## Models of Reference Dependent Preferences

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## Modelling Reference Dependence

- Likely that there are many different causes of reference dependence
  - As we discussed in the introduction
- Broadly speaking two classes of models
- 1 Preference-based reference dependence
  - Reference points affect preferences which affect choices
- 2 'Rational' reference dependence
  - Reference dependence as a rational response to costs
    - Effort costs
    - Attention Costs
  - Focus on the former, say a little about the latter

- In 1979 Kahneman and Tversky introduced the idea of 'Loss Aversion'
- Basic idea: Losses loom larger than gains
  - Utility calculated on changes, not levels
  - The magnitude of the utility loss associated with losing x is greater than the utility gain associated with gaining x
- Initially applied to risky choice
- Later also applied to riskless choice [Tversky and Kahneman 1991]
- Can explain
  - Endowment effect
  - Increased risk aversion for lotteries involving gains and losses
  - Status quo bias

- World consists of different dimensions
  - e.g cash and mugs
- Will be asked to choose between alternatives that provide different amount of each dimension

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} x_c \\ x_m \end{array}\right)$$

• Has a reference point for each dimension

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} r_c \\ r_m \end{array}\right)$$

• Key Point: Utility depends on changes, not on levels

## A Simple Loss Aversion Model

• Utility of an alternative comes from comparison of output to reference point along each dimension

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} x_c \\ x_m \end{array}\right), \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} r_c \\ r_m \end{array}\right)$$

• Utility for gains relative to r given by a utility function u

$$u_c(x_c) - u_c(r_c)$$
 if  $x_c > r_c$   
 $u_m(x_m) - u(r_m)$  if  $x_m > r_m$ 

• Utility of losses relative to r given buy u of the equivalent gain multiplied by  $-\lambda$  with  $\lambda > 1$ 

$$\lambda \left( u_c(x_c) - u_c(r_c) \right) \text{ if } x_c < r_c \\ \lambda \left( u_m(x_m) - u(r_m) \right) \text{ if } x_m < r_m$$

• For simplicity assume that utilities are linear:  $u_c(x_c) = x_c$ ,  $u_m(x_m) = u_m x_m$ 

### A Simple Loss Aversion Model



- x is a gain of \$1 and loss of 1 mug relative to r
- Utility of x

$$1 - \lambda u_m$$

### Loss Aversion and the Endowment Effect

- How can loss aversion explain the Endowment Effect (i.e. WTP/WTA gap)?
- Willingness to pay:
  - Let  $(r_c, r_m)$  be the reference point with no mug
  - How much would they be willing to pay for the mug?
  - i.e. what is the z such that

$$0 = U \begin{pmatrix} r_c & r_c \\ r_m & r_m \end{pmatrix} = U \begin{pmatrix} r_c - z & r_c \\ r_m + 1 & r_m \end{pmatrix}$$

Utility of buying a mug given by

$$U\left(\begin{array}{cc} r_c - z & r_c \\ r_m + 1 & r_m \end{array}\right) = u_m - \lambda z$$

• Break even buying price given by  $z = \frac{u_m}{\lambda}$ 

### A Simple Loss Aversion Model



- Buying is a loss of \$z and gain of 1 mug relative to r
- Utility of buying

$$u_m - \lambda z$$

### Loss Aversion and the Endowment Effect

• Willingness to accept:

- Let  $(r_c, r_m)$  be the reference point with mug
- How much would they be willing to sell your mug for?
- i.e. what is the y such that

$$0 = U \begin{pmatrix} r_c & r_c \\ r_m & r_m \end{pmatrix} = U \begin{pmatrix} r_c + y & r_c \\ r_m - 1 & r_m \end{pmatrix}$$

• Utility of selling a mug given by

$$U\left(\begin{array}{cc} r_c + y & r_c \\ r_m - 1 & r_m \end{array}\right) = -\lambda u_m + y$$

• Break even selling price given by  $y = \lambda u_m(1)$ 

### A Simple Loss Aversion Model



- Selling is a gain of \$y and loss of 1 mug relative to r
- Utility of selling

$$-\lambda u_m + y$$

### Loss Aversion and the Endowment Effect

• Willingness to pay

$$z = \frac{u_m}{\lambda}$$

Willingness to accept

$$y = \lambda u_m$$

• WTP/WTA ratio

$$\frac{z}{y} = \frac{1}{\lambda^2}$$

• Less that 1 for  $\lambda > 1$ 

• Tversky and Kahneman [1991] provide an axiomatization of this model

Axiom 1: Cancellation if, for some reference point

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} x_1 \\ z_2 \end{array}\right) \succeq \left(\begin{array}{c} z_1 \\ y_2 \end{array}\right) \text{ and } \left(\begin{array}{c} z_1 \\ x_2 \end{array}\right) \succeq \left(\begin{array}{c} y_1 \\ z_2 \end{array}\right)$$

then

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} x_1 \\ x_2 \end{array}\right) \succeq \left(\begin{array}{c} y_1 \\ y_2 \end{array}\right)$$

• (guarantees additivity)



• Define the 'quadrant' that x is in relative to r



Axiom 2: Sign Dependence Let options x and y and reference points s and r be such that

- x and y are in the same quadrant with respect to r and with respect to s
- 2 s and r are in the same quadrant with respect to x and with respect to y

Then  $x \succeq y$  when r is the status quo  $\iff x \succeq y$ when s is the status quo

• Guarantees that only the 'sign' matters

### Axiomatization

Axiom 3: Preference Interlocking Say that, for some reference point *r*, we saw that

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} x_1 \\ x_2 \end{array}\right) \sim \left(\begin{array}{c} w_1 \\ w_2 \end{array}\right) \text{ and } \left(\begin{array}{c} z_1 \\ x_2 \end{array}\right) \sim \left(\begin{array}{c} y_1 \\ w_2 \end{array}\right)$$

And, for another reference point s (that puts everything in the same quadrant, but maybe a different quadrant to r)

$$\begin{pmatrix} x_1 \\ \bar{x}_2 \end{pmatrix} \sim \begin{pmatrix} w_1 \\ \bar{w}_2 \end{pmatrix} \Rightarrow \\ \begin{pmatrix} z_1 \\ \bar{x}_2 \end{pmatrix} \sim \begin{pmatrix} y_1 \\ \bar{w}_2 \end{pmatrix}$$

• Ensures that the same trade offs that work in the gain domain also work in the loss domain

- Loss aversion can also lead to increased risk aversion for lotteries that involve gains and losses
- Now there is only 1 dimension (money)
- Lotteries evaluated as gains/losses relative to some reference point
- See also Kosegi and Rabin [2007]
- Again, assume linear utility for money
  - Utility of winning x is x
  - Utility of losing x is  $-\lambda x$



- What is the certainty equivalence of
  - 50% chance of gaining \$10
  - 50% chance of gaining \$0
- x such that

$$u_c(x) = 0.5 \times u_c(10) + 0.5 \times u_c(10)$$
  
x = 0.5 × 10 + 0.5 × 0  
= \$5

- What is the certainty equivalence of
  - 50% chance of gaining \$5
  - 50% chance of losing \$5
- y such that

$$-\lambda u_c(-y) = 0.5 \times u_c(5) + 0.5 \times (-\lambda)) u_c(5)$$
  
$$-\lambda y = 0.5 \times 5 - \lambda 0.5 \times 5$$
  
$$y = \frac{(1-\lambda)}{\lambda} < 0$$



## A Unified Theory of Loss Aversion?

- We have claimed that loss aversion can explain
  - Increased Risk aversion for 'mixed' lotteries
  - Endowment Effect
- Though note somewhat different assumptions re reference points
- Is the same phenomena responsible for both behaviors?
- If so we would expect to find them correlated in the population
- Dean and Ortoleva [2014] estimate
  - λ
  - WTP/WTA gap

In the same group of subjects

- Find a correlation of 0.63 (significant p=0.001)
  - See also Gachter et al [2007]
- However do not find such an effect in a recent larger study

### A Unified Theory of Loss Aversion?



- Figure from Chapman et al [2022]
- See also Fehr and Kubler [2022]

### A Unified Theory of Loss Aversion?

		Fixed Lottery						Variable Lottery	
		WTA	$\mathbf{U}\mathbf{m}$	Gain	Mixed	Loss	WTP	FM	2L
Fixed Lottery	Urn	-0.66*** (.042)					0.07 (.067)		
	Gain	$-0.66^{***}$ (.051)	0.65*** (.051)				0.04 (.070)		
	Mixed	$-0.58^{***}$ (.054)	0.51*** (.053)	0.60*** (.049)			0.19*** (.069)		
	Loss	-0.27*** (.076)	0.26*** (.067)	0.39*** (.070)	0.65*** (.056)		0.30*** (.077)		
Variable Lottery	FM	-0.03 (.070)	0.05 (.066)	0.09 (.069)	$-0.14^{*}$ (.069)	-0.19*** (.075)	-0.45*** (.041)		
	2L	$0.12^{*}$ (.071)	$-0.17^{***}$ (.063)	$-0.13^{*}$ (.071)	$-0.21^{***}$ (.073)	$-0.15^{*}$ (.078)	$-0.28^{***}$ (.061)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.41^{***} \\ (.061) \end{array}$	
Qualitative		$-0.24^{***}$ (.062)	0.18*** (.058)	0.18*** (.077)	0.17*** (.070)	-0.05 (.089)	-0.15*** (.064)	0.15*** (.062)	0.13* (.065)

Table 4: ORIV Correlations between WTA, WTP, and Other Risk Measures, Study 2

<u>Notes</u>: \*\*\*, \*\*, \* denote statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level. Each cell in the table is an ORIV correlation with bootstrapped standard errors from 10,000 simulations in parentheses. All measures except WTA and WTP are (m-boded as that higher values correspond to more risk aversion.

- Prospect Theory: Kahneman and Tversky [1979]
- 'Workhorse Model' of choice under risk
- Combines
  - Loss Aversion
  - Cumulative Probability Weighting
  - Diminishing Sensitivity



- Diminishing sensitivity:
  - Differences harder to distinguish as you move away from reference point (similar to perceptual psychology)
  - Leads to risk aversion for gains, risk loving for losses
- Looks like many other perceptual phenomena

• Let p be a lottery with (relative) prizes

$$x_1 > x_2 ... x_k > 0 > x_{k+1} > ... > x_n$$

- p<sub>i</sub> probability of winning prize x<sub>i</sub>
- Utility of lottery p given by

$$\pi(p_1)u(x_1) + (\pi(p_2) - \pi(p_1))u(x_1) + \dots + (\pi(p_1 + \dots + p_k) - \pi(p_1 + \dots + p_{k-1}))u(x_k) - (\pi(p_1 + \dots + p_{k+1}) - \pi(p_1 + \dots + p_k))\lambda u(-x_{k+1}) - \dots - \dots - (\pi(p_1 + \dots + p_n) - \pi(p_1 + \dots + p_{n-1}))\lambda u(-x_n)$$

## A Model of Status Quo Bias

- Kahneman and Tversky start with a model of behavior, and then derive axioms
- Arguably, model is compelling, axioms not so much
- An alternative approach is taken by Masatlioglou and Ok [2005]
- Start with some axioms, and see what model obtains

- X: finite set of alternatives
- $\diamond$ : Placeholder for no status quo
- $\mathcal{D}$ : set of decision problems  $\{A, x\}$  where  $A \subset X$  and  $x \in A \cup \diamond$ 
  - Note the enrichment of the data set
- $C: \mathcal{D} \Rightarrow X$  : choice correspondence

- Axiom 1: Status Quo Conditional Consistency For any  $x \in X \cup \diamond$ , C(A, x) obeys WARP
- Axiom 2: Dominance If y = C(A, x) for some  $A \subset B$  and  $y \in C(B, \diamond)$  then  $y \in C(B, x)$
- Axiom 3: Status Quo Irrelevance If  $y \in C(A, x)$  and for every  $\{x\} \neq T \subset A, x \notin C(T, x)$  then  $y \in C(A, \diamond)$

Axiom 4: Status Quo Bias If  $x \neq y \in C(A, x)$ , then y = C(A, y)



- These axioms are necessary and sufficient for two representations
- Model 1: There exists
  - Preference relation ≥ on X
  - A completion ⊵ such that

$$C(A,\diamond) = \{x \in A | x \trianglerighteq y \forall y \in A\}$$
  

$$C(A,x) = x \text{ if } \nexists y \in A \text{ s.t } y \succ x$$
  

$$= \{y \in A | y \trianglerighteq z \forall z \succ x\} \text{ otherwise}$$

- Interpretation:
  - ≽ represents 'easy' comparisons
  - If there is nothing 'obviously' better than the status quo, choose the status quo
  - Otherwise think more carefully about all the alternatives which are obviously better than the status quo

### Model

- An equivalent representation
- Model 2: there exists

• 
$$u: X \to \mathbb{R}^N$$

• A strictly increasing function  $f: u(X) \to \mathbb{R}$  such that

$$C(A, \diamond) = \arg \max_{x \in A} f(u(x))$$
  

$$C(A, x) = x \text{ if } U_u(A, x) \text{ is empty}$$
  

$$= \arg \max_{x \in U_u(A, x)} f(u(x)) \text{ otherwise}$$

Where  $U_u(A, x) = \{y \in A | u(y) > u(x)\}$ 

- Models of reference dependence discussed so far are preference-based
- A status quo generates a set of preferences:

$$\succeq_s$$
 for all  $s \in X \cup \Diamond$ 

• Decision Maker chooses to maximize these preference

$$C(A, s) = \{z \in A | z \succeq_s y \text{ for all } y \in A\}$$

## Behavioral Implications of Preference-Based Models

- For a *fixed* status quo, DM maximizes a *fixed* set of preferences
- Looks like a 'standard' decision maker
- Status Quo Conditional Consistency (SQCC):
- For any (A, s), (B, s)
  - Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives: If  $x \in A \subset B$  and  $x \in C(B, s)$  then  $x \in C(A, s)$

## The Problem with Preference-Based Models

#### • This cannot capture **too much choice** effects

- e.g. Iyengar and Lepper
- People switch to choosing the status quo in larger choice sets
- Violates Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives for a fixed status quo
  - Status quo chosen in bigger choice set
  - Still available in smaller choice set
  - Yet not chosen in smaller choice set

## Example 2



Choice set size

## **Decision Avoidance**

- One possible solution: models of decision avoidance
  - Try to avoid hard choices
- 'Easy' choice:
  - Make an active decision to select an alternative
  - May move away from the status quo
- 'Difficult' choice
  - May avoid thinking about the decision
  - End up with the status quo
- May cause switching to the SQ in larger choice sets
  - If this leads to more difficult choices

## Models of Decision Avoidance

- What makes choice difficult?
- Conflict model
  - Difficulty in comparing two alternatives
- Information overload model
  - Ability to compare objects reduces with the size of the choice set

- DM endowed with a possibly incomplete preference ordering
- In any given choice set
  - If one alternative is preferred to all others, the DM chooses it
  - If not, may avoid decision by choosing the status quo
- If no suitable status quo, uses other decision making mechanism
  - 'Think harder' about the problem
  - Complete their preference ordering

## The Conflict Decision Avoidance Model

#### Formal Representation:

- Let 
   <u>be</u> a transitive and reflexive (but not necessarily complete) preference relation
- **1** Choice is defined for any  $\{Z, s\}$  by
  - 1  $C(Z, s) = \{x \in Z | x \succeq y \forall y \in Z\}$  if such set is non-empty 2 otherwise C(Z, s) = s if  $s \in Z/T(Z)$
  - Otherwise C(Z, s) = s if  $s \in Z/I(Z)$
  - $\textbf{3} \text{ otherwise } C(Z, s) = \{ x \in Z | x \supseteq y \ \forall \ y \in Z \}$

### A Multi-Utility Representation

$$u(z) = \left(\begin{array}{c} u_1(z) \\ \vdots \\ u_n(z) \end{array}\right)$$

Such that

$$z \succeq w$$
  
if and only if  $u_i(z) \geq u_i(w) \ \forall \ i \in 1..n$ 

## A Multi-Utility Representation



• Choose y as y is best object along all dimensions

## A Multi-Utility Representation



• Choose status quo to avoid having to decide between z and y

## Information Overload

- Alternative hypothesis: Information Overload
  - Large choice sets are inherently more difficult than small choice sets
    - Iyengar and Lepper [2000]
  - DM can compare all available options on a bilateral basis,
  - May still find large choice set difficult

- Modify Conflict model to allow for information overload
- Preferences may become less complete in large choice sets
- Replace fixed preference relation of Conflict model with nested preference relation
- Nested Preferences:
  - For every Z a preference relation  $\succeq_Z$
  - Such that, for every  $W \subset Z$

$$x \succeq_Z y \Rightarrow x \succeq_W y$$

but not

$$x \succeq_Z y \iff x \succeq_W y$$

- Modifies the Conflict Decision Avoidance Model....
- 1 Choice is defined for any  $\{Z, s\}$  by
  - C(Z, s) = {x ∈ Z | x ≿<sub>Z</sub> y ∀ y ∈ Z} if such set is non-empty
     otherwise C(Z, s) = s if s ∈ Z/T(Z)
     otherwise C(Z, s) = {x ∈ Z | x ⊵ y ∀ y ∈ Z}

## Behavioral Implications of Decision Avoidance Models

- Information overload model and conflict model:
  - A1: Limited status quo dependence
  - A2: Weak status quo conditional consistency
- Conflict model only
  - A3: Expansion

- Choice can only depend on status quo in a limited way
- Making an object x the status quo can lead people to switch their choices to x...
- ...but cannot lead them to choose another alternative y
- A1: LSQD: In any choice set, choice must be either
  - The status quo
  - What is chosen when there is no status quo
- Note not implied by preference-based models

## Weak Status Quo Conditional Consistency

- Decision avoidance models allow for violations of SQCC, but only of a specific type
  - People may switch to choosing the status quo in larger choice sets
- A2: Weak SQCC: For a fixed status quo
  - if x is chosen in a larger choice set
  - must also be chosen in a subset
  - unless x is the status quo



- A3: Expansion: Adding dominated options cannot lead people to switch to the status quo
- Say x is chosen in a choice set Z when it is not the status quo
- Add option y to the choice set that is *dominated* by some w ∈ Z
  - w is chosen over y even when y is the status quo
- x must still be chosen from the larger choice set



- Conflict model implies expansion
  - Adding dominated options does not make choice any more 'difficult'
- Information overload model does not imply expansion
  - DM may 'know' their preferred option in smaller choice set
  - Adding dominated options to the choice set degrades preferences
  - Can no longer identify preferred option in the larger choice set

## An Experimental Test of Expansion



## Reference Points and Optimal Coding

- One possible interpretation of reference point effects is that they focus attention on particular parts of the problem
- Could this be a rational use of neural resources?
  - Focus attention where it is most useful
- If so, may be a role for reference points affecting valuation and therefore choice
  - Reference points tell us what is most likely to happen
  - and so where it is most likely to be useful to make fine judgements
- This hypothesis is explored in by Mike Woodord in depth

### A Detour Regarding Blowflys



- Shows neural response to contrast differences in light sources (black dots)
- Also CDF of contrast differences in blowfly environment (line)

### A Detour Regarding Blowflys



- Sharpest distinction occurs between contrasts which are likely to occur
- i.e slope of line matches the 'slope' of the dots

- Blowflies seem to use neural resources to best differentiate between states that are most likely to occur
- Does this represent 'optimal' use of resources?
- Surprisingly not if costs are based on Shannon mutual information
- Why not?

### The Effect of Priors

• Remember Shannon Mutual Information costs can be written as

$$-\left[H(\Gamma) - E(H(\Gamma|\Omega))\right] = \sum_{\gamma \in \Gamma(\pi)} P(\gamma) \ln P(\gamma) - \sum_{\omega} \mu(\omega) \left(\sum_{\gamma \in \Gamma(\pi)} \pi(\gamma|\omega) \ln \pi(\gamma|\omega)\right)$$

where

$$P(\gamma) = \sum_{\omega \in \Omega} \pi(\gamma|\omega) \mu(\omega)$$

- Changing the precision of a signal in a given state (i.e.  $\pi(\gamma|\omega))$  changes info costs by

$$\left(\ln(P(\gamma))+1\right)\frac{\partial P(\gamma)}{\partial \pi(\gamma|\omega)}-\mu(\omega)\left(\ln(\pi(\gamma|s)+1)\right)$$

### The Effect of Priors

• But 
$$rac{\partial P(\gamma)}{\partial \pi(\gamma | \omega)} = \mu(\omega)$$
, so

$$\mu(\omega)\left(\ln(\textit{P}(\gamma)) - \ln(\pi(\gamma|\textit{s}))\right)$$

- It is cheaper to get information about states that are less likely to occur
  - Intuition: you only pay the expected cost of information
  - Expected cost information about states that are unlikely to occur is low
- This offsets the lower value of gathering information about such states
  - In the Shannon model the two offset exactly
  - Prior probability of state should not matter for optimal coding

### The Effect of Priors

- Does this hold up in practice?
- Experiment: Shaw and Shaw [1977]
  - Subjects had to report which of three letters had flashed onto a screen
  - Letter could appear at one of 8 locations (points on a circle)
- Two treatments
  - All positions equally likely
  - 0 and 180 degrees more likely
- Shannon prediction: behavior the same in both cases

# Shaw and Shaw [1977]: Treatment 1



# Shaw and Shaw [1977]: Treatment 2



## Shannon Capacity

- This observation lead Woodford [2012] to consider an alternative cost function
  - Shannon Capacity
- Let

## $I_{\mu}(\Gamma, \Omega)$

be the Mutual Information between signal and state under prior beliefs  $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ 

• Shannon Capacity is given by

$$\max_{\mu\in\Delta(\Omega)}\mathit{I}_{\mu}(\Gamma,\Omega)$$

• i.e. the maximal mutual information across all possible prior beliefs

p

- True priors no longer affect costs
- Signals on less likely states no cheaper than signals on more likely states

## Shannon Capacity



- Optimal behavior when objective is linear in squared error
- Upper panel prior is N(2, 1), lower panel prior is N(-2, 1)

- One can apply this model to economic choice
- Assume that DM have to encode the value of a given alternative
- Assume alternative is characterized along different dimensions
- Has a limited capacity to encode value along each dimension
- Chooses optimal encoding given costs, prior beliefs and the task at hand

## **Reference Dependence**

- This model can explain diminishing sensitivity
  - But not, in an obvious way, loss aversion
  - Though see Villas-Boas, J. Miguel. "Towards an Information-Processing Theory of Loss Aversion." (2022).
- Remember, diminishing sensitivity predicts
  - Risk aversion for gains
  - Risk seeking for losses
- E.g.
  - Choice 1: start with 1000, choose between a gain of 500 for sure or a 50% chance of a gain of 1000
  - Choice 2: start with 2000, choose between a loss of 500 for sure or a 50% chance of a loss of 1000

## Reference Dependence

- Assume that the change in the reference point changes the prior distribution over final outcomes
  - Choice 2 has a mean which is 1000 higher than choice 1
  - Assume that prior is normal
- In Choice 1 1000 most likely, then 1500, then 2000
  - 1000 most precisely encoded, then 1500 then 2000
  - More 'sensitive' to the change between 1000 and 1500 than between 1500 and 2000
  - Leads to risk aversion
- In Choice 2 2000 most likely, then 1500, then 1000
  - 2000 most precisely encoded, then 1500 then 1000
  - More 'sensitive' to the change between 2000 and 1500 than between 1500 and 1000
  - Leads to risk loving

### Reference Dependence



• Plot of Mean Squared Normalized Value under the two different coding schemes

## Framing and Perception

- This is part of a developing literatature looking at behavioral biases from a perceptual standpoint
  - Khaw, Mel Win, Ziang Li, and Michael Woodford. "Cognitive imprecision and small-stakes risk aversion." The review of economic studies 88.4 (2021): 1979-2013.
  - Gabaix, Xavier, and David Laibson. **Myopia and discounting**. No. w23254. National bureau of economic research, 2017.
  - Adriani, Fabrizio, and Silvia Sonderegger. "Optimal similarity judgments in intertemporal choice (and beyond)." Journal of Economic Theory 190 (2020): 105097.
  - Enke, Benjamin, and Thomas Graeber. **Cognitive uncertainty.** No. w26518. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2019.

## Reference Dependent Preferences

- Strong evidence that people evaluate options relative to some reference point
- Change in reference point can change preferences
  - Endowment Effect
  - Risk aversion
- One robust finding is loss aversion
  - Losses loom larger than gains
  - Can explain the endowment effect and increased risk aversion for mixed choice
- One open question is where reference points come from
- Prospect theory is a workhorse model of choice under risk
  - Loss Aversion
  - Probability Weighting
  - Diminishing Sensitivity