

# Know when to fold 'em

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# Motivation

- Personality traits and 'noncognitive skills' are important determinants of lifetime success.
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- But words like stubbornness, obstinacy and bullheadedness all have a much more negative connotation.
- **Upside** of not giving up...

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- But words like stubbornness, obstinacy and bullheadedness all have a much more negative connotation.
- **Upside** of not giving up... **downside** of not letting go.

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- Use the individual's own ex-ante preferences, or **plan of action**, as the metric.
- Compare it to actual ex-post **behavior**.
- Measure grit (Duckworth scale).
- Hypothesis: Grittier subjects find it harder to let go when losing, and are therefore more likely to overplay.

# Motivation

- Conduct an experiment using a game of chance (shutting down ability component).
- Setting where the temptation to go below the established plan (and losing more) is well-defined and can be drawn out in a short experiment.
- Consistent with our hypothesis, grittier subjects are more likely to overplay.

# Motivation

- To further explore our hypothesis, we decompose grit into two new categories: **tenacity** and **diligence**.
- **Tenacity** (stubbornness) captures the aspect of not letting go.
- Hence, tenacity alone, not diligence should capture overplaying.

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- **Tenacity** (stubbornness) captures the aspect of not letting go.
- Hence, tenacity alone, not diligence should capture overplaying.
- Our findings are consistent with this view: only tenacity drives overplaying in the regressions.

# External validity of decomposition

- External validity: two different datasets, with measures of educational performance.
- Diligence always positive indicator of education, tenacity usually positive but more ambiguous.
- One dataset includes conscientiousness, which correlates with both tenacity and diligence.
- Results may carry through to conscientiousness to some extent (future research).

# Summary

- Consistent with our hypothesis, grittier subjects overplay more, using the individual's own ex-ante preferences as the benchmark.
- To further explore our mechanism (provide a stylized model), we decompose grit into two new categories, **tenacity** and **diligence**.
- Find that only tenacity explains overplaying.

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- Find that only tenacity explains overplaying.
- New categorization predicts other outcome measures in our experiment and in two different datasets.
- Diligence always positive, tenacity more ambiguous.
- Our mechanism can be used to think of different sides of tenacity in other settings (e.g. disposition effect, settings with loss aversion).
- Experimental design itself: useful domain of potential dynamic inconsistency in a short experiment (at least 30% of subjects overplay).

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# Game of chance: roulette game

- Main game: a simplified roulette wheel.
- First ask the subjects for the **plan of action**:

If they had 2000 tokens (20 euros), what is the minimum limit (and maximum) that they wouldn't surpass.

# Game of chance: roulette game

Last five roulette outcomes

12 Red  
24 Black  
29 Black  
31 Black  
18 Red

## ROULETTE



00	3	6	9	12	15	18	21	24	27	30	33	36
0	2	5	8	11	14	17	20	23	26	29	32	35
	1	4	7	10	13	16	19	22	25	28	31	34

Below the betting table, there are two diamond-shaped buttons: a red diamond on the left and a black diamond on the right. The red diamond is currently highlighted with a yellow glow.

CLEAR

SPIN

50

100

TOKENS: 1050  
BET AMOUNT: 0

12 Red Even  
You win 0. You paid 250

# Game of chance: roulette game

- <http://experimentalgames.upf.edu/roulette/>

# Grit Questions

- Sample **tenacity** questions:

To what extent do you agree with the following statement:

- Setbacks don't discourage me.
- I finish whatever I begin.

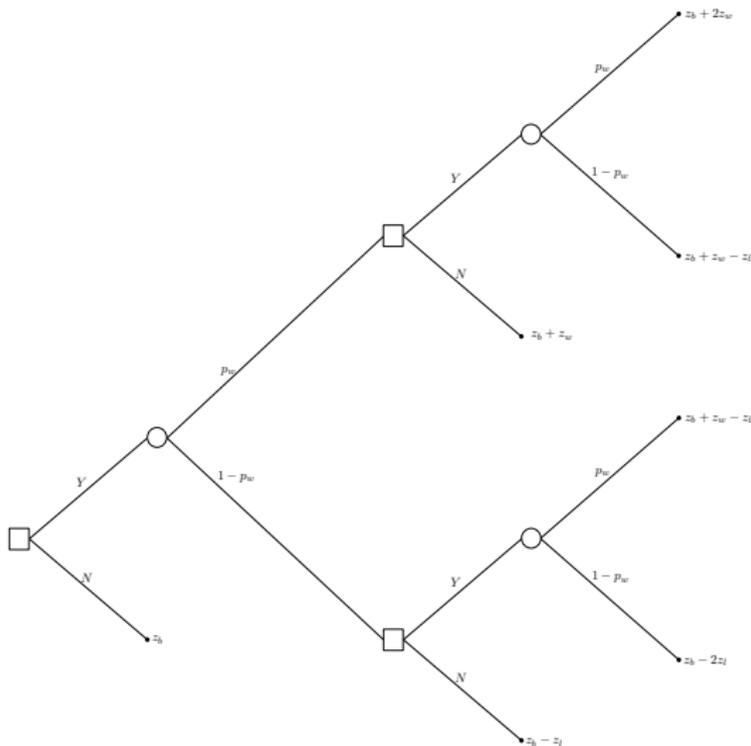
- Sample **diligence** questions:

To what extent do you agree with the following statement:

- I am diligent.
- I am a hard worker.

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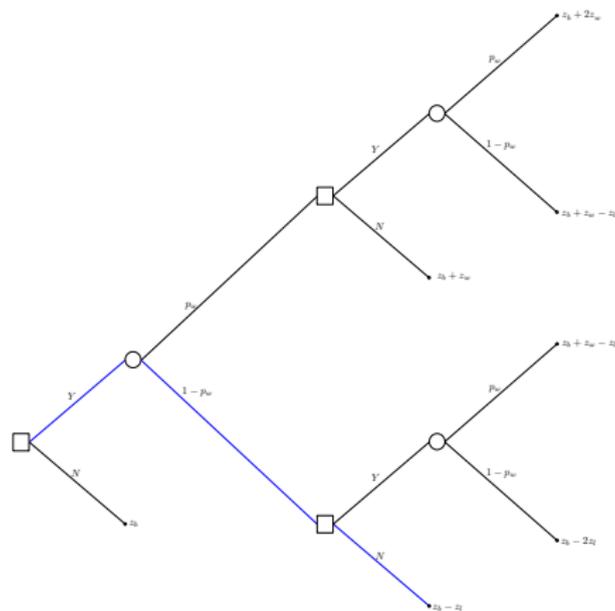
# Model: graphical illustration



# Model: key assumptions

- Suppose grit consists of tenacity and diligence,  $G = (T, D)$ .
- **Assumptions: Tenacity and Failure**
  - (1) When the agent is losing and decides between playing more and stopping, with some probability  $q_f(T) \in [0, 1]$  he incurs a cost of failing  $c_f > 0$ .
  - (2) Probability  $q_f$  is higher for higher tenacity.
- Reference for losing: being below  $z_b$ .

# Model: graphical illustration



After the first loss:

- Plan of action: stop ( $N$ )



# Model: main predictions for the experiment

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  - (1) The probability of overplaying increases in the Tenacity Index.
  - (2) This probability does not change in the Diligence Index, except through its possible correlation with the Tenacity Index.
  - (3) This probability increases in the Grit Index.

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  - (3) This probability increases in the Grit Index.
- Note:
  - Potential relation between higher tenacity and higher disposition effect or loss aversion.
  - In settings similar to ours, this mechanism bring out tenacity's **downside**. In others, it can lead to tenacity's **upside**.

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# Descriptive Statistics

Table: Descriptive statistics - Correlations with Grit, Tenacity and Diligence

Variable	Correlation with:		
	Grit Index	Tenacity Index	Diligence Index
Overplaying	.29	.33	.16
Plan of Action	.06	.07	.02
Locus Index	-.19	-.19	-.14
Age	.16	.16	.11
Female	.07	.07	.04
Technical Degree	.08	.00	.17
Self-esteem	.32	.24	.33
Procrastination	-.45	-.35	-.45
Temptation	-.36	-.30	-.34

# Results: baseline regressions

Table: Baseline regressions

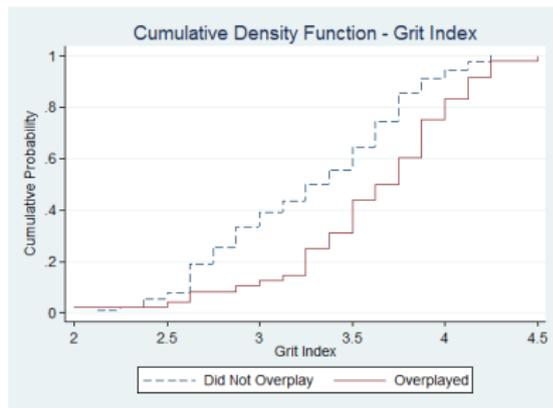
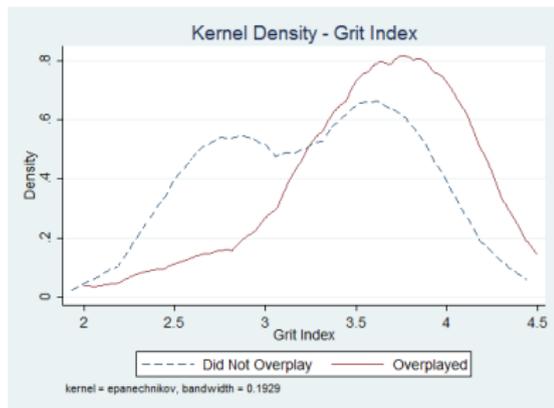
Dep.Var.: Overplaying	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Grit Index	0.259*** (0.072)	0.248*** (0.070)	0.237*** (0.071)	0.248*** (0.070)	0.260*** (0.071)
Plan of Action		0.067*** (0.013)	0.068*** (0.013)	0.072*** (0.014)	0.074*** (0.014)
ln(Age)			0.236 (0.274)	0.154 (0.267)	0.076 (0.262)
D(Female)				-0.124 (0.080)	-0.156* (0.082)
Technical Degree					-0.095 (0.080)
Observations	138	138	138	138	138
R-squared	0.087	0.145	0.150	0.165	0.174

# Results: tenacity and diligence split

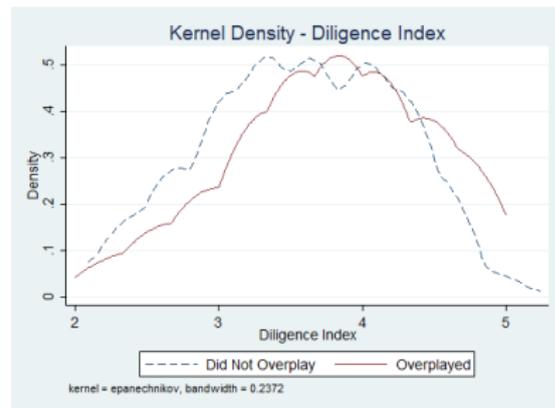
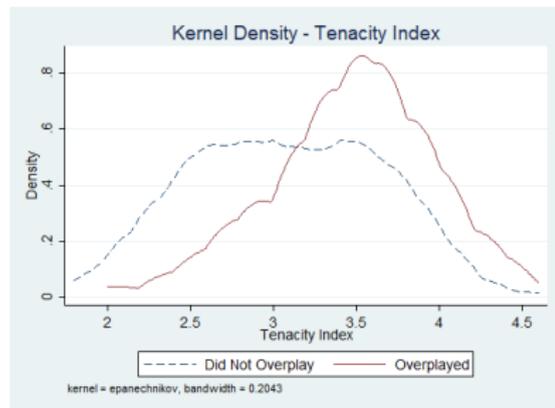
Table: Splitting Grit Index into tenacity and diligence

Dep. Var.:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Overplaying			Technical	Non-technical	Female	Male	>100
Tenacity Index	0.298*** (0.074)	0.278*** (0.068)	0.237** (0.091)	0.371*** (0.096)	0.280*** (0.095)	0.313*** (0.096)	0.227*** (0.073)
Diligence Index	-0.028 (0.073)	-0.011 (0.071)	-0.033 (0.108)	-0.058 (0.098)	0.042 (0.092)	-0.107 (0.104)	-0.017 (0.075)
Plan of Action		0.071*** (0.013)	0.057*** (0.015)	0.093*** (0.030)	0.068** (0.030)	0.063*** (0.018)	0.077*** (0.013)
ln(Age)		0.086 (0.274)	-0.494 (0.437)	0.637** (0.261)	-0.357 (0.390)	0.519* (0.277)	0.104 (0.265)
D(Female)		-0.150* (0.081)					-0.180** (0.082)
Technical Degree		-0.068 (0.083)					-0.088 (0.084)
Observations	138	138	71	67	80	58	128
R-squared	0.112	0.192	0.136	0.280	0.167	0.250	0.186

# Results: tenacity and diligence split



# Results: tenacity and diligence split



# Results: procrastination and temptation

- Consider the relation between the tenacity and diligence split and self-reported procrastination and temptation.
- A hypothesis on the role of tenacity would require additional assumptions.
- Conjecture that diligence associates with less temptation and procrastination problems.

# Results: procrastination and temptation

Table: Post-questions on procrastination and temptation

Dep.Var.:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Procrastination				Temptation			
Grit Index	-0.660*** (0.141)				-0.570*** (0.130)			
Tenacity Index		-0.497*** (0.150)		-0.217 (0.184)		-0.454*** (0.131)		-0.249 (0.162)
Diligence Index			-0.525*** (0.096)	-0.427*** (0.128)			-0.425*** (0.110)	-0.311** (0.136)
Observations	118	118	118	118	118	118	118	118
R-squared	0.198	0.125	0.201	0.218	0.129	0.091	0.115	0.134

# Summary of Experimental Results

- Grittier subjects more likely to overplay.
- Decomposing grit into tenacity and diligence, only tenacity captures overplaying, consistent with our hypothesis.
- Looking at (self-reported) procrastination and temptation:
  - diligence relates to less procrastination and temptation
  - tenacity more ambiguous.

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# External validity

- How does our novel decomposition of grit into tenacity and diligence fare with educational measures of performance?
- Use two different datasets:
  - ICPSR school survey: Part of the Measures of Effective Teaching (MET) Project, includes data between 2009 and 2011 across 6 US school districts
  - Online psychology survey

# External validity 1 (ICPSR survey)

Table: ICPSR - Effect of Grit on Education

Dep. Var.:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Test Scores	ACT	ACT	SAT9	SAT9	Maths	Maths
Grit Index	1.641*** (0.175)		7.993*** (0.774)		0.166*** (0.009)	
Diligence Index		1.079*** (0.167)		3.746*** (0.718)		0.066*** (0.008)
Tenacity Index		0.540*** (0.193)		4.244*** (0.795)		0.099*** (0.009)
District FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
School FE	N	N	N	N	N	N
Gender Dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Age Control	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Race Dummies	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Additional Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	4,551	4,551	4,625	4,625	14,465	14,465
R-squared	0.228	0.230	0.319	0.322	0.333	0.333

# External validity 2 (online dataset)

Table: Online Survey - Relation between Grit and Conscientiousness

Dep. Var.:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Conscientiousness					US only	US only
Grit Index	0.617*** (0.012)					
Diligence Index		0.382*** (0.014)	0.388*** (0.014)	0.377*** (0.015)	0.404*** (0.021)	0.386*** (0.021)
Tenacity Index		0.235*** (0.015)	0.231*** (0.016)	0.228*** (0.016)	0.221*** (0.022)	0.222*** (0.022)
ln(Age)				0.126*** (0.025)		0.119*** (0.032)
Gender Dummies	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Race Dummies	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Urban Dummies	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Country FE	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Observations	3,988	3,988	3,951	3,951	2,014	2,014
R-squared	0.410	0.430	0.453	0.458	0.417	0.424

# External validity 2 (online dataset)

**Table:** Online Survey - Effect of Grit/Conscientiousness on Education

Dep.Var.: Education	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Conscientiousness Index	0.114*** (0.025)		0.102*** (0.025)	0.039* (0.021)		0.027 (0.021)
Grit Index	0.170*** (0.024)			0.078*** (0.019)		
Diligence Index		0.158*** (0.021)	0.118*** (0.023)		0.100*** (0.017)	0.089*** (0.019)
Tenacity Index		0.083*** (0.023)	0.059** (0.024)		0.004 (0.019)	-0.002 (0.019)
Gender, Race, Urban FE	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Country FE	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Observations	3,988	3,988	3,988	3,951	3,951	3,951
R-squared	0.047	0.044	0.048	0.437	0.439	0.439

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# Next steps

- Understanding better the flipside of tenacity in other domains.

Examples: CEOs, investors, firm managers, entrepreneurs, students.

- Social welfare.
- Link to the disposition effect and loss aversion.
- Link to overconfidence.

# Grit: two distinct decompositions

	Perseverance	Consistency
Tenacity	<i>Setbacks don't discourage me.</i>  <i>I finish whatever I begin.</i>	New ideas and projects sometimes distract me from previous ones.  I have been obsessed with a certain idea or project for a short time but later lost interest.  I often set a goal but later choose to pursue a different one.
Diligence	<i>I am diligent.</i>  <i>I am a hard worker.</i>	I have difficulty maintaining my focus on projects that take more than a few months to complete.