Behavioural Economics Research: Some Examples, Applications, and Questions to Pursue

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Admonishments to Analysts

"Any measurement technique ... should be consistent with economic theory."

(Freeman, 1963)

"A core set of economic assumptions should be used in calculating benefits and costs."

(Arrow, et al., 1996)

Economists and Standard Economics

End of Chapter Question:

"You won a free ticket to see an Eric Clampton concert ... Bob Dylan is performing on same night ... Tickets for Dylan cost \$40. You would be willing to pay... What is the opportunity cost of seeing Eric Clampton?

- A. 25.1%
- B. 21.6% (the correct answer)
- C. 25.6%
- D. 27.6%

(Ferraro and Taylor, 2005)

Behavioural Economics

Psychology, Economics, Decision Sciences

Findings can improve on standard economics, and policy analyses and policy design

Largely ignored (Behavioural Finance excepted)

Mental Accounting

Std. Theory Assumes Money is Fungible

Evidence / Experience Suggest Often Not Spend dividends, "not dip into capital" Decoupling purchase from paying Sunk cost effect Avoid debt

Power of Default

Organ donation consent:

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Opt-In (U.S., Canada, others) <20%
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Opt-Out (Europe, Singapore, etc.) >80%

Auto insurance Buy Cheap Buy Expensive

NJ, Cheap default 80% 20%

PA, Expensive default 25% 75%

New employee enroll in pension plan:

Information, but Opt-In 25% enroll

Automatic unless Opt-Out 80% enroll

Anchoring

Last Two Digits of SS Number

<u>00-19</u> <u>20-39</u> <u>40-59</u> <u>60-79</u> <u>80-99</u>

Max WTP for six consumer items:

Mean 11.25 17.06 16.94 21.37 32.99

The Power of Free

Lindt Truffle @ 15¢ 73% Hersey's Kiss @ 1¢ 27%

Lindt Truffle @ 14¢ 31% Hersey's Kiss @ 0¢ 69%

Monetary Measures of Changes in Economic Welfare (Values)

Gain = Max willing to pay for it (WTP)

Loss = Minimum demands to accept it (WTA)

"... we shall normally expect the results to be so close together that it would not matter which we choose". (Henderson, 1941)

"... economists expect that the difference between them will be small in most cases" (U.S. EPA, 2010)

Working Assumption of Equivalence Not Consistent with the Evidence

People Value Losses More than Gains (Reference or Endowment Effect)

Value of 50 percent Chance Win \$20:

Willing to pay to Acquire \$ 5.60

Compensation to give up \$11.02

(Kachelmeier / Shehata, 1992)

Preferences: Mug vs. Chocolate

	Prefer	
	Mug	<u>Chocolate</u>
Simple Choice	56%	44%
Give up Chocolate for Mug	10%	90%
Give up Mug for Chocolate	89%	11%
		(Knetsch, 1989)

Natural Experiments

Price elasticity of eggs (Putler, 92)

Price decreases (gains, insensitive) -0.45

Price increases (losses, sensitive) -1.10

Reluctance to realize losses (Odean 98)

Sell "winners" and keep "losers"

Shares sold gained 3.4% more than those kept

Professional Golfers Putts (Pope/Schweitzer 11)

Prevent loss (bogey) *More* accurate

Achieve gain (birdie) Less accurate

Loss vs. Foregone Gain

Pay teachers for student achievement.

Treatments: (9 schools, \$0 -\$8000 bonus)

Control – No bonuses

Bonus per successful student at end of year

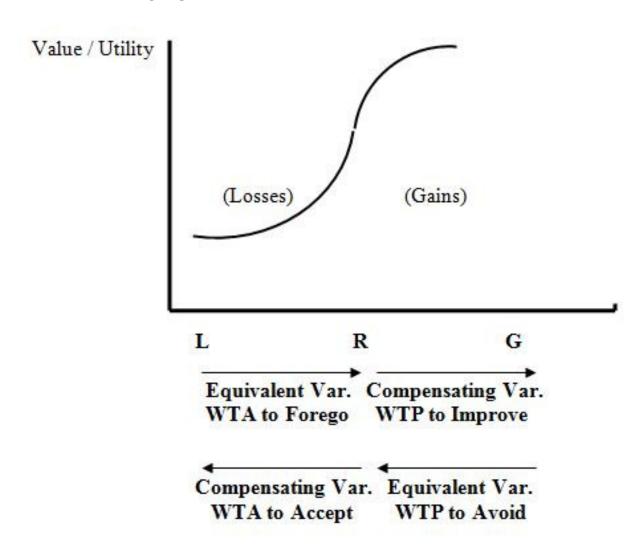
Small (not sig) improvement over control

Full bonus now, pay back for unsuccessful

Big (sig) improvement over control

(Fryer, Livitt, List, Sadoff, in press)

Valuations: (1) Change from Reference State (2) Losses Greater than Gains



Thought Experiments & Intuition

Blocking of roadway

Occurrence – Incur Loss: WTA to accept
(sum leave indifferent blocked travel and reference of normal travel)
Clearing the road—Eliminate Loss: WTA to forego
(sum indifferent between leave blockage and reference of normal travel)

Physical Assault

Occurrence – A Loss: WTA to accept beating (sum leave indifferent beating and reference of not being beaten)
Stopping the beating – Eliminate Loss: WTA to forego
(sum leave indifferent continuing beating and reference of not beaten)

Robbery Accident

Oil spill Serious illness

What is Fair?

Store auctions last doll to highest bidder

Store keeps money Unfair 74% Fair 26%

Store donates money Unfair 21% Fair 79%

[One party gains at the expense of another unfair]

Housing scarce, raise rent 25% Fair

Costs increase, raise rent 75% Fair

[OK to pass on cost increases]

Cut worker's wage 39% Fair

Cut worker's bonus 80% Fair

[Wage cut a loss, bonus cut a foregone gain]

Deservedness

You and another person agree to work ...the time and work is the same. One of you will be paid \$75 and the other \$25. Before beginning you must choose between two rules

Require ... give \$25 to other person 90%

Allow person paid \$75 to keep it 10%

You are about to play simple game w/ winner depend entirely on chance. Winner gets \$75, the other \$25.

Require winner to give \$25 to loser 40%

Allow winner to keep the \$75 60%

Problem => Behavioural Insights => Policy Design => Result

Changing Pension Plan Contributions:

From: Pay out of current earnings

(a loss – very salient)

To: Portion of future wage increases

(forego gain in future - not very salient)

Savings rates:

Pay from current earnings 3.5 %

Pay from future wage increases 13.4 %

(Thaler / Benartzi 2007)

Pigouvian Taxes: Good Economics – But Unloved and Underused

"...just another way for the government to take hard-earned money out of the pockets of people."

(Letter to the editor, Vancouver Sun)

"A government money grab" (Singapore taxi drivers)

"...much of the blame ... attributed to the carbon tax...

Voters have never stopped hating the tax and its effect on their electric bills."

(News account of unseating of Australian PM)

Financial Sanctions, and Moral Sanctions

Parents late day-care pickup penalty

Treat fine as price => Late pickups INCREASED

Low fine level => Implied low harm

(Gneezy / Rustichini, 2000)

Restraints:

Monetary

Non-monetary (self view, do right thing)

Issues

Lack of responsiveness to higher tax / fee levels

What money can't buy

"Some things should not be available for purchase"

"Cost of doing business" vs. "Pay to pollute"

Preferences for Ear-Marking

Increase in B.C. park / camping fees:

To general revenue account: UNACCEPTABLE

To maintain / improve park: ACCEPTABLE

Acceptability (1 to 7) UK Road Pricing (Schuitema / Steg, 2008)

General public funds 2.1

Public transit 4.0

New roads 5.2

Decrease fuel taxes 5.6

Abolish road taxes 5.8

Reducing Indonesian petrol subsidy (Bradiptyo / Sahadewo, 2013)

Behavioural Findings => Alter Design?

Coordinate monetary / non-monetary Build greater legitimacy into designs Responsible for costs: FAIR Transparent accounting of costs to others **Acceptable use of revenues:** Earmarking for related / desired uses Increase responsiveness to changes in tax Transparent accounting of costs changes **Narrow framing**

Enforcing Tax Compliance

Standard economics deterrence model: Comply or Not => Gain vs Expected Loss

Evidence at variance:Beccaria (1764) correct: "Crimes are more effectually prevented by the certainty than the severity of punishment".

(Beccaria, 1764)

A 1% increase in probability of punishment increases deterrence more than a 1% increase in the severity of punishment." (Mungan/Klick, 2012)

Puzzle: Probabilities vs. Outcomes

Catastrophic Losses (e.g., health, environment):
People focus on possible outcomes
People insensitive to changes in probabilities

Wrong-Doing, Tax compliance, etc.

People focus on probabilities of sanctions

People insensitive to severity of sanctions