Misguided Effort

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Motivation

- You submitted to a top journal
- You think highly about the quality of your work
- You receive a rejection

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- You receive a rejection
 - What do you learn about the quality of your work and the fairness of the review process?
 - How do these inferences affect your future effort?

- Psychology literature: people attribute their achievements to their own merits but their failures to external fundamentals (see Mezulis et al., 2004, for a review).
 - Rejection: "the review process is unfair"
 - Acceptance: "my work is great"

- Heidhues et al. (2018) and Hestermann and Le Yaouanq (2021) model attribution bias as an inference problem.
 - Individuals observe an outcome, but cannot identify the effect of one's ability (e.g., scholarship quality) and the external fundamental (e.g., fairness of review process).
 - Individuals with miscalibrated priors about their ability draw misguided inferences about the external fundamental.
 - Misguided inference leads to suboptimal decision making.

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 - Individuals with miscalibrated priors about their ability draw misguided inferences about the external fundamental.
 - Misguided inference leads to suboptimal decision making.
- Experiments confirm misguided inference (Goette and Kozakiewicz, 2022; Marray et al., 2020) but they do not study the causal impact on decision making.

Biased beliefs about one's ability

 \rightarrow Misguided inferences about environment

 \rightarrow Future decisions

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Labor Market Setup:

- Work on an ability-based task
- Hold biased beliefs about how skilled they are
- Receive feedback
- Can make inferences about the returns to effort from feedback
- Work on a subsequent effort-task

Experimental Design

- Logic quiz with 12 questions (Civelli et al., 2018)
- EASY and DIFFICULT quiz versions (Moore and Healy, 2008).
 - Questions 1-7 are common.
 - Questions 8-12 vary across EASY and DIFFICULT quiz versions.

Question (3/12)



- Beliefs about likelihood of scoring in the top half among a group of 4.
- Performance prior: $\gamma \in (0,1)$
- Incentivized with the Binarized Scoring Rule (Prize of 1\$).

- Participants receive payments from two different evaluators (evaluator 1 and evaluator 2):
 - Performance Evaluator: \$2 if they score in the top half, and \$0 otherwise
 - Random Evaluator: \$2 if a coin toss lands on heads, and \$0 otherwise
- We randomly assign these roles to evaluator 1 and evaluator 2.

- Payoff feedback is based on logic quiz performance, the outcome of the coin toss and the randomly assigned evaluator roles:
 - BOTH HIGH (Evaluator 1: \$2, Evaluator 2: 2) \rightarrow high ability type.
 - BOTH LOW (Evaluator 1: \$0, Evaluator 2: $0) \rightarrow 0$ ability type.
 - MIXED 1 (Evaluator 1: \$2, Evaluator 2: \$0)
 - MIXED 2 (Evaluator 1: \$0, Evaluator 2: \$2)
- $\mathrm{MIXED}~1$ and $\mathrm{MIXED}~2$ groups do not learn their ability type and proceed to period 2.

Work on a real effort-task

- Choose how much to work (1–25 decoding tasks).
- Payment is based on evaluator 1 type from period 1:
 - If evaluator 1 is chance based, no payment (zero returns to effort).
 - If evaluator 1 is performance based, 10 cents per task (positive returns to effort).

Please enter text decoded from the number. This is achieved by looking up the corresponding letter for each number.

L	s	x	R	т	Е	z	I	w	н	
0	8	1	5	6	3	9	7	4	2	
03976										

- Beliefs about likelihood that evaluator 1 is the performance based evaluator (returns to effort beliefs).
- Returns to effort beliefs: $heta \in (0,1)$

Theoretical Predictions

• MIXED 1 and MIXED 2 payoff feedback provides no information about participants' relative performance in the logic quiz.

$$Pr(H|s_{i} = H, s_{-i} = L) = \frac{Pr(H)Pr(s_{i} = H, s_{-i} = L|H)}{Pr(s_{i} = H, s_{-i} = L)} = \gamma$$
(1)

- $\bullet~\rm MIXED~1$ and $\rm MIXED~2$ payoff feedback flips the direction of learning about the returns to effort.
- Mixed 1:

$$Pr(P|s_1 = H, s_2 = L) = \frac{Pr(P)Pr(s_1 = H, s_2 = L|P)}{Pr(s_1 = H, s_2 = L)} = \gamma$$
(2)

• Mixed 2:

$$Pr(P|s_1 = L, s_2 = H) = \frac{Pr(P)Pr(s_1 = L, s_2 = H|P)}{Pr(s_1 = L, s_2 = H)} = 1 - \gamma$$
(3)

Misguided inference

- Definitions:
 - Prior Bias: $\Delta \gamma \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \gamma \gamma^*$; Overconfidence: $\Delta \gamma > 0$; Underconfidence $\Delta \gamma < 0$
 - Misguided inference: $\Delta \theta \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \theta \theta^*$
- Bayesian misguided inference:
 - MIXED 1: $\Delta \theta = \theta \theta^* = \gamma \gamma^* = \Delta \gamma$
 - MIXED 2: $\Delta \theta = \theta \theta^* = 1 \gamma (1 \gamma^*) = \gamma^* \gamma = -\Delta \gamma$

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- Hypothesis 1: Overconfident individuals will be positively misguided in MIXED 1 and negatively misguided in MIXED 2. Underconfident individuals will be negatively misguided in MIXED 1 and positively misguided in MIXED 2. More generally, the difference in misguided inference between MIXED 1 and MIXED 2 increases monotonically in prior bias.

Assume that the expected utility from exerting effort *e* depends on expected returns to effort provision, θωe, and convex costs of effort, c(e):
 u(e, θ) = θωe - c(e)

- Assume that the expected utility from exerting effort *e* depends on expected returns to effort provision, θωe, and convex costs of effort, *c*(*e*):
 u(*e*, θ) = θω*e c*(*e*)
- Hypothesis 2: The expected utility-maximizing effort is monotonically increasing in returns to effort beliefs θ and consequently monotonically increasing in the degree of misguided inference Δθ.

Causal inference



- Our design orthogonally manipulates
 - Extent of prior bias, by quiz difficulty assignment
 - Direction of misguided inference, by evaluator type assignment
- Without confounding effort provision
 - No learning about ability
 - No motivational effects through payoff differences

Results

- N=2,011, US sample on Prolific, half of them women.
- N=1,004 received mixed payoff feedback in period 1 and proceed to period 2
- Completion fee: \$2; average bonus payments: \$1.7.
- Treatments are balanced by observable characteristics.

- Higher confidence in EASY compared to DIFFICULT (*p* < 0.001).
- Average performance priors in EASY: 66.7%.
- Average performance priors in DIFFICULT: 51.4%.



- Higher overconfidence in EASY compared to DIFFICULT (p < 0.001).
- Average prior bias in EASY: 15.4%.
- Average prior bias in DIFFICULT: 1.7%.



- With aggregate overconfidence, hypothesis 1 predicts higher returns to effort beliefs in MIXED 1 compared to MIXED 2.
- Why? Overconfident individuals infer that evaluator 1 is more likely performance based when they receive a high payoff from evaluator 1 (MIXED 1).

Returns to effort beliefs (θ)

- Higher returns to effort beliefs in MIXED 1 compared to MIXED 2 (p < 0.001).
- Average returns to effort belief in MIXED 1: 64.0%.
- Average returns to effort belief in MIXED 2: 43.9%.



- Higher misguided inference in MIXED 1 compared to MIXED 2 (*p* < 0.001).
- Average misguided inference in MIXED 1: 13.2%.
- Average misguided inference in MIXED 2: -5.9%.



Are subjects perfect Bayesians?



Decomposition of misguided inference



Misguided inference as a function of prior bias



Panel A: Overconfident Individuals

Panel B: Underconfident Individuals

Misguided inference $\Delta \theta$ as a function of prior bias $\Delta \gamma$

Dependent Variable:	Misguided Inference			
	(1)	(2)		
Mixed 1	19.088***	19.091***		
	(1.704)	(1.896)		
Prior Bias	-0.759***	-0.228		
	(0.043)	(0.226)		
Mixed 1*Prior Bias	1.655***	0.771***		
	(0.053)	(0.279)		
Constant	-5.876***	-5.885		
	(1.352)	(1.521)		
Observations	1,004	1,004		
Instrumental Variables	No	Yes		

Do misguided inferences about the returns to effort causally affect effort provision in period 2?

- Distribution is bi-modal: most people either quit after working on one task or work on all 25 tasks.
- MIXED 1 group is more likely to solve maximum (p = 0.011), and MIXED 2 group is more likely to solve minimum (p = 0.003).
- Average decoding tasks solved are different (p < 0.001):
 - Mixed 1: 13.8
 - Mixed 2: 11.8



Dependent Variable:	Tasks Solved			
	(1)	(2)		
Misguided Inference	0.023***	0.108***		
	(0.008)	(0.033)		
Constant	12.716***	12.405***		
	(0.318)	(0.345)		
Observations	1004	1004		
Instrumental Variables	No	Yes		

- We predict the level of effort provision with and without misguided returns to effort beliefs.
- We denote the difference between these predictions *misguided effort*.

Misguided effort



Conclusion

- We show that overconfident individuals attribute poor initial labor market outcomes to low returns to effort in the economic environment, and therefore, put less effort into a subsequent real-effort task.
- Underconfident individuals also learn in a misguided manner and adjust their efforts accordingly, but in the opposite direction.
- With misguided learning, it is hard for meritocracy to work. Initial prior biases and initial feedback may have long-lasting consequences on who succeeds.

- Questions?
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