of portfolio.

Stock treatments can sell (and later buy back)

Voucher treatment can buy TA25 (and later sell)

Even if traded out every week, portfolio has more than 60% in the assigned asset

Trade when markets closed (Thurs-Sun): prices constant and easily verifiable

• Incentives for engagement:

If don't enter a weekly decision, lose the 10%.

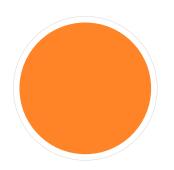
OK to decide not to buy nor sell

No commission

Questions on 3 year past performance and on forecasts.

- Exposure to post-treatment price changes also exogenous since assignment to asset was random.
 - Better performance likely to increase stock market participation (Malmendier & Nagel *QJE 2008*).

`GAMIFICATION' PRINCIPLES (Fogg, 2009)



Clear motivation. a financial stake of \$50/\$100





Ability to perform the task.

simplified investment implemented through our own platform, conducted on the weekend.

A trigger:

nudge them to complete their next decision just as they receive feedback on the week before.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN, cont.d

Two parallel sets of surveys:

Weekly financial surveys – which acted as a trading platform.

✓ Informed of performance; enter trading decisions – 10% of portfolio only (okay to hold).
 Social/political surveys and an information survey.

Participants did not associate the social surveys to the financial surveys

They were among many survey invitations they received over this period from a variety of different anonymous sources. Participating company stocks not exceptionally related to politics or the conflict (banks and telecoms) How can we verify this?

OPEN QUESTIONS (FINAL FINANCIAL SURVEY)

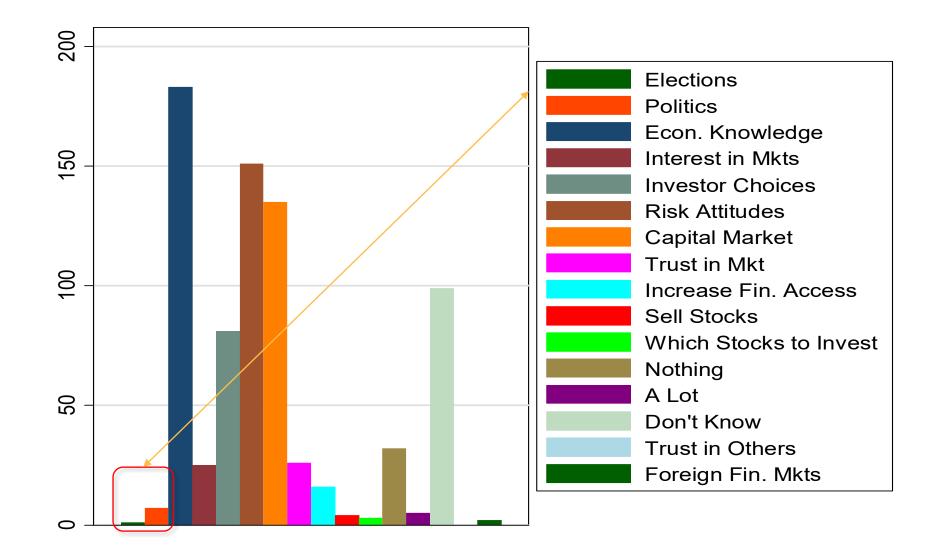
"To conclude, we would appreciate it if you could share your thoughts about this study.

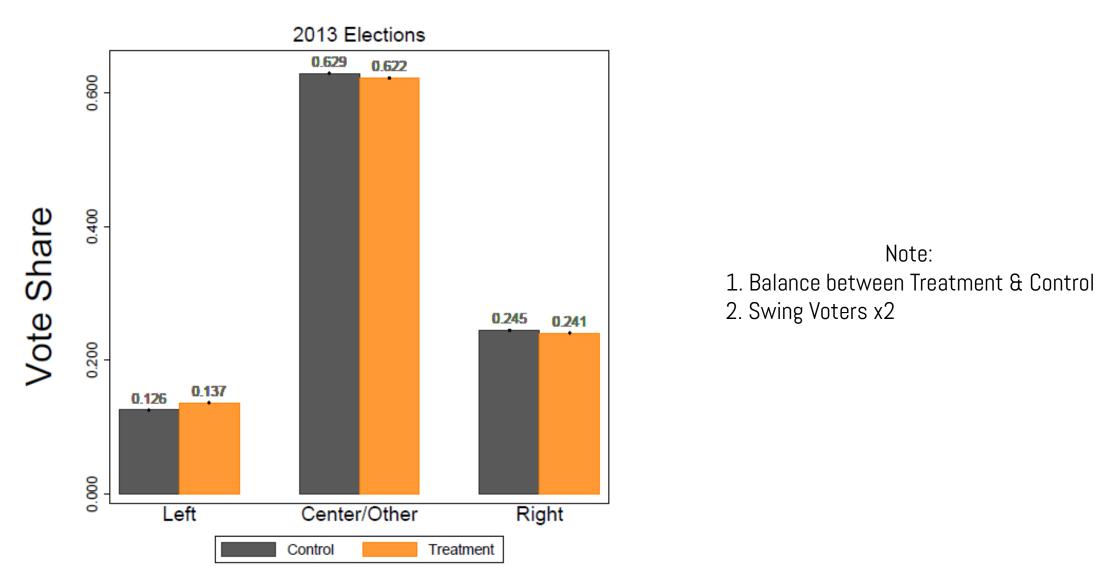
1. What have you learned during this study?

2. What do you think the researchers can learn from this study?

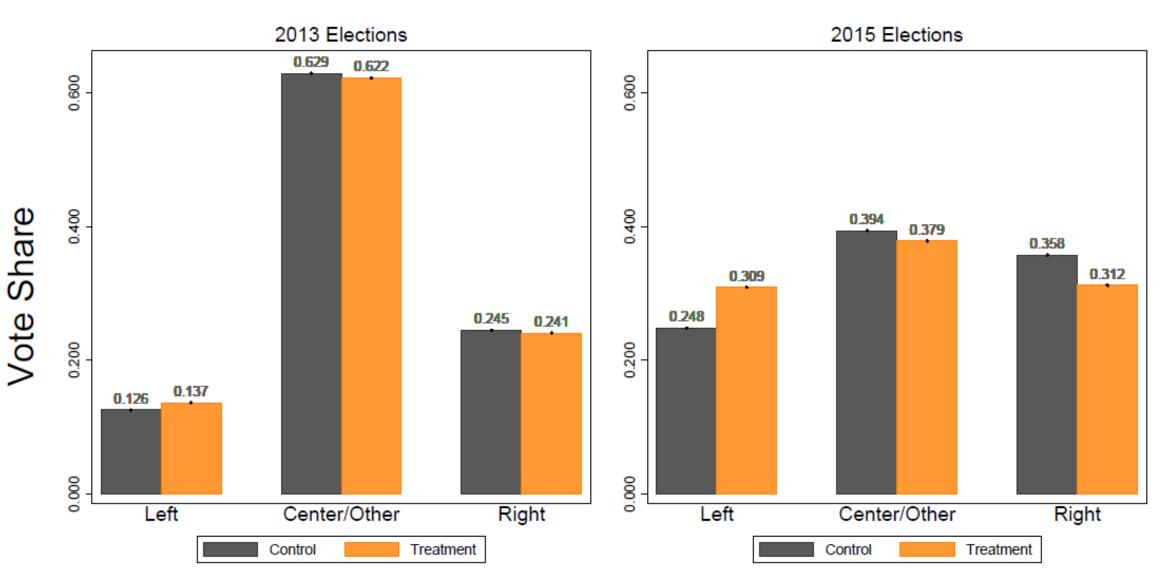
3. If you have other comments or suggestions – we would love to hear!"

WHAT CAN THE RESEARCHERS LEARN FROM THE STUDY?





N=1311. The 'other' bars include 71 and 17 individuals who voted for for other parties in 2013 and 2015, respectively, as well as 1 and 27 individuals who did not vote in 2013 and 2015, respectively.



N=1311. The 'other' bars include 71 and 17 individuals who voted for for other parties in 2013 and 2015, respectively, as well as 1 and 27 individuals who did not vote in 2013 and 2015, respectively.

BASIC RESULT:	IC RESULT: Vote for Left Party in 2015					Vote for Right Party in 2015				
VALUING PEACE	ITT	ITT	ITT	TOT	ITT	ITT	ITT	TOT		
VALUINU I LACE			(reweighted))			(reweighted)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		
Asset Treatment	0.061	0.059	0.043	0.073	-0.045	-0.044	-0.051	-0.054		
	(0.029)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.029)		
Voted Right '13		-0.254	-0.201	-0.272		0.492	0.473	0.505		
		(0.091)	(0.083)	(0.094)		(0.122)	(0.127)	(0.120)		
Voted Left '13		0.596	0.614	0.608		-0.222	-0.249	-0.231		
		(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.090)		(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.092)		
Bought/Sold Shares in		0.018	0.015	0.015		0.030	0.024	0.032		
Last 6 Mths [0/1]		(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.041)		(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.041)		
Traditional		-0.138	-0.155	-0.133		0.102	0.128	0.099		
		(0.032)	(0.029)	(0.033)		(0.032)	(0.036)	(0.032)		
Religious		-0.166	-0.162	-0.165		0.241	0.232	0.240		
Litture Orthon Lore		(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.032)		(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.049)		
Ultra-Orthodox		-0.221	-0.208	-0.222		0.056	0.033	0.057		
Post Secondary		(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.040) 0.066		(0.086) -0.060	(0.088) -0.046	(0.086) -0.059		
Post Secondary		0.068	0.063			-0.000 (0.034)	-0.046 (0.037)			
BA Student		(0.033) 0.088	(0.027) 0.072	(0.033) 0.088		-0.041	-0.025	(0.034) -0.041		
DA Student		(0.038)	(0.032)	(0.039)		(0.039)	(0.023)	(0.039)		
BA Graduate and		0.062	0.032)	0.062		-0.044	-0.021	-0.045		
DA Graduate and		(0.030)	(0.026)	(0.030)		(0.032)	(0.021)	(0.032)		
Willing to Take Risks		-0.001	0.002	-0.001		0.007	0.008	0.007		
[1-10]		(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.005)		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)		
Time preference above		0.012	0.009	0.010		0.004	0.004	0.005		
median		(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.022)		(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.021)		
Financial Literacy,		0.000	0.000	0.000		-0.001	-0.001	-0.001		
%Correct		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)		
Strata FE	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES		
Demographic Controls	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES		
Observations	1,311	1,311	1,311	1,311	1,311	1,311	1,311	1,311		
R-squared	0.003	0.447	0.570	0.443	0.002	0.518	0.556	0.518		

DO POLICY PREFERENCES CHANGE?:		Full Sam	Inexperienced				
PEACE CONCESSIONS [March 17] vs				- 2 4			- 0 /
ECON POLICY [Jul 15]	Mean	Treatment	;		Treatment		R ² / Pseudo
	[SD]	Effect	Obs.	$\frac{R^2}{(4)}$	Effect	Obs.	<u>R²</u>
Indices (OLS)	(1)	(2	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Peace Index	0.066 [0.833]	0.110 (0.044)	1,277	0.455	0.157 (0.054)	819	0.479
Economic Policy Index	-0.019 [0.598]	-0.026 (0.041)	1,111	0.210	-0.104 (0.054)	697	0.209
Specific Outcomes (ordered probits): Extent that yo	u agree	e / disag	gree	with	followi	ng cr	riteria
for solving the conflict between Israelis and Palestini	ans [1-	Disagre	e, 4-	Agre	e]	C	
Two states for two peoples	2.522 [1.140]	0.101 (0.079)	1,277	0.231	0.230 (0.102)	819	0.265
1967 borders with a possibility of land exchanges	2.164 [1.083]	0.164 (0.079)	1,277	0.213	0.278 (0.102)	819	0.238
Jerusalem will be split into two separate cities - Arab and Jewish	1.822 [1.039]	0.189 (0.086)	1,277	0.206	0.213 (0.110)	819	0.238
Palestinian refugees will get compensation & allowed to return to Palestine only	2.135 [1.075]	0.194 (0.077)	1,277	0.079	0.262 (0.099)	819	0.084
Incomes in Israel should be made more equal (vs. need larger diffs as incentives).[1-10]	-4.249 [2.302]	-0.009 (0.076)	1,110	0.044	-0.057 (0.102)	697	0.050
Services and industries should be owned by the Government (vs. privatized). [1-10]	4.530 [2.429]	0.033 (0.073)	1,111	0.052	-0.037 (0.097)	697	0.070
Government responsible for helping the poor (vs. people should take care of themselves). [1-10]	-3.299 [2.087]	-0.162 (0.077)	1,110	0.052	-0.291 (0.101)	696	0.062
Oppose reducing capital gains tax on investments in the stock market (vs. Support). [1-10]	2.652 [0.999]	0.053 (0.080)	1,104	0.073	-0.029 (0.107)	692	0.076

CONSEQUENCES OF 2-			All	Inexperienced
STATE SOLN?	Mean	SD	Treatment Effect SE	Treatment SE Effect

(OLS/Ordered Probits) [March 2015]

Suppose Israel reaches a permanent agreement with the Palestinians on the principle of two states for two peoples. How do you think this will affect... [1 (worsen a lot), 2 (worsen somewhat), 3 (no change), 4 (improve somewhat), 5(improve a lot)]

Sociotropic Index (OLS)	0.011	[0.948]	0.041	(0.054)	0.130	(0.068)
Israel's Economic Situation? (O. Probit)	3.294	[1.329]	0.126	(0.073)	0.223	(0.094)
Israel's Security? (O. Probit)	2.956	[1.392]	-0.010	(0.076)	0.097	(0.097)
Personal Index (OLS)	-0.013	[0.929]	0.003	(0.056)	0.030	(0.070)
Your Own Economic Situation? (O. Probit)	3.048	[1.047]	-0.013	(0.077)	0.005	(0.101)
Your Own Personal Security? (O. Probit)	2.888	[1.237]	-0.002	(0.075)	0.059	(0.094)
Observations			1281 / 1	282	823	

FURTHER, IN *`TRADING STOCKS INCREASES FINANCIAL LITERACY AND COMPRESSES THE GENDER CONFIDENCE GAP'*, WE FIND:

Exposure to incentives to trade in financial markets increases financial confidence, and reduces the gender gap between men and women. Does so through in four ways:

1. <u>Objective Financial Literacy</u>

Raises probability of getting all "Big 3" (numeracy, compounding, relative risk of funds vs stocks) questions correct by 5.8pp (ITT)- 8.5pp (TOT), compared to mean of 50.1%.

- 2. <u>Self-Assessed Financial Knowledge</u>
- 3. <u>Risk Tolerance</u>
- 4. Investment Behavior

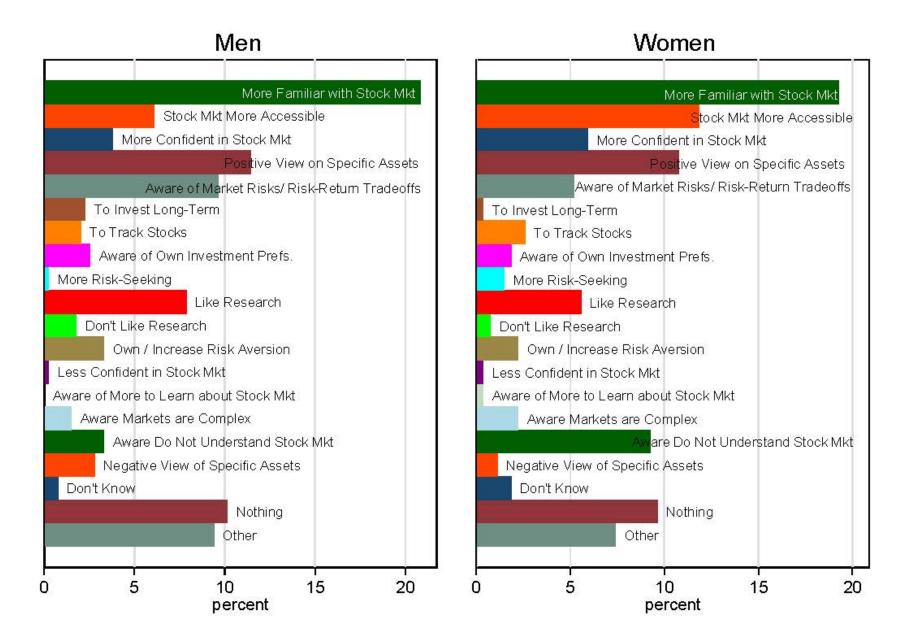
pre-treatment: 26% of women, 47% of men invested in stocks in long exposure sample. post-treatment: 41% of women, 48% of men reinvest on platform (& report investing 2 months later.)

Both men and women become more self-reliant in their decisions.

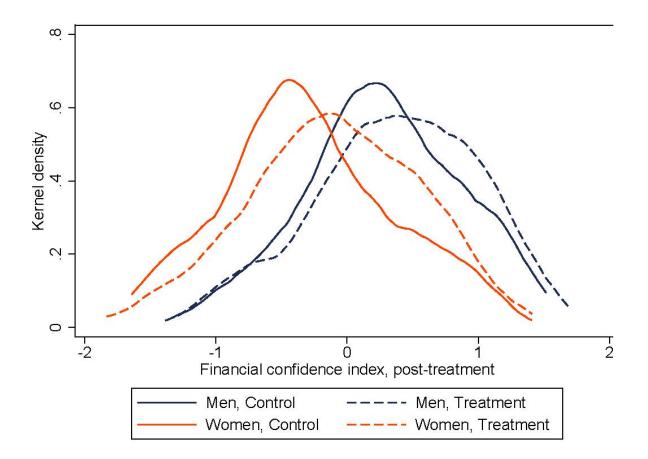
Different types of stock exposure can teach different things,

- e.g.: being exposed to Arab stocks increases propensity to invest in Arab stocks subsequently.
- Being exposed to index funds enhances understanding of their relative riskiness.

WHAT DID YOU LEARN FROM THE STUDY?



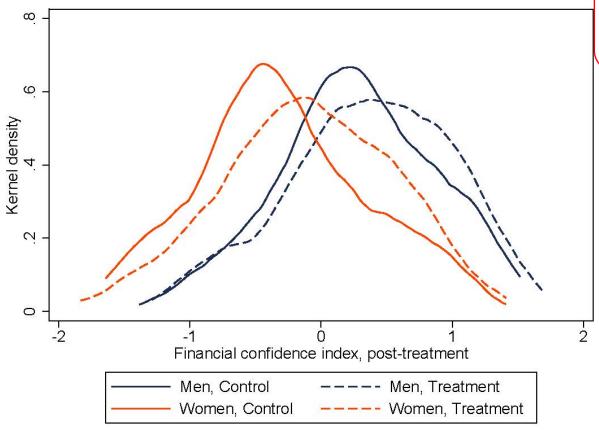
FINANCIAL CONFIDENCE



COMPONENTS: 1. Financial Literacy Score

- 2. Self-Assessed Financial Knowledge
- 3. Risk Tolerance
- 4. Stock Market Participation

FINANCIAL CONFIDENCE

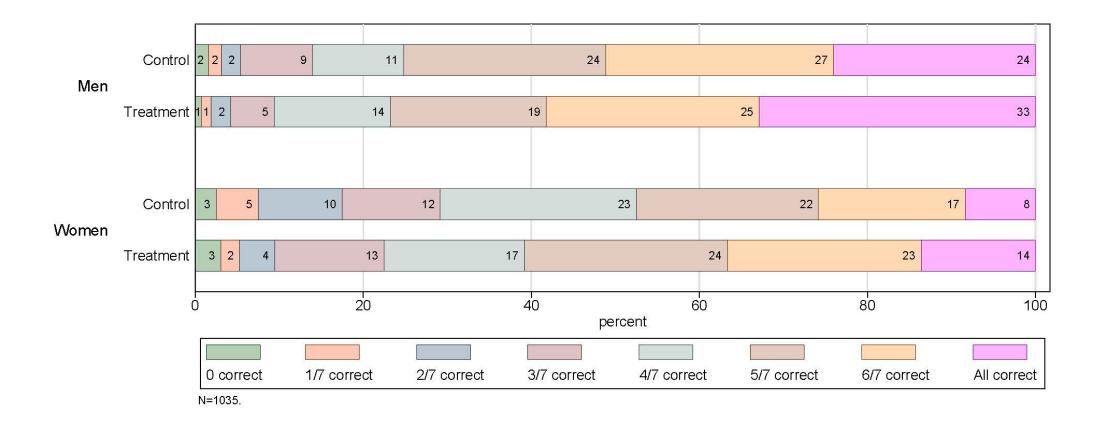


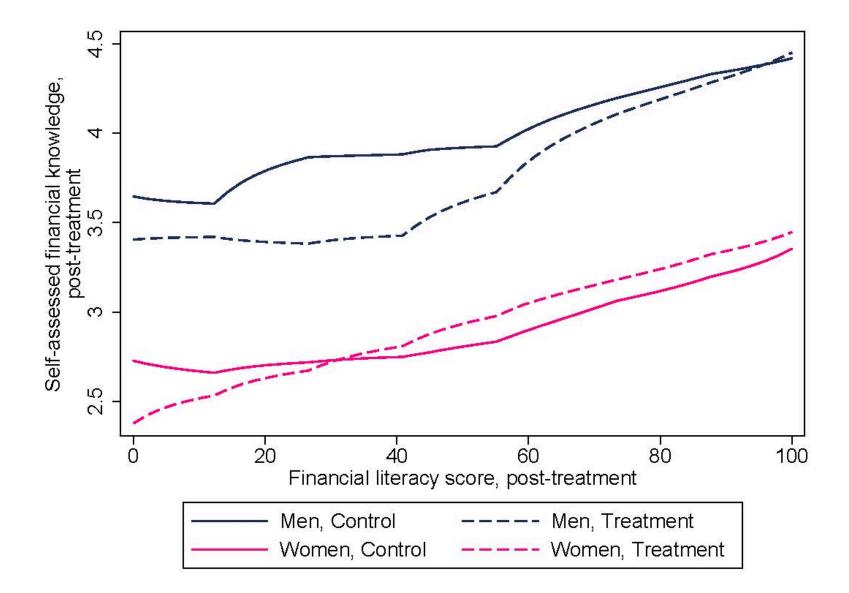
COMPONENTS: 1. Financial Literacy Score

- 2. Self-Assessed Financial Knowledge
- 3. Risk Tolerance
- 4. Stock Market Participation

Financial Confidence Z-Score Index	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	All ITT	All ITT	All TOT	All TOT	Males TOT	Females TOT
Treatment		0.142***	0.150***	101		0.214***
Treatment	0.119***				0.094**	
Treatment x Male	(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.035)	0.002*	(0.043)	(0.058)
I realment x Male				0.083*		
Treatment x Female				(0.045) 0.232***		
Treatment x Pennale						
Male		0.234***	0.229***	(0.061) 0.317***		
IVIAIC		(0.078)	(0.073)	(0.085)		
Bought/Sold Shares in Last 6 Mths [0/1]		0.407***	0.401***	0.398***	0.315***	0.645***
Dodgin bold billios in hast o mais [0,1]		(0.064)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.112)	(0.140)
Age [Yrs]		-0.008	-0.008	-0.008	-0.013	-0.005
		(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.018)
Age [Yrs] Squared		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
- 9- [] - 1		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Post Secondary Education		0.031	0.029	0.028	-0.035	0.133*
		(0.054)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.068)	(0.076)
BA Student		0.020	0.019	0.019	0.053	-0.041
		(0.064)	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.083)	(0.092)
BA Graduate and Above		0.015	0.018	0.016	0.072	-0.016
		(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.066)	(0.065)
Married		0.042	0.041	0.043	-0.010	0.118**
		(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.049)	(0.053)
Family Income [10,000s NIS]		0.053	0.049	0.047	0.074*	0.002
		(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.042)	(0.051)
Traditional		0.050	0.053	0.049	-0.095*	0.170**
		(0.048)	(0.045)	(0.046)	(0.055)	(0.071)
Religious		-0.069	-0.070	-0.072	-0.086	-0.090
		(0.070)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.090)	(0.093)
Ultra-Orthodox		-0.039	-0.044	-0.046	0.033	-0.082
		(0.095)	(0.090)	(0.089)	(0.100)	(0.177)
Tel Aviv		0.047	0.050	0.055	0.008	0.067
		(0.054)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.065)	(0.088)
Willing to Take Risks [1-10]		0.089***	0.089***	0.088***	0.070***	0.115***
		(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.011)
Time preference above median		-0.000	-0.000	0.002	0.031	-0.008
		(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.041)	(0.051)
Pre-Treat Financial Literacy Score Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
p-value (χ^2 : Treatment [x Male= x Female])				0.0577		
Mean Dependent Variable (Control Group)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.269	-0.291
SD	0.679	0.679	0.679	0.679	0.598	0.643
R-squared	0.288	0.582	0.579	0.384	0.358	0.374
Observations	1,037	1,037	1,037	1,037	555	482

FINANCIAL LITERACY TEST: RELATIVE GAINS BY SEX





BEHAVIORAL MEASURES 2: RE-INVESTED IN TA-25?

	Sample	Females		Males	
Pre- Experiment:	-	Obs	%	Obs	%
Bought/ Sold Any Stocks within 6 Mths Prior to Expt. (July 2014- Feb 2015)	Full	533	26.64%	579	44.39%
	Long Exposure Compliers	289	25.95%	368	46.74%
Post Experiment:					
Re-Invested Any of Portfolio in TA25 (Apr- May 2015)	Long Exposure Compliers	289	40.83%	368	48.10%
(Self- Reported) Actively Invested in Financial Assets (May - July 2015)	Long Exposure Compliers	250	38.00%	326	49.66%

Notes: In April 2015, at the end of the trading experiment, we asked compliers within the long (7 weeks) exposure condition whether they would like to re-invest a portion of their portfolios in the TA 25 index for a month, or instead divest entirely. This table compares the responses of men and women in the long exposure complier sample to the pre-experimental shares that reported investing in any stocks, and the share that reported that they had invested since May (after the experiment) in the July 2015 follow-up survey.

INVESTED IN STOCKS TWO MONTHS LATER...

	All		Males	Females
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	0.079**		0.079*	0.070
	(0.033)		(0.042)	(0.051)
Treatment x Male		0.079*		
		(0.044)		
Treatment x Female		0.078		
		(0.053)		
Male	0.053	0.052		
	(0.079)	(0.091)		
p-value (t[Treatment>0])	0.00820		0.0309	0.0841
R-squared	0.130	0.130	0.098	0.133
Mean Dependent Var (Control Group)	0.421	0.421	0.505	0.333
SD	0.495	0.495	0.502	0.474
Observations	933	933	500	433

RISK TOLERANCE

	All		Males	Females
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	0.516***		0.462***	0.639***
	(0.136)		(0.178)	(0.203)
Treatment x Male		0.399**		
		(0.187)		
Treatment x Female		0.657***		
		(0.217)		
Male	0.357	0.511		
	(0.288)	(0.340)		
p-value (χ^2 :Treatment [x Male= x Female]		0.385		,i
R-squared	0.355	0.354	0.350	0.366
Mean Dependent Var (Control Group)	4.365	4.365	4.907	3.783
SD	2.166	2.166	2.127	2.063
Observations	1,036	1,036	555	481

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
A. People		Family		4	Friends		Fina	ancial Adv	risor	
:	All	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	
Treatment	-0.234***	-0.259***	*-0.211***	-0.223***	-0.262***	*-0.126***	-0.416***	-0.365***	-0.450***	
	(0.033)	(0.041)	(0.051)	(0.029)	(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.042)	
Male	-0.152**			0.118^{**}			-0.102*			
	(0.066)			(0.059)			(0.060)			
R-squared	0.120	0.188	0.139	0.149	0.211	0.117	0.326	0.295	0.413	
Mean DV (Control)	0.382	0.341	0.425	0.277	0.357	0.192	0.438	0.403	0.475	
SD	0.487	0.476	0.496	0.448	0.481	0.395	0.497	0.492	0.501	
B. Sources	In	vesting.co	om	Other Web Financial Newsites News			Vewspaper	wspapers		
907 2	All	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	
Treatment	0.149***	0.169***	0.136***	-0.157***	-0.187***	*-0.100***	-0.028	-0.034	-0.002	
	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.043)	(0.037)	(0.021)	(0.032)	(0.026)	
Male	0.003			0.063			0.040			
	(0.048)			(0.057)			(0.045)			
R-squared	0.077	0.102	0.132	0.066	0.109	0.068	0.040	0.065	0.067	
Mean DV (Control)	0.00402	0	0.00833	0.269	0.364	0.167	0.100	0.140	0.0583	
SD	0.0634	0	0.0913	0.444	0.483	0.374	0.301	0.348	0.235	
C. Other/None	Oth	er News S	Sites		Other			No One		
Ĩ	All	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	All	Males	Females	
Treatment	-0.036	-0.061	-0.007	-0.009	-0.020	-0.005	0.435***	0.421***	0.414***	
	(0.024)	(0.037)	(0.028)	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.032)	(0.043)	(0.049)	
Male	0.017			-0.014			0.099	88 - 2775. 	14.15	
	(0.045)			(0.026)			(0.064)			
R-squared	0.023	0.032	0.073	0.047	0.100	0.080	0.215	0.256	0.220	
Mean DV (Control)	0.124	0.163	0.0833	0.0161	0.0233	0.00833	0.185	0.171	0.200	
SD	0.331	0.371	0.278	0.126	0.151	0.0913	0.389	0.378	0.402	

WHOM DID YOU CONSULT WHEN MAKING FIN. DECISIONS? (TOT)



REMAINING EUROPEAN: FINANCIAL MARKET EFFECTS ON THE BREXIT VOTE

Saumitra Jha Stanford GSB Yotam MargalitMoses ShayoTel AvivHebrew University

WHAT ABOUT LEARNING ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC POLICIES? BRITAIN'S BREXIT HANGOVER, June 2016:





Follow

 \sim

"What is the EU?" is the second top UK question on the EU since the #EURefResults were officially announced

	OP QUESTIONS ON THE EUROPEAN UNION Google Trends the UK since Brexit result officially announced							
1	What does it mean to leave the EU?							
2	What is the EU?							
3	3 Which countries are in the EU?							
4	4 What will happen now we've left the EU?							
5	How many countries are in the EU?							
4:25 A	M - 24 Jun 2016							
24,82	1 Retweets 17,160 Likes 🔮 🌍 🦃 🕼 🌆 🏶							
Q 5	74 17 25К ♡ 17К 🗹							

SAMPLE AND RECRUITMENT



Population: British citizens resident in England, participating in a large internet panel ~40,000 nationally, good coverage in terms of age, sex and education.

Anonymous to us.

Used for academic studies, commercial market research and political polling.



May 2016: Invited to a study on investor behavior

Informed consent; complete baseline surveys

Enter a lottery to win £50 to buy stocks.

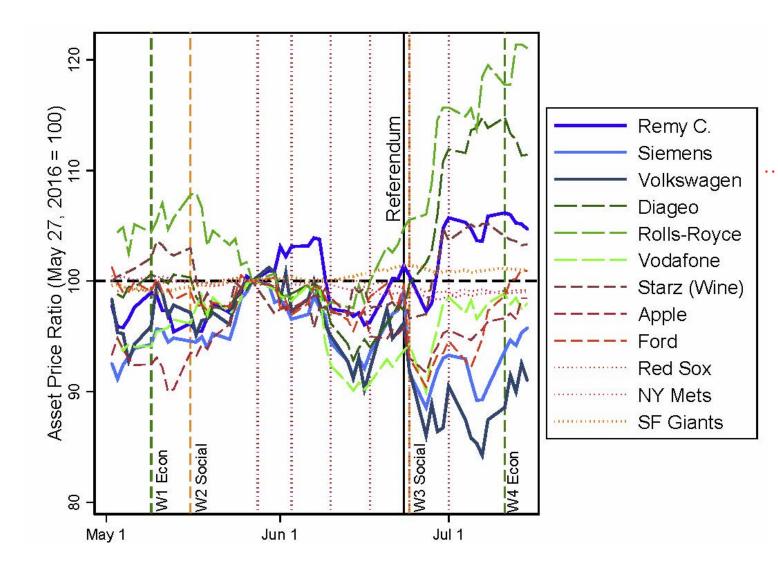
If win: notified on stock portfolio and quizzed on understanding rules

BASIC DESIGN

1 2,183 individuals assigned a portfolio of 3 assets

- 2 Receive £50 allocate investments across the assets. (311 only get "Fantasy" money)
- 3 For 6 weeks, able to trade 100% of portfolio. Trade when markets closed (Sat-Sun): prices constant and easily verifiable.
- Incentivized to enter weekly: otherwise, lose 10% of portfolio.Take home the full worth of the portfolio at the end of the study.

REMAINING EUROPEAN: (Jha, Margalit and Shayo, in progress)



Exposure to trade between 3 firms that complement the UK economy

EU: Remy Cointreau, Siemens, VW non- EU (US): Robert Mondavi, Apple, Ford and 3 UK firms that complement the EU Diageo (Johnnie Walker/ Bells),

Vodafone, Rolls-Royce

- UK Short condition
- UK Fantasy
- US Baseball

Main findings: EU complementary assets have greatest effect, raising support for Remain by 6pp, followed by UK assets (Long and Short) 4pp.

ONLINE TRADING PLATFORM

You will now have the opportunity to make your investment decisions for the coming week. Here, once again, is the table showing how your investments performed over the past week. Remember: these are the real prices of real stocks. You may click on the name of each asset to learn more about the stock:

Asset	Price	Percent change from last week	Value of your holdings					
Vodafone	1 229.2	+4.5%	£0.0					
<u>Diageo</u>	1 2107	+12.2%	£28.1					
<u>Rolls-</u> Royce	† 711.5	+9.6%	£27.5					
	The total value of your portfolio is £55.64							

You have a total of £55.64 to invest. Now, please choose how to invest your money. Indicate what percent of your total funds you wish to invest in each stock. In making your investment decisions, remember that the total allocation across all stocks cannot exceed 100%

The numbers below reflect the investments you made last week and the change in the price of the assets. However, you are free to change the numbers as you see fit.

Decision:

Vodafone - Of my total £55.64, I wish to invest:	0 %
Diageo - Of my total £55.64, I wish to invest:	51 %
Rolls-Royce - Of my total £55.64, I wish to invest:	49 %
Total	100 %

			Inside Lond	on	Outside London		
		Control Mean	Beta [Treatment]	р	Beta [Treatment]	р	
	Brexit Intentions: Leaning Remain	0.353	0.000	0.912	0.002	0.288	
		(0.479)	(0.002)		(0.002)		
	Brexit Intentions: No Idea	0.113	0.005	0.736	0.005	0.720	
		(0.317)	(0.013)		(0.014)		
	Brexit Intentions: Leaning Leave	0.534	(0.005)	0.723	(0.007)	0.594	
BALANCE:		(0.499)	(0.013)		(0.014)		
	Identity: British Only	0.700	0.014	0.526	0.020	0.356	
		(0.459)	(0.021)		(0.022)		
	Voted Labour in 2015	0.276	0.022	0.363	0.022	0.375	
INSIDE		(0.448)	(0.024)		(0.025)		
	Voted Tory in 2015	0.358	(0.015)	0.561	(0.010)	0.715	
AND		(0.480)	(0.025)		(0.026)		
OUTSIDE	Voted UKIP in 2015	0.161	0.008	0.663	0.006	0.742	
UUISIDE		(0.368)	(0.018)		(0.020)		
Δ	Log Household Income	9.970	(0.061)	0.357	(0.052)	0.448	
		(1.007)	(0.066)		(0.068)		
	Age (Years)	50.072	(0.053)	0.942	0.126	0.867	
		(14.354)			(0.751)		
	Female	0.510		0.668	0.005	0.842	
		(0.501)	(0.026)		(0.027)		
	Education: GCSEs or Equiv	0.310	(0.027)	0.256	(0.021)	0.416	
		(0.463)	(0.024)		(0.025)		
	Education: Academic Degree	0.284		0.187	0.023	0.356	
		(0.451)	(0.024)		(0.025)		

TREATMENT EFFECT: VOTED REMAIN

Voted Remain	(1)	(2)	(3)
	ITT	ITT	ITT
	All	Outside	London
Treatment	0.029*	0.040**	
	(0.017)	(0.017)	
EU			0.053**
			(0.023)
UK Assets			0.038*
			(0.020)
Fantasy Treatment			0.046*
5			(0.025)
US Assets			0.030
			(0.020)
Mean (DV)	0.398	0.385	0.385
Observations	2,322	2,112	2,112
R-squared	0.672	0.677	0.677

TREATMENT EFFECT: VOTED REMAIN

Voted Remain	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	ITT	ITT	ITT	TOT	TOT	TOT
	All	Outside	London	All	Outside	London
Treatment	0.029*	0.040**		0.038*	0.053**	
	(0.017)	(0.017)		(0.021)	(0.021)	
EU			0.053**			0.068**
			(0.023)			(0.027)
UK Assets			0.038*			0.048**
			(0.020)			(0.024)
Fantasy Treatment			0.046*			0.074*
			(0.025)			(0.039)
US Assets			0.030			0.040
			(0.020)			(0.026)
Mean (DV)	0.398	0.385	0.385	0.398	0.385	0.385
Observations	2,322	2,112	2,112	2,322	2,112	2,112
R-squared	0.672	0.677	0.677	0.173	0.170	0.170

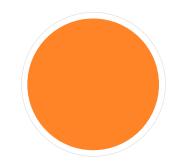
TREATMENT EFFECT: VOTED LEAVE

Voted Leave	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	ITT	ITT	ITT	TOT	TOT	TOT
	All	Outside	e London	All	Outside	London
Treatment	-0.021	-0.028*		-0.028	-0.037*	
	(0.016)	(0.017)		(0.020)	(0.021)	
EU			-0.058***			-0.074***
			(0.022)			(0.027)
UK Assets			-0.023			-0.029
			(0.020)			(0.023)
Fantasy Treatment			-0.035			-0.057
			(0.026)			(0.039)
US Assets			-0.009			-0.012
			(0.020)			(0.025)
Mean (DV)	0.540	0.556	0.556	0.540	0.556	0.556
Observations	2,322	2,112	2,112	2,322	2,112	2,112
R-squared	0.688	0.693	0.694	0.213	0.219	0.220

OTHER FINDINGS



Short = Long (consistent with learning)



Financial Literacy also improves, again the effect is outside London, less so inside.

(1) (2) Voted Remain

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DOES
DOLO
IDENTITY
MATTFR?

	ITT	TOT
EU Assets	0.109**	0.140***
	(0.044)	(0.053)
UK Assets	0.060	0.074*
	(0.038)	(0.045)
UK Fantasy	0.046	0.074
	(0.048)	(0.076)
US Assets	0.049	0.065
	(0.042)	(0.053)
Identity: British Only	0.054	0.051
	(0.038)	(0.035)
Brit Only x EU	-0.078	-0.101*
	(0.052)	(0.061)
Brit Only x UK	-0.032	-0.038
	(0.044)	(0.052)
Brit Only x Fantasy	0.000	-0.002
	(0.056)	(0.089)
Brit Only x US	-0.026	-0.034
	(0.048)	(0.060)
Mean	0.385	0.385
SD	0.487	0.487
Observations	2,122	2,122
R-squared	0.678	0.171

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
	Voted	Remain	Econ i	n Top 2	
	ITT	ТОТ	ITT	ТОТ	
EU Assets	0.109**	0.140***	0.145**	0.181***	
	(0.044)	(0.053)	(0.060)	(0.069)	
UK Assets	0.060	0.074*	-0.009	-0.013	
	(0.038)	(0.045)	(0.054)	(0.063)	
UK Fantasy	0.046	0.074	0.053	0.094	
	(0.048)	(0.076)	(0.069)	(0.116)	
US Assets	0.049	0.065	-0.003	-0.005	
	(0.042)	(0.053)	(0.058)	(0.074)	
Identity: British Only	0.054	0.051	0.126**	0.128***	
	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.053)	(0.049)	
Brit Only x EU	-0.078	-0.101*	-0.186***	-0.232***	
	(0.052)	(0.061)	(0.070)	(0.081)	
Brit Only x UK	-0.032	-0.038	-0.043	-0.054	
	(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.063)	(0.074)	
Brit Only x Fantasy	0.000	-0.002	-0.130	-0.218	
	(0.056)	(0.089)	(0.080)	(0.133)	
Brit Only x US	-0.026	-0.034	-0.004	-0.004	
	(0.048)	(0.060)	(0.067)	(0.084)	
Mean	0.385	0.385	0.410	0.410	
SD	0.487	0.487	0.492	0.492	
Observations	2,122	2,122	2,045	2,045	
R-squared	0.678	0.171	0.440	0.186	

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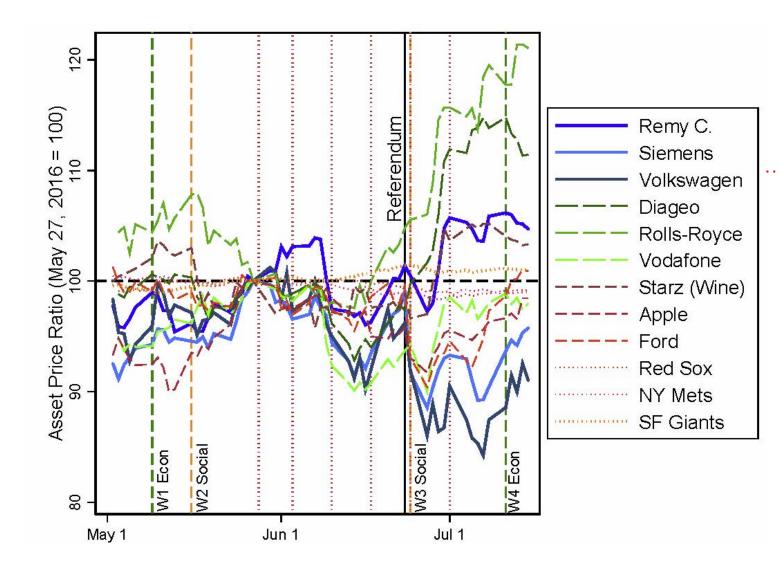
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DOES IDENTITY MATTER?

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Voted Remain		Econ in Top 2		Security Migrants	Benefits	Borders	Global	Live in	
-									Position	EU
	ITT	TOT	ITT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT	TOT
EU Assets	0.109**	0.140***	0.145**	0.181***	-0.078	-0.019	-0.003	-0.112**	0.044	0.050
	(0.044)	(0.053)	(0.060)	(0.069)	(0.057)	(0.051)	(0.033)	(0.056)	(0.066)	(0.072)
UK Assets	0.060	0.074*	-0.009	-0.013	-0.060	0.002	0.053	-0.035	0.128**	0.003
	(0.038)	(0.045)	(0.054)	(0.063)	(0.052)	(0.047)	(0.036)	(0.052)	(0.055)	(0.056)
UK Fantasy	0.046	0.074	0.053	0.094	-0.199**	-0.100	-0.052	0.093	0.153	0.016
	(0.048)	(0.076)	(0.069)	(0.116)	(0.095)	(0.087)	(0.063)	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.101)
US Assets	0.049	0.065	-0.003	-0.005	-0.103*	-0.006	0.017	-0.090	0.196***	0.008
	(0.042)	(0.053)	(0.058)	(0.074)	(0.059)	(0.055)	(0.044)	(0.062)	(0.069)	(0.064)
Identity: British Only	0.054	0.051	0.126**	0.128***	-0.082*	0.016	0.016	-0.029	0.087**	-0.072*
	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.053)	(0.049)	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.040)	(0.041)
Brit Only x EU	-0.078	-0.101*	-0.186***	-0.232***	0.125*	-0.040	0.057	0.096	-0.100	0.012
	(0.052)	(0.061)	(0.070)	(0.081)	(0.069)	(0.068)	(0.049)	(0.071)	(0.073)	(0.078)
Brit Only x UK	-0.032	-0.038	-0.043	-0.054	0.058	0.014	-0.024	0.089	-0.174***	0.038
	(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.063)	(0.074)	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.047)	(0.065)	(0.062)	(0.062)
Brit Only x Fantasy	0.000	-0.002	-0.130	-0.218	0.199*	0.170	0.121	-0.147	-0.134	0.061
	(0.056)	(0.089)	(0.080)	(0.133)	(0.110)	(0.107)	(0.083)	(0.122)	(0.113)	(0.110)
Brit Only x US	-0.026	-0.034	-0.004	-0.004	0.174**	-0.055	0.002	0.124*	-0.214***	0.035
	(0.048)	(0.060)	(0.067)	(0.084)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.055)	(0.073)	(0.076)	(0.070)
Mean	0.385	0.385	0.410	0.410	0.170	0.409	0.115	0.430	0.164	0.182
SD	0.487	0.487	0.492	0.492	0.376	0.492	0.319	0.495	0.370	0.386
Observations	2,122	2,122	2,045	2,045	2,045	2,045	2,045	2,045	2,045	2,045
R-squared	0.678	0.171	0.440	0.186	0.179	0.217	0.115	0.197	0.173	0.221

DOES IDENTITY MATTER?

REMAINING EUROPEAN: (Jha, Margalit and Shayo, in progress)



Exposure to trade between 3 firms that complement the UK economy

EU: Remy Cointreau, Siemens, VW non- EU (US): Robert Mondavi, Apple, Ford and 3 UK firms that complement the EU Diageo (Johnnie Walker/ Bells),

Vodafone, Rolls-Royce

- UK Short condition
- UK Fantasy
- US Baseball

Main findings: EU complementary assets have greatest effect, raising support for Remain by 6pp, followed by UK assets (Long and Short) 4pp.

Those that respond do so because of a changed perception of effects on the economy.

SWORDS INTO BANK SHARES: SOME BASIC TAKEAWAYS

- Financial markets can provide a **non-partisan** and objective (albeit imperfect) **metric** for individuals to assess the impact of policies on the economy, a domain where we all may benefit, and one over which no political party has a franchise.
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- Designing interventions to help citizens to learn-by-trading in the financial markets can empower them to make **better financial decisions in their own lives**, while also providing a useful non-partisan gauge for how policies affect the common good.
- All three benefits of well-designed financial market exposure:
- 1) sharing common gains and exposure,
- 2) sharing common metrics and
- 3) increased focus of attention on the common good,

can be potent ways to reduce political polarization and conflict.

Staying in Touch...



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