## ENDS VERSUS MEANS: KANTIANS, UTILITARIANS AND MORAL DECISIONS\*

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## **Abstract**

We investigate the overall prevalence and the consistency of consequentialist versus deontological decision-making. Our design includes a real-stakes version of the classical trolley dilemma, four novel games that induce ends-versus-means tradeoffs, and a rule-following task. These main games are supplemented with six classical self-versus-others choice tasks, allowing us to relate consequential/deontological behavior to standard measures of prosociality. Across the six main games, we find a stable prevalence (20 to 40%) of non-consequentialist choices by subjects, but no evidence of stable individual preferences across situations. In particular, trolley behavior predicts no other ends-versus-means choices. In contrast, there is a rather high level of consistency across self-versus-other decisions, but an individuals' degree of prosociality is unrelated to how they choose in ends-versus-means tradeoffs affecting others.

Keywords: morality, deontological, consequentialist, Kantian, trolley, prosocial, social preferences.

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