Correlation Neglect in Belief Formation*

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June 25, 2017

Abstract

Many information structures generate correlated rather than mutually independent signals, the news media being a prime example. This paper provides experimental evidence that many people neglect the resulting double-counting problem in the updating process. In consequence, beliefs are too sensitive to the ubiquitous "telling and re-telling of stories" and exhibit excessive swings. We identify substantial and systematic heterogeneity in the presence of the bias and investigate the underlying mechanisms. The evidence points to the paramount importance of complexity in combination with people's problems in identifying and thinking through the correlation. Even though most participants in principle have the computational skills that are necessary to develop rational beliefs, many approach the problem in a wrong way when the environment is moderately complex. Thus, experimentally nudging people's focus towards the correlation and the underlying independent signals has large effects on beliefs.

JEL classification: C91, D03, D83, D84, D40.
Keywords: Beliefs; correlation neglect; bounded rationality; complexity; attention.

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1 Introduction

A pervasive feature of information structures is that decision makers are exposed to correlated signals. For example, various news media share common information sources such as press agencies, so that the contents of different news reports (newspaper articles, television shows, online print) tend to be correlated. Similarly, in social networks, the opinions of different network members are often partly based on information from a mutually shared third party, so that, in communicating with these people, one is confronted with correlated information. A common feature of these information structures is that similar "stories" are getting told and retold multiple times (Akerlof and Shiller, 2009), which implies the presence of informational redundancies, i.e., potential double-counting problems.

Taking this observation as point of departure, we employ a series of laboratory experiments to make two contributions. First, we provide clean evidence that in a relatively simple and completely transparent setting people neglect correlations in information sources when forming beliefs, albeit with a strong heterogeneity at the individual level.[1] As a consequence, just like recent models of boundedly rational social learning predict, people's beliefs are excessively sensitive to well-connected information sources and hence follow an overshooting pattern. Second, we develop a series of treatment variations to uncover that people do in principle possess the mathematical and computational skills that are necessary to process correlated information in our setting. However, when the informational environment is sufficiently complex, many people exhibit conceptual problems in identifying and thinking through the correlation in the first place. As a consequence, exogenously shifting subjects' focus towards the correlation and the underlying independent signals has large effects on beliefs.

In the baseline experiment, subjects need to estimate an ex ante unknown state of the world and are paid for accuracy. The key idea of our experimental design is to construct two sets of information (one with and one without a known and simple correlation) that are identical in terms of informational content, and should thus result in the same belief. In a between-subjects design, one group of subjects receives correlated, the other uncorrelated information. The entire signal-generating process is computerized, and subjects know the precise process generating the data. In this setup, computers A through D generate four unbiased iid signals about the state of the world. In the *Uncorrelated* condition, subjects observe these four independent signals. In the *Correlated* treatment, participants also receive four messages, which consist of the signal of computer A as well as the average of the signals of A and B, of A and C, as well as of A

[1] Throughout the paper, a correlation is implicitly understood as being conditional on a state realization. Also, we only refer to positive correlations.

and D. Thus, the signal of the common source A is partially recurring in multiple messages, implying a potential double-counting problem. Viewed through the lense of our motivating examples, this setup could reflect a news reader who has access to different news sources, all of which partially rely on the same press agency. Similarly, the setup mirrors a network context in which an individual communicates with various friends, all of which have previously communicated with a mutually shared acquaintance.

In this setting, the correlation structure has a particularly simple form because the signal of computer A is known, so that subjects only need to invert averages to back out the underlying independent signals. Despite extensive instructions and control questions, our results indicate that, on average, subjects treat correlated information partially as independent and hence double-count the signal of the common source A. Thus, while beliefs remain statistically unbiased ex ante, they are highly sensitive to the well-connected information source and exhibit excessive swings, an effect that is sizable, significant, and causes lower payoffs. In light of the strong *average* tendency to neglect correlations, we proceed by specifying the precise and possibly heterogeneous updating rules subjects employ. We find that beliefs follow a roughly bimodal distribution: most people are either fully sophisticated or very naïve about the correlation, which points to the presence of two fundamentally different belief formation types. In particular, those subjects that do not successfully process correlations form beliefs by following a particular simple heuristic of averaging the correlated messages. The strong type heterogeneity is significantly associated with cognitive skills. At the same time, the relationship between subjects' response times (a commonly used proxy for cognitive effort, Rubinstein, 2007, 2016) and beliefs is weak at best, both within the main treatment condition and when we exogenously increase response times through a moderate increase in financial incentives.

The second part of the paper investigates the mechanisms underlying the observed neglect of correlations. We start our corresponding quest by examining the role of complexity, which has previously been shown to affect updating mistakes and thus serves as a natural starting point for our analysis (e.g., Charness and Levin, 2009). We exogenously manipulate the complexity of the updating problem by reducing the number of signals and resulting messages, so that subjects only need to process two pieces of information. In this low complexity version of our experiments, correlation neglect essentially disappears.

While this finding highlights that correlation neglect is not universal, but rather a function of the environment, it leaves open the precise mechanism through which complexity generates neglect. To make progress, we conceptualize belief formation as three steps of reasoning, all of which are potentially affected by our complexity manipulation:

first, people need to notice the double-counting problem inherent in our experimental environment, i.e., they need to realize that taking the correlated messages at face value is suboptimal; second, subjects need to understand that this double-counting problem can be overcome by backing out the underlying independent signals; third, they need to be willing and able to execute the mathematical computations that are necessary to develop unbiased beliefs. Crucially, in this framework, the first two steps refer to *conceptual* problems that people might have in processing correlations, while the last step is about *mathematical* or *computational* problems.

Given that conceptual and mathematical limitations likely have different implications for both policy and potential formalizations of correlation neglect, we develop two treatment variations to separate these two broad mechanisms. First, building on the low complexity environment, we elucidate the role of the size of the information structure. We design a treatment in which we fix the mathematical steps that are required to solve the problem, but manipulate how many messages subjects observe based on the independent signals. The corresponding results establish that a "larger" information structure causes significantly more correlation neglect even when the required mathematical operations are unaffected. Thus, the complexity of information structures seems to affect belief updating (also) through its effect on peole's ability to notice and think through the correlation, which rationalizes the observed difference in correlation neglect between the baseline and low complexity experiments.

To lend further credence to the idea that subjects struggle predominantly with the conceptual difficulty of detecting and thinking through the correlation, and to provide evidence on how subjects could be debiased, we design an additional treatment variation. Here, the experimental procedures exogenously draw people's focus towards the mechanics that generate the correlation, but again hold fixed the mathematical steps that are required to be rational. In a within-subjects treatment, participants are confronted with both the correlated and the uncorrelated information structure from the baseline treatments, which is meant to induce subjects to focus on the key difference between the two environments. The results show that the vast majority of subjects states rational beliefs in this condition. Thus, taken together, two conceptually distinct treatment variations show that correlation neglect can be meaningfully affected by features of the environment that are independent of purely math-based explanations. This set of results points to the importance of people's problems in noticing and thinking through the correlation in the first place, and speaks against the notion that people cannot (or do not want to) engage in the calculations that are necessary to process relatively simple correlated messages.

This paper contributes to the literature on boundedly rational belief formation by

identifying an error in statistical reasoning that is associated with a pervasive feature of real information structures such as the news media (see, e.g., Charness and Levin, 2009; Benjamin et al., 2013; Charness et al., 2010; Esponda and Vespa, 2014; Hanna et al., 2014; Ngangoue and Weizsäcker, 2015; Jin et al., 2016, for recent documentations of bounded rationality in other contexts). Conceptually, our paper moves beyond existing work by studying in detail the roles of complexity and focus for biased statistical reasoning.[2]

Our experiments admit a natural interpretation in terms of learning in networks. Eyster and Rabin (2014) develop a model to show that rationality often requires people to anti-imitate others because of the need to subtract off sources of correlations. In consequence, these authors argue, empirical tests are needed to separate whether people follow others for rational reasons or due to correlation neglect. We establish correlation neglect (and the resulting excessive "imitation") in a setup in which the signal-generating process is known and simple.[3] Our findings hence support the assumptions underlying recent theories of inferential naïveté in social interactions (e.g., DeMarzo et al., 2003; Golub and Jackson, 2010; Eyster and Rabin, 2010; Bohren, 2013) as well as bounded rationality models in political economy (Levy and Razin, 2015; Ortoleva and Snowberg, 2015).[4]

Relatedly, Shiller (2000) and Akerlof and Shiller (2009) have argued that "exuberant" public opinions or "panics", driven by the multiple occurrence of similar stories in social networks, may be a driver of aggregate distortions. In Appendix F, we report on experiments along these lines and show that, in an experimental asset market, the incidence of correlated (and hence partially recurring) news leads to pronounced and predictable price distortions.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we present our baseline experiments. Section 3 investigates the mechanisms underlying correlation neglect. Section 4 discusses extensions of our experiments and concludes.

[2]Brocas et al. (2014) highlight the relevance of attention in strategic settings. Gennaioli and Shleifer (2010), Bordalo et al. (2016), and Schwartzstein (2014) provide models of attention-driven updating errors.

[3]A literature in cognitive psychology explores how people aggregate potentially correlated opinions in settings in which the structure generating the information is left ambiguous to subjects (Budescu and Rantilla, 2000; Budescu and Yu, 2007). These papers focus on non-incentivized confidence ratings. Kahneman and Tversky (1973) note that correlated information sources tend to produce consistent signals and may hence lead to an "illusion of validity" (also see Maines, 1990, 1996).

[4]Section 4 relates our findings to the experimental literature on learning in networks. Spiegler (2015) uses Bayesian networks to provide a formal framework for boundedly rational belief formation.

2 Evidence for Correlation Neglect

2.1 Experimental Design

An environment in which updating from correlated sources can be studied requires (i) control over signal precision and correlation, (ii) subjects' knowledge of the data-generating process, (iii) a control condition that serves as benchmark for updating in the absence of correlated information, and (iv) incentivized belief elicitation. Our design accommodates all of these features.

Subjects were asked to estimate an ex ante unknown continuous state of the world μ and were paid for accuracy. The task was framed as guessing how many items are contained in an imaginary container. In order to keep the experiment as simple as possible, we refrained from inducing prior beliefs.[5] The only information provided to participants consisted of unbiased computer-generated signals about the true state. The key idea of the between-subjects design was to construct two sets of signals (one with and one without a known and simple correlation), which are identical in terms of their objective informational content. As depicted in Figure 1, subjects in the *Correlated* treatment received correlated and subjects in the *Uncorrelated* condition uncorrelated information about μ.

The computers A-D generated four unbiased iid signals about μ, which were identical across treatments and subjects. Technically, this was implemented by random draws from a truncated discretized normal distribution with mean μ and standard deviation $\sigma = \mu/2$.[6] In the *Uncorrelated* treatment (left panel), the intermediaries 1 to 3, who are fictitious computers themselves, observed the signals of computers B through D, respectively, and simply transmitted these signals to the subject. Thus, subjects received information from computer A as well as from the three intermediaries. For example, in one experimental task, the signals of computers A through D were given by 12, 9, 10, and 0, respectively. We will refer to all numbers that are communicated to subjects as "messages".

In the *Correlated* treatment (right panel), the intermediaries 1 to 3 observed both the signal of computer A and of computers B to D, respectively, and then reported the average of these two signals. Again, subjects were provided with information from computer A as well as from the three intermediaries. Throughout the paper, we will also refer to computer A's signal as common source signal. Continuing the example from above, each of the three intermediaries took the average of 12 and the corresponding signal of the other computer it communicated with. Thus, computer A reported 12, in-

[5] Appendix D shows that inducing prior beliefs does not affect our findings.

[6] Truncation was at $\mu \pm 2\sigma = \mu \pm \mu$ in order to avoid negative signals.

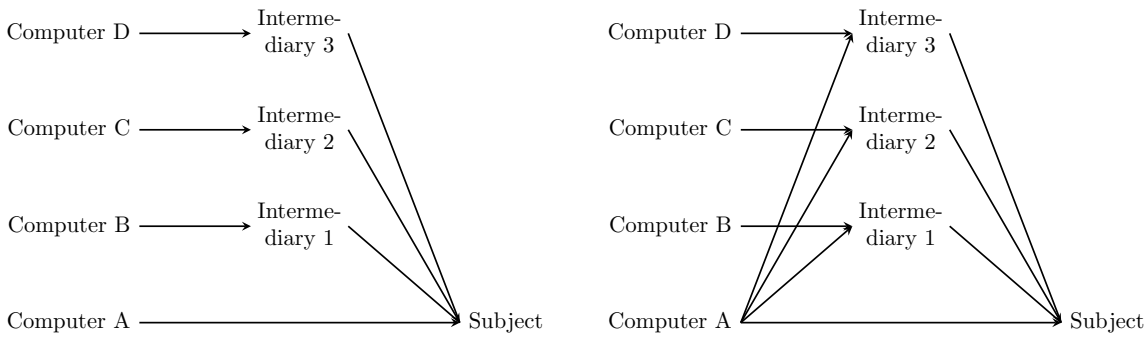

Figure 1: Uncorrelated (left panel) and correlated (right panel) information structure. In the left panel, the intermediaries directly transmit the signal they observe from the computer they are connected to. In the right panel, the intermediaries take the average of the signals of the two computers they are connected with, and transmit this average to the subjects.

termediary 1 reported 10.5, intermediary 2 reported 11, and intermediary 3 reported 6. In the terminology of Eyster and Rabin (2014), this information structure constitutes a "shield". Here, people need to "anti-imitate" because they predominantly see messages larger than 9, while the majority of signals and the rational belief are smaller than 9. Given that the common source signal of computer A is known, being rational requires subjects to back out the underlying independent signals from the messages of the intermediaries, i.e., to invert averages.

Notice that our identification strategy relies solely on the identical informational content of the two sets of signals. Differences in beliefs between the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* condition can only be attributed to variations in the information structure since all other factors are held constant, including the rational benchmark. Thus, comparing beliefs across *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* allows us to identify correlation neglect. Crucially, using computers as opposed to human subjects in the signal-generating process ensures that subjects have complete knowledge of how their data are being generated, leaving no room for, e.g., beliefs about the rationality of the intermediaries. Also note that the correlated information structure mirrors the examples provided in the introduction. For example, one could think of computer A as a press agency that sells information to various newspapers, which in turn each have an additional independent information source. Alternatively, in a social learning context, the intermediaries could be viewed as network members who each received an independent piece of information, yet have all also talked to a common acquaintance before communicating their opinion.

Upon receiving the information pieces, a subject had five minutes to state a belief. Subjects completed a total of ten independent belief formation tasks without feedback between tasks. We used three different randomized orders of tasks, see Appendix B. At the end of the experiment, subjects were paid according to the precision of their belief

Table 1: Overview of the belief formation tasks

True State	Computer A	Intermed. 1 uncorr.	Intermed. 2 uncorr.	Intermed. 3 uncorr.	Intermed. 1 corr.	Intermed. 2 corr.	Intermed. 3 corr.	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief
10	12	9	10	0	10.5	11	6	7.75	9.88
88	122	90	68	5	106	95	64	71.25	96.63
250	179	295	288	277	237	234	228	259.75	219.38
732	565	847	650	1,351	706	608	958	853.25	709.13
1,000	1,110	1,060	629	1,100	1,085	870	1,105	974.75	1,042.38
4,698	1,608	7,240	4,866	5,526	4,424	3,237	3,567	4,810.00	3,209.00
7,338	9,950	1,203	11,322	11,943	5,577	10,636	10,947	8,604.50	9,277.25
10,000	2,543	10,780	6,898	8,708	6,662	4,721	5,626	7,232.25	4,887.63
23,112	15,160	21,806	20,607	47,751	18,483	17,884	31,456	26,331.00	20,745.50
46,422	12,340	32,168	49,841	61,293	22,254	31,091	36,817	38,910.50	25,625.25

The reports of intermediaries 1 through 3 in the *Uncorrelated* condition directly reflect the draws of computers B-D. The rational belief is computed by taking the average of the signals of computers A-D. The correlation neglect belief is given by the average of the signal of computer A and the reports of intermediaries 2-4 in the *Correlated* condition. Note that subjects faced the ten rounds in randomized order, which was identical across treatments. Given that we did not induce priors, we could select the true states ourselves. This was done in a fashion so as to be able to investigate the effects of computational complexity, i.e., we implemented true states of different magnitude.

in one randomly selected task using a quadratic scoring rule (Selten, 1998).[7] Table 1 provides an overview over the ten tasks. In order to provide an indication of both the direction and the extent of a potential bias, we also provide the benchmarks of rational beliefs and "full correlation neglect", which we define to be the average of the four messages subjects received in the *Correlated* treatment (see Section 2.2 for details). Throughout, we employ the term "belief" to denote the mean of the belief distribution.

Subjects received extensive written instructions which explained the details of the task and the incentive structure.[8] In particular, the signals of the four computers, how these signals mapped into the reports of the intermediaries, and the fact that the four computers are of identical quality, were explained in great detail. For instance, the instructions included the applicable panel from Figure 1. The instructions also contained an example consisting of four exemplary computer signals as well as the respective messages of the three intermediaries, given a certain state of the world. Subjects were provided with a visual representation of an exemplary distribution function and the concept of unbiasedness was elaborated upon in intuitive terms. A summary of the instructions was read out aloud. In addition, subjects completed a set of control questions with a particular focus on the information structure. For example, in both treatments, subjects had to compute the reports of intermediaries 1 and 2 given exemplary signals of the four computers in order to make sure that subjects understood the (un)correlated nature of the messages. Subjects could only participate in the experiment once they had

[7]Variable earnings in euros were given by $\pi = max\{0, 10 - 160 \times (\text{Belief / True state} - 1)^2\}$.

[8]See Appendix H for a translation of the instructions and control questions for all treatments. The instructions can also be accessed at https://sites.google.com/site/benjaminenke/.

answered all control questions correctly.[9]

At the end of the experiment, we conducted a questionnaire in which we collected information on sociodemographics. To capture dimensions of cognitive ability, we asked subjects for their high school GPA (German "Abitur") and had them solve ten rather difficult IQ test Raven matrices.

Apart from the two baseline *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* treatments, we implemented a number of straightforward extensions and robustness checks. (i) First, we ran high stakes versions of the two baseline treatments. These experiments featured the same procedures, except that the stake size was tripled.[10] (ii) Second, we re-ran the *Correlated* treatment using a slightly different procedure: in treatment *Reading time*, subjects were free to start the control questions and the experiment at any point in time after we had distributed the paper-based instructions, which allows us to measure the time subjects take to read and engage with the instructions before completing the tasks. (iii) Third, we conducted two robustness treatments in which we slightly altered certain aspects of the design, including inducing a prior belief (see Appendix D for details). Appendix A presents an overview of all treatments that are part of this study, including extensions and further robustness checks.

2.2 Hypothesis

In the information structure described above, the computers generated four iid signals of the form $s_h \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu, (\mu/2)^2)$ (truncated at $(0, 2\mu)$) for $h \in \{1, \ldots, 4\}$. In the *Correlated* condition, subjects observed messages s_1 and $\tilde{s}_h = (s_1 + s_h)/2$ for $h \in \{2, 3, 4\}$. When prompted to estimate μ, a rational decision maker would extract the underlying independent signals from the messages $\tilde{s}_h$ and compute the mean rational belief as $b_B = \sum_{h=1}^{4} s_h/4$, which by design also equals the rational belief in *Uncorrelated*.[11]

[9]We can rule out that subjects solved the control questions by trial-and-error. The quiz was implemented on two consecutive computer screens that contained three and four questions, respectively. If at least one question was answered incorrectly, an error message appeared, but subjects were not notified which question(s) they had gotten wrong. For instance, the computer screen which contained two questions that asked subjects to compute the reports of the intermediaries given exemplary signal draws (which arguably constitute the key control questions) had a total of 13 response options across four questions (i.e., $2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 4 = 96$ combinations of responses), making trial-and-error *extremely* cumbersome. In addition, the BonnEconLab has a control room in which the decision screens of all subjects can be monitored. From this monitoring, no attempts to solve the control questions by random guessing were detectable. Furthermore, whenever a subject appeared to have trouble solving the control questions, an experimenter approached the subject, clarified open questions, and (very rarely) excluded the subject if they did not show an adequate understanding of the task.

[10]Variable earnings in euros were given by $\pi = max\{0, 30 - 480 \times (\text{Belief / True state} - 1)^2\}$.

[11]For simplicity, when computing the rational belief, we ignore the truncation in the signal distribution and assume that subjects hold vague priors. Note that the quantitative errors resulting from this are likely to be very small in magnitude. Given the information provided to subjects, potential priors are very likely to be weak. Also, the tails outside the truncation are fairly thin. Moreover, our definition of the rational

Now suppose that the decision maker suffers from correlation neglect, i.e., he does not fully take into account the extent to which $\tilde{s}_h$ reflects s_1, but rather treats $\tilde{s}_h$ (to some extent) as independent. Call such a decision maker naïve and let his degree of naïveté be parameterized by $\chi \in [0,1]$ such that $\chi = 1$ implies full correlation neglect. A naïve agent extracts s_h from $\tilde{s}_h$ according to the rule

$$\hat{s}_h = \chi \tilde{s}_h + (1-\chi)s_h = s_h + \frac{1}{2}\chi(s_1 - s_h) \tag{1}$$

where $\hat{s}_h$ for $h \in \{2,3,4\}$ denotes the agent's (possibly biased) inference of s_h. He thus forms mean beliefs according to

$$b_{CN} = \frac{s_1 + \sum_{h=1}^{3} \hat{s}_h}{4} = \bar{s} + \frac{3}{8}\chi(s_1 - \bar{s}_{-1}) \tag{2}$$

where $\bar{s} = (\sum_{h=1}^{4} s_h)/4$ and $\bar{s}_{-1} = (\sum_{h=2}^{4} s_h)/3$. Thus, a (perhaps partially) naïve belief is given by the rational belief $\bar{s}$ plus a belief bias component which depends on the degree of naïveté χ and the magnitude of the common source signal relative to the other signals.

Hypothesis. *Assuming that $\chi > 0$, beliefs in the Correlated treatment exhibit an overshooting pattern. Given a high common source signal, i.e., $s_1 > \bar{s}_{-1}$, beliefs in the Correlated treatment are biased upward compared to the Uncorrelated treatment. Conversely, if $s_1 < \bar{s}_{-1}$, beliefs in the Correlated condition are biased downward.*

Intuitively, by partially neglecting the redundancies among the signals, the decision maker double-counts the first signal, so that beliefs are biased in the corresponding direction. At the same time, note from equation (2) that the beliefs of a naïve agent remain statistically unbiased: Since the first signal is unbiased, any double-counting leads to a zero expected error. The upshot of this is that naïve agents are correct on average, yet exhibit excessive swings in their beliefs.

2.3 Procedural Details

The experiments were conducted at the BonnEconLab of the University of Bonn. Subjects were mostly students from the University of Bonn and were recruited using the online recruitment system by Greiner (2004). No subject participated in more than one

belief conforms with observed behavior in the *Uncorrelated* treatment, where subjects tended to merely take the average of the four signals. Finally, and most importantly, regardless of the precise definition of the rational benchmark, beliefs should be identical across treatments.

session. The experiment was run using the experimental software z-Tree (Fischbacher, 2007). A total of 234 subjects participated in the individual belief formation treatments, 94 in the baseline, 94 in the high stakes, and 46 in the *Reading time* treatments. Within the baseline and high stake treatments, the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* condition were randomized within session. Sessions lasted about 1.5 hours and average earnings equalled €11.60 in the baseline treatments (≈ USD 15 at the time) and €21.90 in the high stakes treatments (≈ USD 28). In all treatments, payments included a €6 show-up fee.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Beliefs Across Treatments

Result 1. *In all but one belief formation task, beliefs differ significantly between treatments in the direction predicted by correlation neglect. This pattern is unaffected by the tripling of the stake size.*

As we will establish formally below, beliefs are strikingly similar between the baseline and the high stakes treatments. Given the otherwise identical procedures, we hence pool the data across stake size conditions in all analyses unless noted otherwise.

Table 2 provides summary statistics for all tasks and reveals that in nine out of ten cases do beliefs in *Correlated* significantly differ from those in the *Uncorrelated* treatment. The bias is very stable across tasks and does not seem to depend on the magnitude of the true state.[12] As a consequence of these biased beliefs, subjects in the baseline condition earned roughly €2.70 less than those in the *Uncorrelated* group, which amounts to almost 50 % of subjects' average variable earnings. The earnings difference is significant (p-value = 0.0025, Wilcoxon ranksum test). In the high stakes treatments, the earnings difference is €5.40 (p-value = 0.0887).

Our experiments provide no feedback and hence little scope for learning. Indeed, in the data, subjects do not seem to learn to deal with correlations over time (see Appendix C.4). It is doubtful for at least two reasons that subjects would learn within the course of ten experimental periods even in the presence of feedback. First – given the small sample of four signals – occasionally the "naïve" (correlation neglect) belief is closer to the true state than the rational belief, compare Table 1, creating a rather coarse environment for learning. In addition, recall that the correlation neglect belief is statistically unbiased. Second, we can actually derive first insights into whether and how people learn over time in the presence of feedback from market experiments that

[12] Our two robustness treatments replicate these findings, see Appendix D for details.

Table 2: Correlation neglect by belief formation task

True State	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief	Median Belief *Uncorr.* Treatment	Median Belief *Correlated* Treatment	Ranksum Test (p-value)
10	7.75	9.88	8	9.1	0.0002
88	71.25	96.63	71.25	87.5	0.0001
250	259.75	219.38	260	250	0.0028
732	853.15	709.13	850	752	0.0018
1,000	974.75	1,042.38	999	1,030	0.0165
4,698	4,810	3,209	4,810	4,505	0.0001
7,338	8,604.5	9,277.25	9,000	9,152.5	0.8317
10,000	7,232.25	4,887.63	7,232	6,200	0.0001
23,112	26,331	20,745.5	25,000	21,506	0.0001
46,422	38,910.5	25,625	38,885.5	30,277	0.0014

This table presents an overview of beliefs in the *Uncorrelated* and *Correlated* treatments across the ten estimation tasks. The p-values refer to a Wilcoxon ranksum test between beliefs in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions. The data are pooled across the high stakes and baseline treatments. For reference, we also provide the benchmarks of rational and fully naïve beliefs. See Table 1 for details of the computation of the rational and the correlation neglect benchmarks. Note that subjects faced the ten tasks in randomized order.

are reported upon in Section 4. These market trading experiments build on our individual decision-making design and feature the same information structure. Here, subjects were provided with extensive feedback after each period, including the true state of the world and losses and profits from trading activities, yet the data reveal little, if any, learning over time.

2.4.2 Heterogeneity

Thus far, we have established a significant amount of correlation neglect *on average*. These average patterns may mask a substantial amount of heterogeneity. To investigate this, we develop a measure of an individual's belief type. Specifically, our experimental design in combination with the simple model of belief formation introduced in Section 2.2 allows us to estimate individual's naïveté χ. For each belief, we compute the naïveté parameter χ in equation 2. The median of those naïveté values then serves as estimator for the subject-level naïveté parameter:

$$\hat{\chi}_i \equiv med(\tilde{b}_i^j) = med\left(\frac{8(b_i^j - \bar{s}^j)}{3(s_1^j - \bar{s}_{-1}^j)}\right)$$

Figure 2 provides kernel density estimates of the distribution of these naïveté parameters for both the *Correlated* and the *Uncorrelated* treatment, pooled across stake size conditions. The plots reveal that in the *Uncorrelated* treatment the vast majority

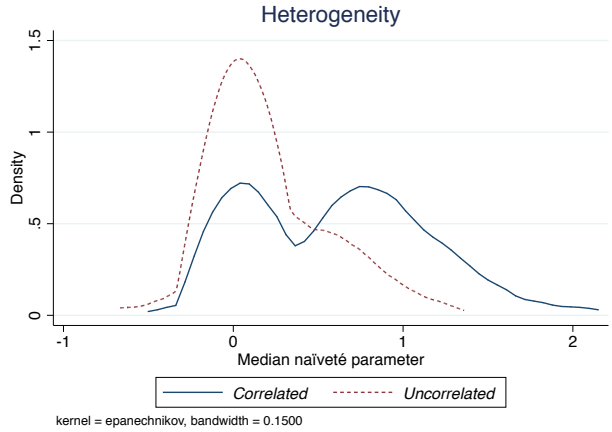

Figure 2: Kernel density estimates of median naïveté parameters. The two kernels depict the distributions of naïveté in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions, pooled across the high stakes and baseline treatments.

of subjects behaves approximately rational, as indicated by the spike around zero. In the *Correlated* treatment, on the other hand, we observe two peaks around the rational benchmark and the full correlation neglect parameter $\chi = 1$, respectively, which suggests the presence of different updating types. In particular, those subjects that do not succesfully process correlations form beliefs by following a particular simple heuristic of essentially full neglect.[13] Finally, beliefs in *Correlated* exhibit a much larger heterogeneity than those in *Uncorrelated*: in eight out of the ten belief formation tasks is the within-treatment belief variance statistically significantly higher in the *Correlated* condition ($p < 0.05$).

Our procedure of computing an individual's type only makes use of the first moment of the distribution of each subject's beliefs, and hence ignores the variability in beliefs. In Appendix C.5, we pursue a different approach by estimating the belief formation rule proposed in Section 2.2 through a finite mixture model. The picture resulting from these estimations is very similar to what can be inferred from Figure 2.

2.4.3 Cognitive Ability and Cognitive Effort

Before we develop a structured analysis of mechanisms in the next section, we conclude the baseline analysis by studying the roles of cognitive ability and cognitive effort in generating correlation neglect. Columns (1) and (2) of Table 3 provide evidence for the treatment difference in beliefs, again pooling across the baseline and high stakes conditions. Here, the dependent variable is the full set of ten beliefs, expressed in terms of χ (equation 2).

The remainder of the table restricts attention to the *Correlated* treatments. Columns

[13] Appendix C.3 analyzes the stability of the individual-level naïveté parameters across tasks.

Table 3: Heterogeneity in correlation neglect

	Dependent variable: *Naiveté* χ								*Response time*	
	Full sample		*Correlated* treatments							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
0 if *Uncorrelated*, 1 if *Correlated*	0.38***	0.35***								
	(0.06)	(0.06)								
Cognitive skills		-0.15***	-0.18**			-0.19**		-0.045		0.24
		(0.03)	(0.08)			(0.08)		(0.23)		(0.14)
Response time (in minutes)				-0.16***		-0.15**		-0.36**		
				(0.06)		(0.07)		(0.15)		
0 if *Baseline*, 1 if *High stakes*					-0.11	-0.090			0.35*	0.43**
					(0.12)	(0.12)			(0.21)	(0.20)
Reading time (in minutes)							-0.12	-0.097		
							(0.08)	(0.09)		
Constant	0.24***	0.31	0.54***	0.76***	0.57***	0.31	0.86	2.95	1.43***	0.093
	(0.03)	(0.20)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.43)	(0.88)	(2.21)	(0.14)	(1.11)
Additional controls	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1799	1785	901	901	901	886	422	417	901	886
R^2	0.06	0.13	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.15	0.02	0.15

OLS estimates, robust standard errors (clustered at subject level) in parantheses. The table analyzes the determinants and correlates of subjects' naïveté as implied in each of the ten beliefs. In columns (1)-(2), observations include all subjects from the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* treatments, both baseline and high stakes. In columns (3)–(6) as well as (9)–(10), the sample includes all subjects from the baseline and high stakes *Correlated* conditions. Columns (7) and (8) analyze treatment *Reading time*. Additional controls include age, gender, monthly income, marital status fixed effects, and task fixed effects. Cognitive skills are the z-score of the unweighted average of the z-scores of high school GPA and a Raven test score. All regressions exclude extreme outliers with $|\chi_i^j| > 3$, but all results are robust to including these observations when employing median regressions. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

(3) and (6) show that correlation neglect is significantly associated with cognitive skills, as derived from participants' high school GPA and their score on a post-experimental Raven IQ test. Columns (4) and (6) through (10) investigate the relationship between correlation neglect and subjects' response times, which are commonly used as proxy for cognitive effort (Rubinstein, 2007, 2016). Indeed, it is conceivable that subjects face prohibitively high cognitive costs in developing or executing a solution strategy (Caplin et al., 2011; Gabaix, 2014) and hence opt for a simplifying heuristic, perhaps akin to Kahneman's (2011) system 1 vs. 2 terminology.[14] The standard approach in the literature is to record the time subjects take to complete an experimental task, *after they have read and contemplated about the experimental instructions*. However, it is ex-ante unclear at which point during the experiment subjects develop their solution strategy. As explained in Section 2.1, we implemented a follow-up treatment called *Reading Time* to explicitly measure not only standard response times, but also the time subjects take to read the instructions. In sum, we have access to a standard measure of response time for the baseline and high stakes *Correlated* and the *Reading Time* treatments, as well as to the time subjects took to read the instructions in *Reading Time*.

Turning to the analysis, columns (4)–(8) document that both of our proxies for cognitive effort (reading and response times) are only weakly related to correlation neglect. First, in the baseline treatments (analyzed in columns (4) and (6)), a longer time spent on the problem is significantly correlated with less correlation neglect, but the quantitative magnitude of this relationship is small: interpreted causally, the OLS coefficients suggest that response times would have to increase by about four minutes to move a fully naïve subject to fully rational beliefs. Note that this is a very implausible magnitude: the average response time of approximately rational subjects is just 2.2 minutes, and increasing the naïve types' response times by four minutes corresponds to an increase of about 3.5 standard deviations in the sample.[15] While the within-treatment relationship between response times and correlation neglect is correlational in nature, columns (5) and (6) document that the exogenous threefold increase in financial stakes had no effect on correlation neglect. This is noteworthy since the tripling of the stake size *did* significantly affect cognitive effort as proxied by response times, compare columns (9)–(10). That is, tripling the stakes increases cognitive effort, but does not affect the presence of the bias.

[14]In addition, subjects might exhibit self-serving biases regarding their effort level: in principle, subjects might only be able to rationalize to themselves not to exert effort to develop rational beliefs if the underlying problem is sufficiently complex. For recent evidence on such "wiggling" behavior see, e.g., Dana et al. (2007), Haisley and Weber (2010), and Exley (2015).

[15]In addition, the correlation between response times and naïveté might be purely mechanical: conditional on having developed different solution strategies, rational subjects ought to take longer to solve the problem than naïfs because computing rational beliefs requires additional mathematical steps.

Table 4: Overview of main treatments

Treatment	Description	Purpose
Baseline correlated	4 Computers, 3 Intermediaries	Establish correlation neglect
Baseline uncorrelated	4 Computers, 3 Intermediaries	Establish correlation neglect
High stakes corr. & uncorr.; Reading time	4 Computers, 3 Intermediaries	Role of cognitive effort
Reduced complexity correlated	2 Computers, 1 Intermediary	Importance of complexity
Reduced complexity uncorrelated	2 Computers, 1 Intermediary	Importance of complexity
Many Stimuli	2 Computers, 3 Intermediaries	Importance of size of information structure
Alternating	4 Computers, 3 Intermediaries	Importance of conceptual aspect

Finally, columns (7) and (8) show that the relationship between correlation neglect and subjects' reading times is also weak. Neither in unconditional nor in conditional regressions is reading time significantly associated with the bias.[16]

In sum, (i) neglect types do not take less time to read the instructions; (ii) they take only slightly less time to work on the specific tasks; and (iii) exogenous increases in effort do not translate into better beliefs. While mostly descriptive in nature, these various pieces of evidence are suggestive that correlation neglect is not driven by laziness.

3 Mechanisms and Debiasing

We investigate the mechanisms behind correlation neglect through a series of treatment variations, as summarized in Table 4.[17] We will refer back to this table as we move along. Table 6 in the Appendix provides a complete list of all treatments that are part of this study, including robustness checks and extensions.

3.1 The Role of Complexity

A common theme in the literature is that the degree of complexity of a decision problem exerts a substantial effect on the existence and magnitude of cognitive biases (e.g., Charness and Levin, 2009). To examine the effects of complexity on correlation neglect, we implemented a set of low complexity treatments that were identical to the baseline conditions, except that we reduced the number of computers and intermediaries. In

[16]The R^2 in most of these regressions is fairly small (similarly so in Table 5), which directly results from the large amount of heterogeneity in the data, both across subjects and within subjects across experimental tasks.

[17]Appendix E.2 investigates whether correlation neglect is driven by a simple "face value" heuristic. This hypothesis posits that people *never* think through the process generating their information and instead treat each number as if it were an unmanipulated independent signal realization, *regardless of whether the signals are correlated or distorted in other ways*. We design two treatments to evaluate the empirical validity of such an extreme heuristic. The results reject a face value heuristic, and correlation neglect persists even when face value bias makes opposite predictions.

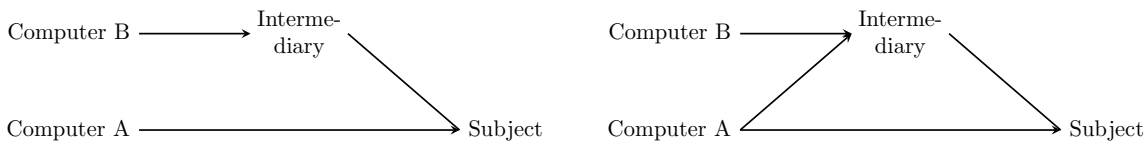

Figure 3: Low complexity uncorrelated (left panel) and correlated (right panel) information structure. In the left panel, the intermediary directly transmit the signal from computer B. In the right panel, the intermediary takes the average of the signals of A and B, and transmits this average to the subjects.

these low complexity conditions, only two computers (A and B) generated unbiased iid signals about the state μ, and only one intermediary was present (see Figure 3). In both treatments, subjects were provided with information from computer A as well as from the intermediary. In the *Low Complexity Uncorrelated* treatment, the intermediary directly transmitted the signal of computer B. In the *Low Complexity Correlated* treatment, the intermediary reported the average of the signals of computers A and B. Thus, the type of correlation is identical to the baseline condition and requires the same conceptual understanding of double-counting, yet the complexity of the environment is severely reduced (see also Table 4). We implemented the same ten belief formation tasks as in the baseline treatments using the same incentive structure, instructions and procedures. In total, 94 subjects participated in these treatments, which lasted 80 minutes on average and yielded average earnings of €11.60.

Result 2. *An extreme reduction in the environment's complexity eliminates the bias.*

Consistent with previous documentations of the role of complexity in different contexts, we find that correlation neglect disappears in our low complexity treatments. Columns (1)–(2) of Table 5 present the results of OLS regressions of the naïveté implied in each belief of a given subject on a correlated treatment dummy.[18] While the point estimate is negative, it is very far from statistically significant. This finding is noteworthy because it shows that in (admittedly extremely) simple informational environments subjects do grasp the implications of correlated information structures; thus, correlation neglect depends not only on subject's updating type, but also on the properties of the informational environment.[19]

At the same time, in terms of pinning down the precise mechanisms that generate

[18]The implied χ_i^j are computed using the same procedure across all low complexity conditions:

$$\hat{\chi}_i^j = \chi_i^j = \frac{s_1^j + s_2^j}{2} + \frac{1}{4}(s_1^j - s_2^j)$$

[19]Note, however, that our low complexity environment is very simplistic: Since we did not induce priors, the report of the intermediary in the correlated treatment equals the rational belief, rendering actual computations by the subjects unnecessary.

correlation neglect, these reduced complexity treatments do not provide a definitive answer because they manipulate a number of features of the experimental design at once, relative to the baseline conditions. To organize our discussion of the mechanisms underlying correlation neglect (and its dependence on complexity), we adopt a simple qualitative framework that clarifies the cognitive steps required to develop rational beliefs.

3.2 Mechanisms: A Framework

Arguably, solving our experimental task requires three steps of reasoning:

1. *Notice the problem:* Subjects need to notice the presence of the correlation among signals and realize that averaging the correlated messages introduces a double-counting problem.

2. *Understand how to solve the problem:* Subjects need to think through the problem and understand that it can be solved by backing out and averaging the underlying independent signals.

3. *Solve the problem mathematically:* Subjects need to be able and willing to solve the problem mathematically by setting up the corresponding equations and executing them.

All of these steps are potentially affected by our complexity manipulation. For example, the number of mathematical steps that are required to solve the problem differs across the low complexity and baseline conditions. Likewise, noticing and thinking through the double-counting problem might be harder in our baseline treatments because the size of the information structure – captured by the number of signals and messages – increases.[20]

In what follows, we narrow in on the mechanism. For this purpose, we follow a long line of work in cognitive psychology that divides mental operations into a *conceptual* and a *mathematical* or computational aspect.[21] In the conceptual part (steps 1.–2. from above), subjects need to *develop* a solution strategy, while the mathematical part (step 3.) requires them to *execute* that strategy. We focus our efforts on differentiating the steps of developing and properly executing a strategy.

[20]Indeed, an extensive recent literature in cognitive psychology emphasizes that people often largely focus on mathematically transforming the visible signals into a posterior, rather than on the specific features of the underlying process (see Fiedler, 2000; Fiedler and Juslin, 2006, for overviews).

[21]For example, standard treatments of the computational theory of mind assume a distinction between representations and operations on those representations (e.g., Thagard, 1996; Horst, 2011).

Table 5: Mechanisms

	Dependent variable: *Naiveté* χ					
	Low complexity				*Corr.* & *Alternating*	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
0 if *Low complexity uncorr.*, 1 if *Low complexity corr.*	-0.14	-0.10				
	(0.10)	(0.08)				
0 if *Low complexity corr.*, 1 if *Many Stimuli*			0.34***	0.33***		
			(0.11)	(0.11)		
0 if *Correlated*, 1 if *Alternating*					-0.25***	-0.24**
					(0.08)	(0.09)
Constant	0.15***	0.18	0.0090	-0.55	0.54***	0.13
	(0.04)	(0.31)	(0.09)	(0.54)	(0.05)	(0.34)
Additional controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	884	874	891	881	681	687
R^2	0.01	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.09

OLS estimates, robust standard errors (clustered at the subject level) in parantheses. The table analyzes the mechanisms behind correlation neglect. The dependent variable is always subjects' naïveté as implied in a given belief. In columns (1)-(2), observations include all beliefs of subjects in the *Low complexity correlated* and *Low complexity uncorrelated* treatments. In columns (3)–(4), the sample includes all beliefs of subjects from the *Low complexity correlated* and *Many Stimuli* conditions. In columns (5)–(6), the sample includes subjects in the *Correlated* conditions (both baseline and high stakes) as well as in *Alternating*, where the set of beliefs is restricted to those tasks in which the *Alternating* treatment featured a correlated information structure. Additional controls include age, gender, cognitive skills, monthly income, marital status fixed effects, and task fixed effects. All regressions exclude extreme outliers with $|\chi_i^j| > 3$, but all results are robust to including these observations when employing median regressions. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

For this purpose, we develop two treatment variations. The key idea behind both treatments is to hold the mathematical steps required to correctly solve the problem constant, yet manipulate the way people approach and think about the problem. For this purpose, we apply a basic idea reported in DellaVigna (2009) to our context, i.e., that the probability of attending to and understanding complex issues – here, the correlation – is a function of (at least) two aspects of the environment. First, people's propensity to notice and think through correlations might negatively depend on the size of the information structure, i.e., the total number of stimuli as proxy for the overall complexity of the problem. In particular, it is conceivable that a "bigger" problem either makes it harder for subjects to identify the double-counting problem or makes it less obvious how to solve it. Second, attending to and understanding the double-counting problem might be easier if people are nudged to focus on and think about the correlation and the underlying independent signals.[22]

We test these two predictions by increasing the size of the information structure (Section 3.3.1) and nudging subjects to pay special attention to the double-counting problem and the underlying independent signals (Section 3.3.2), respectively, while holding the computational steps constant.

[22]Appendix E.1 presents a simple model in the spirit of DellaVigna (2009) that formalizes these ideas.

3.3 Conceptual versus Mathematical Problems

3.3.1 Complexity and the Size of the Information Structure

Recall that the baseline and low complexity environments differed not only in the size of the information structure per se, but also in the number of mathematical steps required to solve the problem. To isolate the pure effect of increasing the size (and hence the conceptual difficulty) of the problem, we designed a variation of the *Low Complexity Correlated* treatment. In treatment *Many Stimuli*, depicted in the right panel of Figure 4, again only two computers generated unbiased iid signals about the state of the world μ, but three intermediaries communicated with subjects. Intermediary 1 observed the signals of computers A and B and transmitted the average to subjects. Intermediary 2 observed the signal of computer A and reported it to subjects. Intermediary 3 observed the signals of A and B and transmitted $(3/4 \times A + 1/4 \times B)$ to subjects. Taken together, subjects observed the signal of computer A twice, and also received two different linear combinations of the signals of A and B. Thus, this treatment manipulates the size of the information structure (via the number of messages), but requires exactly the same mathematical steps as those in *Low Complexity Correlated*: Subjects could either simply copy the message of Intermediary 1, or invert the message of Intermediary 1 and then compute the average of A and B.

47 subjects participated in *Many Stimuli*, which lasted 80 minutes on average and yielded average earnings of € 11.10.

Result 3. *Holding fixed the mathematical steps required to solve the updating problem, a larger number of messages induces more correlation neglect.*

Columns (3)–(4) of Table 5 report upon OLS regressions of the naïveté implied in subjects' ten beliefs on a treatment dummy which assumes a value of zero if subjects are in the *Low Complexity Correlated* condition and of one if participants are in *Many Stimuli*. The statistically significant point estimate suggests that the increase in the number of messages alone increases correlation neglect by about 0.34 units of naïveté (χ) on average, an effect size that is similar to our main treatment effect in the baseline conditions (0.38 units of χ, see column (1) of Table 3). Analogous regressions show that beliefs in *Many Stimuli* also significantly differ from those in *Low Complexity Uncorrelated* ($p < 0.05$).

These results suggest that it is easier for subjects to notice and think through the correlated information structue when the size of the updating problem (as captured by the number of messages) is smaller. Arguably, this finding (i) provides our first piece of evidence that correlation neglect is to a large extent driven by conceptual as opposed to

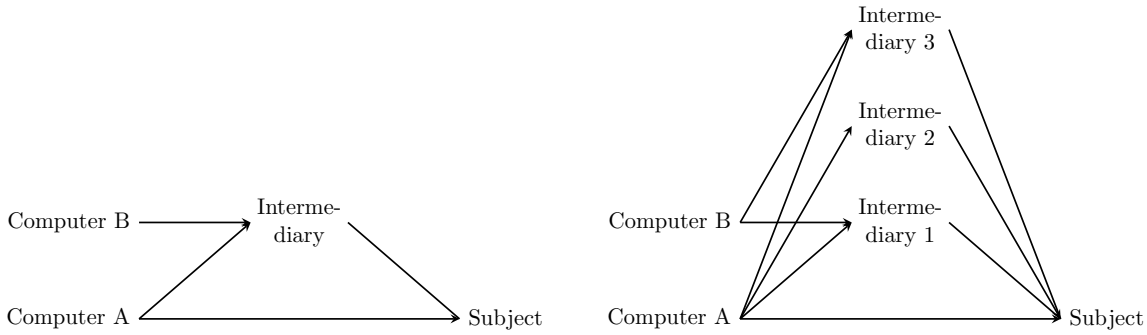

Figure 4: Information structure in *Low Complexity Correlated* (left panel) and *Many Stimuli* (right panel). In the left panel, the intermediary directly transmit the signal from computer B. In the right panel, intermediary 1 observes the signals of computers A and B and transmits the average to subjects. Intermediary 2 observes the signal of computer A and reports it to subjects. Intermediary 3 observes the signals of A and B and transmits $(3/4 \times A + 1/4 \times B)$.

mathematical problems, but also (ii) suggests that people's propensity to notice and understand the correlation depends upon features of the environment, hence rationalizing the difference between the results in our baseline and low complexity experiments.

3.3.2 Nudge Evidence

We proceed by testing the idea that drawing subjects' attention to the double-counting problem and the underlying independent signals may help them in noticing the correlation and understanding how to cope with it. To achieve this goal while holding the mathematical complexity of the problem constant, treatment *Alternating* (see Table 4) varies the nature of the information structure (correlated or uncorrelated) within subjects between tasks. The basic design of the *Alternating* treatment (e.g., the number of computers and intermediaries) is identical to the baseline conditions. The key difference is that the instructions for this treatment introduced both the correlated and the uncorrelated information structure from our baseline design, which were framed as "Scenario I" and "Scenario II", respectively. Subjects were told that in some tasks they would receive information according to Scenario I and in some tasks according to Scenario II and that, in each task, they would be informed of the scenario before seeing the messages of computer A and of the intermediaries. Consequently, subjects solved five tasks with correlated and five with uncorrelated information. The instructions emphasized that subjects would have to pay special attention to the prevailing scenario. In addition, the control questions in this treatment required subjects to compute the messages of intermediaries 1 and 2 for exemplary computer signals for both the correlated and the uncorrelated scenario, which presumably further increased the salience of the workings of the intermediaries.

Arguably, alternating the correlated and uncorrelated information structure might

manipulate both steps 1. and 2. of our framework above, i.e., (i) this treatment might make it easier for subjects to notice the double-counting problem, but (ii) it may also help subjects understand that this problem can be solved by backing out the underlying independent signals because it makes the role of the underlying signals more salient. At the same time, the treatment does not provide any hints on how to *mathematically* compute the correct solution and hence leaves step 3. of the framework unaffected. 47 subjects took part in the *Alternating* treatment and earned € 13.10 on average.

Result 4. *Exogenously increasing subjects' focus on the correlation and the underlying independent signals reduces the bias.*

Columns (5)–(6) of Table 5 present the regression results. Here, we regress the naïveté implied in beliefs in *Correlated* and *Alternating* on a treatment dummy. The point estimate indicates that shifting subjects' focus reduces correlation neglect by 0.25 units of naïveté. To provide a complementary perspective, Appendix E.3 provides kernel density estimates of (median) beliefs in *Alternating*.

In sum, if subjects are nudged to focus on the correlation and the underlying independent signals, the bias is substantially reduced. Arguably, this treatment also provides evidence that people are in principle well capable of and sufficiently motivated to perform the calculations that are needed to develop rational beliefs – after all, treatment *Alternating* manipulates neither subjects' mathematical skills nor their incentives to solve the problem.[23]

3.4 Discussion

The analysis of mechanisms has revealed that people do not struggle so much with the mathematics involved in solving our experimental task, but more with the conceptual problem of noticing and thinking through the correlation. In addition, we have provided causal evidence that people are more likely to adequately process correlations if the information structure is "smaller", hence indicating the importance of complexity for noticing and understanding correlations. While the general idea behind these comparative statics effects may well extend to different environments, it should be acknowledged that the results are conditional on this particular type of (relatively simple) correlation.

[23]That subjects appear to be sufficiently motivated confirms findings from Section 2.4.3 about the role of cognitive effort. Appendix E.4 presents the results from two further treatment variations that lend further credence to the insight that people struggle much more with noticing the double-counting problem in the first place, rather than solving it mathematically. For example, when subjects receive the hint "...Think carefully about what the intermediaries do! What does that imply for the estimates of the intermediaries?", they notice and solve the double-counting problem in a very similar fashion as in *Alternating*.

The distinction between developing and executing a solution strategy appears potentially important for both policy and economic theory. For example, if people's shortcomings in processing correlations were closely linked to mathematical problems, then an obvious policy implication is to teach more basic math. On the other hand, if people's problems were predominantly conceptual in nature, meaning that they fail to notice or think through the correlations, then policy remedies may focus on making people aware of the correlation and nudging them towards the underlying independent signals. Crucially, in contrast to teaching math, such a policy will likely be *context-specific*: pointing people to the presence of correlations in one context would not necessarily help them in another context. In addition, from the perspective of theory, the distinction between developing and executing a strategy is potentially important as the former appears linked to having a wrong subjective model of the environment, while the latter could perhaps be formalized by modeling cognitive effort costs.

While the distinction between the conceptual and mathematical steps in our framework appears to be of direct economic relevance, this is arguably less the case for the distinction between steps 1. and 2. From the viewpoint of policy, treatment *Alternating* has shown that making the double-counting problem and the underlying signals very salient largely eliminates the bias – whether this is the case because people don't even notice the double-counting problem to begin with or don't understand how to solve it seems rather subtle and likely less relevant in practice. For example, in the context of the news media, a policy intervention that reminds people of the fact that many news articles rely on the same press agencies or journalists, is likely to manipulate both people's awareness of the correlation, and their propensity to develop the correct solution strategy. Likewise, it is difficult to foresee whether the rather subtle distinction between steps 1. and 2. could be productive for economic theory, especially given that both steps are related to the conceptual difficulty of processing correlations. For these reasons, we refrain from attempting to further disentangle steps 1. and 2. from our motivating framework.

4 Extensions and Concluding Remarks

Using experiments with more than 1,000 subjects, this paper provides clean evidence for people's tendency to neglect correlations in information sources when forming beliefs and the corresponding mechanisms. While we deliberately designed a tightly controlled and abstract information structure to obtain a clean view on the cognitive bias, it would be interesting to extend the analysis to more naturalistic information. In Appendix G, we explore one possible avenue by confronting subjects with real newspaper

reports covering correlated information. We make use of a naturally occurring informational redundancy in professional GDP forecasts that arose because a German research institute contributed to a joint forecast, but also issued a separate (different) forecast at the same time. Again, the incentivized beliefs subjects state after they have read these correlated forecasts are indicative of correlation neglect.

Correlation neglect is likely to have implications in applied settings such as interactive social network or herding setups. In this respect, our findings contribute to an active empirical literature on naïve social learning, which has often identified updating patterns consistent with correlation neglect (Brandts et al., 2015; Grimm and Mengel, 2016; Chandrasekhar et al., 2016; Eyster et al., 2016).[24] Similarly, our paper also relates to work on financial decision-making in the presence of correlated asset returns (Eyster and Weizsäcker, 2011; Kallir and Sonsino, 2010). What sets us apart from all of these contributions is our focus on a simple and completely transparent information structure as well as a study of the underlying mechanisms. For example, our updating environment is stripped off the complexities that pervade experiments of social interactions in networks, such as lack of common knowledge of rationality, complicated updating processes after several rounds of communication, or the need to evaluate "indirect" information of uncertain origin (Golub and Jackson, 2010). Also, the correlation structure in our setup is very simple compared to the typically non-trivial correlations among financial assets. By documenting a "pure" form of correlation neglect, our findings arguably highlight the potential importance of this bias in a wide range of applied settings. In addition, our paper provides evidence on the mechanisms underlying correlation neglect, and how the presence of the bias depends on features of the environment.

Markets are an additional obvious candidate to study correlation neglect. For instance, simple market interaction might already suffice to debias the neglect types: first, subjects could learn from feedback including profits and losses from trading; second, subjects might learn by observing others trade on evidently different beliefs. Alternatively or in addition, the correlation neglect types might be less certain about their beliefs than the rational types and hence engage in only moderate trading. If so, this would imply that despite the heterogeneity in updating types, the marginal (price-setting) trader would be rational. Appendix F reports upon experiments in which we embedded our correlated information structure into a standard continuous double-auction in which subjects traded financial assets of ex ante unknown value. In these experiments, subjects received extensive feedback after each trading round, including the true state from the past period and the resulting profits and losses from trading. In addition,

[24]Other studies, such as the ones by Corazzini et al. (2012), Möbius et al. (2013) and Weizsäcker (2010) find belief patterns that are less consistent with correlation neglect.

subjects could observe all bids from all market participants, which provided further opportunities to learn. The results show that experimental market interaction does not induce correlation neglect types to learn: in periods in which correlation neglect leads to overly optimistic beliefs, market prices in the correlated treatment are too high, and when neglecting correlations implies overpessimism, market prices are too low. In addition, within the correlated market treatment, subjects' propensity to ignore correlations predicts both individual trading behavior and the degree of price distortions. In sum, correlation neglect also has predictable effects in simple experimental markets.

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ONLINE APPENDIX

A Overview of Treatments

Table 6: Treatment overview

Treatment	# subjects	Session length (mins)	Ave earnings (euros)	Covered in	Median χ	SD of χ
Baseline correlated	47	90	10.25	Sec. 2	0.68	0.51
Baseline uncorrelated	47	90	12.92	Sec. 2	0.05	0.34
High stakes correlated	47	90	19.17	Sec. 2	0.65	0.60
High stakes uncorrelated	47	90	24.58	Sec. 2	0.02	0.18
Reading time	46	80	12.00	Sec. 2	0.24	0.91
Robustness correlated	48	80	9.96	App. D	0.39	0.45
Robustness uncorrelated	48	80	12.25	App. D	0.00	0.18
Low complexity correlated	47	80	12.52	Sec. 3.1	0.00	0.79
Low complexity uncorrelated	47	80	11.60	Sec. 3.1	0.01	0.46
Many Stimuli	47	80	11.08	Sec. 3.3.1	0.25	0.56
Alternating	47	90	13.13	Sec. 3.3.2	0.02	0.23
Math	47	90	11.40	App. E.4.2	0.00	0.54
Intermediaries	46	90	12.70	App. E.4.1	0.09	0.44
Multiply	46	90	11.70	App. E.2	0.00	0.20
Face value	45	90	8.10	App. E.2	–	–
Market correlated	144	150	19.40	App. F	0.69	0.39
Market uncorrelated	144	150	19.33	App. F	0.04	0.17

B Order of Belief Formation Tasks in Main Treatments

In all individual belief elicitation treatments we implemented three different randomized orders of rounds. These orders (by true state) are as follows:

1. 10’000, 88, 46’422, 4’698, 250, 23’112, 1’000, 10, 7’338, 732
2. 732, 23’112, 88, 1’000, 250, 4’698, 10, 7’338, 10’000, 46’422
3. 250, 7’338, 10’000, 10, 4’698, 88, 46’422, 732, 1’000, 23’112

C Additional Analyses for Baseline and High Stakes Treatments

C.1 Baseline vs. High Stakes Treatments

In the high-stakes conditions, we implemented the same procedure as in the baseline conditions using a different incentive scheme. For all ten belief formation tasks, the results in these treatments are virtually identical to those in the baseline conditions. Figure 5 provides kernel density estimates of the median naïveté parameters in the baseline and high-stakes conditions, which suggest that beliefs in these treatments are almost indistinguishable from each other. Table 7 formally confirms this impression using a set of OLS regressions. Here, we regress the median naïveté of subjects in the baseline and the high stakes treatments (both *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* on (i) a treatment dummy, (ii) a high stakes dummy, and (iii) an interaction term equal to one if subjects are in the high stakes correlated treatment. If the increase in stake size had a positive effect on subjects' stated beliefs, then this interaction term should have a statistically significant negative coefficient. However, the point estimate is even slightly positive, confirming that the increase in the stake size by 200% did not affect subjects' stated beliefs.

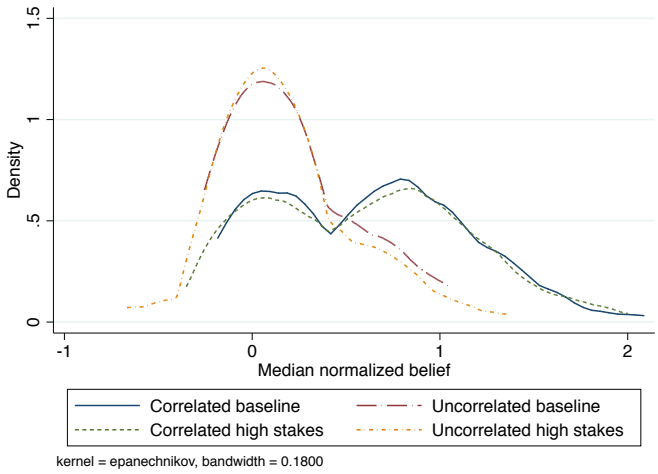

Figure 5: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in the baseline and high stakes conditions

Table 7: Correlation neglect and stake size

	Dependent variable: Median χ		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1 if correlated	0.41***	0.39***	0.40***
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)
1 if high stakes		-0.046	0.0100
		(0.07)	(0.08)
1 if correlated high stakes		0.029	-0.046
		(0.13)	(0.13)
Constant	0.20***	0.23***	0.14
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.23)
Additional controls	No	No	Yes
Observations	188	188	186
R^2	0.17	0.17	0.27

OLS estimates, robust standard errors in parantheses. Observations include all subjects from the baseline and high stakes treatments, both *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated*. Additional controls include age, gender, cognitive skills, monthly income, and marital status dummies. Cognitive skills are the first factor as constructed from subjects' high school GPA (1-5) and their Raven test score (0-10). * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

C.2 Robustness of Results in Individual Decision Making Treatments

This section demonstrates the robustness of our results in the baseline individual treatments. First, Table 8 provides the p-values of ranksum tests for each of the ten belief formation tasks if we exclude all "outliers", i.e., all observations which are not within $[50\ \%, 150\ \%]$ of the rational belief. Figures 6 and 7 provide kernel density estimates of the beliefs in each of the ten tasks to provide a visual representation of the robustness of our results. As the ranksum tests above, these densities exclude beliefs which are not within $[50\ \%, 150\ \%]$ of the rational belief. All data are pooled across the baseline and high stakes conditions.

Table 8: P-values of ranksum tests in the individual treatments excluding outliers

True state	10	88	250	732	1'000	4'698	7'338	10'000	23'112	46'422
p-value	0.0030	0.0001	0.0006	0.0021	0.0264	0.0001	0.9299	0.0001	0.0001	0.0010

Observations include all beliefs in the baseline and high stakes treatments within a 50 % range around the rational belief. he p-values refer to a Wilcoxon ranksum test between beliefs in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions.

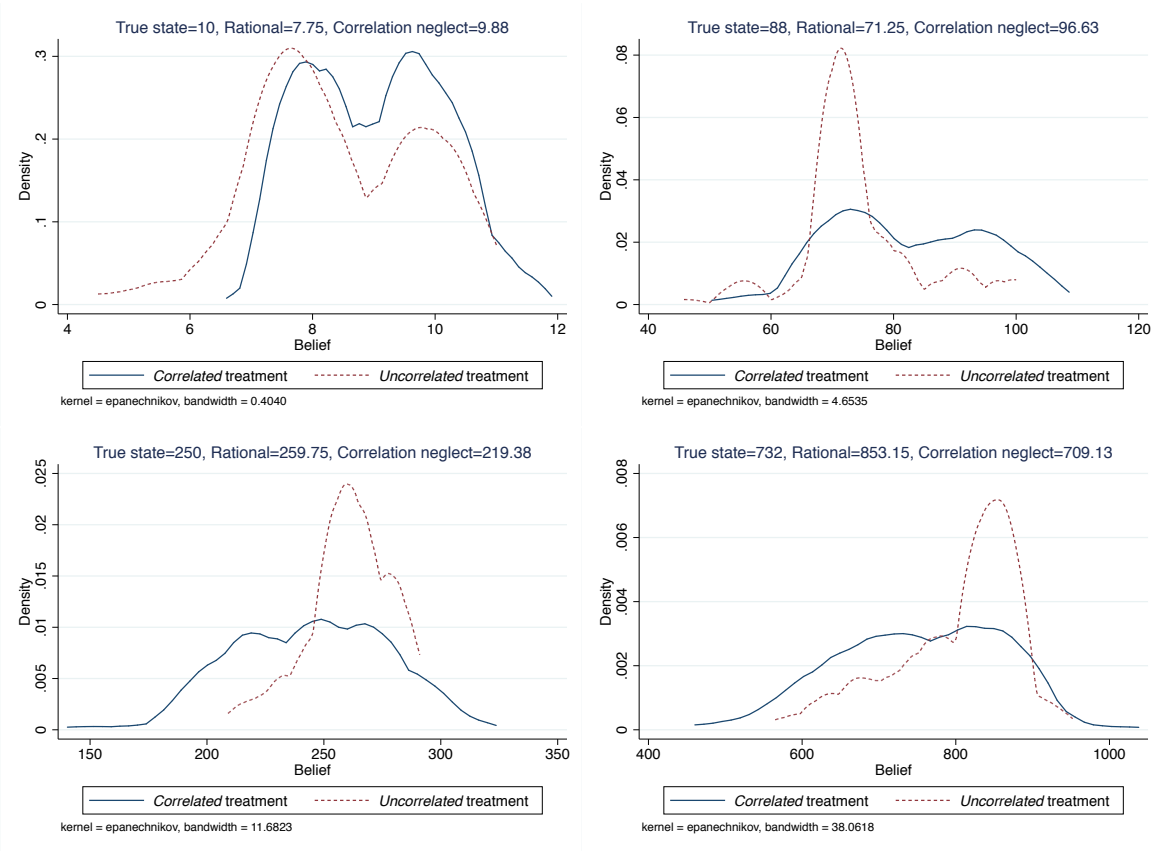

Figure 6: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in individual belief formation treatments (1/2)

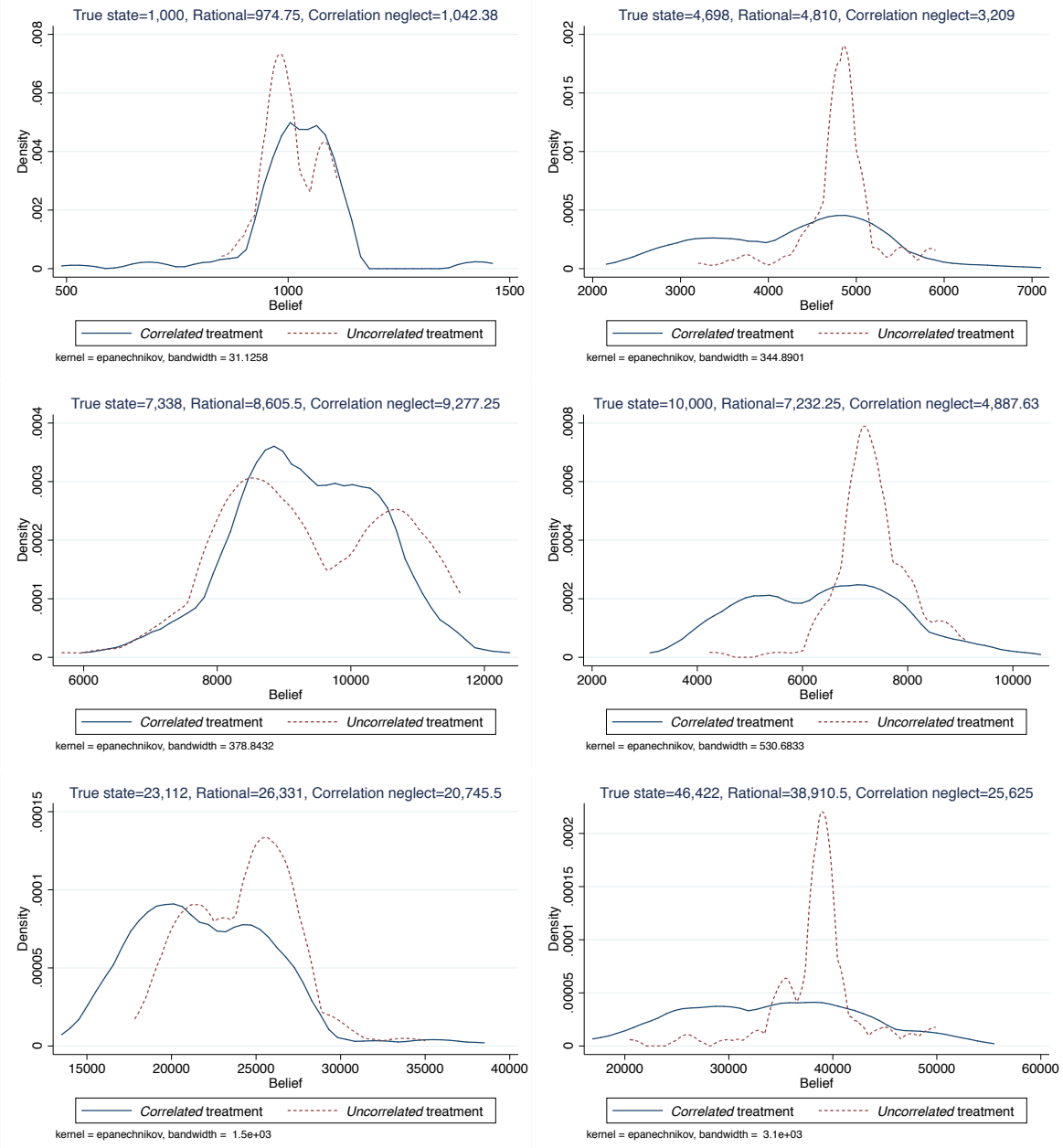

Figure 7: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in individual belief formation treatments (2/2)

C.3 Stability of (Median) Naïveté Parameters

To provide an illustration of the stability of the naïveté parameters, we conduct the following empirical exercise. For each subject, we set the belief to missing whose implied naïveté parameter is closest to that subject's median naïveté parameter. Then, we recompute the median naïveté parameters on the remaining (nine) beliefs and calculate the difference between the original and the "modified" naïveté parameter. If this difference is small, this indicates that the median naïveté parameter is stable. For instance, in the example above, if a median naïveté parameter was 0.5 because the respective subject switched between implied naïveté parameters of 0 and 1 across the ten belief formation tasks, throwing out one belief should move the naïveté parameter by 0.5.

The left panel of Figure 8 plots a histogram of the difference between the naïveté parameters if we exclude one belief. The right-hand panel displays the difference between the original naïveté parameter and a modified naïveté parameter if we exclude those two beliefs that are closest to that subject's median naïveté parameter. The results show that the vast majority of naïveté parameters is very stable, as indicated by the mass points around zero.

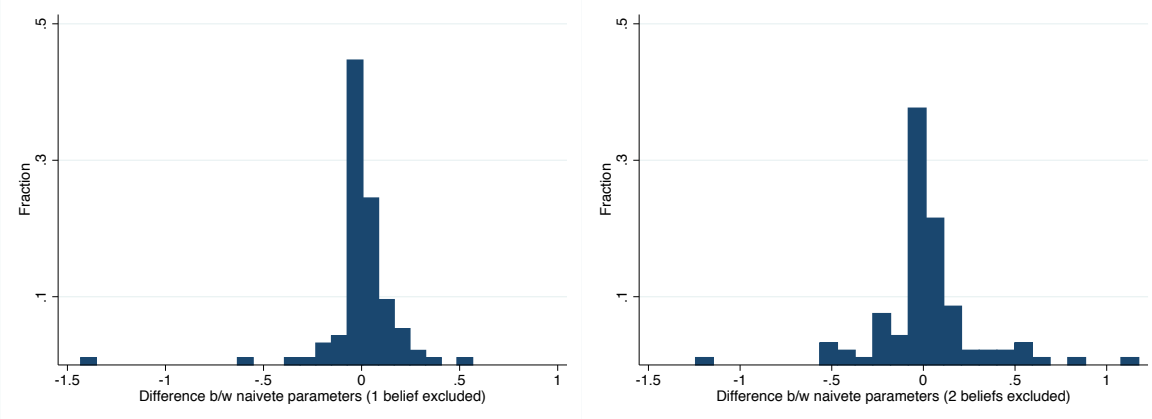

Figure 8: Histograms of the difference between original naïveté parameters and modified naïveté parameters when excluding the one or two beliefs that are closest to the original (implied) naïveté parameter. The right-hand plot excludes one extreme outlier with $\Delta\chi < -3$.

C.4 Individual Treatments: (No) Learning Over Time

Table 9 provides the results of an OLS regression of all normalized beliefs in the *Correlated* treatments on a time trend. These estimations show that normalized beliefs do not become smaller over time, i.e., they do not converge to the rational belief of zero.

Table 9: Time trend of beliefs in the *Correlated* treatments

	Dependent variable: Normalized belief	
	(1)	(2)
# of period	0.010	-0.0015
	(0.01)	(0.02)
Constant	0.61***	0.43
	(0.08)	(0.41)
Additional controls	No	Yes
Observations	903	887
R^2	0.00	0.08

OLS regressions, standard errors (clustered at individual) in parentheses. Observations include all normalized beliefs from all tasks in the baseline and high stakes *Correlated* treatments excluding extreme outliers with normalized belief $\chi_i^j > 4$ or $\chi_i^j < -3$. The results are robust to including these outliers. Additional controls include age, gender, final high school grade, the score on a Raven matrices IQ test, monthly disposable income, marital status fixed effects, a high stakes dummy, and fixed effects for each true state. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

C.5 Finite Mixture Model

For the purpose of the finite mixture model, we assume that every individual belongs to a discrete set of two-dimensional types $\theta_k = (\chi_k, \sigma_k)$ with $k \in \{1, \ldots, K\}$, where the population weights w_k are estimated along with θ_k. Following the model of belief formation outlined in Section 2, the normalized belief of subject i in round j, who is of type k, can be expressed as $\tilde{b}_i^j = \chi_k + u_i^j$, where $u_i^j \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma_k)$ can be thought of as individual- and task-specific random computational error. In allowing for heterogeneity both in χ and σ, we will employ standard maximum likelihood procedures to analyze the prevalence of particular types. The likelihood contribution of individual i is given by

$$L_i(\chi, \sigma, w) = \sum_{k=1}^{K} w_k \prod_{j=1}^{10} P(\tilde{b}_i^j | \chi_k, \sigma_k) \tag{3}$$

where the interior product term computes the likelihood of observing the collection of (normalized) beliefs given a certain type $\theta_k = (\chi_k, \sigma_k)$. This term is then weighted by the respective population share w_k. The grand likelihood is obtained by summing the logs of the individual likelihood contributions, which is then maximized by simultane-

ously choosing $(\chi_k, \sigma_k, w_k)\ \forall\ k$.

Table 10 presents the key results from these estimations. The table reports the estimated parameters of our belief formation model for three different specifications, which differ in the number of types we impose. The results show that if we restrict the model to only one updating rule, the maximum likelihood procedure estimates a substantial degree of naïveté along with a rather high error rate (variance). This model masks a considerable degree of heterogeneity: If we allow for the existence of two types of subjects, the model fit increases substantially. In particular, the model indicates that the data are explained as a mixture of two clearly distinguishable groups of subjects. For the first group, the estimation generates a naïveté parameter very close to the rational level of $\chi = 0$. The second group, on the other hand, is characterized by a large degree of correlation neglect with little adjustment from full naïveté. The high variance estimated for the second type motivates us to allow for the presence of further sub-groups in the data. Accordingly, if we allow for three classes of updating rules, the model fit further improves, but not dramatically so. While the parameter estimates for the first (rational) group remain intact, the model now distinguishes between two types of subjects with different naïveté values.[25] In sum, our individual-level analysis has shown that the strong *average* tendency to ignore informational redundancies masks a considerable heterogeneity.

[25]Further extending the estimations to allow for four types of subjects does not lead to noteworthy changes of the spirit of our results.

Table 10: Results of finite mixture model

Model	Type	*Model parameters* χ	σ	w (%)	*Goodness of fit* LL	AIC	BIC
$K=1$	$k=1$	0.66 (0.06)	1.14 (0.08)	100	−1423	2851	2856
$K=2$	$k=1$	0.06 (0.03)	0.27 (0.07)	16.8 (4.9)	−1284	2578	2591
	$k=2$	0.79 (0.06)	1.21 (0.10)	83.2 (4.9)			
$K=3$	$k=1$	0.05 (0.02)	0.27 (0.05)	14.4 (4.9)	−1186	2388	2408
	$k=2$	0.56 (0.24)	2.18 (0.28)	16.7 (5.0)			
	$k=3$	0.83 (0.06)	0.87 (0.05)	68.9 (6.1)			

94 subjects, standard errors (clustered at the subject level) in parentheses. All estimations exclude a few extreme outliers, which are likely due to typing mistakes: For each task and individual, an observation is set to missing if the implicit normalized belief satisfies $|\tilde{b}_i^j| > 10$. This resulted in the exclusion of 8 (out of 932) observations.

D Robustness Treatment

D.1 Experimental Design

Our belief elicitation design made a number of design choices, whose overarching goal was to create a relatively simple updating environment. To illustrate that none of our design features was critical in generating the results, we now investigate the robustness of our treatment comparison. To this end, we conducted a robustness treatment (both *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated*) which was identical to the baseline treatments, with the exception of variations along four design dimensions.

First, the data-generating process was altered slightly. We induced a prior belief by informing subjects that μ would be drawn from $\mathcal{N}(0; 250,000)$, while the signal distribution was given by $s_h \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu; 250,000)$. As a consequence, negative true states were possible and we eliminated the truncation of the signal distribution. Both prior and signal distributions were explained to subjects in great detail, and the instructions included the corresponding formulas. Control questions ensured that subjects understood the key features of the prior distribution as well as the equal variance of the prior and signal distributions.

Second, we introduced a fourth intermediary which, in both the *Uncorrelated* and the *Correlated* condition, simply transmitted the signal of computer A to the subject. Thus, subjects only communicated with intermediaries.

Third, subjects' payment was determined by the binarized scoring rule, which is incentive-compatible regardless of subjects' risk attitudes (Hossain and Okui, 2013).[26]

Fourth, instead of framing the experimental task as guessing how many items are contained in an imaginary container, we explicitly told subjects that they would have to estimate a hypothetical true state, which would be drawn by the computer.

96 subjects participated in these treatments and earned 11.10 euros on average. Table 11 provides details on all ten belief formation tasks, including true states, signal draws, and reports of the intermediaries. In addition, we again provide the benchmarks of full correlation neglect and rational beliefs. Note that these theoretical benachmarks are computed assuming full base rate neglect.

Table 11: Overview of the belief formation tasks in the robustness treatment

True State	Intermed. 1 uncorr.	Intermed. 2 uncorr.	Intermed. 3 uncorr.	Intermed. 4 uncorr.	Intermed. 2 corr.	Intermed. 3 corr.	Intermed. 4 corr.	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief
-563	-446	-1,374	-1,377	-1,475	-910	-911.5	-960.5	-1,168	-807
-279	44	90	-388	137	67	-172	90.5	-29.25	7.38
-241	249	-699	-139	70	-225	55	159.5	-129.75	59.63
-33	170	21	225	-128	95.5	197.5	21	72	121
-28	248	83	-110	-364	165.5	69	-58	-35.75	106.13
-23	810	-822	-99	409	-6	355.5	609.5	74.5	442.25
38	442	173	58	233	307.5	250	337.5	226.5	334.25
154	314	206	-229	711	260	42.5	512.5	250.5	282.25
548	-73	-559	181	910	-316	54	418.5	114.75	20.88
1,128	1,989	781	440	2,285	1,385	1,214.5	2,137	1,373.75	1,681.38

The reports of intermediaries 1 through 4 in the *Uncorrelated* condition directly reflect the draws of computers A-D. The report of intermediary 1 in the *Correlated* condition equals the report of intermediary 1 in the *Uncorrelated* treatment. The rational benchmark is computed by taking the average of the signals of computers A-D, i.e., assuming full base rate neglect. The correlation neglect benchmark is given by the average of the reports of intermediaries 1-4 in the *Correlated* condition, i.e., also assuming full base rate neglect. Note that defining the rational belief assuming base rate neglect has no consequences for our treatment comparison. Also note that subjects faced the ten rounds in randomized order, which was identical across treatments.

D.2 Results

To summarize, the results of these robustness treatments are very similar to those in the baseline treatments. Figure 2 illustrates this by plotting median naïveté parameters for both conditions.[27] As in the baseline treatments, the type distribution in the

[26]Specifically, we computed a penalty term by squaring the distance between a subject's belief and the true state. The subject then received 10 euros if the penalty was smaller than a randomly drawn number $k \sim U[0; 100,000]$, and nothing otherwise.

[27]Given that we induced a prior in these treatments, computing individual-level naïveté towards correlations requires an assumption on potential base rate neglect. We base this assumption on behavior in the *Uncorrelated* robustness condition, where subjects uniformly essentially fully neglect the base rate. Accordingly, we assume full base rate neglect, i.e., normalized beliefs are computed as in the main text. This assumption has no bearing on our treatment comparison, but only serves to illustrate the population distribution of naïveté.

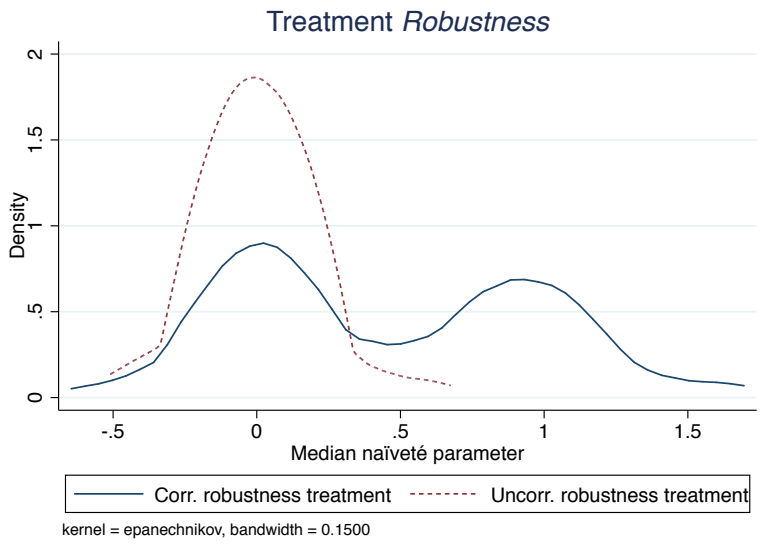

Figure 9: Kernel density estimates of median naïveté parameters. The left panel depicts the distribution of naïveté in the baseline treatments, and the right panel in the robustness treatments.

Correlated condition exhibits a bimodal structure, according to which some fraction of subjects fully neglects informational redundancies, while others state the same beliefs as subjects in the *Uncorrelated* condition. Accordingly, the belief distributions in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* treatments significantly differ from each other ($p<0.0001$, Wilcoxon ranksum test). This is also reflected by lower earnings of subjects in the *Correlated* condition (earnings difference=2.30 euros, p-value=0.0255, Wilcoxon ranksum test).

Table 12 reports the results for all ten belief formation tasks separately. As can be inferred by comparing columns (2) and (4), median beliefs in the *Uncorrelated* condition closely follow our definition of the "rational" belief, suggesting that subjects indeed fail to take into account base rates. Median beliefs in the *Correlated* condition are always biased away in the direction of the full correlation neglect prediction. For seven out of ten tasks, beliefs differ significantly at the 5% level (Wilcoxon ranksum test).

Table 12: Correlation neglect by belief formation task, robustness treatments

True State	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief	Median Belief *Uncorr.* Treatment	Median Belief *Correlated* Treatment	Ranksum Test (p-value)
-563	-1,168	-807	-1,168	-912.5	0.0189
-279	-29.25	7.38	-29.25	20	0.0031
-241	-129.75	59.63	-126.25	13	0.0052
-33	72	121	72.25	78.5	0.8456
-28	-35.75	106.13	-35.35	36.25	0.0006
-23	74.5	442.25	75	208.5	0.0009
38	226.5	334.25	224.5	226.5	0.0202
154	250.5	282.25	250.5	262.5	0.2133
548	114.75	20.88	115	100	0.1074
1,128	1,373.75	1,681.38	1,373.35	1,412.1	0.0227

See Table 11 for details of the computation of the rational and the correlation neglect benchmarks. The p-values refer to a Wilcoxon ranksum test between beliefs in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions. Note that subjects faced the ten rounds in randomized order.

E Mechanisms and Debiasing

E.1 A Simple Model

Applying the framework of DellaVigna (2009) to steps 1.–2. from Section 3.2, we have[28]

$$\chi = f(a, m) \qquad \text{with} \quad \frac{\partial f(\cdot)}{\partial a} \leq 0 \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\partial f(\cdot)}{\partial m} \leq 0. \tag{4}$$

That is, a person exhibits less correlation neglect χ if attention and understanding a of the double-counting problem is higher and when he has higher mathematical skills m. In line with DellaVigna (2009), we assume that the probability of noticing and thinking through the correlation is a function of (i) the salience s of the double-counting issue and the underlying independent signals, and (ii) the size of the information structure n. We hence have:

$$a = g(s, n) \qquad \text{with} \quad \frac{\partial g(\cdot)}{\partial s} > 0 \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\partial g(\cdot)}{\partial n} < 0. \tag{5}$$

Thus, the more salient the double-counting problem is, the more likely people are to recognize it and hence exhibit less correlation neglect, $\partial \chi / \partial s \leq 0$. Likewise, the higher n (the number of signals and messages), the less a decision-maker attends to the double-counting issue and is hence more likely to neglect correlations, $\partial \chi / \partial n \geq 0$. Notably,

[28]The weak inequalities merely reflect the fact that some attention and understanding is necessary in order for mathematical skills to matter, and vice versa. For example, increasing focus on the double-counting problem only leads to less correlation neglect if some mathematical skills are present.

both of these comparative statics predictions hold *while holding the mathematical steps constant*.

E.2 A General "Face Value" Heuristic?

We have shown that many subjects employ a simplifying heuristic and often fully neglect the informational redundancies present in our environment. A possible, though perhaps extreme, conjecture is that these subjects never think through the process generating their information. Instead, they may take the visible and salient messages at "face value", meaning that they treat each number as if it were an unmanipulated independent signal realization, *regardless of whether the signals are correlated or distorted in other ways* (see, e.g., the recent literature on the "sampling approach" towards judgment biases in cognitive psychology or the "system neglect" hypotheses articulated by Fiedler and Juslin, 2006; Massey and Wu, 2005). If true, this would imply that the updating error documented in Section 2 is inherently unrelated to correlations as such, but rather a special case of a rather simplistic heuristic. Based on these considerations, we now investigate the limits of such neglect patterns, i.e., we seek to understand whether people neglect signal distortions of *any* kind.

If a general face value bias was at work in our experimental environment, people should also make mistakes in all other settings in which they receive distorted signals. We hence investigate the empirical validity of the face value explanation by introducing two further treatment variations, in which the source of the distortion is not (just) a correlation. Key idea behind both designs is to introduce a simple *external* distortion of the signals, i.e., a distortion which does not arise from the interplay of various signals, but rather from the intervention of some external source. According to a simple face value heuristic, these environments should also produce a particular pattern of biased beliefs. First, we designed treatment *Multiply*, which was identical to the baseline *Uncorrelated* condition, except that each of the three intermediaries obtained one of the true signals, and multiplied it by 1.5. Thus, subjects received messages $(s_1, s_2 \times 1.5, s_3 \times 1.5, s_4 \times 1.5)$. Note that, across tasks, the signal of computer A is well within the range of the distorted messages, just like in the *Correlated* treatment. If subjects take all information they see at face value, this treatment should produce biased beliefs, hence allowing for a first assessment of the empirical validity of face value bias. We implemented the same true states, signals, and procedures as in the baseline conditions. 46 subjects participated in this treatment and earned an average of 11.70 euros.

In a second treatment variation (*Face value*), we created an information environment in which (i) the rational benchmark belief coincides with that in the *Uncorrelated* treatment, (ii) correlation neglect predicts the same beliefs as in the *Correlated*

condition, and (iii) the correlation neglect and face value predictions do not coincide. Specifically, as depicted in Figure 10, we amended the baseline *Correlated* treatment by introducing three further "machines" which communicated with subjects. Computers A through D generated four unbiased iid signals, and the intermediaries 1-3 again took the average of the respective signals of the computers. The machines M1 through M3 each observed one of these averages, and added a *known* constant X ("noise"). Thus, subjects' decision screens contained the signal of computer A as well as the messages of the three machines. In addition, the written instructions included a table in which X was provided, separately for each task. In the instructions, the machines were described in a manner that was comparable to how we introduced the intermediaries, and we made it clear that the value of X was unrelated to the solution of the task. In this treatment, both the rational and the full correlation neglect predictions are identical to those in the baseline conditions. By tailoring X, the face value prediction can be constructed to take on any desired value. In five of the tasks, we chose X such that the face value prediction is *equal to the rational belief*, i.e., the average of the independent signals. Thus, in these tasks, behaving "rationally" is computationally very simple and can be achieved by either taking messages at face value or going through the full debiasing process. On the other hand, neglecting correlations alone requires subjects to subtract X from the messages of the machines and then stop in further debiasing the messages. In the other five tasks, we chose X such that – after normalizing beliefs – the face value prediction was exactly opposite to the correlation neglect prediction, relative to the rational benchmark. For example, if the signal of computer A was relatively high, so that correlation neglect predicts an inflated belief, X assumed a negative value such that face value predicts a normalized belief of (-1). We implemented the same true states, signals, and procedures as in the baseline conditions, so that this treatment allows for a sharp separation between correlation neglect and a face value heuristic. Table 13 pro-

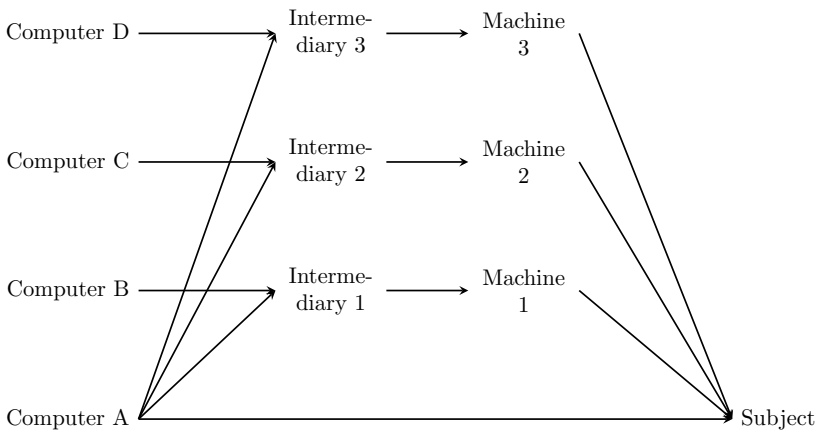

Figure 10: Treatment *Face value*. The machines add X to the reports of the intermediaries.

vides an overview of the ten estimation tasks. 45 subjects participated in *Face value* and earned 8.10 euros on average.

Table 13: Overview of the belief formation tasks, *Face Value* treatment

True State	X	Machine M1	Machine M2	Machine M3	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief	Face Value Belief
10	-6	4.5	5	0	7.75	9.88	5.38
88	-34	72	61	30	71.25	96.63	71.13
250	54	291	288	282	259.75	219.38	259.88
732	192	898	800	1,150	853.25	709.13	853.13
1,000	-90	995	780	1,015	974.75	1,042.38	974.88
4,698	4,269	8,693	7,506	7,836	4,810.00	3,209.00	6410.75
7,338	-1,794	3,783	8,842	9,153	8,604.50	9,277.25	7,931.75
10,000	3,126	9,788	7,847	8,752	7,232.25	4,887.63	7,232.13
23,112	14,895	33,378	32,779	46,351	26,331.00	20,745.50	31,916.75
46,422	35,427	57,681	66,518	72,244	38,910.50	25,625.25	52,195.50

The rational benchmark is computed by taking the average of the signals of computers A-D. The correlation neglect benchmark is given by the average of the reports of computer A and intermediaries 1-3, i.e., by extracting X from the reports of the machines. The face value belief is given by the average of the messages of computer A and machines M1-M3. Note that subjects faced the ten rounds in randomized order.

Result 5. *Across contexts, face value bias explains a negligible fraction of beliefs.*

The results from both treatments indicate that subjects do not take all information at face value without reflecting upon the data-generating process. As illustrated by Table 14, virtually all subjects behave fully rational in treatment *Multiply*, suggesting that subjects attend to and are capable of correcting for the biased messages.

A similar picture emerges for treatment *Face value*. As illustrated by Table 15, the distribution of beliefs is very similar to the baseline *Correlated* condition, suggesting that subjects again fall prey to correlation neglect, but not to face value bias. Beliefs in *Face value* typically closely follow beliefs in the baseline *Correlated* condition, suggesting that subjects do not fall prey to a simple face value heuristic, but instead extract X from the reports of the machines. In consequence, in the vast majority of tasks, beliefs significantly differ between the *Uncorrelated* and the *Face value* treatments in the direction predicted by correlation neglect, while the comparison between *Face value* and the baseline *Correlated* treatment is usually far from significant. This implies that subjects again detect and correct for the external distortion introduced through the machines, but then stop in further debiasing the (still correlated) messages. Thus, we identify evidence for correlation neglect even when it makes a prediction different from face value bias.

Table 14: Overview of belief formation tasks in the *Multiply* treatment

True state	Rational belief	Face value belief	Median belief *Uncorrelated*	Median belief *Multiply*	Ranksum test (p-value)
10	7.75	10.125	8	8.3	0.3755
88	71.25	91.625	71.2	71.25	0.8233
250	259.75	367.25	259.75	260	0.8085
732	853.25	1209.25	847	805	0.8747
1,000	974.75	1,323.375	999	1,000	0.3054
4,698	4,810	7,014	4,810	4,818	0.8474
7,338	8,604.5	11,663	8,975	8,750	0.3097
10,000	7,232.25	10,530.5	7,232	7,100	0.3959
23,112	26,331	37,601.5	25,000	23,000	0.2270
46,422	38,910.5	56,823.25	38,885.5	38,573.75	0.9525

The rational belief is computed by taking the average of the signals of computers A through D. The face value belief is given by $(s_A + 1.5s_B + 1.5s_C + 1.5s_D)/4$. Note that subjects faced the ten rounds in randomized order. The p-values refer to a Wilcoxon ranksum test between beliefs in the *Uncorrelated* and *Multiply* conditions.

To further illustrate the results, Figure 11 compares kernel density estimates of the belief distributions between the *Face value* treatment and the two baseline treatments. The left panel depicts median normalized beliefs (median naïveté parameters) for tasks in which face value bias coincides with the rational prediction of zero. The right panel displays median normalized beliefs for tasks in which face value bias and correlation neglect make opposite predictions, i.e., after normalization the face value prediction is (-1) and the correlation neglect prediction is 1. In both panels, the belief distribution in the *Face value* treatment is closest to the belief distribution in the baseline *Correlated* treatment and clearly differs both from beliefs in the *Uncorrelated* treatment as well as from the face value predictions.[29] A Wilcoxon ranksum test confirms that beliefs in *Face value* significantly differ from those in the *Uncorrelated* condition ($p = 0.0086$), but not from those in the baseline *Correlated* treatment ($p = 0.3670$).[30] Thus, even in a treatment in which face value bias makes a prediction different from correlation neglect, we identify significant evidence for people's neglect of correlations.

In sum, we have shown that - unlike a simplistic face value bias would prescribe - people struggle considerably more with distortions that arise from the interdependence of multiple signals than with externally biased messages. Of course, these findings do

[29]If anything, beliefs are slightly less rational in *Face value*. It is conceivable that some subjects immediately noticed that the messages of the machines are biased due to X and, once they understood this, stopped to reflect upon potential further problems in the data-generating process.

[30]Beliefs in *Face value* do not significantly differ between tasks in which face value predicts zero or (-1), providing further evidence for the low explanatory power of a simple face value bias.

Table 15: Correlation neglect by belief formation task, *Face value* treatment

True State	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief	Face Value Belief	Median Belief *Face Value*	Median Belief *Correlated*	Ranksum Tests (p-value) *Correlated*	*Uncorrelated*
10	7.75	9.88	5.38	9	9.2	0.6455	0.0840
88	71.25	96.63	71.13	85	88	0.2197	0.0341
250	259.75	219.38	259.88	240	235.5	0.5761	0.0184
732	853.15	709.13	853.13	757.3	742	0.0978	0.2098
1,000	974.75	1,042.38	974.88	1,020	1,030	0.5013	0.1839
4,698	4,810	3,209	6410.75	3,742.7	4,556	0.5341	0.0001
7,338	8,604.5	9,277.25	7,931.75	8,800	9,044.5	0.0646	0.0473
10,000	7,232.25	4,887.63	7,232.13	5,669	6,750	0.5459	0.0001
23,112	26,331	20,745.5	31,916.75	21,229	21,000	0.3034	0.0937
46,422	38,910.5	25,625	52,195.50	29,574	32,000	0.3210	0.0012

See Table 13 for details of the computation of the rational, correlation neglect, and face value benchmarks. he p-values refer to a Wilcoxon ranksum test between beliefs in the *Face value* treatment on the one hand and the *Correlated* or *Uncorrelated* condition, on the other hand. Note that subjects faced the ten rounds in randomized order.

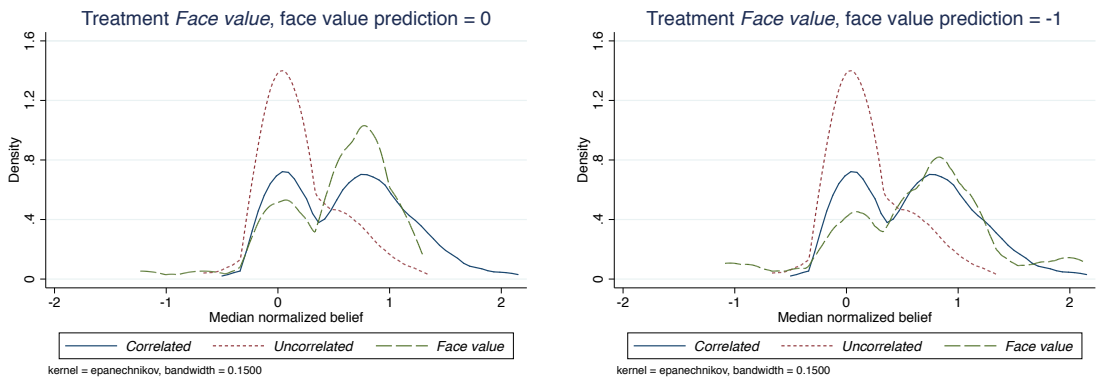

Figure 11: Kernel density estimates of median normalized beliefs in the *Face value* treatment, compared with those from the baseline *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions. The left panel illustrates the five tasks in which the face value belief equals the rational belief, while the right panel depicts the five tasks in which the face value belief makes the opposite prediction compared to correlation neglect (relative to the rational belief). To ease readability, the densities exclude (4 / 3, respectively) subjects with median normalized belief of less than (-2). All statistical tests include these outliers.

not imply that correlations are the *only* type of complexity that induce people to make systematic errors. However, they show that rather simple distortions of signals such as adding or multiplying a constant do not suffice to lead people astray. One possible interpretation of these results is that correlations are more complex and less intuitively wrong than more simple signal distortions.

E.3 Heterogeneity in Treatment *Alternating*

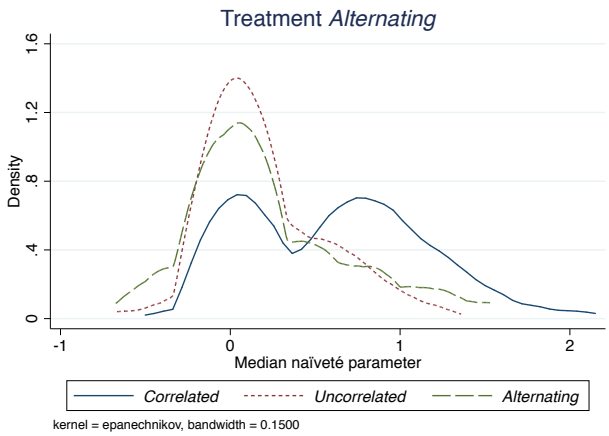

Figure 12: Kernel density estimates of median naïveté parameters. The three kernels depict the distributions of naïveté in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions, pooled across the high stakes and baseline treatments, as well as beliefs in *Alternating*.

E.4 Further Evidence for Conceptual as Opposed to Mathematical Problems

This Appendix present the results from two further treatment variations which show that subjects struggle more with identifying and thinking through the double-counting problem in the first place, than with solving it mathematically.

E.4.1 Treatment *Intermediaries*

First, in treatment *Intermediaries*, we attempt to nudge subjects' attention towards the double-counting problem without making the comparison to the uncorrelated information structure explicit. Instead, to shift subjects' focus while forming beliefs, we conducted a treatment variation that is identical to the baseline *Correlated* condition except for one additional short paragraph which was provided both at the end of the instructions and on subjects' decision screens along with the graphical representation of the information structure (see Figure 1):

> ***Hint for solving the task:*** *Again consider the figure which depicts the information you will receive. Think carefully about what the intermediaries do! What does that imply for the estimates of the intermediaries?*

Note that this constitutes a rather strong intervention in the sense that we explicitly told subjects what to focus on when approaching the task. However, the paragraph did

not provide any additional information on how to solve the problem and compute rational beliefs. Subjects completed the same ten belief formation tasks as in the baseline *Correlated* condition. 46 subjects took part in the *Intermediaries* treatment and earned 12.70 euros on average.

Columns (1) and (2) of Table 16 present the results. An OLS regression of subjects' naïveté on a treatment dummy shows that beliefs in *Intermediaries* are significantly less biased compared to the *Correlated* treatments. Thus, this treatment provides additional evidence that shifting subjects' focus towards the presence of the double-counting problem has large effects on beliefs.

E.4.2 Treatment *Math*

To provide further evidence that people are in principle well capable of performing the mathematical calculations that are needed to develop rational beliefs, we introduced treatment *Math*. In this treatment variation, we altered the instructions relative to the *Correlated* treatment by explicitly advising subjects to back out the underlying independent signals from the correlated messages.[31] In essence, this treatment solves the first step of the belief formation process outlined above. Thus, any remaining systematic mistake can be attributed to either cognitive effort costs or mathematical problems in executing the calculations. 47 subjects took part in this treatment and earned an average of 11.40 euros.

Columns (3) and (4) of Table 16 present the results. An OLS regression of subjects' naïveté on a treatment dummy shows that beliefs in *Math* are significantly less biased compared to the *Correlated* treatments. Thus, again, the results show that people do no struggle with the pure mathematical task of backing out the independent signals.

[31] For instance, the instructions stated: "Important hint: ... You should attempt to determine the average of the signals of the computers." We also introduced a corresponding control question, see Appendix H for details.

Table 16: Mechanisms

	Dependent variable: *Naiveté* χ			
	Intermediaries		*Math*	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
0 if *Correlated*, 1 if *Intermediaries*	-0.33***	-0.24***		
	(0.08)	(0.08)		
0 if *Correlated*, 1 if *Math*			-0.29***	-0.29***
			(0.09)	(0.08)
Constant	0.62***	0.51*	0.62***	0.38
	(0.05)	(0.29)	(0.05)	(0.25)
Additional controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1316	1302	1324	1310
R^2	0.04	0.10	0.03	0.11

OLS estimates, robust standard errors (clustered at subject level) in parantheses. The dependent variable is subjects' naïveté as implied in a given belief. In columns (1)-(2), observations include all beliefs of subjects in the *Correlated* (both baseline and high stakes) and *Intermediaries* treatments. In columns (3)–(4), the sample includes all beliefs of subjects from the *Correlated* and *Math* conditions. Additional controls include age, gender, cognitive skills, monthly income, marital status fixed effects, and task fixed effects. All regressions exclude extreme outliers with $|\chi_i^j| > 3$, but all results are robust to including these observations when employing median regressions.
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

F Market Experiments

F.1 Experimental Design

In the market treatments, the belief formation task was embedded into a standard double-auction setting with uncertainty over the value of the assets. In each trading round, an asset's value corresponded to the true state of the world from the individual belief formation treatments. Before each round, all traders received the same sets of signals about the state as participants in the baseline design (see Table 1). In the *Correlated market* treatment, all market participants received correlated, in the *Uncorrelated market* treatment they received uncorrelated information. Before each trading round, subjects were given five minutes to think about an asset's value and to provide a non-incentivized belief. Afterwards, subjects traded the assets.

In order to keep the experiment as simple as possible and to retain subjects' focus on the information structure, participants were assigned to be in the role of a buyer or a seller, so that each subject could either buy or sell assets, but not both. A market group consisted of four buyers and four sellers. Subjects were randomly assigned to be in either role and kept their roles throughout the experiment; they also remained in the same market groups. Before each of the ten rounds, each seller was endowed with four assets. Also, at the beginning of each round, each buyer received a monetary

endowment that was sufficient to purchase between three and six assets at fundamental values.[32]

In a standard double-auction format, buyers could post buying prices and accept selling offers from the sellers. Sellers could post selling prices and accept buying offers from the buyers. Buying and selling offers were induced to converge by the standard procedure, i.e., a new buying (selling) offer had to be higher (lower) than all previous offers. An accepted offer implied a trade and erased all previous offers. Trading lasted for four minutes. Profits per trading period for both buyers and sellers corresponded to the value of the assets owned plus the amount of money held at the end of the respective trading round minus some known fixed costs.

We used two different randomized orders of rounds. After each round, subjects received feedback about the true state of the world and the resulting profits in that round. At the end of the experiment, one of the ten rounds was randomly selected and implemented, i.e., payoff-relevant for the subjects. The written instructions included the same information on the information structure as in the individual belief formation treatments. A summary of the instructions was read out aloud. In addition to the control questions about the information structure, we asked several questions related to the trading activities. After the control questions, we implemented a test round after which participants again had the opportunity to ask questions.

288 subjects participated in the market treatments. These sessions lasted about 2.5 hours and subjects earned 19.40 euros ($\approx$ USD 25) on average, including a 6 euros show-up fee.

F.2 Hypothesis

In the market treatments, the standard theoretical prediction is that the competitive market equilibrium price is given by the rational belief.[33] Since it is well-established that experimental double-auctions tend to converge to the theoretical competitive equilibrium, this is also the standard experimental prediction. This prediction changes in the presence of naïve traders. If, for instance, all traders are homogenous in their degree of naïveté, the equilibrium price level is given by the corresponding level of distorted be-

[32]Throughout the experiment, profits, prices etc. were described in points rather than euros. Since the true state differed in magnitude from round to round, we had to adjust the point / euro exchange rate across rounds. This was made clear in the instructions. In principle, the exchange rate as well as the budget was informative of the true state. The relationship between these variables was chosen to be non-constant across rounds, so that the informational content was weak (see Appendix F.10 for details). In any case, since budgets and exchange rates were identical across treatments, this procedure cannot explain potential treatment differences.

[33]Since every subjects got the same signals about the value of the assets, under homogenous risk preferences there should be no trade, unless market participants trade at the rational belief.

liefs. More generally, under heterogeneity the magnitude of a potential price distortion will depend on the naïveté of the marginal traders.[34]

Hypothesis. *Assuming that $\chi > 0$, the excessive belief swings induced by correlation neglect translate into over- and underpricing. If $s_1 > \bar{s}_{-1}$, market prices in the Correlated market treatment are too high relative to the Uncorrelated treatment, and if $s_1 < \bar{s}_{-1}$ they are too low.*

On the other hand, it has been argued that the influence of cognitive biases on aggregate variables is limited. In the market we implement, two channels in particular may attenuate such effects. First, competitive forces and market incentives could induce subjects to think harder and thus cause a reduction of correlation neglect. Second, markets provide ample opportunities for traders to learn. For instance, traders may learn from realized profits in each trading round. In this respect, we gave rather extensive feedback between rounds, providing subjects with realized profits as well as the true asset value. Perhaps more importantly, markets also allow participants to learn from the actions of more rational traders. For instance, an overly optimistic market participant who observes others trading at relatively low prices may become inclined to rethink his valuation of the assets. While all these channels could mitigate the effect of individual biases on market outcomes, the learning arguments in particular would suggest that correlation neglect (and its consequences) is reduced in the last trading rounds.[35]

F.3 Results

Price Levels Across Treatments

In both market treatments, we have observations from 18 market groups that trade in ten trading rounds each. For each market group and trading round, we define the price of the last concluded trade to be the market price.[36] We first consider the effect of our treatment variation on price levels.

Result 6. *Market prices differ between treatments as predicted by correlation neglect. In the Correlated market treatment, we observe frequent over- or underpricing, depending*

[34]For instance, intuitively, suppose that a fraction α fully ignores correlations and a fraction $1-\alpha$ holds rational beliefs. Further suppose that each seller owns four assets and each buyer has a budget sufficient to buy four assets at fundamental values. Then, assuming that subjects do not learn from others' trading behavior and are risk-neutral, the supply and demand curves will be step functions which overlap at the correlation neglect belief if $\alpha \to 1$. Similar arguments apply if a fraction α exhibits only partial (or heterogeneous degrees of) correlation neglect.

[35]Camerer (1987) provides a more extensive discussion of these feedback and learning effects. Similar to our approach, he uses experimental markets to test if other updating mistakes (e.g., base-rate neglect) matter for market outcomes. See also Ganguly et al. (2000) and Kluger and Wyatt (2004) for similar studies.

[36]All results are robust to other definitions of the market price, see Appendices F.5 and F.6.

Table 17: Market prices by trading round

True State	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief	Median Market Price *Uncorr.* Treatment	Median Market Price *Correlated* Treatment	Ranksum Test (p-value)	Beliefs Differ?
10	7.75	9.88	8.35	9.05	0.0093	Yes
88	71.25	96.63	86.5	93.45	0.0338	Yes
250	259.75	219.38	275	260	0.0113	Yes
732	853.15	709.13	820	737	0.0001	Yes
1,000	974.75	1,042.38	1,000	1,039	0.0723	Yes
4,698	4,810	3,209	5,200	4,470.5	0.0085	Yes
7,338	8,604.5	9,277.25	9,124	8,999	0.6087	No
10,000	7,232.25	4,887.63	7,575	6,250	0.0534	Yes
23,112	26,331	20,745.5	24,100	21,300	0.0007	Yes
46,422	38,910.5	25,625	41,000	35,000	0.0015	Yes

Median market prices are defined as the median of all market prices over the 18 markets in the respective round. Beliefs are said to differ between treatments in a particular round if and only if p-value < 0.05, Wilcoxon ranksum test. Note that subjects faced the ten rounds in randomized order.

on the relative magnitude of the common source signal. Neither prices nor subjects' beliefs reflect learning over time.

Table 17 provides summary statistics for all ten trading rounds. We present two price predictions (consisting of the rational benchmark and the full correlation neglect belief, respectively), actual price levels, as well as an indicator for whether subjects' beliefs (as stated prior to trading) differ significantly across treatments. In all rounds but one, prices significantly differ between treatments in the direction one would expect from a correlation neglect perspective. While market prices in the *Uncorrelated* treatment follow the rational prediction rather closely, we observe frequent instances of over- and underpricing in the *Correlated market* treatment. Thus, the magnitude of the common source signal relative to the other signals consistently predicts whether assets sell above or below the values from the *Uncorrelated market* treatment.

In Appendices F.5 and F.6, we establish the robustness of the treatment difference in price levels by excluding outliers from the analysis and by providing density estimates of the price kernel, both at an aggregated level across periods and separately for each period. Strikingly, the (aggregated) price kernel is centered around $\chi \approx 0.5$, suggesting that rational and naïve types negotiate prices between the two extreme predictions. We also show that the treatment difference in prices is entirely driven by subjects' beliefs: In an OLS regression of all prices from all market groups on a treatment dummy, the latter vanishes after accounting for elicited beliefs. Thus, the overshooting beliefs that are implied by neglecting informational redundancies indeed cause overshooting price levels.

Next, we provide a visual representation of the temporal pattern of the market price

volatility induced by correlation neglect. To this end, we first normalize market prices to make them comparable across rounds. This is done using a procedure akin to the belief normalization in the individual belief formation treatments, so that, for each market group and trading period, we essentially compute the naïveté inherent in the market price (which, in principle, should be between zero and one). By construction, this normalization does not allow us to distinguish the occurrence of over- from that of underpricing. Thus, we slightly reformulate this normalization: In trading rounds in which correlation neglect predicts overoptimism, the normalization remains the same, so that a normalized price of one (zero) indicates full correlation neglect (rational price levels). On the other hand, in periods in which neglecting correlations leads to overpessimism, we normalize prices such that full correlation neglect is indicated by (-1) and the rational benchmark by zero, respectively.[37] For each trading round, we then compute the difference between the median market price in the *Correlated market* treatment and the median market price in the *Uncorrelated* condition, which gives us an indication of the price distortion in the *Correlated market* treatment *relative* to its appropriate benchmark.

The two panels in Figure 13 plot this difference in market prices against the theoretical predictions across our ten trading rounds (we used two different orderings of rounds). First note that, by construction, the rational prediction is always given by zero; if correlation neglect did not impact aggregate outcomes, prices would not differ across conditions. The full correlation neglect prediction, on the other hand, alternates between one and (-1) depending on whether correlation neglect implies overoptimism or -pessimism. The plots show that in almost all periods the price difference follows the correlation neglect prediction, so that prices frequently overshoot. As a result, the excessive belief swings implied by correlation neglect directly translate into volatile

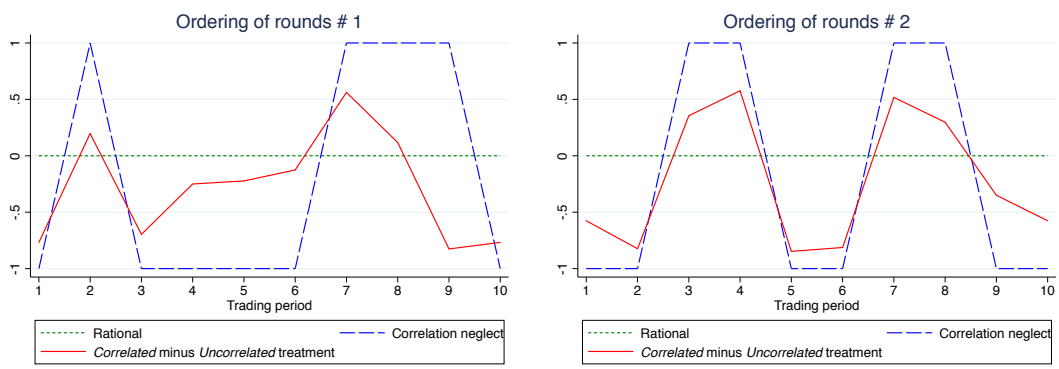

Figure 13: Difference between median normalized market prices in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* treatments across trading rounds for the two randomized orders of rounds

[37]Formally, the new set of normalized prices p_i^j is given by $p_i^j = \chi_i^j \times (2 \times \mathbb{1}_{s_1^j > \bar{s}_{-1}^j} - 1)$.

price levels. In addition, as visual inspection suggests, this pattern does not attenuate over time. Appendix F.7 formally confirms that the bias reflected in market prices does not become smaller over the course of the ten trading periods. Appendix F.8 analyzes the time trend of the beliefs subjects stated prior to trading started. Again, the results provide no indication that subjects learn to deal with correlated signals over time. Appendix F.9 discusses potential reasons why the market does not debias subjects.

Beliefs, Prices, and Individual Trading Behavior

So far, we have shown that correlated information structures have predictable consequences for experimental market outcomes, i.e., price levels. Next, we demonstrate that individual-level heterogeneity in the capability to process informational redundancies predicts both the magnitude of price distortions across markets and individual trading behavior.

Result 7. *In the Correlated market treatment, the pervasiveness of the belief bias within a market group predicts the degree of price distortions. Additionally, correlation neglect is reflected in individual trading behavior. When ignoring correlations predicts an upward (downward) biased belief, subjects with a higher propensity to overlook correlations hold significantly more (less) assets. Consequently, these subjects earn lower profits.*

The higher the degree of naïveté of the *marginal* traders in a market group, the more pronounced should be the resulting price distortion. Thus, if it is indeed correlation neglect which causes the alternating pattern of over- and underpricing, then market groups in which people are more capable of dealing with correlations should exhibit smaller price distortions. To investigate this issue, we normalize all market prices in the *Correlated market* treatment such that they capture the size of the price distortion in terms of naïveté χ and then, for each trading round, relate these price levels to the naïveté which is implicit in the beliefs that subjects stated before trading started. Specifically, we employ as explanatory variable the (average) naïveté of the marginal traders, for each market group and trading round.[38] Columns (1) and (2) of Table 18 provide corresponding OLS estimates, with standard errors clustered at the market group level. The results show that, within the *Correlated market* treatment, a higher propensity to commit correlation neglect is indeed associated with more biased price levels.

Thus, individual-level heterogeneity in belief updating has implications for price

[38]To this end, we construct supply and demand curves from the beliefs subjects stated ex ante. We then approximate the theoretical competitive equilibrium price by identifying the buyer and seller who marginally give rise to trade and compute the average naïveté of these two traders. The results are robust to employing the simple median naïveté across all traders in a given market group and trading round as independent variable. See Appendix F.4.

levels. Correlation neglect also makes clear predictions about who should hold the assets and make losses. In trading rounds in which correlation neglect leads to an overvaluation of assets, subjects who ignore correlations should own most of the assets. Likewise, when correlation neglect implies an undervaluation of assets, subjects who correctly process the correlation should hold the majority of the assets. To examine these predictions, we relate asset holdings to individual beliefs. For each individual, we employ the median naïveté parameter as explanatory variable. The OLS regressions in columns (3) through (6) establish that the magnitude of the belief bias predicts asset holdings. Columns (3) and (4) show that in trading rounds in which correlation neglect leads to an overly pessimistic belief, those subjects with a higher propensity to ignore correlations hold significantly less assets. Likewise, when the bias implies overoptimism, those subjects whose stated beliefs reveal a higher degree of correlation neglect hold more assets (columns (5) and (6)). Thus, naïve subjects buy when prices are too high and sell when they are too low. In consequence, these participants earn lower profits (columns (7) and (8)).

Table 18: Determinants of prices, asset holdings, and profits in the *Correlated market* treatment

	Dependent variable:							
	Normalized market price		Median asset holdings if underpricing		Median asset holdings if overpricing		Median profit	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Naïveté χ of marginal trader	0.72***	0.64***						
	(0.12)	(0.14)						
Individual correlation neglect (χ)			-1.53***	-1.30***	0.64***	0.26*	-0.12**	-0.11**
			(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Constant	0.16	0.68	2.85***	1.50	1.43***	2.48**	10.1***	10.3***
	(0.20)	(0.44)	(0.12)	(0.90)	(0.14)	(1.12)	(0.03)	(0.28)
Additional controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	152	152	143	143	143	143	143	143
R^2	0.28	0.41	0.31	0.42	0.20	0.43	0.04	0.13

OLS estimates, standard errors clustered at the market group level. In columns (1) and (2), observations include all (normalized) prices from *Correlated* excluding outliers for which the (absolute) normalized price or the naïveté of the marginal trader are larger than three. The results are robust to including these outliers when employing median regressions. See Appendix F.4 for a definition of the marginal traders. Additional controls in (1)-(2) include fixed effects for each true state and the average age, average monthly disposable income, and average final high school grade as well as the proportion of females in a given market group. In columns (3) - (8), observations include median asset holdings / profits of all subjects in the *Correlated* treatment. Overpricing (underpricing) is defined as rounds in which correlation neglect predicts overoptimism (-pessimism). Median profits are computed as median normalized profit across all rounds, where for each trader and for each round a normalized profit is defined as $\pi = 10 \times \frac{\text{Money holdings} + \text{value of assets held}}{\text{Monetary value of endowment}}$, where for sellers (buyers) the value of the endowment consists of the value of the initially owned assets (the budget). The individual-level median correlation neglect parameter in (3) and (4) [(5) and (6)] is computed as median χ of the rounds in which correlation neglect predicts overpessimism [overoptimism]. In (7) and (8), the median correlation neglect parameter equals the median χ across all rounds. Additional controls in (3) - (8) include a buyer dummy, age, gender, monthly disposable income, marital status dummies, and high school GPA. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

F.4 Empirical Identification of Marginal Traders

To compute the naïveté of the marginal traders for a given market group and trading round, we proceed as follows. First, we construct supply and demand curves from the beliefs subjects stated before trading started by sorting the beliefs of buyers in ascending and those of sellers in descending order, which gives rise to four pairs of beliefs. We then identify the lowest belief of a buyer which is still above the belief of the corresponding seller, i.e., we identify the buyer who is located on the demand curve right above the supply curve. We then compute the average naïveté of this buyer and the seller who is located beneath him on the supply curve, to approximate the competitive equilibrium price, and use it for further analysis as detailed above.

F.5 Robustness of Treatment Difference in Market Prices

This section shows that the strong treatment difference in price levels is not driven by our definition of the market price. Table 19 provides p-values of Wilcoxon ranksum tests for the equality of market prices across treatments for two alternative definitions of the market price. The exposition is akin to Table 17, but now additionally defines the market price to be either the median or mean trading price (rather than the price of the last concluded trade).

Table 19: P-values for equality of market prices by trading round for alternative price definitions

True State	*Market Price* ≡ Last trading price	Median trading price	Average trading price
10	0.0093	0.0053	0.0075
88	0.0338	0.0200	0.0665
250	0.0113	0.0107	0.0138
732	0.0001	0.0000	0.0000
1,000	0.0723	0.1108	0.1681
4,698	0.0085	0.0025	0.0050
7,338	0.6087	0.7042	0.5092
10,000	0.0534	0.0045	0.0014
23,112	0.0007	0.0061	0.0515
46,422	0.0015	0.0003	0.0095

This table provides p-values of Wilcoxon ranksum tests of the equality of market prices across treatments. For this purpose, for each market group and trading round, the market price is defined as (i) last trading price, (ii) median price, or (iii) average price.

F.6 Additional Illustrations of Treatment Difference in Prices

This section provides alternative ways to describe the treatment difference in the market treatments. For this purpose, analogously to the belief normalization, we first normal-

Table 20: Beliefs drive treatment difference in market prices

	Dependent variable: Normalized market price		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1 if correlated	0.32***	-0.052	-0.051
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.10)
Group-level median belief (χ)		0.75***	0.70***
		(0.08)	(0.12)
Constant	0.19***	0.040	0.75
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.63)
Additional controls	No	No	Yes
Observations	330	330	330
R^2	0.05	0.33	0.39

OLS estimates, standard errors clustered at market group. Observations include all normalized prices from both market treatments excluding four extreme outliers for which the normalized price satisfies $|p_i^j| > 10$. All results are robust to including these observations when employing median regressions. Additional controls include fixed effects for each true state, average age, average monthly disposable income, average final high school grade, and the proportion of females within a given group. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

ize the market price of each round and market group such that it equals the naïveté parameter χ. We then pool the normalized market prices from all market groups, trading rounds, and both treatments and regress these prices on a treatment dummy. Column (1) of Table 20 shows that this treatment difference is highly significant and large in magnitude. As columns (2) and (3) demonstrate, this treatment effect operates entirely through beliefs. After conditioning on the beliefs participants stated before trading started, the treatment effect collapses to zero and becomes insignificant. These results show that it is indeed subjects' beliefs which cause the treatment difference in market prices.

In order to get a visualization of the aggregate treatment difference, we next aggregate the normalized market prices across rounds akin to our procedure in the individual decision making treatments. Specifically, for each market group we use the median normalized market price over the ten rounds to plot the distribution of market prices across treatments.

Figure 14 provides kernel density estimates of these aggregated data. It reveals a pronounced and statistically significant difference between the two treatment groups (p-value < 0.0001, Wilcoxon ranksum test). Normalized prices in the *Uncorrelated* treatment are centered close to zero, confirming the standard result that double-auctions tend to produce price levels close to fundamentals. Prices in the *Correlated* treatment are centered around 0.6, i.e., prices systematically overshoot in the direction predicted

by correlation neglect.

Again, this treatment difference hinges neither on our aggregation procedure nor on the definition of the market price. Using three definitions of market prices and two different aggregation procedures (for aggregating the market prices of ten trading rounds into a single price per market group), Table 21 presents the p-value of ranksum tests for the equality of the aggregated market price between treatments.

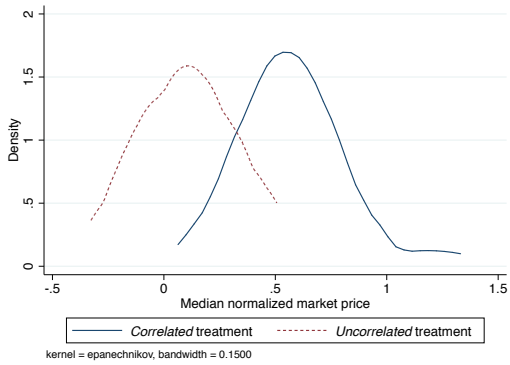

Figure 14: Kernel density estimates of median market prices

Table 21: P-values of Wilcoxon ranksum tests for equality of aggregated market price between treatments

	Definition of market price:		
Aggregation mechanism	Median price	Average price	Last trading price
Median market price	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Average market price	0.0001	0.0002	0.0054

F.7 Time Trend of Market Prices

In our market setup, subjects could learn by observing others as well as through the feedback provided at the end of each trading round. If learning played an important role, then the price distortion should be reduced towards the end of the experiment. We find no evidence for such an effect – neither beliefs nor prices in the *Correlated market* treatment show any sign of converging to their counterparts in the *Uncorrelated market* treatment. For instance, if we take the last round from all market groups and normalize the market price (to make it comparable between different orderings of rounds), we still find a significant treatment difference (p-value = 0.0290, Wilcoxon ranksum test). Similarly, Table 22 gives an overview of the time trend of market prices. In columns (1)

Table 22: Time trend of market prices in the *Correlated market* treatment

	Dependent variable:			
	Normalized market price		Normalized market price minus median price in uncorrelated	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
# of trading period	-0.018	-0.0091	-0.024	-0.0069
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Constant	0.71***	0.73***	0.57***	0.48**
	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)
True state FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	167	167	167	167
R^2	0.00	0.18	0.01	0.05

OLS regressions, standard errors (clustered at market group level) in parentheses. Observations include the market prices from all trading rounds in the correlated market treatment excluding market prices which satisfy $|p_i^j| > 10$. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

and (2), we report the results of an OLS regression of all normalized market prices in the *Correlated market* treatment on a time trend, which indicate that market prices do not converge to rational levels.[39] We also show that prices do not converge to their counterparts in the *Uncorrelated market* treatment (columns (3)-(4)). To this end, we take all normalized market prices and then subtract the normalized market price of the median market group in that round in the *Uncorrelated market* treatment. Again, there is no sign of convergence to the levels in the *Uncorrelated* treatment. In sum, these results show that there is no learning across rounds.

F.8 Time Trend of Beliefs in Market Experiments

Table F.8 presents the results of OLS regressions of subjects' (normalized) beliefs in the *Correlated market* treatment on a linear time trend. If the market interaction induces naïve subjects to learn, we should observe a negative coefficient. We do not find any significant effects, regardless of the specification we employ. In column (1), we include beliefs which satisfy $|b_i^j| \leq 10$, i.e., we only exclude very extreme outliers. In columns (2)-(5), we use beliefs which satisfy $b_i^j > -1$ and $b_i^j < 2$, i.e., we focus on beliefs in a reasonable range, which likely don't reflect typing errors. Regardless of the sample, the coefficient on the time trend is small and insignificant, both with and without fixed effects for a particular market group, individual subjects, and particular true states.

[39] Similar results obtain if we run the corresponding regressions using subjects' beliefs as dependent variable.

Table 23: Time trend of normalized beliefs in the *Correlated market* treatment

	Dependent variable: Normalized belief				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
# of trading period	0.015	-0.0087	-0.0088	-0.0094	-0.0016
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant	0.64***	0.67***	0.80***	1.24***	1.34***
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Market FE	No	No	Yes	No	No
Subject FE	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
True state FE	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	1404	1241	1241	1241	1241
R^2	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.27	0.35

OLS regressions, standard errors (clustered at market group level) in parentheses. Observations include the market prices from all trading rounds in the correlated market treatment. In column (1), we only excluce beliefs which satisfy $|b_i^j| > 10$. In columns (2)-(5), we use beliefs which satisfy $b_i^j > -1$ and $b_i^j < 2$. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

F.9 Why Does the Market not Reduce the Bias?

This section discusses potential reasons, why our double-auction market environment did not eliminate correlation neglect. In short, three reasons in particular could play a role. First, given that we implemented a common value environment with identical information across subjects (but potentially heterogeneous processing thereof), a feature of our market is that it allows subjects to learn from the behavior of (potentially more rational) others. For instance, suppose a seller in the correlated environment neglects the correlation and arrives at a belief that the value of the asset is, say, 10. If this seller observes all buyers offering to buy the asset at, say, 20, this could induce him to reconsider his valuation of the asset. For instance, that seller might conjecture that he misinterpreted his signals. In this sense, the existence of even one rational type in a given market group could in principle debias all other subjects. Furthermore, even if observing others' trading behavior does not debias subjects, it might at least reduce their confidence in their valuation of the good. Both of these channels should attenuate the impact of correlation neglect on market outcomes. The fact that we do not find evidence for this is consistent with the idea that people might neglect that the trading behavior of others carries informational content, perhaps akin to the idea of "cursedness" (Eyster and Rabin, 2005; Eyster et al., 2013) with the twist that there is no heterogeneous private information in our setup, but rather heterogeneous process-

ing of the same signals.[40]

Second, the rational types might not be able to bring prices to fundamental values due to institutional features of our trading environment. In particular, our setup did not allow the same subject to both buy and sell. Each subject's influence on the market price was hence restricted to selling four assets as a seller, and buying a small number of assets as a buyer. In the data, an average of 3.8 subjects (out of 8) per market group had a median naïveté parameter of $\chi \in [-.25; .25]$, implying that these rational subjects would have needed to trade excessively to bring prices to fundamentals by themselves.

Third, even if some subjects hold correct beliefs and could in principle bring prices to fundamentals, they might not be willing to do so. For instance, if the rational types are slightly risk averse and have some subjective uncertainty over the true state (as they should), they could attempt to diversify, i.e., hold a mix of both assets and cash. Indeed, in the data, we see strong evidence of this. For instance, in trading periods in which correlation neglect predicts underpricing, those subjects with a (median) naïveté parameter of $\chi \in [-.25; .25]$ only held a total of 7.7 (out of a total of 16) assets on average, i.e., the rational subjects do not buy all assets when prices are too low, i.e., when assets are a bargain. The fact that rational agents seemed to limit their trading activity suggests that these types were cautious in fully exploiting their superior knowledge about the true value of the asset.

[40]Alternatively, our empirical pattern is consistent with the idea that people are overconfident about their ability to process correlations.

F.10 Endowments and Exchange Rates in Market Treatments

Table 24: Overview of the ten trading rounds

True state	Budget buyer (points)	Exchange rate points / euros	Fixed costs buyer
10	40	2.67	4
88	450	30	45
250	1,500	100	150
732	3,000	200	300
1,000	5,000	333.33	500
4,698	25,000	1,666.67	2,500
7,338	25,000	1666.67	2,500
10,000	50,000	3,333.33	5,000
23,112	90,000	6,000	9,000
46,422	200,000	13,333.33	20,000

Sellers did not incur any fixed costs. Buyers' fixed costs amounted to 10 % of the respetive budget. The relationship between budget and true state was non-constant across rounds. The exchange rate is computed as budget / 15.

G Correlation Neglect in Newspaper Articles

G.1 Overview

In our main experiments, we deliberately designed an abstract decision environment which allowed tight control over (subjects' knowledge of) the data-generating process. To show the robustness of our findings, we now make use of a naturally occurring correlation in an informational context with which many subjects are familiar, i.e., extracting information from newspaper articles.

In the experiment, a new set of subjects had to estimate the growth of the German economy in 2012. For this purpose, subjects were provided with (shortened) real newspaper articles discussing and summarizing growth forecasts and were asked to give an incentivized estimate. Employing the same identification strategy as in our main experiment, we again study two main treatments, one in which information is correlated and one in which it is not. In the correlated treatment, subjects received two articles. The first article discussed a joint forecast from April 2012, which is determined in a cooperation of several German research institutes, thus aggregating information from the participating institutions. It predicted that the German economy would grow at a rate of 0.9 % in 2012. The other article discussed a forecast of one particular institute from March 2012 that predicted a growth rate of 1.3 %. Importantly for our purposes,

this institute also participated in the joint forecast. Consequently, the information from that institute is already incorporated in the joint forecast, implying that the two articles are correlated. This correlation was in principle known (or easy to detect), since the article reporting the joint forecast clearly stated all participating institutes. In the control condition, we merely supplied the joint forecast. Since the individual forecast is incorporated in the joint one, the joint forecast is a sufficient statistic of mean beliefs, implying that this treatment removes the correlation, yet keeps the informational content identical.

The results show that even in this rather naturalistic setting subjects exhibit a substantial degree of correlation neglect. In the control condition, the median estimate was 0.82 %, while it was 0.28 percentage points higher in the correlated treatment (p-value < 0.0001, Wilcoxon ranksum test). This finding emphasizes the robustness of correlation neglect with respect to the familiarity of the belief formation task and suggests that people exhibit the bias even in natural informational environments - while subjects may not frequently be required to predict GDP growth as such, the type of information provided in these experiments is typical for everyday information processing.

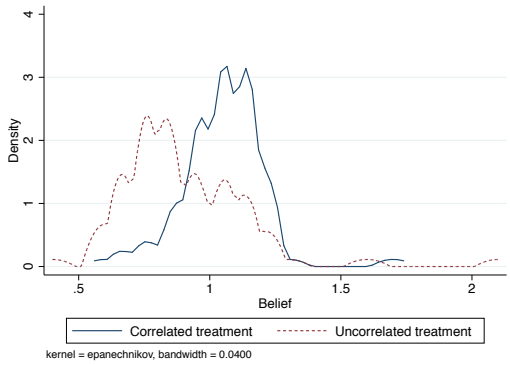

Figure 15: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in the two main newspaper treatments

G.2 Procedural Details

Overall, 151 subjects participated in the baseline experiments described above. 59 subjects took part in additional treatments (see below). Sessions were conducted using paper and pencil in the BonnEconLab at the end of different and unrelated experiments. Treatments were randomized within session. In the conditions involving two articles, the order of the articles was randomized. The study took five minutes on average. At the end of each session, one subject was randomly selected for payment. He was asked to write his address on an envelope and was reminded that his earnings will be sent to

him as soon as the official growth figures are available. Earnings were 10 euros if the estimate turned out to be correct. For every 0.1 percentage point deviation, 1 euro was deducted. Negative earnings were not possible. The randomly selected subjects earned 7.30 euros on average.

G.3 Potential Concerns and Additional Treatments

There are five potential concerns with respect to our design. First, one could argue that the difference between the joint forecast of 0.9 % and the forecast of 1.3 % is informative because it indicates a high variance of forecasts. This variance in turn might allow inference about the signal precision of the participating institutes. Consequently, subjects in the correlated condition could put lower weight on the forecasts (relative to their own prior) when determining their estimate. Notice, however, that even if subjects actually went through this kind of inference, this would not explain our treatment difference. The estimates in our control condition reveal that subjects' priors were on average actually slightly below the joint forecast of 0.9 %. Thus, lower weight on the joint forecast in the updating process would not lead to estimates that are closer to 1.3 %.

A further potential concern might be that information from the second article is informative if subjects think that the forecast of the institute that is discussed in this article is not appropriately incorporated in the joint forecast. This does not seem plausible. To further address this issue, we asked a subset of subjects ($N = 56$) at the end of the experiment if they had the suspicion that this is actually the case. Only seven subjects (12.5 %) indicated such a concern. Our findings remain unchanged if we only consider those 23 subjects which explicitly stated that this was not a concern (p-value = 0.0209, Wilcoxon ranksum test).[41]

Third, subjects could interpret the mere presentation of the article discussing the forecast of 1.3 % as an indication that the article has to be of informational value. We addressed this concern by introducing an additional treatment ($N = 59$), which is identical to the correlated treatment except that it contains a second incentivized question which relates to labor market information provided in the article discussing the 1.3 % forecast.[42] Thus, there was a natural reason for the presence of the second article, which was unrelated to the question about GDP growth. Results suggest that this type of effect

[41]The precise wording of the question is: "Do you think that one of the research institutes (e.g. the IWH) was not adequately taken into account in the preparation of the joint forecast? Yes / No / Don't know"

[42]The precise wording of this second incentivized question is: "Please also think about whether the Institute for Economic Research Halle (IWH) predicts a positive development of the labor market. Below you can indicate your answer by ticking "Yes" or "No". You get 7 euros for a correct answer and 0 euros otherwise."

does not drive our results. Estimates in this treatment are almost identical to those in the standard correlated condition and significantly different from those in the control condition (p-value < 0.0001, Wilcoxon ranksum test).

Fourth, the two forecasts were published one month apart from each other. This is unproblematic since the joint forecast was released at the later date. Thus, the timing as such provided no reason for subjects to place any weight on the 1.3 % forecast.

Fifth, it is possible that many subjects are not used to extracting information from newspapers, thus contradicting the purpose of our study as reflecting a more natural belief formation context. In order to ensure that this is not the case, we asked subjects at the end of the experiment whether they regularly read the newspaper, and whether they are interested in economics or economic questions. 57 percent of subjects stated that they "regularly" or "very regularly" read the newspaper. Also, 53 percent stated that they were "interested" or "very interested" in economic questions. Our treatment difference remains unchanged when we only consider subjects who regularly read the newspaper and who are interested in economic topics ($N = 74$), p-value < 0.0001, Wilcoxon ranksum test.

G.4 Newspaper Articles and Instructions

G.4.1 Paper-Based Instructions

Please read the following newspaper article(s). Please then think about how much the German economy will grow in 2012. Below you can indicate your estimate. Your payment will depend on how close your estimate is to the actual growth of the German economy. Maximum earnings are 10 euros - for every 0.1 percentage deviation, 1 euro will be deducted (negative earnings are not possible).

Your estimate: The growth of the German economy in 2012 will be (in percent): ...

G.4.2 Newspaper Articles (translated into English)

Manager-Magazin, 14.03.2012

IWH increases growth forecast

The German economy seems to be gaining speed. According to the Institute for Economic Research Halle, the short period of economic weakness is over. Thus, the researchers increase their growth forecast for Germany significantly.

On Wednesday, the institute in Halle announced that it expects the German economy to grow by 1.3 % this year. According to the IWH experts, the risks relating to the debt and trust crisis in Europe have been slightly reduced. Both the world economy and the German economy are said to have started significantly better into 2012 than was

projected in autumn 2011. According to the IWH, the positive economic development will also affect the labor market.

Welt Online, 19.04.2012

Leading economic research institutes say German economy is in upswing

According to leading economic research institutes, the German economy is in upswing. In their joint "Spring 2012" forecast, published on Thursday, the institutes forecast a growth of the German economy of 0.9 %.

According to the researchers, the biggest "down-side risk" for the future remains to be the debt and trust crisis in the Euro area. While the remarkable measures of the European Central Bank relieved stress in the banking system, they are not more than a gain of time.

The forecast is prepared by the Ifo Institute in Munich, the ETH Zurich, the ZEW Mannheim, the Institute for Economic Research Halle, Kiel Economics, IHS Vienna, and the RWI Institute in Essen.