

ONLINE APPENDIX  
Correlation Neglect in Belief Formation

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## A Overview of Treatments

Table 6: Treatment overview

Treatment	# subjects	Session length (mins)	Ave earnings (euros)	Covered in	Median $\chi$	SD of $\chi$
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. 3.3.1	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.

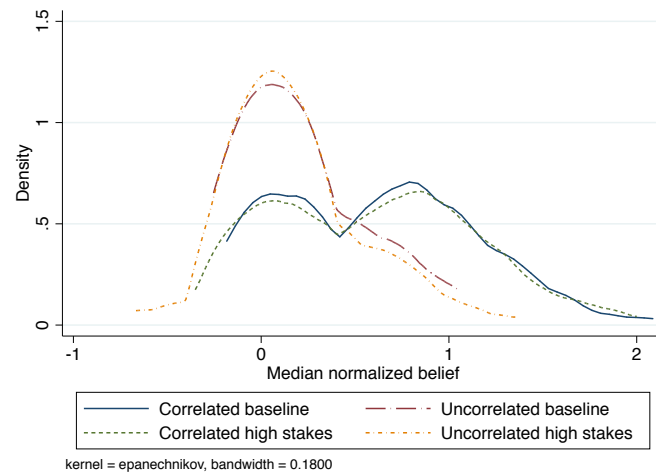


Figure 5: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in the baseline and high stakes conditions

Table 7: Correlation neglect and stake size

	Dependent variable: Median $\chi$		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1 if correlated	0.41*** (0.07)	0.39*** (0.09)	0.40*** (0.09)
1 if high stakes		-0.046 (0.07)	0.0100 (0.08)
1 if correlated high stakes		0.029 (0.13)	-0.046 (0.13)
Constant	0.20*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.14 (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. The p-values refer to a Wilcoxon ranksum test between beliefs in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions.

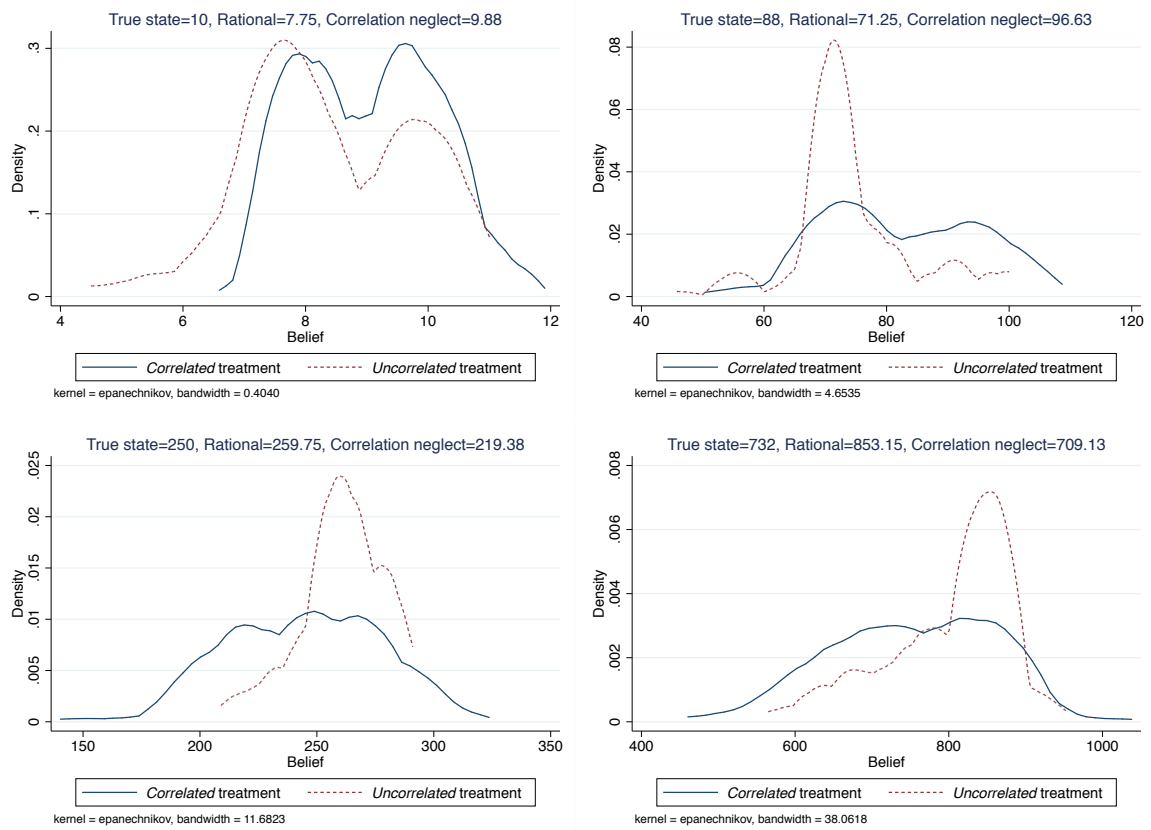


Figure 6: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in individual belief formation treatments (1/2)

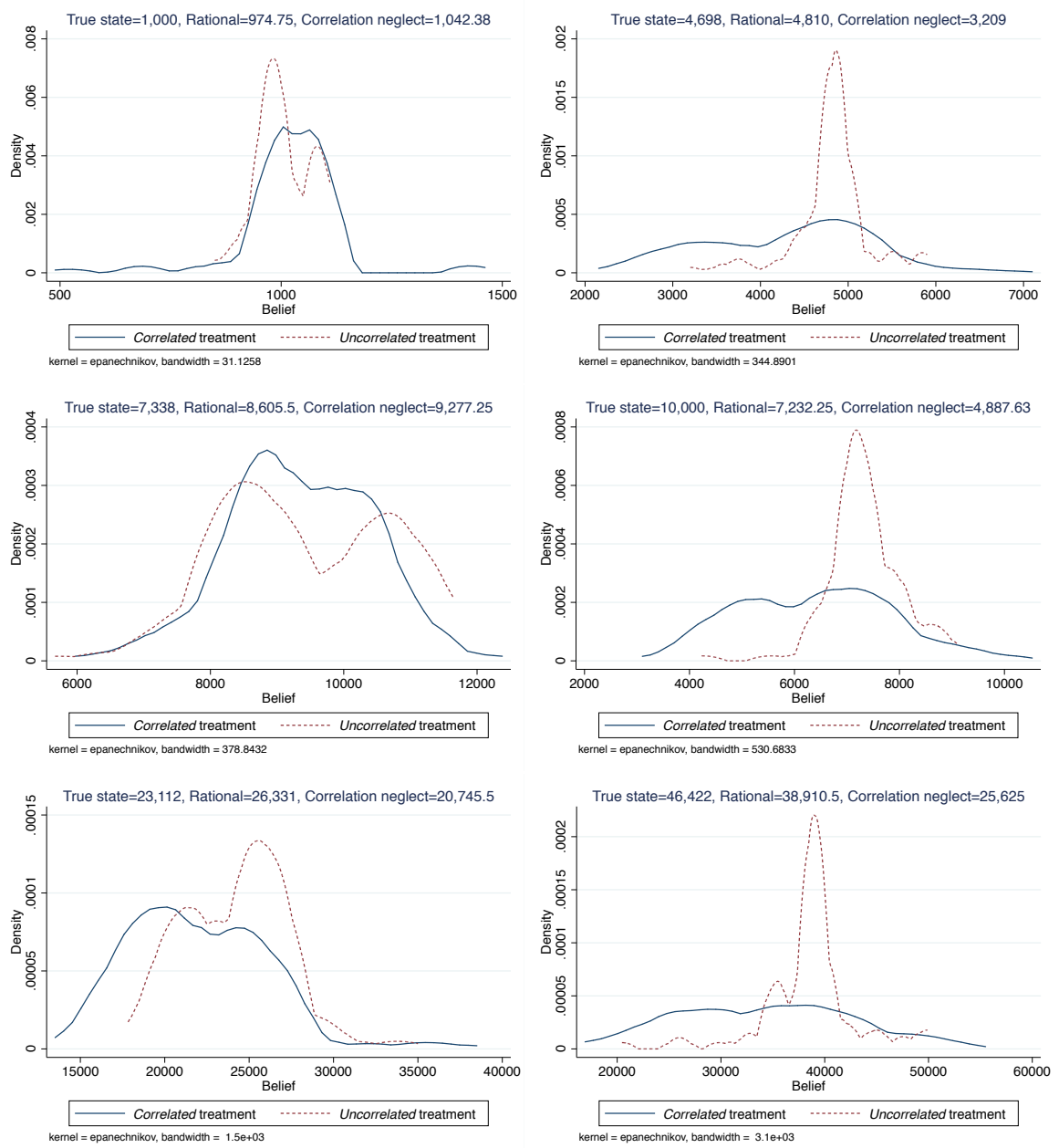


Figure 7: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in individual belief formation treatments (2/2)

### 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.

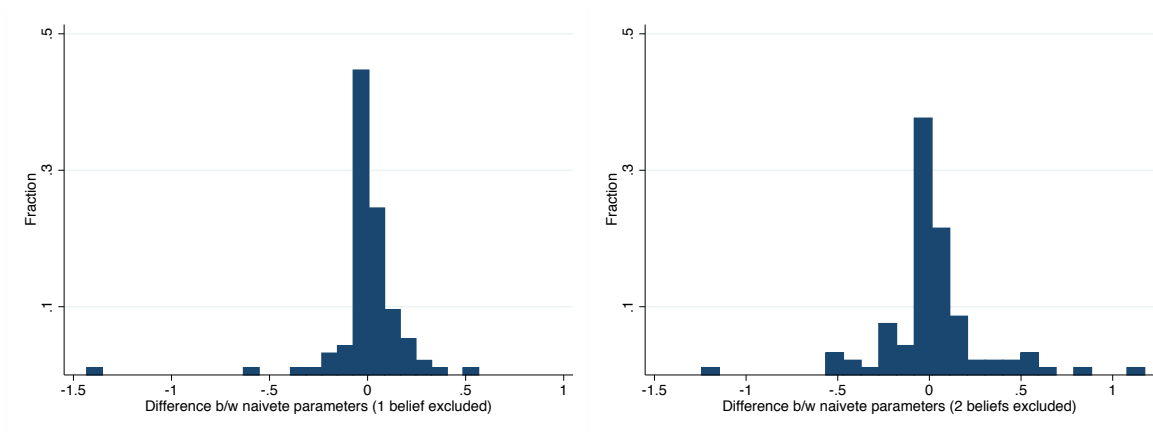


Figure 8: Histograms of the difference between original naïveté parameters and modified naïveté parameters when excluding the one or two beliefs that are closest to the original (implied) naïveté parameter. The right-hand plot excludes one extreme outlier with  $\Delta\chi < -3$ .

### 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

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Normalized belief	
	(1)	(2)
# of period	0.010 (0.01)	-0.0015 (0.02)
Constant	0.61*** (0.08)	0.43 (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  $k \in \{1, \dots, K\}$ , where the population weights  $w_k$  are estimated along with  $\theta_k$ . 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  $\chi$  and  $\sigma$ , we will employ standard maximum likelihood procedures to analyze the prevalence of particular types. The likelihood contribution of individual  $i$  is given by

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

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.<sup>1</sup> In sum, our individual-level analysis has shown that the strong *average* tendency to ignore informational redundancies masks a considerable heterogeneity.

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<sup>1</sup>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			Goodness of fit		
		$\chi$	$\sigma$	$w$ (%)	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  $\mu$  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).<sup>2</sup>

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 benchmarks 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 9 illustrates this by plotting median naïveté parameters for both conditions.<sup>3</sup> As in the baseline treatments, the type distribution in the

<sup>2</sup>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.

<sup>3</sup>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.

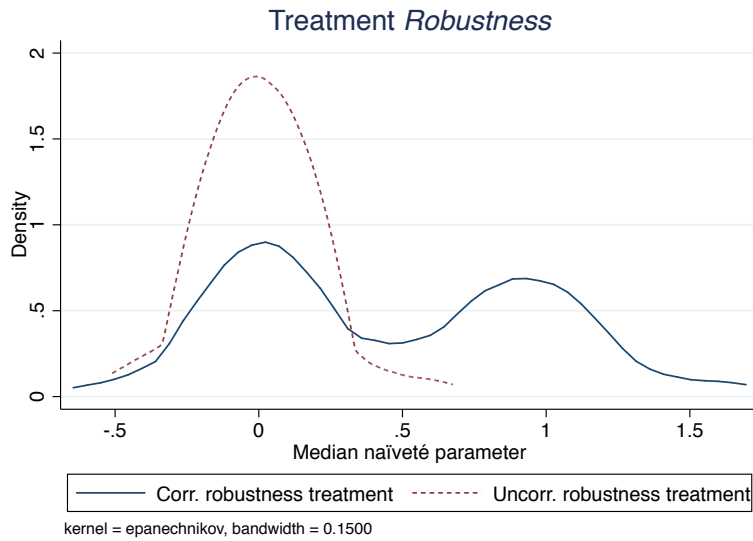


Figure 9: Kernel density estimates of median naïveté parameters. The left panel depicts the distribution of naïveté in the baseline treatments, and the right panel in the robustness treatments.

*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 <i>Uncorr.</i> Treatment	Median Belief <i>Correlated</i> 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 of the manuscript, we have<sup>4</sup>

$$\chi = f(a, m) \quad \text{with} \quad \frac{\partial f(\cdot)}{\partial a} \leq 0 \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\partial f(\cdot)}{\partial m} \leq 0. \quad (2)$$

That is, a person exhibits less correlation neglect  $\chi$  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:

$$a = g(s, n) \quad \text{with} \quad \frac{\partial g(\cdot)}{\partial s} > 0 \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\partial g(\cdot)}{\partial n} < 0. \quad (3)$$

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-

<sup>4</sup>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.

counting issue and is hence more likely to neglect correlations,  $\partial \chi / \partial n \geq 0$ . Notably, 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 of the manuscript 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 *Uncorre-*

lated 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

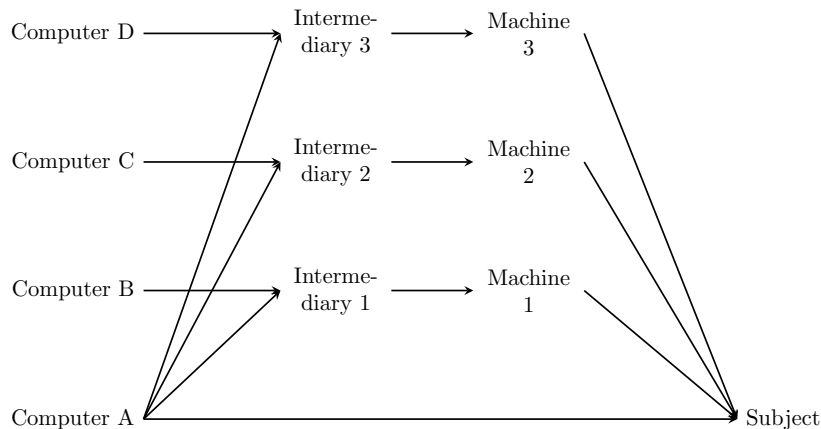


Figure 10: Treatment *Face value*. The machines add  $X$  to the reports of the intermediaries.

a sharp separation between correlation neglect and a face value heuristic. Table 13 provides 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 1.** *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



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

True state	Rational belief	Face value belief	Median belief <i>Uncorrelated</i>	Median belief <i>Multiply</i>	Ranksom 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 ranksom test between beliefs in the *Uncorrelated* and *Multiply* conditions.

evidence for correlation neglect even when it makes a prediction different from face value bias.

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.<sup>5</sup> A Wilcoxon ranksom 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 ( $p = 0.3670$ ).<sup>6</sup> 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 -

<sup>5</sup>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.

<sup>6</sup>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 <i>Face Value</i>	Median Belief <i>Correlated</i>	Ranksum Tests (p-value) <i>Correlated</i>	Ranksum Tests (p-value) <i>Uncorrelated</i>
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. The *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.

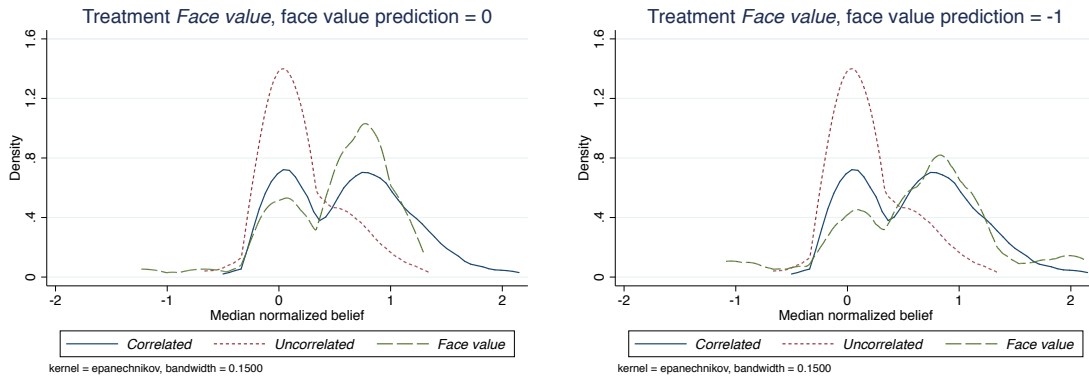


Figure 11: Kernel density estimates of median normalized beliefs in the *Face value* treatment, compared with those from the baseline *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions. The left panel illustrates the five tasks in which the face value belief equals the rational belief, while the right panel 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.

people struggle considerably more with distortions that arise from the interdependence of multiple signals than with externally biased messages. Of course, these findings do 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*

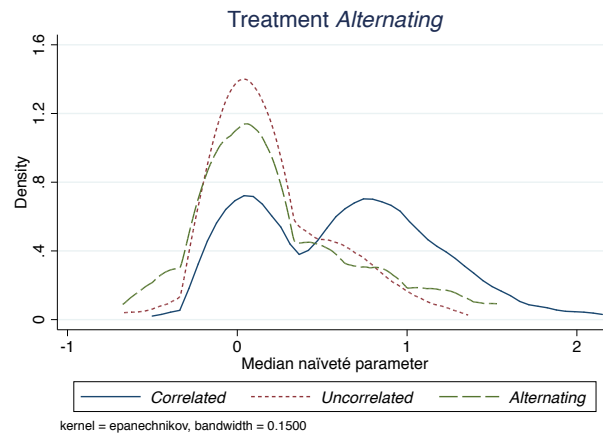


Figure 12: Kernel density estimates of median naïveté parameters. The three kernels depict the distributions of naïveté in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* conditions, pooled across the high stakes and baseline treatments, as well as beliefs in *Alternating*.

### 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 corresponding panel of Figure 1 in the manuscript):

*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.<sup>7</sup> 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 not struggle with the pure mathematical task of backing out the independent signals.

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<sup>7</sup>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: <i>Naiveté</i> $\chi$			
	<i>Intermediaries</i>		<i>Math</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
0 if <i>Correlated</i> , 1 if <i>Intermediaries</i>	-0.37*** (0.07)	-0.32*** (0.07)		
0 if <i>Correlated</i> , 1 if <i>Math</i>			-0.29*** (0.09)	-0.29*** (0.08)
Constant	0.62*** (0.05)	0.58*** (0.18)	0.62*** (0.05)	0.38 (0.25)
Additional controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1327	1313	1324	1310
$R^2$	0.04	0.12	0.03	0.11

OLS estimates, robust standard errors (clustered at subject level) in parentheses. 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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-

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<sup>8</sup>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.9 for details). In any case, since budgets and exchange rates were identical across treatments, this procedure cannot explain potential treatment differences.

<sup>9</sup>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.<sup>10</sup>

**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.<sup>11</sup>

### 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.<sup>12</sup> We first consider the effect of our treatment variation on price levels.

**Result 2.** *Market prices differ between treatments as predicted by correlation neglect. In the Correlated market treatment, we observe frequent over- or underpricing, depending*

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<sup>10</sup>For instance, intuitively, suppose that a fraction  $\alpha$  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  $\alpha \rightarrow 1$ . Similar arguments apply if a fraction  $\alpha$  exhibits only partial (or heterogeneous degrees of) correlation neglect.

<sup>11</sup>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.

<sup>12</sup>All results are robust to other definitions of the market price, see Appendices F.4 and F.5.

Table 17: Market prices by trading round

True State	Rational Belief	Correlation Neglect Belief	Median Market Price <i>Uncorr.</i> Treatment	Median Market Price <i>Correlated</i> Treatment	Ranksom 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 ranksom 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.4 and F.5, 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.<sup>13</sup> 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

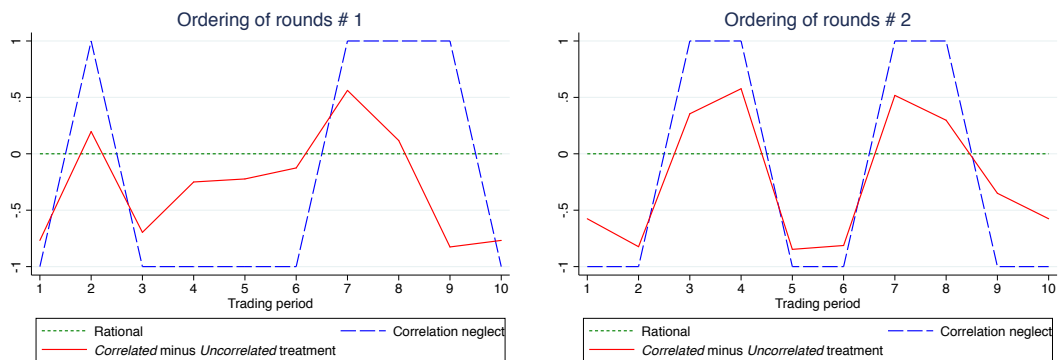


Figure 13: Difference between median normalized market prices in the *Correlated* and *Uncorrelated* treatments across trading rounds for the two randomized orders of rounds

<sup>13</sup>Formally, the new set of normalized prices  $p_i^j$  is given by  $p_i^j = \chi_i^j \times (2 \times \mathbb{1}_{s_i^j > s_{-1}^j} - 1)$ .

price levels. In addition, as visual inspection suggests, this pattern does not attenuate over time. Appendix F.6 formally confirms that the bias reflected in market prices does not become smaller over the course of the ten trading periods. Appendix F.7 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.8 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 3.** *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  $\chi$  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.<sup>14</sup> 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

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<sup>14</sup>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

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Normalized market price		Median asset holdings if underpricing		Median asset holdings if overpricing		Median profit	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Naïveté $\chi$ of marginal trader	0.72*** (0.12)	0.64*** (0.14)						
Individual correlation neglect ( $\chi$ )			-1.53*** (0.17)	-1.30*** (0.19)	0.64*** (0.12)	0.26* (0.14)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.11** (0.05)
Constant	0.16 (0.20)	0.68 (0.44)	2.85*** (0.12)	1.50 (0.90)	1.43*** (0.14)	2.48** (1.12)	10.1*** (0.03)	10.3*** (0.28)
Additional controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	152	152	143	143	143	143	143	143
R <sup>2</sup>	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  $\chi$  of the rounds in which correlation neglect predicts overpessimism [overoptimism]. In (7) and (8), the median correlation neglect parameter equals the median  $\chi$  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.

## 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	<i>Market Price</i> $\equiv$		
	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.5 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*** (0.08)	-0.052 (0.08)	-0.051 (0.10)
Group-level median belief ( $\chi$ )		0.75*** (0.08)	0.70*** (0.12)
Constant	0.19*** (0.04)	0.040 (0.04)	0.75 (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  $\chi$ . 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.

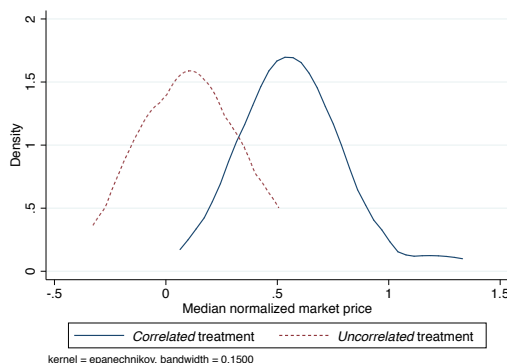


Figure 14: Kernel density estimates of median market prices

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

Aggregation mechanism	Definition of market price:		
	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.6 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

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Normalized market price		Normalized market price minus median price in uncorrelated	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
# of trading period	-0.018 (0.03)	-0.0091 (0.02)	-0.024 (0.03)	-0.0069 (0.02)
Constant	0.71*** (0.19)	0.73*** (0.17)	0.57*** (0.16)	0.48** (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.<sup>15</sup> 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.7 Time Trend of Beliefs in Market Experiments

Table F.7 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.

<sup>15</sup>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 (0.01)	-0.0087 (0.01)	-0.0088 (0.01)	-0.0094 (0.01)	-0.0016 (0.01)
Constant	0.64*** (0.08)	0.67*** (0.07)	0.80*** (0.06)	1.24*** (0.06)	1.34*** (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 exclude 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.8 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.<sup>16</sup>

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.

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<sup>16</sup>Alternatively, our empirical pattern is consistent with the idea that people are overconfident about their ability to process correlations.

## F.9 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 respective 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.

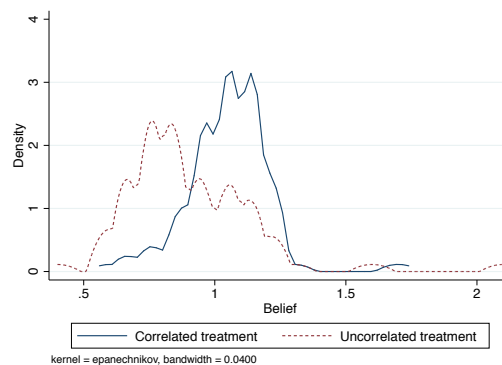


Figure 15: Kernel density estimates of beliefs in the two main newspaper treatments

## 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).<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup> 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

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<sup>17</sup>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"

<sup>18</sup>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.

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