行为经济学

姚澜 上海财经大学经济学院

2024年秋



课程介绍

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参考书

OXFORD THE FOUNDATIONS OF BEHAVIORAL **ECONOMIC ANALYSIS** SANJIT DHAMI



独步经济学、心理学与法律三个领域的拓荒者 携手**诺奖得主塞勒**用"助推"提升生活满意度



课程考核

你这学期的任务和成绩评定由以下两部分组成

•在学期末,完成一个研究计划。该研究计划需要有与提出的研究问题相关的文献综述,有一个包括详细数据分析计划的完整实验设计,不要求有实验数据。70%

•积极参与课堂实验和文献讨论。30%



行为经济学是.....?



在这节课中, 我们将概览行为经济学

- 经济学与决策
- 理性决策模型
- 行为经济学的产生

- 经济学是研究决策的学科。
- 决策与日常生活





行为经济学的核心

- 人们怎么做出决策
- 为什么这么选择
- 正确的选择一定是"好"的选择吗?
- 我们能克服一些不"好"的决策吗?



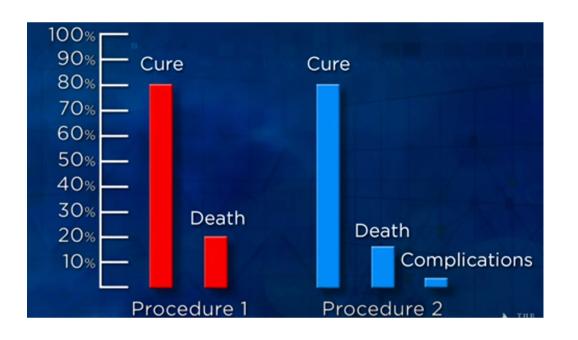


决策



情景一: 癌症治疗抉择

















情景二: 捐血"悖论"

• 金钱激励与决策



- 可是...
- 慈善与援助金额

决策

情景三: 奖牌与心情



- 看看这张照片,有什么特别之处吗?
- 好名次带来好心情?





上面这些似乎都与"直觉"不同。



我们想知道,人们到底为什么这样决策。

一个起点: 简化的理性人模型

理性人假设

▶1776年,英国人亚当斯密发表了他的旷世巨著《国富论》。在书中,他这样写道:"我们每天需要的食物和饮料,不是出自屠户、酿酒家和面包师的恩惠,而是出于他们自利的打算。我们不说唤起他们利他的话,而说唤起他们利己心的话,我们不说我们自己需要,而说对他们有好处。"

▶简而言之,他的观点可以概括为:我们给予自己的需求,作出有利于自己的行为,客观上,促进了整个市场和社会秩序的形成。这就是整个市场经济的基本逻辑。



补充:

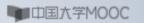
Adam Smith 1759 《道德情操论》

• overconfidence:

Smith (1776, p. 1) commented on "the overweening concept which the greater part of men have of their own abilities" that leads them to overestimate their chance of success.

- loss aversion:
- Smith (1759, p. 176–177) noted that "Pain ... is, in almost all cases, a more pungent sensation than the opposite and correspondent pleasure."
- self-control, or present bias:

Smith (1759, p.273) had this to say: "The pleasure which we are to enjoy ten years hence, interests us so little in comparison with that which we may enjoy today." George Stigler was fond of saying that there was nothing new in economics, it had all been said by Adam Smith. It turns out that was true for behavioral economics as well.



行为经济学的发展

大数据时代

- 2008年金融危机的转折
- 大数据时代的繁荣

亚当·斯密时代

- 1759 《道德情操论》
- 1776 《国富论》

新古典经济学时代

- 20世纪:理性人假设、经济学数学化
- 行为经济学艰难发展

来自北京大学孟涓涓教授慕课《行为经济学》













首先,"理性"在经济学里意味着什么?

- 冷静的头脑?
- 充足的学识?
- 有逻辑的?
- •有自制力的?



传统经济学中理性人三个特征:

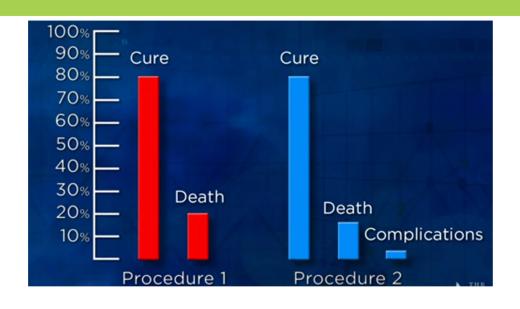
- > 无限理性
 - >偏好的完备性和传递性,使其成为稳定和连续的偏好
- > 无限意志力
 - ▶自我控制方面的能力决定能否做出最优决策
- > 无限自私自利
 - ▶效用最大化的最优决策可能受到相当的非物质动机和非经济动机的影响



理性意味着与某种模型一致

•可是我们真的能找到一个普适的模型来解释人们的行为吗?

对"理性"的不同理解



• 回到治疗方案那个例子, 你会为自己选择哪个?

· 你又会为某个陌生人(eg.你是一个医生,面对你的患者)选择什么?

对"理性"的不同理解

其次,一个理性决策者一定要完全自私自利吗?

• 慈善捐助.



帮助他人



- 这些行为都可能不再存在。
- 但是假如我们假设,决策者不仅关心他自己的结果,还关注他人所获得的收益(eg.公平,纯粹的他利...)...



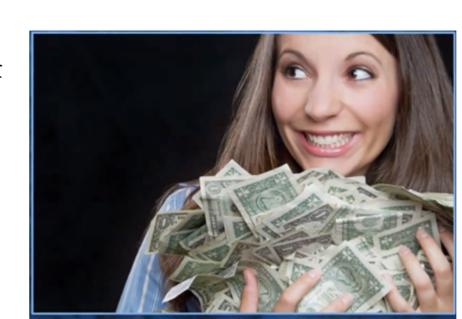
对"理性"的不同理解

最后,理性决策指的是决策过程还是决策结果

· 经济学中理性决策指的是结果,对过程仅作as if rational 假设

理性决策简化了问题, 基于更加简单的假设

- 人们喜欢拥有更多的钱——传统经济学模型的一个核心
- 货币可以作为重要的激励手段
- 这当然也意味着,能拥有更多的钱会激励人们做某件事





- 想一想献血的例子:
- 既然钱是一个好的激励, 那假如发钱给人们, 以此来激励献血?







- 然而,事实发现,献血者减少了。
- 为什么?

• "Reward undermining"——外部激励诋毁内部动机

• 事实上很多经济学家已经发现(我们在之后也会看到),经济激励对人的作用的确很强,但有时它不如一些更简单也更"便宜"的方式。 (比如夸奖,或者同等价格的礼物)

- 理性决策模型依赖货币动机可以解释许多经济现象,但不能解释很多现象。
- 为什么?
- 理性决策模型的失败不是随机的, 而是系统的

• 心理学、生物学、现实环境

中国大学MOOC

理性与非理性行为

新古典经济学理性人假设(狭义)	行为经济学假设 (行为偏误)
只在乎自己绝对的收益	参照点比较与损失厌恶、社会性比较
计划和执行一致	执行偏离计划(自我控制问题、过 度消费、拖沓)
只在乎自己的利益	复杂的社会性偏好(利他、公平、 信任、互惠、报复、愧疚、诚实等)
对概率事件准确判断	概率判断偏误(赌徒谬误、热手谬 误、过度自信等)

来自北京大学孟涓涓教授慕课《行为经济学》



面对很多问题时, 两个基本的约束:

- > 有限认识能力
 - 我们不能"绝对"地知晓一切,我们常常需要一个参照点。在比较中,我们做出决策。
 - 为什么银牌不开心?





我们真的"理性"吗?

> 有限的时间

• 经典的经济学模型总是假设一个人可以知道市场所有同种商品的信息。

• 可是...比如买房。

我们真的"理性"吗?

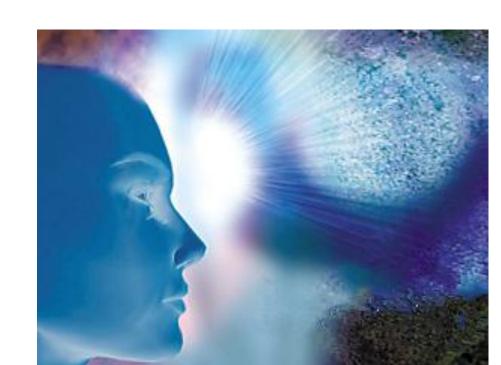
- 上面的约束表明, 我们往往达不到最优。
- 但是我们可以做到次优
- 经济学理学家 Herbert Simon "Bounded rationality",
 1947
- 人们无法获得正确的信息,简化决策过程,同时迅速采取正确的决策手段。



我们真的"理性"吗?

但我们可以通过"启发式思考(凭直觉)"来克服它们

- 重于一些关键信息
- 简化一些问题, 使其更容易回答。
- 遵循老路, 迅速给出答案。



行为经济学为什么需要实验支持?

- 行为经济学:研究什么时候(实证)人们真实的行为会偏离"理性" 模型的预测,这又是为什么(理论)
- 实验经济学:设置实验以及严格控制的环境(treatment),来研究 人们面对经济决策时真实的反应,并用理论(传统经济学的,或者 行为经济学的)来解释它们。

• 总的来说:实验经济学是方法,行为经济学是模型与现象。



• "The principle of science, the definition almost, is the following: The test of all knowledge is experiment. Experiment is the sole judge of scientific 'truth'".

————From The Feynman Lectures on Physics, Feynman (1963).



A Theorist's view of Experiments Rubinstein (2001)

. . . 10 years ago: . . . I probably would have said that I do not see the point of conducting experiments in economics.. . I believed then that experiments do not need to actually be carried out. I believed that our intuition provides the test. If a phenomenon is robust, we intuitively recognize it as such. . . Ten years have rediscovered the obvious: To criticize something, you need to know it intimately; the best way to know something intimately is to do it yourself. Once you have done that, you do not want to criticize it anymore...



• 既然实验那么好,为什么一开始一些经济学家不喜欢它呢?

Richard Thaler's reply: He thought it was partially due to the elevation within economics of mathematical modeling, which works best at incorporating rational rather than irrational elements—and remains the professional standard, conferring status on the modeler.

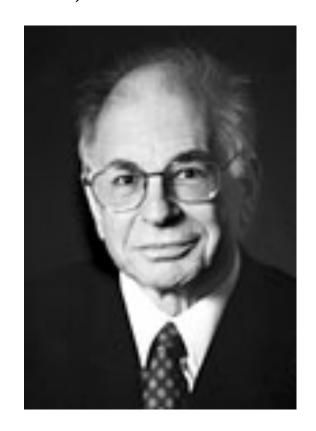


- 行为经济学与实验经济学—诺贝尔经济学奖
- 1978 Herbert Simon
- "Simon has been awarded this year's prize in economics for his research into the decisionmaking process within economic organizations"
- What is new in Simon's ideas is, most of all, that
 he rejects the assumption made in the classic
 theory of the firm of an omniscient, rational,
 profit-maximizing entrepreneur





- 行为经济学与实验经济学—诺贝尔经济学奖
- 2002, Daniel Kahneman and Vernon Smith





- Vernon Smith: "for the use of laboratory experiments as a tool in empirical economic analysis, in particular, for the study of different market mechanisms". Founder of experimental economics
- Daniel Kahneman: "for the introduction of insights from psychological research into economics, in particular with regard to judgements and decisions under uncertainty". Kahneman's research is based on psychological experiments and questionnaires. Founder of behavioural economics
- 我们在之后就会遇到他们做的工作



心理学实验与经济学实验有什么区别?

- 方法论上的区别:心理学实验更在乎场景,经济学实验更抽象。
- 实验设计上的差别:实验设计是否采用"欺骗"
 - 心理学实验,实验组织者知道实验真实的流程,但参与者不知道
 - 经济学实验,实验设计信息完全对称
- 对决策激励方式的差异:心理学不按结果支付,经济学严格按照决策结果支付。



• 2012, Alvin E. Roth and Lloyd S. Shapley





• Alvin E. Roth "for the theory of stable allocations and the practice of market design", he is known for his emphasis on applying economic theory to solutions for "real-world" problems.

• Lloyd S. Shapley: "for the theory of stable allocations and the practice of market design".



2013, Eugene F. Fama, lars Peter Hansen and Robert Shiller







Eugene Fama's research at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s showed how incredibly difficult it is to beat the market, and how incredibly difficult it is to predict how share prices will develop in a day's or a week's time

Lars Peter Hansen's development of econometric techniques for analyzing data and asset prices allows economists to test the various theories on what drives markets

Robert Shiller's pioneering research in the field of financial economics, relating to the dynamics of asset prices, such as fixed income, equities, and real estate, and their metrics. His work has been influential in the development of the theory as well as its implications for practice and policy making. His contributions on risk sharing, financial market volatility, bubbles and crises, have received widespread attention among academics, practitioners, and policymakers alike.



2017, Richard H. Thaler



 Rechard H. Thaler "contributions have built a bridge between the economic and psychological analyses of individual decisionmaking. His empirical findings and theoretical insights have been instrumental in creating the new and rapidly expanding field of behavioral economics"

• Thaler had "made economics more human".



2019, Abhijit Banerjee, Esther Duflo, Michael Kremer





- The Nobel prize in economics was awarded to Abhijit Banerjee, Esther Duflo and Michael Kremer for "their experimental approach to alleviating global poverty," the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences said in a statement Monday.
- "The research conducted by this year's Laureates has considerably improved our ability to fight global poverty. In just two decades, their new experimentbased approach has transformed development economics, which is now a flourishing field of research," the press release read.
- At 46 Esther Duflo is the youngest person to ever win the prize in its 50-year history, and she's also just the second woman to win.

