

Econ 219B
Psychology and Economics: Applications
(Lecture 11)

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Outline

1. Menu Effect: Confusion
2. Framing
3. Social Pressure
4. Persuasion

1 Menu Effects: Confusion

- Previous heuristics reflect preference to avoid difficult choices or for salient options
- Confusion is simply an error in the implementation of the preferences
- Different from most behavioral phenomena which are directional biases
- How common is it?
- Application 1. **Shue-Luttmer (2007)**
 - Choice of a political candidate among those in a ballot
 - California voters in the 2003 recall elections

- Do people vote for the candidate they did not mean to vote for?

**Candidates to succeed GRAY DAVIS as Governor if he is recalled:
Vote for One**

<input type="checkbox"/> NATHAN WHITECLOUD WALTON Student Independent	<input type="checkbox"/> JOEL BRITTON Retired Meat Packer Independent	<input type="checkbox"/> S. ISSA Engineer Republican
<input type="checkbox"/> MAURICE WALKER Real Estate Appraiser Green	<input type="checkbox"/> AUDIE BOCK Educator/Small Businesswoman Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> BOB LYNN EDWARDS Attorney Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> CHUCK WALKER Business Intelligence Analyst Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> VIK S. BAJWA Businessman/Father/Entrepreneur Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> ERIC KOREVAAR Scientist/Businessman Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> LINGEL H. WINTERS Consumer Business Attorney Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> BADI BADIOZAMANI Entrepreneur/Author/Executive Independent	<input type="checkbox"/> STEPHEN L. KNAPP Engineer Republican
<input type="checkbox"/> C.T. WEBER Labor Official/Analyst Peace and Freedom	<input type="checkbox"/> VIP BHOLA Attorney/Businessowner Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> KELLY P. KIMBALL Business Executive Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> JIM WEIR Community College Teacher Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> JOHN W. BEARD Businessman Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> D.E. KESSINGER Paralegal/Property Manager Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> BRYAN QUINN Businessman Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> ED BEYER Chief Operations Officer Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> EDWARD 'ED' KENNEDY Businessman/Educator Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> MICHAEL JACKSON Satellite Project Manager Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> JOHN CHRISTOPHER BURTON Civil Rights Lawyer Independent	<input type="checkbox"/> TREK THUNDER KELLY Business Executive/Artist Independent
<input type="checkbox"/> JOHN 'JACK' MORTENSEN Contractor/Businessman Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> CRUZ M. BUSTAMANTE Lieutenant Governor Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> JERRY KUNZMAN Chief Executive Officer Independent
<input type="checkbox"/> DARRYL L. MOBLEY Businessman/Entrepreneur Independent	<input type="checkbox"/> CHERYL BLY-CHESTER Businesswoman/Environmental Engineer Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> PETER V. UEBERROTH Businessman/Olympics Advisor Republican
<input type="checkbox"/> JEFFREY L. MOCK Business Owner Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> B.E. SMITH Lecturer Independent	<input type="checkbox"/> BILL PRADY Television Writer/Producer Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> BRUCE MARGOLIN Marijuana Legalization Attorney Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> DAVID RONALD SAMS Businessman/Producer/Writer Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> DARIN PRICE University Chemistry Instructor Natural Law
<input type="checkbox"/> GINO MARTORANA Restaurant Owner Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> JAMIE ROSEMARY SAFFORD Business Owner Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> GREGORY J. PAWLIK Realtor/Businessman Republican
<input type="checkbox"/> PAUL MARIANO Attorney Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> LAWRENCE STEVEN STRAUSS Lawyer/Businessperson/Student Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> LEONARD PADILLA Law School President Independent
<input type="checkbox"/> ROBERT G. MANNHEIM Retired Businessperson Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER Actor/Businessman Republican	<input type="checkbox"/> RONALD JASON PALMIERI Gay Rights Attorney Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> FRANK A. MACALUSO, JR. Physician/Medical Doctor Democratic	<input type="checkbox"/> GEORGE B. SCHWARTZMAN Businessman Independent	<input type="checkbox"/> CHARLES 'CHUCK' PINEDA, JR. State Hearing Officer Democratic
<input type="checkbox"/> PAUL 'CHIP' MAILANDER	<input type="checkbox"/> MIKE SCHMIER	<input type="checkbox"/> HEATHER PETERS

County of Sacramento
Statewide Special Election
October 7, 2003

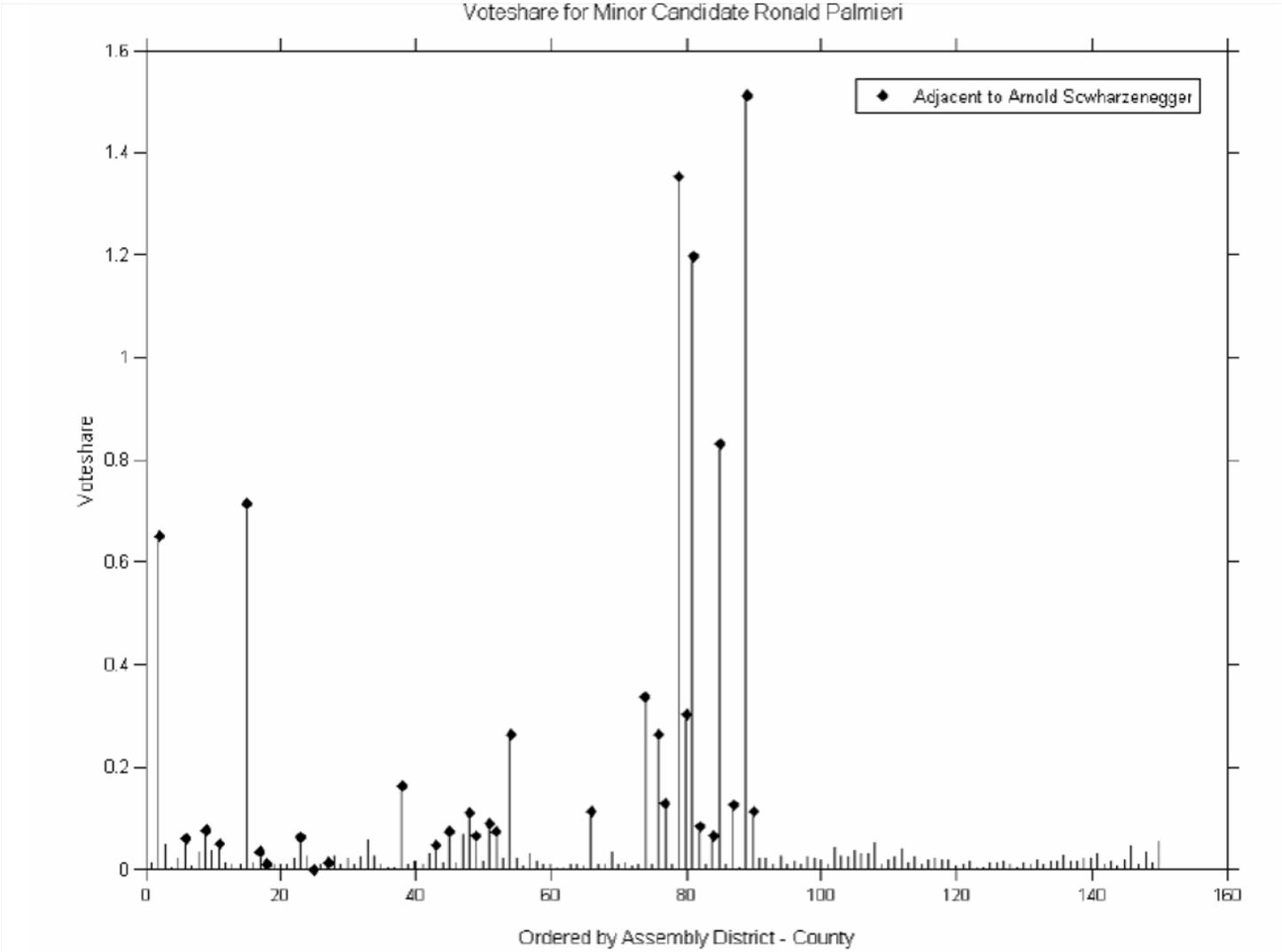
Candidates Continued / Candidatos Continúa

54	ANGELYNE, Independent Entertainer/Artista
55	DOUGLAS ANDERSON, Republican Mortgage Broker/Agente hipotecario
56	IRIS ADAM, Natural Law Business Analyst/Analista empresarial
57	BROOKE ADAMS, Independent Business Executive/Ejecutiva de empresa
58	ALEX-ST. JAMES, Republican Public Policy Strategist/Estratega de política pública
59	JIM HOFFMANN, Republican Teacher/Maestro
60	KEN HAMIDI, Libertarian State Tax Officer/Funcionario impositivo estatal
61	SARA ANN HANLON, Independent Businesswoman/Mujer de negocios
62	IVAN A. HALL, Green Custom Denture Manufacturer/Fabricante de dentaduras postizas a medida
63	JOHN J. "JACK" HICKEY, Libertarian Healthcare District Director/Director de distrito de atención de la salud
64	RALPH A. HERNANDEZ, Democratic District Attorney Inspector/Inspector de fiscalía
65	C. STEPHEN HENDERSON, Independent Teacher/Maestro
66	ARIANNA HUFFINGTON, Independent Author/Columnist/Mother/Escritora/columnista/madre
67	ART BROWN, Democratic Film Writer/Director/Guionista y director de cine
68	JOEL BRITTON, Independent Retired Meat Packer/Empacador de carne jubilado
69	AUDIE BOCK, Democratic Educator/Small Businesswoman/Educadora/propietaria de pequeña empresa
70	VIK S. BAJWA, Democratic Businessman/Father/Entrepreneur/Hombre de negocios/padre/empresario
71	BADI BADIOZAMANI, Independent Entrepreneur/Author/Executive/Empresario/escritor/ejecutivo
72	VIP BHOLA, Republican Attorney/Businessowner/Abogado/propietario de empresa
73	JOHN W. BEARD, Republican Businessman/Hombre de negocios
74	ED BEYER, Republican Chief Operations Officer/Funcionario principal de operaciones
75	JOHN CHRISTOPHER BURTON, Independent Civil Rights Lawyer/Abogado de derechos civiles
76	CRUZ M. BUSTAMANTE, Democratic Lieutenant Governor/Vicegobernador
77	CHERYL BLY-CHESTER, Republican Businesswoman/Environmental Engineer/Mujer de negocios/ingeniera ambiental
78	B.E. SMITH, Independent Lecturer/Conferencista

Candidate listing continues on next page /
La lista de candidatos continúa en la página siguiente →

1	27	53	79	105	131	157	183	209	235	261	287
2	28	54	80	106	132	158	184	210	236	262	288
3	29	55	81	107	133	159	185	211	237	263	289
4	30	56	82	108	134	160	186	212	238	264	290
5	31	57	83	109	135	161	187	213	239	265	291
6	32	58	84	110	136	162	188	214	240	266	292
7	33	59	85	111	137	163	189	215	241	267	293
8	34	60	86	112	138	164	190	216	242	268	294
9	35	61	87	113	139	165	191	217	243	269	295
10	36	62	88	114	140	166	192	218	244	270	296
11	37	63	89	115	141	167	193	219	245	271	297
12	38	64	90	116	142	168	194	220	246	272	298
13	39	65	91	117	143	169	195	221	247	273	299
14	40	66	92	118	144	170	196	222	248	274	300
15	41	67	93	119	145	171	197	223	249	275	301
16	42	68	94	120	146	172	198	224	250	276	302
17	43	69	95	121	147	173	199	225	251	277	303
18	44	70	96	122	148	174	200	226	252	278	304
19	45	71	97	123	149	175	201	227	253	279	305
20	46	72	98	124	150	176	202	228	254	280	306
21	47	73	99	125	151	177	203	229	255	281	307
22	48	74	100	126	152	178	204	230	256	282	308
23	49	75	101	127	153	179	205	231	257	283	309

- Design:
 - Exploit closeness on ballot
 - Exploit specific features of closeness
 - Exploit random variation in placement of candidates on the ballot (as in Ho-Imai)
- First evidence: Can this matter?
- If so, it should affect most minor party candidates



- Model:

- Share β_1 of voters meaning to vote for major candidate j vote for neighboring candidate i
- Estimate β_1 by comparing voting for i when close to j and when far from j
- Notice: The impact depends on vote share of j
- Specification:

$$VoteShare_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * VSAdjacent_j + Controls + \varepsilon$$

- Rich set of fixed effects, so identify off changes in order

Table 2: Primary Results

Dependent Variable: <i>Votes</i> share = (votes / total votes)×100	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Adjacent</i>	0.104** (0.018)		
<i>Adjacent</i> × <i>Schwarzenegger</i>		0.088** (0.025)	
<i>Adjacent</i> × <i>Bustamante</i>		0.143** (0.025)	
<i>Adjacent</i> × <i>McClintock</i>		0.107* (0.045)	
<i>Adjacent Dummy</i>			0.037** (0.006)
Observations	1,817,904	1,817,904	1,817,904
R-Squared	0.8676	0.8676	0.8676

- Results:

- 1 in 1,000 voters vote for adjacent candidate
- Difference in error rate by candidate (see below)
- Notice: Each candidate has 2.5 adjacent candidates → Total misvoting is 1 in 400 voters

- Interpretations:
 1. Limited Attention: Candidates near major candidate get reminded in my memory
 2. Trembling Hand: Pure error

- To distinguish, go back to structure of ballot.
 - Much more likely to fill-in the bubble on right side than on left side if (2)
 - No difference if (1)

Table 3: Robustness Checks

Dependent Variable: <i>Votes</i> share = (votes / total votes)×100	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Adjacent</i>	0.082** (0.027)			0.104** (0.018)	0.113** (0.018)	
<i>Adjacent Dummy</i>	0.010 (0.007)					
<i>Adjacent Dummy</i> × <i>CA Votes</i> share		0.112** (0.019)				
<i>North Adjacent</i>			0.082** (0.022)			0.082** (0.022)
<i>South Adjacent</i>			0.111** (0.033)			0.111** (0.033)
<i>East Adjacent</i>			0.143** (0.035)			
<i>West Adjacent</i>			0.038** (0.011)			
<i>Diagonally Adjacent</i>				0.002 (0.003)		
<i>Punchcard Adjacent</i>					0.030+ (0.018)	
<i>Horizontally Adjacent</i>						0.031** (0.008)
<i>Horizontally Adjacent</i> × <i>Confusing Side</i>						0.123** (0.038)
Observations	1,817,904	1,817,904	1,817,904	1,817,904	1,817,904	1,817,904
R-Squared	0.8676	0.8676	0.8677	0.8676	0.8677	0.8677

- Effect is mostly due to Trembling hand / Confusion
- Additional results:
 - Spill-over of votes larger for more confusing voting methods (such as punch-cards)

Table 7: Interactions with Voting Technology

Dependent Variable: <i>Voteshare</i> = (votes / total votes)×100	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Adjacent</i> × <i>punch card</i>	0.197** (0.020)	0.200** (0.019)		
<i>Adjacent</i> × <i>optical scan</i>	0.100** (0.020)	0.108** (0.019)		
<i>Adjacent</i> × <i>touch screen</i>	0.065** (0.016)	0.067** (0.015)		

- – Spill-over of votes larger for precincts with a larger share of lower-education demographics → more likely to make errors when faced with large number of option

Table 4: Overall Effect of Precinct Demographic Ch

Dependent Variable: <i>Votes</i> share = (votes / total votes)×100	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Adjacent</i>	0.6368** (0.1012)	0.0544** (0.0162)	0.3353** (0.0467)
<i>Adjacent × % HS Graduates</i>	-0.0062** (0.0013)		
<i>Adjacent × % College Graduates</i>	-0.0056** (0.0010)		

- This implies (small) aggregate effect: confusion has a different prevalence among the voters of different major candidates

- **Rashes (JF, 2001)** Similar issue of confusion for investor choice
- Two companies:
 - Major telephone company MCI (Ticker MCIC)
 - Small investment company (ticker MCI)
 - Investors may confuse them
 - MCIC is much bigger → this affects trading of company MCI

Summary Statistics

Daily return and volume information is shown for Massmutual Corporate Investors fund (MCI), MCI Communications (MCIC), and AT&T (T) for the sample period 11/21/94–11/13/97. The return for security j is expressed in percentages and defined as $\text{Log}[(P_{j,t+1} + D_{j,t+1})/P_{j,t}]$, where $P_{j,t}$ and $D_{j,t}$ are the price and dividend, respectively, for security j on day t .

	Mean (Return)	SD (Return)	Mean (Volume)	SD (Volume)	Mean (Price)
MCI	0.078	0.7136	4,155	4,497	36.14
MCIC	0.087	2.3645	4.154×10^6	4.713×10^6	28.07
T	0.055	1.6440	4.810×10^6	2.837×10^6	38.64

- Check correlation of volume (Table III)
 - High correlation
 - What if two stocks have similar underlying fundamentals?
 - No correlation of MCI with another telephone company (AT&T)

Table III
Daily Volume Correlation Coefficient Matrices

This table presents the correlation of daily volumes between Massmutual Corporate Investors fund (MCI), MCI Communications (MCIC), AT&T (T) and the New York Stock Exchange Composite Index (NYSE). The pairwise Pearson product-moment correlations are shown with the standard error of these coefficients in parentheses.

	MCI	MCIC	T	NYSE
Panel A: Sample Period 11/21/94–11/13/97				
MCI	1			
MCIC	0.5592 (0.0302)	1		
T	0.0291 (0.0364)	0.1566 (0.0360)	1	
NYSE	0.1162 (0.0362)	0.2817 (0.0350)	0.3397 (0.0343)	1

- Predict returns of smaller company with bigger company (Table IV)
- Returns Regression:

$$r_{MCI,t} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 r_{MCIC,t} + \beta X_t + \varepsilon_t$$

Constant	MCIC Return	(MCIC Return) * dummy (MCIC return <0)	T Return	S&P 500 Return	S&P Smallcap Return Residual	Lehman Long Bond Index Return	R^2
Panel A: Sample Period 11/22/94–11/13/97							
0.0956 (2.6223)				0.0372 (0.9370)	0.1011 (1.9233)	0.0932 (2.3438)	0.0286 0.0247
0.0954 (2.6243)	0.0862 (2.2779)			0.0128 (0.3128)	0.1068 (2.0356)	0.0905 (2.2818)	0.0353 0.0301
0.0957 (2.6306)	0.0851 (2.2430)		0.0171 (0.4190)	0.0052 (0.1166)	0.1077 (2.0501)	0.0907 (2.2862)	0.0355 0.0290
0.0721 (1.5202)	0.1205 (2.0557)	-0.0722 (-0.7664)		0.0149 (0.3630)	0.1070 (2.0375)	0.0913 (2.3015)	0.0360 0.0296

- Results:

- Positive correlation $\alpha_1 \rightarrow$ The swings in volume have some impact on prices.

- Difference between reaction to positive and negative news:

$$r_{MCI,t} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 r_{MCIC,t} + \alpha_2 r_{MCIC,t} * \mathbf{1}(r_{MCIC,t} < 0) + \beta X_t + \varepsilon_t$$

- Negative α_2 . Effect of arbitrage \rightarrow It is much easier to buy by mistake than to short a stock by mistake

- Size of confusion? Use relation in volume.

- We would like to know the result (as in Luttmer-Shue) of

$$V_{MCI,t} = \alpha + \beta V_{MCIC,t} + \varepsilon_t$$

- Remember: $\beta = Cov(V_{MCI,t}, V_{MCIC,t}) / Var(V_{MCIC,t})$
- We know (Table I)

$$\begin{aligned}
 .5595 &= \rho_{MCI,MCIC} = \frac{Cov(V_{MCI,t}, V_{MCIC,t})}{\sqrt{Var(V_{MCI,t})Var(V_{MCIC,t})}} = \\
 &= \beta * \frac{\sqrt{Var(V_{MCIC,t})}}{\sqrt{Var(V_{MCI,t})}}
 \end{aligned}$$

- Hence, $\beta = .5595 * \sqrt{Var(V_{MCI,t})} / \sqrt{Var(V_{MCIC,t})} = .5595 * 10^{-3} = 5 * 10^{-4}$
- However, since trades for MCIC are on average ten times larger, and the error is by trade, the error rate is approximately $5 * 10^{-3}$, that is, 1 in 200

- Conclusion

- Deviation from standard model: confusion.
- Can have an aggregate impact, albeit a small one
- Can be moderately large for error from common choice to rare choice
- Other applications: eBay bidding on misspelled names (find cheaper items when looking for 'shavre' [shaver] or 'tyo' [toy])

2 Framing

- Tenet of psychology: context and framing matter
- Classical example (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981 in version of Rabin and Weizsäcker, forthcoming): Subjects asked to consider a pair of '*concurrent decisions*. [...]'
 - **Decision 1.** Choose between: A. a sure gain of €2.40 and B. a 25% chance to gain €10.00 and a 75% chance to gain €0.00.
 - **Decision 2.** Choose between: C. a sure loss of €7.50 and D. a 75% chance to lose €10.00 and a 25% chance to lose €0.00.'
 - Of 53 participants playing for money, 49 percent chooses A over B and 68 percent chooses D over C

- 28 percent of the subjects chooses the combination of A and D
 - * This lottery is a 75% chance to lose £7.60 and a 25% chance to gain £2.40
 - * Dominated by combined lottery of B and C: 75% chance to lose £7.50 and a 25% chance to gain £2.50
- Separate group of 45 subjects presented same choice in broad framing (they are shown the distribution of outcomes induced by the four options)
 - * None of these subjects chooses the A and D combination

- Interpret this with reference-dependent utility function with narrow framing.
 - Approximately risk-neutral over gains \rightarrow 49 percent choosing A over B
 - Risk-seeking over losses \rightarrow 68 percent choosing D over C.
 - Key point: Individuals accept the framing induced by the experimenter and do not aggregate the lotteries
- General feature of human decisions:
 - judgments are comparative
 - changes in the framing can affect a decision if they change the nature of the comparison

- Presentation format can affect preferences even aside from reference points
- **Benartzi and Thaler (2002): Impact on savings plan choices:**
 - Survey 157 UCLA employees participating in a 403(b) plan
 - Ask them to rate three plans (labelled plans A, B, and C):
 - * Their own portfolio
 - * Average portfolio
 - * Median portfolio
 - For each portfolio, employees see the 5th, 50th, and 95th percentile of the projected retirement income from the portfolio (using Financial Engines retirement calculator)

- Revealed preferences → expect individuals on average to prefer their own plan to the other plans

- Results:
 - Own portfolio rating (3.07)
 - Average portfolio rating (3.05)
 - Median portfolio rating (3.86)
 - 62 percent of employees give higher rating to median portfolio than to own portfolio

- Key component: Re-framing the decision in terms of ultimate outcomes affects preferences substantially

- Alternative interpretation: Employees never considered the median portfolio in their retirement savings decision → would have chosen it had it been offered
- Survey 351 participants in a different retirement plan
 - These employees were explicitly offered a customized portfolio and actively opted out of it
 - Rate:
 - * Own portfolio
 - * Average portfolio
 - * Customized portfolio
 - Portfolios re-framed in terms of ultimate income

- 61 percent of employees prefers customized portfolio to own portfolio
- Choice of retirement savings depends on format of the choices presented
- Open question: Why this *particular* framing effect?
- Presumably because of fees:
 - Consumers put too little weight on factors that determine ultimate returns, such as fees → Unless they are shown the ultimate projected returns
 - Or consumers do not appreciate the riskiness of their investments → Unless they are shown returns

- Framing also can focus attention on different aspects of the options
- **Duflo, Gale, Liebman, Orszag, and Saez (2006):** Field Experiment with H&R Block
 - Examine participation in IRAs for low- and middle-income households
 - Estimate impact of a match
- Field experiment:
 - Random sub-sample of H&R Block customers are offered one of 3 options:
 - * No match
 - * 20 percent match
 - * 50 percent match

- Match refers to first \$1,000 contributed to an IRA
- Effect on take-up rate:
 - * No match (2.9 percent)
 - * 20 percent match (7.7 percent)
 - * 50 percent match (14.0 percent)
- Match rates have substantial impact

- Framing aspect: Compare response to explicit match to response to a comparable match induced by tax credits in the Saver's Tax Credit program
 - Effective match rate for IRA contributions decreases from 100 percent to 25 percent at the \$30,000 household income threshold
 - Compare IRA participation for
 - * Households slightly below the threshold (\$27,500-\$30,000)
 - * Households slight above the threshold (\$30,000-\$32,500)
 - Estimate difference-in-difference relative to households in the same income groups that are ineligible for program
 - Result: Difference in match rate lowers contributions by only 1.3 percentage points → Much smaller than in H&R Block field experiment
- Why framing difference? Simplicity of H&R Block match → Attention
- Implication: Consider behavioral factors in design of public policy

3 Persuasion

- Stylized fact. In similar places people take actions
 - number of hours worked
 - effort at workplace
 - grades in school
- Problem:
 - Could be selection of similar people into similar situations
 - Could be common shock

- Peer effect literature → Use random assignment to identify impact:
 - **Sacerdote (QJE, 2001)** – peer effects between Dartmouth undergrads. Small effect on grades
 - **Kremer and Levy (2002)** – peer effects among college student from alcohol use
 - (Number of other papers – many find no peer effects)
- Next problem: What determines similarity of actions?
 - Social learning?
 - Social Pressure? (distaste for social disapproval coming from doing different things form social group)
 - Persuasion?

- Social Pressure and Persuasion: Change in opinion/action beyond prediction of Bayesian model
- **Persuasion:** One person (or source) attempts to convince with words/images to take an action
- **Social Pressure:** Presence of public exerts pressure to take an action
- (Hard to do since Bayesian model very flexible)
- Non-rational Persuasion can occur for variety of reasons
 - Non-Bayesian updating
 - Effect of Emotions (Advertisement)
 - Neglect of incentives of person presenting information

- **Cain-Loewenstein-Moore (JLegalStudies, 2005).** Psychology Experiment
 - Pay subjects for precision of estimates of number of coins in a jar
 - Have to rely on the advice of second group of subjects: advisors
 - (Advisors inspect jar from close)
 - Two experimental treatments:
 - * *Aligned incentives.* Advisors paid for closeness of subjects' guess
 - * *Mis-Aligned incentives, Common knowledge.* Advisors paid for how high the subjects' guess is. Incentive common-knowledge
 - * *(Mis-Aligned incentives, Not Common knowledge.)*

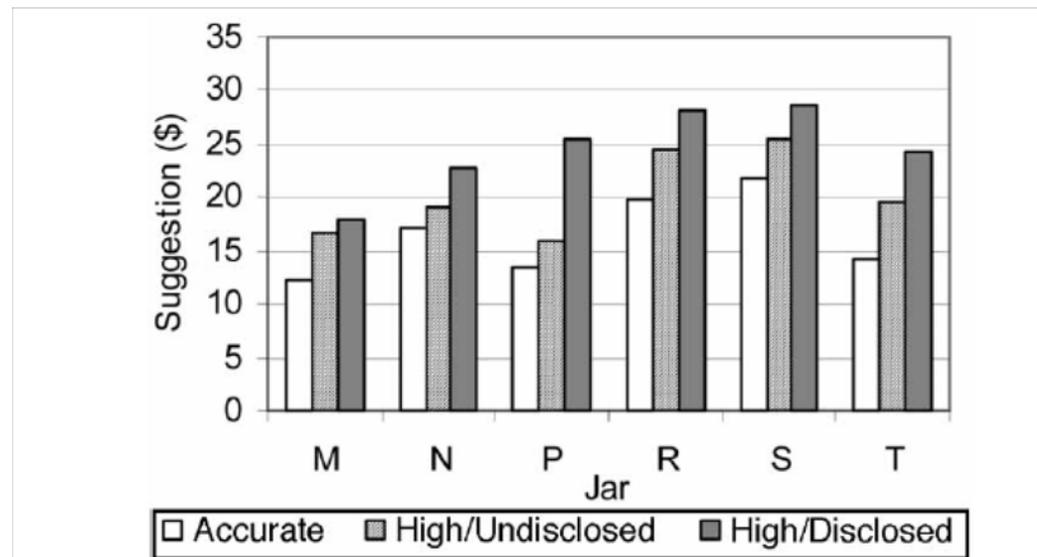
Table 1. Payoff Function for Advisors in Accurate Condition and for All Estimators

Range of Estimator's Estimate from True Value (\$)	Payoff (\$)
.00-.50	5.00
.51-1.00	4.50
1.01-1.50	4.00
1.51-2.00	3.50
2.01-2.50	3.00
2.51-3.00	2.50
3.01-3.50	2.00
3.51-4.00	1.50
4.01-4.50	1.00
4.51-5.00	.50

Table 2. Advisors' Payoff Function in Conflict-of-Interest Conditions

Range of Estimator's Estimate above True Value (\$)	Payoff (\$)
.50-1.00	1.00
1.01-1.50	1.90
1.51-2.00	2.70
2.01-2.50	3.40
2.51-3.00	4.00
3.01-3.50	4.50
3.51-4.00	4.90
4.01-4.50	5.20
4.51-5.00	5.40
5.01 +	5.50

- Result 1: Advisors increase estimate in *Mis-Aligned incentives* treatment — Even more so when common knowledge



- Result 2. Estimate of subjects is higher in Treatment with *Mis-Aligned incentives*

Table 6. Estimator Estimates of Jar Values

	Accurate (<i>N</i> = 27)	High/Undisclosed (<i>N</i> = 26)	High/Disclosed (<i>N</i> = 27)	Significance of Advisor Incentives (<i>p</i>) (Accurate versus High Conditions)	Significance of Disclosure (<i>p</i>) (Conflict-of-Interest Conditions)
Estimator estimate	14.21 (2.20)	16.81 (3.56)	18.14 (5.00)	<.001	.19
Estimator absolute error	5.25 (1.58)	5.14 (1.31)	6.69 (2.44)	<.363	<.01

- Subjects do not take sufficiently into account incentives of information provider
- Effect even stronger when incentives are known → Advisors feel free(er) to increase estimate
- Applications to many settings

- Application 1: **Malmendier-Shantikumar (JFE, forthcoming)**.
 - Field evidence that small investors suffer from similar bias
 - Examine recommendations by analysts to investors
 - Substantial upward distortion in recommendations (Buy=Sell, Hold=Sell, etc)

Panel A: Entire Sample	Sample size	Percentage within category				
		Strong Sell	Sell	Hold	Buy	Strong Buy
All	121,130	1.72	2.86	36.84	32.90	25.67
Unaffiliated	112,664	1.79	2.96	37.68	32.40	25.17

- Higher distortion for analysis working in Inv. Bank affiliated with company they cover (through IPO/SEO)

- Question: Do investors discount this bias?
 - Analyze Trade Imbalance (essentially, whether trade is initiated by Buyer)
 - Assume that
 - * large investors do large trades
 - * small investors do small trades
 - See how small and large investors respond to recommendations
- Examine separately for affiliated and unaffiliated analysts

All Recommendations

	Large Trade	Small Trade	Difference S-L
Strong Sell	-0.103 (0.040)	-0.105 (0.050)	-0.002 (0.064)
Sell	-0.118 (0.034)	-0.139 (0.046)	-0.021 (0.057)
Hold	-0.091 (0.011)	0.007 (0.014)	0.099 (0.018)
Buy	0.011 (0.012)	0.134 (0.013)	0.123 (0.017)
Strong Buy	0.112 (0.013)	0.243 (0.014)	0.131 (0.019)
(Strong Sell)*Affiliation	-0.196 (0.255)	-0.838 (0.331)	-0.643 (0.418)
(Sell)*Affiliation	0.094 (0.254)	-0.087 (0.272)	-0.180 (0.372)
(Hold)*Affiliation	-0.001 (0.044)	0.005 (0.056)	0.006 (0.072)
(Buy)*Affiliation	-0.068 (0.034)	0.013 (0.039)	0.081 (0.052)
(Strong Buy)*Affiliation	-0.129 (0.036)	-0.023 (0.041)	0.106 (0.055)
Sample size	86,961	86,961	
R ²	0.0034	0.0085	

- Results:
 - Small investor takes analyst recommendations literally (buy Buys, sell Sells)
 - Large investors discount for bias (hold Buys, sell Holds)
 - Difference is particularly large for affiliated analysts
 - Small investors do not respond to affiliation information

- Strong evidence of distortion induced by incentives

- Application 2: **DellaVigna-Kaplan (QJE, 2007)**
- Entry of new, more conservative media: Fox News
- Scenario 1:
 1. Sophistication. Invert media bias (Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2005)
 2. Sorting. Listen to media confirming priors
 - Media bias has no effect on behavior
- Scenario 2:
 1. Credulous audience (Cain, Loewenstein, and Moore, 2005) and small investors (Malmendier and Shantikumar, 2005)
 2. Persuasion bias (De Marzo et al., 2003)
 - Media bias has systematic effect on behavior

- Fox News natural experiment

1. Fast expansion of Fox News in cable markets

- October 1996: Launch of 24-hour cable channel
- June 2000: 17 percent of US population listens regularly to Fox News (Scarborough Research, 2000)

2. Geographical differentiation in expansion

- Cable markets: Town-level variation in exposure to Fox News
- 9,256 towns with variation even within a county

3. Conservative content

- Unique right-wing TV channel (Groseclose and Milyo, 2004)

- Setting

1. **New media source** with unknown bias β , with $\beta \sim N\left(\beta_0, \frac{1}{\gamma_\beta}\right)$
2. Media observes (differential) quality of Republican politician, $\theta_t \sim N\left(0, \frac{1}{\gamma_\theta}\right)$, i.i.d., in periods $1, 2, \dots, T$
3. **Media broadcast:** $\psi_t = \theta_t + \beta$. Positive β implies pro-Republican media bias
4. **Voting in period T .** Voters vote Republican if $\hat{\theta}_T + \alpha > 0$, with α ideological preference

- Signal extraction problem. New media (Fox News) says Republican politician (George W. Bush) is great
 - Is Bush great?
 - Or is Fox News pro-Republican?
- A bit of both, the audience thinks. Updated media bias after T periods:

$$\hat{\beta}_T = \frac{\gamma_\beta \beta_0 + T \gamma_\theta \bar{\psi}_T}{\gamma_\beta + T \gamma_\theta}.$$

- Estimated quality of Republican politician:

$$\hat{\theta}_T = \frac{\gamma_\theta * \mathbf{0} + W [\psi_T - \hat{\beta}_T]}{\gamma_\theta + W} = \frac{W [\psi_T - \hat{\beta}_T]}{\gamma_\theta + W}$$

- **Persuasion.** Voter with persuasion λ ($0 \leq \lambda \leq 1$) does not take into account enough media bias:

$$\hat{\theta}_T^\lambda = \frac{W^\lambda[\psi_T - (1 - \lambda)\hat{\beta}_T]}{\gamma_\theta + W^\lambda}$$

- Vote share for Republican candidate. $P(\alpha + \hat{\theta}_T^\lambda \geq 0) = 1 - F(-\hat{\theta}_T^\lambda)$

- **Proposition 1.** Three results:

1. **Short-Run I:** *Republican media bias increases Republican vote share:*
 $\partial[1 - F(-\hat{\theta}_T^\lambda)]/\partial\beta > 0$.
2. **Short-Run II:** *Media bias effect higher if persuasion ($\lambda > 0$).*
3. **Long-run** ($T \rightarrow \infty$). *Media bias effect \iff persuasion $\lambda > 0$.*

- Intuition.

- Fox News enthusiastic of Bush
- Audience updates beliefs: “This Bush must be really good” (**Short-Run I**)
- Believe media more if credulous or persuadable (**Short-Run II**)
- But: Fox News enthusiastic also of Karl Rove, Rick Lazio, Bill Frist
—> “They cannot be all good!”
- Make inference that Fox News is biased, stop believing it
- Fox News influences only individuals subject to persuasion (**Long-Run**)

- Empirical Results

- **Selection.** In which towns does Fox News select? (Table 3):

$$d_{k,2000}^{FOX} = \alpha + \beta v_{k,1996}^{R,Pres} + \beta Contr_{k,1996}^R + \Gamma_{2000} X_{k,2000} + \Gamma_{00-90} X_{k,00-90} + \Gamma_{CC} C_{k,2000} + \varepsilon_k.$$

- Controls X

- Cable controls (Number of channels and potential subscribers)
- US House district or county fixed effects

- Conditional on X , Fox News availability is orthogonal to

- political variables
- demographic variables

TABLE III
DETERMINANTS OF FOX NEWS AVAILABILITY, LINEAR PROBABILITY MODEL

Dep. var.	Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Pres. republican vote share in 1996	0.1436 (0.1549)	0.6363 (0.2101)***	0.3902 (0.1566)**	-0.0343 (0.0937)	-0.0442 (0.1024)
Pres. log turnout in 1996	0.1101 (0.0557)**	0.0909 (0.0348)***	0.0656 (0.0278)**	0.0139 (0.0124)	-0.0053 (0.0173)
Pres. Rep. vote share change 1998-1992					
Control variables					
Census controls: 1990 and 2000	—	X	X	X	X
Cable system controls	—	—	X	X	X
U. S. House district fixed effects	—	—	—	X	—
County fixed effects	—	—	—	—	X
<i>F</i> -test: Census controls = 0		<i>F</i> = 3.54***	<i>F</i> = 2.73***	<i>F</i> = 1.11	<i>F</i> = 1.28
<i>F</i> -test: Cable controls = 0			<i>F</i> = 18.08***	<i>F</i> = 21.09***	<i>F</i> = 18.61***
<i>R</i> ²	0.0281	0.0902	0.4093	0.6698	0.7683
<i>N</i>	<i>N</i> = 9,256	<i>N</i> = 9,256	<i>N</i> = 9,256	<i>N</i> = 9,256	<i>N</i> = 9,256

- **Baseline effect – Presidential races**

- *Effect on Presidential Republican vote share (Table 4):*

$$v_{k,2000}^{R,Pres} - v_{k,1996}^{R,Pres} = \alpha + \beta_F d_{k,2000}^{FOX} + \Gamma_{2000} X_{k,2000} + \Gamma_{00-90} X_{k,00-90} + \Gamma_C C_{k,2000} + \varepsilon_k.$$

- Results:

- Significant effect of Fox News with district (Column 3) and county fixed effects (Column 4)
- .4-.7 percentage point effect on Republican vote share in Pres. elections
- Similar effect on Senate elections → Effect is on ideology, not person-specific
- Effect on turnout

TABLE IV
THE EFFECT OF FOX NEWS ON THE 2000–1996 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE SHARE CHANGE

Dep. var.	Republican two-party vote share change between 2000 and 1996				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000	-0.0025 (0.0037)	0.0027 (0.0024)	0.008 (0.0026)***	0.0042 (0.0015)***	0.0069 (0.0014)***
Pres. Rep. vote share change 1988–1992					
Constant	0.0347 (0.0017)***	-0.028 (0.0245)	-0.0255 (0.0236)	0.0116 (0.0154)	0.0253 (0.0185)
Control variables					
Census controls: 1990 and 2000	—	X	X	X	X
Cable system controls	—	—	X	X	X
U. S. House district fixed effects	—	—	—	X	—
County fixed effects	—	—	—	—	X
R^2	0.0007	0.5207	0.5573	0.7533	0.8119
N	$N = 9,256$	$N = 9,256$	$N = 9,256$	$N = 9,256$	$N = 9,256$

- Magnitude of effect: How do we generalize beyond Fox News?
- Estimate audience of Fox News in towns that have Fox News via cable (First stage)
 - Use Scarborough micro data on audience with Zip code of respondent
 - Fox News exposure via cable increases regular audience by 6 to 10 percentage points
 - How many people did Fox News convince?
 - Heuristic answer: Divide effect on voting (.4-.6 percentage point) by audience measure (.6 to .10)
- Result: Fox News convinced 3 to 8 percent of audience (Recall measure) or 11 to 28 percent (Diary measure)

- Substantial persuasion rates
- Assume 100 percent exposure → Change voting behavior for 3-28 percent of population
- Ownership of the media matters!
- Interpretations:
 - Non-rational persuasion
 - Rational short-term learning (Fox News had information specific to Bush)
- Future research should disentangle channels

4 Social Pressure

- Clear example of social pressure without social learning
- *Milgram experiment*: post-WWII
- Motivation: Do Germans yield to pressure more than others?
 - Subjects: Adult males in US
 - Recruitment: experiment on punishment and memory
 - Roles:
 - * teacher (subjects)
 - * learner (accomplice)

- Teacher asks questions
- Teacher administers shock for each wrong answer
- Initial shock: 15V
- Increase amount up to 450V (not deadly, but very painful)
- Learner visible through glass (or audible)
- Learner visibly suffers and complains

- Results:
 - 62% subjects reach 450V
 - Subjects regret what they did ex post
 - When people asked to predict behavior, almost no one predicts escalation to 450V

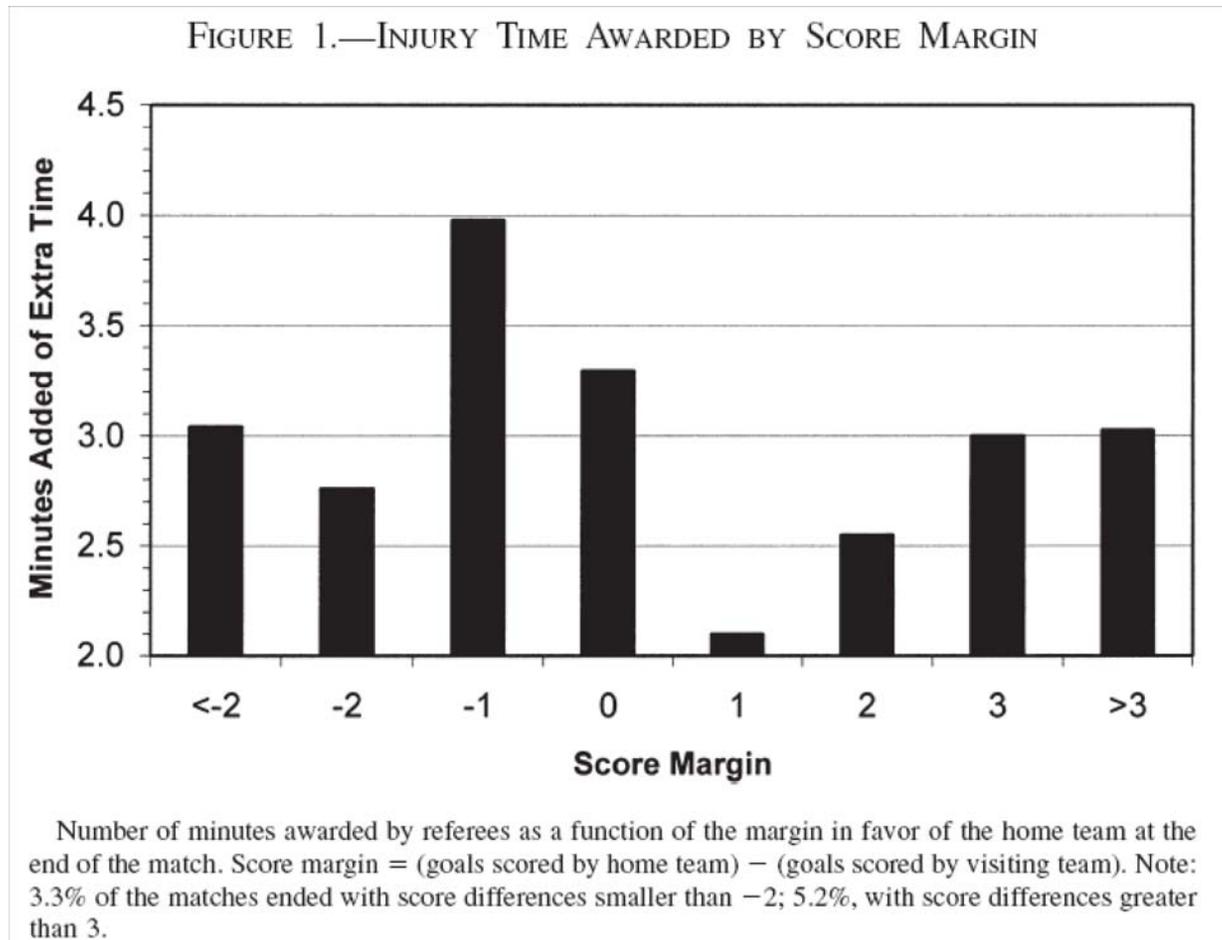
- It's not the Germans (or Italians)! Most people yield to social pressure
- Furthermore, naivete' — Do not anticipate giving in to social pressure
- Social Pressure likely to be important in organization and public events

- Second classical psychology experiment: Asch (1951)
 - Subjects are shown two large white cards with lines drawn on them
 - * First card has three lines of substantially differing length on them
 - * Second card has only one line.
 - Subjects are asked which of the lines in the second card is closest in length to the line in the first card
- Control treatment: subjects perform the task in isolation → 98 percent accuracy
- High social-pressure treatment: subjects choose after 4 to 8 subjects (confederates) unanimously choose the wrong answer → Over a third of subjects give wrong answer

- Social Pressure Interpretation:
 - Avoid disagreeing with unanimous judgment of the other participants
 - Result disappears if confederates are not unanimous
- Alternative interpretation: Social learning about the rules of the experiment
- Limitation: subjects not paid for accuracy

- An example of social pressure in a public event
- **Garicano, Palacios-Huerta, and Prendergast (REStat, 2006)**
 - Soccer games in Spanish league
 - Injury time at end of each game (0 to 5 min.)
 - Make up for interruptions of game
 - Injury time: last chance to change results for teams
- Social Pressure Hypothesis: Do referees provide more injury time when it benefits more the home team?
 - Yielding to social pressure of public
 - No social learning plausible
 - Note: referees professionals, are paid to be independent

- Results: Figure 1 – Clear pattern, very large effects



- Table 5. Response to incentives → After 1994, 3 points for winning (1 for drawing, 0 for losing).

TABLE 5.—MARGINAL EFFECT OF INCENTIVES ON INJURY TIME

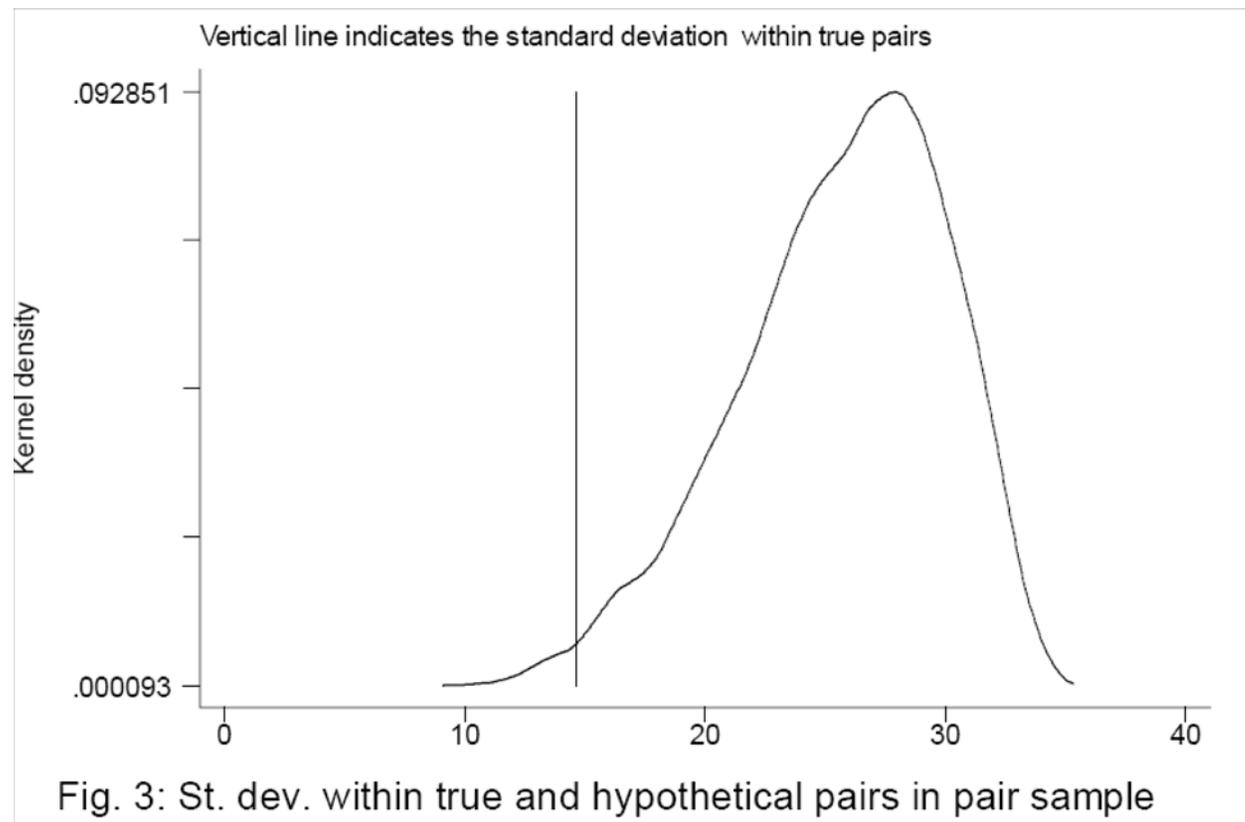
Statistic	[1]	[2]
<i>Constant</i>	3.50** (0.14)	3.11** (0.32)
<i>Score Difference</i>	-1.53** (0.18)	-1.56** (0.18)
<i>Year Effect</i>	0.81** (0.18)	0.7** (0.21)
<i>Year × Score Difference</i>	-0.58* (0.23)	-0.52* (0.23)
<i>Yellow Cards</i>		0.07** (0.02)

- Table 6. Response to social pressure: size of audience

TABLE 6.—EFFECT OF THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE CROWD ON REFEREE BI		
Statistic	[1]	[2]
<i>Constant</i>	3.23** (0.18)	2.94** (0.20)
<i>Score Difference</i>	-0.93** (0.20)	-0.96** (0.21)
<i>Year Effect</i>	0.36** (0.11)	0.33** (0.11)
<i>Attendance</i>	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
<i>Attendance × Score Difference</i>	-0.02** (0.00)	-0.02** (0.00)
<i>Yellow Cards</i>		0.07** (0.02)
<i>Budget Home</i>		

- *Peer effect* literature also points to social pressure
- **Falk-Ichino (JOLE, 2006)**: effect of peer pressure on task performance
 - Recruit High-school students in Switzerland to perform one-time job for flat payment
 - Stuff letters into envelopes for 4 hours
 - Control group of 8 students did the task individually
 - Treatment group of 16 students worked in pairs (but each student was instructed to stuff the envelopes individually)
- Results:
 - Students in treatment group stuffed more envelopes (221 vs. 190)

- Students in treatment group coordinated the effort within group: within-pair standard-deviation of output is significantly less than the (simulated) between-pairs standard deviation



- **Mas-Moretti (AER, forthcoming)**. Evidence of response to social pressure in the workplace
 - Workplace setting → Large retail chain
 - Very accurate measure of productivity, scanning rate
 - Social Pressure: Are others observing the employer?

- Slides courtesy of Enrico

Introduction

- We use internal scanner data from a supermarket chain to obtain a high-frequency measure of productivity of checkers
- Over a two year period, we observe each item scanned by each worker in each transaction. We define individual effort as the number of items scanned per second.
- We estimate how individual effort changes in response to changes in the average productivity of co-workers

Introduction

- Over the course of a given day, the composition of the group of co-workers varies, because workers shifts do not perfectly overlap
- Scheduling is determined two weeks prior to a shift
=> within-day timing of entry and exit of workers is predetermined
- Empirically, entry and exit of good workers appear uncorrelated with demand shocks:
 - The entry of fast workers is not concentrated in the ten minutes prior to large increases in customer volume, as would be the case if managers could anticipate demand changes
 - The exit of fast workers is not concentrated in the ten minutes prior to large declines in customer volume
 - The mix of co-workers ten minutes into the future has no effect on individual productivity in the current period.

Data

- We observe all the transactions that take place for 2 years in 6 stores. For each transaction, we observe the number of items scanned, and the length of the transaction in seconds.
- We define individual productivity as the number of items scanned per second.
- We know who is working at any moment in time, where, and whom they are facing
- Unlike much of the previous literature, our measure of productivity is precise, worker-specific and varies with high-frequency.

Institutional features

- Workers in our sample perform the same task use the same technology, and are subject to the same incentives
- Workers are unionized
- Compensation is a fixed hourly payment
- Firm gives substantial scheduling flexibility to the workers

What is the relationship between individual effort and co-worker permanent productivity?

- First we measure the *permanent* component of productivity of each worker

$$y_{itcs} = \theta_i + \sum_{j \neq i} \pi_j W_{jtcs} + \psi X_{itcs} + \gamma_{dhs} + \lambda_{cs} + e_{itcs}.$$

For each worker i , 10 minute period and store, we average the permanent productivity of all the co-workers (excluding i) who are active in that period: $\Delta \bar{\theta}_{-ist}$

- Second, we regress ten minutes *changes* in individual productivity on *changes* in average permanent productivity of co-workers

Finding 1: There is a positive association between changes in co-worker permanent productivity and changes in individual effort

	(1)	(2)
Δ Co-worker permanent Productivity	0.176 (0.023)	0.159 (0.023)
Controls	No	Yes

$$\Delta y_{itcs} = \beta \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-ist} + \gamma_{tds} + \psi \Delta X_{tcs} + e_{itcs}$$

i = individual

t = 10 minute time interval

c = calendar date

s = store

Finding 1: There is a positive association between changes in co-worker permanent productivity and changes in individual productivity

Entry of above average productivity worker	0.011 (0.001)	
Exit of an above average productivity worker	-0.005 (0.001)	
Shift entry of above average productivity worker		0.006 (0.002)
Shift exit of an above average productivity worker		-0.006 (0.002)
Controls	Yes	Yes

Finding 2: The magnitude of the spillover effect varies dramatically depending on the skill level

	(2)	(3)
Δ Co-worker permanent productivity	0.159 (0.023)	0.261 (0.033)
Δ Co-worker permanent prod. × Above average worker		-0.214 (0.046)
Observations	1,734,140	1,734,140
Controls	Yes	Yes

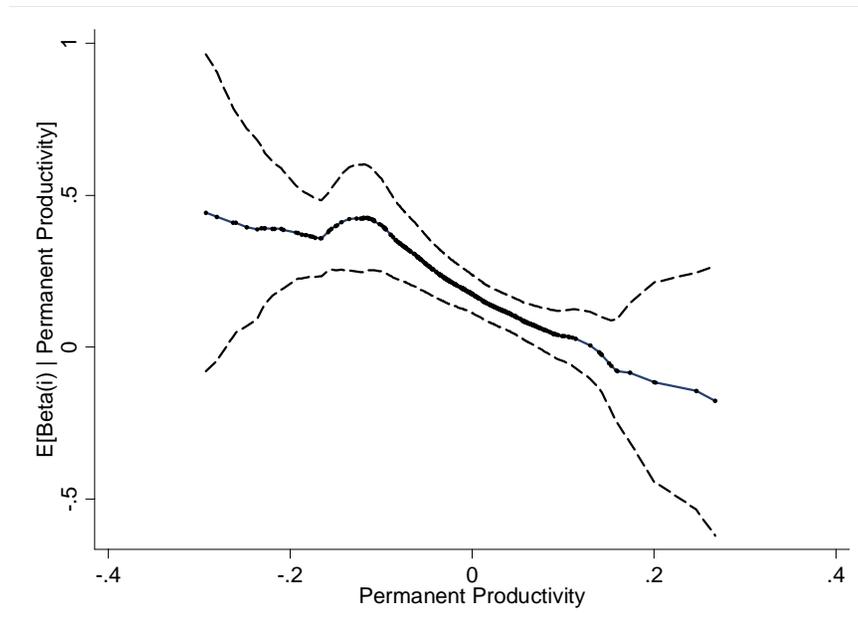
$$\Delta y_{itcs} = \beta \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-ist} + \gamma_{tds} + \psi \Delta X_{tcs} + e_{itcs}$$

Individual-specific Spillover

- Our longitudinal data allow for models with an individual-specific spillover effect, β_i :

$$\Delta y_{itcs} = \beta_i \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-ictcs} + \psi \Delta X_{tcs} + \gamma_{tds} + e_{itcs}$$

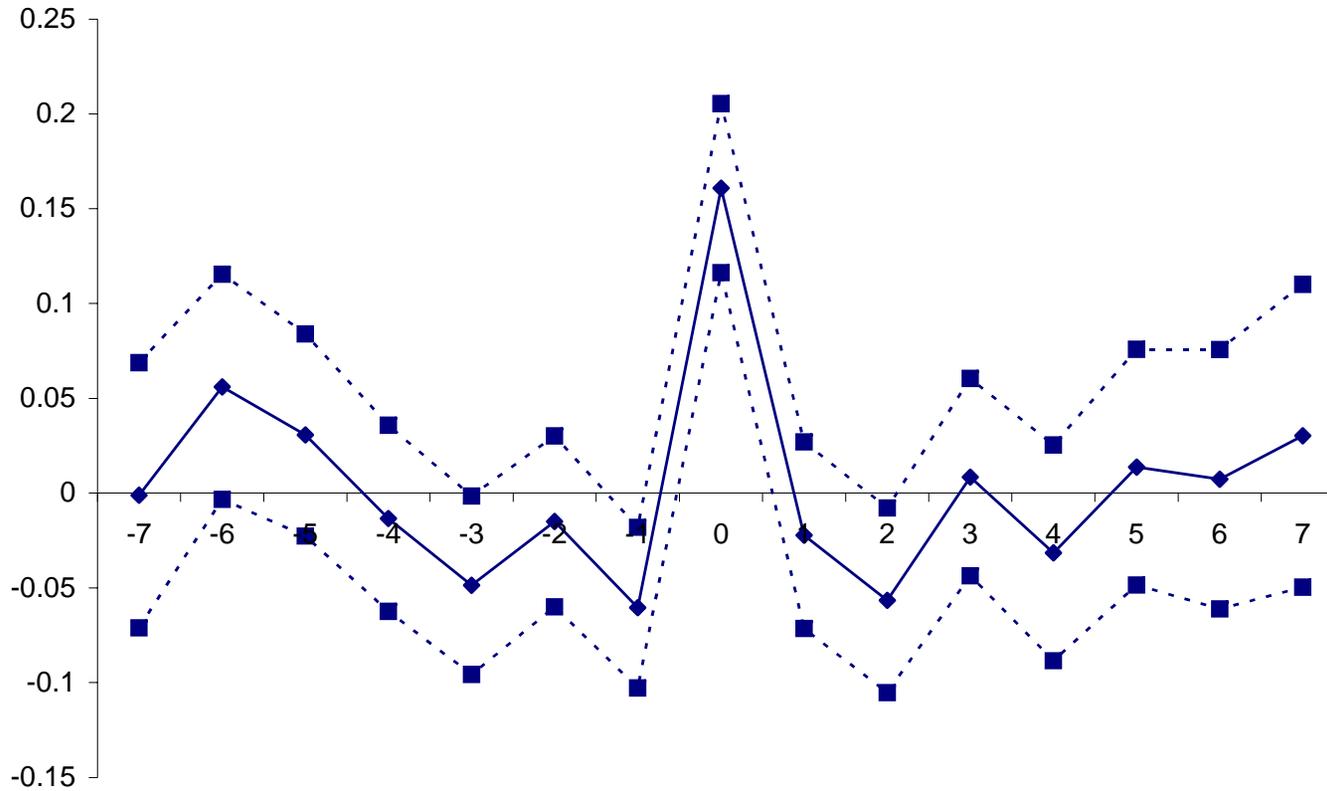
The relationship between individual permanent productivity and worker specific spillover effect



What Determines Variation in Co-Workers Quality?

- Shifts are pre-determined
- Management has no role in selecting specific workers for shifts
- We measure co-workers productivity using permanent productivity (not current)
- Our models are in first differences: We use variation within a day and within a worker

The lags and leads for the effect of changes of average co-worker productivity on reference worker productivity



$$\begin{aligned} \Delta y_{itcs} = & \beta_{-7} \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t-7)cs} + \beta_{-6} \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t-6)cs} + \beta_{-5} \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t-5)cs} + \beta_{-4} \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t-4)cs} + \beta_{-3} \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t-3)cs} + \beta_{-2} \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t-2)cs} \\ & + \beta_{-1} \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t-1)cs} + \beta_0 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t)cs} + \beta_1 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t+1)cs} + \beta_2 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t+2)cs} + \beta_3 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t+3)cs} + \beta_4 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t+4)cs} + \beta_5 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t+5)cs} \\ & + \beta_6 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t+6)cs} + \beta_7 \Delta \bar{\theta}_{-i(t+7)cs} + \zeta \mathbf{M} + e_{itcs} \end{aligned}$$

What explains spillovers?

- There are at least two possible explanations (Kendal and Lazear, 1992)
 - Guilt / Contagious enthusiasm
 - Social pressure (“I care what my co-workers think about me”)
- We use the spatial distribution of register to help distinguish between mechanisms
 - Guilt / Contagious enthusiasm implies that the spillover generate by the entry of a new worker should be larger for those workers who can observe the entering worker
 - Social pressure implies that the spillover generate by the entry of a new worker should be larger for those workers who who are observed by the new worker

Finding 3

- Most of the peer effect operates through changes in workers that are able to monitor other workers
- As more productive workers are introduced into a shift, they influence only the co-workers that can be monitored. There is no effect on co-workers that can not be monitored.
- This finding is consistent with social pressure

Finding 3

- Moreover, the addition of a worker behind an incumbent worker, regardless of her productivity, results in increased productivity of the incumbent worker.
- The addition of a worker in front, on the other hand, *decreases* productivity of the incumbent worker.
- This finding suggests that there is still scope for free-riding, but only when the free-riding is difficult to observe by other workers.

Table 5: Models by spatial orientation and proximity

	(1)	(3)
Δ Co-worker permanent productivity behind	0.233 (0.019)	
Δ Co-worker permanent productivity in front	0.007 (0.018)	
Δ Co-worker permanent productivity behind & closer		0.162 (0.016)
Δ Co-worker permanent productivity in front & closer		0.016 (0.015)
Δ Co-worker permanent productivity behind & farther		0.100 (0.018)
Δ Co-worker permanent productivity in front & farther		0.003 (0.018)

Previous scheduling overlap

- If social pressure is the explanation, the spillover effect between two workers should also vary as a function of the amount of interactions
- If a worker does not overlap often with somebody on a given shift, she may not be as receptive to social pressure because there is not much of a repeated component to the social interaction.
- It is more difficult to exert social pressure on individuals that we meet rarely than individuals that we see every day.

Frequency of Interactions

- Suppose a shift has checkers A, B, and C. We calculate the percent of A's 10 minute intervals that have overlapped with B and C up to the time of the current shift. We do this for all checkers and all shifts.
- We then compute the average permanent productivity for checkers that are between 0% and 5% overlap, 5% and 20% overlap, and 20% to 100% overlap.

Previous scheduling overlap

	(1)
(I) Δ Co-worker permanent prod: low exposure	0.013 (0.012)
(II) Δ Co-worker permanent prod: medium exposure	0.084 (0.014)
(III) Δ Co-worker permanent prod: high exposure	0.075 (0.017)
p-value: Ho: (I) = (II)	0.000
Ho: (I) = (III)	0.003
Ho: (II) = (III)	0.655
Observations	1,659,450

Conclusion

- The theoretical effect of a change in the mix of co-workers can be either positive (peer effects) or negative (free riding).
- FINDING 1
 - the net effect is on average positive
- FINDING 2
 - There is substantial heterogeneity in this effect.
 - Low productivity workers benefit from the spillover substantially more than high productivity workers.

Conclusions

- FINDING 3

- Social pressure enforced by monitoring explains these peer effects
- When more productive workers arrive into shifts, they induce a productivity increase only in workers that are in their line-of-vision.
- The effect appears to decline with distance between registers

- FINDING 4

- Optimally choosing the worker mix can lower the firm's wage bill by about \$2.5 million per year
- This does not imply that the firm is not profit maximizing

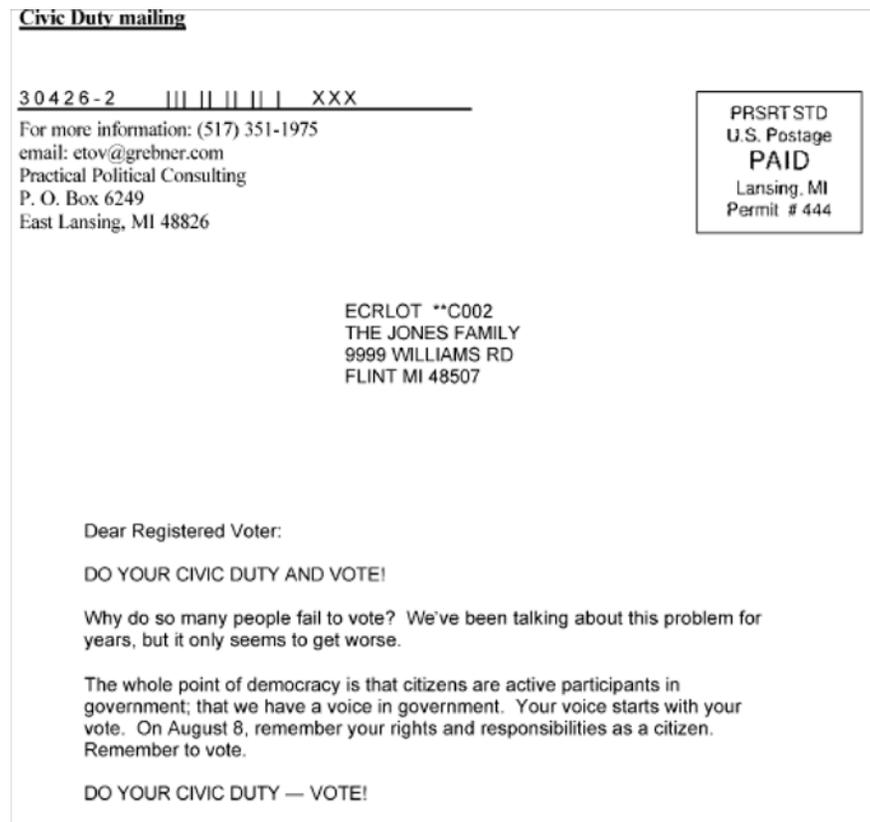
- Final Example: Effect of Social Pressure on Voting

- Large literature of field experiments to impact voter turnout
- Typical design: Day before (local) election reach treatment household and encourage them to vote
- Some classical examples

Paper	Treatment (1)	Election type or question (2)	Variable t (3)	Year (4)	Place (5)	Sample size (6)	Control group t_T (7)	Treatment group t_C (8)	Exposure rate $e_T - e_C$ (9)	Persuasion rate (10)
Field Experiments										
Gerber and Green [2000]	Door-to-door canvassing	Federal elect.	Turnout	1998	New Haven	$N = 14,473$	0.422	0.463	0.270	0.263
	Canvassing + mail + calls	Federal elect.	Turnout	1998	New Haven	$N = 14,850$	0.422	0.448	0.270	0.167
Green, Gerber, and Nickerson [2003]	Door-to-door canvassing	Local elect.	Turnout	2001	6 cities	$N = 18,933$	0.286	0.310	0.293	0.118
Green and Gerber [2001]	Phone calls by youth vote	General elect.	Turnout	2000	4 cities	$N = 4,377$	0.660	0.711	0.737	0.205
	Phone calls 18–30-year-olds	General elect.	Turnout	2000	2 cities	$N = 4,377$	0.405	0.416	0.414	0.045

- In these experiments, typically mailings are the cheapest, but also the least effective get-out-the-vote treatment
- **Gerber, Green, and Larimer (APSR, 2008):** Add social pressure to these treatments
- Setting:
 - August 2006, Michigan
 - Primary election for statewide offices
 - Voter turnout 17.7% registered voters
- Experimental sample: 180,000 households on Voter File
- Mailing sent 11 days prior to election

- Experimental design:
 - Control households get no mail (N=100,000)
 - *Civic Duty Treatment*. ‘DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY—VOTE!’’



- – *Hawthorne Treatment*. Information that voters turnout records are being studied

Dear Registered Voter:

YOU ARE BEING STUDIED!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about this problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

This year, we're trying to figure out why people do or do not vote. We'll be studying voter turnout in the August 8 primary election.

Our analysis will be based on public records, so you will not be contacted again or disturbed in any way. Anything we learn about your voting or not voting will remain confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone else.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!

- – *Self-Information Treatment*. Give information on own voting record

Dear Registered Voter:

WHO VOTES IS PUBLIC INFORMATION!

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about the problem for years, but it only seems to get worse.

This year, we're taking a different approach. We are reminding people that who votes is a matter of public record.

The chart shows your name from the list of registered voters, showing past votes, as well as an empty box which we will fill in to show whether you vote in the August 8 primary election. We intend to mail you an updated chart when we have that information.

We will leave the box blank if you do not vote.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY—VOTE!

OAK ST	Aug 04	Nov 04	Aug 06
9999 ROBERT WAYNE		Voted	_____
9999 LAURA WAYNE	Voted	Voted	_____

- – *Other-Information Treatment.* Know if neighbors voted!

Dear Registered Voter:

WHAT IF YOUR NEIGHBORS KNEW WHETHER YOU VOTED?

Why do so many people fail to vote? We've been talking about the problem for years, but it only seems to get worse. This year, we're taking a new approach. We're sending this mailing to you and your neighbors to publicize who does and does not vote.

The chart shows the names of some of your neighbors, showing which have voted in the past. After the August 8 election, we intend to mail an updated chart. You and your neighbors will all know who voted and who did not.

DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!

MAPLE DR	Aug 04	Nov 04	Aug 06
9995 JOSEPH JAMES SMITH	Voted	Voted	_____
9995 JENNIFER KAY SMITH		Voted	_____
9997 RICHARD B JACKSON		Voted	_____

- Results:
 - Substantial impacts especially when neighbours get to see
 - All the results are highly statistically significant
 - Results huge given that 1/3 of recipients probably never opened the mailer
 - Impact: Obama campaign considered using this, but decided too risky

TABLE 2. Effects of Four Mail Treatments on Voter Turnout in the August 2006 Primary Election

	Experimental Group				
	Control	Civic Duty	Hawthorne	Self	Neighbors
Percentage Voting	29.7%	31.5%	32.2%	34.5%	37.8%
N of Individuals	191,243	38,218	38,204	38,218	38,201

5 Next Lecture

- Emotions:
 - Mood
 - Arousal
- Lab and Field Experiments
- Human Subjects Approval
- Market Response to Biases
- Next week: Empirical Problem Set Handed Out