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The Automatic 401(k): A Simple Way To Strengthen Retirement Saving

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Over the past quarter-century, private pension plans in the United States have trended toward a do-it-yourself approach in which covered workers bear more investment risk and make more decisions themselves about their retirement savings. Some workers have thrived under this more individualized approach, amassing sizable balances in 401(k) plans and similar plans that will assure them a comfortable and relatively secure retirement income.

For others, however, the 401(k) revolution has fallen short of its potential. Work, family, and other more immediate competing demands often distract workers from the need to save and invest for the future. Those who do take the time to consider their choices find the decisions they face to be quite complex: Individual financial planning is seldom a simple task. For many workers, the result is poor decisionmaking at each stage of the retirement saving process, putting the level and security of their retirement income at risk. Even worse, in the face of those difficult choices, many people simply procrastinate and thereby avoid dealing with the issues altogether, dramatically raising the likelihood that they will save inadequate amounts for retirement.

A disarmingly simple concept — what we call the automatic 401(k) — has the potential to cut through that Gordian knot and improve retirement security for mil-

lions of workers via a set of common-sense reforms. In a nutshell, the automatic 401(k) consists of changing the default option at each phase of the 401(k) savings cycle to make sound saving and investment decisions the norm, even, and especially, when the worker never gets around to making a choice in the first place. Given the current structure of most 401(k) plans, workers do not participate unless they actively choose to. In contrast, under an automatic 401(k) they *would* participate unless they actively choose *not* to — and similarly for each major decision thereafter. Contributions would be made, increased gradually over time, invested prudently, and preserved for retirement, all without putting the onus on workers to take the initiative for any of those steps. At the same time, however, workers would remain free to override the default options — to choose whether or not to save, and to control how their savings are invested — but those who fail to exercise the initiative would not be left behind.

The steps involved in building an automatic 401(k) are not complicated and the benefits could be substantial; indeed, a growing body of empirical evidence suggests that the automatic 401(k) may be the most promising approach to bolstering retirement security for millions of American families. A number of economists have undertaken important research and contributed practical suggestions concerning the actual and potential uses of automatic enrollment and related default arrangements in 401(k) plans.¹ Drawing on their contributions, this article describes the motivation for, the features of, and the potential benefits of the automatic 401(k).

I. The Historical Context

In the early 1980s most Americans who had private retirement plan coverage obtained it chiefly from employer-sponsored, defined benefit pension plans and to a lesser extent from defined contribution plans such as profit-sharing and money purchase plans. Since then, pension coverage has shifted away from these programs and toward new types of defined contribution plans, especially 401(k)s. In 1981 nearly 60 percent of workers with pension coverage had only a defined benefit plan, while just under 20 percent had only a 401(k) or other defined contribution plan. By 2001, however, the share having a defined benefit plan as their only plan had dropped to slightly over 10 percent, while the share

¹Particularly notable contributions have been made by Brigitte Madrian, Dennis Shea, James Choi, David Laibson, and Andrew Metrick; by Richard Thaler and Shlomo Benartzi; and by Alicia Munnell and Annika Sundén. See the citations of their work elsewhere in this article.

having only a 401(k) or other defined contribution plan had risen to nearly 60 percent.

Conventional analyses tend to describe that solely as a trend away from defined benefit plans and toward defined contribution plans. The defined-benefit-to-defined-contribution characterization tends to focus attention on the increased portability of pensions from one job to another and the shifting of investment risk from employer to employee. But perhaps an even more fundamental development is the extent to which the accumulation of retirement benefits under the plan has come to depend on active and informed worker self-management and initiative. Traditional defined benefit and profit-sharing plans require the covered workers to make almost no important financial choices for themselves before retirement.² The firm enrolls all eligible workers within a classification of employees defined by the employer, makes contributions on their behalf, and decides how to invest those contributions (or retains professional investment managers to do so). The worker's only real choices are when and in what form to collect benefits. In 401(k)-type plans, in contrast, the burden of all those decisions rests with the employee.

The trend away from the traditional, employer-managed plans and toward savings arrangements directed and managed largely by the employees themselves, such as the 401(k), is in many ways a good thing. Workers enjoy more freedom of choice and more control over their own retirement planning. In many important ways, however, that increasingly 401(k)-dominated system — both the process it has evolved into and the results it is producing — leaves much room for improvement.

II. Two Problems With Private Pensions

The most vivid manifestation of the shortcomings of today's private pension arrangements is the simple fact that many families approaching retirement age have meager balances, if they have any at all.³ In 2001 half of

²In that sense, traditional private pensions may be characterized less by their defined benefit structure — in fact, many were defined contribution profit-sharing and money purchase plans — than by the fact that employers took the initiative to fund and manage the plans, bearing most of the risk and making most of the decisions for their employees. For a discussion of those developments, including the shift from defined benefit to defined contribution plans, see J. Mark Iwry, "Defined Benefit Pension Plans," Testimony before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, Subcommittee on Employer-Employee Relations, June 4, 2003.

³For a broader discussion of these issues, see William G. Gale and Peter R. Orszag, "Private Pensions: Issues and Options," in *Agenda for the Nation*, Henry J. Aaron, James M. Lindsay, and Pietro S. Nivola, eds. (Brookings, 2003), pp. 183-216; Peter R. Orszag, "Progressivity and Saving: Fixing the Nation's Upside-Down Incentives for Saving," Testimony before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, Feb. 25, 2004; and J. Mark Iwry, "Defined Benefit Pension Plans," Testimony before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, Subcommittee on Employer-Employee Relations, June 4, 2003. Those and other related publications are available on the Retirement Security Project Web site (<http://www.retirementsecurityproject.org>).

all households headed by adults age 55 to 59 had \$10,000 or less in an employer-based 401(k)-type plan or tax-preferred savings plan account. If the 36 percent of households who had no 401(k) or individual retirement account are excluded, the median balance for that age group was still only \$50,000.

Those households clearly have the option to save: Most workers have accounts available to them in which they could save money on a tax-preferred basis for retirement, and any household lacking that option could always contribute to an IRA. The problems lie elsewhere and are essentially twofold.

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The first problem is that the tax incentives intended to encourage participation in employer-based retirement plans and IRAs consist primarily of deductions and exclusions from federal income tax. The immediate value of any tax deduction or exclusion depends directly on one's income tax bracket. For example, a taxpaying couple with \$6,000 in deductible IRA contributions saves \$1,500 in tax if they are in the 25 percent marginal tax bracket, but only \$600 if they are in the 10 percent bracket.⁴ The income tax incentive approach thus tends to encourage saving least for those who need to save most, and encourage saving most for those who least need an incentive to save. In contrast, the saver's credit, enacted in 2001, provides a progressive government match for retirement saving by moderate-income households. Other Retirement Security Project analyses examine potential mechanisms for addressing the "upside down" nature of existing tax incentives for saving, including through strengthening the saver's credit.⁵

The second problem, and the one addressed in this article, is the set of complications involved in investing in a 401(k). Most 401(k)s place substantial burdens on workers to understand financial choices and have the confidence to make those choices. Many workers shy away from those burdensome decisions and simply do not make any choices. Those who do often make poor choices.

III. The Complications of Participating in a 401(k)

A 401(k)-type plan typically leaves it up to the employee to choose whether to participate, how much to

⁴Some of this difference may be recouped when the contributions are withdrawn and taxed, if families who are in lower tax brackets during their working years are also in lower tax brackets during their retirement.

⁵William G. Gale, J. Mark Iwry, and Peter R. Orszag, "The Saver's Credit" (Retirement Security Project, March 2005; available at <http://www.retirementsecurityproject.org>).

contribute, which of the investment vehicles offered by the employer to invest in, and when to pull the funds out of the plan and in what form (in a lump sum or a series of payments). Workers are thus confronted with a series of financial decisions, each of which involves risk and some financial expertise.

To enroll in a 401(k), an eligible employee usually must complete and sign an enrollment form, designate a level of contribution (typically a percentage of pay to be deducted from the employee's paycheck), and specify how those contributions will be allocated among an array of investment options. Often the employee must choose from among 10, 20, or more different investment funds. An employee who is uncomfortable making all of those decisions may well end up without any plan, because the default arrangement — that which applies when the employee fails to complete, sign, and turn in the form — is nonparticipation.

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For those employees who do choose to participate, payroll deductions and associated contributions are made automatically each pay period, and typically continue year after year, unless the employee elects to make a change. Although the contributions continue over time, the traditional 401(k) arrangement does nothing to encourage participants to increase their contribution rates over time, or to diversify their portfolios or rebalance them as their account balances grow. In other words, employees in a 401(k) not only must take the initiative to participate, they must further take the initiative to invest wisely and they must also take the initiative if their contribution rates are to increase over time.

Heavy reliance on self-direction in 401(k) plans made more sense when 401(k) plans were first developed in the early 1980s. At that time, they were mainly supplements to employer-funded defined benefit pension and profit-sharing plans, rather than the primary retirement plan. Because participants were presumed to have their basic needs for secure retirement income met by an employer-funded plan and by Social Security, they were given substantial discretion over their 401(k) choices. Today, despite their increasingly central role in retirement planning, 401(k)s still operate under essentially the same rules and procedures, based on those now-outmoded presumptions. Yet the risks of workers making poor investment choices loom much larger now that 401(k)s have become the primary retirement savings vehicle. Fortunately, there is a ready and practical solution to these problems: the automatic 401(k).

IV. The Automatic 401(k): Key Features

The core concept behind the automatic 401(k) is quite simple: Design a 401(k) to recognize the power of inertia in human behavior and harness that power to promote rather than hinder saving. Under an automatic 401(k),

each of the key events in the process would be programmed to make contributing and investing easier and more effective:

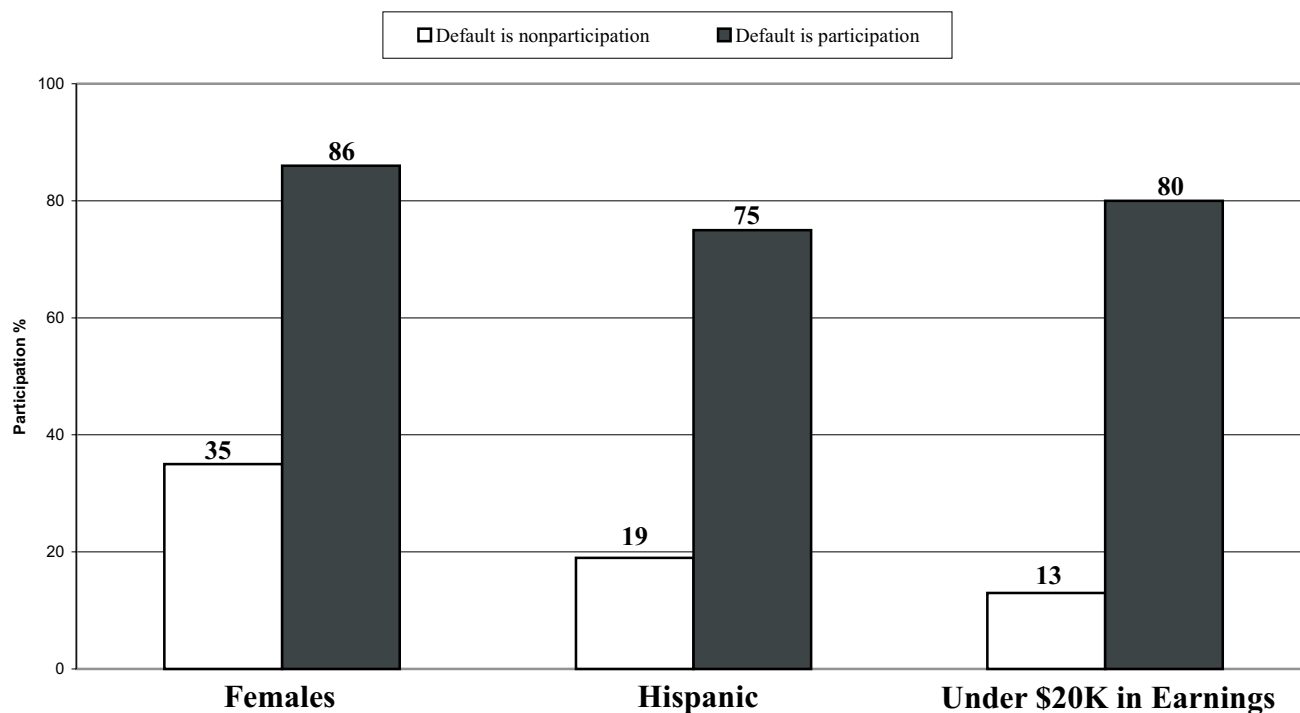
- *Automatic enrollment:* Employees who fail to sign up for the plan — whether because of simple inertia or procrastination, or perhaps because they are not sufficiently well organized or are daunted by the choices confronting them — would become participants automatically.
- *Automatic escalation:* Employee contributions would automatically increase in a prescribed manner over time, raising the contribution rate as a share of earnings.
- *Automatic investment:* Funds would be automatically invested in balanced, prudently diversified, and low-cost vehicles, whether broad index funds or professionally managed funds, unless the employee makes other choices. That strategy would improve asset allocation and investment choices while protecting employers from potential fiduciary liabilities associated with those default choices.
- *Automatic rollover:* When an employee switches jobs, the funds in his or her account would be automatically rolled over into an IRA, or a 401(k), or other plan offered by the new employer. Many employees now receive their accumulated balances as a cash payment on leaving an employer, and many of them spend part or all of it. Automatic rollovers would reduce that leakage from the tax-preferred retirement savings system. At this stage, too, the employee would retain the right to override the default option and place the funds elsewhere or take the cash payment.

In each case — automatic enrollment, escalation, investment, and rollover — workers can always choose to override the defaults and opt out of the automatic design.⁶

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The integrated strategy of using default arrangements to promote saving without sacrificing individual choice was first formulated by the U.S. Treasury in the late 1990s. Treasury and the IRS approved automatic enrollment for 401(k) plans in 1998, and first permitted automatic rollover in 2000. In 2001 Congress made automatic rollover mandatory for small lump sum distributions, to take effect in March 2005. Both automatic enrollment and

⁶See Alicia Munnell and Annika Sundén, *Coming Up Short: The Challenge of 401(k) Plans* (Brookings, 2004).

Figure 1. Effect on Participation Rates of 401(k) Auto Enrollment

Actual results for employees with between 3 and 15 months tenure. Study by Professor Brigitte Madrian, University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, and Dennis Shea, United Health Group.

automatic rollover were designed also to lay the groundwork for automatic investment — generally by establishing the principle that pro-saving defaults should apply to major pension decisions and specifically by requiring plans to prescribe default investments to be used in conjunction with automatic enrollment and automatic rollover.

It is worth stressing that none of those automatic or default arrangements are coercive. Workers would remain free to opt out at any point. More fundamentally, automatic 401(k)s do not dictate choices any more than the current set of default options, which exclude workers from the plan unless they opt to participate. Instead, automatic 401(k)s merely point workers in a pro-saving direction when they decline to make explicit choices of their own.⁷ For example, the Treasury rulings authorizing automatic enrollment include provisions to ensure that employees retain control of enrollment and investment decisions. The plan must provide employees advance

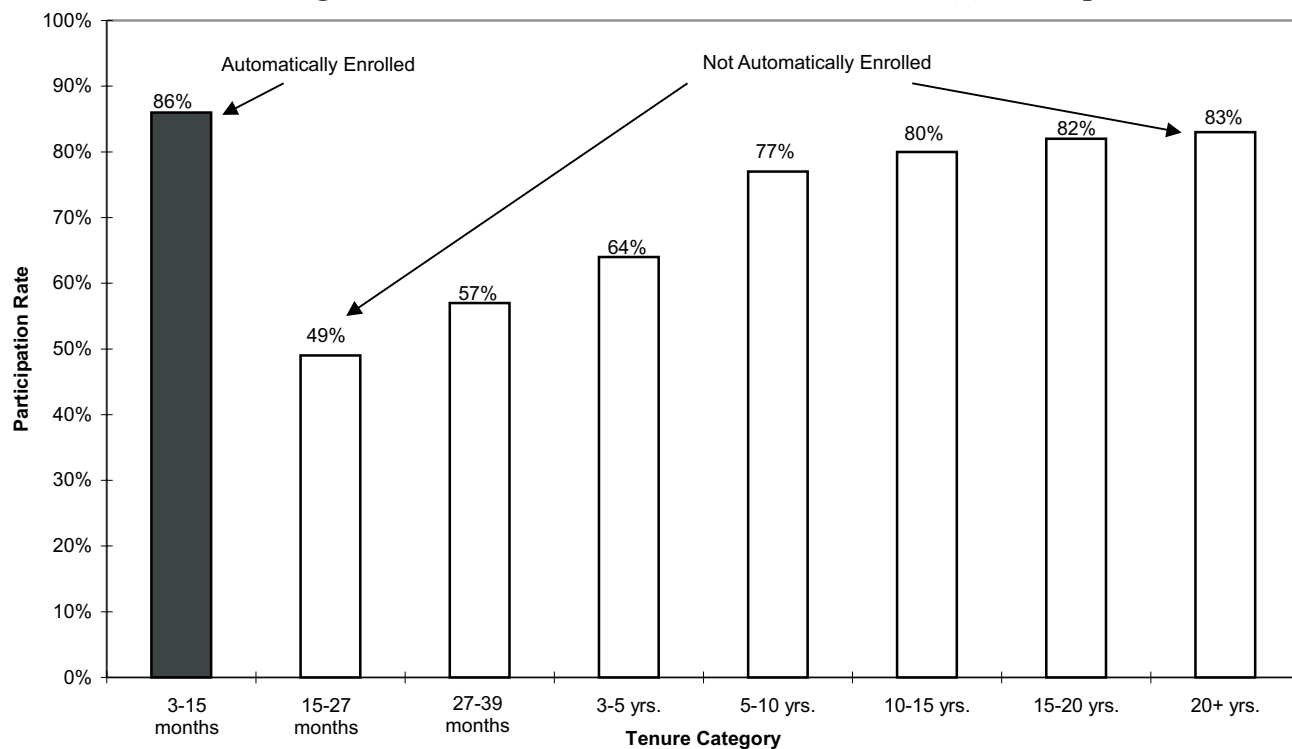
notice and an adequate opportunity to make their own, alternative choices before proceeding with the default arrangement. Similarly, under automatic rollover, employees have a variety of choices and must be given advance notice of those choices before the automatic arrangement takes effect.

A. Automatic Enrollment

Automatic enrollment has been shown to be remarkably effective in raising participation rates among eligible workers. Studies indicate that it boosts the rate of plan participation from a national average of about 75 percent of eligible employees to between 85 percent and 95 percent.⁸ Particularly dramatic increases are seen among those subgroups of workers with the lowest participation rates. For example, one study found that, among employees with less than 15 months tenure, automatic enrollment increased participation from 12 percent to 79 percent for workers with annual earnings of less than

⁷In other words, automatic 401(k)s are an example of what Cass Sunstein and Richard Thaler have called "libertarian paternalism." See Cass R. Sunstein and Richard H. Thaler, "Libertarian Paternalism Is Not an Oxymoron," 70(4) *University of Chicago Law Review* 1159-1202 (2003); and Richard H. Thaler and Cass R. Sunstein, "Libertarian Paternalism," 93(2) *American Economic Review* 175-179 (Papers and Proceedings, 2003).

⁸Brigitte Madrian and Dennis Shea, "The Power of Suggestion: Inertia in 401(k) Participation and Savings Behavior," 116(4) *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 1149-1187 (November 2001); and James Choi *et al.*, "Defined Contribution Pensions: Plan Rules, Participant Decisions, and the Path of Least Resistance," in *Tax Policy and the Economy*, vol. 16, James Poterba, ed. (MIT Press, 2002), pp. 67-113.

Figure 2. Effects of Automatic Enrollment on 401(k) Participation

Source: Brigitte Madrian and Dennis Shea (2001). "The Power of Suggestion: Inertia in 401(k) Participation and Savings Behavior." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November 2001, vol. 116, issue 4.

\$20,000, and from 19 percent to 75 percent for Hispanics (see Figure 1).⁹ Also, the overall participation rate of new workers who were exposed to automatic enrollment was much higher than that for other workers with short tenure and was also modestly higher than enrollment rates for workers with 20 years or more tenure (Figure 2).

Interesting administrative variants exist that can accomplish much of what automatic enrollment does. One alternative would require that all employees make an explicit election to participate or not, rather than enroll them automatically if they make no election. In at least some cases that approach has produced participation rates in the same high range as for automatic enrollment.¹⁰ Also, firms could require that employees who opt out sign a statement acknowledging that they have read the plan's disclosures regarding the advantages of contributing.

Despite its demonstrated effectiveness in boosting participation, only a small minority of 401(k) plans today have automatic enrollment. According to a recent survey, 8 percent of 401(k) plans (and 24 percent of plans with at least 5,000 participants) have switched from the traditional opt-in to an opt-out arrangement.¹¹ As already

noted, automatic enrollment is a very recent development, and therefore it may yet become more widely adopted over time, even with no further policy changes. But policymakers could accelerate its adoption through several measures.¹² Some of those policy measures would be appropriate only if automatic enrollment were adopted in conjunction with other features of the automatic 401(k), especially automatic escalation, that are discussed further below.

First, the law governing automatic enrollment could be better clarified. In some states, some employers see their state labor laws as potentially restricting their ability to adopt automatic enrollment. Although many experts believe that federal pension law preempts state laws relating to 401(k) plans, additional federal legislation to explicitly confirm that could be helpful. Any such explicit preemption should be undertaken only to the extent necessary to protect employers' ability to adopt automatic enrollment.

Second, some plan administrators have expressed the concern that some new, automatically enrolled participants might demand a refund of their contributions, claiming that they never read or understood the automatic enrollment notice. That could prove costly, because

⁹Madrian and Shea, *supra* note 8, table 5.

¹⁰James Choi *et al.*, "Active Decisions: A Natural Experiment in Savings," Working Paper (Harvard University, August 2003).

¹¹Profit Sharing/401(k) Council of America, *47th Annual Survey of Profit Sharing and 401(k) Plans* (2004).

¹²Although some have raised the question of whether automatic enrollment should be a *required* feature of 401(k) and similar types of plans, the pros and cons of such a proposal are beyond the scope of this article.

Table 1. Average Saving Rates (% of Salary) for the First Implementation of SMarT

	Participants Who Joined The SMarT Plan	All
Participants initially choosing each option*	162	315
Pre-advice	3.5	4.4
First pay raise	6.5	7.1
Second pay raise	9.4	8.6
Third pay raise	11.6	9.8
Fourth pay raise	13.6	10.6

* There is attrition from each group over time. The number of employees who remain by the time of the fourth pay raise is 229.
Source: Richard H. Thaler and Shlomo Benartzi. "Save More Tomorrow: Using Behavioral Economics to Increase Employee Saving,"
112 (1 pt. 2) *Journal of Political Economy* S 164 (2004). SMarT is the acronym for the plan described in this work.

restrictions on 401(k) withdrawals typically require demonstration of financial hardship, and even then the withdrawals are normally subject to a 10 percent early withdrawal tax. One solution could be to pass legislation permitting plans to "unwind" an employee's automatic enrollment without paying the early withdrawal tax if the account balance is very small and has been accumulating for only two or three pay periods.

Third, Congress could give automatic enrollment plan sponsors a measure of protection from fiduciary liability if the default investment they have prescribed is an appropriate one, such as a "balanced fund" that invests in both diversified equities and bonds or other stable-value instruments. The exemption from fiduciary responsibility would not be total: Plan fiduciaries would retain appropriate responsibility for avoiding conflicts of interest, excessive fees, lack of diversification, and imprudent investment choices. However, it would provide meaningful protection under the Employee Retirement Income

Security Act of 1974, the principal legislation governing employer pension plans, thus encouraging more employers to consider automatic enrollment.

Fourth, Congress could establish the federal government as a standard-setter in this arena by incorporating automatic enrollment into the Thrift Savings Plan, the defined contribution retirement plan covering federal employees. The Thrift Savings Plan already has relatively high participation rates, and therefore the benefits to federal workers from its adopting automatic enrollment would be modest. But its adoption of automatic enrollment, along with the other pieces of the automatic 401(k), might serve as an example and model for other employers.

Finally, broader adoption of automatic enrollment and the other key pieces of the automatic 401(k) could be encouraged by reforming an exception to the rules governing non-discrimination in 401(k) plans (as described below). Many firms are attracted to automatic enrollment because they care for their employees and want them to have a secure retirement, but others are motivated more by the associated financial incentives, which stem in large part from the 401(k) nondiscrimination standards. Those standards were designed to condition the amount of tax-favored contributions permitted to executives and other higher-paid employees on the level of contributions made by other employees. They thus gave plan sponsors an incentive to increase participation among their less highly paid employees. Automatic enrollment is one way for them to do that.

In recent years, however, employers have had the option to satisfy the nondiscrimination standards merely by adopting a 401(k) "matching safe harbor" design. The matching safe harbor provision exempts an employer from the nondiscrimination standards that would otherwise apply as long as the firm merely *offers* a specified employer matching contribution. It does not matter whether employees actually take up the match offer — all that matters is that the offer was made. Indeed, the more employees contribute, the greater the employer's cost to match those contributions, without any compensating improvement in nondiscrimination results. By thus attenuating employers' interest in widespread employee participation in 401(k)s, the matching safe harbor provision may represent a significant obstacle to wider adoption of automatic enrollment.

To restore the attractiveness of automatic enrollment to employers, policymakers could change the rules so as

Would Automatic 401(k)s Boost Net Worth?

Automatic enrollment has been shown to increase participation rates in 401(k) plans, and automatic escalation has been shown to raise contribution rates and accumulations inside of 401(k)s over time. But a key unanswered question — and a promising topic for future research — is the extent to which the added contributions attributable to automatic features represent net additions to households' overall net worth and to national saving. It could be that participants respond to automatic enrollment by decreasing their saving or increasing their borrowing outside of the plan.

It is plausible, however, that the net effects on both household wealth and national saving would be positive. Workers who become contributors through automatic enrollment tend to be younger and to have lower incomes and less education than other participants, and evidence in the pension and 401(k) literature suggests that a significant portion of contributions by households with these characteristics is a net addition to household wealth and national saving.

to allow the matching safe harbor only for plans that have automatic enrollment, along with the other key parts of the automatic 401(k) (especially the automatic escalation features that are discussed below). Plan sponsors currently using the matching safe harbor could be given a transition period to meet the new requirements.

B. Automatic Escalation

One potential problem with automatic enrollment, highlighted by recent research, is that it can induce some employees to passively maintain the default contribution rate over time, when they might otherwise have elected to contribute at a higher rate.¹³ Those adverse effects can be mitigated through automatic escalation, whereby contributions rise gradually and automatically over time (for example, from 4 percent in the first year to 5 percent in the second, 6 percent in the third, and so on). For example, in the “Save More Tomorrow” program proposed by Richard Thaler and Shlomo Benartzi, workers would agree (or not) at the outset that future pay increases will generate additional contributions.¹⁴ In several trials, “Save More Tomorrow” has been shown to lead to a substantial increase in contribution rates over time for those who participated relative to other 401(k) participants at the same company. Figure 2 reports the results of one trial. Workers who joined the SMarT plan started out with lower saving rates but ended up with higher rates than other workers. Also, there was little attrition over time. Alternatively, workers could agree to future contribution increases even in the absence of pay raises. Automatic escalation plans have been explicitly approved by the IRS in a general information letter obtained by one of the authors.¹⁵

C. Automatic Investment

A third key feature of the automatic 401(k) is automatic investment. In the accumulation phase of 401(k) retirement saving, too many employees find themselves confronted by a confusing array of investment options and lack the expertise, time, or interest to become expert investors. As a result, many employer-based 401(k)-type accounts fail basic standards of diversification and sound asset allocation: Millions of workers are overconcentrated in their employer’s stock or overinvested in safe but low-yielding money market funds.

Policies that encourage employers to provide sound default investments should increase retirement savings by improving investment performance. A key step to improving asset allocation choices would be to grant employers relief from selected fiduciary liabilities if they offer employees alternatives to mandatory self-direction, through either standardized investments, such as low-

cost diversified balanced funds, or professionally managed accounts. That strategy would improve asset allocation and investment choices in 401(k) plans while protecting employers and preserving employees’ rights to self-direct their accounts if they so choose.

Two changes in legislation would greatly encourage automatic investment. First, Congress could designate standardized types of investments whose inclusion in a 401(k) plan would assure the employer of a measure of fiduciary safe harbor treatment. That is, the employer would be immune from challenges for imprudence or lack of diversification to which it might otherwise be subject under ERISA. The definition of qualifying investments would remain broad: In addition to recognized stable-value investments, they would include balanced, prudently diversified, low-cost funds with a range of permissible allocations between equities and bonds. Plan sponsors would not be required to offer those investments but would be permitted to impose standard investments on all participants or to include standard investments among participants’ investment options.

Employers would have an incentive to use standard investments to the extent that doing so would provide fiduciary safe harbor protection. Indeed, the market might come to view investments that receive that favorable treatment as, in effect, enjoying a presumption of prudence. Use of presumptively prudent balanced or life-cycle funds as the default investment, in lieu of money market or stable-value funds or employer stock, seems likely, in turn, to improve investment returns for participants.

Second, Congress could make it clear that plan sponsors seeking protection from fiduciary liability may designate an independent professional investment manager to invest participants’ accounts. That would free participants from having to manage their own accounts, although they could retain the option to do so. The plan sponsor and trustee would be exempt from fiduciary responsibility for investments appropriately delegated to an independent investment manager, except for the continuing responsibility to prudently select and monitor the manager (for example, to ensure reasonable fees). That guidance from policymakers would likely accelerate the expansion of professional account management services, already an emerging trend. Like standard investments, professionally managed accounts would tend to ensure reasonable asset allocation and adequate diversification (including reduced exposure to employer stock), two key factors in raising expected returns and reducing risks.

D. Automatic Rollover

A similar automatic or default-based approach has already been applied to plan payouts before retirement, to limit leakage of assets from the retirement system. Currently, most people who receive distributions from 401(k) and similar plans take one-time cash payments. In general, the smaller a lump sum distribution is, the less likely it is to be saved by being transferred (rolled over) to another employer plan or to an IRA. In fact, data

¹³James Choi *et al.*, “For Better or For Worse: Default Effects and 401(k) Savings Behavior,” in *Perspectives in the Economics of Aging*, D. Wise, ed. (University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 81-121.

¹⁴Richard Thaler and Shlomo Benartzi, “Save More Tomorrow: Using Behavioral Economics to Increase Employee Saving,” 112(1 pt. 2) *Journal of Political Economy* S164-S187 (2004).

¹⁵General information letter from Internal Revenue Service to J. Mark Iwry, Mar. 17, 2004.

suggest that as of 1996, the median lump sum distribution was \$5,000, and a sizable majority of defined contribution plan participants who receive a lump sum distribution of \$5,000 or less do not roll it over to a qualified plan or IRA.¹⁶

For years, account balances of up to \$5,000 could be involuntarily cashed out, that is, paid to departing employees without their consent, and those payments were the least likely to be preserved for retirement. In 2000, however, a Treasury-IRS ruling permitted retirement plan sponsors to transfer those amounts to an IRA established for a departing employee who did not affirmatively elect any other disposition of the funds. A year later Congress mandated that automatic rollover for distributions between \$1,000 and \$5,000. Under that legislation, scheduled to take effect in March 2005, plan sponsors may no longer force cash-out distributions (of more than \$1,000) on departing employees. Instead plans are required to follow the employee's instructions either to transfer the funds to another plan or an IRA, pay the funds directly to the employee, or keep the funds in the plan if the plan permits that option. The individual thus has the choice to preserve or consume the retirement savings, but, if the individual makes no other choice, the default is preservation — either in the employer's plan, if the employer so chooses, or in an IRA that the employer opens for the employee. The employee must also be notified that if the payout is automatically rolled over to an IRA, he or she may then roll it over to another IRA of his or her choice.

Automatic rollover was designed to have a potentially valuable byproduct, namely, the broader use of IRAs. Currently, fewer than 10 percent of those eligible to open and contribute to an IRA on a tax-preferred basis actually do so. Like enrolling in a 401(k), opening an IRA requires individuals to overcome inertia and to navigate their way through a number of decisions (in this case, choosing among a vast number of financial institutions and investments). Automatic rollover instead calls on the employer to take the initiative to set up an IRA and choose investments on the employee's behalf, again unless the employee chooses to do so. The intended result is not only to preserve the assets within the tax-favored retirement plan universe, but also to create an expanding infrastructure of portable, low-cost individual accounts for the millions of workers who have no IRAs but who are covered at some point by an employer-sponsored retirement plan. Automatic rollover thus has the poten-

tial to help achieve a far broader expansion of retirement plan coverage for moderate- and lower-income households. Indeed, that broader agenda is explicitly reflected in the automatic rollover legislation, which directs Treasury and the Labor Department to consider providing special relief for the use of low-cost IRAs.

Eventually, pension leakage might be further limited by expanding automatic rollover to a wider array of distributions. However, for various reasons, any such expansion would need to be examined carefully. For one thing, in most cases, benefits in excess of \$5,000 currently remain in the employer plan as the default arrangement that applies if the employee makes no explicit election regarding disposition of the funds.

V. Other Potential Parts of the Automatic 401(k)

Alternative default options could also be considered for other aspects of retirement saving, including the form in which funds are paid out on retirement. Current law reflects some preference for encouraging pension payouts to take the form of a lifetime annuity, which guarantees periodic payments for life (as opposed to a single cash payment, for example). Lifetime annuities are a sensible way to reduce the risk of retirees outliving their assets, yet few people purchase them. In defined benefit and money purchase pension plans, a lifetime annuity is generally the default mode of distribution. In contrast, 401(k) and most other defined contribution plans have been able for the most part to exempt themselves from such default requirements. Proposals to extend to 401(k)s default arrangements (including spousal protection) similar to those of defined benefit and money purchase plans have been advanced and have generated lively debate.

VI. Conclusion

A growing body of evidence suggests that the judicious use of default arrangements — arrangements that apply when employees do not make an explicit choice on their own — holds substantial promise for expanding retirement savings. The effects appear to be particularly promising for moderate- and lower-income households, who have the greatest need to increase their saving. Retooling America's voluntary, tax-subsidized 401(k) plans to make sound saving and investment decisions more automatic, while protecting freedom of choice for those participating, would require only a relatively modest set of policy changes — and the steps taken thus far are already producing good results. Expanding those efforts will make it easier for millions of American workers to save, thereby promising greater retirement security for millions of American families.

¹⁶J. Mark Iwry and Jack VanDerhei, "Lump Sum Distributions," Testimony before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, Subcommittee on Employer-Employee Relations, July 1, 2003.