### **Intrinsic Motivation and Crowding Out**

- Richard Titmuss (1971) found that the US where blood-donors are paid had lower quality blood supplied than UK where it was based on voluntary donation
- Subsequent experiments (surveyed by Frey and Jergen, 2000 and Fehr and Gachter, 2001) provides evidence for crowding out of intrinsic motivation if monetary incentives are provided.
- "Pay enough or don't pay at all" (experiments by Gneezy and Rustichini (2000)
- Arrow (1972) and Solow (1971) in their surveys of Titmuss thought that doing something for money simply expands the choice set - how can that hurt?

- If you derive intrinsic motivation, and get paid, just add them up
- Also, can donate the money back to your favorite charity
- Can we explain this using the standard economic framework?
- Frey and Oberholzer-Gee (1997) and Gann (2001): giving blood and selling blood are two distinct activity and introducing money transforms the former into the latter
- Frey (1997): preferences change if money is introduced
- Arbitrary, since does not look at consequences.

- Seabright (2002) and Benabou and Tirole (2005): doing something for free signals your type and you build a reputation
- Here we provide an alternative, simpler story, based on heterogeneity in motivation and unobservability of quality.

# "Why Referees Are Not Paid (Enough)" M. Engers and J.S. Gans (1998), American Economic Review

- A group of agents all care equally about a project
- Benefit from completion normalized to 0
- Only one person can do it
- The "leader" sequentially approaches agents
- If one turns down, there is delay and the project is sent to another agent
- $\bullet\,$  Cost of undertaking the project to an individual c
- Private information

- CDF of cost in the population F(c) is common knowledge
- If an agent who is approached turns down, there is a fixed delay cost of  $\delta$  each time
- No discounting of future
- Let  $\hat{c}$  be the cost threshold such that someone with  $c \leq \hat{c}$  will agree (to be determined endogenously)
- Then total expected delay cost is given by the recursive equation

$$D = F(\hat{c}) * \mathbf{0} + (\mathbf{1} - F(\hat{c})) * (\delta + D)$$

• This yields

$$D = \frac{1 - F(\hat{c})}{F(\hat{c})}\delta$$

• A person approached who turns down will expect delay costs to be

$$\delta + D = rac{\delta}{F(\hat{c})}.$$

• Without payment the relevant cost threshold is

$$\hat{c}_0 = \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_0)}.$$

• The payoff to each (non-contributing) agent (including leader) is

$$-D = -\frac{1 - F(\hat{c}_0)}{F(\hat{c}_0)}\delta$$
$$= \delta - \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_0)}$$

 Suppose there is a monetary incentive of w to the agent who agrees  $\bullet\,$  This raises the threshold cost c to

$$\hat{c}_w = w + \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_w)}$$

• Typically  $\hat{c}_w > \hat{c}_0$  as F(.) is increasing

### Example: Uniform distribution

• Let  $c \in [0, \overline{c}]$  and  $f(c) = \frac{1}{\overline{c}}$ 

• 
$$F(c) = \int_0^c f(c) dc = \frac{c}{\overline{c}}.$$

• Verify: 
$$\hat{c}_0 = \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_0)} = \frac{\delta}{\frac{\hat{c}_0}{\overline{c}}}$$

• This solves:

$$\hat{c}_0 = \sqrt{\delta \overline{c}}.$$

• Also,

$$\hat{c}_w = w + \frac{\delta \overline{c}}{\hat{c}_w}$$

• Or,

$$\hat{c}_w - \frac{\delta \overline{c}}{\hat{c}_w} = w$$

- Check that LHS (say,  $g(\hat{c}_w)$ ) is increasing in  $\hat{c}_w$  : slope  $1 + \frac{\delta \overline{c}}{\hat{c}_w^2}$
- Also, concave: second derivative

$$-rac{2\delta\overline{c}}{\hat{c}_w^3}$$

• Therefore, has to be increasing in w (see Figure 1)

• The payoff of the "leader" is

$$-rac{\mathbf{1}-F(\hat{c}_w)}{F(\hat{c}_w)}\delta-w.$$

• For w = 0 we naturally get the same expression as above.

• But

$$w = \hat{c}_w - \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_w)}$$

• Substituting, the payoff of the "leader" is:

$$\delta - \hat{c}_w$$

• This is decreasing in  $\hat{c}_w$  and so the optimal w is 0.

- Suppose the fee is collectively raised and so the leader does not have to put his private weight on the cost (i.e., 1)
- Now the person who agrees gets

$$\hat{c}_w = w(1 - \frac{1}{n}) + \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_w)}$$

• This gives

$$w = \frac{n}{n-1} \left( \hat{c}_w - \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_w)} \right)$$

• Now the leader gets

$$-\frac{1-F(\hat{c}_w)}{F(\hat{c}_w)}\delta - \frac{w}{n}$$
$$= \left[\delta - \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_w)}\right] + \left[-\frac{1}{n-1}\left(\hat{c}_w - \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_w)}\right)\right]$$

- For  $w \to 0$ , the first term goes to  $\delta \frac{\delta}{F(\hat{c}_0)}$  from above (as it is decreasing in  $\hat{c}_w$ )
- The second term goes to 0 but is always negative
- So in this case the leader will choose some w > 0.

#### Intuition

- payment of money raises the acceptance rate  $(F(\hat{c}_w) > F(\hat{c}_0))$
- but that means its less costly to turn down a request
- that means the wage payment has to go up to offset this
- The question, is why does it go up so much so that the leader does not want to do it?
- Payoff of each agent has the term -D
- The agent who agrees to do it has an added term  $w \hat{c}_w = -(\delta + D)$

- For the leader, the payoff has an added term  $-w = \delta + D \hat{c}_w$
- The leader has to compensate the agent for his private cost  $\hat{c}_w$  out of his pocket, which is increasing in w and this is not worthwhile
- Since the agent who agrees internalizes the change in D and so does the editor, the result of introducing fees on D cancels out
- However, if there is cost sharing then the result is not as sharp
- In general, raising w does raise the "number" of people who would like to agree
- This may not hold more generally.

# Benabou and Tirole (AER December 2006) "Incentives and Pro-Social Behaviour"

- Key observation: rewards change the pool of participants
- You care about your reputation
- However, if money is involved then this is diluted
- Might case some people to drop out
- Participation decision is binary:  $a \in \{0, 1\}$
- Costs C(0) = 0 and C(1) = c
- Motivational reward  $v_a \ge 0$

- Monetary reward from income  $y : v_y y$  where  $v_y \ge 0$
- These parameters (  $v_a, v_y$ ) are private information
- An individual participates if

$$v_a + yv_y - c + R(y) \ge 0$$

• R(y) captures reputational concerns

$$\begin{array}{lll} R(y) &\equiv & \mu_a \left\{ E(v_a | \mathbf{1}, y) - E(v_a | \mathbf{0}, y) \right\} \\ & & -\mu_y \left\{ E(v_y | \mathbf{1}, y) - E(v_y | \mathbf{0}, y) \right\} \end{array}$$

- The first term captures gains from being known as a "good" citizen and the second losses from being known as "money-minded".
- Assume v<sub>a</sub> and v<sub>y</sub> are independent so that f(v<sub>a</sub>, v<sub>y</sub>) = g(v<sub>a</sub>)h(v<sub>y</sub>)

- Assume  $\mu_a$  and  $\mu_y$  are fixed
- First consider no rewards: y = 0
- Then agent participates if and only if

$$v_a \ge c_a - R(\mathbf{0}) \equiv v_a^*$$

- Nothing is learnt about  $v_y$  through participation
- A threshold for  $v_a$  is learnt
- To determine this let

$$M(v_a) \equiv E(\tilde{v}_a | \tilde{v}_a \ge v_a) = rac{\int_{v_a}^{\infty} vg(v) dv}{\int_{v_a}^{\infty} g(v) dv}$$

• Similarly, let

$$N(v_a) \equiv E(\tilde{v}_a | \tilde{v}_a \leq v_a) = rac{\int_{-\infty}^{v_a} vg(v) dv}{\int_{-\infty}^{v_a} g(v) dv}$$

- *M* is the average value of  $v_a$  for those who participate
- N is the average value of  $v_a$  for those who do not participate
- *M* is honour from participation and *N* is stigma from non-participation
- The cutoff from unpaid participation is then defined as a solution to  $\Phi(v_a^*) = c$  where  $\Phi(v_a) \equiv v_a + \mu_a \left[ M(v_a) - N(v_a) \right]$ , i.e.,

$$v_a + \mu_a \left[ M(v_a) - N(v_a) \right] = c.$$

For the uniform distribution

$$M(v_a) - N(v_a) = \frac{1}{2}$$
 for  $g(v_a) = 1$  on [0, 1]

• Proof:

$$\frac{\int_{v_a}^{1} vg(v)dv}{\int_{v_a}^{1} g(v)dv} - \frac{\int_{0}^{v_a} vg(v)dv}{\int_{0}^{v_a} g(v)dv} = \frac{\int_{v_a}^{1} vdv}{\int_{v_a}^{1} dv} - \frac{\int_{0}^{v_a} vdv}{\int_{0}^{v_a} dv} \\
= \frac{\left[\frac{v^2}{2}\right]_{v_a}^{1}}{\left[v\right]_{v_a}^{1}} - \frac{\left[\frac{v^2}{2}\right]_{0}^{v_a}}{\left[v\right]_{0}^{v_a}} \\
= \frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1-v_a^2}{1-v_a}-\frac{v_a^2}{v_a}\right) \\
= \frac{1}{2}(1+v_a-v_a)$$

• More generally, for  $g(v_a) = (\alpha + 1) v_a^{lpha}$  on [0, 1] with lpha > -1

$$M(v_a) - N(v_a) = \frac{1+\alpha}{2+\alpha} \frac{1-v_a}{1-v_a^{1+\alpha}}$$

 This is increasing in v<sub>a</sub> when α > 0 and decreasing when -1 < α < 0.</li>

- Key Result: Assume that Φ'(.) ≥ 0. Then if μ<sub>y</sub> = 0 or if v<sub>a</sub> and v<sub>y</sub> are independent, the introduction of reward lowers net reputational value of participation: R(y) < R(0) for all y > 0.
- The assumption  $\Phi'(.) \ge 0$  ensures uniqueness of equilibrium
- If you introduce reward,  $v_a + yv_y c + R(y) \ge 0$
- Intuition: Two reputational effects

- Reward attracts greedy types:  $E(v_y|\mathbf{1}, y) > E(v_y|\mathbf{0}, y)$
- Reward repels good types
- Overall participation will increase or decrease depending on the weights of these two effects
- Note here the quality of participation is the same for all types so therefore cannot explain Titmuss' findings

Extrinsic Vs. Intrinsic Incentives (Benabou-Tirole, 2003): To be added.

