

Measuring Social Preferences

Maxwell Burton-Chellew



Evolving utility functions: can evolutionary biology explain why homo is not economicus?

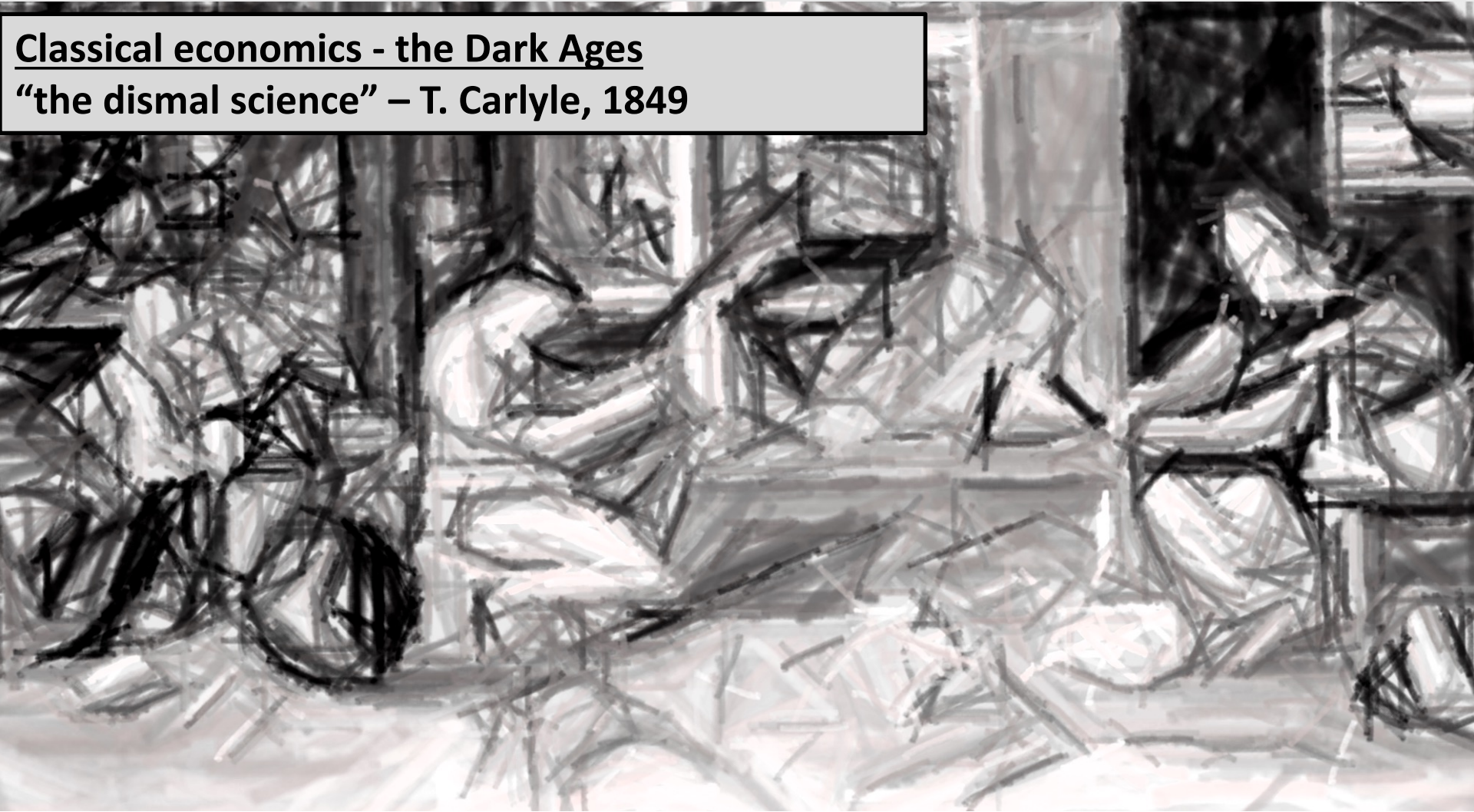


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Classical economics - the Dark Ages
“the dismal science” – T. Carlyle, 1849



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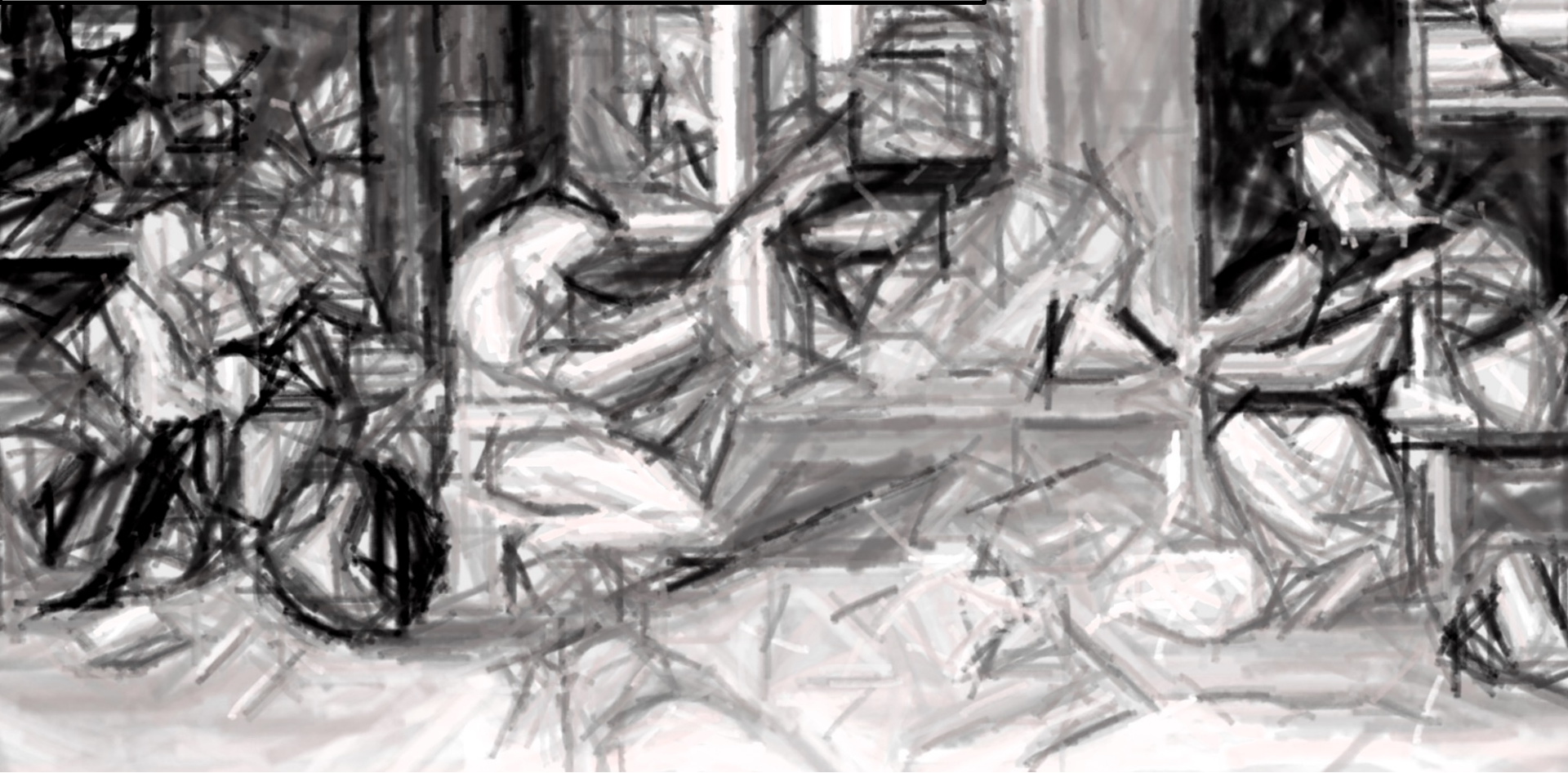


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Why dismal predictions?



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Why dismal predictions?

MOTIVATIONS

“Political economy [is concerned with]... a being who desires to possess wealth, and who is capable of judging the comparative efficacy of means for obtaining that end.” – JS Mill, 1836



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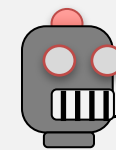
Why dismal predictions?

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COMPUTATION

“The hedonistic conception of man is that of a lightning calculator of pleasures and pains” – T. Veblen, 1898



$U = xyz$
Utility maximized!

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Homo economicus – a CONJOINT hypothesis

People are both Rational *and* Self-interested

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Behaviour is consistent with a
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How to measure utility

Through Rational Choice Theory:

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The nature of this utility function

How to measure utility

Through Rational Choice Theory: no assumptions, just inferences

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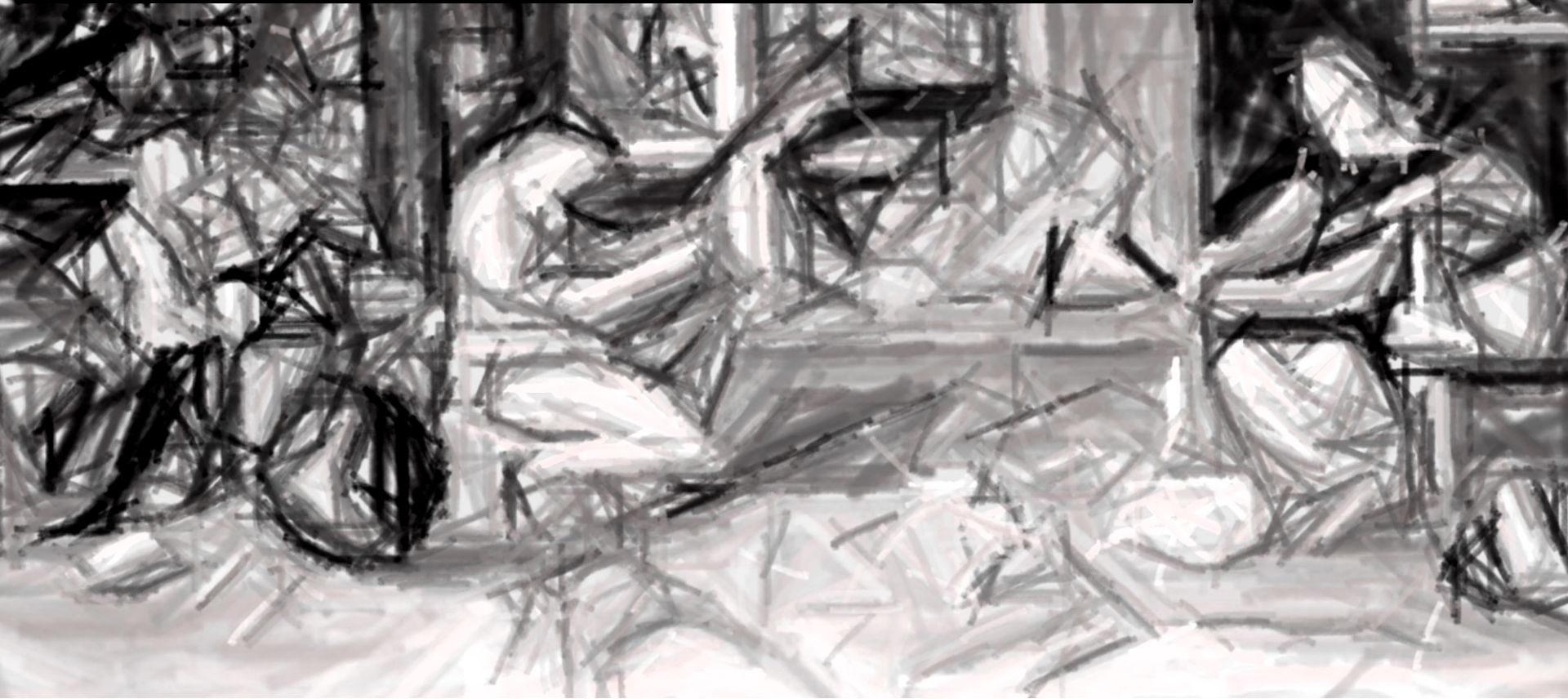
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Behavioural Economics – the age of Enlightenment

What changed?



Evolving utility functions: can evolutionary biology explain why homo is not economicus?



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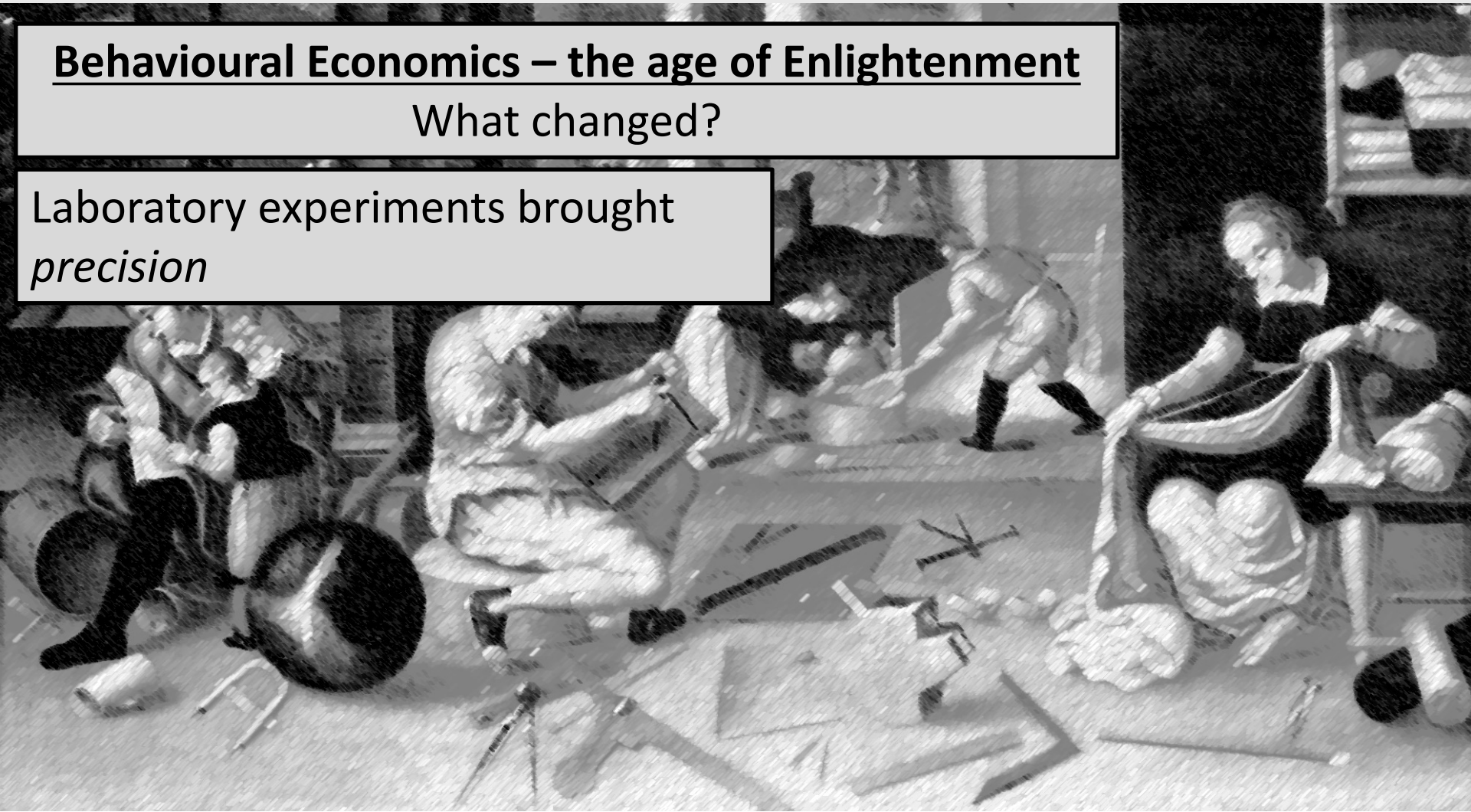
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What changed?

Laboratory experiments brought
precision



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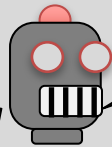
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The application of Rational Choice Theory to Experimental Economics has taught us two things:



We are NOT
robots

1) **People are *not rational***

(make systematic mistakes that reduce their own welfare,
e.g. present bias, overconfidence, loss aversion,...)



2) **People are *not selfish***

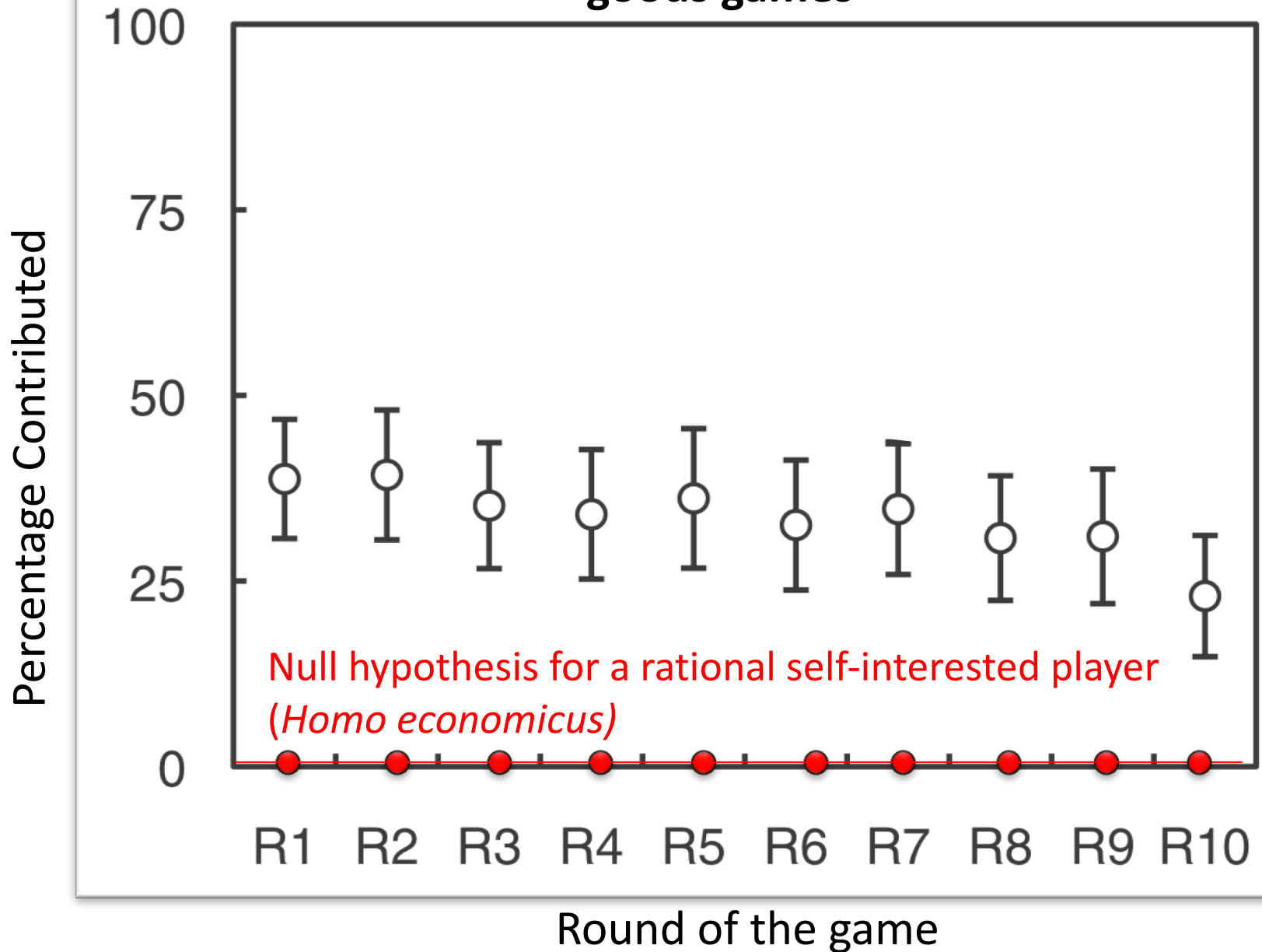
(make systematic decisions that reduce their own welfare *and benefit others*,
e.g. sharing with others, investing in others, punishing others,...)

why homo is not economicus?

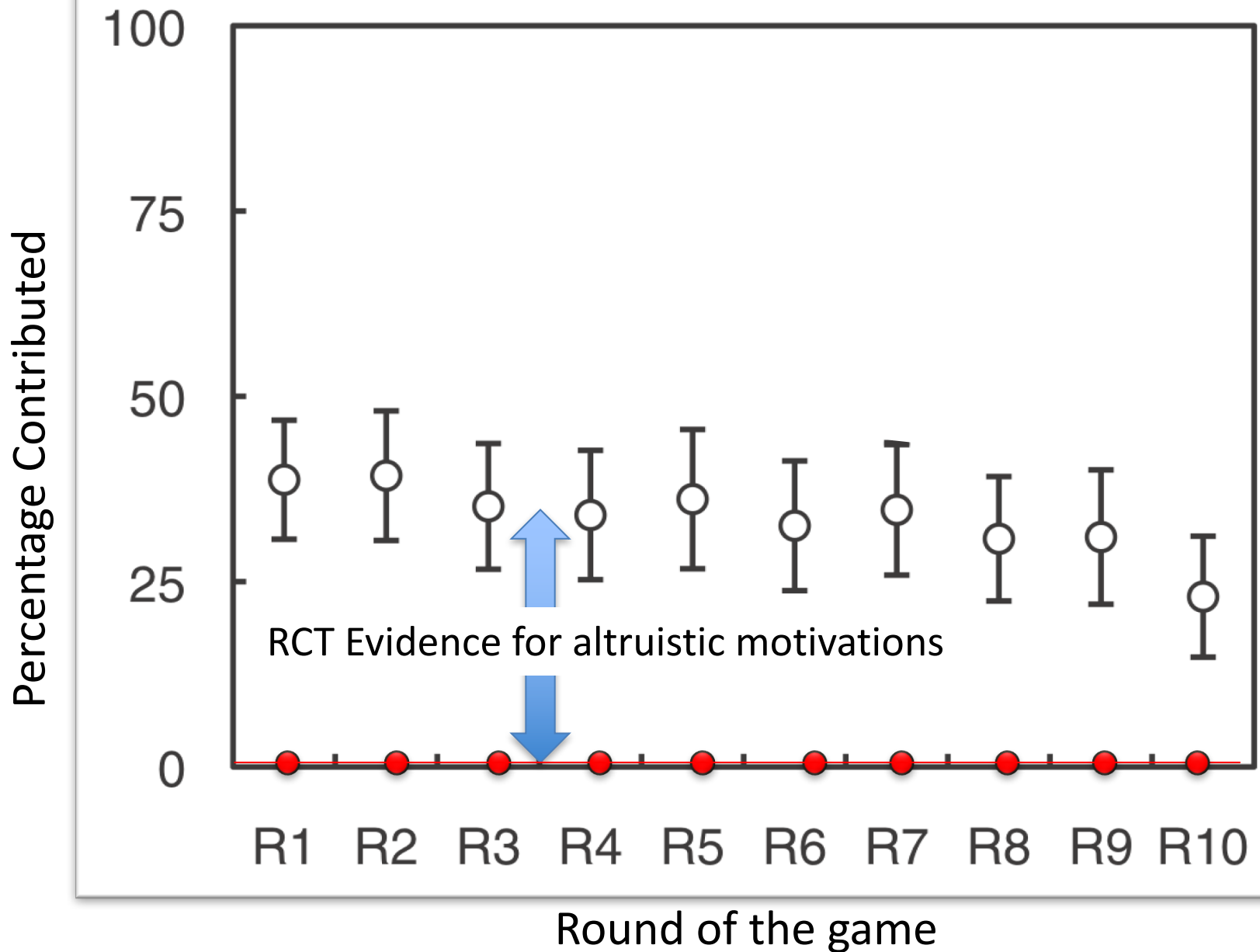


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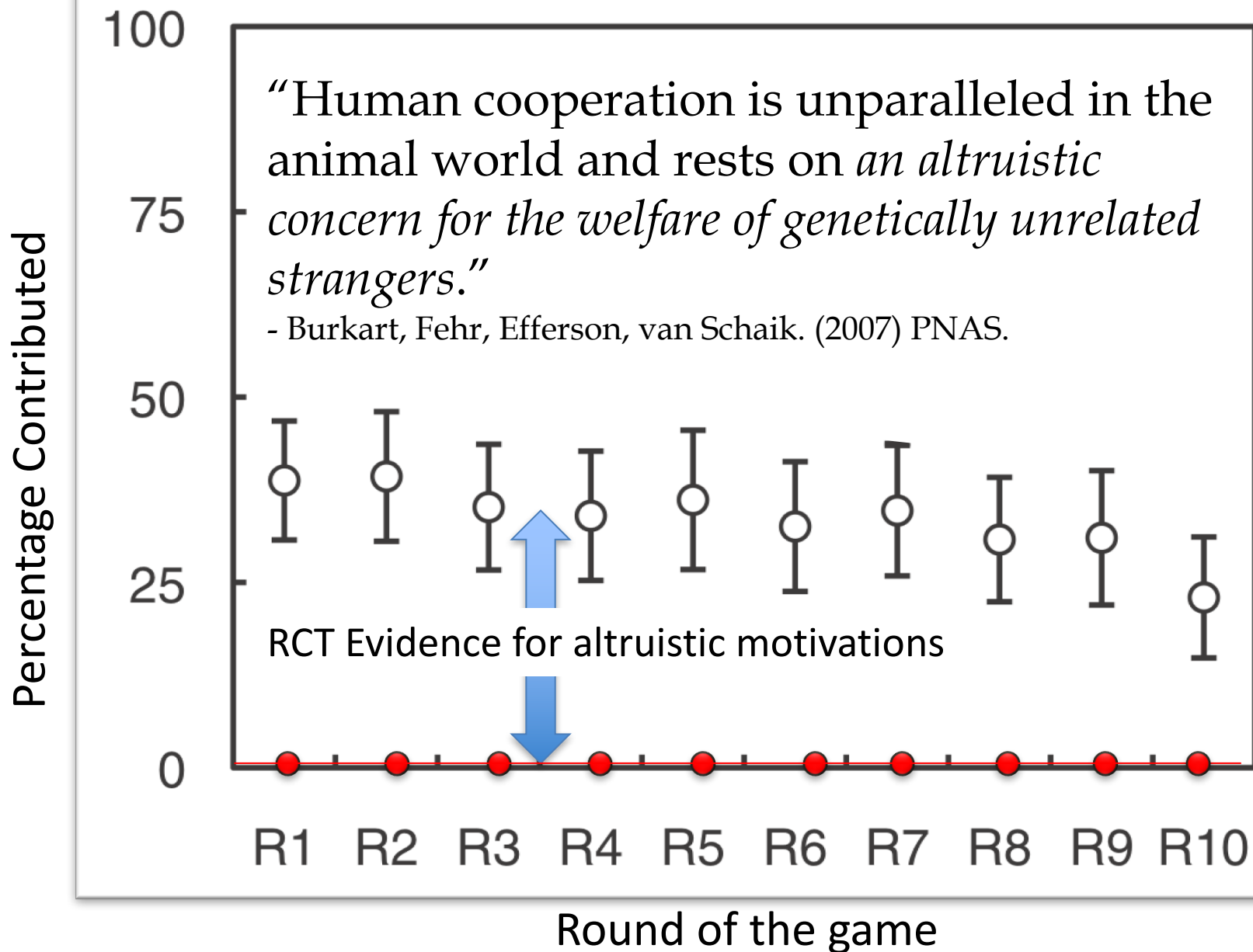
Applying Rational Choice Theory to Public goods games



Applying Rational Choice Theory to PGG

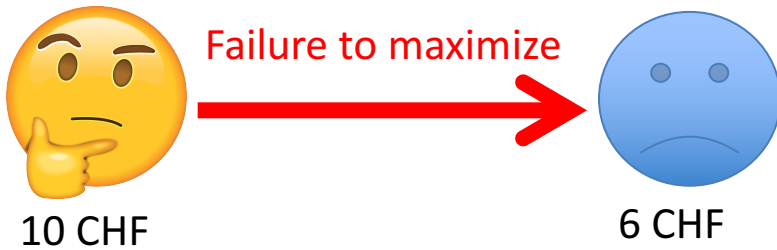


Applying Rational Choice Theory to PGG



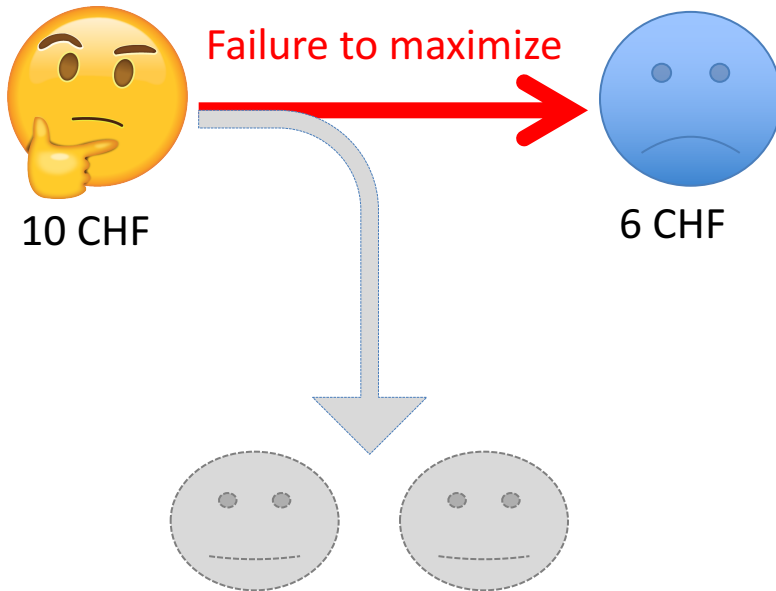
An inconsistent use of Rational Choice Theory?

Behavioural Econ.



An inconsistent use of Rational Choice Theory?

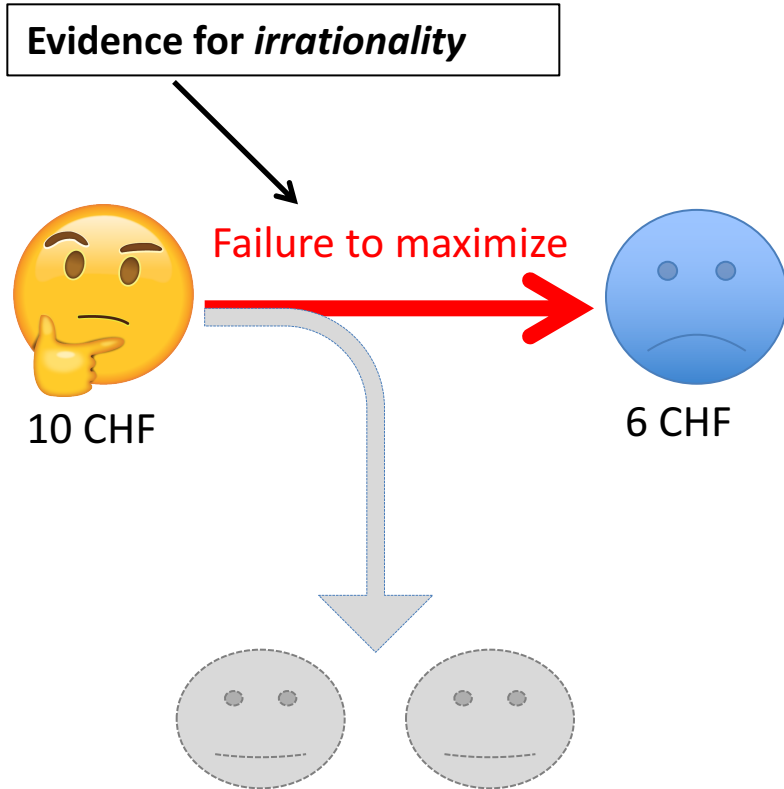
Behavioural Econ.



X No social consequences

An inconsistent use of Rational Choice Theory?

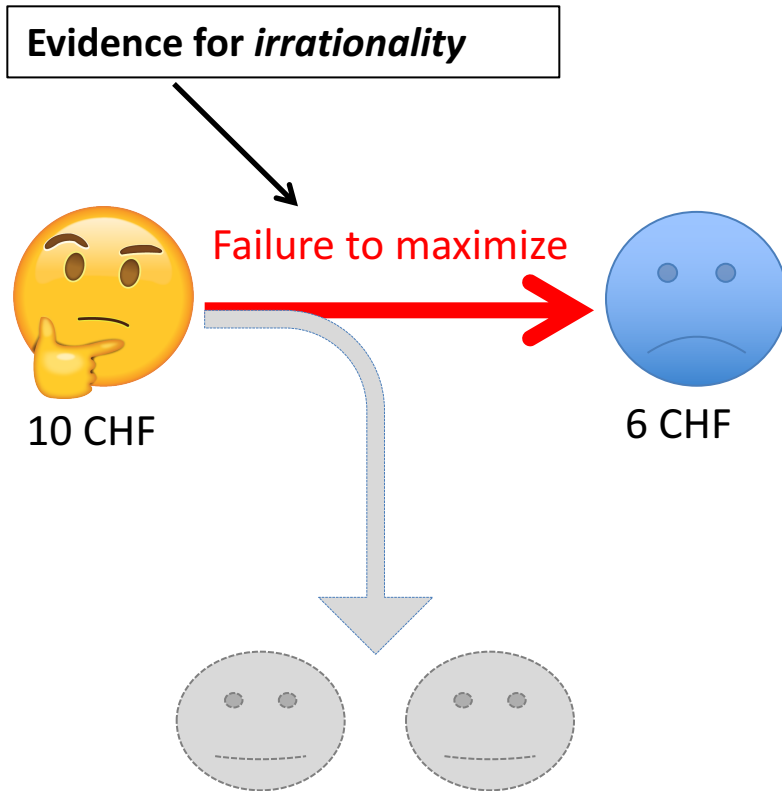
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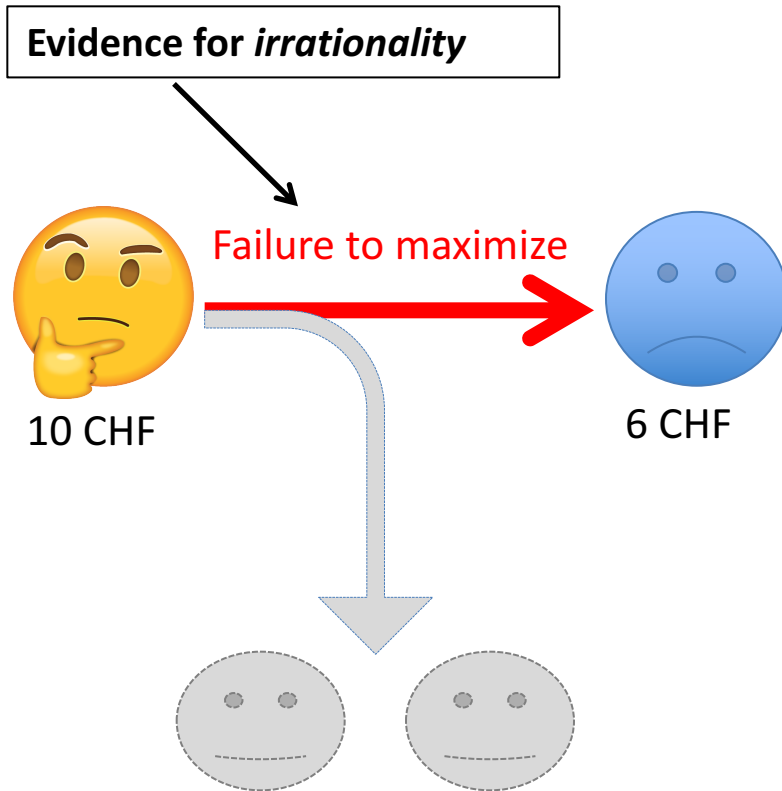


X No social consequences

Social Behavioural Econ.

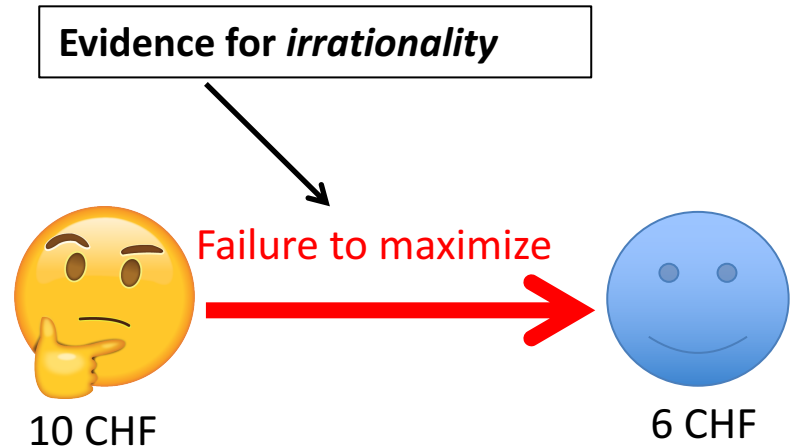
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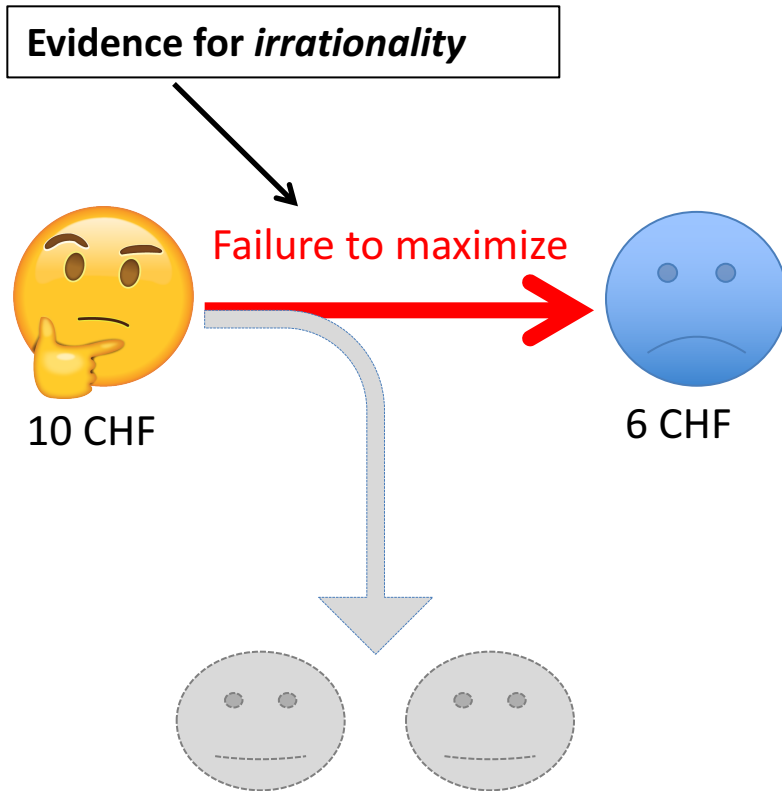
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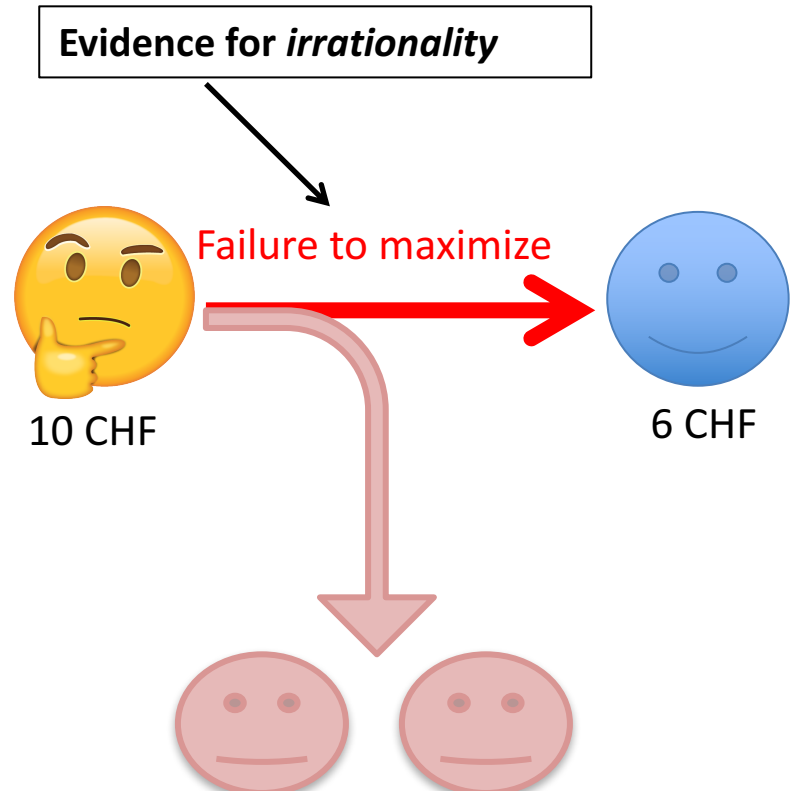
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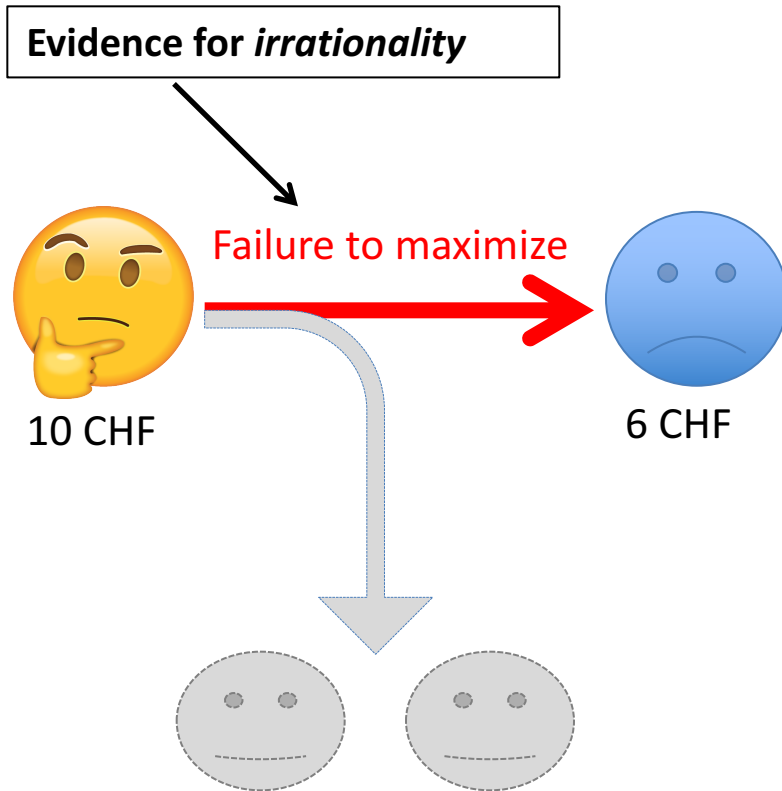
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✓ social consequences

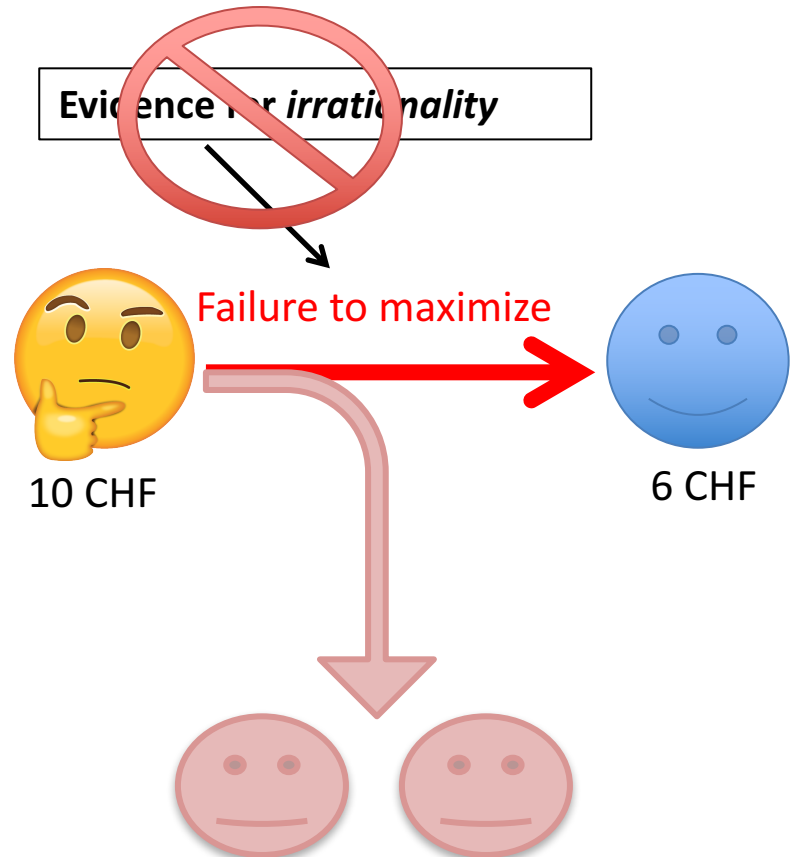
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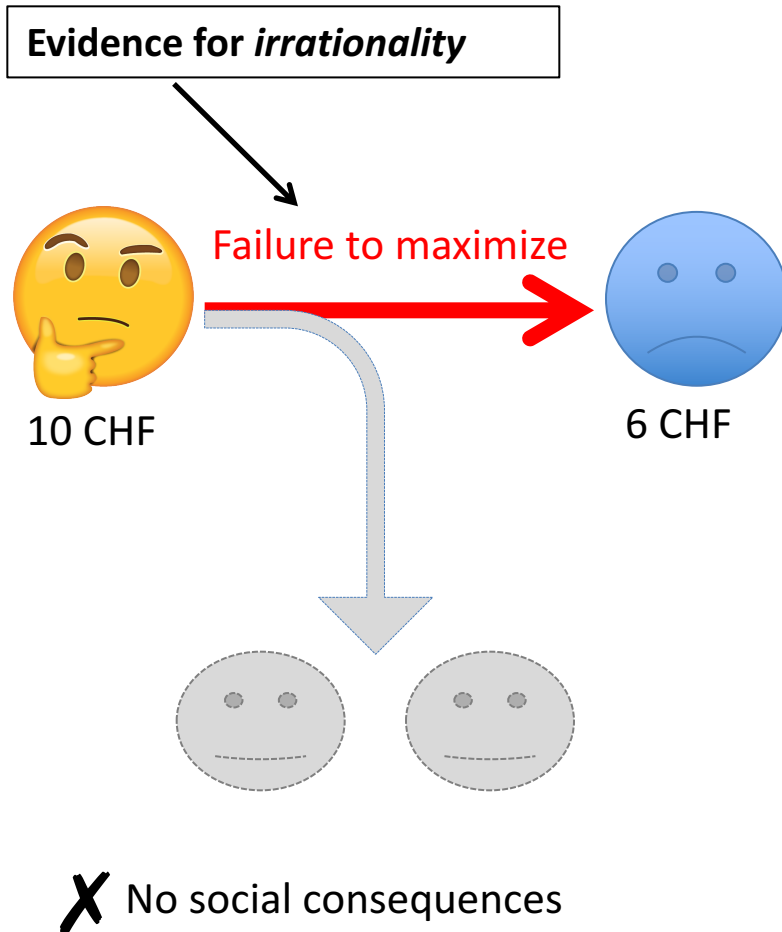
Social Behavioural Econ.



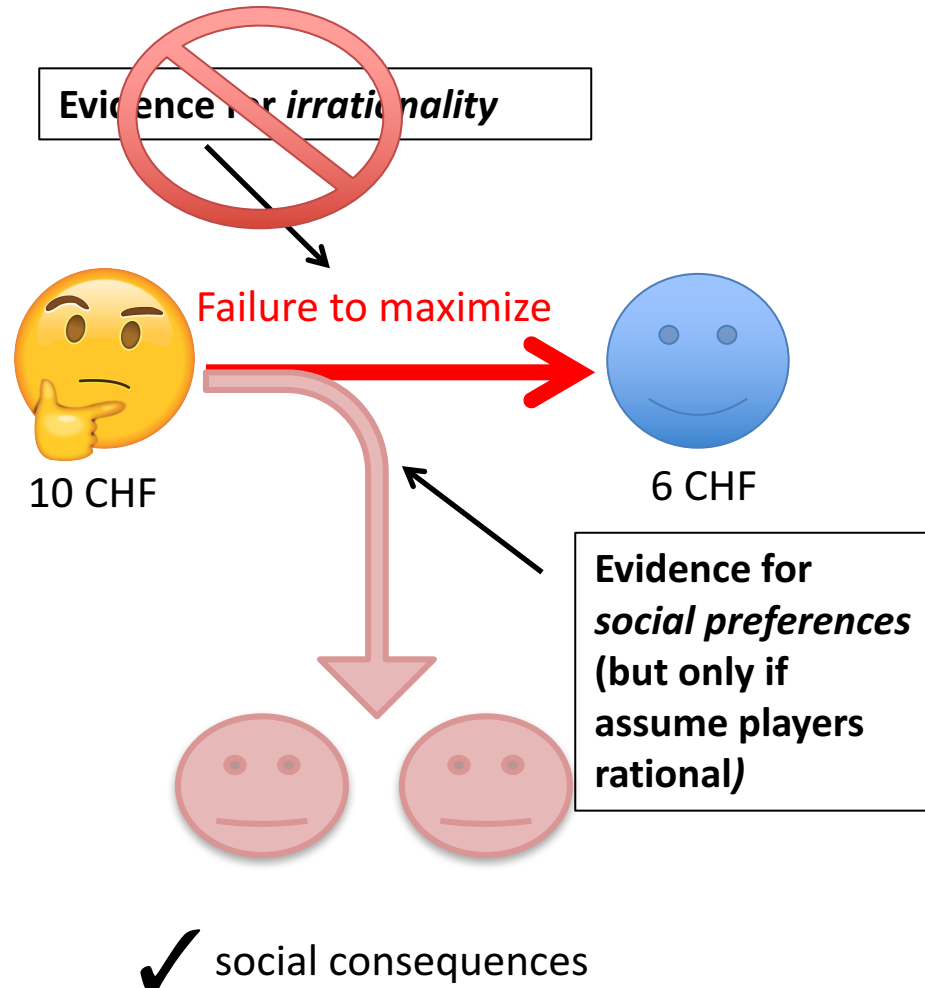
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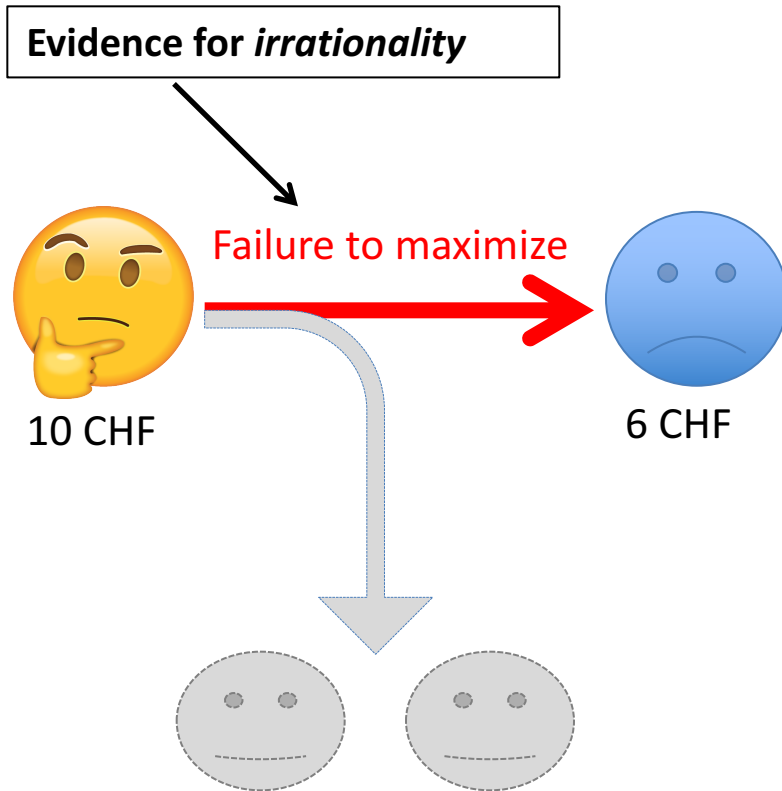


Social Behavioural Econ.



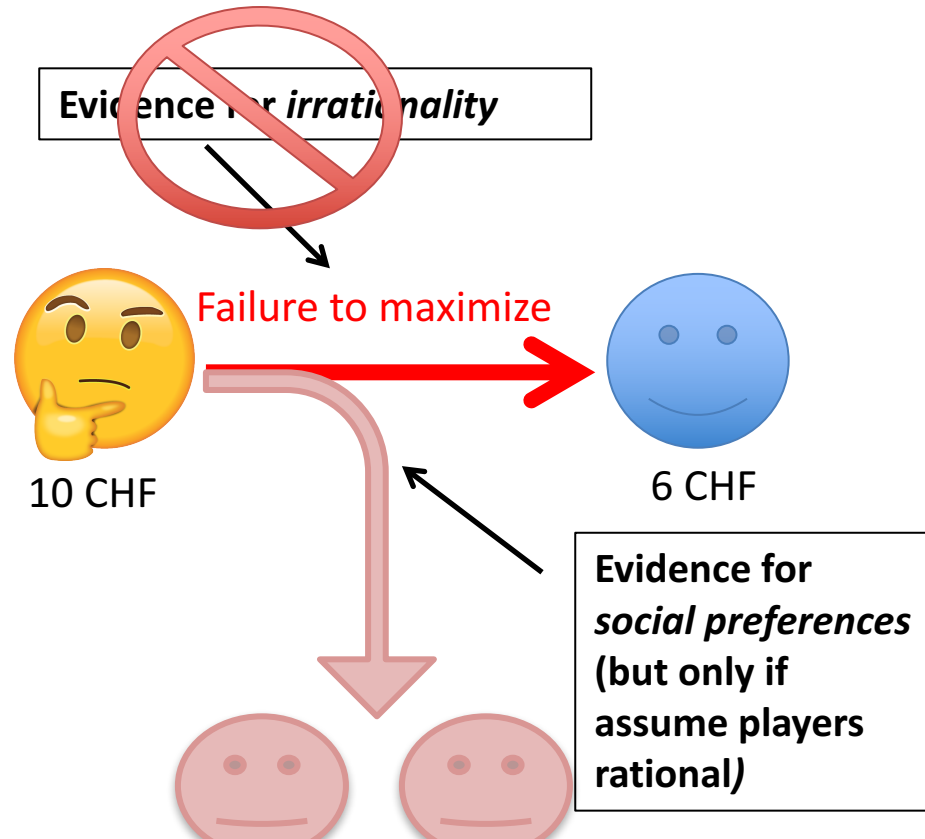
An inconsistent use of Rational Choice Theory?

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Social Behavioural Econ.



“Expanding the domain of preferences to include the utility of others provides a coherent way to extend rational choice theory” - Sobel J (2005) Interdependent preferences and reciprocity. J Econ Lit 43(2):392–436.

Four suggested controls for measuring social behaviours

If players are rationally altruistic then:

Four suggested controls for measuring social behaviours

If players are rationally altruistic then:

(1) *Reverse* the link between a failure to maximize personal income and positive social effects



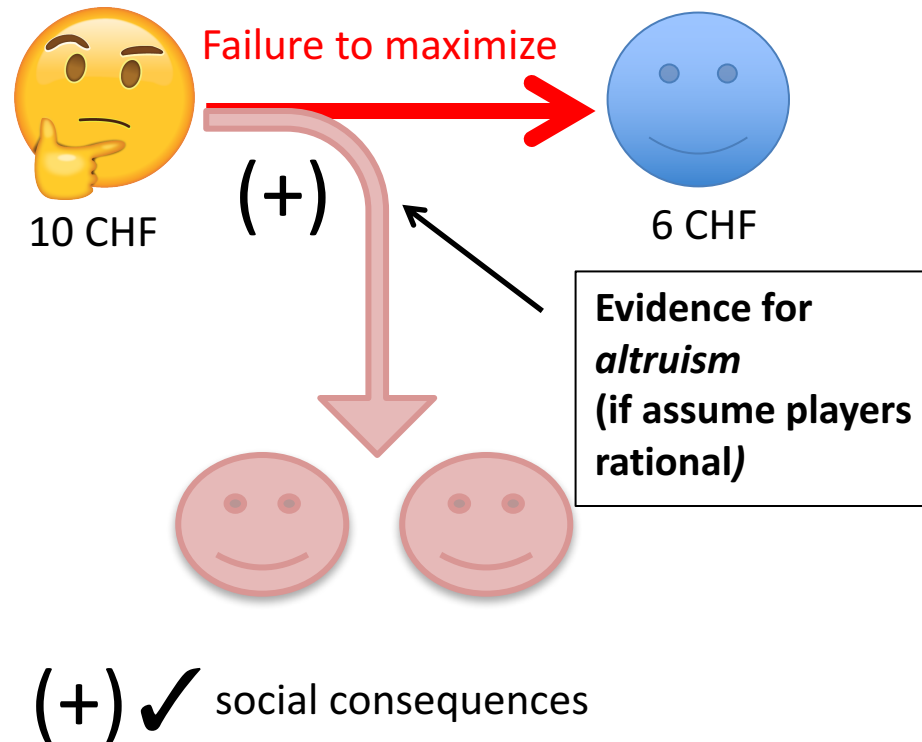
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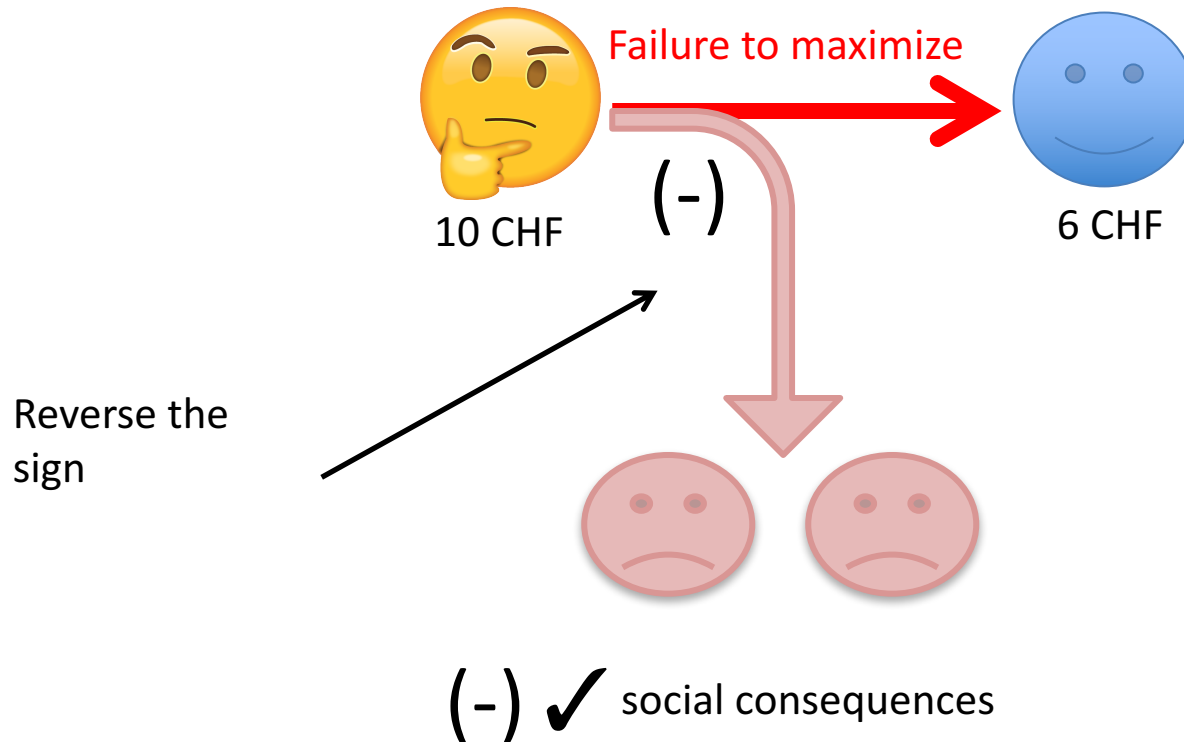
(1) Reverse the link between a failure to maximize personal income and positive social effects – *if failure now harms others, failures should cease*



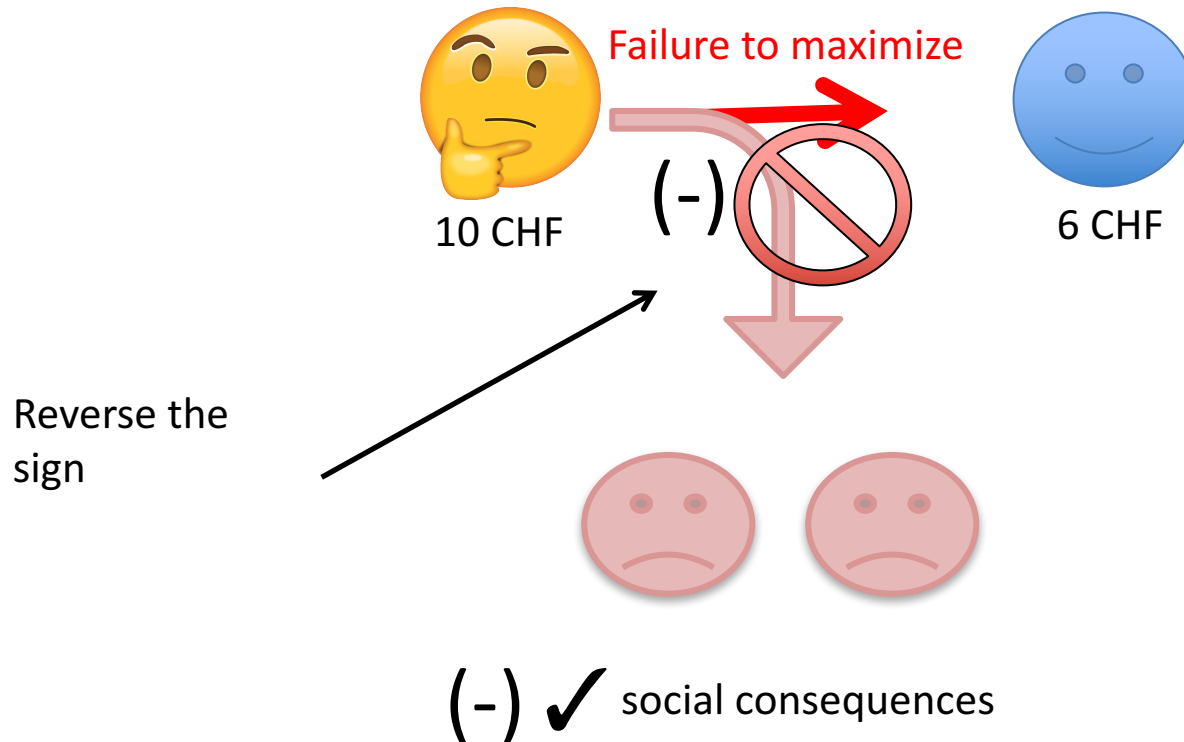
Control 1: Reverse the link between mistakes and positive social effects –
if costs now harm others, mistakes should cease



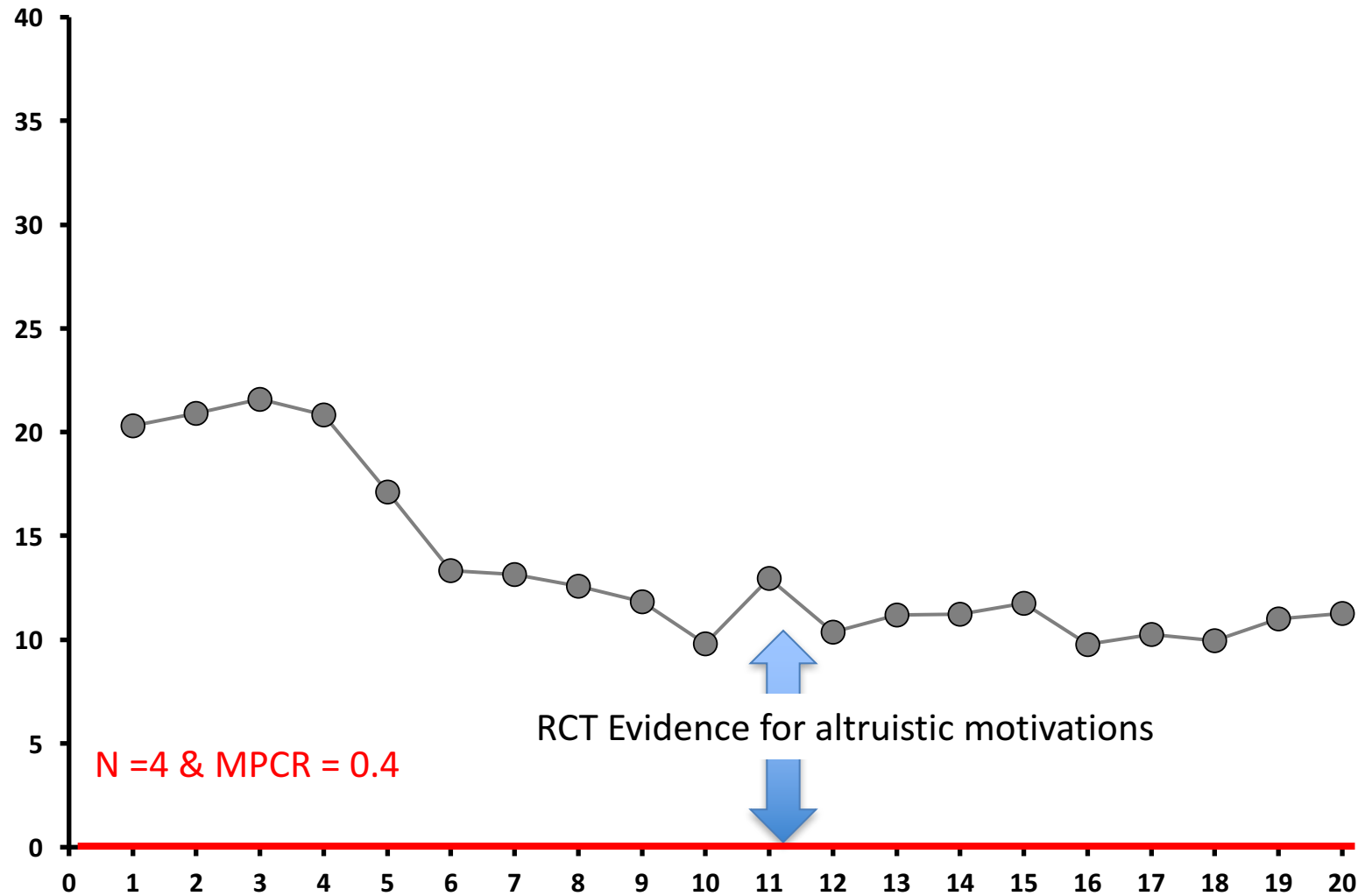
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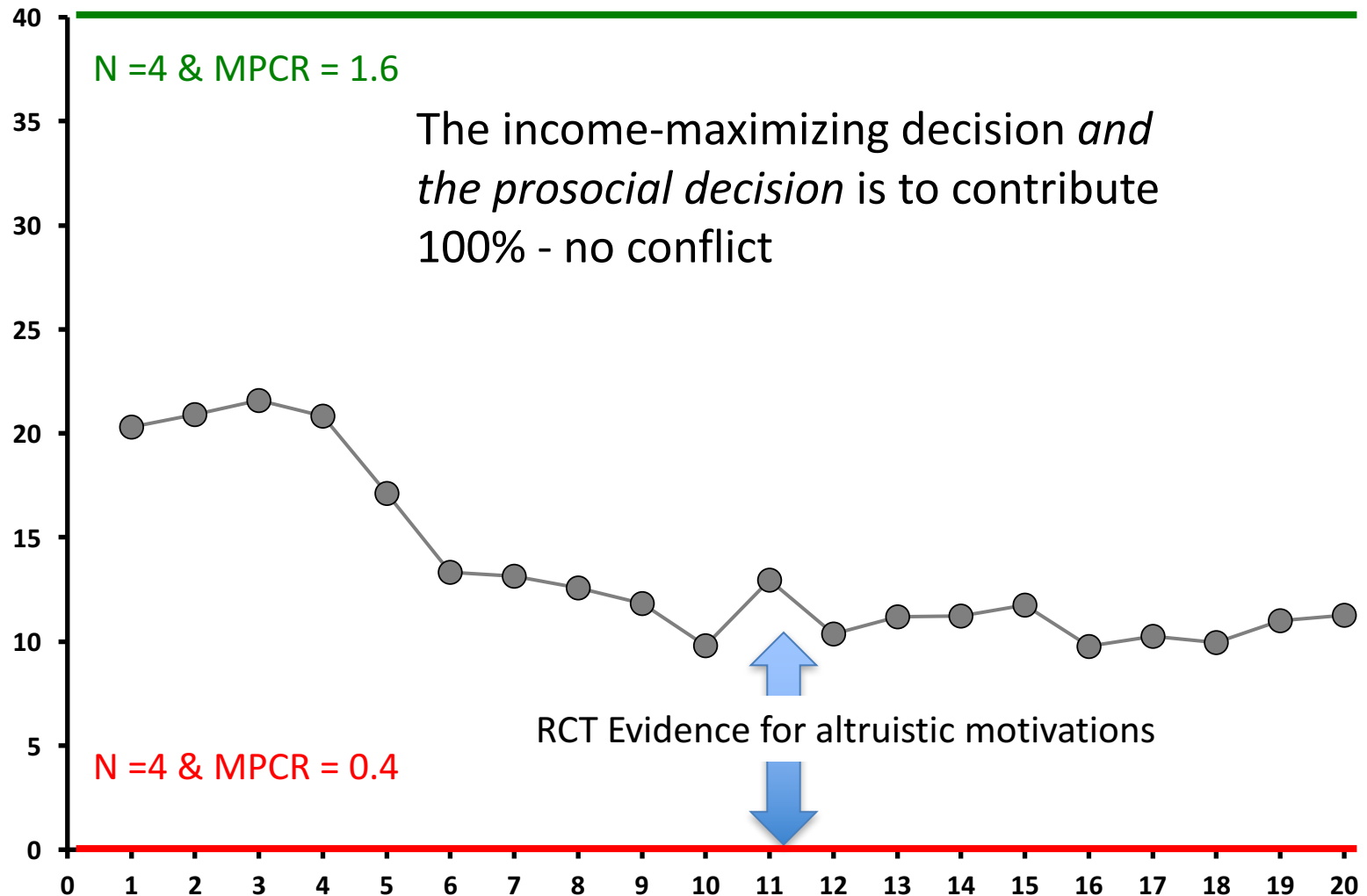
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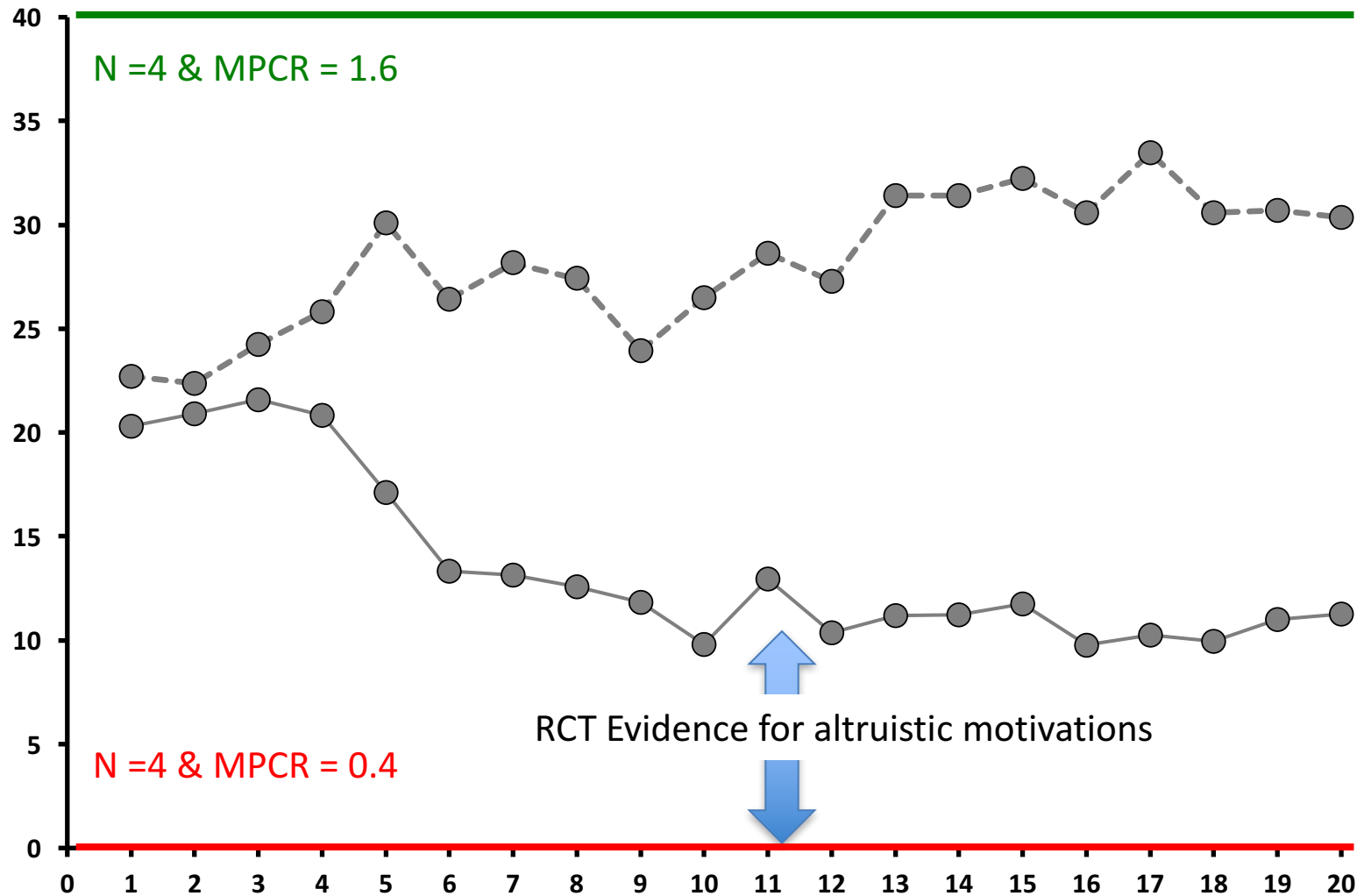
Control (1) Reverse the link between failure and social effects



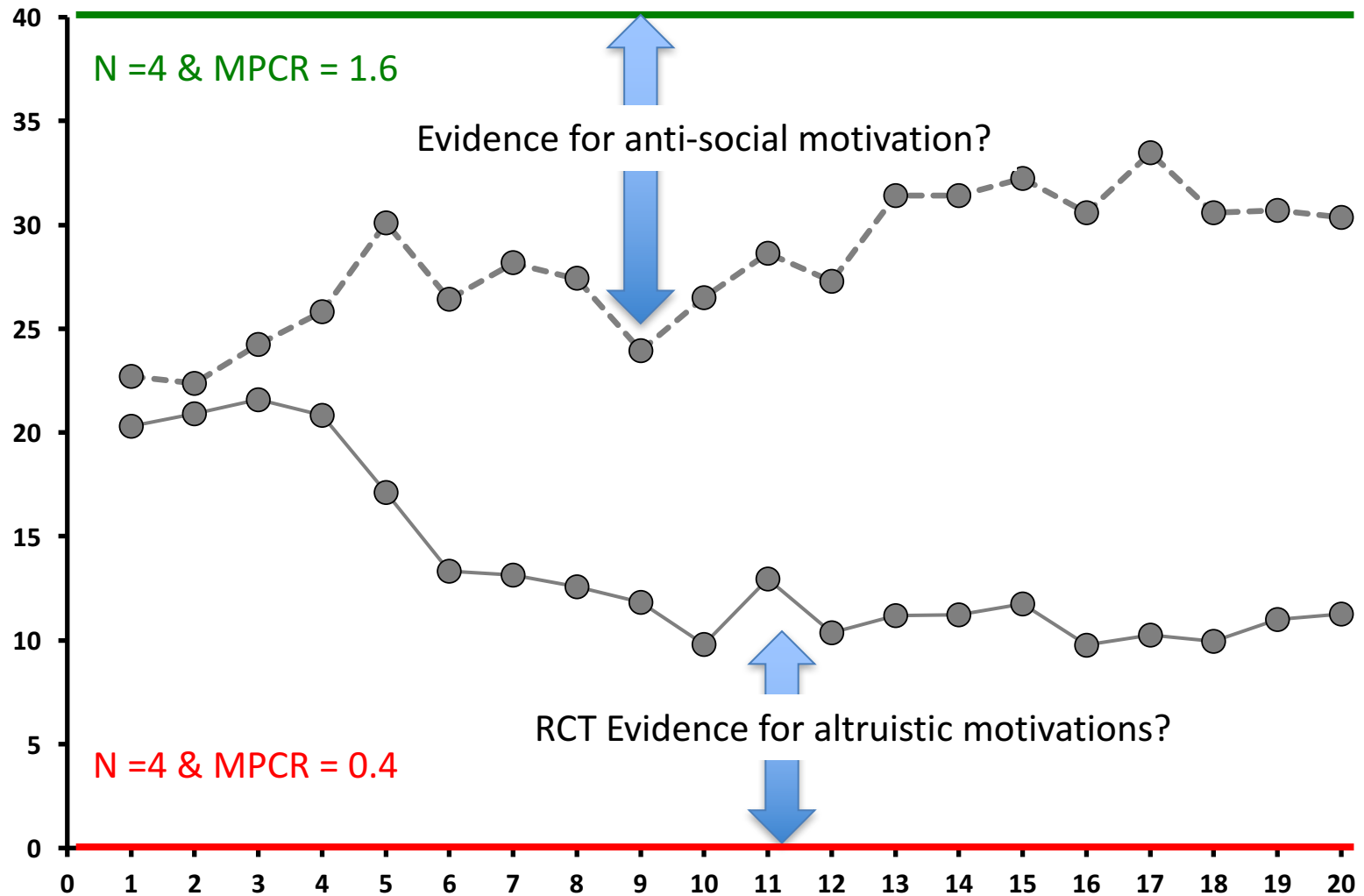
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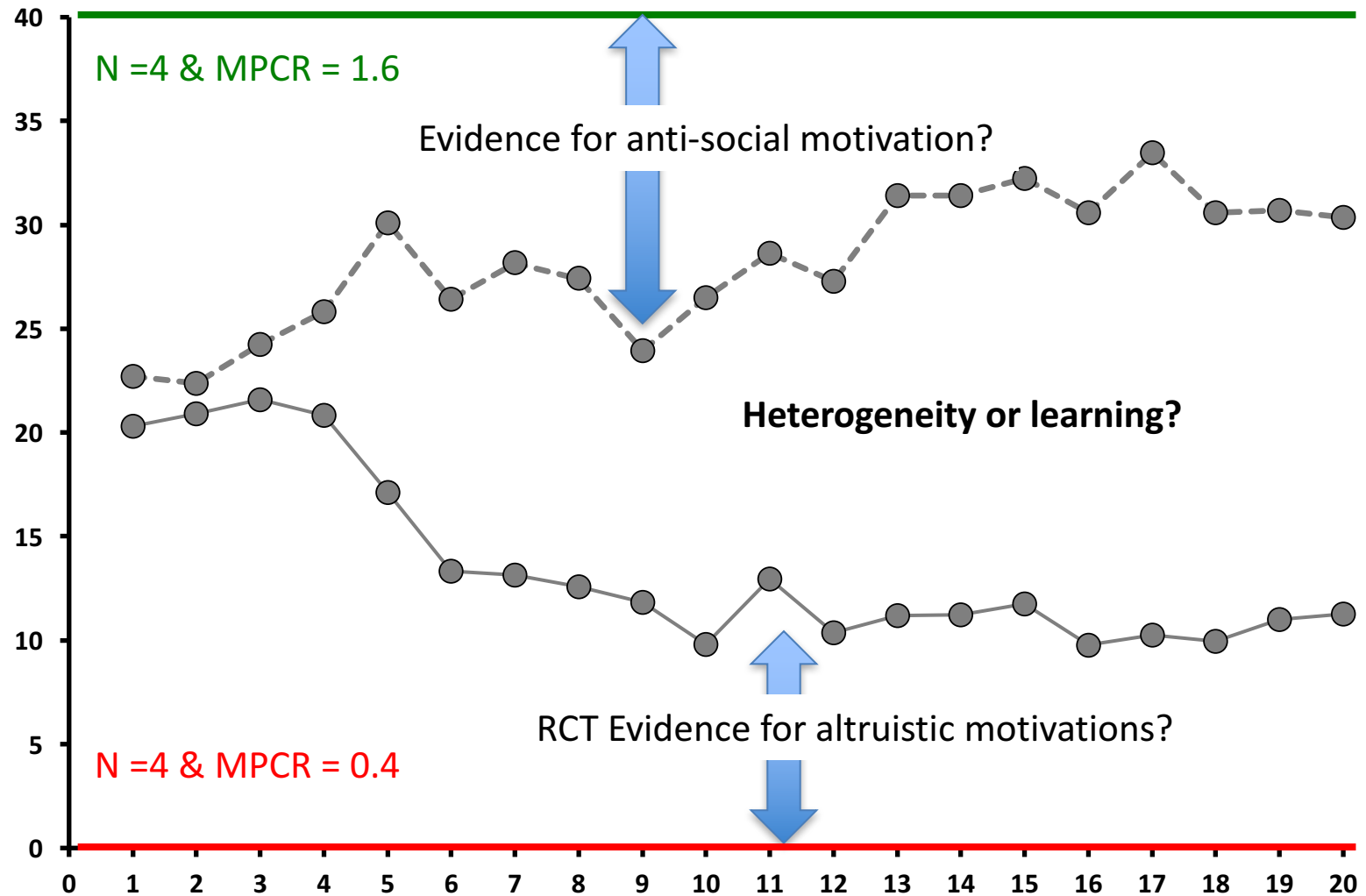
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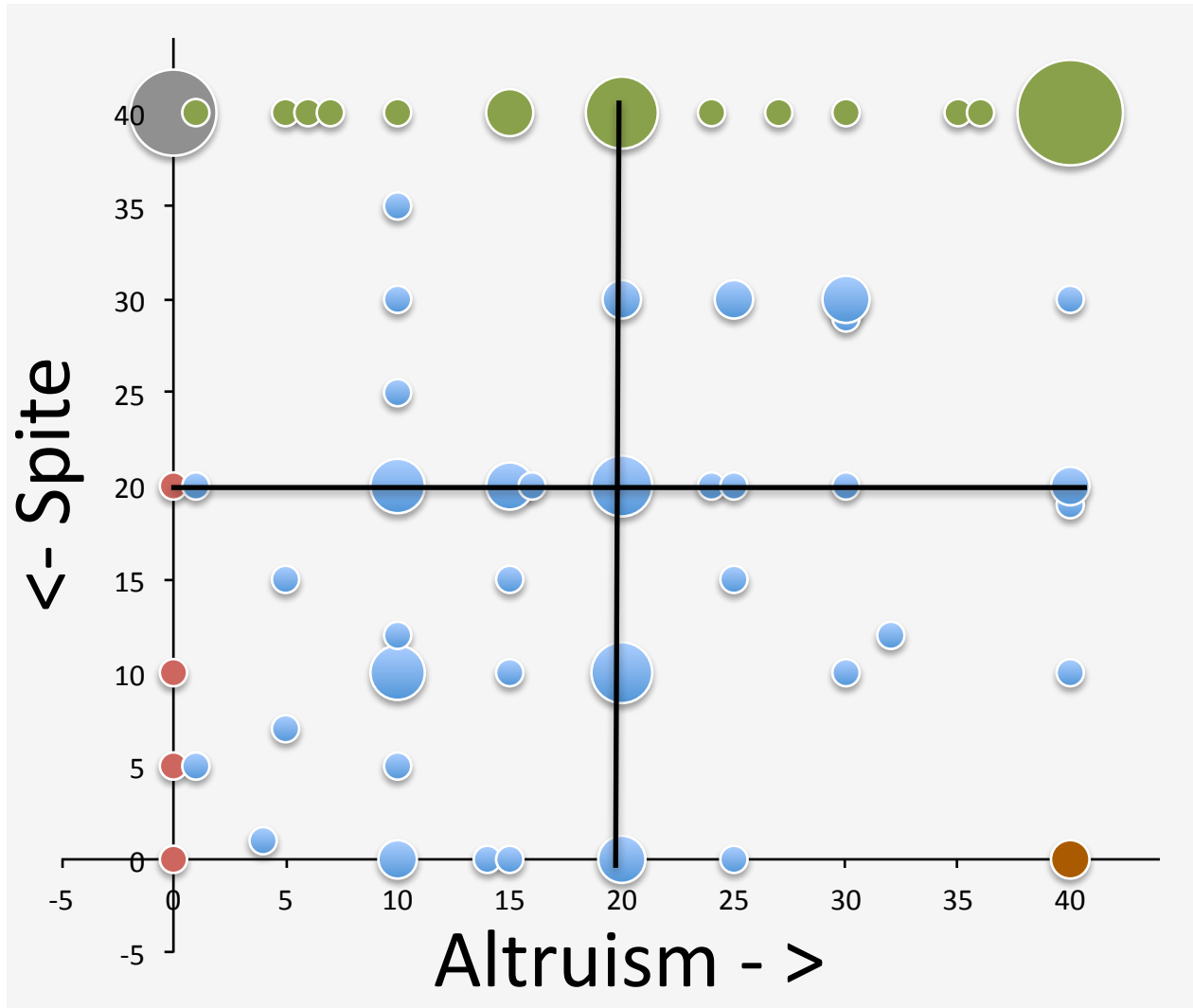


Control (1) Reverse the link between failure and social effects



Control (1) Reverse the link between personal and social effects

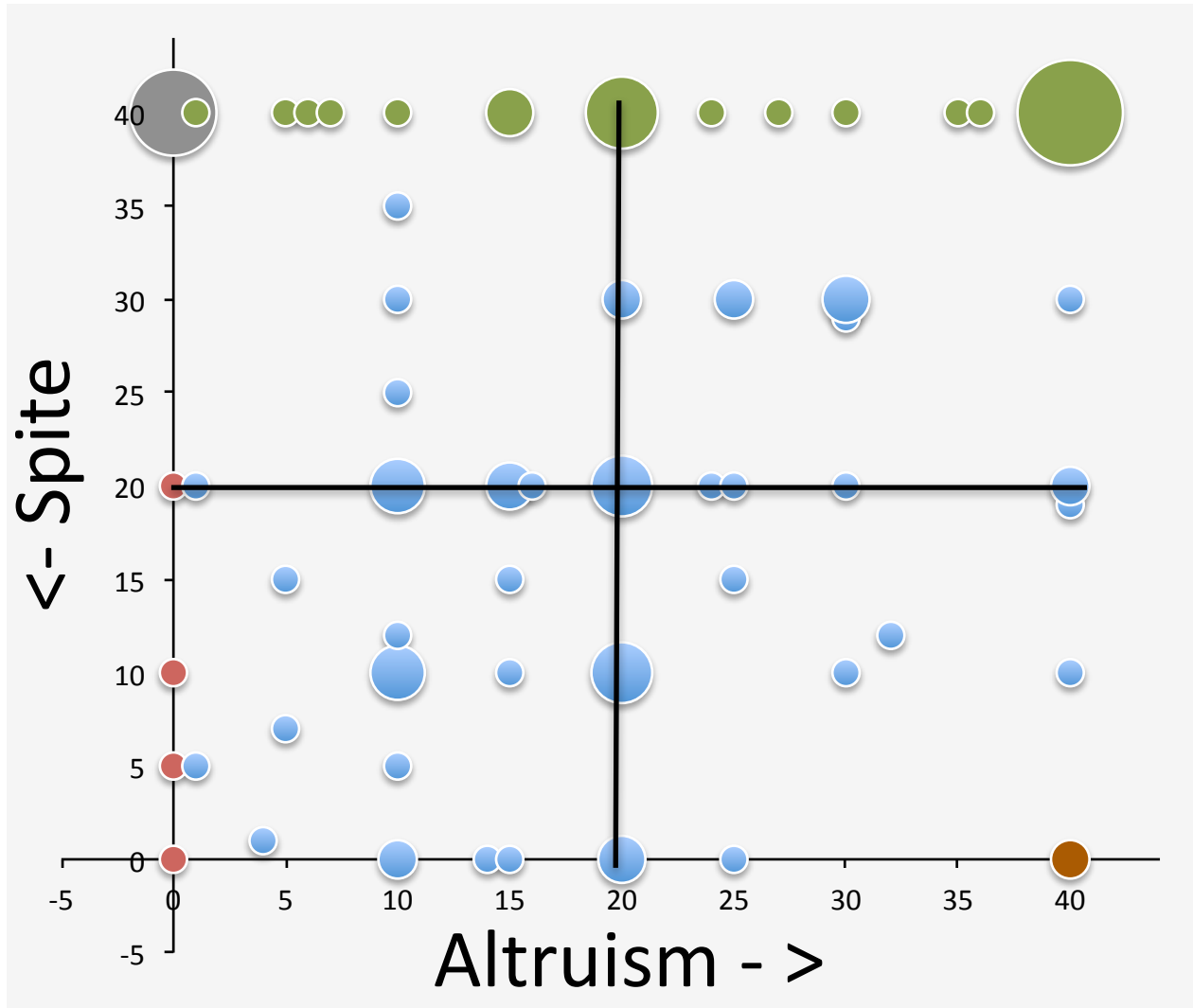
Grey = income
maximizer
(10/112)



Control (1) Reverse the link between personal and social effects

Green = altruistic, not spiteful (full altruists = 15/112)

Grey = income
maximizer
(10/112)

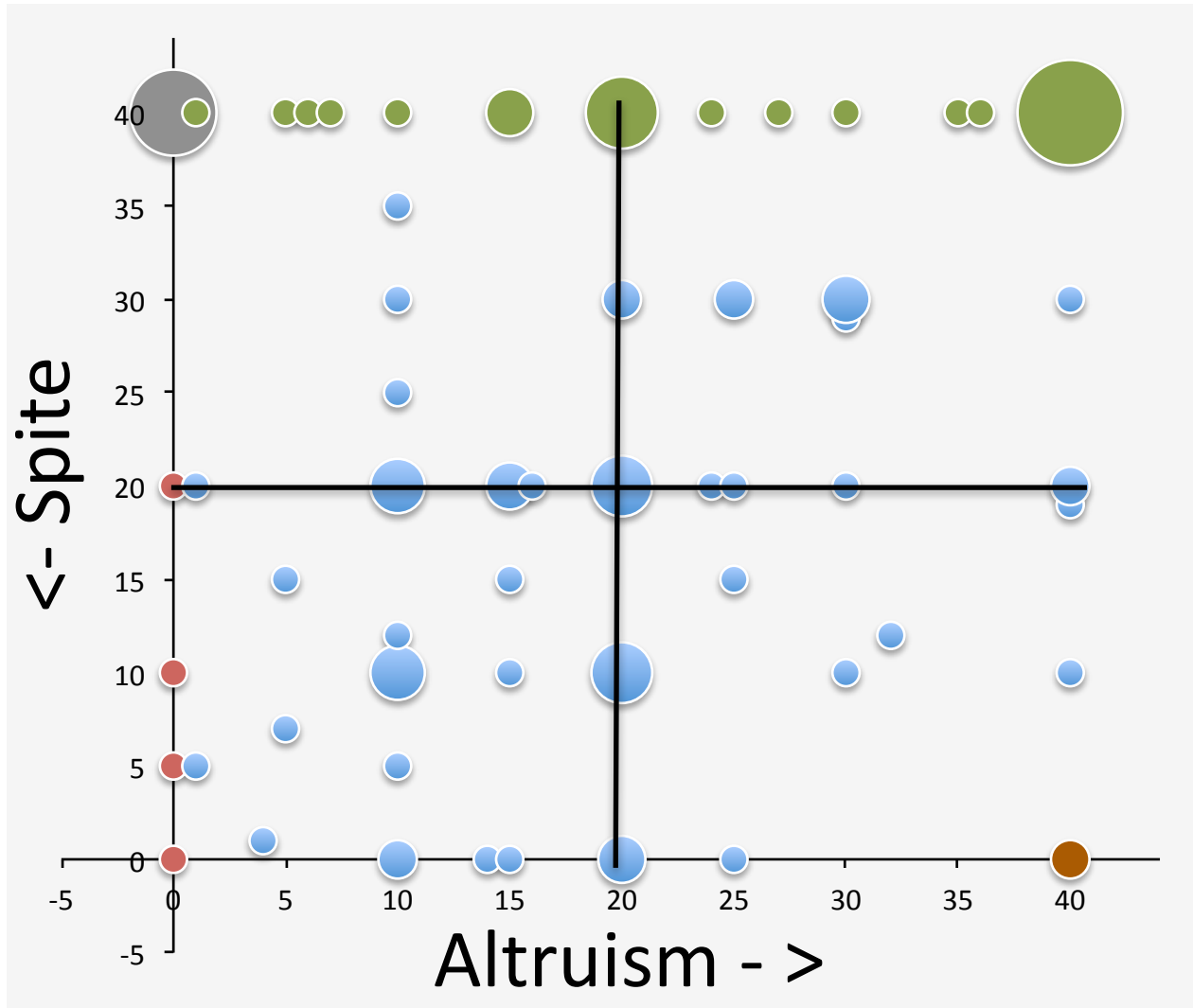


Control (1) Reverse the link between personal and social effects

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Grey = income
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(10/112)

Red = spiteful,
not altruistic

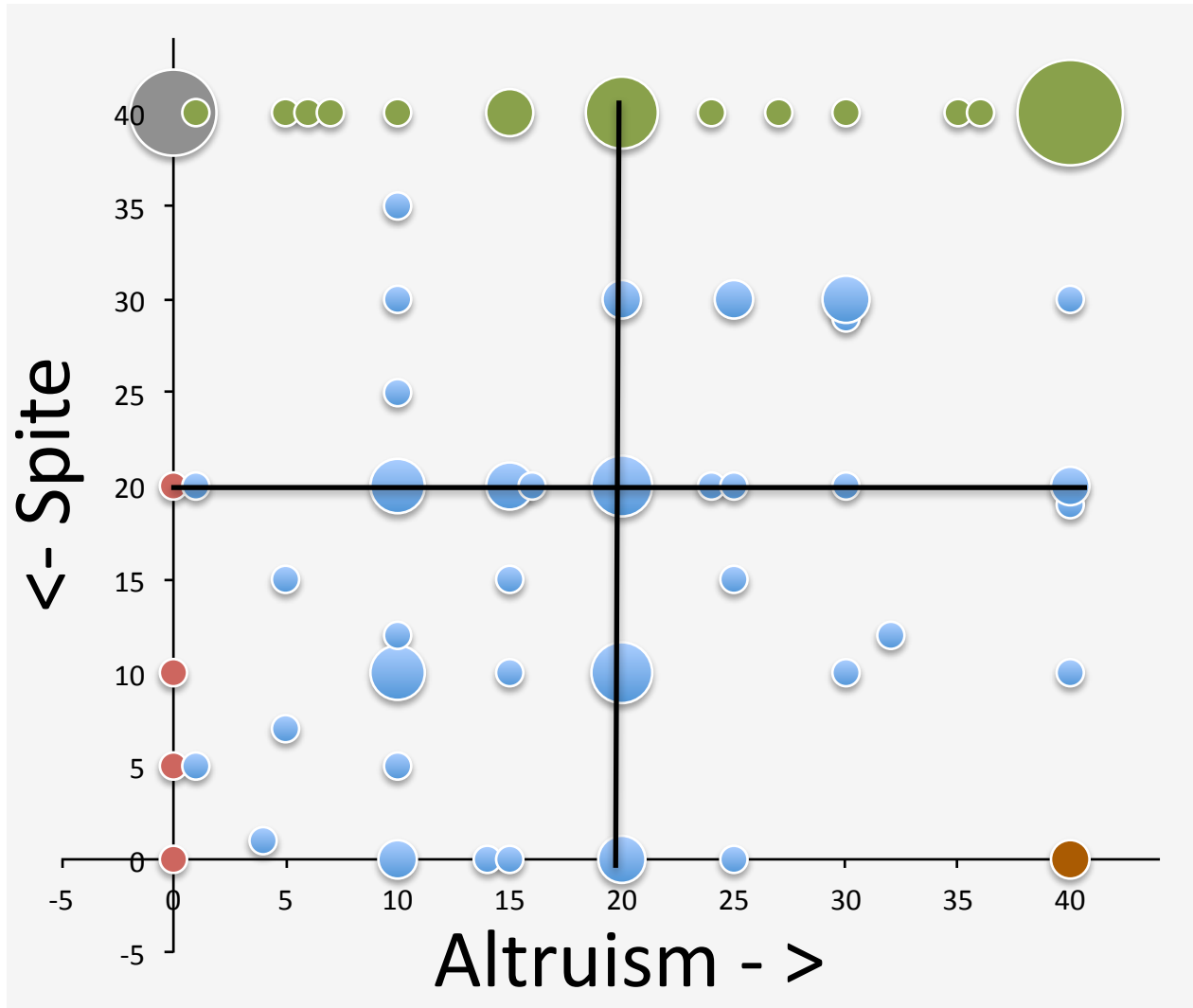


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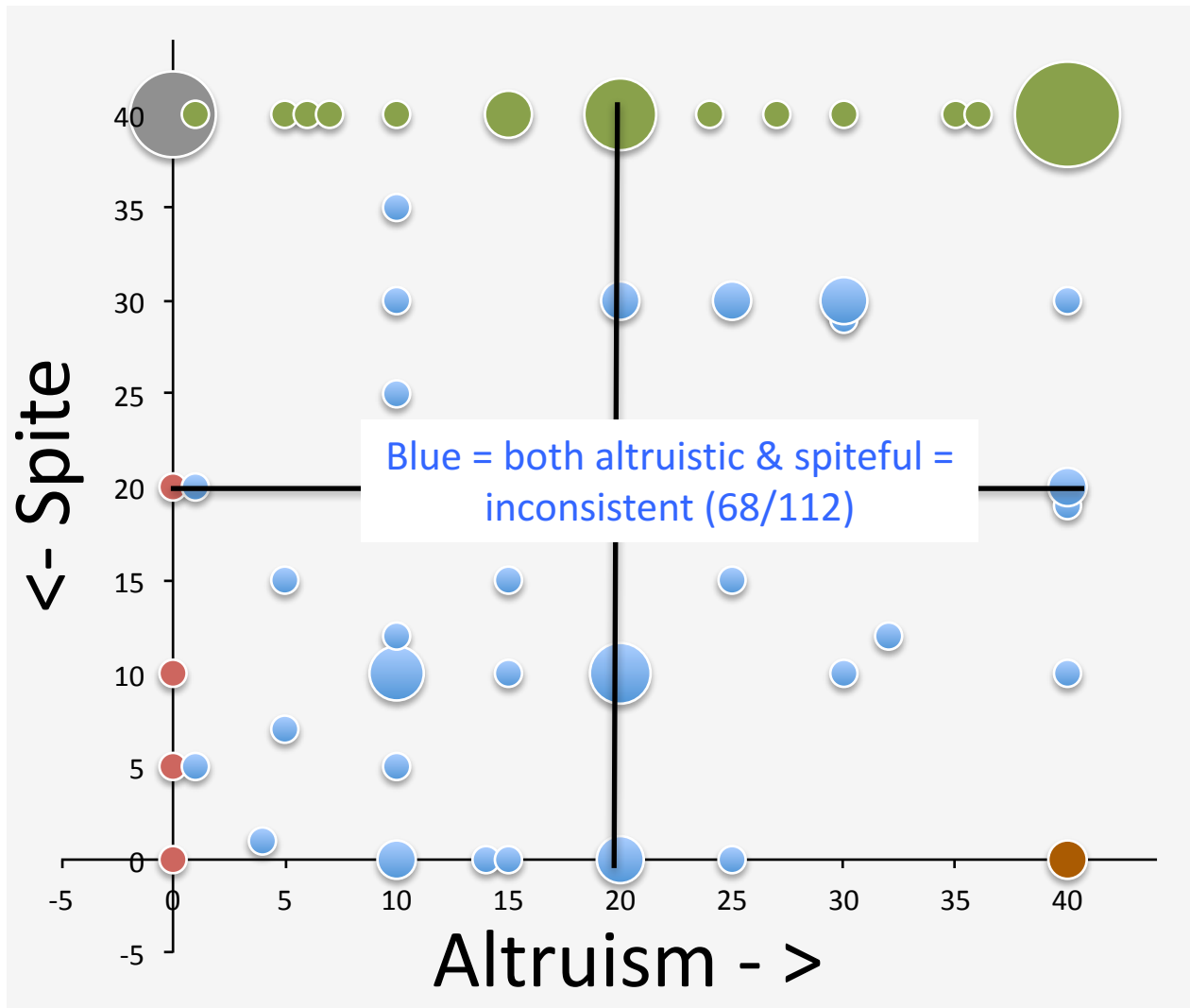


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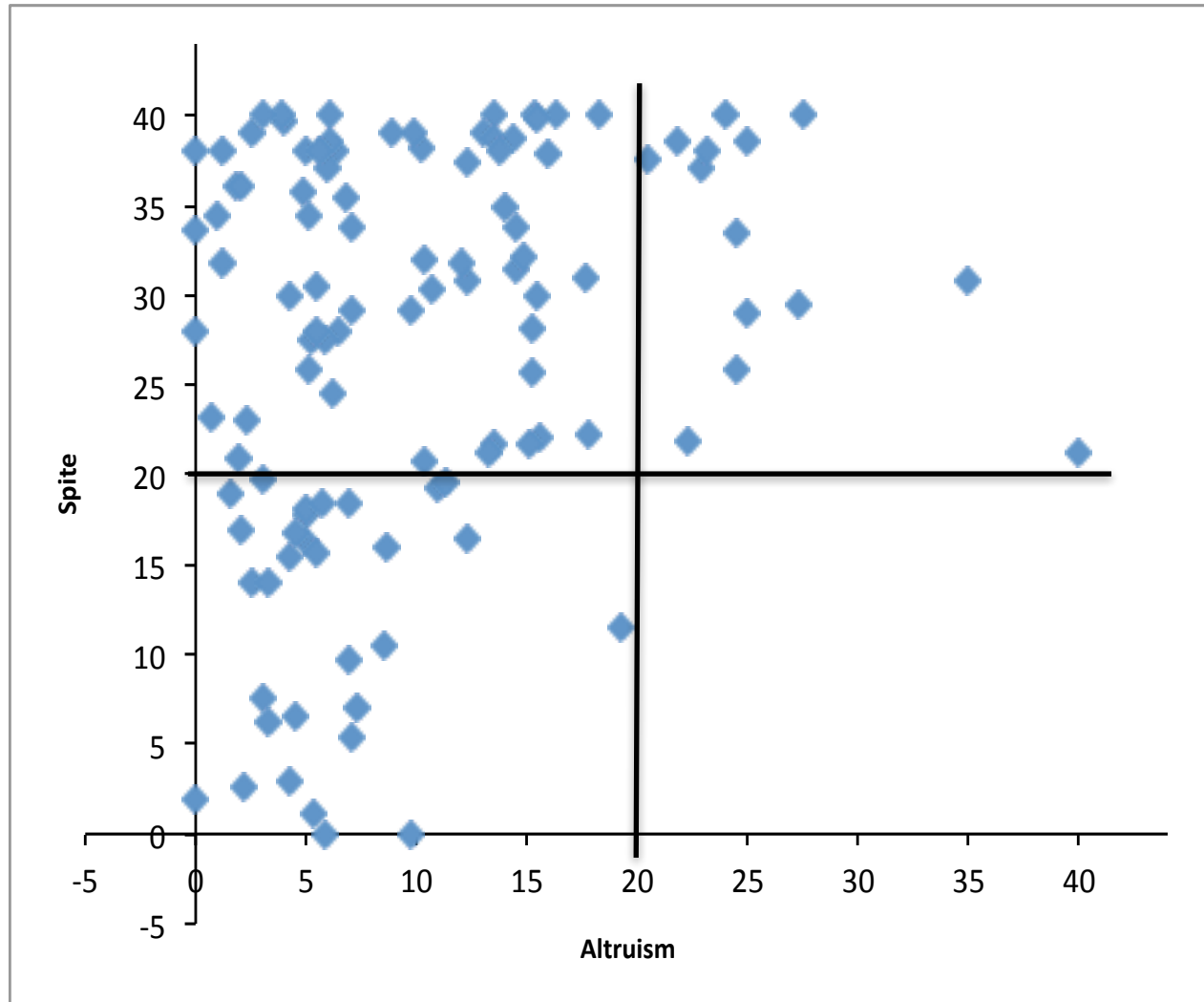


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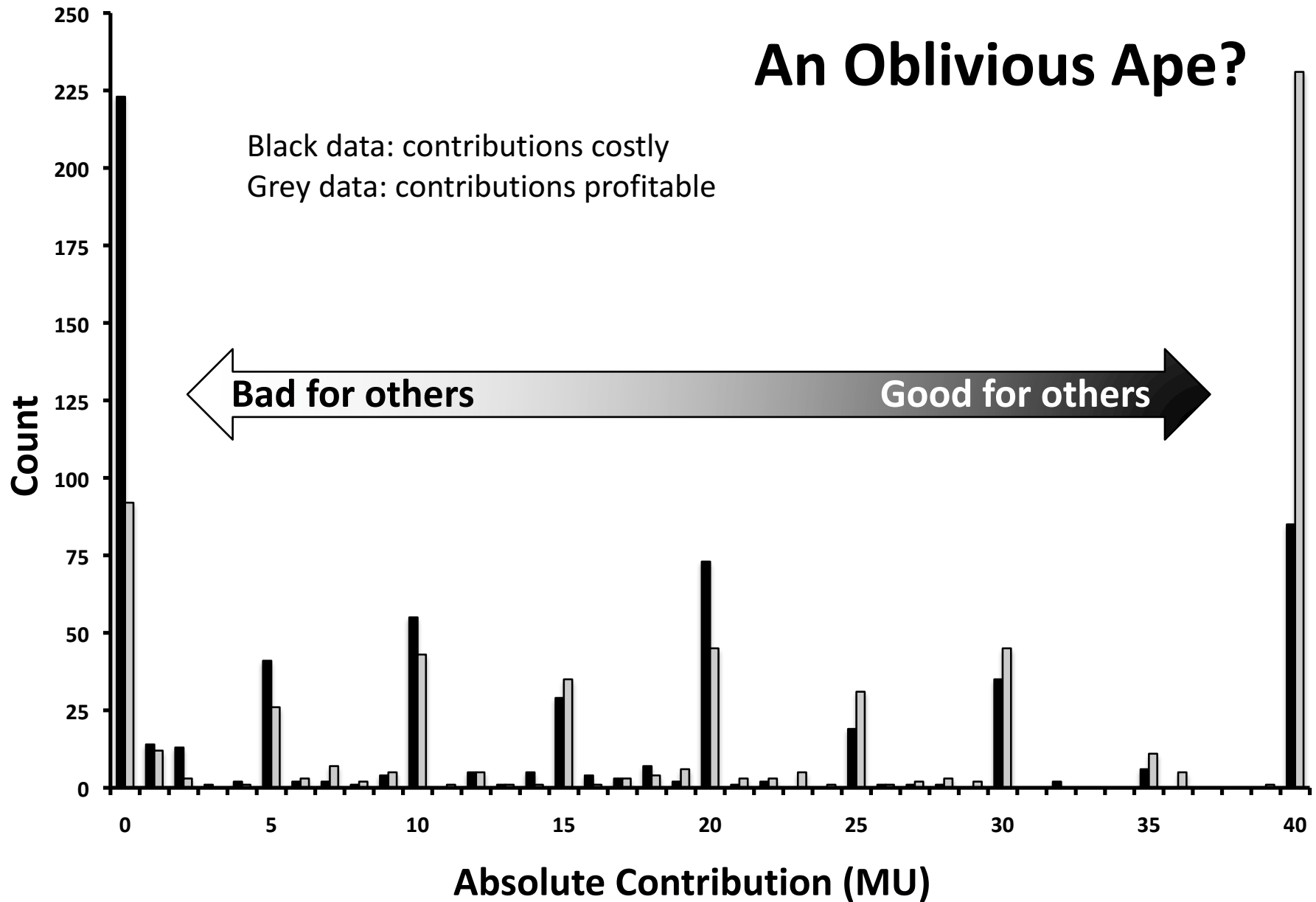
N homo
economicus



N full
altruists

Experienced players are more like Homo economicus

Control (1) Reverse the link between personal and social effects

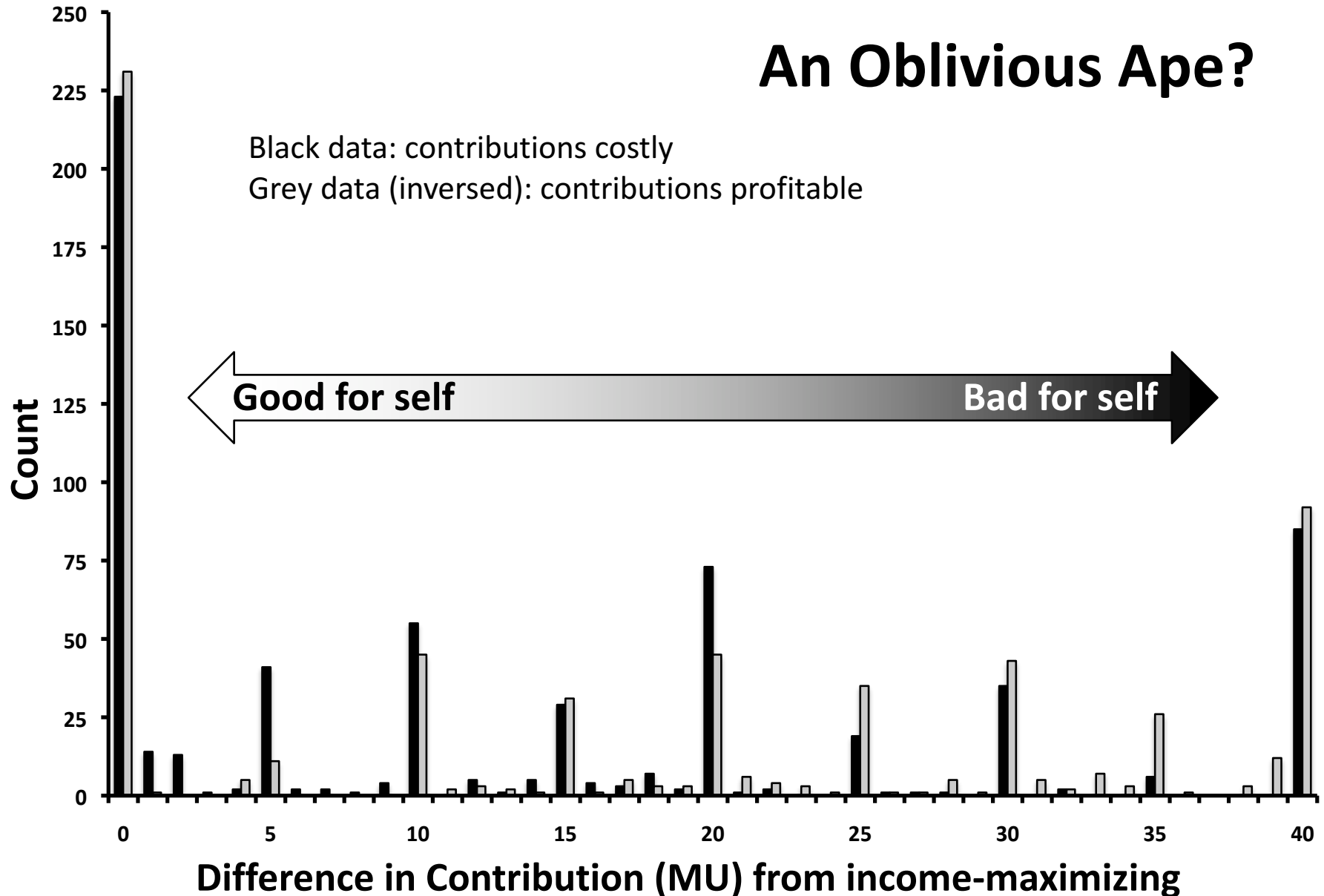


Control (1) Reverse the link between personal and social effects

An Oblivious Ape?

Black data: contributions costly

Grey data (inversed): contributions profitable



Four suggested controls for measuring social behaviours

If players are rationally altruistic then:

(1) Reverse the link between a failure to maximize personal income and positive social effects – *if failure now harms others, failures should cease*

RESULT: income failures constant!

(2) Reinforce/emphasize social effects –



Four suggested controls for measuring social behaviours

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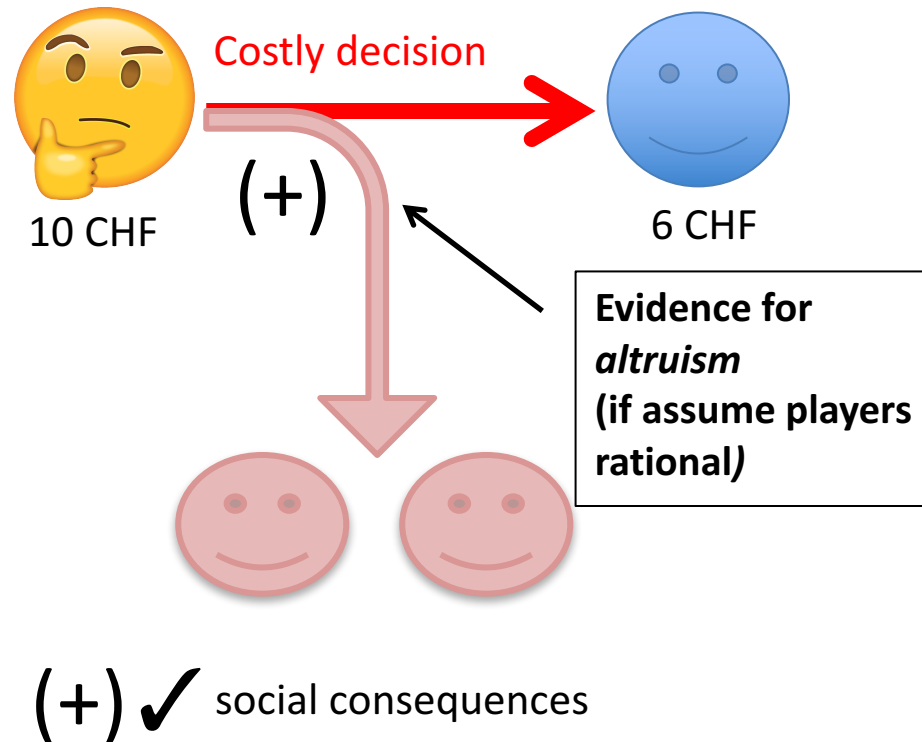
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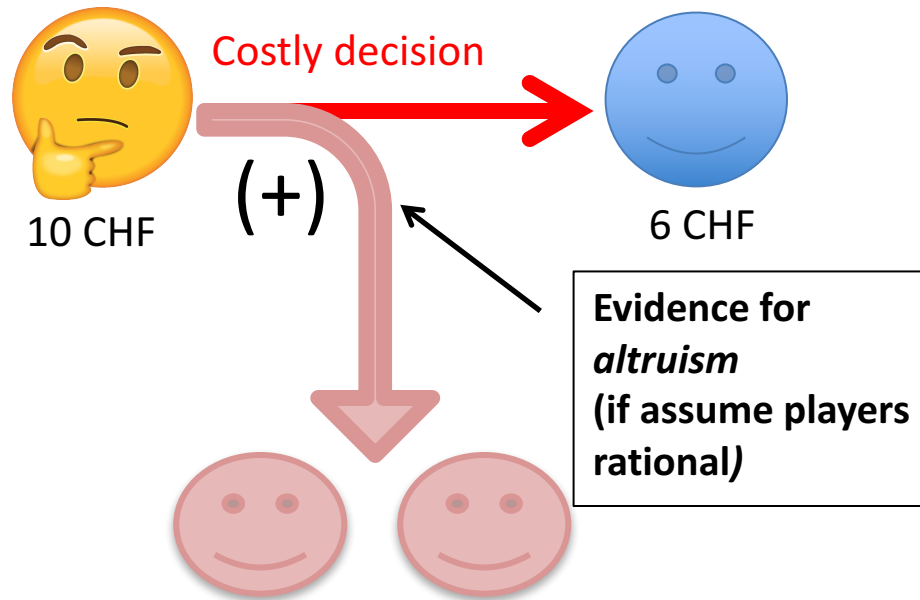
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Control 2) *Emphasize social effects* – *should increase the altruistic behaviour*

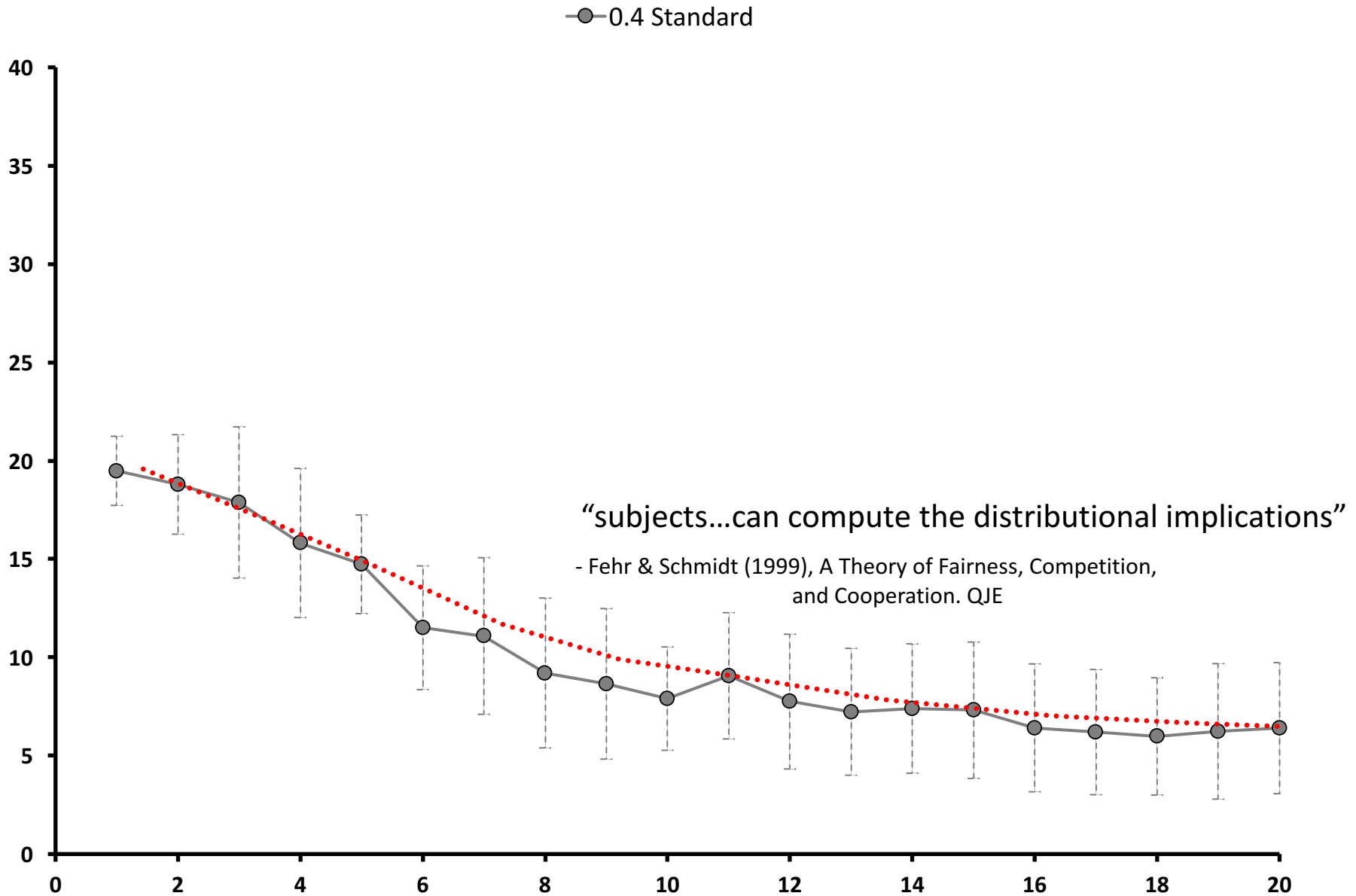


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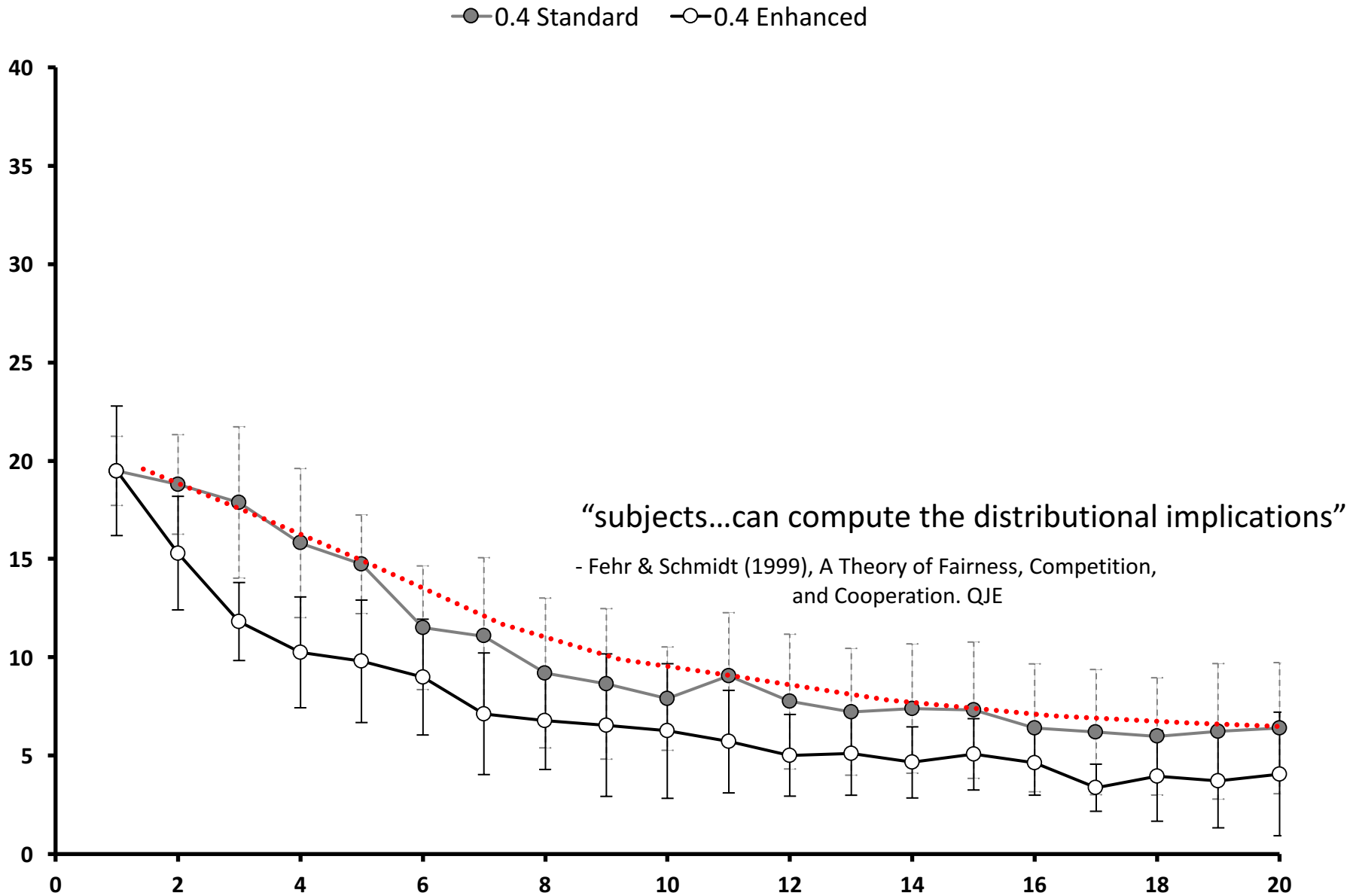


(+) ✓ social consequences

Control 2) *Emphasize social effects* – *should increase the altruistic behaviour*



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RESULT: less altruism!

(3) Remove social effects altogether –



REMOVED



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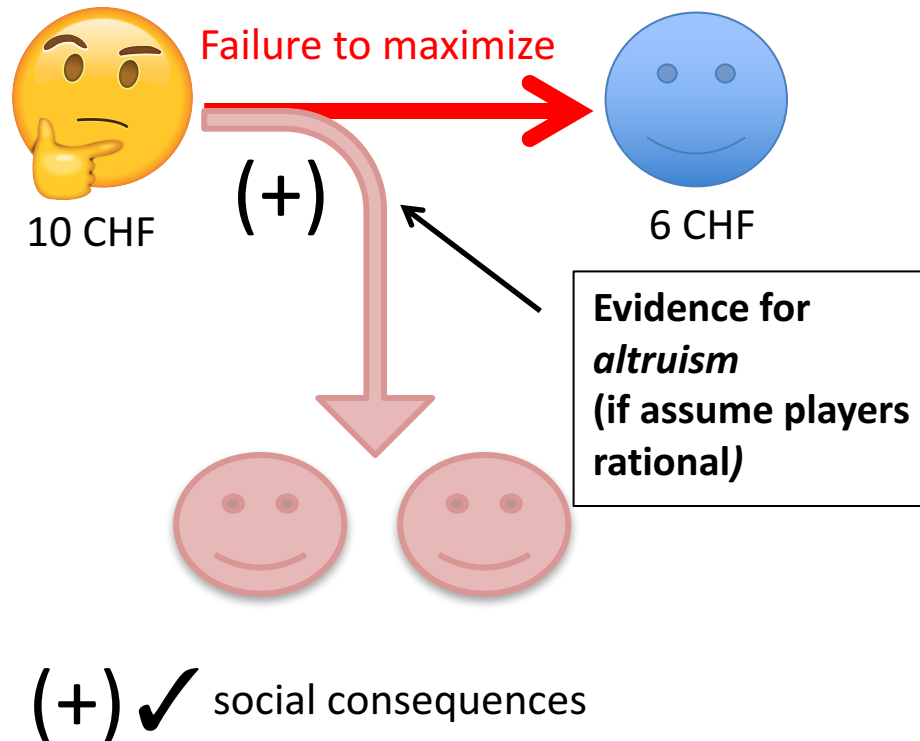
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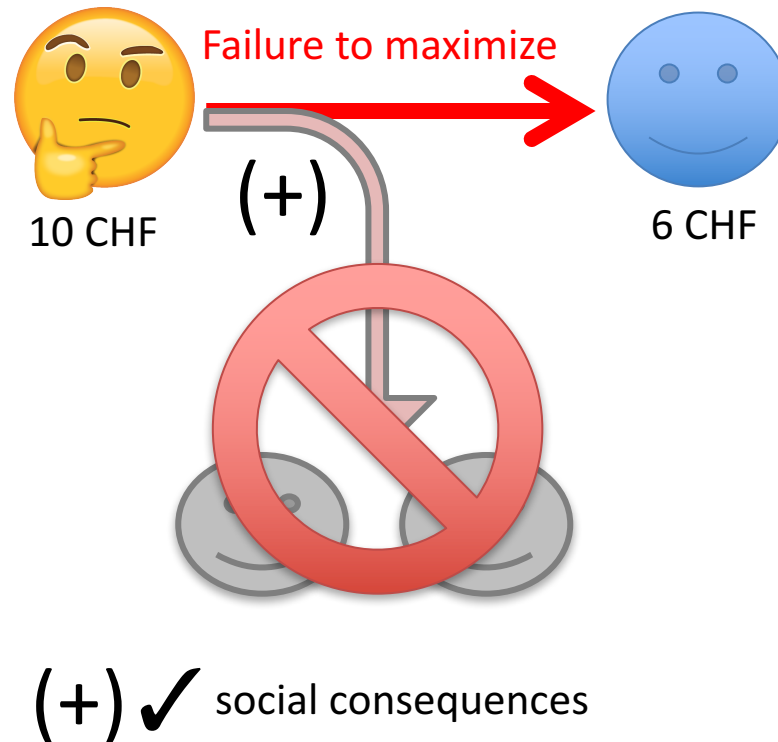


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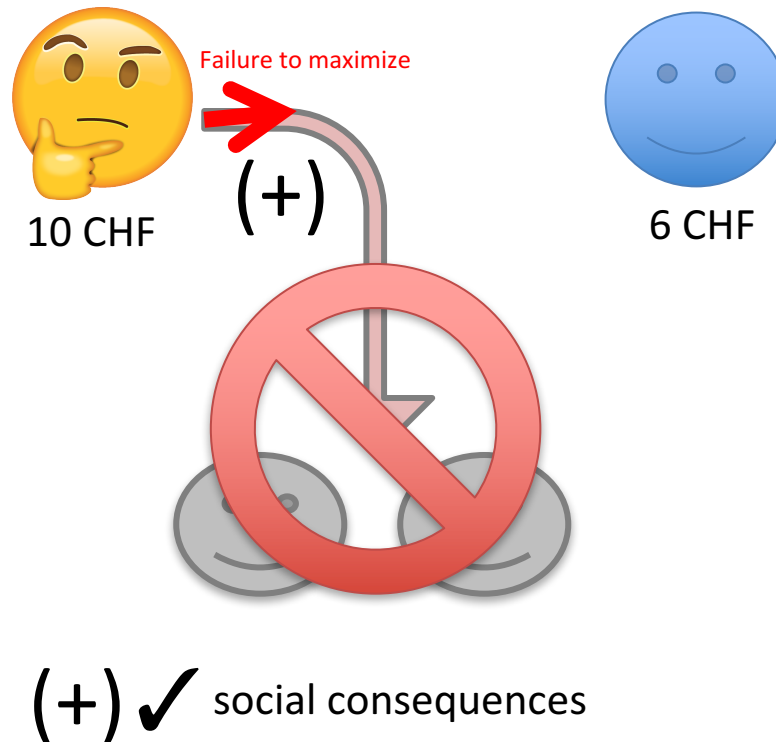
Control (3) Remove social effects altogether –
should remove the altruistic behaviour (PNAS 2016)



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The Strategy Method

“How much do you want to contribute if others on average contribute X”

The other players contribute, on average, 0. Your contribution is...



The other players contribute, on average, 1. Your contribution is...



The other players contribute, on average, 2. Your contribution is...



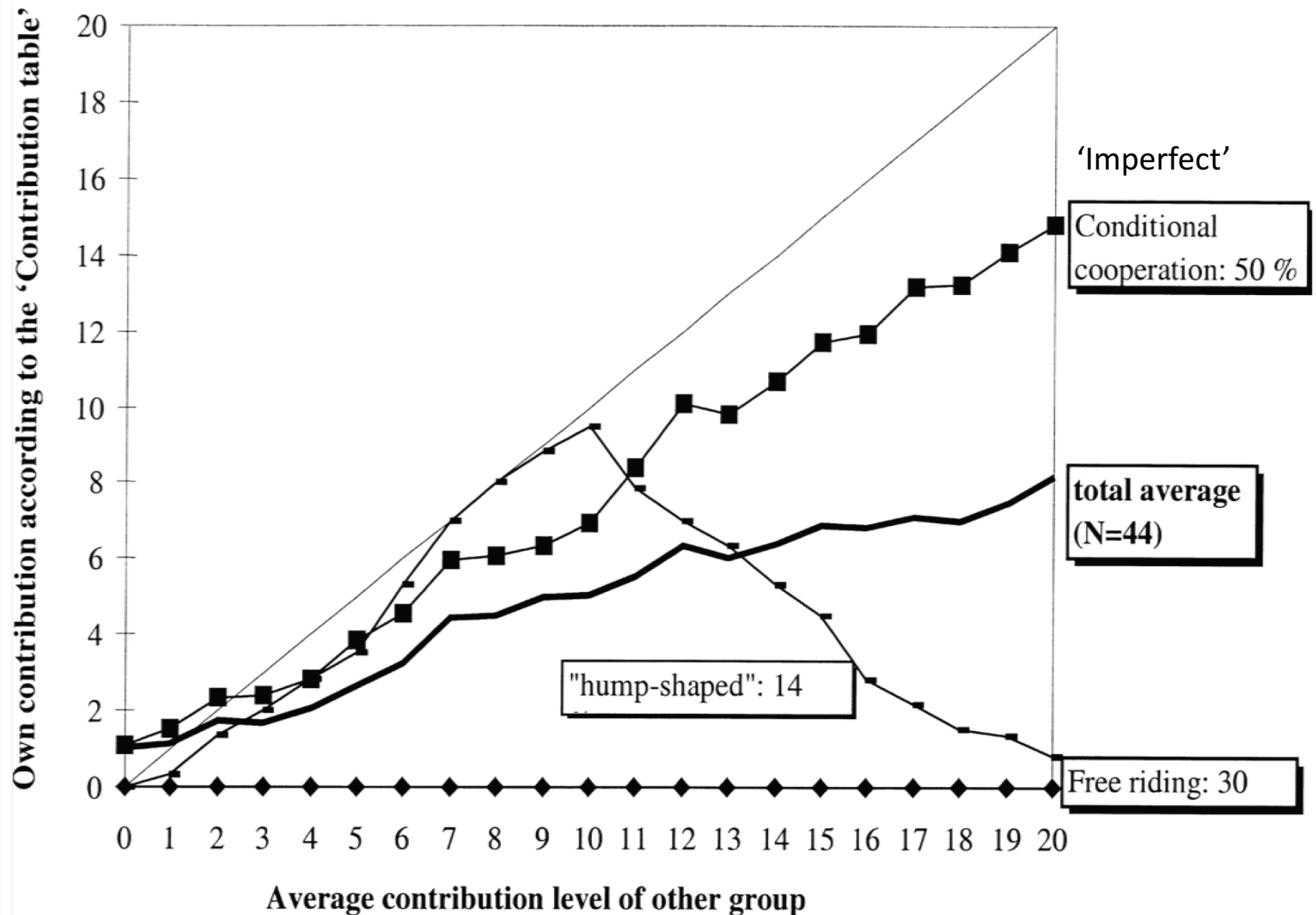
The other players contribute, on average, 3. Your contribution is...

U. Fischbacher, S. Gächter, E. Fehr (2001). Are people conditionally cooperative? Evidence from a public goods experiment. Econ. Letters, Vol. 71(3): 397-404

U. Fischbacher, S. Gächter (2010). Social preferences, beliefs, and the dynamics of free riding in public goods experiments. American Economic Review, 100(1): 541-556

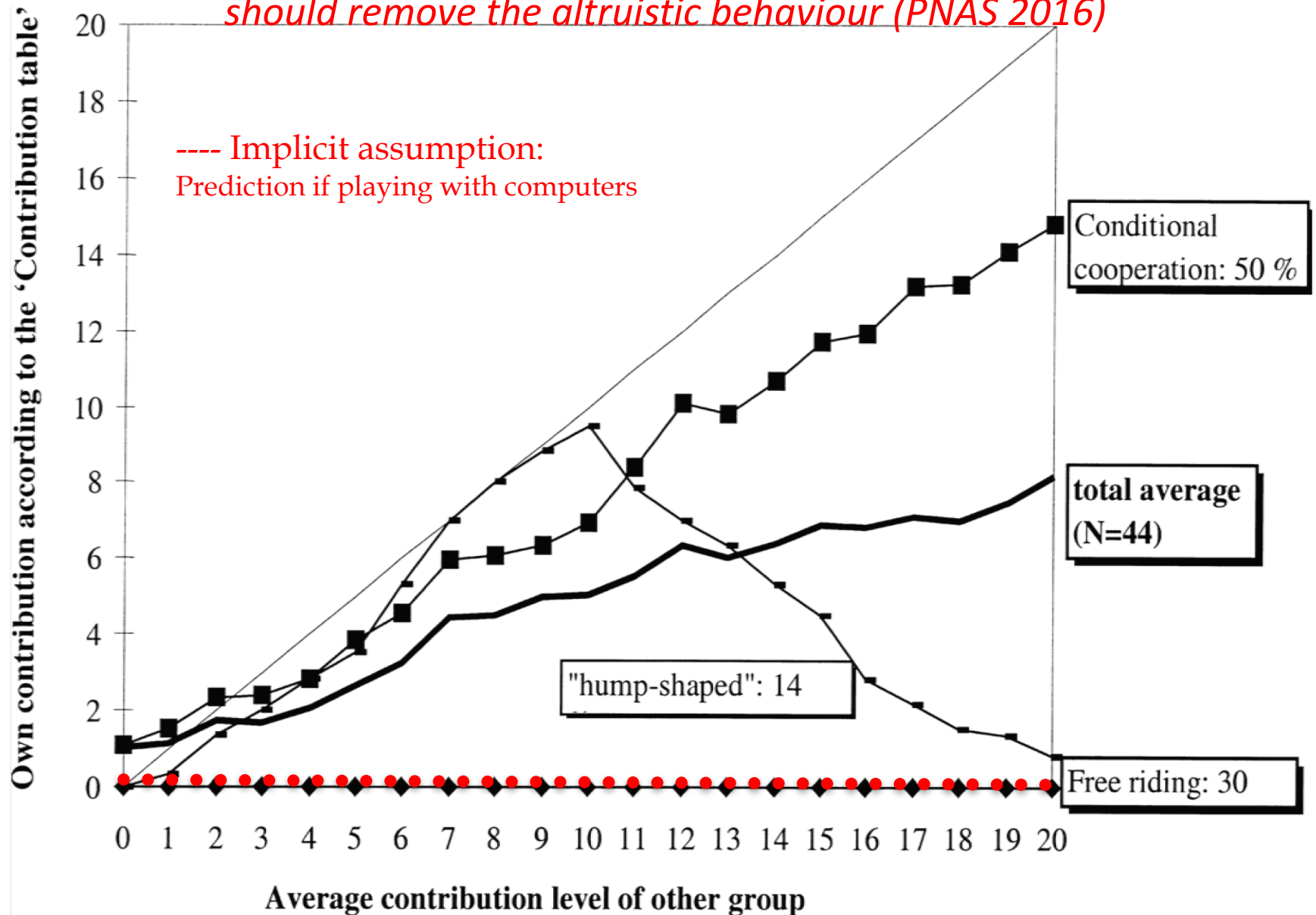
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Control (3) Remove social effects altogether –



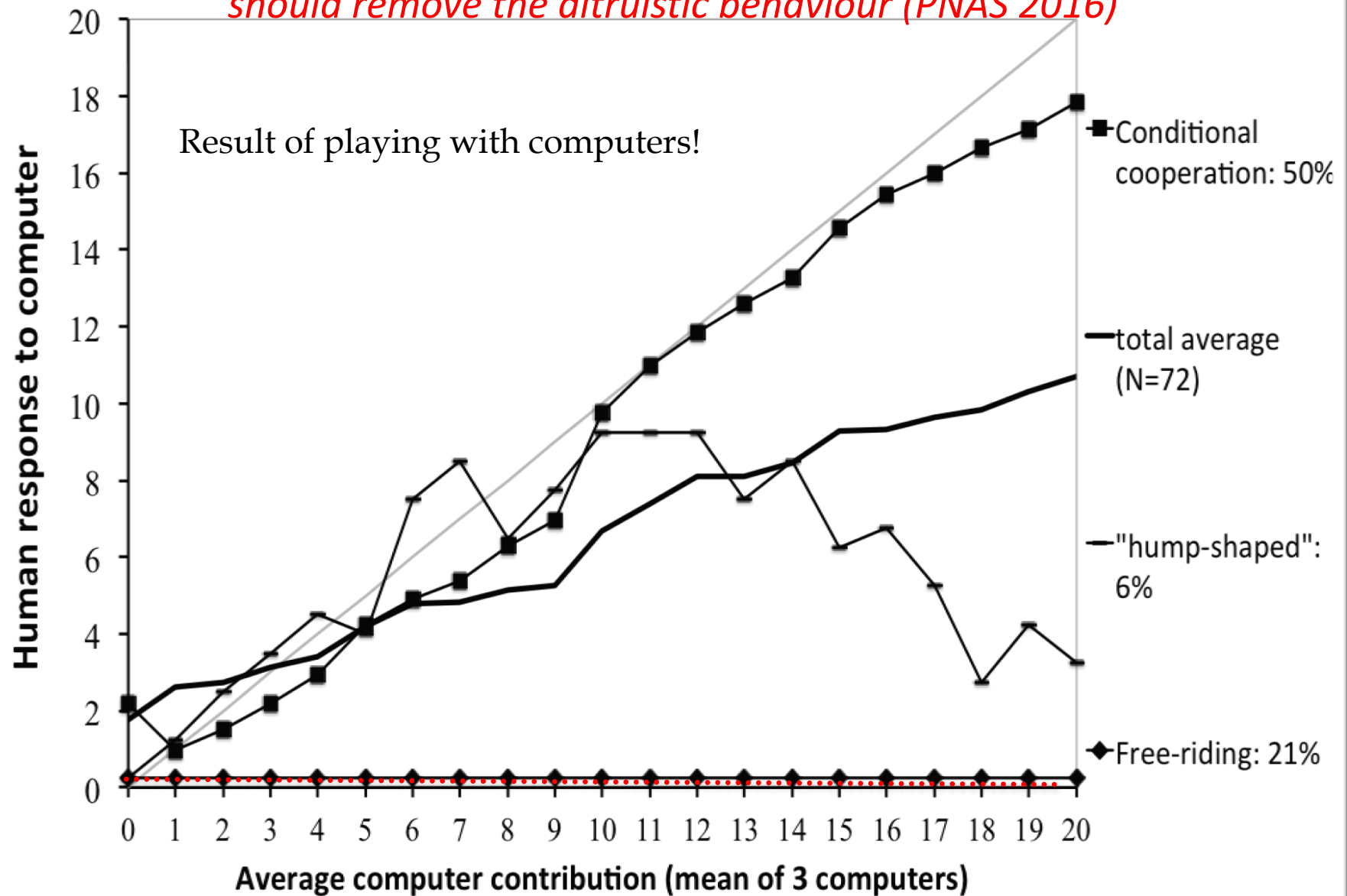
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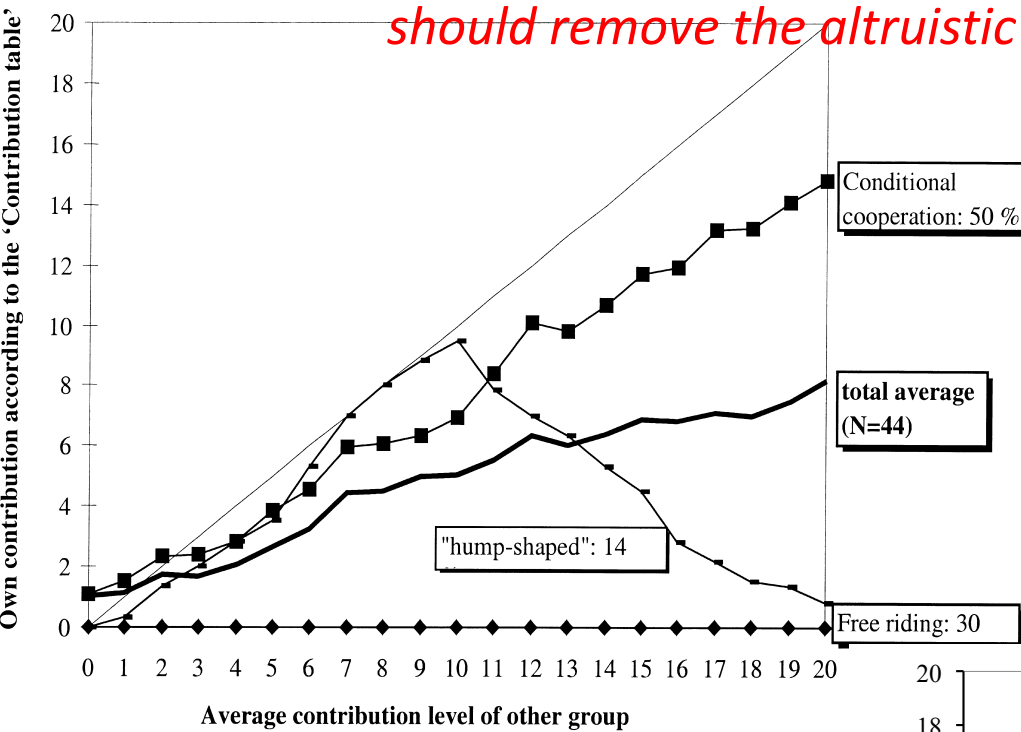
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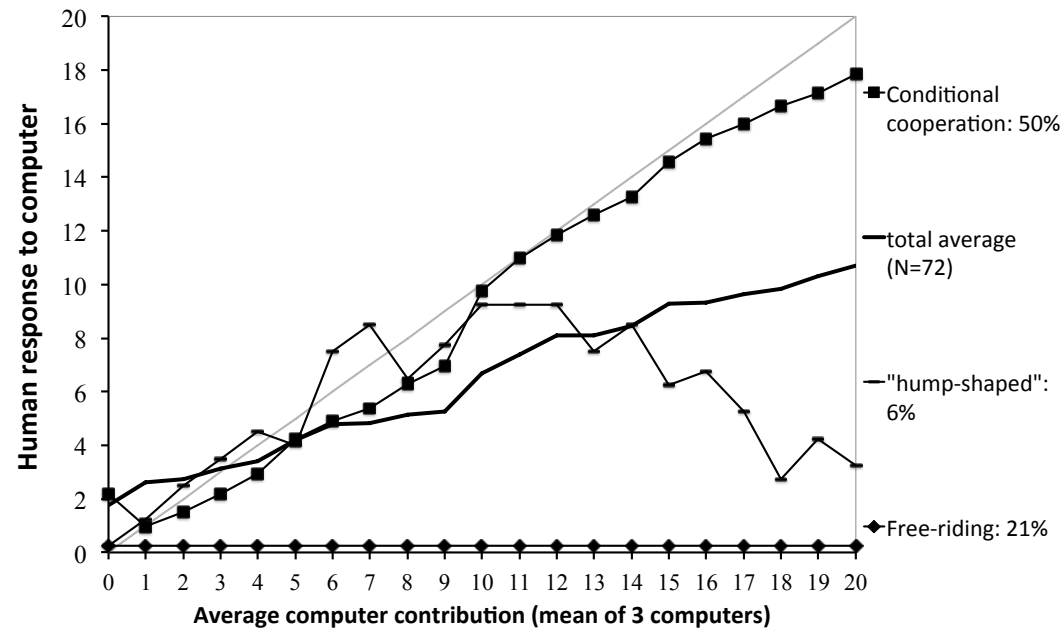
Control (3) Remove social effects altogether –

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Conditional cooperation with people

Conditional cooperation with computers



*Control (3) Remove social effects altogether –
should remove the altruistic behaviour (PNAS 2016)*

Perhaps the players think that best way to maximize income is to base their decision on what others do? Maybe to undercut them slightly (this may be *ecologically rational*)

We tested this hypothesis by asking each player:

Control (3) Remove social effects altogether – *should remove the altruistic behaviour (PNAS 2016)*

Perhaps the players think that best way to maximize income is to base their decision on what others do? Maybe to undercut them slightly (this may be *ecologically rational*)

We tested this hypothesis by asking each player:

“In the game, if a player wants to maximize his or her earnings in any one particular round, does the amount they should contribute depend on what the other people in their group contribute?”

We allowed players to answer either:
yes/sometimes/no/unsure.

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“In the game, if a player wants to maximize his or her earnings in any one particular round, does the amount they should contribute depend on what the other people in their group contribute?”

Table S3. Strategies and understanding about the game were correlated

Type (vs. computers)	Answer: no*	Answer: yes	Answer: sometimes	Answer: unsure	Total
Noncooperators	10	4	0	1	15
Unconditional cooperators	2	1	2	0	5
Conditional cooperators	6	18	7	5	36
Negative cooperators	1	1	1	0	3
Humped cooperators	0	3	1	0	4
Unclassified	2	6	0	1	9
Totals	21	33	11	7	72

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Unconditional cooperators	2	1	2	0	5
Conditional cooperators	6	18	7	5	36
Negative cooperators	1	1	1	0	3
Humped cooperators	0	3	1	0	4
Unclassified	2	6	0	1	9
Totals	21	33	11	7	72

Control (3) Remove social effects altogether –

THE AMERICAN EC *Prior work by others*

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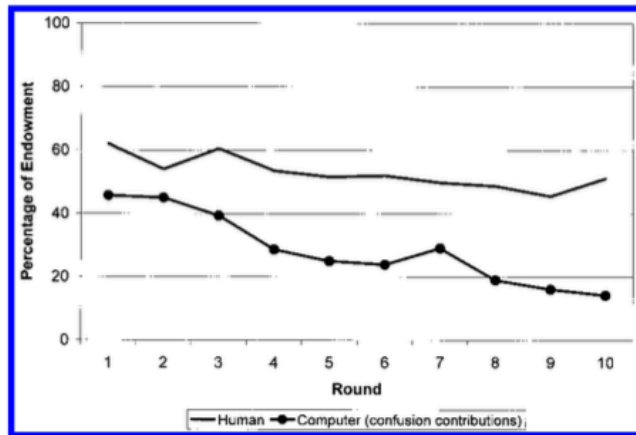


FIGURE 1. MEAN CONTRIBUTION BY ROUND IN COMPUTER AND HUMAN CONDITIONS

Houser & Kurzban 2002. Revisiting kindness and confusion in public goods experiments. American Economic Review

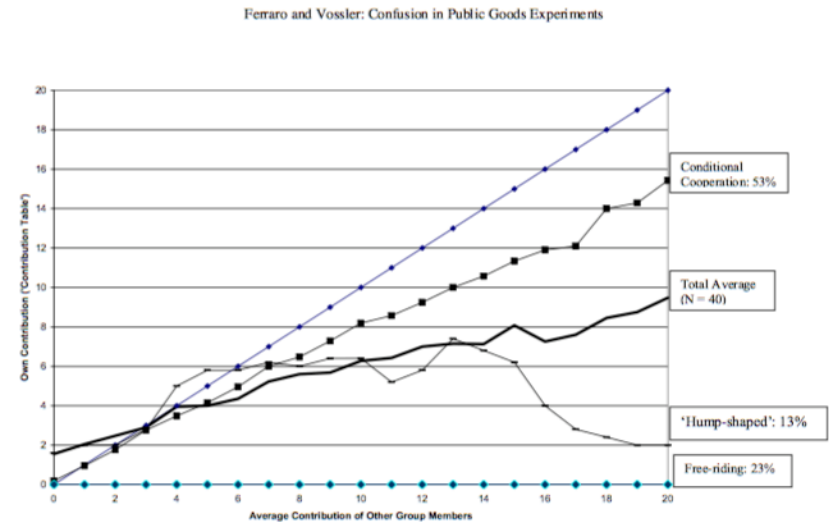


Figure 2. Experiment 2, Average Own Contribution by Average Contribution of Other Members (diagonal = perfect conditional)

Ferraro & Vossler 2010. The source and significance of confusion in public goods experiments. The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy.

Shapiro 2009. The role of utility interdependence in public good experiments. International Journal of Game Theory

Mean contributions in the first pair of sessions Mean contributions in the second pair of sessions Mean contributions in the third pair of sessions

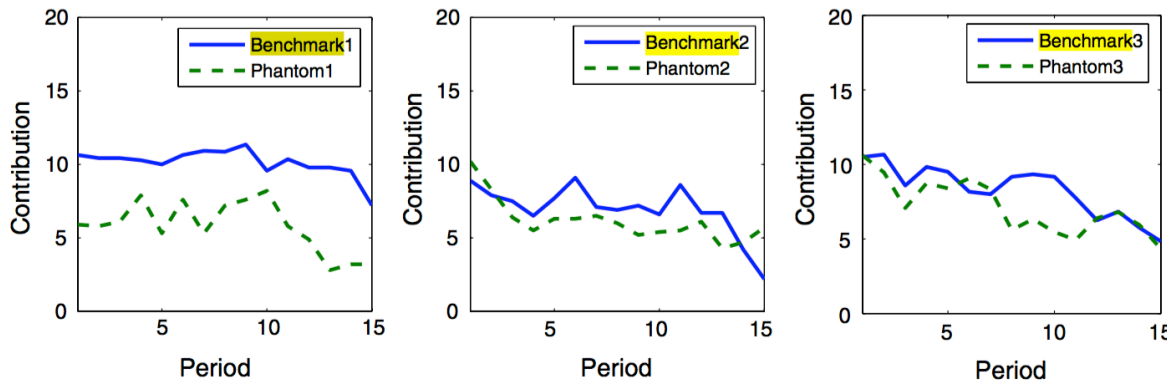


Fig. 3 Contributions in benchmark and phantom sessions. The solid lines represent the average contributions in the benchmark sessions. The dashed lines represent the average contributions in the corresponding Phantom sessions. The numbering of sessions is chronological: the first two Benchmark-Phantom pairs were conducted at Yale and the last one at UNCC

Four suggested controls for measuring social behaviours

If players are rationally altruistic then:

(1) Reverse the link between a failure to maximize personal income and positive social effects – *if failure now harms others, failures should cease*

RESULT: income failures constant!

(2) Reinforce/emphasize social effects – *should increase the altruistic behaviour*

RESULT: less altruism!

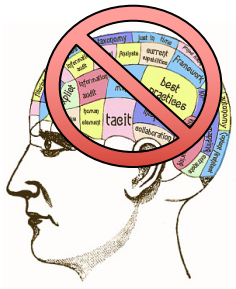
(3) Remove social effects altogether – *should remove the altruistic behaviour*

RESULT: same 'altruism'!



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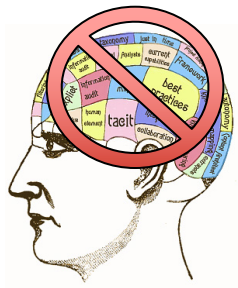
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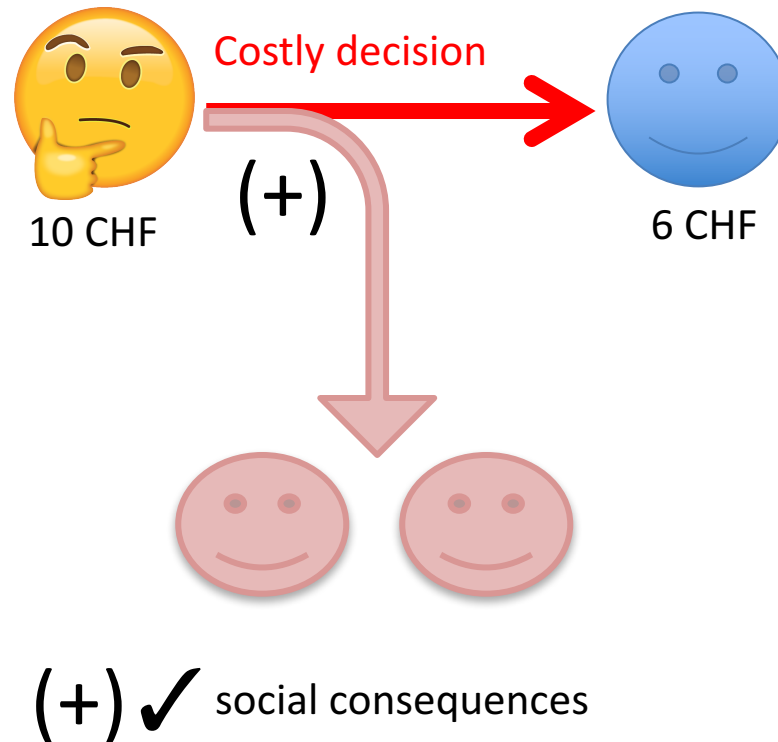


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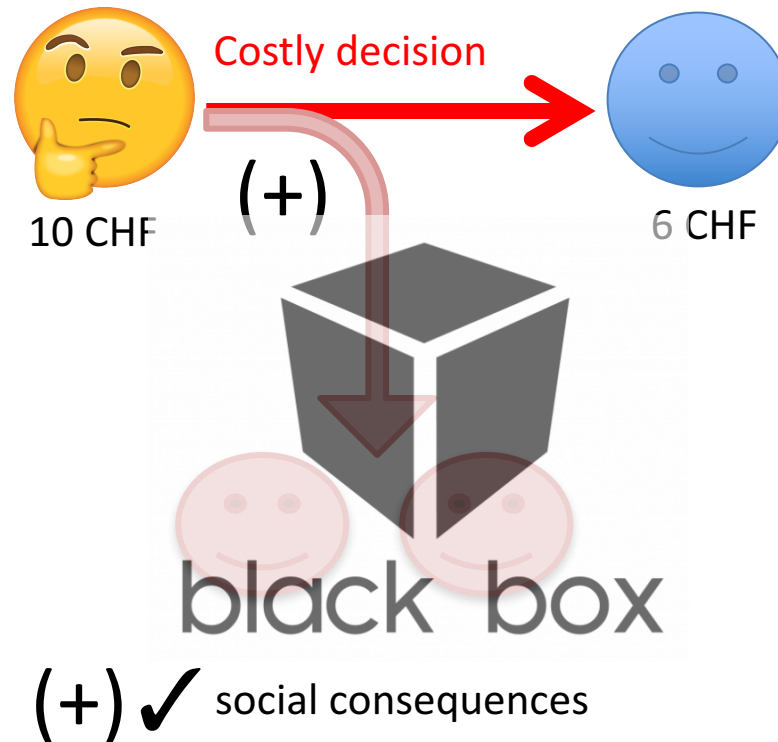
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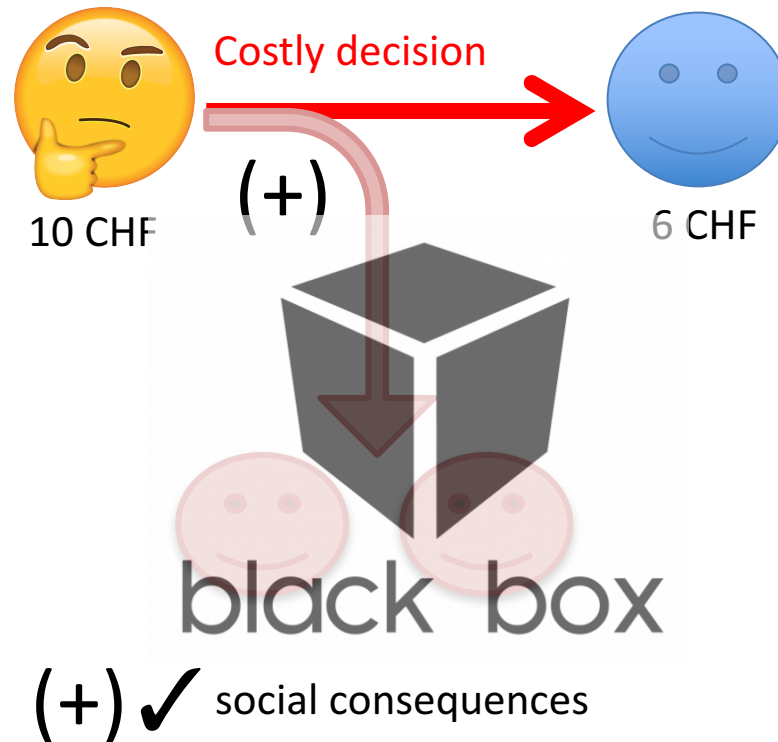
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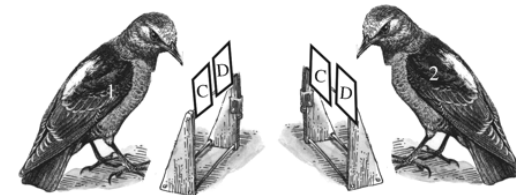
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Clements & Stephens
1995. *Animal Behaviour*.



	player 2	
	coop	defect
coop		
defect		

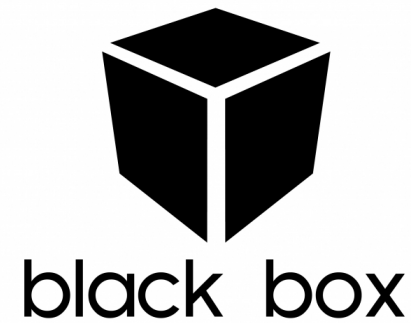
Prisoner's Dilemma

	player 2	
	coop	defect
coop		
defect		

mutualism

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BLACK BOX – *key instructions*



“**Decision.** You can choose to keep your coins..., or you can choose to put some or all of them into a ‘black box’.

This ‘*black box*’ performs a mathematical function that converts the number of coins inputted into a number of coins to be outputted.

The function contains a random component, so if two people were to put the same amount of coins into the ‘*black box*’, they would not necessarily get the same output.”

(4) *Retain & Remove knowledge* – interesting behaviour should be more altruistic than this baseline

BLACK BOX
– *feedback*



black box

Game summary	Number of coins
Initial coins	40
Minus (-) your input	10
Plus (+) the output returned	28
Your final number of coins	58

(4) *Retain & Remove knowledge* – interesting behaviour should be more altruistic than this baseline

BLACK BOX
– *feedback*



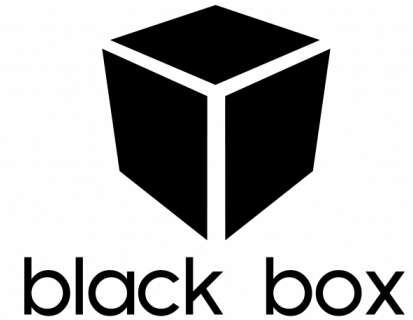
black box

PGG Analogue	Game summary	Number of coins
Endowment	Initial coins	40
Contribution	Minus (-) your input	10
Returns from project	Plus (+) the output returned	28
Earnings	Your final number of coins	58

(4) *Retain & Remove knowledge* – interesting behaviour should be more altruistic than this baseline

What does the Black Box do conceptually?

The black box is an ***asocial control*** – a game form that mimics the game environment except for the social component



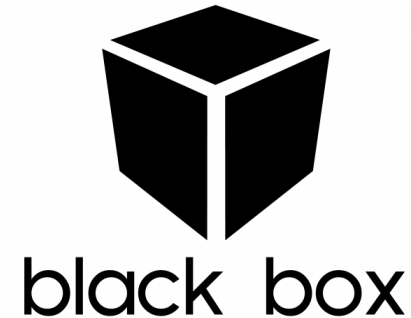
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In this way we block, or control for, any social cognition

This allows us to answer the question, what would a population of *uncertain/ignorant* players with *no social concerns* look like?



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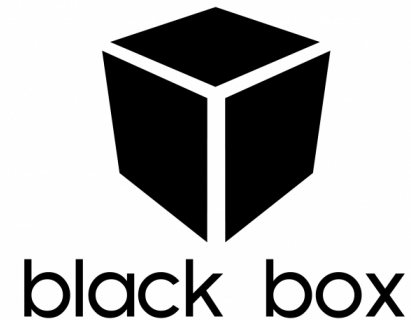
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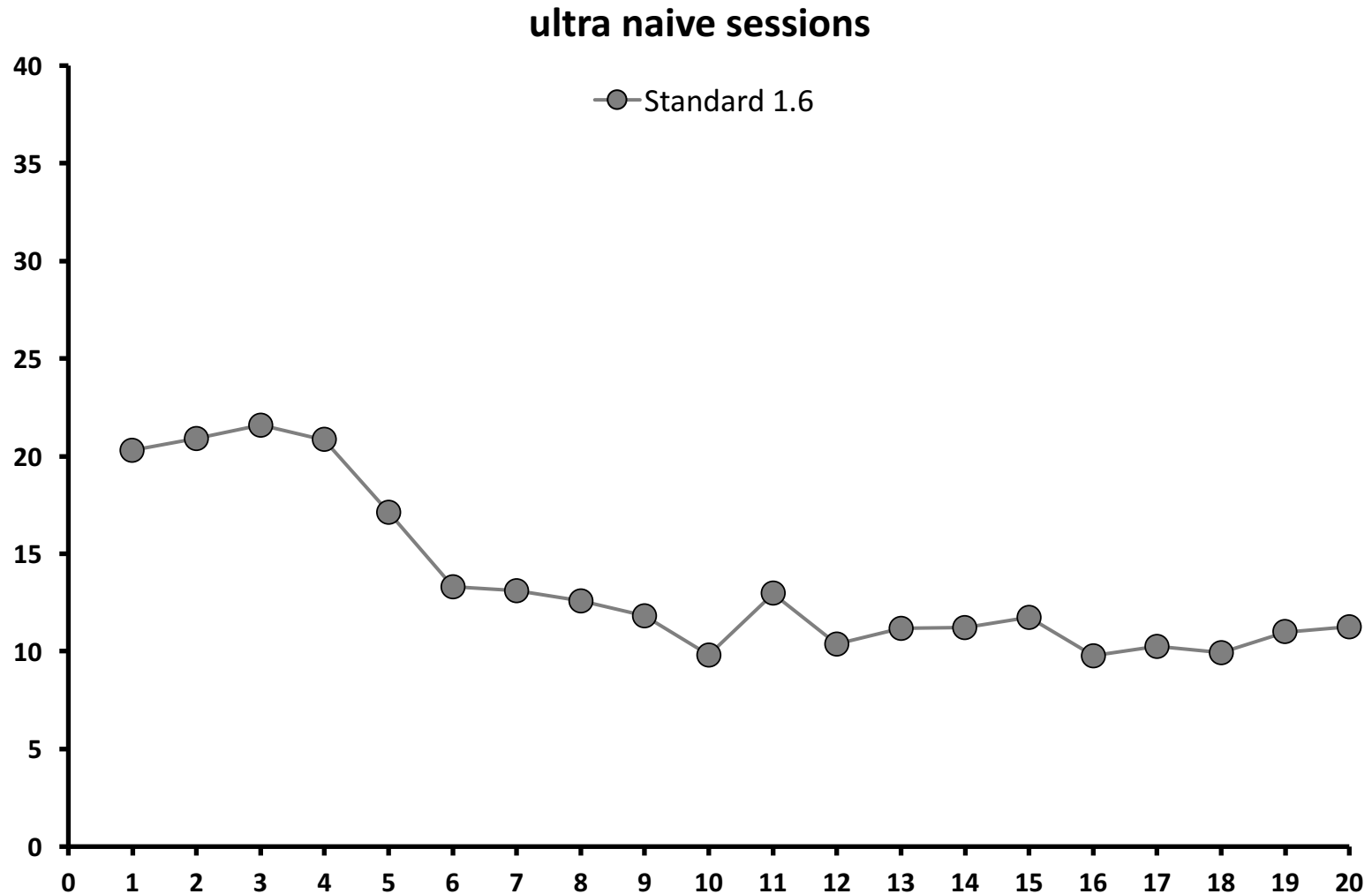
This allows us to answer the question, what would a population of *uncertain/ignorant* players with *no social concerns* look like?

This means that we keep the self-interested component of *Homo economicus*, but relax the rationality assumption, i.e. the assumption that players *know how* to maximize income.

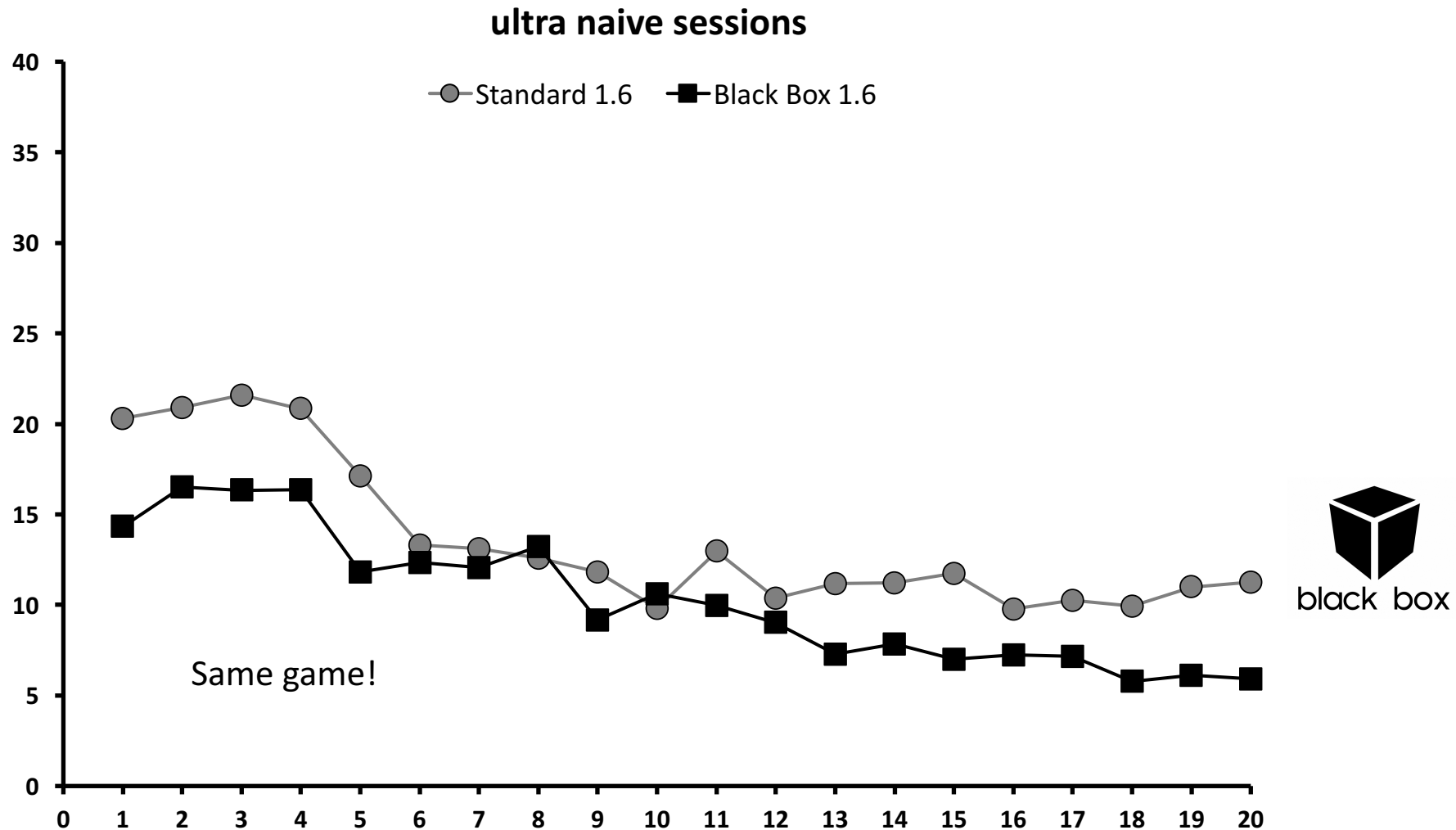
If players with full knowledge of the social aspect of the game do not play much differently, then this suggests their focus is not on the social consequences of their actions



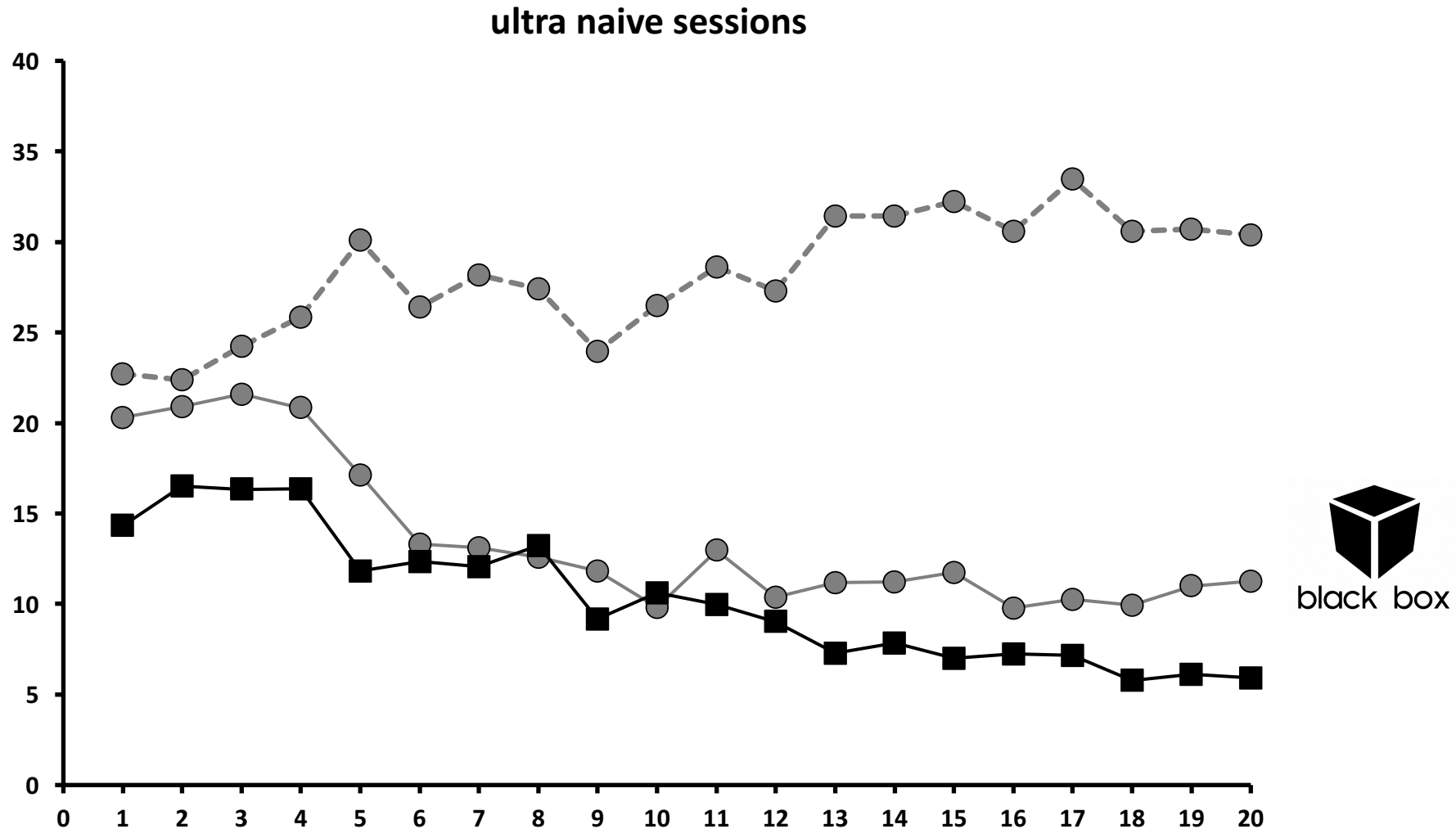
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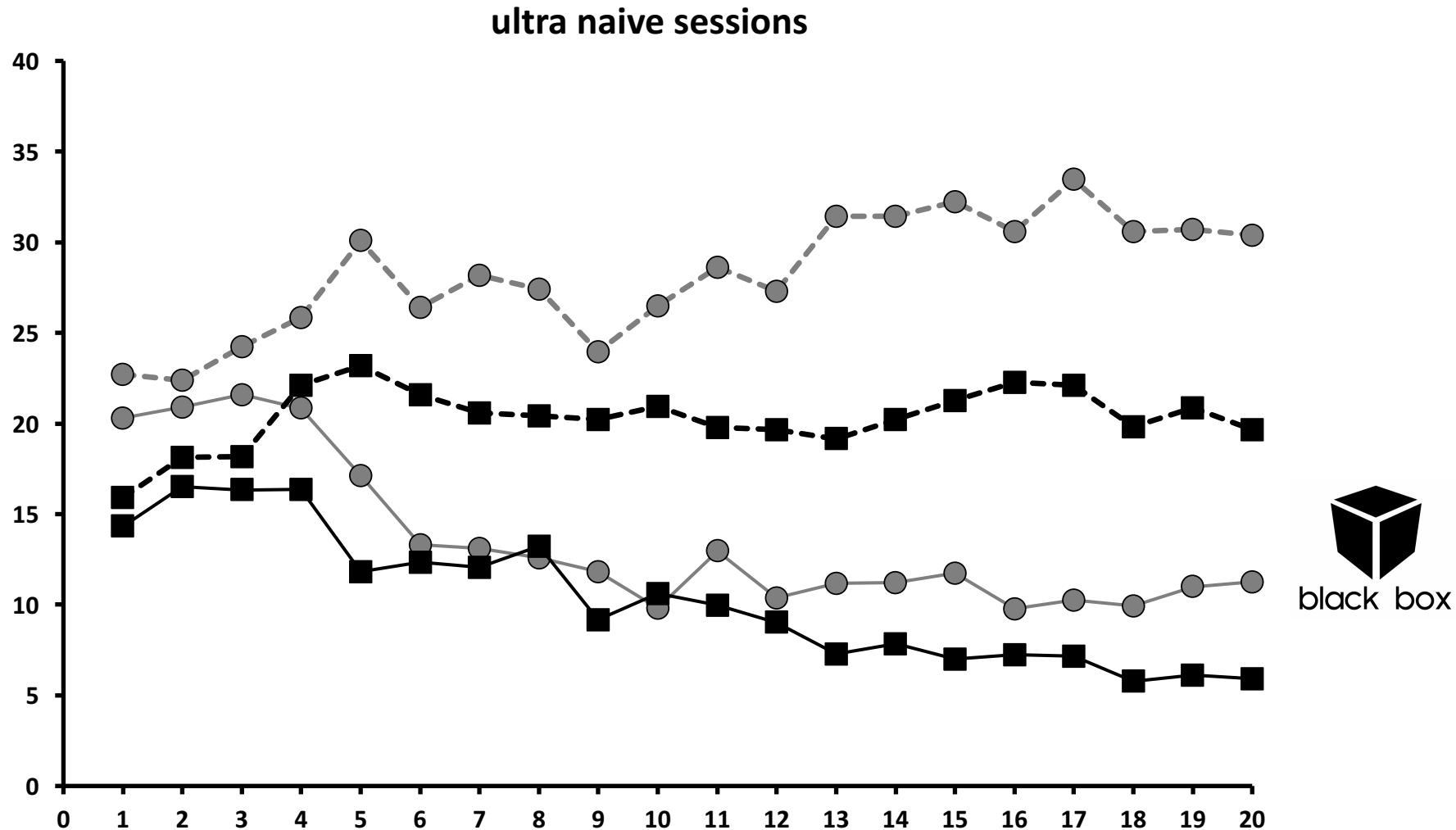
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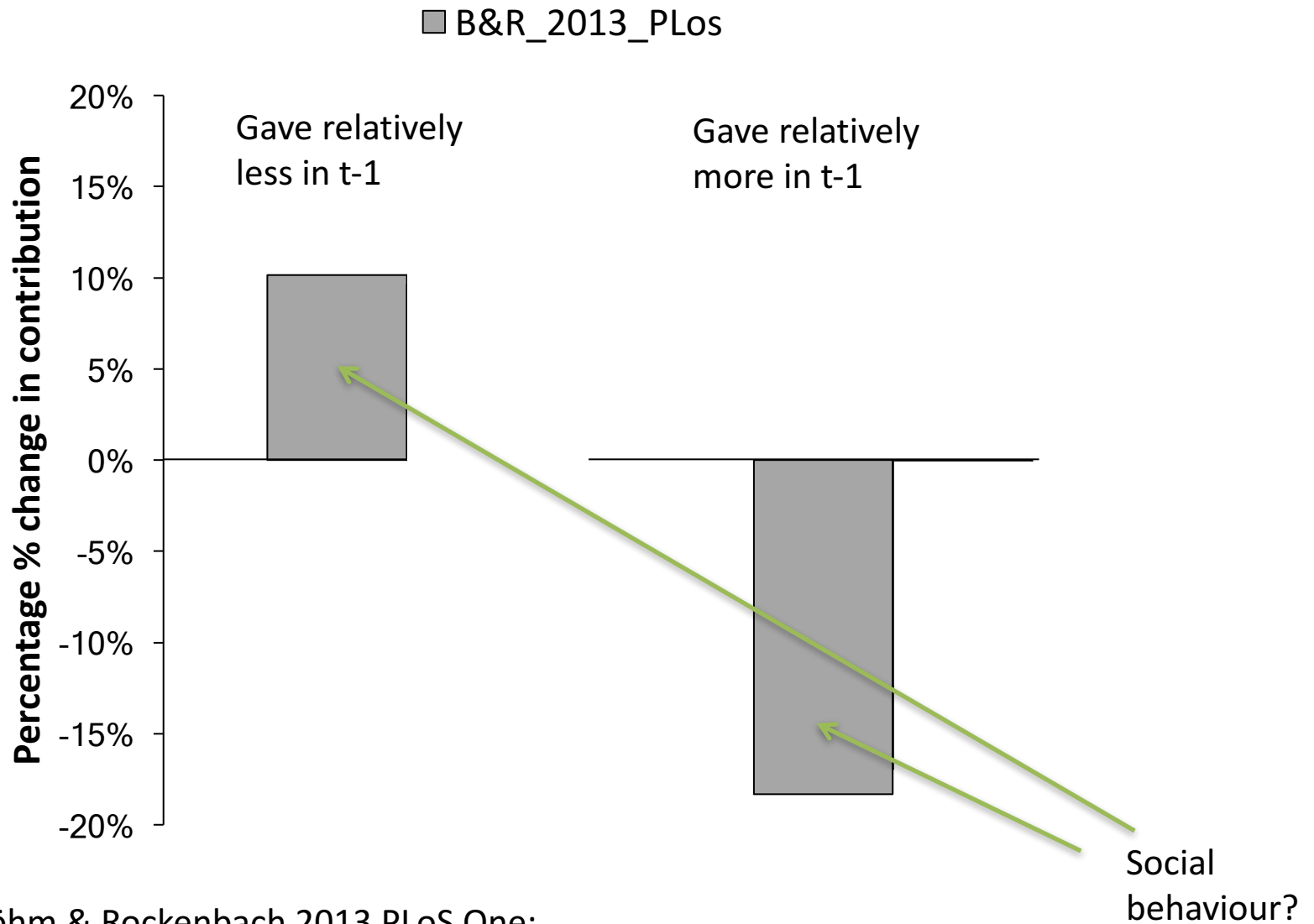
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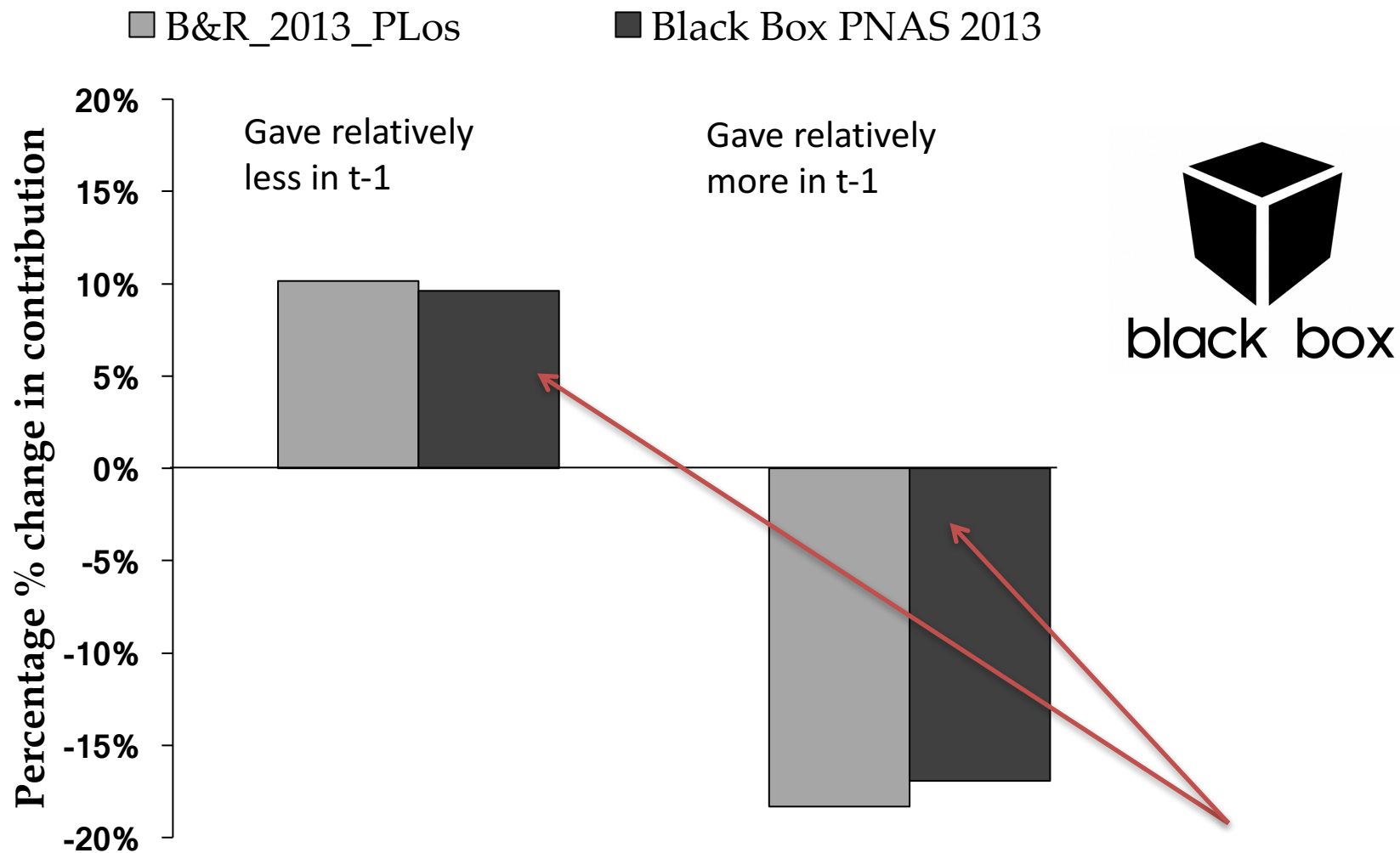


An asocial control can also investigate individual level behaviours such as *conditional cooperation*



Böhm & Rockenbach 2013 PLoS One;

An asocial control can also investigate individual level behaviours such as *conditional cooperation*



Böhm & Rockenbach 2013 PLoS One; Burton-Chellew unpublished analyses

Social behaviour?
Nope

IN CONCLUSION: Four suggested controls for measuring social behaviours

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