

# The Beauty Contest On Amazon Mechanical Turk: Going Further Into The Field

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## Abstract

We examine the process of reasoning among 296 subjects playing the iterated beauty contest game on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Our findings are substantially different from the behaviors observed in laboratory and newspaper experiments reported in the literature. In general, we do not find any strong evidence in favor of higher-order reasoning in the first round as well as in the following iterations of the game, which puts into question the presence of any strategic thinking among the vast majority of subjects.

*Keywords:* Beauty Contest, Mechanical Turk, Iterated best response, Higher-order reasoning

*JEL Classification:* C72, C73

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## 1. Introduction

2 The so-called *beauty contest game* has been introduced by Keynes [22] to explain  
3 how expectations about the beliefs of other agents play a crucial role in financial

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4 markets. The label “beauty contest” nowadays encompasses a variety of different  
5 experimental games having in common the key role played by the subjects’ ability  
6 to think about each others thought processes, e.g. their ‘theory of mind’ and depth  
7 of strategic reasoning [24, 3, 17, 19, 10, 26, 16].

8 The most well-known example, due to Moulin [23], is the following: each  
9 player has to choose a number in the interval  $[0, 100]$ ; the players who are the  
10 closest to  $2/3$  of the average of all chosen numbers evenly split a fixed positive  
11 monetary amount. The only equilibrium of this game is when all players choose  
12 the lowest number, zero. However, choosing zero may not win the game: if for  
13 instance there are more than two players in the game, and a player believes that all  
14 other players are going to pick a number sufficiently greater than zero, then zero  
15 is not a best response.

16 The beauty contest has been extensively tested in experiments to study the  
17 players’ depth of strategic reasoning – i.e., the number of steps in an unobservable  
18 process of reasoning about each other intended to explain the behavior of agents  
19 in interactive decision making [24, 3, 17, 19, 10]. The bulk of classic experiments  
20 have been carried out as lab experiments with small- and medium-sized groups of  
21 university students (e.g. Nagel [24], Ho et al. [19], see also Camerer et al. [10]  
22 and Nagel [25] for an overview), or as single-shot large-scale newspaper contests  
23 [3].

24 Loosely, the idea is that the higher the level in the depth of reasoning, the  
25 lower the chosen number will be [9]. A player with depth of reasoning of level  
26 zero simply chooses a random or salient number between 0 and 100 in the first  
27 round. Two different solution concepts have been proposed to capture the higher-

order reasoning of players. According to the first, called *degenerate*<sup>1</sup> *iterated best response reasoning* (IBRd) and used for instance in Nagel [24] and Bosch-Doménech et al. [3], a player of level one is supposed to best respond to the belief that his or her opponents are of level zero. Therefore, a player of level one would choose (a number close to)  $50 \cdot 2/3 = 33.3$ , which is the best response to the belief that the other players choose at random from a symmetric distribution around 50. By iterating the same reasoning once more, a player of level two would choose (a number close to)  $50 \cdot (2/3)^2 = 22.2$ . By repeating this reasoning infinitely many times, a player with infinite depth chooses the minimum, zero.

An alternative solution concept for capturing the higher-order reasoning of players, used e.g. in Ho et al. [19], is the iterated elimination of dominated strategies. A player of level one accordingly chooses only numbers from the interval  $[0, 2/3 \cdot 100]$ , because any number in the interval  $(2/3 \cdot 100, 100]$  is dominated by  $2/3 \cdot 100 = 66.6$ . By iterating the same reasoning, a player of level two, chooses only numbers in the interval  $[0, (2/3)^2 \cdot 100]$ , and the process converges again to zero as the levels of depth go to infinity. Infinite iterations of either solution concept thus lead to the sole equilibrium of the game.

Classic papers on the beauty contest report findings of higher-order reasoning and classify most subjects between level one and level two of depth of reasoning [24, 19, 16, 26, 32, 3]. A high number of guesses in the proximity of the numbers 33 and 22 in the first round are found by Nagel [24], Selten and Nagel [32] and interpreted as revealing the presence of IBRd as well as of one or two levels of higher-order reasoning by the majority of subjects. This finding is later confirmed

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<sup>1</sup>The term “degenerate” comes from the assumption that each agent assigns probability 1 to the other players being of exactly one reasoning level lower than herself.

51 by a survey of the results from laboratory, classroom, and also newspaper exper-  
52 iments on the beauty contest in Bosch-Doménech et al. [3], where it is stated in  
53 terms of the following two facts:

54 **Fact 1.** *All experiments analyzed result in frequency spikes at number choices*  
55 *33.33 and 22.22 and also [...] at equilibrium. Furthermore, in all experiments the*  
56 *modal reasoning process described in the comments is IBRd. (p. 1697)*

57 **Fact 2.** *A majority (64 percent) of comments show subjects using an IBRd argu-*  
58 *ment, of which 15 percentage points correspond to Level 0 (random choice). (p.*  
59 *1692)*

60 The survey in Bosch-Doménech et al. [3] contains also a relevant contribution  
61 about the so-called assumption of *parallelism* between the lab and the field. By  
62 finding similar results between lab experiments and field experiments performed  
63 on three different newspapers, the authors conclude that the behavioral patterns  
64 observed in laboratory experiments with sociodemographically biased samples  
65 (university students in most cases) still hold true in field experiments on news-  
66 papers. The same behavioral patterns found in the laboratory thus apply to the  
67 population at large, and the assumption of parallelism between the lab and the  
68 field is supported.

69 **Fact 3.** *The fact that three experiments involving thousands of subjects, run in dif-*  
70 *ferent countries, for different newspapers, catering to different populations, yield*  
71 *very similar results is a clear indication that we are observing a pattern of behav-*  
72 *ior that must be quite common. In addition, this pattern is replicated in lab exper-*  
73 *iments with subject pools of undergraduate, graduate students, and economists.*

74 *This indicates that the “parallelism” assumption between lab and field has been*  
75 *upheld. (p. 1697)*

76 The experiments we performed on Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) seem to  
77 contradict, rather than support, such conclusions on both higher-order reasoning  
78 and the parallelism between the field and the lab. As for the behavior in the first  
79 round, no spikes corresponding to possible iterations of higher-order reasoning  
80 are found. Rather, a symmetric distribution of guesses around 50 is observed.

81 As for subsequent repetitions of the beauty contest, subjects are commonly  
82 supposed to adjust their behavior based on both strategic reasoning and the ob-  
83 servation of previous guesses and averages. On this point, our observations from  
84 AMT are incompatible with the combination of higher-order reasoning and learn-  
85 ing processes taking the mean (or two-thirds of the mean) of the previous round  
86 as reference point for the players’ strategic reasoning, as most often the subjects  
87 choose numbers greater than the target (two-thirds of the mean) of the previous  
88 round, while observing a decreasing sequence of means and targets over subse-  
89 quent rounds. This suggests that higher-order reasoning may be missing in subse-  
90 quent repetitions of the beauty contest as well.

91 While our original interest was focused on a variation of the classic beauty  
92 contest, we unexpectedly observed substantial differences in the behaviors of the  
93 subjects in the control group playing the standard beauty contest relative to the  
94 findings reported in the literature. Since the majority of subjects on AMT may  
95 be less biased towards or trained in puzzle-solving and rational thinking than uni-  
96 versity students and economists, we decided to contact the authors of previous  
97 experiments on the beauty contest to first compare our results with theirs, and  
98 to analyze our variant of the beauty contest in a separate paper. We are deeply

99 grateful to Prof. Nagel for sharing her data with us.

100 The paper is organized as follows. After describing our experiments in Sec-  
101 tion 2, the findings are analyzed in detail in Section 3, which is divided into two  
102 parts corresponding to the first round (Subsection 3.1) and to subsequent rounds  
103 (Subsection 3.2). Section 4 discusses the assumption of parallelism in the light of  
104 our results, and Section 5 concludes.

## 105 **2. Method**

106 We designed a set of iterated beauty contests on Amazon Mechanical Turk, an  
107 online labor market and crowdsourcing platform which has been shown to be  
108 reliable, replicable, and significantly more diverse than typical American college  
109 samples [7, 14, 20, 27]. A total of 296 participants were randomly split into 50  
110 two-player groups, 23 four-player groups and 13 eight-player groups. After the  
111 groups were formed, players were introduced to the game in the following way:

112 Instructions: You are in a group of 2 [4 or 8, respectively] players. In  
113 each round players will be asked to choose a number between 0 and  
114 100. The winner will be the player whose number is closest to  $2/3$  of  
115 the average of all chosen numbers. The game has 8 rounds. Payoffs:  
116 Each player will receive a participation fee of \$2 after finishing the  
117 game. In addition, the winner in each round will get a bonus of \$0.25  
118 [\$0.5 or \$1, respectively]. If there is more than one winner the bonus  
119 is split. Examples: if you choose 30 as the number closest to  $2/3$  of  
120 the average and win the round, you will receive \$0.25 [\$0.5 or \$1,  
121 respectively]. If you and another player guess 20 and win, you will  
122 win half of the bonus.

123 The payoff structure ensures that players receive on average the same bonus across  
124 different group sizes and are unlikely to quit the game prematurely, because the  
125 overall bonus after eight rounds potentially could become substantially larger  
126 than the flat participation fee of \$2. After each round, each player's guess was  
127 recorded, and players were shown the winning guess, the full list of previous  
128 guesses by all players, the averages in all previous rounds, as well as the 2/3 of  
129 those averages.<sup>2</sup> After round 8 players were thanked and asked about the strat-  
130 egy they used when playing the game, which provided valuable information on  
131 the players' decision making process. No player was allowed to play the game  
132 twice.<sup>3</sup>

### 133 3. Results

134 Beauty contests have often been designed as one-shot experiments, which corre-  
135 sponds to only looking at the results in round 1 of our experiments. Like in the  
136 classic papers on this topic (e.g. Nagel [24], Ho et al. [19]), we analyze the results  
137 from the first round and from the subsequent rounds separately.

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<sup>2</sup>Players could only select integers between 0 and 100 in our AMT experiments. While discrete action spaces may make some new equilibria arise, the only new equilibrium in our case is a profile of ones in the 8-player beauty contest. In general, when the number of players is not large, all new equilibria are profiles of low numbers, which does not affect the initial steps of the reasoning processes described in Section 1. See Seel and Tsakas [31] for more details.

<sup>3</sup>See also supplementary information for more details about the experimental design.

138 *3.1. Static: First Round*

139 Figure 1 shows the distributions of guesses from a selected sample of previous  
140 experiments on the beauty contest.<sup>4</sup>

141 The lowest means are found among theorists, in the internet newsgroup exper-  
142 iment, and in the newspaper experiments, all in which subjects were science and  
143 business interested and supposedly had more time to think about their answer and  
144 therefore may have been able to think further ahead. Specifically, the newspaper  
145 experiments were done in the magazine *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* [32] (with a  
146 mean of 22.1), in the *Financial Times* [33] (mean 18.9) and in the Spanish news-  
147 paper *Expansión* [3] (mean = 25.5). However, another large scale experiment with  
148 19,196 readers of the less science and business oriented Danish daily newspaper  
149 *Politiken*, reported a mean of 32.4 [30] (not shown here).

150 The presence of spikes in the vicinity of 22.2 and 33.3 in the majority of ex-  
151 periments shown in Figure 1 constitutes evidence that subjects can be described  
152 as performing one or two iterations of best response reasoning. thus replicating  
153 the findings of Nagel [24], and upholding the IBRD model as the prominent de-  
154 scription of how people reason about each other and behave in the beauty contest  
155 as stated in Fact 1 and Fact 2 above. As this pattern of behavior is found both in  
156 lab and in newspaper experiments, the data corroborates the assumption of paral-  
157 lelism between the lab and the field (newspapers), as we have seen in Fact 3.

158 Our findings from AMT, shown in the bottom right graph of Figure 1, tell a  
159 different story. First of all, while the mass of all other distributions is concentrated

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<sup>4</sup>Of course there have been made many more one-shot beauty contests, see for instance Schou [30], Rubinstein [28]. Here we only show those distributions where we could get hold of the complete data set.



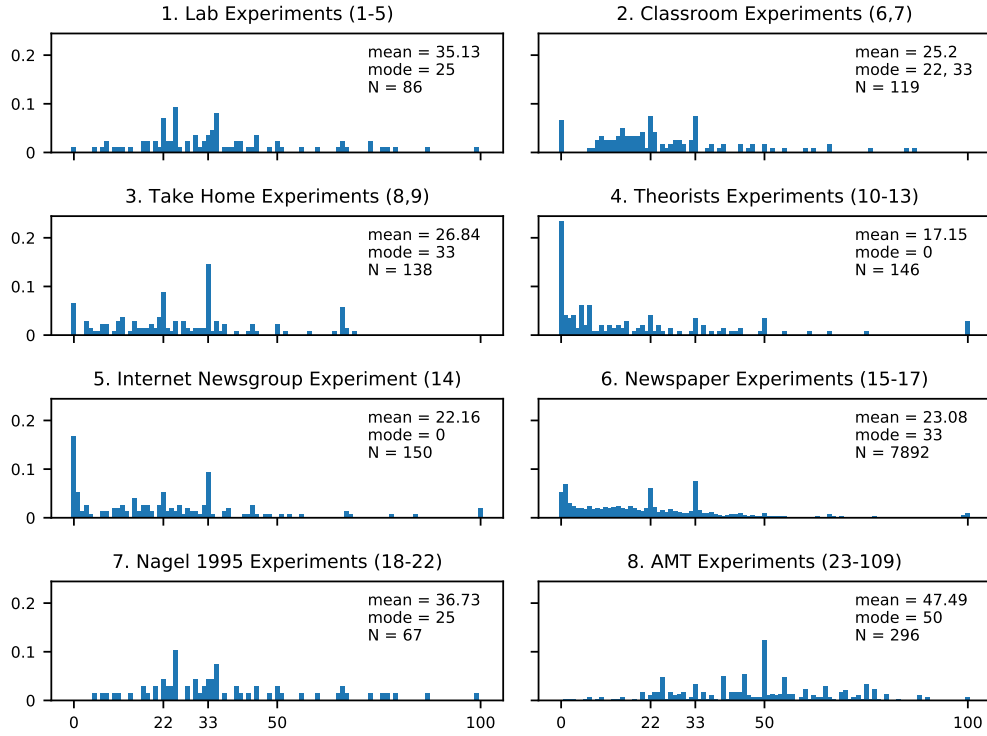


Figure 1: The first six subplots show the distributions of the guesses from various “one shot” newspaper [33, 32, 4] and lab experiments as analyzed by Bosch-Doménech et al. [3]. The bottom left subplot depicts the distribution of guesses in the first round in the experiments by Nagel [24], while the bottom right subplot shows the distribution of the results we collected from the first round on Amazon Mechanical Turk.

160 on the left half of the interval  $[0,100]$ , the distribution of the data from AMT is  
161 close to normal ( $p = 0.047$ , Shapiro-Wilk test) with mode 50 and mean 47.49,  
162 and has mass concentrated around the center of the interval and spreading away  
163 symmetrically in both directions. Moreover, the three different treatments all have  
164 means above 45 (50.99 for 2-player groups, 45.42 for 4-player groups and 45.96  
165 for 8-player groups), and the mode is 50 for each treatment too, overall indicating  
166 a propensity towards a middle number in the first round.

167 Second, unlike the other seven distributions in Figure 1, the one from AMT  
168 has no notable spike either around 33.33 or around 22.22. A major spike at 50  
169 is instead present, which corresponds to the modal choice, while lower spikes  
170 appear more or less symmetrically on both sides of it. We can therefore state the  
171 following:

172 **Finding 1.** *No spikes confirming the effect of some iterations of IBRd reasoning*  
173 *are found.*

174 The IBRd model assumes that the iteration process starts from 50, as detailed  
175 previously in Section 1. Such a starting point may be interpreted as the expectation  
176 from randomly choosing according to a symmetric distribution around 50, or as  
177 the choice of a salient number à la Schelling [29]. The distribution of choices on  
178 AMT is compatible with both these hypotheses: given the marked central spike,  
179 we can exclude that the symmetric distribution is uniform, hence supporting some  
180 sort of salience in the number 50.

181 A second conclusion can then be drawn from our experiments:

182 **Finding 2.** *The behavior observed in AMT experiments is compatible with play-*  
183 *ers choosing at random from a symmetric distribution with mean 50, possibly*

184 *viewed as a salient number. Relative to the IBRd model, this can be interpreted*  
185 *as a population of 0-level players, choosing numbers at random or by simple*  
186 *salience, without any higher-order reasoning.*

### 187 3.2. *Dynamic: Subsequent Rounds*

188 Clear evidence for higher-order reasoning is not found in subsequent rounds ei-  
189 ther. Figure 2 shows the means in each of the eight rounds played on AMT by  
190 groups of size 2, 4, and 8 respectively. For comparison we show the results of the  
191 experiments by Nagel [24], by Kamm and Dahinden [21] as reported in [15], by  
192 Weber [34], and by Bühren and Frank [6], all shown in red colors.

193 It is common to all the experiments in Figure 2 that the means tend to decrease  
194 with subsequent rounds, which may be interpreted as a sign of learning. The  
195 speed of decrease, however, differs between the experiments in the lab and those  
196 on AMT. Nagel [24] finds a decrease of around 30 points in four rounds. It takes  
197 instead eight rounds on AMT for the means of 4- and 8-player groups to decrease  
198 by about the same, while the means of 2-player groups decrease only by around  
199 20 points over eight rounds.

200 The rates of decrease of the means between round 1 and round 4 may be  
201 computed, as in Nagel [24], by the following formula:

$$\text{Rate of decrease} = \frac{(\text{mean}(1) - \text{mean}(4))}{\text{mean}(4)}$$

202 where  $\text{mean}(r)$  is the mean in round  $r$ . The rate of decrease in the various experi-  
203 ments is listed in table 1:

204 As it can be seen from table 1, the rate of decrease of the mean in our AMT  
205 experiment are much lower than in all the other experiments done on students,  
206 which leads us to make the following finding:

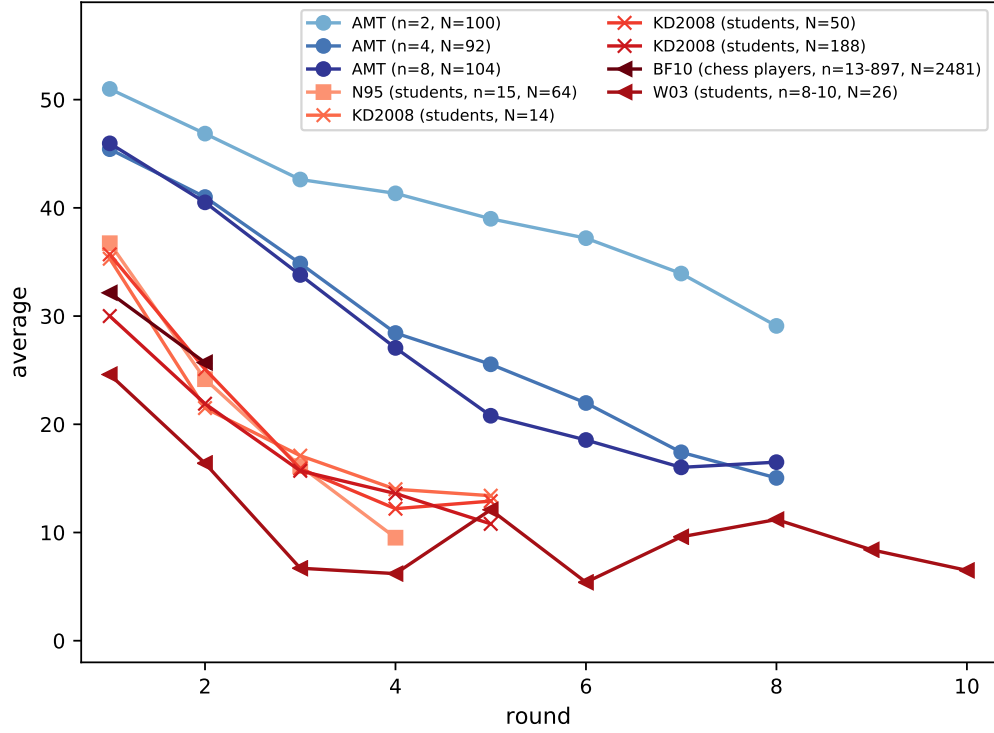


Figure 2: Means for iterated beauty contest experiments with various number of rounds played. Our AMT-experiments with group sizes 2, 4 and 8 are shown in blue colors. Results from lab experiments with students by Nagel [24], Kamm and Dahinden [21], Weber [34], and with chess players Bühren and Frank [6] are shown in red colors. Means decrease over time, although the AMT-results are markedly shifted upwards. In addition, the rate of decrease is significantly lower. The rates of decrease for the first four rounds in the AMT experiments are 0.19, 0.37, and 0.41 for group sizes 2, 4 and 8, respectively, while the rate of decrease in Nagel [24] is 0.74.

Experiment	n	N	RoD
Amazon Mechanical Turk	2	100	0.19
	4	192	0.37
	8	104	0.41
Nagel (1995)	15-18	64	0.74
Kamm & Dahinden (2008)	14	14	0.60
	50	50	0.66
	188	188	0.55
Weber (2003)	8-10	26	0.75

Table 1: Rates of decrease in iterated p-beauty contest experiments with  $p = 2/3$ . n = group size; N = number of subjects; RoD = rate of decrease from round 1 to round 4.

**Finding 3.** *The means of all treatments in the AMT experiments are significantly higher than the means of the experiments in Nagel [24], Kamm and Dahinden [21] and Weber [34]. Moreover, the rates of decrease of the means in all treatments from AMT experiments are substantially lower than the rate of decrease in the repeated beauty contest experiments by Nagel [24], Kamm and Dahinden [21] and Weber [34].*

In addition, the means in 2-player groups are significantly higher than in 4-player and 8-player groups (Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests,  $p < 0.01$  in 14 out of 16 comparisons), indicating that when playing against only one player, people behave differently. As already noticed in Ho et al. [19], this is puzzling in that the smaller the group, the larger the effect of individual guesses on the mean. Two-person beauty contests are isomorphic to the game “whoever chooses the smaller number wins”: while one is not guaranteed to win when choosing zero in the 4- or 8-player beauty contest, guessing zero is weakly dominant and ensures at least a tie in the 2-player game.

222 In our 50 experiments with groups of two players, there was no participant  
223 who chose zero in the first round. After 8 rounds, zero was chosen 3 times in total  
224 (out of 800 guesses). This is significantly lower than what was found previously  
225 by Grosskopf and Nagel [17], where about 10% of undergraduates in economics  
226 guessed zero in the one-shot version of the 2-player game.

227 Finally, higher rates of decrease are sometimes associated with larger groups  
228 (e.g. Ho et al. [19], p. 958), but the similarity in the means between groups of  
229 4 and 8 players and the comparison to the results by Kamm and Dahinden [21]  
230 and Weber [34] both have comparable group sizes constitute counterexamples to  
231 that association. AMT experiments also contradict the claim that larger groups  
232 choose higher numbers at the start (see Ho et al. [19], p. 958). What holds true,  
233 instead, is that the 2-person beauty contest constitutes a puzzling case in which  
234 the players not only lack the strategic sophistication to understand the great power  
235 in their hands, but even display a tendency towards higher guesses than in groups  
236 with more than two players. A possible explanation, also suggested by Grosskopf  
237 and Nagel [17], may be based on a cognitive misconception of the game: players  
238 might aim to be as close as possible to the  $2/3$  of the mean rather than to be closer  
239 than the opponent to the  $2/3$  of the mean. We can thus state the following:

240 **Finding 4.** *On average, participants in the 4-player and 8-player treatments guess*  
241 *significantly lower than in the 2-player treatment. Moreover, the rates of decrease*  
242 *of the means in the 4-player and 8-player treatments are significantly higher than*  
243 *the rate of decrease in the 2-player treatment.*

244 It is noticeable that simple directional learning also seems to be falsified by  
245 AMT experiments. Figure 3 pictures the distribution of the number of times a

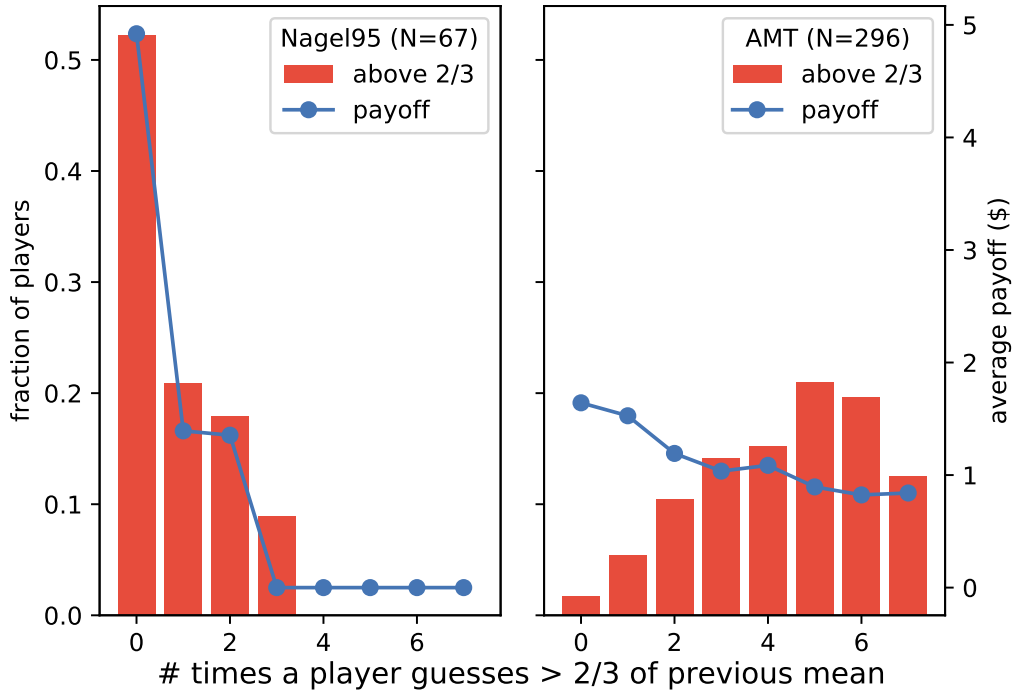


Figure 3: Bar chart of the number of times a player chooses a number greater than  $2/3$  of the mean of the previous round. In the lab experiments by Nagel [24] (left) 52% of the players never go above  $2/3$  of the previous mean, and only about 25% do that more than once. In the AMT experiments (right) less than 2% of players never go above  $2/3$  of the previous mean, while 53% of players go above  $2/3$  of the previous mean more than four times.

246 player chooses a number greater than the target of the previous round, i.e., greater  
 247 than  $2/3$  of the previous mean. Experiments on AMT, on the right, show that less  
 248 than 2% of players never guess higher than the target of the previous round, while  
 249 the vast majority (more than 80%) does that at least three times, and about 50%  
 250 does it five times or more.

251 The distribution on the left, corresponding to the lab experiments by Nagel  
 252 [24], depicts players of a different kind: more than 50% of players never go higher

253 than the target of the previous round, while only about 25% do that more than  
254 once. Importantly, both in the lab experiments by Nagel [24] and in the exper-  
255 iments on AMT, at the end of each round players were told both the mean and  
256 the two-thirds of the mean of that round, as well as all chosen numbers. While  
257 the players in Nagel [24] seem to learn that the target decreases and adapt to this,  
258 players on AMT cannot be viewed as adapting to a decreasing target: most of the  
259 times they pick numbers higher than  $2/3$  of the mean of the previous round, even  
260 while observing a decreasing sequence of means and targets.

261 From the assumption that, in subsequent repetitions, a player of level zero  
262 chooses at random according to a symmetric distribution around the previous  
263 mean (or the previous target), it follows that a player of level one would never  
264 guess higher than the previous target, and higher levels of reasoning imply even  
265 lower guesses. Hence, the combination of some iterations of IBRd with an adap-  
266 tation process taking the mean (or two-thirds of the mean) of the previous round  
267 as reference point for the next round is incompatible with our observations from  
268 AMT. We can therefore state the following:

269 **Finding 5.** *The results from the AMT experiments are incompatible with the com-*  
270 *bination of higher-order reasoning as modeled by IBRd and learning processes*  
271 *taking the mean (or two-thirds of the mean) of the previous round as the reference*  
272 *point for the next round.*

#### 273 **4. Parallelism between the Field and the Lab**

274 In light of the results above, we have to reassess the assumption of parallelism  
275 between the lab and the field. Participants in lab and classroom experiments are



276 most often university students, sometimes even graduate or PhD students in eco-  
277 nomics, and hence cannot be considered representative of the population at large.  
278 As mentioned in Section 1, this causes issues about the sociodemographic repre-  
279 sentativeness of such samples: how general and generalizable are the results from  
280 the lab? So-called field experiments such as newspaper experiments, on the other  
281 hand, may potentially reach broader and more differentiated subject pools, but at  
282 the price of losing control on the specific sociodemographic characteristics of the  
283 sample.

284 One of the important contributions by Bosch-Doménech et al. [3] concerns  
285 the parallelism between the lab and the field. Accepting the experiments with  
286 newspaper readers as field experiments, the comparison between the results from  
287 newspaper and lab/classroom experiments allows the authors to evaluate the as-  
288 sumption of parallelism and the general validity of the conclusions drawn from  
289 lab behavior. Given the similarity between the data collected from newspaper ex-  
290 periments and those from various lab and classroom experiments, [3] conclude  
291 that the same pattern observed in the three newspaper experiments is replicated in  
292 the lab, and the parallelism assumption between the lab and the field is supported,  
293 as we have seen in Fact 3.

294 The sizable differences reported above with respect to the behavior in online  
295 experiments on Amazon Mechanical Turk would lead us to the opposite:

296 **Finding 6.** *In our AMT experiments, the parallelism between the lab and the field*  
297 *fails.*

## 298 **5. Conclusion: A Dilemma**

299 The main conclusions drawn by [3] on the assumption of parallelism and the com-  
300 mon behavioral patterns observed both in lab and in field (newspaper) experiments  
301 are thus not supported by our results from AMT. Similarly to the newspaper ex-  
302 periments, AMT experiments reach broader and more differentiate pools than lab  
303 experiments [7, 14, 20, 27], but also have less control on the sociodemographic  
304 characteristics of the sample. As opposed to lab experiments, AMT experiments  
305 are thus to be considered field experiments.

306 Putting these two observations together leaves us with a dilemma. Either AMT  
307 is not a reliable platform for small and medium sized beauty contests, or the as-  
308 sumption of parallelism between the lab and the field (AMT) does not hold true.

309 In the first case, our results would contradict the literature about the validity  
310 of experiments performed on AMT (e.g. [7, 14, 20, 27]). In the second, they  
311 would go against the validation of parallelism between the lab and newspaper  
312 experiments as investigated by [3].

313 Arguments for the first case may include the belief that the quality of the AMT  
314 subject pool is poor in terms of monetary incentives, attention and/or cognitive  
315 ability and effort. However, the average payoff in our experiments was approxi-  
316 mately \$15 per hour, which is considered generous according to AMT guidelines  
317 and certainly above the estimated average of \$6 per hour when excluding un-  
318 submitted and rejected work [18]. In addition, the belief that data quality depends  
319 on the (relative) size of the bonus compared to the participation fee is contra-  
320 dicted by [1], who showed that results of standard economic games with very low  
321 bonuses on AMT are comparable to those of corresponding lab experiments with  
322 higher bonuses, thus alleviating concerns about the validity of economic game

323 experiments conducted on AMT.

324     With regard to possible concerns about insufficient cognitive ability and/or  
325 effort among AMT subjects, we can only suggest that in order for economic games  
326 to be representative of the real world, they should not require subjects to be experts  
327 or be trained in any particular way. If the keynesian beauty contest were meant to  
328 test the cognitive acumen of only economists and mathematically talented people,  
329 it is clear that AMT is not the best place to do such experiments. If, however, the  
330 purpose of the p-beauty contest is to say something general about people's use of  
331 higher-order reasoning in online settings, AMT may be a good place to start.

332     However, the apparent lack of strategic thinking among the majority of AMT  
333 subjects is still a puzzle which needs further investigation. As discussed in Chou  
334 et al. [13] one reason may be may be that the beauty contest is an unfamiliar type  
335 of game in which subjects often lack understanding of the relationships between  
336 possible choices, outcomes and payoffs. Online platforms like Amazon Mechanical  
337 Turk, where subjects have no prior knowledge, limited time and little patience,  
338 may amplify such contributing factors. When instructions and procedures are pre-  
339 sented with mathematical expressions like “average” and “2/3 of”, subjects may  
340 believe that they are supposed to solve mathematical problems rather than to think  
341 about what others think. Our two-person beauty contest experiment may be a glaring  
342 ing example of such misconceptions. If the instructions were presented in a more  
343 familiar context and with a clear statement such as “whoever chooses the low-  
344 est number wins”, strategic thinking would probably have been more prevalent  
345 [13, 5].

346     To conclude, the differences between our results and the results from news-  
347 paper/lab experiments are most likely due to the disparities between their subject

348 pools. Consequently we conjecture that the similarity between newspaper and lab  
 349 results may be due to the similarity between their subject pools. Although it is  
 350 true that the design of the newspaper experiments entails a loss of control on the  
 351 sample, it does not necessarily follow that the newspaper samples are very differ-  
 352 ent and more diverse than the samples used in lab experiments. Having chosen  
 353 markedly economic-oriented newspapers might have brought the experimenters  
 354 not very far into the field. Further lab, field and AMT experiments that control  
 355 for some of the factors discussed above should be able to answer the dilemma  
 356 presented here.

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## 448 **Appendix A. Materials and Method**

449 Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) is an online labor market and crowdsourc-  
450 ing platform, which is increasingly being used for social and economic experi-  
451 ments in order to investigate the real time interactions of small to medium sized  
452 groups. AMT has repeatedly been shown to meet or exceed the standards set by  
453 data collection methods using other means [2, 8]. The platform has a large partic-  
454 ipant pool (called turkers), various demographic and quality selection options for  
455 researchers, and provides an integrated participant compensation system.

## 456 **Appendix B. Experimental Design**

457 After turkers accept our ‘HIT’ (‘human intelligence task’), they have to pro-  
458 vide informed consent, see Figure B.4. Then they wait until there are enough  
459 turkers who have accepted the HIT to form random groups (grouped by arrival)  
460 of size 2, 4 or 8, respectively, depending on the treatment condition. When group  
461 has been formed, instructions are displayed for 90 seconds, see Figure B.5. After  
462 pressing NEXT, turkers see a page where they have to enter into a form field an  
463 integer number between 0 and 100. When all turkers in a group have done so,  
464 a result page is displayed, see Figure B.6, where they can see their own guess,  
465 the guesses of the other players, the average and the  $2/3$  of the average as well as  
466 information about whether they have won a bonus in the current round and what  
467 their total payoff is for the time being. After this, the previous steps are repeated  
468 for a total of 8 rounds. Every time turkers enter a new number, they can see a list  
469 of the  $2/3$  of the average of the previous rounds as shown in Figure B.7. Turkers  
470 have 90 seconds to think about a number. After eight rounds, turkers are required

## Informed Consent Information

Attention!

You have **2** minutes to read and accept this Consent Form.

If you are not going to proceed with this HIT, please return it right now!

Please read carefully before checking the box below.

### Rules:

In this experiment you will be asked to make a series of choices involving different payoffs. The experiment has 8 rounds and the entire session will last no more than 8-12 minutes to complete, once groups are formed.

**It may take 2-12 minutes for groups to form. We ask you only to accept this HIT if you can wait for groups to form and commit to completing the game.** We will compensate you for your time with a participation fee of **\$2.00** and possibly high bonuses.

### Privacy:

The only personal information that will be available to the researchers is what is publicly available on your MTurk profile and any information that you choose to provide during the course of the study. This information will not be shared with any individuals who are not part of the research team.

### Consent:

By checking the box below next to the red informed consent statement, you acknowledge that you have read the rules and privacy policy, you certify you are 18 years of age or older, and you agree that your participation is voluntary.

☐ *I acknowledge that I have read the rules and privacy policy, I certify I am 18 years of age or older, and I agree that my registration in the subject pool is voluntary.*

Time left to complete this page: **1:38**

Next

Figure B.4: Screen dump of the consent page shown to all participants.

471 to give feedback by answering the question: ‘What strategy did you use while  
472 playing this game?’, after which they are thanked for their participation.

## 473 Appendix C. AMT Setting

474 When working with AMT it is important to consider the right settings in order  
475 to get the best data quality possible [11]. Fair wage, attrition rates, removal of  
476 duplicate workers and informative feedback are some of the most important issues  
477 to address. Average wage for turkers in our experiments was approximately \$15

## Guess 2/3 of the average

Time left to complete this page: **1:21**

### Instructions

You are in a group of 4 players. In each round players will be asked to choose a number between 0 and 100. The winner will be the player whose number is closest to 2/3rds of the average of all chosen numbers. The game has 8 rounds.

**Payoffs:** Each player will receive a participation fee of \$2.00 after finishing the game. In addition, the winner in each round will get a bonus of \$0.50. If there is more than one winner the bonus is split. *Examples: if you choose 30 as the number closest to 2/3rds of the average and win the round, you will receive \$0.50. If you and another player guess 20 and win, you will win half of the bonus.*

Next

Figure B.5: Screen dump of an instruction page for a game with four players.

## Results (round 5 of 8)

Time left to complete this page: **0:44**

Here are the numbers guessed:

Round	You	P. 1	P. 2	P. 3	2/3 of average
1	34	87	23	45	31.5
2	34	56	34	76	33.33
3	23	26	38	17	17.33
4	24	14	14	16	11.33
5	7	13	15	6	6.83

Two-thirds of the average of the last round is 6.83; the closest guess was 7.

Your guess was 7.

Therefore, you win!

Your bonus in this round is \$0.50. Your total bonus is \$1.25.

Next

Figure B.6: Screen dump of a result page from a game with four players.

## Your Guess

Time left to complete this page: **1:23**

These are the two-thirds-average values in previous rounds: [31.5, 33.33, 17.33, 11.33, 6.83, 5.33]

Please pick a number from 0 to 100:

Next

Attention: The game will be aborted if you do not make your choice in time.

Figure B.7: Screen dump of a choice page from a game with four players.

per hour, which is considered generous according to AMT guidelines and certainly above the estimated average of \$6 per hour when excluding un-submitted and rejected work [18]. Quitting a study before completing it is prevalent on AMT, and varies systemically across experimental conditions. Our overall attrition rate was 24%, which is considered normal [35]. The main reason, we believe, was either a player not being able to enter a number within the allotted time, or – more likely – due to a player not bothering to wait for the others to make their guess and therefore quitting prematurely. This was very detrimental for the rest of the group and for the experiment as such, because it meant that the rest of the group would continue the game with one player less, making the whole process much slower and skewing the results. If somebody had quit, we still let the other players finish their game and paid them for their efforts, but we decided to remove those groups from the data analysis. Out of a total of 114 initial groups, 27 groups were thus removed from the final data set, giving an overall attrition rate of 24%. All turkers automatically received a unique qualification when accepting a HIT, ensuring that

493 they could not play the game twice. In addition, we set the qualification that  
494 workers should have completed at least 50 HITs and have an accepted HIT rate of  
495 90% or above. This ensured that we would get experienced and qualified workers.  
496 During our experiments, participants had easy access to our email for questions  
497 and possible bug reports.

## 498 **Appendix D. Code and Software**

499 All experiments are coded in the experimental software oTree 1.4.39 [12]  
500 which is based on Python and Django. The code for the data analysis done is  
501 available on Github at <https://github.com/gavstrik/game-of-regret>.

## 502 **Appendix E. Data Collection and Distribution**

503 We obtained a total of 2368 guesses from 296 unique participants who played  
504 the classic iterated beauty contest game. Players were partitioned into 50 groups  
505 of size 2, 23 groups of size 4, and 13 groups of size 8.

506 Figure E.8 shows the guesses for all eight rounds, partitioned into their respec-  
507 tive groups. As can be seen from the histograms, guesses move slowly towards  
508 lower numbers in subsequent rounds, with the 2-players groups (in blue) lacking  
509 slightly behind the other groups.

## 510 **Appendix F. Guess Dynamics**

511 As noted in figure 4 in the main text, players often choose numbers greater  
512 than  $2/3$  of the mean of the previous round. Less than 2% of all players on AMT  
513 never go above  $2/3$  of the previous mean, while 53% go above this target more  
514 than four times.

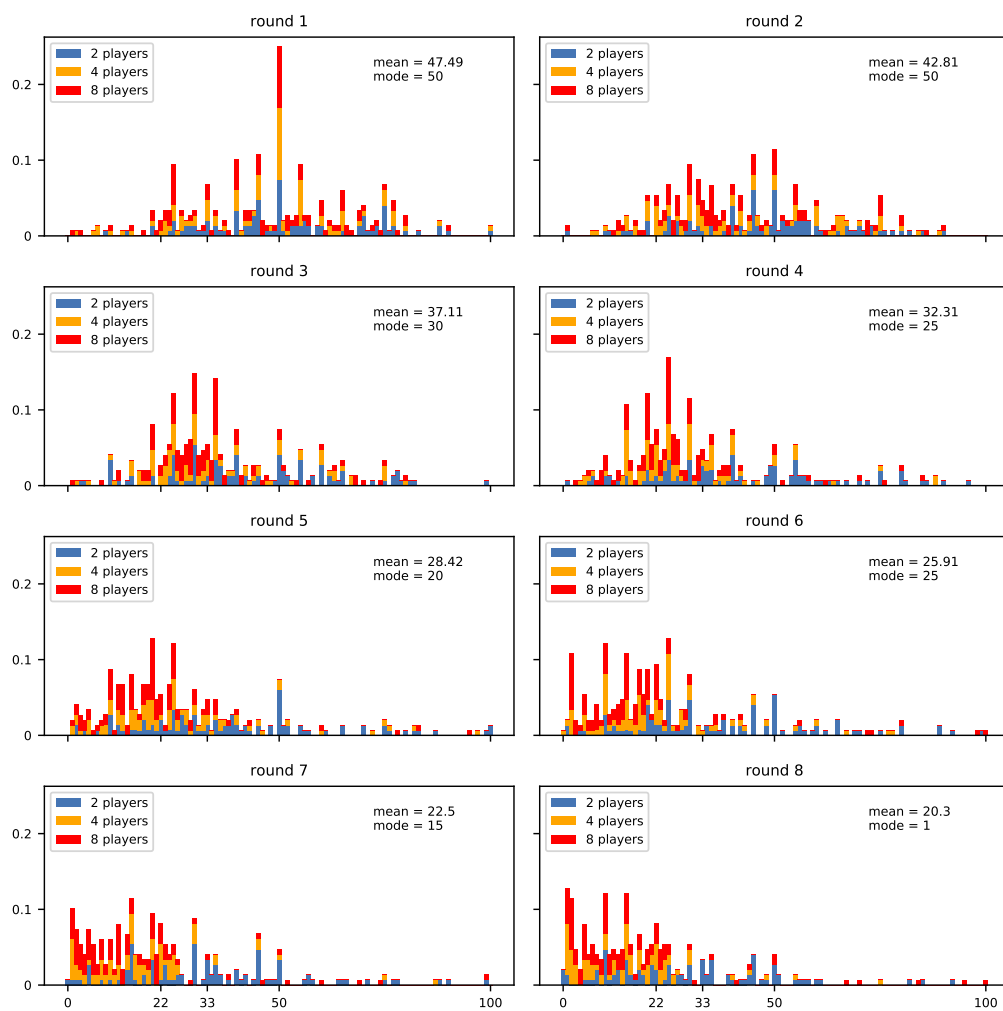
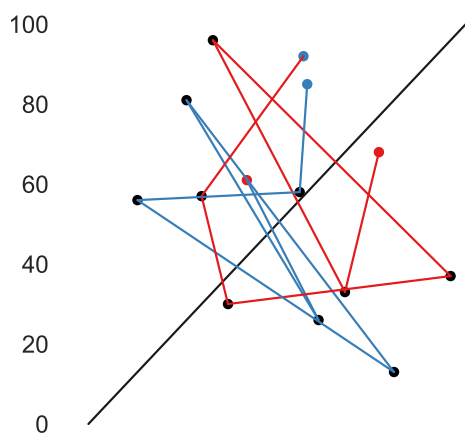


Figure E.8: Histograms of guess distributions partitioned into groups and rounds.

515      Figure F.9 shows the dynamics of guesses round by round in such a way that  
516 the previous round  $n$  is always shown on the x-axis and the next round  $n + 1$  is  
517 always shown on the y-axis. The diagonal black line corresponds to staying at the  
518 same guess in subsequent rounds. Lines connecting the dots in Figure F.9 then  
519 indicate the sequence of guesses by the same player, whose comments are shown  
520 in the legend. The total bonus earned is shown in parenthesis.

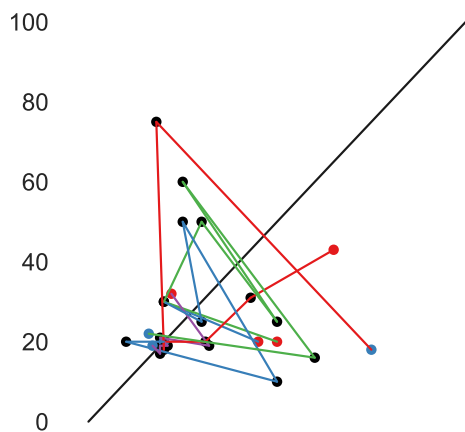


#### Group 351 (2 players)

"If there was a low number the last time, I tried to go with a higher number the next time. I also just randomly picked numbers I like." (\$0.5)

"I went low at first thinking low would come up first and then I went high. I continued this for the whole game. I figured that one of us would win and one would lose no matter what." (\$1.5)

- 1.-2. round
- 2.-7. round
- 7.-8. round



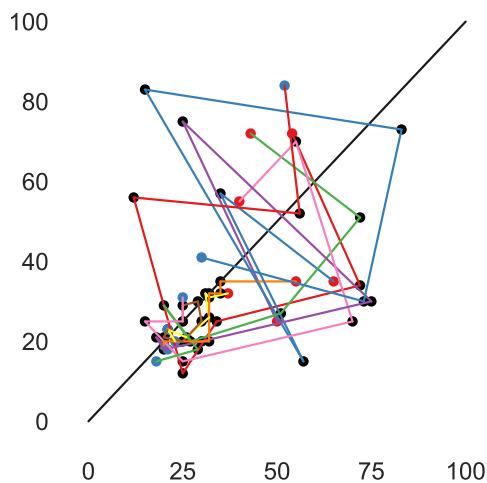
#### Group 250 (4 players)

"I just tried to be close to what was the average the last round." (\$1.5)

"Just a mind game" (\$0.75)

"Going with my intuition." (\$0.25)

"I tried to guess what other players would guess, then realized that the other players are robots, because if they weren't, no one would randomly pick a higher number each round. Choices should have reverted to a mean by the 3rd round, or 4th at the latest," (\$1.5)



#### Group 67 (8 players)

"I attempted to guess number within the same range everytime" (\$0.0)

"I tried to see how people were guessing and match that." (\$1.0)

"I noticed that they all seemed to be lower numbers so guessed those" (\$1.5)

"As the game progressed I guessed numbers closer to the average." (\$0.5)

"I took into consideration the 2/3 aver and adjusted my numbers." (\$0.0)

"Since the answer would be 2/3 of the average the first number I went with was like at the 30-40 range just because it made sense to me. Then once I saw the answer was 30, my answers afterwards were in that 30 range. Then once the answer went down by 10 to the high teens and 20 range I changed my answers after that. My strategy was a bit common sense followed by reacting to previous answers and trends." (\$4.0)

"Tried to guess the next trend." (\$1.0)

"I just guessed randomly" (\$0.0)

Figure F.9: Dynamics of guesses round by round.