

## **The Role of Financial Literacy in Reducing Investment Biases: A Theoretical Framework**

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### **Abstract**

Investment decisions are frequently impaired by cognitive and behavioural biases that lead to suboptimal financial outcomes. This theoretical paper examines the relationship between financial literacy and investment biases, exploring how improved financial knowledge and skills can mitigate common decision-making errors. Drawing on behavioural finance theory and empirical evidence, this paper proposes that financial literacy serves as a moderating factor that reduces the prevalence and intensity of investment biases such as overconfidence, anchoring, herding behaviour, and loss aversion. The paper synthesizes existing research to develop a comprehensive framework illustrating the mechanisms through which financial literacy influences investor behaviour and suggests directions for future research and policy interventions.

**Keywords:** financial literacy, investment biases, behavioural finance, cognitive biases, investor behaviour

### **Introduction**

Investment decisions are central to wealth accumulation and financial security, yet individual investors consistently demonstrate systematic deviations from rational decision-making predicted by traditional finance theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). These deviations, termed investment biases, result in poor portfolio performance, excessive risk-taking, and suboptimal asset allocation (Barber & Odean, 2000). Behavioural finance research has documented numerous cognitive and emotional biases that influence investment choices, including overconfidence, anchoring, herding behaviour, and loss aversion.

Simultaneously, financial literacy—defined as the ability to understand and effectively use various financial skills including budgeting, investing, and financial planning—has emerged as a critical determinant of financial well-being (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2014). Despite its importance, financial literacy levels remain alarmingly low across developed and developing economies. According to the OECD (2020), only 26% of adults in surveyed countries demonstrate high levels of financial literacy, raising concerns about the quality of financial decision-making at both individual and societal levels.

This paper explores the theoretical relationship between financial literacy and investment biases, examining whether enhanced financial knowledge can serve as a protective factor against common decision-making errors. Understanding this relationship has significant implications for financial education policy, investor protection regulations, and the design of investment products. The central research question guiding this theoretical exploration is: How does financial literacy influence the prevalence and intensity of investment biases among individual investors?

## Literature Review

### Financial Literacy: Conceptualization and Measurement

Financial literacy encompasses multiple dimensions of financial knowledge and capability. Huston (2010) distinguishes between financial knowledge (understanding financial concepts) and financial literacy (the ability to apply that knowledge to financial decisions). This multidimensional conceptualization has been widely adopted in subsequent research, with scholars recognizing that effective financial decision-making requires both cognitive understanding and practical application skills.

Lusardi and Mitchell (2011) developed a standardized measure of financial literacy focusing on three fundamental concepts: numeracy, understanding of inflation, and comprehension of risk diversification. Their "Big Three" questions have become the gold standard for measuring basic financial literacy across international contexts. However, critics argue that these measures capture only rudimentary financial knowledge and may not adequately assess the sophisticated understanding required for complex investment decisions (Fernandes et al., 2014).

Advanced financial literacy, particularly relevant to investment behaviour, includes understanding of compound interest, stock market functioning, mutual funds, portfolio diversification, and risk-return relationships (van Rooij et al., 2011). Research consistently demonstrates that individuals with higher financial literacy are more likely to participate in stock markets, hold diversified portfolios, and achieve better investment outcomes (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2014).

### Investment Biases in Behavioural Finance

Behavioural finance emerged as a response to anomalies in traditional financial theory that assume rational, utility-maximizing investors. Kahneman and Tversky's (1979) prospect theory revolutionized understanding of decision-making under uncertainty, demonstrating that individuals evaluate outcomes relative to reference points and exhibit loss aversion—the tendency to feel losses more acutely than equivalent gains.

Several categories of investment biases have been extensively documented. Cognitive biases arise from information processing errors and include:

**Overconfidence bias** manifests when investors overestimate their knowledge, abilities, or the precision of their information (Barber & Odean, 2001). Overconfident investors trade excessively, believing they can outperform the market, which typically results in lower net returns due to transaction costs. Odean (1999) found that overconfident investors reduce their expected utility through excessive trading, with the most active traders earning annual returns 6.5% lower than the market.

**Anchoring bias** occurs when investors rely too heavily on initial information (the "anchor") when making subsequent judgments (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). In investment contexts, anchoring often manifests as fixation on purchase prices or arbitrary numerical reference points, influencing decisions about when to sell assets.

**Confirmation bias** leads investors to seek information that confirms existing beliefs while disregarding contradictory evidence (Nickerson, 1998). This bias can result in inadequate due diligence and failure to recognize warning signs of poor investment performance.

Emotional biases stem from feelings and emotions rather than conscious reasoning:

**Loss aversion**, a cornerstone of prospect theory, causes investors to prefer avoiding losses to acquiring equivalent gains (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). This bias manifests in the disposition effect—the tendency to sell winning investments too quickly while holding losing investments too long (Shefrin & Statman, 1985).

**Herding behaviour** occurs when investors follow collective actions of groups rather than relying on private information or analysis (Bikhchandani & Sharma, 2000). Herding can create asset bubbles and contribute to market inefficiencies as prices deviate from fundamental values.

**Regret aversion** causes investors to avoid making decisions that might result in regret, leading to excessive conservatism or following conventional investment wisdom even when superior alternatives exist (Loomes & Sugden, 1982).

### **The Financial Literacy-Investment Bias Nexus**

Emerging research suggests financial literacy may moderate the relationship between cognitive limitations and biased decision-making. Several theoretical mechanisms explain this potential moderating effect:

**Enhanced analytical capability:** Financially literate individuals possess frameworks and mental models that facilitate more systematic evaluation of investment opportunities (Hilgert et al., 2003). This structured approach reduces reliance on heuristics and intuitive judgments that often lead to biased decisions.

**Improved metacognition:** Financial education promotes awareness of one's own thinking processes and potential errors, enabling investors to recognize when biases might be influencing their decisions (Fernandes et al., 2014). This metacognitive awareness represents a critical first step in bias mitigation.

**Greater confidence calibration:** While financial literacy generally increases investor confidence, research suggests it may improve calibration—the alignment between confidence levels and actual knowledge (Deaves et al., 2010). Better-calibrated confidence reduces the likelihood of overconfidence-driven trading errors.

**Expanded information processing capacity:** Financially literate investors can process more complex information and recognize relevant decision criteria, reducing susceptibility to irrelevant anchors or emotional influences (van Rooij et al., 2011).

However, the relationship between financial literacy and investment biases is not uniformly positive. Some studies suggest that moderate levels of financial literacy may increase certain biases. For instance, Hadar et al. (2013) found that individuals with intermediate financial

knowledge exhibited greater overconfidence than those with either low or high literacy levels, suggesting a nonlinear relationship requiring further investigation.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Conceptual Model**

Drawing on the reviewed literature, this paper proposes a theoretical framework illustrating how financial literacy influences investment biases. The framework incorporates three key components:

#### **Component 1: Financial Literacy Dimensions**

- Basic financial literacy (numeracy, inflation understanding, risk diversification)
- Advanced financial literacy (investment products, market functioning, portfolio theory)
- Financial self-efficacy (confidence in financial decision-making abilities)

#### **Component 2: Investment Biases**

- Cognitive biases (overconfidence, anchoring, confirmation bias, availability bias)
- Emotional biases (loss aversion, herding, regret aversion, endowment effect)

#### **Component 3: Moderating Mechanisms**

- Analytical thinking enhancement
- Metacognitive awareness development
- Information processing improvement
- Emotional regulation capacity

The proposed model suggests that financial literacy operates through multiple pathways to reduce investment biases. Direct effects occur when financial knowledge enables recognition and correction of biased thinking patterns. Indirect effects emerge through improved financial self-efficacy and reduced anxiety about financial decisions, which diminish emotional biases.

## **Propositions and Hypotheses**

Based on the theoretical framework, several propositions can be advanced:

**Proposition 1:** Financial literacy is negatively associated with cognitive investment biases. Specifically, higher levels of financial literacy will correlate with reduced overconfidence, anchoring, and confirmation biases.

**Rationale:** Financially literate investors possess knowledge structures that enable more systematic analysis and recognition of information processing errors. Education in statistical reasoning and probability helps investors recognize randomness and avoid pattern-seeking behaviours that lead to overconfidence (Deaves et al., 2010).

**Proposition 2:** Financial literacy is negatively associated with emotional investment biases, though the relationship may be weaker than for cognitive biases.

**Rationale:** While financial knowledge provides tools for recognizing emotional influences, emotions operate at a more fundamental psychological level that may be less amenable to knowledge-based interventions (Loewenstein et al., 2001). However, understanding concepts like risk-return trade-offs and long-term investment horizons may help investors regulate emotional responses to short-term market volatility.

**Proposition 3:** The relationship between financial literacy and investment biases follows a nonlinear pattern, with diminishing marginal effects at higher literacy levels.

**Rationale:** Initial improvements in financial literacy yield substantial bias reduction as investors acquire foundational frameworks. However, even highly sophisticated investors may exhibit biases due to cognitive limitations and emotional factors that persist despite extensive knowledge (Hadar et al., 2013).

**Proposition 4:** Financial literacy's effect on investment biases is moderated by experience, with stronger bias reduction observed among novice investors than experienced investors.

**Rationale:** Experienced investors may have already developed compensatory strategies or learned from past mistakes, reducing the incremental benefit of formal financial literacy. Conversely, novice investors lack both knowledge and experience, making financial literacy interventions particularly valuable for this population.

**Proposition 5:** Different components of financial literacy (basic vs. advanced) have differential effects on specific investment biases.

**Rationale:** Basic financial literacy primarily reduces fundamental errors in understanding compound interest and diversification benefits. Advanced financial literacy, including knowledge of behavioural biases themselves, is required to mitigate more sophisticated errors like disposition effects and momentum trading (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2014).

### **Integration with Existing Theories**

The proposed framework integrates insights from multiple theoretical perspectives:

**Dual-Process Theory:** Stanovich and West (2000) distinguished between System 1 (fast, automatic, intuitive) and System 2 (slow, deliberate, analytical) thinking processes. Investment biases typically result from over-reliance on System 1 processing. Financial literacy strengthens System 2 capabilities and promotes awareness of when to override intuitive judgments, thereby reducing bias-driven errors.

**Mental Accounting Theory:** Thaler (1985) described how individuals create separate mental accounts for different types of financial decisions, leading to suboptimal choices. Financial literacy helps investors adopt more integrated perspectives on their overall financial situations, reducing the compartmentalization that underlies many investment biases.

**Theory of Planned Behaviour:** Ajzen (1991) proposed that behavioural intentions are determined by attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control. Financial literacy enhances perceived behavioural control by providing knowledge and skills for effective financial decision-making, potentially strengthening the relationship between intentions and actual investment behaviour.

### **Empirical Evidence from Secondary Sources**

#### **Financial Literacy and Overconfidence**

Multiple studies have examined the relationship between financial literacy and overconfidence, with mixed findings. Deaves et al. (2010) conducted experimental research comparing financially literate and less literate participants on calibration tasks requiring probability assessments. Results indicated that financial literacy improved calibration accuracy, reducing overconfidence among those with sufficient knowledge to recognize the limits of their understanding.

However, contrasting evidence suggests complexity in this relationship. Using data from the Dutch Household Survey, van Rooij et al. (2011) found that individuals with moderate financial literacy exhibited greater overconfidence than those at either extreme of the literacy distribution. This inverted U-shaped relationship implies that partial knowledge may be more dangerous than ignorance, as individuals overestimate their competence in the intermediate learning stage.

Allgood and Walstad (2016) analysed self-assessed versus actual financial knowledge using the National Financial Capability Study in the United States. Their findings revealed that approximately 20% of respondents demonstrated substantial overconfidence, rating their financial knowledge highly despite poor performance on objective literacy measures. Importantly, this overconfidence was associated with less retirement planning and lower likelihood of seeking professional financial advice.

#### **Financial Literacy and Trading Behaviour**

Excessive trading represents a clear manifestation of overconfidence and related biases. Barber and Odean (2000) analysed trading records of 78,000 households with discount brokerage accounts over six years, finding that frequent traders significantly underperformed the market due to transaction costs. The most active quintile earned annual returns 6.5% lower than the least active quintile.

Extending this line of inquiry, Dorn and Huberman (2005) investigated whether financial literacy moderated excessive trading behaviour. Using German discount brokerage data linked to investor surveys, they found that financially literate investors exhibited lower portfolio turnover rates and achieved superior risk-adjusted returns. The effect remained statistically significant after controlling for demographic factors, wealth levels, and investment experience.

Conversely, Graham et al. (2009) challenged the universal benefits of financial literacy for trading behaviour. Their analysis of Finnish investment data revealed that financially

sophisticated investors who actively managed portfolios earned positive abnormal returns, suggesting that sufficient expertise enables successful market timing. This finding implies that the relationship between financial literacy and optimal trading frequency may depend on the level of expertise achieved.

### **Financial Literacy and Diversification**

Portfolio diversification represents a fundamental principle for managing investment risk. Despite widespread recognition of diversification benefits, many investors hold poorly diversified portfolios. Calvet et al. (2007) studied Swedish households' investment portfolios, documenting substantial under diversification even among affluent investors. They estimated that median households could eliminate one-third of portfolio variance through optimal diversification without changing expected returns.

Van Rooij et al. (2011) explicitly linked financial literacy to diversification outcomes using Dutch household panel data. They found strong positive associations between financial literacy and probability of stock market participation, as well as portfolio diversification quality. Specifically, a one-standard-deviation increase in financial literacy score corresponded to a 10-percentage point increase in stock market participation probability and significantly broader asset class diversification.

Similar patterns emerged in U.S. data. Lusardi and Mitchell (2014) demonstrated that individuals answering financial literacy questions correctly were substantially more likely to invest in stocks and held more diversified portfolios across multiple asset classes. These relationships persisted after controlling for education, income, and risk preferences, suggesting financial literacy exerts independent influence on diversification decisions.

### **Financial Literacy and Loss Aversion**

Loss aversion manifests prominently in the disposition effect—selling winners too quickly while holding losers too long. Dhar and Zhu (2006) examined brokerage account data to analyse the disposition effect across investors with varying characteristics. They found that more sophisticated investors, proxied by occupation (e.g., accountants, medical doctors) and trading experience, exhibited smaller disposition effects than less sophisticated counterparts.

Examining financial literacy more directly, Seru et al. (2010) analysed Finnish household investment data linked to intelligence test scores administered during military service. Results indicated that investors with higher cognitive ability—a correlate of financial literacy—demonstrated significantly smaller disposition effects and achieved superior investment returns. This finding suggests that cognitive capabilities, including financial understanding, help investors overcome emotional biases tied to loss aversion.

However, Choi et al. (2009) provided more cautionary evidence regarding financial literacy's effectiveness in reducing loss aversion biases. Their experimental study with university employees showed that even after receiving educational interventions explaining the disposition effect and its detrimental consequences, participants continued exhibiting the bias

in subsequent investment decisions. This suggests that knowledge alone may be insufficient to override deeply rooted emotional responses to losses.

### **Financial Literacy and Herding Behaviour**

Herding occurs when investors follow collective market actions rather than independent analysis. Chiang and Zheng (2010) investigated herding in international stock markets, finding stronger herding during periods of market stress when uncertainty peaks. This pattern suggests that emotional factors and information asymmetry drive herding behaviour.

Examining financial literacy's moderating role, Park (2019) analysed Korean household survey data to assess relationships between financial literacy and herding tendency. Results indicated that financially literate investors demonstrated lower propensity for herding behaviour, particularly during volatile market conditions. Enhanced ability to conduct independent analysis and greater confidence in personal financial judgments explained this relationship.

Conversely, Hirshleifer and Teoh (2009) noted that sophisticated investors might engage in intentional herding to exploit momentum effects or ride asset bubbles deliberately. This strategic herding differs fundamentally from naive herding driven by ignorance or anxiety. Their framework suggests that very high financial literacy might not eliminate herding but rather transform it into a more calculated strategy.

### **Financial Literacy and Recency Bias**

Recency bias causes investors to overweight recent information and experiences when forming expectations about future returns. Bailey et al. (2011) analyzed individual investor portfolios in relation to recent return patterns, documenting strong recency effects in asset allocation decisions. Investors who experienced high recent returns in particular asset classes allocated disproportionate shares of subsequent investments to those categories.

Examining whether financial literacy mitigates recency bias, Korniotis and Kumar (2011) studied U.S. retail investor portfolios. While they found that more knowledgeable investors made better investment decisions overall, even financially sophisticated investors exhibited some susceptibility to recency bias, particularly during extreme market conditions. This persistent bias suggests that emotional and cognitive limitations partially override knowledge-based judgment.

Weber et al. (2013) provided experimental evidence on financial literacy's role in reducing recency bias. Participants who received training on statistical concepts like regression to the mean demonstrated smaller recency effects in subsequent investment choices compared to control groups. This finding supports the proposition that specific components of financial literacy—particularly understanding of probability and statistical reasoning—can effectively reduce certain investment biases.

## Discussion

### Synthesis of Evidence

The reviewed evidence reveals a complex, nuanced relationship between financial literacy and investment biases. Several key patterns emerge from the synthesis of secondary research:

**Pattern 1: Asymmetric Effects Across Bias Types** Financial literacy demonstrates stronger effects on cognitive biases (overconfidence, anchoring) compared to emotional biases (loss aversion, regret). This asymmetry likely reflects the deeper psychological roots of emotional biases, which may require interventions beyond knowledge acquisition. Cognitive biases respond more readily to analytical frameworks and systematic thinking that financial literacy promotes.

**Pattern 2: Nonlinearity and Threshold Effects** Multiple studies document nonlinear relationships between financial literacy and investment outcomes. Moderate literacy levels may generate overconfidence without providing sufficient knowledge for effective decision-making, creating a "danger zone" where investors take inappropriate risks. Only at higher literacy thresholds do protective effects consistently emerge.

**Pattern 3: Context Dependency** Financial literacy's effectiveness in reducing biases varies across market conditions and investment contexts. During high volatility or market crises, even financially literate investors exhibit heightened susceptibility to emotional biases. This context dependency underscores that financial literacy represents one component of effective decision-making rather than a complete solution.

**Pattern 4: Interaction with Experience** Financial literacy and investment experience interact in complex ways. For novice investors, financial literacy provides essential frameworks for navigating investment decisions. For experienced investors, the marginal benefit of additional financial knowledge may diminish as practical experience provides alternative learning mechanisms.

### Theoretical Implications

The synthesized evidence supports several theoretical refinements to understanding financial literacy's role in mitigating investment biases:

**Multi-Stage Learning Process:** Rather than viewing financial literacy as a unitary construct, evidence suggests multiple stages with different implications for bias reduction. Initial literacy acquisition may actually increase certain biases (overconfidence) before sufficient mastery enables bias mitigation. This pattern aligns with theories of skill acquisition that identify transitional periods of decreased performance.

**Domain Specificity:** Different investment biases may require specific types of financial knowledge for effective mitigation. Understanding probability helps reduce recency bias, while knowledge of behavioural finance itself promotes metacognitive awareness needed to recognize and correct emotional biases. Future theoretical models should incorporate this domain specificity rather than treating financial literacy as uniformly applicable.

**Complementary Factors:** Financial literacy's effectiveness depends on complementary factors including emotional regulation capacity, metacognitive skills, and decision-making environment. Theoretical frameworks should model financial literacy as one element within broader systems of individual capabilities and contextual influences rather than as an independent determinant.

### **Practical Implications**

Understanding the financial literacy-investment bias relationship yields important practical implications for multiple stakeholders:

**For Financial Educators:** Educational programs should be structured to address the nonlinear relationship between literacy and biases. Programs should emphasize metacognitive skills alongside technical knowledge, helping learners recognize common biases and develop strategies for overriding intuitive but faulty judgments. Particular attention should be devoted to the intermediate learning stage where overconfidence peaks.

**For Policymakers:** Mandatory financial education initiatives should be carefully designed to achieve sufficient depth and comprehension rather than merely checking completion boxes. Policies might target specific high-risk groups (young investors, retirement planners) with tailored interventions addressing biases most relevant to their decision contexts.

**For Financial Services Providers:** Investment platforms and advisory services can incorporate behavioural nudges that complement financial literacy. For example, prompts highlighting diversification benefits or requiring confirmation before executing high-turnover trades could help investors apply their knowledge more effectively.

**For Individual Investors:** Self-directed investors should recognize that financial knowledge alone may not eliminate biases. Implementing systematic decision rules, maintaining investment policy statements, and seeking second opinions on major decisions can help override cognitive and emotional biases even when investors possess substantial financial literacy.

### **Limitations and Future Research Directions**

#### **Methodological Limitations in Existing Research**

Current research on financial literacy and investment biases faces several methodological challenges that limit definitive conclusions:

**Causality Concerns:** Most studies rely on correlational designs that cannot establish causal relationships. Individuals who pursue financial education may differ systematically from those who do not on unobserved dimensions like conscientiousness or cognitive ability. These selection effects complicate interpretations of literacy-bias relationships.

**Measurement Issues:** Financial literacy assessment tools vary widely across studies, from basic three-question tests to comprehensive batteries covering multiple domains. This measurement heterogeneity limits comparability and may explain contradictory findings.

Investment bias measurement also varies, with some studies using self-reports while others analyse actual trading behaviour.

**External Validity:** Many studies examine specific populations (e.g., retail brokerage account holders, university employees) that may not generalize to broader investor populations. The increasing prominence of passive investing through index funds and robo-advisors further questions whether findings from active traders apply to contemporary investment landscapes.

### **Directions for Future Research**

Several promising research directions could advance understanding of financial literacy's role in reducing investment biases:

**Longitudinal Studies:** Following individuals over extended periods as they acquire financial literacy and make investment decisions would enable stronger causal inferences. Panel data approaches could distinguish within-person effects of literacy acquisition from between-person differences.

**Experimental Interventions:** Randomized controlled trials testing financial education programs could provide clearer evidence regarding literacy's causal impact on specific biases. Such experiments should include long-term follow-up to assess whether intervention effects persist or decay over time.

**Neurological Research:** Emerging neuroeconomics research examining brain activation patterns during financial decision-making could illuminate mechanisms through which financial literacy influences bias-prone processes. For example, neuroimaging studies could test whether financially literate individuals show greater prefrontal cortex activation (associated with analytical thinking) when evaluating investments.

**Contextual Moderators:** Research should systematically examine contextual factors that enhance or diminish financial literacy's effectiveness. This includes investigating differences across demographic groups, cultural contexts, regulatory environments, and technological platforms for investing.

**Interactions with Other Interventions:** Studies should explore how financial literacy interacts with other bias-reduction strategies such as decision support tools, algorithmic advice, or peer discussions. Identifying optimal combinations of knowledge-based and environment-based interventions could maximize investor decision quality.

**Process-Tracing Studies:** Qualitative research using think-aloud protocols or detailed interviews could reveal cognitive processes through which financial literacy influences investment decisions. Such research would complement quantitative studies by illuminating psychological mechanisms linking literacy to reduced biases.

## Conclusion

This theoretical paper has examined the relationship between financial literacy and investment biases, synthesizing insights from behavioural finance, educational psychology, and empirical studies of investor behaviour. The evidence suggests that financial literacy serves as a moderating factor that can reduce, though not eliminate, common investment biases that lead to suboptimal financial outcomes.

Several key conclusions emerge from this analysis. First, financial literacy's effectiveness varies across bias types, with stronger effects observed for cognitive biases compared to emotional biases. Second, the relationship between literacy and bias reduction is nonlinear, with intermediate literacy levels potentially increasing certain biases like overconfidence before higher mastery enables effective mitigation. Third, contextual factors including market conditions, investment experience, and decision environments moderate financial literacy's influence on bias-driven behaviour.

These findings carry important implications for theory, policy, and practice. Theoretically, future models should incorporate the domain-specific, nonlinear, and context-dependent nature of financial literacy's effects rather than treating it as a uniformly beneficial factor. From a policy perspective, financial education initiatives should emphasize depth and comprehension over superficial coverage, particularly targeting the intermediate learning stage where bias risks peak. Practically, investors should recognize that financial knowledge represents one component of effective decision-making and should complement literacy with systematic decision processes and environmental supports.

Despite significant progress in understanding financial literacy's role in reducing investment biases, important questions remain unanswered. Future research employing longitudinal designs, experimental interventions, and multi-method approaches can advance knowledge and inform more effective strategies for improving investor decision-making. As financial markets grow increasingly complex and accessible to retail investors, understanding how to enhance financial literacy and mitigate decision-making biases becomes ever more critical for individual financial security and broader economic stability.

The ultimate goal of research in this domain extends beyond academic understanding to practical impact: enabling individuals to make financial decisions that align with their long-term interests and life goals. By clarifying how financial literacy can reduce investment biases, scholarship in this area contributes to that essential objective.

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