Competition and moral behavior: A meta-analysis of 45 crowd-sourced experimental designs

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Introduction

Does competition erode, promote, or not affect moral behavior?

- Smith (1776) argued that markets can have a civilizing effect on behavior.
- Markets may attenuate conflict and violence (Hirschman 1977), stimulate morality, and induce trust (Henrich *et al.* 2001, 2006; Choi and Storr 2020).
- Marx (1867) and Veblen (1899) expected markets to be innately alienating.
- Competition may create incentives for unethical practices and undermine moral values by crowding out social norms (Shleifer 2004; Sandel 2012).

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 - Falk and Szech (2013) provide evidence that subjects are less likely to forego money to prevent the death of a mouse in competitive settings.
 - Follow-up experiments question the robustness of this finding based on rather inconclusive evidence (e.g., Bartling *et al.* 2015; Kirchler *et al.* 2016; Pigors and Rockenbach 2016; Ockenfels *et al.* 2020; Bartling *et al.* 2022).

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- Why does empirical evidence lead to different conclusions?
 - Sample heterogeneity: relatively small to moderate variability in effect sizes across samples (e.g., Klein *et al.* 2014, 2018; Ebersole *et al.* 2016).
 - Analytic heterogeneity: significant variance in estimates across analyses (Silberzahn *et al.* 2018; Botvinik-Nezer *et al.* 2018; Menkveld *et al.* 2021).
 - Design heterogeneity: systematic evidence is scarce (Landy *et al.* 2020).

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- As there are multiple valid approaches to operationalize competition and morality, we implemented a crowd-sourced project (Uhlmann *et al.* 2019).
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Crowd-Sourcing Research Designs

Research Teams (RTs)

- We left it to the research teams to operationalize competition and morality.
- RTs were required to design (and later program) a between-subjects study.
- RTs filed a preregistration (incl. a proposed analysis) for their experiment.
- Sample of *n* = 200 per treatment, i.e., *n* = 400 for each design/experiment.
- Envisaged sample of 50 research teams, i.e., a total of \sim 20,000 participants.
- Sample of n = 400 are sufficiently large to obtain adequate statistical power to detect small to medium effect sizes (t-test: π = 0.9 for d = 0.32 at α = 0.05).
- After screening applications, 102 RTs were invited to submit a research design.
- 95 RTs submitted a design, and 50 RTs were randomly selected to participate.
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Design Requirements

- The design has to be eligible to obtain (fast track) IRB approval, i.e., ...
 - no deception, preservation of participants' anonymity, explicit information (duration, repetitions, interactions, random processes), confidentiality, etc.
- The experiment must involve incentive compatible payments (avg. expected bonus payment of £1.70, on top of a flat participation fee of £1.30 per subject).
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Data Collection

- All data was collected in a single Prolific study, set up by the coordinators.
- Participants were directed to a common welcome screen, signed a captcha, provided informed consent, and completed a common attention check item.
- After that, participants were redirected to one of $45 \times 2 = 90$ treatments in batches of four (to mitigate attrition for designs using real-time interaction).
- We collected the data in ten time slots during the two weeks from January 17 to January 28, 2022, with one slot per day, from Monday to Friday in each week.
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Peer Evaluations

- Participating RTs were asked to assess each others' designs anonymously.
- RTs involving two members were required to submit one rating per design.
- In particular, each RT was asked to assess ten other randomly selected designs (based on the pre-registration template submitted by each RT):

To what extent does this design [..] provide an informative test of the research question: "Does competition affect moral behavior?" \rightarrow 0 (not informative at all) to 10 (extremely informative)

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- A. For each research design, we estimate the effect size and standard error according to the analytic specification that has been proposed by the RT. (Requirement: ordinary least squares regression on a treatment indicator.)
- **B.** To remove as much of the analytical variation across RTs as possible, we employ a standardized analytic specification for all 45 research designs. (*No controls, no exclusions, individual level, robust standard errors.*)

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- 1A/1B Competition affects moral behavior.
- 2A/2B Estimated effect size are heterogeneous.
- Secondary hypotheses:

- Pre-registered exploratory analyses and robustness tests:
 - Analytic approach B with the exclusion criteria as used in approach A.
 - Analytic approach B with standard errors clustered on the batch variable.
 - $\circ\,$ Primary hypothesis tests for the 50% with the highest/lowest peer rating.

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Results

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- Primary hypothesis tests:
 - Random effects meta-analysis (DerSimonian and Laird 1986)
 - z-test based on the overall effect size and its standard error (1A/1B).
 - \circ Cochran's Q-test (χ^2 -test); heterogeneity measures au and I² (2A/2B).

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Meta-Analytic Effect & Heterogeneity



| | Approach A | Approach B |
|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Meta-analytic effect | d = -0.085* (p = 0.008) | d = -0.086** (p = 0.004) |
| # d < 0, p < 0.05 # d > 0, p < 0.05 | 8 (17.8%) 2 (4.4%) | 7 (15.7%) 2 (4.4%) |
| Cochran's Q | Q(44) = 181.1** (p < 0.001) | Q(44) = 161.5** (p < 0.001) |
| 2 | 72.8% | 75.7% |
| au | 0.185 | 0.169 |
| τ / σ | 1.69 | 1.57 |

Secondary hypotheses:

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 - Meta-regression on the peers' average (demeaned) quality ratings (1A/1B).
 - Q, τ , and I^2 for the residual heterogeneity, i.e., for the heterogeneity that remains after adjusting for the effect of the moderator variable (2A/2B).

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1A/1B Effect size estimates vary systematically with mean peer ratings. 2A/2B Effect sizes are heterogeneous after controlling for mean ratings.

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Moderating Effects of Design Quality?



Residual heterogeneity remains significant (p < 0.001) for both analytic approaches; and the heterogeneity measures τ and I^2 are virtually unaffected by the moderator.

Summary and Conclusion

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- We find evidence of an **adverse effect of competition on moral behavior**, yet the estimated negative effect size is quite small with a Cohen's *d* of about 0.1.
- We find strong evidence of **substantial design heterogeneity**, i.e., systematic variation in effect sizes across designs, above and beyond sampling variance.

- The substantial design heterogeneity identified in our study suggests that the informativeness and generalizability of a single study protocol can be limited.
- Consider randomly implementing one of the 45 designs ...
 - \circ The average sample standard error for our 45 designs is σ = 0.108.
 - $\circ\,$ The estimated standard deviation of the true effect size is au = 0.169.
 - Considering the uncertainty due to design choice ..
 - \rightarrow the standard error doubles ($\sqrt{\sigma^2+\tau^2}$ = 0.200)
 - ightarrow results in a very wide 95% CI of [–0.477, 0.308]

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Summary and Conclusion

- To obtain more reliable scientific evidence, researchers should conduct studies based on multiple conceivable designs pooled in a meta-analysis.
- Moving towards much larger data collections and more team science could improve the informativeness and generalizability of experimental research.

Thank you!

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Appendix

Moderating Effects of Design Quality?



| Analytic Approach B | Top 50% | Bottom 50% |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Meta-analytic effect | d = -0.043 (p = 0.159) | d = -0.132* (p = 0.008) |
| # d < 0, p < 0.05 # d > 0, p < 0.05 | 2 (9.1%) 1 (4.5%) | 5 (21.7%) 1 (4.5%) |
| Cochran's Q | Q(44) = 39.4* (p = 0.009) | Q(44) = 117.0** (p < 0.001) |
| 12 | 46.7% | 81.2% |
| au | 0.098 | 0.212 |
| τ / σ | 0.89 | 2.01 |

Α

moral behavior:



В

| moral behavior: cheating / deception donation to charity generosity to other player other conceptualization | | -0.132** -0.005 0.031 -0.246* | * (-0.216, -0.049) (-0.133, 0.123) (-0.114, 0.176) (-0.446, -0.046) | | |
|---|----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| incentives to compete: non-monetary incentives monetary incentives | | -0.163* -0.064 | (-0.305, -0.022) (-0.131, 0.002) | | |
| $\begin{array}{l} \textit{moral behavior} \rightarrow \textit{competition:} \\ \textit{moral behavior} \not \Rightarrow \textit{competition} \\ \textit{moral behavior} \Rightarrow \textit{competition} \end{array}$ | ⊢ ⊢━━┿∣ ⊢━━━┥∣ | -0.073 -0.095* | (-0.169, 0.024) (-0.174, -0.016) | | |
| 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 | | | | | |

Concepts of Competition and Moral Behavior

- Shleifer (2004): "Does competition destroy ethical behavior?" ... "This paper shows that conduct described as unethical and blamed on 'greed' is sometimes a consequence of market competition."
- Falk/Szech (2013): "We have shown that market interaction displays a tendency to lower moral values."
- Bartling et al. (2015): "Do Markets Erode Social Responsibility?"
- Kirchler et al. (2016): "We have shown that specific interventions can affect the extent of moral behavior, yet notall of them do, and not in all regimes studied here."
- Bartling et al. (2023): "Does Market Interaction Erode Moral Values?"