

TSE M1 – Semester 1 October 2018 Paul Seabright

Evolution of Economic Behavior Week 5: The cognitive and emotional foundations of cooperation (II)

The cognitive and emotional foundations of cooperation (II): Outline

- Emotions: the key to our credibility?
- Costly signals and cooperation
- An experimental test of smiles as costly signals
- Other kinds of signaling
 - Signaling and sexual selection
 - Costly signals of cooperative reliability

Emotions: the key to our credibility?

- Emotions are not easy to manipulate...
- In a word, they' re *costly*
- You can display them more easily when you have credible intentions (threats, promises)
- But displaying them brings benefits
- An example: the smile

• Fake smiles are easy to produce - genuine smiles are harder...







An experimental test

- Honest signaling in trust interactions (*Evolution and Human Behavior* 2015), co-authors: Samuele Centorrino, Elodie Djemai, Astrid Hopfensitz, Manfred Milinski)
- The puzzle: smiles perceived as genuine use the *orbicularis oculi* as well as the zygomatic major
- The *orbicularis oculi* is under very imperferct conscious control – why did natural selection hit on such an obviously flawed mechanism?

An experimental test

- We test the hypothesis that smiling convincingly is a *costly* signal of cooperation opportunities
- 1) It is costly; people smile more convincingly when the stakes are higher
- 2) It pays them to invest that cost, because it is effective at inducing others to cooperate with them
- 3) It is an honest signal (rather than, say, a piece of psychological manipulation) because those who smile more convincingly are more rewarding cooperation partners
- We do this by giving subjects the chance to make video clips as part of their participation in a trust game

The experiment

• A trust game

- A video clip viewed before taking the trust decision
- A rating of the video clips by a sample of trusters

• What we find:

- Subjects playing for higher stakes produce more convincing smiles
- Subjects viewing more convincing smiles are more likely to trust the smilers
- Those who successfully produce more convincing smiles are on average more profitable cooperation partners.

Differences by trustee treatment in smile quality and trustworthiness



Differences by trustee treatment in trust and trustworthiness



High (8 euro) Low (4 euro)

Differences by smile quality in ratings of trustees



Differences by smile quality in trust and trustworthiness



Hypothesis testing

- We need to control for sender treatment when testing trustee treatment and vice versa (some correlation between treatments because of experimental design)
- We need to control for other dimensions (age, gender etc)
- To avoid risk of endogeneity through confirmation bias, we use average clip ratings as variables of interest (thus needing to cluster standard errors by clip)

Tests of components of costly signaling hypothesis

| | Equation A | Equation B | Equation C | Equation D |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Dependent Variable: | Smile Quality (scale 1-8) | Trustworthiness (scale 1-8) | Decision to send money (send=1) | Gain from sending money (Euros) |
| Independent variable: | | | | |
| High treatment | 0.124* (0.017) | 0.079* (0.026) | -0.011 (0.400) | |
| Smile quality | | 0.54** (0.000) | 0.219** (0.000) | 0.911** (0.005) |

Controlling for income, gender, and a range of other variables, including.....

Smile quality Trustworthiness Send money

| Intelligence | 0.213* | 0.310** | 0.154* | |
|----------------|----------|---------|---------|--|
| | (0.030) | (0.000) | (0.012) | |
| Age of trustee | 0.0149* | 0.007 | 0.005 | |
| | (0.017) | (0.139) | (0.142) | |
| Beard | -0.262** | -0.006 | -0.050 | |
| | (0.003) | (0.867) | (0.404) | |
| Décolleté | 0.229* | -0.008 | 0.067 | |
| | (0.011) | (0.821) | (0.188) | |

Character or opportunity? Which does smile quality predict?

| Dependent Variable: | Trustee is in High treatment (dummy variable) | Unselfish behavior by trustee (dummy variable) |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| Independent Variable: | | |
| Mean smile quality rating | 0.516 (0.038)* | 0.403 (0.126) |

Summary of findings

- Genuine smiles appear to be costly, because subjects are more willing to make them when the rewards are higher
- They induce cooperation and therefore reward the costs invested by the smiler
- The reason they induce cooperation is that they are honest signals – but signals more of the size of the pie the trustee expects to share with you than of the intrinsic character of the trustee

Summing up: the emotions and cooperation

- Homo sapiens is the animal above all others that has staked its existence on cooperation among unrelated individuals
- The emotions aren't incidental to this process they' re at the heart of it!
- They help us to commit to those we want to cooperate with
- And they do it more credibly than calculating rationality could ever do on its own

As so often, Adam Smith got there first:

The man who indulges us in this natural passion, who invites us into his heart, who, as it were, sets open the gates of his breast to us, seems to exercise a species of hospitality more delightful than any other. No man, who is in ordinary good temper, can fail of pleasing, if he has the courage to utter his real sentiments as he feels them, and because he feels them.

Adam Smith – The Theory of Moral Sentiments

What other kinds of signaling aid cooperation?

• Sexual selection:

- Most often the signal is displayed by males towards females, since females are "the limiting sex" in terms of availability of gametes
- Sometimes signaling is bidirectional
- The challenge for natural selection is to explain the simultaneous evolution of the signal and the response to the signal

Altruistic actions as signals of cooperative potential

The classic example of signaling in sexual selection:



You should easily be able to identify the males among the following species. They're the ones with the most colorful plumage...

Regent bowerbird ericulus chrysocephalus



Mallard Anas platyrhyncos



Homo sapiens sapiens

Altruistic acts as signals of cooperative potential

- There can be many altruistic acts with positive consequences for cooperation:
 - Giving to charity
 - Heroism
 - Religious devotion

 In each case we have the paradox that the proximate cause of the act is not the aim to increase fitness, but the ultimate cause may be that it increases fitness An example of religious devotion (from Auriol, Delissaint, Fourati, Miquel-Florensa & Seabright "Trust in the Image of God: experimental evidence for a link between religiosity and reciprocity in Haiti", 2018):



Description of the experiments:

• Lottery:

- Each subject has 10 tokens
- Can gamble 1 to 10 tokens, with probability 60% the stake is doubled
- A neutral baseline game, then three games with 7 or 8 tokens plus one image (price and image order randomized by session)
- A last game where subjects can choose which to play again

Trust game:

- Each subject has 5 tokens and can send to a trustee a sum that is tripled
- Trustees can keep sum or send a proportion back to the sender
- Neutral game as sender then receiver, plus one game with choice of image as sender
- Two games with images as receiver, 6 and 12 tokens, random image

The lottery



The images



Choose game that you want to play again







Trust game







Figure 4: Choices in the Neutral game

Mean amounts sent and returned in the neutral trust game, in the sender and the receiver role, by those who would later buy an image when playing as senders in the image treatment, compared with those who would not buy an image (all comparisons significant at less than 1% - Wilcoxson rank-sum test). Error bars are 95% confidence intervals.



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