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

 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

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

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

$$-\lambda u_c(r_c - x_c) \text{ if } x_c < r_c$$

$$-\lambda u_m(r_m - x_m) \text{ if } x_m < r_m$$

A Simple Loss Aversion Model



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

$$u_c(1) - \lambda u_m(1)$$

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

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

- Assume linear utility for money
- Utility of buying a mug given by

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

• Break even buying price given by $z = \frac{u_m(1)}{\lambda}$

A Simple Loss Aversion Model



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

$$u_m(1) - \lambda z$$

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

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

- Assume linear utility for money
- Utility of selling a mug given by

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

• 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

$$-\lambda u_m(1) + y$$

Loss Aversion and the Endowment Effect

• Willingness to pay

$$z=\frac{u_m(1)}{\lambda}$$

• Willingness to accept

$$y = \lambda u_m(1)$$

• WTP/WTA ratio

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

• Less that 1 for $\lambda > 1$

• Tversky and Kahneman [1991] provide an axiomatization of a (closely related) 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

- 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_i probability of winning prize x_i
- 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:
- Choice is defined for any {Z, s} by
 C(Z, s) = {x ∈ Z | x ≽ 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}
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

 u_1

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 ≿_Z 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



Transaction Costs and Optimal Defaults

Optimal Defaults and Active Decisions [Carrol et al 2009]

- The most obvious cause of reference dependence is transaction costs
 - It costs me an amount *c* to move away from the status quo option
 - Utility of alternative x is u(x) if it is the status quo, u(x) c otherwise
- Because there is nothing 'psychological' about the impact of reference points, makes welfare analysis staightforward
 - Want to maximize utility net of transaction costs

Transaction Costs and Optimal Defaults

Optimal Defaults and Active Decisions [Carrol et al 2009]

- We can think of the design problem of a social planner choosing the default in order to maximize welfare of an agent
- In the case of a single agent whose preferences are known, the problem is trivial
- Set the default equal to the highest utility alternative
- Carrol et al [2009] make the problem more interesting in three ways
 - Several agents, each with potentially different rankings
 - Each agent's ranking is not observable to the social planner
 - Agent has quasi-hyperbolic discount function, but the social planner wants to maximize exponentially discounted utility

The Agent's Problem

- Agent lives for an infinite number of periods
- They start life with a default savings rate d
- They have an optimal savings rate s
- In any period in which they have a savings rate d they suffer a loss

$$L = \kappa (s - d)^2$$

- In any period they can change to their optimal savings rate at cost c
 - Cost drawn in each period drawn from a uniform distribution
- Discounted utility given by quasi-hyperbolic function of expected future losses

The Agent's Problem

- Restrict attention to stationary equilibria
- Agent has a fixed c*
- Will switch to the optimal savings rate if $c < c^*$
- *c** is
 - Increasing in β
 - Decreasing in |s d|

- Facing a population of agents drawn from a uniform distribution on [s_{*}, s^{*}]
- Cannot observe s
- Wishes to choose *d* in order to minimize expected, exponentially discounted loss of the population
- Has to take into account two trade offs
 - A default that is good for one agent may be bad for another
 - A default that is too good may lead present-biased agents to procrastinate



- Expected total loss (from the planner's point of view) based on the distance between default and optimal savings rate
 - If eta=1 always better to have default closer to optimal
 - if $\beta < 1$ may be better to have default further away to overcome procrastination

- · Leads to three possible optimal policy regimes
 - Center default minimize the expected distance between *s* and *d*
 - Offset default Encourage the most extreme agents to make active decisions
 - Active decisions Set a default so bad that all agents to move away from the default.





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 Woodford [2012]

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
$$\frac{\partial P(\gamma)}{\partial \pi(\gamma|\omega)} = \mu(\omega)$$
, so
 $\mu(\omega) \left(\ln(P(\gamma)) - \ln(\pi(\gamma|s)) \right)$

- 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
 - 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

$$\max_{\mu\in\Delta(\Omega)}I_{\mu}(\Gamma,\Omega)$$

• 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
- 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
- This is part of a developing literatature looking at behavioral biases from a perceptual standpoint
 - Khaw, Mel Win, Ziang Li, and Michael Woodford. **Risk** aversion as a perceptual bias. No. w23294. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2017.
 - Gabaix, Xavier, and David Laibson. **Myopia and discounting**. No. w23254. National bureau of economic research, 2017.
 - Adriani, Fabrizio, and Silvia Sonderegger. **Optimal similarity** judgements in intertemporal choice, 2015.

Where do Reference Points Come From?

- Up until now, we have assumed that we get to observe what reference points are observable
- Where do they come from?
 - What you are currently getting?
 - What happens if you do nothing?
 - What you expect to happen in the future?
- Often (but not always) these things may be highly correlated

Where do Reference Points Come From?

- There is some experimental work trying to differentiate these different effects
- e.g. Ritov and Baron [1992], Schweitzer [1994]
- Try to separate between
 - Pure status quo bias (Preference for the current state of affairs)
 - Omission bias (preference for inaction)
- Former study found only omission bias, latter found both

Where do Reference Points Come From?

- Koszegi and Rabin [2006, 2007] made two innovations
- 1 Allowed for reference points to be stochastic
 - If your reference point is a lottery you treat it as a lottery
- 2 Allowed for 'rational expectations'
 - There is a problem if we think that the reference point should be what we expect
 - What we expect should depend on our actions!
 - Introduce the concept of 'personal equilibrium'

Personal Equilibrium

- Consider an option x
- What would I choose if x was my reference point?
- If it is x, then I will call x a personal equilibrium
- If I expect to buy x then it should be my reference point
- If it is my reference point then I should actually buy it



- Consider shopping for a pair of earmuffs
 - The utility of the earmuffs is 1
 - Prices is p
 - Again, assume that utility is linear in money
- What would you do if reference point was to buy the earmuffs?
 - Utility from buying earmuffs is 0
 - Utility from not buying earmuffs is $p \lambda$
 - Buy earmuffs if $p < \lambda$
- What would you do if reference point was to not buy the earmuffs?
 - Utility from not buying the earmuffs is 0
 - Utility from buying earmuffs is $1 \lambda p$
 - Would buy the earmuffs if $p < rac{1}{\lambda}$

Example



Evidence

- Endowments as Expectations (Ericson and Fuster [2011])
 - Endowments and expectations often move together
 - Which determines the reference point?
 - · Experiment in which subjects were endowed with a mug
 - Would be allowed to trade for a pen with some probability
 - Higher probability of being forced to keep the mug \Rightarrow lower probability of trade if allowed
- Heffetz and List [2013] find exactly the opposite!
 - Reference effects driven by assignment
 - Not obvious what drives the differences
- For a nice review see
 - Marzilli Ericson, Keith M., and Andreas Fuster. "The Endowment Effect." Annu. Rev. Econ. 6.1 (2014): 555-579.

- In applications, loss aversion is often combined with *Narrow Bracketing*
- Decision makers keep different decisions separate
- Evaluate each of those decisions in isolation
- For example, evaluate a particular investment on its own, rather than part of a portfolio
- Evaluate it every year, rather than as part of lifetime earnings

Applications: Loss Aversion and Narrow Bracketing

- Equity Premium Puzzle [Benartzi and Thaler 1997]
 - Average return on stocks much higher than that on bonds
 - Stocks much riskier than bonds can be explained by risk aversion?
 - Not really calibration exercise suggests that the required risk aversion would imply

50% \$100,000 + 50% \$50,000

 \sim 100% \$51,329

- What about loss aversion?
- In any given year, equities more likely to lose money than bonds
- Benartzi and Thaler [1997] calibrate a model with loss aversion and narrow bracketing
- Find loss aversion coefficient of 2.25 similar to some experimental findings
- See also
 - Barberis, Nicholas, and Ming Huang. The loss aversion/narrow framing approach to the equity premium puzzle. [2007].

Applications: Diminishing Sensitivity

- Disposition Effect [Odean 1998]
 - People are more likely to hold on to stocks which have lost money
 - More likely to sell stocks that have made money
- Losing stocks held a median of 124 days, winners a median of 104 days
 - Is this rational?
- Hard to explain, as winners subsequently did better
 - Losers returned 5% on average in the following year
 - Winners returned 11.6% in subsequent year
- Buying price shouldn't enter into selling decision for rational consumer
- But will do for a consumer with reference dependent preferences
 - Diminishing sensitivity

Applications: Loss Aversion and Narrow Bracketing

- Taxi driver labor supply [Camerer, Babcock, Loewenstein and Thaler 1997]
 - Taxi drivers rent taxis one day at a time
 - Significant difference in hourly earnings from day to day (weather, subway closures etc)
 - Do drivers work more on good days or bad days?
 - Standard model predicts drivers should work more on good days, when rate of return is higher
 - In fact, work more on bad days
 - Can be explained by a model in which drivers have a reference point for daily earnings and are loss averse

Applications: Reported Tax Balance Due [Rees-Jones 2014]



Loss Aversion and Information Aversion

- Loss aversion can also lead to information aversion
- Imagine that you have linear utility with $\lambda=2.5$
- Say you are offered a 50% chance of 200 and a 50% chance of -100 repeated twice
- Two treatments:
 - The result reported after each lottery
 - The result reported only after both lotteries have been run.
- What would choices be?
- In the first case

$$\frac{1}{4}(200+200) + \frac{1}{2}(200-\lambda 100) + \frac{1}{4}(-\lambda 100-\lambda 100)$$

= -200

In the second case

$$\frac{1}{4}(400) + \frac{1}{2}(100) + \frac{1}{4}(-\lambda 200)$$
= 25

Loss Aversion and Information Aversion

- With loss aversion and narrow bracketing, risk aversion depends on evaluation period
- The longer period, the less risk averse
- This also provides an 'information cost'
- A similar argument shows that if you owned the above lottery, you would prefer only to check it after two flips rather than every flip
- May explain why people check their portfolios *less* in more turbulent times
 - See Andries and Haddad [2015] and Pagel [2017]
- In general, strong link between non-expected utility and preference for one shot resolution
 - Dillenberger [2011]

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
- Has been used to explain many 'real world' phenomena
 - Choice of financial asset
 - Labor supply