

disrupted the system of subtle emotional signals that enable us to plan for the future, to follow previously learned social rules, and to decide upon sensible courses of action. Research on Gage and others like him has led many researchers to believe that "rational" decision making is inextricably linked to emotional intuitions and drives.

Trenton G. Smith

See also: Descartes's Error and the Emotional Brain; Emotions and Decision Making; Fast and Frugal Heuristics

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## ENDOWMENT EFFECT

An endowment effect (Thaler 1980) exists if the subjective value of an item depends on whether it is owned or not. This phenomenon has frequently been found in bargaining contexts with items like coffee mugs, pens, wine bottles, or lottery tickets. In this vein, Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler (1990) report experimental results showing that the average of buyers' willingness to pay for a coffee mug was only half of the average price that sellers who owned the same mug were willing to accept as minimal price for giving it up.

The standard economic explanation for this difference in valuations is based on two features of prospect theory (Kahneman and Tversky 1979), namely reference dependency and loss aversion. Reference dependency refers to the notion that the subjective value of an item depends on the current reference point of the decision maker. From the reference point of a seller owning an item, a transaction is framed as a loss, whereas from the reference point of a buyer attempting to get an item, a transaction is perceived as a gain. Because losses are known to have a greater psychological impact compared to gains of the same magnitude, sellers should accept losing an item only for a higher price than buyers are willing to pay in order to get it.

This difference in valuation between sellers and buyers of the same good can also be observed with entrance tickets, as Carmon and Ariely (2000) showed that people holding a ticket for a sold-out basketball game requested, on average, \$240 to give up that ticket, in contrast to a mean price of \$170 potential buyers were willing to pay. Research has also shown that merely touching an object results in increased perceived ownership of that object. Similar effects can be achieved by presenting imagery encouraging touch of an object, because the valuation of an object is said to be jointly influenced by both perceived ownership and valence of the touch experience (Peck and Shu 2009). A so-called quasi endowment effect seems to play an important role in online auctions and explains often observed behavior like multiple bidding and sniping, placing a last bid just seconds before the end of an auction.

Different lines of predominantly more recent research on the endowment effect offer alternative explanations with regard to loss aversion as the main source of the endowment effect. The choice heuristic assumes that people typically own things that they have chosen beforehand and they infer that if they have chosen something it must be more valuable compared to nonchosen alternatives (Brehm 1956). Another line of research emphasizes that chosen items are associated with the self, and people tend to value things more when they are associated with the self (Beggan and Scott 1997). Furthermore, the confounding of ownership and bargaining role in standard buyer-seller tasks investigating the endowment effect might be problematic, because we typically only sell things we own and buy things we do not own. Experimental evidence unconfounding ownership and the bargaining role suggests that the endowment effect disappears when buyers are owners and sellers are not. Thus, ownership rather than loss aversion may cause the endowment effect in the standard buyer-seller paradigm (Morewedge, Shu, Gilbert, and Wilson 2009).

Aside from the bargaining context, endowment effects are often studied within a lottery setting, where participants are endowed with a ticket and get the possibility to trade the endowed ticket for another one. People show a strong reluctance to trade a ticket in possession in these situations. It is controversially discussed whether this phenomenon can be explained by prospect theory or newer versions of prospect theory respectively, because this effect might as well follow from anticipated regret by imagining that an exchanged ticket might win, especially if this ticket was in possession before.

Erich Kirchler and Christoph Kogler

See also: Behavioral Economics; Loss Aversion, Prospect Theory

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Making  
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# Contents

Preface	xiii
Introduction	xv
A-Z Entries	1
Addiction	3
Advertising and Behavioral Economics	5
Akerlof, George	6
Allocative Efficiency and X-Efficiency	8
Altruism	10
Altruistic Punishments	12
Ambiguity Aversion	14
Amygdala and Behavioral Economics	16
Anchoring	17
Animal Spirits	19
Anomalies (Economic Behavior)	20
Asymmetric Information	23
Bandwagon Effect	24
Bargaining Power	26
Beauty Contest/Guessing Game	27
Behavioral Economics	31
Behavioral Finance	33
Behavioral Insights Team	35
Behavioral Responses According to In-Depth Interviews	36
Bounded Rationality	39
Brain Scans and Behavioral Economics	40
Broken Windows	42
Bubbles (.dot.com; Financial Markets; Housing; Tulips)	44
Bubbles (Great Depression)	46
Bubbles (Markets)	48
Buffet (All-You-Can-Eat Behavior)	

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