Introduction to Reference-Dependent Preferences Economics for Neuroscientists Lecture, 2010

Botond Kőszegi, UC Berkeley

October 15, 2010

Happiness on the Medal Stand

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Won silver medal.



Won bronze medal.

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Won silver medal.

Counterfactual outcome: winning gold medal.

Won bronze medal.

Counterfactual outcome: missing medal stand.





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- I'll go fast, but everything will be completely informal.

Properties of Reference-Dependent Preferences

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 - 3 Elicit buying and selling prices using the Becker-DeGroot-Marschak procedure.
- Finding: selling prices are significantly higher than buying prices.
- This is called the *endowment effect*: endowing someone with a good makes her value it more highly.

- We can conceptualize the endowment effect as a combination of reference dependence and loss aversion.
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- Another manifestation of the endowment effect is the unwillingness to trade objects (Knetsch 1989).

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- Diminishing sensitivity is the less important of the two main properties of reference-dependent preferences.
- The primary original evidence for diminishing sensitivity comes from attitudes toward monetary gambles.

In addition to whatever you own, you have been given 1000. You are now asked to choose between receiving 500 for sure or 1000 with probability 0.5.

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- Much like reference dependence, diminishing sensitivity is a general feature of human perception:

| visual | 101 ft. vs. 100 ft. | 1 ft. vs. 0 ft. |
|--------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| time | 101 days from now vs. 100 days | 1 day vs. 0 days |
| chance | 19% vs. 18% | 1% vs. 0% |

Prospect Theory

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- Kink at zero: loss aversion.
- Concavity in gains and convexity in losses: diminishing sensitivity.
- The value function is much like the familiar utility function from economics, except that it's reference-dependent.





• The other key ingredient of prospect theory is the *probability weighting function*, measuring how people weight probabilities.



 Steepness at 0: overweighting of small probabilities.



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- Steepness at 1: certainty effect.



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- Flatness in the middle: unresponsiveness to intermediate probabilities.

Applications of Prospect Theory

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- Loss aversion provides a simple explanation: people are not willing to risk painful losses for not-as-pleasant gains.

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 - Say your lifetime wealth is between \$1.8 million (\$60K times 30) and \$3.6 million (\$120K times 30).
 - Let's graph your utility in this range.



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 - Diminishing marginal utility should not kick in over such a tiny range for any reasonable utility function over wealth.
- Reference-dependent utility isn't vulnerable to the same critique because it doesn't require preferences over risk to be described by a single function.
 - That is, how a person's utility function looks over a large range puts little restriction on how it looks over a small range.

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 - 6 and 9 is fewer hours of work, and still makes \$120.
 - 9 and 6 makes \$105—seems really suboptimal.

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 - The typical cab driver rents their cab for a 12-hour period for a fixed fee. Within this 12-hour window, a driver can choose hours freely.
 - For many random reasons (weather, subway breakdowns, conferences, and so on) a cab driver's wage varies quite a bit.
- Basic finding: hours are *negatively* related to wages.

- Explanation: daily income targeting.
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- Drivers' evaluation of their daily income is reference-dependent.
- The reference point is some reasonable daily income target.
- Loss aversion implies that it might make sense for drivers often stop at the daily income target.
- A driver with a higher wage reaches his target faster, so he works fewer hours.

Skip Pricing and Stocks

Cigarette Prices in Hungary



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Prices are sticky,

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Prices are sticky, focal, and uniform.

• Why are prices sticky?

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 - Lowering your price below the past price won't generate that much extra demand.
 - So in many situations, you don't want to change the price.
- Why are prices focal?
 - Raising your price above competitor's will lead many consumers to go to the competitor.
 - Lowering your price below competitors' won't attract that many consumers.
 - So in many situations, you want to set the same price as competitor.

Skip Stocks

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 - Among these, he counts the "realized losses" and the "realized gains."
 - He defines the proportion of losers realized as

$$\mathsf{PLR} = \frac{\# \text{ of realized losses}}{\# \text{ of total losers}},$$

and similarly for the proportion of gains realized (PGR).

• Key findings:

| | Entire Year | December | Jan-Nov |
|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|
| PLR | 0.098 | 0.128 | 0.094 |
| PGR | 0.148 | 0.108 | 0.152 |
| Difference | -0.050 | 0.020 | -0.058 |
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 - Due to reference-dependent utility, it's pleasant to sell a winner and unpleasant to sell a loser (Barberis and Xiong 2008).

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 - The reference point is the purchase price.
 - Due to reference-dependent utility, it's pleasant to sell a winner and unpleasant to sell a loser (Barberis and Xiong 2008). Furthermore, due to diminishing sensitivity, individuals are willing to take more risks with losing stocks than with winning stocks.
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| <i>t</i> -stat | -35 | 4.3 | -38 |

- The tendency to sell winners and hold on to losers is called the *disposition effect*.
- Explanation:
 - Investors' evaluation of the stock's sale price is reference-dependent.
 - The reference point is the purchase price.
 - Due to reference-dependent utility, it's pleasant to sell a winner and unpleasant to sell a loser (Barberis and Xiong 2008). Furthermore, due to diminishing sensitivity, individuals are willing to take more risks with losing stocks than with winning stocks.
- The disposition effect has also been observed in the housing market (Genesove and Mayer 2001).

Open Questions

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- Furthermore, if we want to predict in advance what individuals will do, we better be able to predict their reference point.
- Unfortunately, research on reference-point determination is much less developed than research on preferences given a reference point.

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- **3** Goals or Aspirations. A somewhat less coherent literature in psychology argues that goals or aspirations can also serve as the reference point.

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- Interpretation: the expected possibility of earning €x becomes part of subjects' reference point, so they stop working at €x.

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 - Often, the outcomes similar others are getting affect expectations of what we'll get.
 - **3** It's difficult to set goals that you see no chance of reaching.
- But when expectations differ from the other candidates, typically expectations provide a better theory of reference-point determination.
 - This allows us to reconcile some seemingly contradictory findings and intuitions.

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- Recall:
 - Kahneman and Tversky (1979) and others find that in laboratory experiments, subjects tend to be quite risk-loving in the loss domain. The disposition effect is also a kind of risk lovingness in the loss domain.
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 - 2 If the possibility is expected, the reference point is lower, and loss aversion dominates the evaluation of the risk.

Skip Endowment Effect and Cabbies

Should we expect very little trade in the economy?

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 - If wages are low, drivers hit their hours target before their income target.
 - So in this case labor supply is unrelated to the wage.

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• *Preferred Personal Equilibrium* (PPE): the decisionmaker chooses the best state-contingent strategy she knows she will carry through given the preferences induced by the plan.

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- We need careful empirical work telling us what determines the reference point in different situations, and fully fledged alternative theories of reference-point determination.
- In as much as the reference point is expectations, we need careful empirical and theoretical work on expectations formation.

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- Implication: with reference dependence, how a broadly a person brackets her choices can greatly affect what she chooses.
- Yet theoretical and empirical work on how broadly people bracket decisions is almost non-existent.

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- I think reference dependence and loss aversion do reflect some real hedonic experiences.
- But there's reason to believe that behavior might be an exaggerated response to true preferences.
- The main reason is *projection bias*: people underappreciate how changes in their circumstances will change their preferences.

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• Workers who were hungry *when they made the choice* were more likely to opt for unhealthy snacks.

- Read and van Leeuwen (1998): Office workers were asked to choose *now* between healthy and unhealthy snacks to be received *in one week* either in a hungry state or in a satiated state.
- Their current choice was made either in a hungry or a satiated state.
- Proportion choosing the unhealthy snack:

| | Will Be Hungry | Will Be Satiated |
|--------------|----------------|------------------|
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- Workers who were hungry *when they made the choice* were more likely to opt for unhealthy snacks.
 - They project their current preferences onto their future selves.

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 - The same holds more generally for determining whether a particular pattern of behavior reflects a mistake.