

# Using implementation intentions prompts to enhance influenza vaccination rates

Katherine L. Milkman<sup>a,1</sup>, John Beshears<sup>b</sup>, James J. Choi<sup>c</sup>, David Laibson<sup>d</sup>, and Brigitte C. Madrian<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Operations and Information Management Department, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104; <sup>b</sup>Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305; <sup>c</sup>School of Management, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520; and <sup>d</sup>Department of Economics and <sup>e</sup>Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138

Edited by Jose A. Scheinkman, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, and approved April 29, 2011 (received for review February 24, 2011)

**We evaluate the results of a field experiment designed to measure the effect of prompts to form implementation intentions on realized behavioral outcomes. The outcome of interest is influenza vaccination receipt at free on-site clinics offered by a large firm to its employees. All employees eligible for study participation received reminder mailings that listed the times and locations of the relevant vaccination clinics. Mailings to employees randomly assigned to the treatment conditions additionally included a prompt to write down either (i) the date the employee planned to be vaccinated or (ii) the date and time the employee planned to be vaccinated. Vaccination rates increased when these implementation intentions prompts were included in the mailing. The vaccination rate among control condition employees was 33.1%. Employees who received the prompt to write down just a date had a vaccination rate 1.5 percentage points higher than the control group, a difference that is not statistically significant. Employees who received the more specific prompt to write down both a date and a time had a 4.2 percentage point higher vaccination rate, a difference that is both statistically significant and of meaningful magnitude.**

behavioral economics | nudge | libertarian paternalism | public health | flu shot

Seasonal influenza leads to >200,000 hospitalizations and >8,000 deaths in the United States each year (1, 2). The influenza vaccine is widely available at low cost and reduces mortality (3–5), morbidity (3–6), and healthcare costs (3, 6). Nevertheless, many of those for whom vaccination is indicated fail to comply with CDC recommendations for vaccination (7). If low compliance is the result of careful calculations by individuals weighing the costs and benefits of vaccination, it may be difficult and expensive for policymakers and organizational leaders to increase vaccination rates. However, if low compliance is the result of forgetfulness or procrastination, low-cost interventions that use psychological tools may be effective at increasing vaccination rates and improving public health.

The potential for low-cost psychological interventions to change behavior has been documented in previous research (8–10). For example, changing defaults—the outcomes that result when no action is taken—has been shown to have a sizeable effect on organ donation rates (11), immunization rates (12), and savings plan enrollment (13). Providing information on social norms has been used to reduce household energy consumption (14, 15). This paper evaluates another behavioral intervention—planning prompts—in a field setting.

Research in psychology has demonstrated that prompting people to develop a plan of the form, “When situation *x* arises, I will implement response *y*,” increases attainment of desired goals (16–20). Simply asking people to develop such a plan, or an “implementation intention,” is all that is necessary to trigger an association between the desired behavior and a concrete future moment (19). A prompt to form an implementation intention is a “nudge” (8) in the direction of desired behavior that can be applied at minimal expense and does not restrict individual autonomy (9).

To investigate the efficacy of implementation intentions prompts, we conducted a three-arm randomized controlled trial. The outcome of interest was influenza vaccination receipt. Employees at a large firm were randomly assigned to receive one of three mailings about workplace vaccination clinics. All mailings informed recipients of the dates and times of clinics at their work location. In addition, some mailers prompted recipients to write down either (i) the date they planned to get their vaccination (date plan condition), or (ii) the date and time they planned to get their vaccination (time plan condition). Fig. 1 shows the composition of the mailer that varied across conditions.

Comparing the vaccination rates of employees in the two treatment conditions to the vaccination rates of employees in the control condition whose mailers did not include an implementation intentions prompt, we find that vaccination rates were increasing in the specificity of the prompt received. The vaccination rate among control condition employees was 33.1%. Employees who received the prompt to write down just a date had a regression-adjusted vaccination rate 1.5 percentage points higher than the control group, a difference that is not statistically significant at the 5% level. Those who received the more specific prompt to write down both a date and a time had a 4.2 percentage point higher regression-adjusted vaccination rate, a difference that is both statistically significant at the 5% level and of a meaningful magnitude. The intervention had a larger impact at sites that offered vaccination clinics on only one day than at sites that offered clinics on multiple days, suggesting that implementation intentions prompts may be more effective in settings where an opportunity is available for only a short time.

To our knowledge, this is the first large field study to evaluate the power of implementation intentions prompts in isolation and without confounding influences. Although past research has demonstrated that planning interventions can increase the frequency of prompted behavior for various outcomes ranging from mammography to voting (19), our study differs from past research in several important ways. First, in many past studies, the effect of the planning intervention could not be distinguished from the effect of social pressure because the intervention involved face-to-face or telephone contact (16, 20–24). This study does not involve social pressure: whether subjects ignored the mailings was not observed, and any plans formulated were not communicated to the experimenters, the employer, or any other party. Second, the treatment conditions in many previous studies have provided subjects with supplemental information that was relevant to the outcome participants were being prompted to

Author contributions: K.L.M., J.B., J.J.C., D.L., and B.C.M. designed research; K.L.M., J.B., J.J.C., D.L., and B.C.M. performed research; K.L.M., J.B., and B.C.M. analyzed data; and K.L.M., J.B., J.J.C., D.L., and B.C.M. wrote the paper.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

This article is a PNAS Direct Submission.

Freely available online through the PNAS open access option.

<sup>1</sup>To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: kmilkman@wharton.upenn.edu.

This article contains supporting information online at [www.pnas.org/lookup/suppl/doi:10.1073/pnas.1103170108/-DCSupplemental](http://www.pnas.org/lookup/suppl/doi:10.1073/pnas.1103170108/-DCSupplemental).

Control Condition	Date Plan Condition	Time Plan Condition																														
<p><b>[Company Name] IS HOLDING A FREE FLU SHOT CLINIC.</b></p> <p>Flu shots will be available on site at the [location of relevant free flu shot clinic] at the following times:</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Monday, October 26th</td> <td style="width: 50%;">7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Wednesday, October 28th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Friday, October 30th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tuesday, November 3rd</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Thursday, November 5th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> </table>	Monday, October 26th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Wednesday, October 28th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Friday, October 30th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Tuesday, November 3rd	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Thursday, November 5th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	<p><b>[Company Name] IS HOLDING A FREE FLU SHOT CLINIC.</b></p> <p>Many people find it helpful to <b>make a plan</b> for getting their shot. You can write yours here:</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 150px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 50px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; font-size: small;"> <span>(day of the week)</span> <span>(month)</span> <span>(day)</span> </div> </div> <p>Flu shots will be available on site at the [location of relevant free flu shot clinic] at the following times:</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Monday, October 26th</td> <td style="width: 50%;">7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Wednesday, October 28th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Friday, October 30th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tuesday, November 3rd</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Thursday, November 5th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> </table>	Monday, October 26th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Wednesday, October 28th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Friday, October 30th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Tuesday, November 3rd	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Thursday, November 5th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	<p><b>[Company Name] IS HOLDING A FREE FLU SHOT CLINIC.</b></p> <p>Many people find it helpful to <b>make a plan</b> for getting their shot. You can write yours here:</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 150px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 50px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 50px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; font-size: small;"> <span>(day of the week)</span> <span>(month)</span> <span>(day)</span> <span>(time)</span> </div> </div> <p>Flu shots will be available on site at the [location of relevant free flu shot clinic] at the following times:</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Monday, October 26th</td> <td style="width: 50%;">7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Wednesday, October 28th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Friday, October 30th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tuesday, November 3rd</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Thursday, November 5th</td> <td>7:00 am – 3:30 pm</td> </tr> </table>	Monday, October 26th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Wednesday, October 28th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Friday, October 30th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Tuesday, November 3rd	7:00 am – 3:30 pm	Thursday, November 5th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm
Monday, October 26th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Wednesday, October 28th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Friday, October 30th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Tuesday, November 3rd	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Thursday, November 5th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Monday, October 26th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Wednesday, October 28th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Friday, October 30th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Tuesday, November 3rd	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Thursday, November 5th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Monday, October 26th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Wednesday, October 28th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Friday, October 30th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Tuesday, November 3rd	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															
Thursday, November 5th	7:00 am – 3:30 pm																															

The location, dates, and times of the influenza vaccination clinics were personalized in each mailer

**Fig. 1.** Experimental component of reminder mailer sent to study participants.

achieve (16, 21, 22, 25). Our two treatment condition mailings did not contain any information not in the control condition mailing, allowing us to isolate the effect of the implementation intentions prompt. Third, we directly observe the outcome of interest because we have administrative data on vaccinations; many past studies use subject self-reports, which are vulnerable to reporting bias, as their outcome (21–24, 26). Fourth, in this study, not only were outcomes measured objectively, but participants did not know that their behavior was being observed. In previous studies, awareness of study participation could have altered behavior (27). Fifth, many past studies have much smaller sample sizes than this study (16, 21–24, 26, 28), making it difficult to precisely measure the impact of the implementation intentions interventions. Finally, many past studies have experienced high rates of attrition (22–26, 28), whereas this study had almost no attrition.

In addition to improving our understanding of implementation intentions prompts and informing policies that promote public health, our study has implications for economic models of individual decision making. In most models where individuals fail to take an action that is in their long-run best interest, the mechanism that causes this failure is an overweighting of the immediate costs of the action (29–31) or a lack of relevant information or information-processing ability (32). This study suggests that the lack of a concrete plan for implementing a desired action can also contribute to gaps between an individual's intentions and actions.

## Results

All 3,272 employees at a large Midwestern utility firm with vaccination indications—individuals 50 y of age or older or those with chronic health conditions that increase the risk of influenza-related complications (7, 33)—were randomly assigned to receive one of three mailings about the firm's on-site influenza vaccination clinics. As described in detail in *Methods*, more information is available about employees enrolled in the company's Preferred Provider Organization (PPO) health plan than about employees enrolled in a Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) plan. Thus, we present our results not only for these two groups together, but also separately for the PPO study subjects only.

As expected in a randomized controlled experiment, we found no significant differences in individual characteristics across the three experimental groups (Table 1). We found differences across the three groups in vaccination clinic characteristics: Participants in the date plan condition work at locations with vaccination clinics that were longer on average than participants in the control condition, both in terms of clinic days (1.6 d difference of

means, 95% CI, 1.5–1.8 d) and total clinic hours (10.8 h difference of means, 95% CI, 9.4–12.1 h). These differences result from the study design which, by necessity, excludes from the date plan condition any employees who had access to only a single-day clinic (*Methods*). If we restrict the sample to locations with multi-day clinics, we find no differences in the clinic variables across experimental conditions at the 5% significance level.

Table 2 shows the vaccination rates for the three experimental conditions and, for the two treatment conditions, the difference in the vaccination rate relative to the control condition. The vaccination rate among control condition employees in the full sample was 33.1%. In the two treatment conditions, the vaccination rate increases with the specificity of the implementation intentions prompt received by employees. Those who received the more general prompt to write down just a date—participants in the date plan condition—had a vaccination rate of 35.6%, a 2.4 percentage point increase relative to the control condition (95% CI for difference of means, –1.9 to 6.8 percentage points) that is not significant ( $P = 0.27$ ). The vaccination rate of those who received the more specific prompt to write down a date and time—participants in the time plan condition—was 37.1%, a significant increase of 4.0 percentage points (95% CI for difference of means, 0.3–7.7 percentage points,  $P = 0.04$ ) relative to the control condition.

The regression-adjusted differences in treatment condition vaccination rates relative to the control condition are similar to the differences obtained without regression adjustment. The adjusted estimates control for the full sample individual characteristics in Table 1 and work location fixed effects (which subsume the clinic variables in Table 1). The regression-adjusted difference between the date plan condition and the control condition is 1.5 percentage points (95% CI, –3.0 to 6.1 percentage points,  $P = 0.51$ ), whereas the regression-adjusted difference between the time plan condition and the control condition is 4.2 percentage points (95% CI, 0.5–7.8 percentage points,  $P = 0.03$ ). Estimated coefficients for control variables in all of the regressions discussed in this paper are reported along with the associated SEs as [Tables S1–S3](#).

We next turn to an examination of the subsample of employees enrolled in the PPO health plan. For this group, we report two sets of regression-adjusted differences in vaccination rates, the first controlling for work location and characteristics observed for all study participants, and the second controlling for these variables plus the characteristics observed only for the PPO subsample.

The implementation intentions intervention effects are larger for the PPO subsample than for the full sample (Table 2). Rel-

	All		Control		Time plan		Date plan	
Measurement	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Full sample								
Individual characteristics								
Male	2,372	(72.5)	943	(74.4)	912	(71.8)	517	(70.4)
Age, mean (SD), years	51.1	(8.1)	51.4	(8.0)	50.9	(8.1)	51.1	(8.3)
Married	1,895	(57.9)	760	(59.9)	720	(56.7)	415	(56.5)
Has children	1,476	(45.1)	556	(43.9)	583	(45.9)	337	(45.9)
Caucasian	2,510	(76.7)	976	(77.0)	983	(77.4)	551	(75.1)
African-American	669	(20.5)	253	(20.0)	256	(20.2)	160	(21.8)
Asian	93	(2.8)	39	(3.1)	31	(2.4)	23	(3.1)
PPO member	2,629	(80.4)	1,008	(79.5)	1,014	(79.8)	607	(82.7)
Clinic characteristics								
Clinic hours, mean (SD)	20.1	(16.0)	17.7	(16.0)	17.7	(16.0)	28.5	(12.7)
Clinic days, mean (SD)	3.7	(1.9)	3.3	(2.0)	3.3	(2.0)	5.0	(0.2)
Days to first clinic, mean (SD)	17.4	(4.6)	17.7	(4.7)	17.6	(4.7)	16.4	(4.2)
Additional characteristics for PPO subsample only								
Individual characteristics								
Vaccinated last year	423	(16.1)	167	(16.6)	170	(16.8)	86	(14.2)
Doctor office visits 1/1–9/1/09, mean (SD)	3.2	(3.2)	3.3	(3.3)	3.2	(3.2)	3.1	(3.1)
Has diabetes	294	(11.2)	122	(12.1)	116	(11.4)	56	(9.2)
Has asthma	79	(3.0)	30	(3.0)	33	(3.3)	16	(2.6)
Has high blood pressure	1,611	(61.3)	614	(60.9)	624	(61.5)	373	(61.5)
Has high cholesterol	1,108	(42.2)	432	(42.9)	439	(43.3)	237	(39.0)

ative to the control group, assignment to the date plan condition increased the unadjusted probability of vaccination by 4.2 percentage points (95% CI, -0.6 to 9.0 percentage points,  $P = 0.09$ ) and the regression-adjusted probability of vaccination by 3.9 percentage points with the smaller set of regression controls (95% CI, -1.2 to 9.0 percentage points,  $P = 0.14$ ) and 5.3 percentage points with the larger set of regression controls (95% CI, 0.3–10.3 percentage points,  $P = 0.04$ ). Assignment to the time plan condition increased the unadjusted probability of vaccination at a workplace clinic by 5.7 percentage points (95% CI, 1.5–9.9 percentage points,  $P < 0.01$ ) and the regression-adjusted probability of vaccination by 6.2 percentage points with the smaller set of controls (95% CI, 2.1–10.4 percentage points,  $P < 0.01$ ) and 6.0 percentage points with the larger set of controls (95% CI, 2.0–10.1 percentage points,  $P < 0.01$ ).

These results indicate that some of the workplace vaccinations induced by the implementation intentions interventions displaced vaccinations that employees would have received elsewhere. We probably measure most of this displacement, because

Although unanticipated *ex ante*, our analyses reveal that the effect of the time plan condition mailing was substantially larger among employees working at locations that offered clinics on only one day than among those working at locations with multi-day clinics (Fig. 2). Regression-adjusted point estimates of the increase in vaccination rates induced by the time plan condition mailing at 1-d clinic sites range from 7.9 to 9.5 percentage points depending on the regression specification (Table S2). Regression-adjusted point estimates of the increase in vaccination rates induced by the time plan condition mailing at multi-day clinic sites were considerably smaller, ranging from 1.7 to 4.3 percentage points across specifications and failing to reach statistical significance (Table S3). Although this differential impact may be due to unobserved differences between employees at work locations with limited versus extensive clinic availability, the results are consistent with implementation intentions prompts being most effective for opportunities that are available for only a short time. A momentary episode of forgetfulness can cause such short-lived opportunities to be foregone altogether. Thus, the effectiveness of implementation intentions prompts may depend on subtle features of the decision making environment.

We do not observe any significant interactions between our treatment conditions and other known characteristics of the population studied (sex, age, race, marital status, parental status, flu shot received last year, visits to doctor last year, diabetes, asthma, high blood pressure, or high cholesterol).

This study shows that encouraging people to make a plan to accomplish a desired outcome can significantly increase their like-



**Table 2. Influenza vaccination rates by experimental condition**

Measurement	Control	Date plan	Time plan
Full sample			
Outcome is vaccination at workplace clinic			
Full sample vaccination rate, unadjusted, %	33.1	35.6	37.1*
95% CI	30.5–35.7	32.1–39.0	34.4–39.7
Difference relative to the control condition			
Full sample, unadjusted difference, %	—	2.4	4.0*
95% CI	—	–1.9–6.8	0.3–7.7
Full sample, regression-adjusted difference, <sup>†</sup> %	—	1.5	4.2*
95% CI	—	–3.0–6.1	0.5–7.8
PPO subsample only			
Outcome is vaccination at workplace clinic			
PPO only sample vaccination rate, unadjusted, %	33.5	37.7	39.3*
95% CI	30.6–36.4	33.9–41.6	36.2–42.3
Difference relative to the control condition			
PPO only sample, unadjusted difference, %	—	4.2	5.7*
95% CI	—	–0.6–9.0	1.5–9.9
PPO only sample, regression-adjusted difference, <sup>†</sup> %	—	3.9	6.2*
95% CI	—	–1.2–9.0	2.1–10.4
PPO only sample, regression-adjusted difference with PPO only controls, <sup>‡</sup> %	—	5.3*	6.0*
PPO only sample, regression-adjusted difference with PPO only controls			
95% CI	—	0.3–10.3	2.0–10.1
Outcome is any influenza vaccination			
PPO only sample, regression-adjusted difference, <sup>†</sup> %	—	2.9	5.7*
95% CI	—	–2.3–8.1	1.4–9.9
PPO only sample, regression-adjusted difference with PPO only controls <sup>‡</sup> %	—	4.9	5.5*
95% CI	—	–0.1–9.9	1.5–9.5

For full regression results, see [Table S1](#). n: Full sample: control, 1,268; date plan, 734; time plan, 1,270; PPO subsample only: control, 1,008; date plan, 607; time plan, 1,014. CI, confidence interval; PPO, Preferred Provider Organization.

\*Difference between treatment and control conditions significant at  $P \leq 0.05$ .

<sup>†</sup>Regression controls include sex, age, marital status, parental status, race/ethnicity, PPO membership, and location fixed effects. Confidence intervals are calculated by using SEs robust to heteroskedasticity.

<sup>‡</sup>Regression controls include sex, age, marital status, parental status, race/ethnicity, flu shot receipt at the workplace clinic the previous year, number of doctor office visits between 1/1/09 and 9/1/09, indicators for whether an individual has diabetes, asthma, high blood pressure, or high cholesterol, and location fixed effects. Confidence intervals are calculated by using SEs robust to heteroskedasticity.

likelihood of success. In the context of a vaccination reminder mailing, prompting recipients to consider and write down the date and time when they planned to get their flu shot increased vaccination rates by 4 percentage points relative to a baseline vaccination rate of 33% among a control group whose reminder mailing did not include an implementation intentions prompt. The fact that the time plan condition had a larger impact at 1-d clinic sites than at multi-day clinic sites suggests that implementation intentions prompts may be most effective at encouraging behaviors when the opportunity for action is fleeting.

These findings have the potential to strengthen future efforts to improve public health by increasing vaccination rates. Past research has shown that reminder letters are among the most cost-effective ways to encourage patient immunization, increasing compliance by an average of 8 percentage points (34, 35). By comparison, our study shows that incorporating a specific element into a reminder mailing—a prompt to form an implementation intention—increases vaccination rates by 4 percentage points at no incremental printing/mailling cost. Another minimal-cost component of the mailers in all of our study arms, including the control condition—informing recipients of the time and place of the flu shot clinics—has been shown in previous research to increase immunization rates by 9 percentage points (36).

More generally, implementation intentions prompts may be an effective and low-cost way to increase a wide range of constructive actions that individuals intend but fail to execute. This set of constructive actions includes other health-related actions, such as completing a health assessment or scheduling a colonoscopy, as well as nonhealth-related actions such as purchasing life in-

surance, procuring a will, opening a savings account, or switching to energy-efficient light bulbs.

Our study has several limitations. The sample of predominately male employees at a single firm is not representative of the broader population. Another concern is that some participants, even in the PPO subsample, may have received influenza vaccinations that we cannot observe, although past research shows that most influenza vaccinations occur at work or a doctor's office (37). Also, our experimental design has two treatment groups and a control group, so a reader assessing the overall study should keep the two planned comparisons in mind when interpreting our statistical tests based on single comparisons. Finally, the intervention took place during the fall of 2009. We study seasonal influenza vaccinations, and vaccination against the prevailing H1N1 strain of influenza was not included in the 2009–2010 seasonal influenza vaccine. A separate vaccine against the H1N1 influenza strain was in limited supply during the fall of 2009, and news stories about both the H1N1 strain and shortages of the H1N1 vaccine were widespread. Conditions during the fall of 2009 may limit the generalizability of this study's results, although they do not contaminate the study itself, because individuals in all experimental arms faced the same background circumstances.

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that for employees at a large firm with influenza vaccine indications (age  $\geq 50$  y or chronic disease), adding a simple planning prompt to an influenza vaccination clinic reminder mailing meaningfully increased vaccination rates. These findings suggest that models of individual decision making might be improved if they recognize the role of concrete plans in the translation of intentions into actions. In addition, this



outcome measure for this subgroup: receipt of an influenza vaccine at any location. With this broader outcome measure, we can also assess whether the incremental workplace vaccinations induced by the implementation intentions displaced vaccinations that would have occurred elsewhere.

We evaluate the impact of the implementation intentions interventions on an intent-to-treat basis by calculating the difference in vaccination rates between the two treatment conditions and the control condition. We do this analysis on both an unadjusted basis and a regression-adjusted basis. The regression-adjusted differences are calculated by using ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions of a binary vaccination receipt indicator at the individual level on individual characteristics, work location indicator variables, and indicator variables for the individual's experimental condition. We calculate regression-adjusted differences in vaccination rates for several reasons. First, a regression framework allows us to control for demographic and clinic characteristics that may affect vaccination rates. Although controlling for demographic characteristics should not substantively affect the estimated differences in vaccination rates across experimental conditions if the assign-

ment to conditions is random, using these controls will increase the statistical precision of the estimated differences. Second, controlling for location fixed effects allows us to parsimoniously control for an important difference between the date plan condition and the other two conditions: employees in the date plan condition worked only at locations that offered multi-day vaccination clinics, whereas the control and time plan conditions also include employees at single-day clinic locations. Finally, a regression framework allows us to more easily assess whether the treatment effects varied by demographic or clinic characteristics.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.** We thank Evive Health (and in particular, Prashant Srivastava and Jennifer Lindner) for collaborating on the design of the mailer, conducting the field experiment, and providing the data; and Kevin Volpp, Todd Rogers, and participants at the Carnegie Mellon University-University of Pennsylvania Fall 2010 Roybal Center Retreat for their insightful feedback. J.B., J.J.C., D.L., and B.C.M. acknowledge individual and collective financial support from National Institute on Aging Grants P30-AG-034532, R01-AG-021650, and T32-AG-000186.

- Thompson W-W, et al. (2003) Mortality associated with influenza and respiratory syncytial virus in the United States. *JAMA* 289:179–186.
- Thompson W-W, et al. (2004) Influenza-associated hospitalizations in the United States. *JAMA* 292:1333–1340.
- Nichol K-L, Margolis K-L, Wuorenma J, Von Sternberg T (1994) The efficacy and cost effectiveness of vaccination against influenza among elderly persons living in the community. *N Engl J Med* 331:778–784.
- Gross P-A, Hermogenes A-W, Sacks H-S, Lau J, Levandowski R-A (1995) The efficacy of influenza vaccine in elderly persons. A meta-analysis and review of the literature. *Ann Intern Med* 123:518–527.
- Nichol K-L, Baken L, Nelson A (1999) Relation between influenza vaccination and outpatient visits, hospitalization, and mortality in elderly persons with chronic lung disease. *Ann Intern Med* 130:397–403.
- Wilde J-A, et al. (1999) Effectiveness of influenza vaccine in health care professionals: A randomized trial. *JAMA* 281:908–913.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2003) Public health and aging: Influenza vaccination coverage among adults aged > or =50 years and pneumococcal vaccination coverage among adults aged > or =65 years—United States, 2002. *MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep* 52:987–992.
- Thaler R-H, Sunstein C-R (2008) *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness* (Yale Univ Press, New Haven, CT).
- Loewenstein G, Brennan T, Volpp K-G (2007) Asymmetric paternalism to improve health behaviors. *JAMA* 298:2415–2417.
- Allcott H, Mullainathan S (2010) Energy. Behavior and energy policy. *Science* 327:1204–1205.
- Johnson EJ, Goldstein D (2003) Medicine. Do defaults save lives? *Science* 302:1338–1339.
- Chapman G-B, Li M, Colby H, Yoon H (2010) Opting in vs. opting out of influenza vaccination. *JAMA* 304:43–44.
- Madrian B, Shea D-F (2001) The power of suggestion: Inertia in 401(k) participation and savings behavior. *Q J Econ* 116:1149–1187.
- Schultz P-W, Nolan J-M, Cialdini R-B, Goldstein N-J, Griskevicius V (2007) The constructive, destructive, and reconstructive power of social norms. *Psychol Sci* 18:429–434.
- Allcott H (2009) Social norms and energy conservation. *MIT Working Paper*. <http://web.mit.edu/allcott/www/papers.html>. Accessed February 1, 2011.
- Leventhal H, Singer R, Jones S (1965) Effects of fear and specificity of recommendation upon attitudes and behavior. *J Pers Soc Psychol* 34:20–29.
- Gollwitzer P-M (1999) Implementation intentions: Strong effects of simple plans. *Am Psychol* 54:493–503.
- Gollwitzer P-M, Bayer U, McCulloch K (2005) *The New Unconscious*, eds Hassin R, Uleman J, Bargh JA (Oxford Univ Press, Oxford), pp 485–515.
- Gollwitzer P-M, Sheeran P (2006) Implementation intentions and goal achievement: A meta-analysis of effects and processes. *Adv Exp Soc Psychol* 38:69–119.
- Nickerson D-W, Rogers T (2010) Do you have a voting plan?: Implementation intentions, voter turnout, and organic plan making. *Psychol Sci* 21:194–199.
- Leventhal H, Watts J-C, Pagano F (1967) Effects of fear and instructions on how to cope with danger. *J Pers Soc Psychol* 6:313–321.
- Orbell S, Hodgkins S, Sheeran P (1997) Implementation intentions and the theory of planned behavior. *Pers Soc Psychol Bull* 23:945–954.
- Prestwich A, Lawton R, Conner M (2003) The use of implementation intentions and the decision balance sheet in promoting exercise behaviour. *Psychol Health* 18:707–721.
- Sheeran P, Orbell S (1999) Implementation intentions and repeated behaviour: Augmenting the predictive validity of the theory of planned behaviour. *Eur J Soc Psychol* 29:349–369.
- Rutter D-R, Steadman L, Quine L (2006) An implementation intentions intervention to increase uptake of mammography. *Ann Behav Med* 32:127–134.
- Snihotta F-F, Scholz U, Schwarzer R (2006) Action plans and coping plans for physical exercise: A longitudinal intervention study in cardiac rehabilitation. *Br J Health Psychol* 11:23–37.
- Levitt S-D, List J-A (2007) What do laboratory experiments measuring social preferences reveal about the real world? *J Econ Perspect* 21:153–174.
- Sheeran P, Orbell S (2000) Using implementation intentions to increase attendance for cervical cancer screening. *Health Psychol* 19:283–289.
- Laibson D (1997) Golden eggs and hyperbolic discounting. *Q J Econ* 112:443–477.
- O'Donoghue T, Rabin M (1999) Doing it now or later. *Am Econ Rev* 89:103–124.
- Fudenberg D, Levine D-K (2006) A dual-self model of impulse control. *Am Econ Rev* 96:1449–1476.
- Beshears J, Choi J-J, Laibson D, Madrian B-C (2008) How are preferences revealed? *J Public Econ* 92:1787–1794.
- Fiore A-E, et al.; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2009) Prevention and control of seasonal influenza with vaccines: Recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices (ACIP), 2009. *MMWR Recomm Rep* 58(RR-8):RR08:1–52.
- Briss P-A, et al.; The Task Force on Community Preventive Services (2000) Reviews of evidence regarding interventions to improve vaccination coverage in children, adolescents, and adults. *Am J Prev Med* 18(Suppl):97–140.
- Szilagyi P-G, et al. (2000) Effect of patient reminder/recall interventions on immunization rates: A review. *JAMA* 284:1820–1827.
- McCaul K-D, Johnson R-J, Rothman A-J (2002) The effects of framing and action instructions on whether older adults obtain flu shots. *Health Psychol* 21:624–628.
- Postema AS, Breiman RF; National Vaccine Advisory Committee (2000) Adult immunization programs in nontraditional settings: Quality standards and guidance for program evaluation. *MMWR Recomm Rep* 49(RR-1, RR01):1–13.