## Trust and Reputation in the Digital World

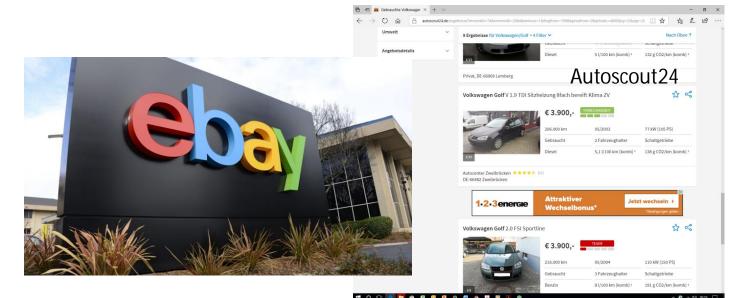
Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin

Reputation systems reduce uncertainty and promote cooperation but there are also dark sides of rating systems

*Wissenschaftskolleg zu Be* INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY







Andreas Diekmann Institute of Advanced Studies, Berlin and ETH Zurich

Venice, San Servolo, 20. -23. November 2017

## Trust problems of social and economic transactions

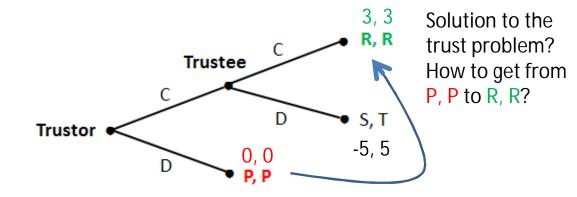
Transaction partners always face the risk of being cheated instead of achieving a mutual satisfying bargain.

- 1. Asymmetric information about the quality of goods
- 2. Transactions are sequential (time lag)

North (1991): "Throughout history, institutions have been devised by human beings to create order and reduce uncertainty in exchange."

► The trustor is vulnerable and won't place trust. How to get from a "bad" equilibrium to a mutual better outcome?

► Emergence of trust institutions!



## Asymmetric information and trust in modern markets

Examples: second-hand cars, car repair, medical treatments, dentists.

Recent study by team of Wanda Mimra of ETH-Zurich :

- Student tester was visiting 180 dentists in canton Zurich.
- Tester was diagnosed independently by four dentists. Recommendation: No treatment necessary at all!
- Overtreatment: 28% of dentists suggested one to six unnecessary fillings at average cost of CHF 535.
- Low patient status increases overtreatment!



Overtreatment 32% 23%

Gottschalk, Mimra, Waibel 2017

#### Repeated Trust Game Example:The Hanse Kontor in Bergen

- Hanse merchants exchanged wheat and beer for stockfish since the 14th century.
- Lübeck merchants sailed to Bergen (where they resided in the Bryggen Kontor) while stockfish came from the Lofoten in northern Norway.
- Although the traders never met in person they established trust relationships over many years and sometimes over generations.



Bergen Bryggen





Hanse Museum Bergen

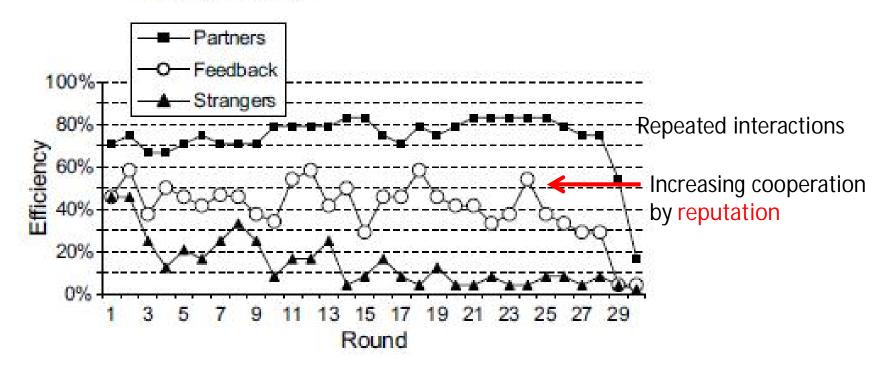
## How to achieve cooperation with trust problems?

Decentralized mechanisms sustaining the emergence of cooperation:

- 1. Repeated games: "The shadow of the future" (Axelrod 1984)
- 2. But non-repeated, single transactions among strangers? Reputation: "The shadow of the past"
- Trust building Institutions based on reputation.

#### Experimental Study of Digital Markets

Figure 2 Efficiency Measured as How Often the Gain from Trade Is Realized, by Round



Bolton, Katok, Ockenfels 2004

# Reputation based commercial transactions of medieval long-distance trade

- Historical study by Avner Greif (1989) about long distance trade of Mahgreb merchants in the 11th century. Merchants established an effective reputation system to prevent fraudaulent behaviour of agents.
- Long distance trade in medieval Europe: The Champagne Fairs in the 12th and 13th century. Private judges kept records on past behaviour of merchants; merchants payed a fee for access to information. (Game theoretic analysis: Milgram, North, Weingast 1990, The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade. The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs.)



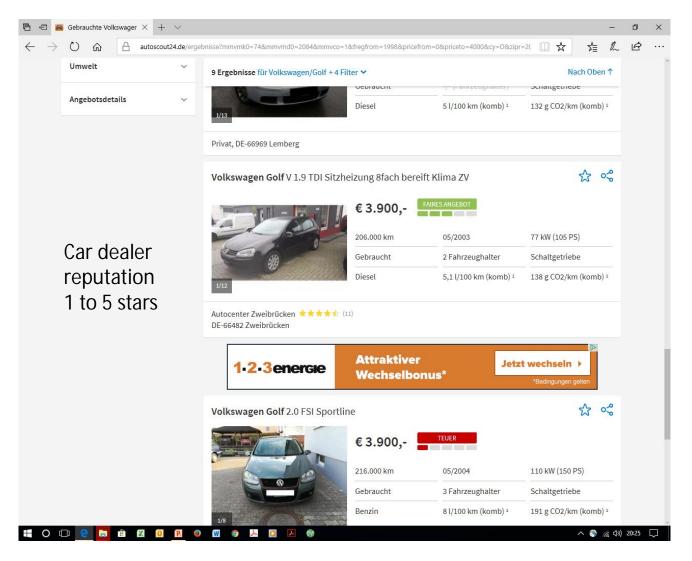
Wikimedia Commons

## Reputation on Digital Markets

WWW: Enormous extension of markets and new technologies for sustaining reputation mechanisms:

- 1. Evaluation of past behavior by transaction partners.
- 2. Transparency: The Information on the past behavior of actor x with all other transaction partners is available to all market participants.
- 3. Information cost is almost zero.

## Autoscout24



#### **Does Reputation solve for the trust problem?**

- 1. Incentive problem of reputation: Does it pay off to have a good reputation?
- 2. Do professional car dealer claim higher prices than private sellers?
- 3. Warranty: A signal of quality?

# Findings from Autoscout24: Statistical analysis of 58'000 Autoscout24 auctions

Data

- Homogeneous goods (to reduce unobserved heterogeneity)
- Volkswagen Golf
- May and October 2015

(with Siow, Tobler, Wehrli)

	Мау		Octo	ober
	(2.1)	(2.2)	(2.3)	(2.4)
	logprice	logprice	logprice	logprice
Age in Years	-0.0877***	-0.0878***	-0.0831***	-0.0837***
	(-177.77)	(-151.23)	(-131.53)	(-101.92)
Kilometers	-0.0353***	-0.0349***	-0.0331***	-0.0331***
(km/10k)				
	(-126.19)	(-125.85)	(-94.74)	(-92.83)
Horsepower (hp/10)	0.0575***	0.0489***	0.0538***	0.0459***
	(243.67)	(170.22)	(120.90)	(99.27)
Diesel (0/1)	0.0976***	0.0911***	0.0754***	0.0722***
	(73.73)	(78.29)	(37.88)	(40.37)
Morronty (0/1)	0.0175***	0.0128***	0.0158***	0.00024***
Warranty (0/1)	0.0175*** (12.06)	(9.28)	(5.08)	0.00934*** (3.61)
	(12:00)	(0.20)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Rating Average (1-5)	0.00552***	0.00497***	0.0110***	0.00874***
go ()	(5.20)	(5.18)	(4.02)	(3.51)
Car Models (Df=19)	No	Yes	No	Yes
Car Features (Df= 14)	No	Yes	No	Yes
Constant	0.404***	0 500***	0.400***	0.400***
Constant	9.491*** (1811.69)	9.500*** (1375.65)	9.482*** (749.94)	9.499*** (719.51)
Observations	36431	36431	42696	42696
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.911	0.933	0.904	0.923
F	52798.4	10585.2	18864.6	3848.2
df_m	6	38	6	38
bic	-54065.0	-64306.5	-69906.8	-79212.5
	-0-000.0	-0-00.0	-03300.0	-13212.0

•Warranty and Reputation (Dealers only) In these models, we drop 13'005 (5688+7317) cases from private sellers. Additionally, we also drop 16'746 cases where the average • rating is unobserved because the ratings are hidden or the number of ratings is zero. *t* statistics in parentheses \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p <0.001

	( )	( )	, ,	, ,
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May

(2.2)

logprice

-0.0878\*\*\*

(-151.23)

(2.1)

logprice

-0.0877\*\*\*

(-177.77)

Age in Years

October

(2.3)

logprice

-0.0831\*\*\*

(-131.53)

(2.4)

logprice

-0.0837\*\*\*

(-101.92)

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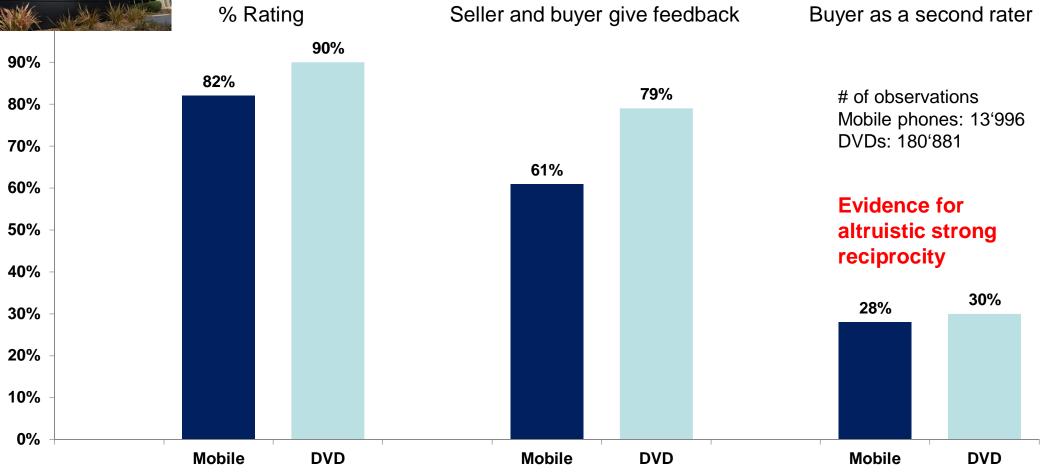
	Ma	ay	Octo	ber
	(1.1)	(1.2)	(1.3)	(1.4)
	logprice	logprice	logprice	logprice
Age in Years	-0.0893***	-0.0879***	-0.0856***	-0.0848***
	(-214.82)	(-179.08)	(-171.61)	(-129.09)
Kilometers (km/10k)	-0.0350***	-0.0348***	-0.0330***	-0.0332***
	(-148.16)	(-146.29)	(-115.98)	(-118.81)
Horsepower (hp/10)	0.0576***	0.0488***	0.0548***	0.0455***
	(277.05)	(186.66)	(159.71)	(108.83)
Diesel (0/1)	0.102***	0.0919***	0.0807***	0.0748***
	(84.16)	(84.25)	(47.06)	(46.99)
Private Seller (0/1)	-0.00997***	-0.00357	-0.00203	0.00214
	(-4.36)	(-1.34)	(-0.94)	(0.79)
Constant	9.526***	9.520***	9.535***	9.534***
	(4553.71)	(2162.19)	(2792.20)	(1333.20)
Observations	50730	50730	58148	58148
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.923	0.939	0.921	0.935
F	98389.1	16863.3	39418.5	7177.5
df_m	5	37	5	37
BIC	-69905.3	-81575.8	-88342.4	-99156.5

#### •Dealer vs. Seller

*t* statistics in parentheses. Model 1.1 and 1.2 have robust standard errors. Models 1.3 and 1.4 are additionally clustered on seller id. \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001



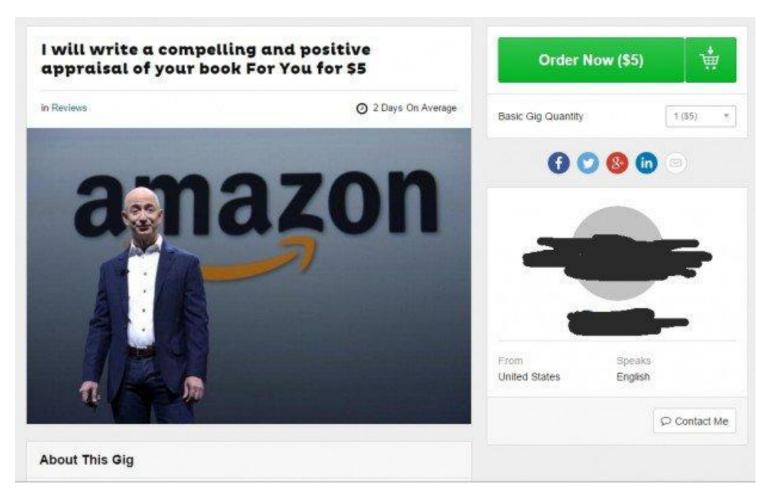
Feedback Patterns: Percent ratings by seller and buyer in two-sided rating system



Diekmann, A., Jann, B., Przepiorka, W., Wehrli, S., 2014. Reputation Formation and the Evolution of Cooperation in Anonymous Online Markets. *American Sociological Review* 79: 65-85.

#### Use and Misuse of Reputation. Key Problem: Fake reputations

Offers on web platform "Fiverrs"



Are Fiverrs Running Scared From Amazon Fake Reviews Lawsuit? Oct 22, 2015 by <u>Anita</u> Campbell In <u>Marketing Tips</u> 14

#### "Professionel" help to destruct competitor's reputation:



Are Fiverrs Running Scared From Amazon Fake Reviews Lawsuit? Oct 22, 2015 by <u>Anita Campbell</u> In <u>Marketing Tips 14</u> Misuse of reputation scores by authorian states to control civilians: Orwell "1984"?

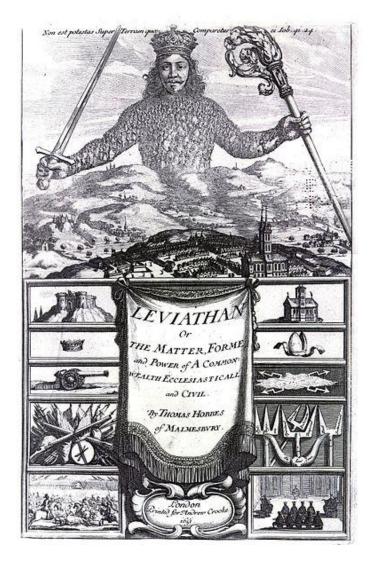


"A pilot scheme in Suining county, in Jiangsu province north of Shanghai, gives clues about what such a system might mean in practice. Starting in 2010, the local government awarded people points for good behaviour (such as winning a national honour of some kind) and deducted points for everything from minor traffic offences to "illegally petioning higher authorities for help". Those who score highest were eligible for rewards such as fast-track promotion at work or jumping the queue for public housing" (The Economist, December 17th, 2016). How to Cope With Anarchy in the Online World?

- The "Dark Net": A real Hobbesean world
- Illegal digital markets : People have an incentive to cheat on each other and markets are likely to collapse.



In the state of nature life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (Thomas Hobbes 1651)



#### a AlphaBay Market

#### "Drugs" is by far the most popular category.



Brows	e Categories	
$\geq$	Fraud	9 <mark>4</mark> 79
$\succ$	Drugs & Chemicals	28713
$\geq$	Guides & Tutorials	4347
$\geq$	Counterfeit Items	1785
$\geq$	Digital Products	3786
≻□	Jewels & Gold	531
$\geq$	Weapons	551
$\geq$	Carded Items	958
≻□	Services	2135
$\geq$	Other Listings	7 <mark>4</mark> 8
$\geq$	Software & Malware	465
$\geq$	Security & Hosting	169

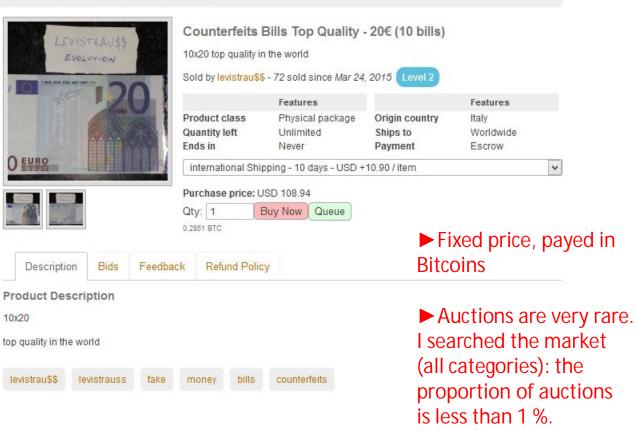
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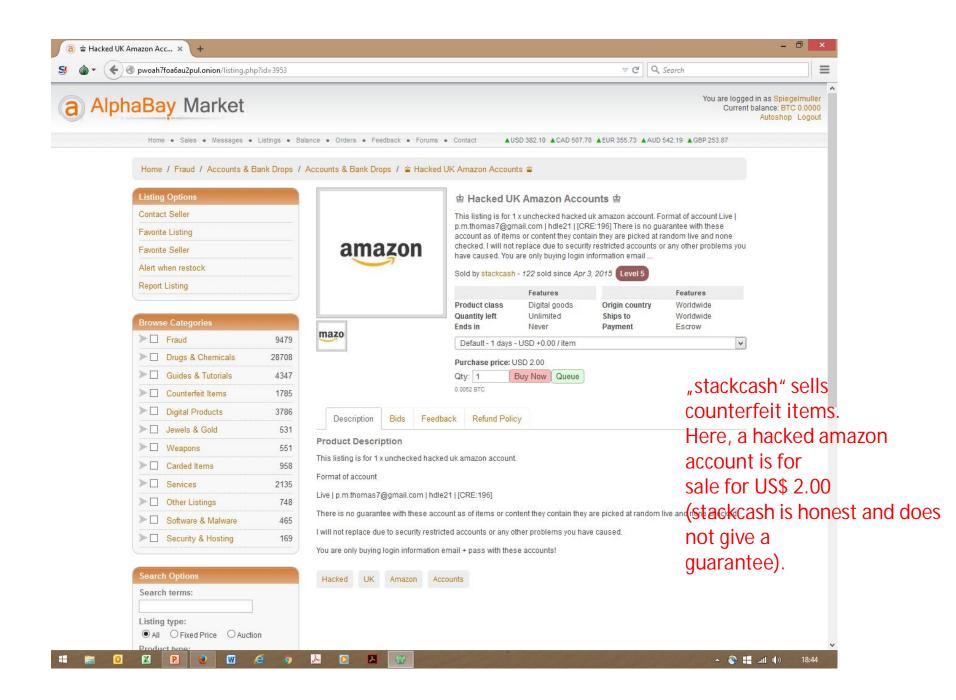
#### 7.11.2015

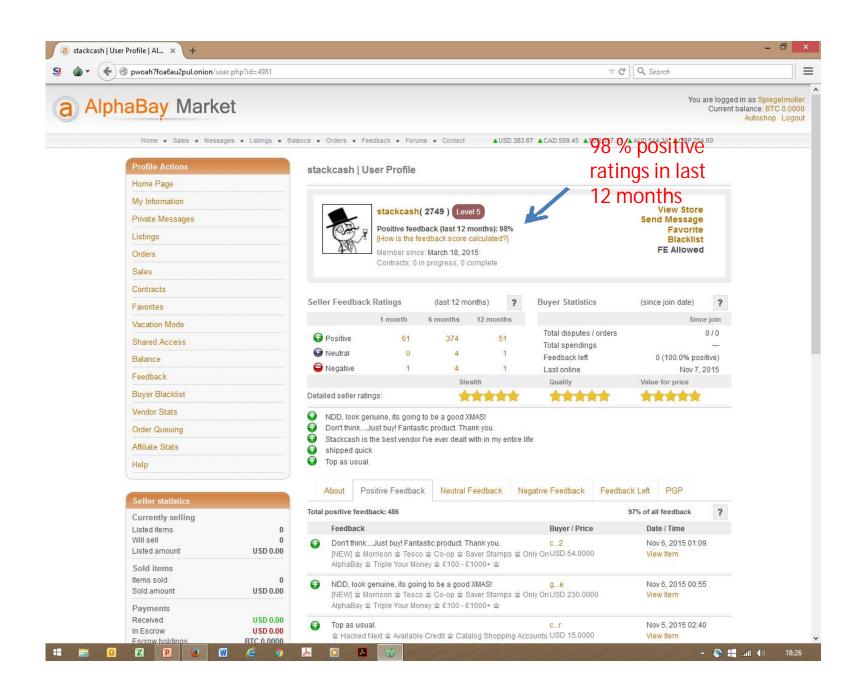
#### Home / Counterfeit Items / Money / Money / Counterfeits Bills Top Quality - 20€ (10 bills)

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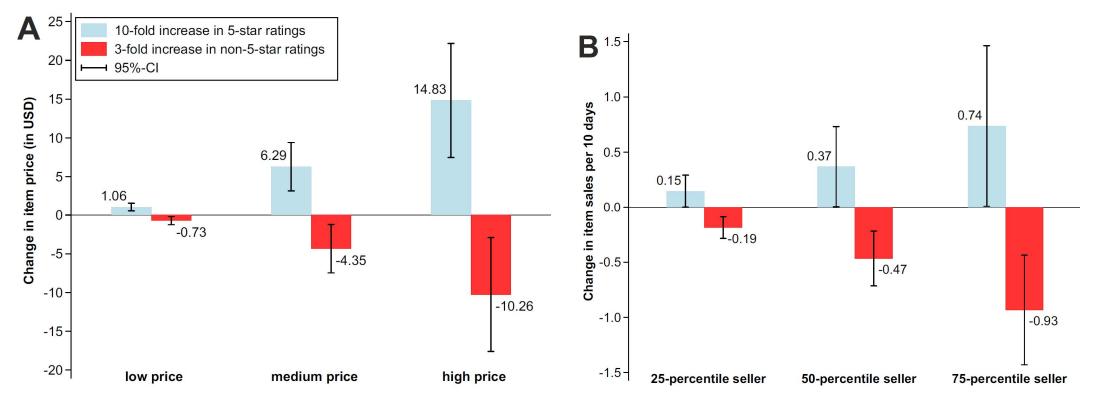
Brows	e Categories	
$\geq$	Fraud	9479
$\geq$	Drugs & Chemicals	28709
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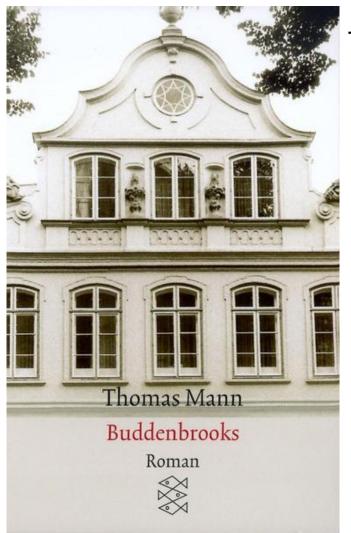
## Reputation on drug cryptomarket "silk road" enhances both the selling price of drugs and the frequency of sales



Wojtek Przepiorka, Lukas Norbutas, Rense Corten 2017

#### Reputation is not sufficient: Buyer protection by escrow service

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	Browse Categories					Quantity left Ends in	1 items Never	Ships to	Europe	
	Fraud	9480				<u></u>	ISD +44.84 / item	Payment	Escrow	~
	Drugs & Chemicals	28730				Purchase price: U				
	Guides & Tutorials	4347	-					Escrow: Bu	iver	
	Counterfeit Items	1785				5.0001 BTC		has to fina	<b>J</b>	r
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### The ethical code of an honourable merchant

- »Mein Sohn, sey mit Lust bey den Geschäften am Tage, aber mache nur solche, dass wir bey Nacht ruhig schlafen können.«
- "My son, attend with zeal to thy business by day; but do none that hinders thee from thy sleep at night."

#### AlphaBay Market Rules for Sellers: Ethical Code in the Underworld

Seller Account

Here you can activate your seller account. Take time to read the seller rules below, check the box, and click the button. After that, you will be able to create listings and start selling here.

#1: FE (Finalize Early) is not permitted. This is to avoid potential exit scams. All transactions must be dealt through Escrow, unless you get explicit permission later.

#2: Digital orders auto-finalize after 48 hours, and physical orders auto-finalize after 14 days.

#3: If you get too many scam reports, we may revoke your seller account at any time.

#4: There is a USD \$100 vendor bond (0.2587 BTC at the current rate), refundable upon closure of account if in good standing.

#5: All sellers must have a PGP key in their profile before starting to sell.

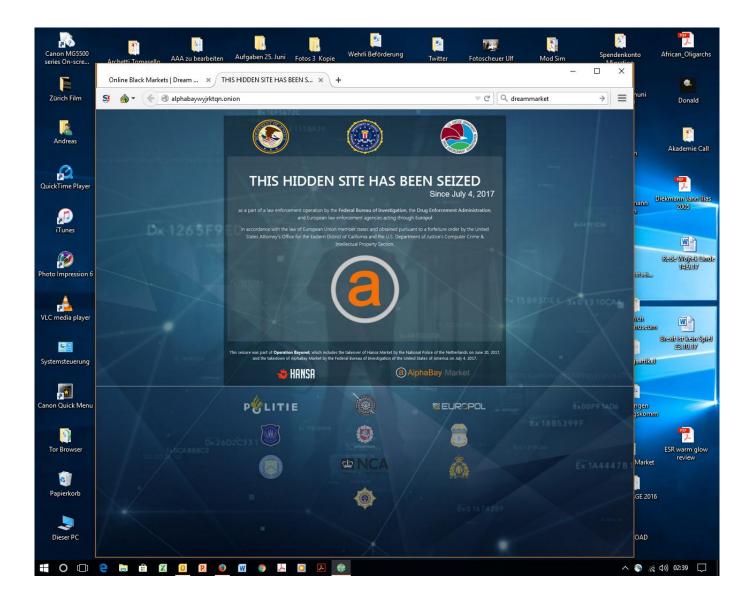
#6: Prostitution, child porn, and murder services are not permitted. Personal information about Russian citizens is also prohibited.

#7: Any dox threat will result in an immediate ban.

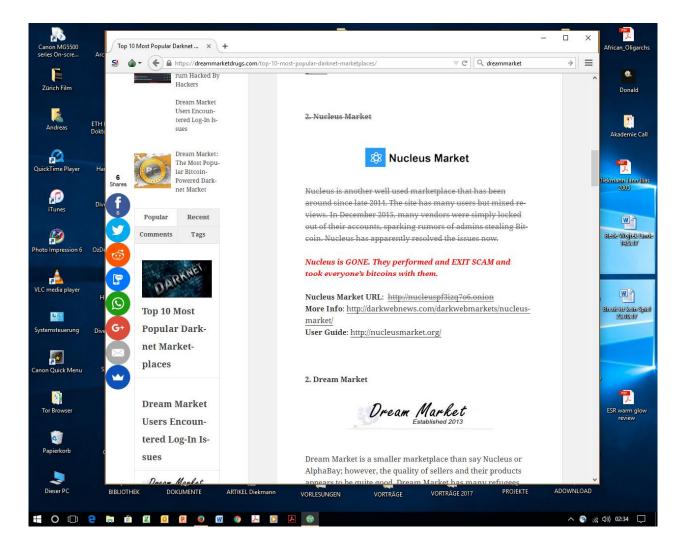
#8: It is not mandatory but strongly recommended that you enable 2FA on your account. If you get hacked, there is nothing we can do. Use the security features.

I have read and accept the rules mentioned above.

Alphabay market was closed by a joint operation of Netherland police And FBI in July 2017



## Exit Scam: A Further Trust Problem



Cooperation on illegal and completely anonymous markets

- Mostly fixed price offers
- Payment in bitcoins (tumbling service)
- Reputation yields additional information but is not a sufficient guarantee of cooperation.
- Escrow: Institutional device to reduce the trust problem (as well as other institutional market regulations)
- Ethical Rules of conduct!

The mixture of institutional rules (escrow service etc.) and reputation ensures:

# "Order Without Law"

## What to do?

► In principle, reputation systems (possibly supplemented by other institutional mechanisms) are very efficient, decentralized mechanisms to sustain cooperation.

- However, there is the risk that social bots and faked ratings will undermine and eventually destroy reputation systems. My research is also concerned with suggestions to mitigate these risks.
- Design of reputation institutions matters! (One-sided, double-sided, double-sided blind systems etc. make a difference.) The effect of market regulations may depend on culture and social context.
- There is also misuse of reputation scores by companies (secret algorithms, e.g. Research Gate, credit scores etc.) and by authorities (e.g. China's experiments with citizen score)!
- There are limitations and negative side effects of decentralized reputation systems: hospitals, universities, reputation scores in science? Often reputation scores set wrong incentives!

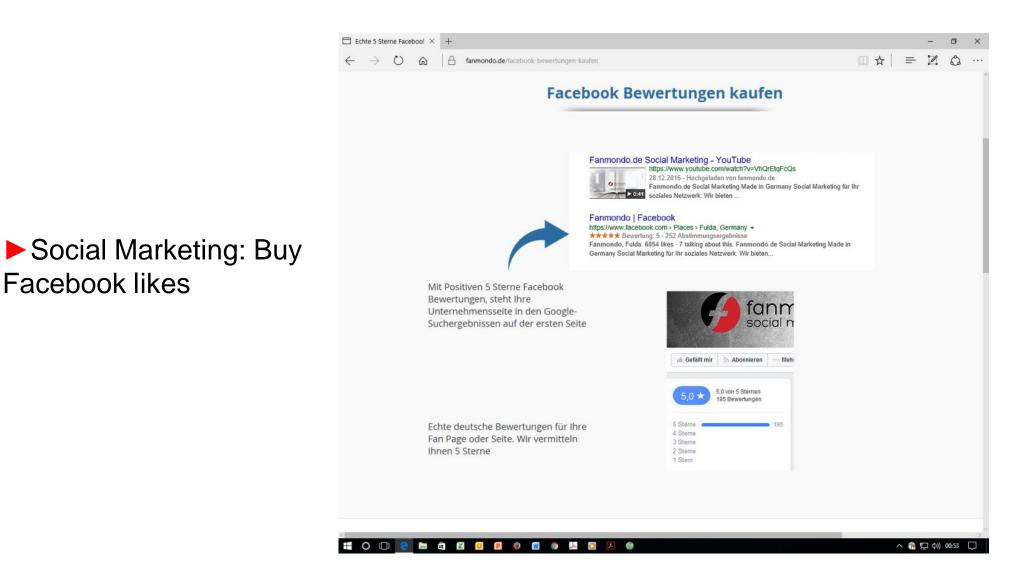
### "The most expensive item sold on eBay

\$168 million!



"The most expensive item sold on eBay to date is a Frank Mulder designed Gigayacht, which auctioned off for an incredible \$168 million, in 2006. The yacht was purchased by Russian billionaire, <u>Roman Abramovich</u> who rose to fame and riches by owning the investment company, Millhouse LLC and the Chelsea Football Club. At 405 feet long, his new ginormous yacht includes two VIP suites, a children's cabin, guest cabins, a gym, movie theater, spa, elevator and helicopter pad. We're not sure why the yacht's manufactures chose to sell it on eBay, but because of their decision and Abramovich's bid, history was made."

http://www.therichest.com/luxury/most-expensive/top-10-most-expensive-items-ever-sold-on-ebay/

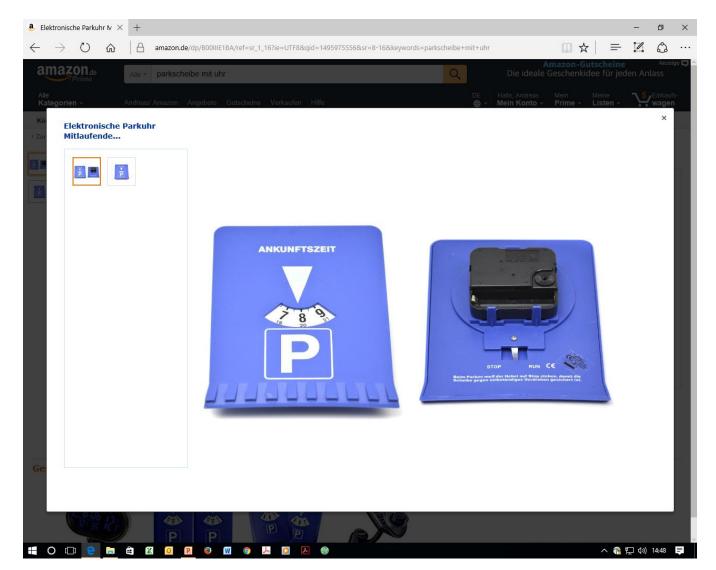


https://www.fanmondo.de/

**Reputation** = an index based on ratings, e.g. the number or proportion of positive ratings



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Parking disc with clock. (Not illegal to buy or sell but illegal in Germany when displayed In a parking car with clock switched on!)

	(-1//.//)	(-151.23)	(-131.53)	(-101.92)
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	(243.67)	(170.22)	(120.90)	(99.27)
Diesel (0/1)	0.0976 <sup>***</sup> (73.73)	0.0911*** (78.29)	0.0754 <sup>***</sup> (37.88)	0.0722*** (40.37)
Warranty (0/1)	0.0175***	0.0128***	0.0158***	0.00934***
	(12.06)	(9.28)	(5.08)	(3.61)
Rating Average (1-5)	0.00552***	0.00497***	0.0110***	0.00874***
	(5.20)	(5.18)	(4.02)	(3.51)
Car Models (Df=19)	No	Yes	No	Yes
Car Features (Df= 14)	No	Yes	No	Yes
Constant	9.491***	9.500***	9.482***	9.499***
Conotant	(1811.69)	(1375.65)	(749.94)	(719.51)
Observations and Reputation (Dealers	36431 sonly) In these models, we drop 13'00 ratings are hidden of the number of			
* $p \neq 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$	52798.4	10585.2	18864.6	3848.2
df m	e	20	c	20

### Autoscout24

	Indep. Variable	log (price)	
Data from more than 40'000 offers	Age in Years	-0.091	
of second-hand	Mileage	-0.028	
VW Golf cars	Horsepower [PS]	0.006	
were collected from the platform	Warranty	0.016	
	Reputation	0.011	
Autoscout24			
using web crawling	Constant	9.504	
Software.	Adj. R2	0.893	
	Ν	42696	

Siow/Tobler & Diekmann/Wehrli 2016 (preliminary results). All coefficients are significant for p < 0.001.

► Car dealers voluntarily granting a **warranty** claim higher prices (1.6% according to the analysis of 42'696 VW Golf offers on Autoscout24.)

### Autoscout24

Data from more	
than 40'000 offers	P
of second-hand	Ν
VW Golf cars	
were	ŀ
collected from the	V
platform	F
Autoscout24	
using web	
crawling	C
Software.	^
Sulwale.	F

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	Mileage	-0.028	
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## Autoscout24

Data from more than 40'000 offe of second-hand VW Golf cars were collected from th platform Autoscout24 using web crawling Software.

	Indep. Variable	log (price)	log (price) for Golf TDI
	Age in Years	-0.091	-0.085
ć	Mileage	-0.028	-0.034
ers	Horsepower [PS]	0.005	0.005
ł	Warranty	0.016	0.017
	Reputation	0.011	0.012
he	" <mark>Dieselgate</mark> " (before/after Oct. 2015)	-	-0.039
	Constant	9.476	9.638
	Adj. R2	0.898	0.882
	Ν	42696	3964

Siow/Tobler & Diekmann/Wehrli 2016 (preliminary results). All coefficients are significant for p < 0.01.

Car dealers voluntarily granting a warranty claim higher prices (1.6% according to the analysis of 42'696 VW Golf offers on Autoscout24. Besides: the impact of "Dieselgate" is measurable as a price reduction of 3.9%)

Smaller but in most models significant coefficients in fixed-effects regression with May and October data

### **Empirical analysis of auction data shows:**

- 1. Buyers pay for reputation ("premium" on reputation).
- 2. Sellers have an incentive to invest in reputation, i.e. to behave cooperatively.
- 3. Sellers choose payment mode ("second mover advantage").
- 4. A large proportion of buyers is motivated to give feedback: Both motives are present: strategic and altruistic, "strong reciprocity"
- 5. Simple institutional setting to ensure cooperation! Emergence of institutional rules: 1. Buyer's choice of seller, 2. Advance payment, 3. Seller shipping the product in quality advertised, 4. Buyer's and seller's feedback.

Strong reciprocity» supports feedback. Note: without altruistic motives the feedback system would break down and the market would collapse.

Similar with other institutions (tax compliance, recycling etc.): Important not to destroy the intrinsic motivation of low cost contribution to the public good!

#### Effect of Reputation on Price

	Pro	duct Sold (0	0/1)	S	elling Price	3	Sellir	ng Price (wi	th Fixed Eff	ects)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Used Mobile Phones DVDs	New Mobile Os Phones	Used Mobile Phones	DVDs	New Mobile Phones	Used Mobile Phones	DVDs	DVDs	
Seller's positive ratings (log)	.344*	019	.117**	.005***	.008*	.053***	.027**	002	.016***	.005
	(.136)	(.064)	(.040)	(.001)	(.003)	(.015)	(.010)	(.045)	(.002)	(.007)
Seller's negative ratings (log)	670*	207	145*	-011***	018**	C-101**	055	025	012**	036**
	(.301)	(.132)	(.058)	(.002)	(.006)	(.035)	(.034)	(.033)	(.005)	(.014)
McFadden R-squared	.858	.678	.133							
R-Squared				.844	.513	.111				
Number of observations	5,499	9,128	339,517	5,269	8,727	180,881	1,612	1,944	113,276	103,030
Number of sellers	4,341	7,687	33,166	4,242	7,474	30,018	585	691		6,901
Number of titles									18,054	15,964

#### Table 2. Effect of Reputation on Sales and Prices

Note: Models 1, 2, and 3: Coefficient estimates of logistic regressions are shown; the binary dependent variable is equal to one for successful auctions. Models 4, 5, and 6: Coefficient estimates of OLS regressions are shown; the dependent variable is the logarithm of the selling price (in Euros). Models 7, 8, 9, and 10: Coefficient estimates of fixed-effects regressions are shown (seller fixed effects in Models 7 and 8, title fixed effects in Model 9, title and seller fixed effects in Model 10); the dependent variable is the logarithm of the selling price (in Euros). Numbers in parentheses are robust standard errors (adjusted for seller-clusters). Models contain various control variables (starting price, length of product description, number of competing offers, and dummies for private profile, verified identity, Me-Page, PowerSeller, auction picture, thumbnail listing, bold listing, payment modes, auction duration, time and date of auction ending, and product subcategory); for detailed results see the online supplement.

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests).

- Significant effect of reputation on price ("premium on reputation")
- Negative ratings have a much larger effect than positive ratings!
- In accordance with many other studies. However, here with FE models and panel data.

Diekmann, A., Jann, B., Przepiorka, W., Wehrli, S., 2014.

# Per cent increase in price by 100 % increase of ratings

Seller (buyer) initiates	is-	Positive F	eedback	Negative I	Feedback	
positive feedback:		11	12	13	14	
		Buyer	Seller	Buyer	Seller	
Buyer (seller)	Positive first move by partner (time- dependent)	5.106*** (.112)	13.754*** (1.013)	(.004)	006 <sup>**</sup> (.002)	
responds to	Neutral first move by partner (time- dependent)	.410 (.732)	2.176*** (.461)	.011** (.004)	.440*** (.109)	
positive	Negative first move by partner (time- dependent)	544 (.327)	1.859*** (.461)	.535** (.166)	1.871*** (.811)	
feedback:	Positive ratings (log)	880*** (.183)	421 (\234)	025* (.012)	012** (.004)	
	Negative ratings (log)	616	225	102* (.051)	000	ong(er)
Evidence for	Partner's positive ratings (log)	840*** (.137)	259 (.269)	.017*** (.005)		ponse of
"strong	Partner's negative ratings (log)	1.023***	894	043**	059 Sel	ler
reciprocity" of	Previous interaction rating	(.259)	(.755)	(.014)	(.035)	
buyer	Received only	067 (.459)	.943 (.596)	Strong resp	onse of	
	Provided only	-2.051*** (.428)	-1.448* (.676)	buyer		
And, to some	Received and provided	-1.147*** (.219)	158 (.286)			
degree, strategic	Received or provided	(	(1200)	.002 (.005)	.006* (.003)	
rating of	Number of observations	96,055	96,055	96,055	96,055	
seller	Number of events Number of sellers	80,601 9,309	80,343 9,309	310 9,309	223 9,309	
301101	Number of buyers	26,188	26,188	26,188	26,188	

Table 4. Hazards of Positive and Negative Feedback in the DVD Market

Note: The table shows coefficient estimates for effects on the conditional probability of submitting a rating on a specific day given that no rating had been submitted yet (scaled by a factor of 100) for discrete-time linear probability models (LPMs) with seller and buyer fixed effects (standard errors in parentheses, adjusted for buyer-clusters in Models 11 and 13 and for seller-clusters in Models 12 and 14). Time indicators parameterizing the baseline hazard are not displayed. \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001 (two-tailed tests).

Diekmann et al. 2014

Hazard rate (conditional probability) of **positive** feedback

Hazard rate (conditional probability) of **negative** feedback



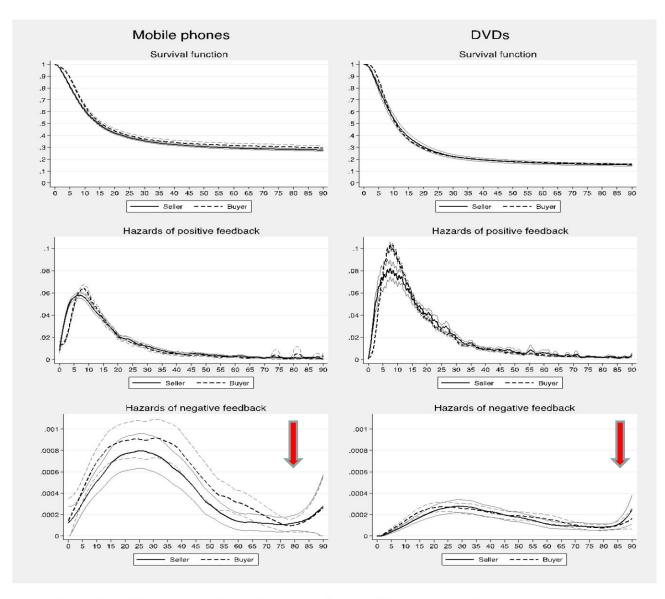
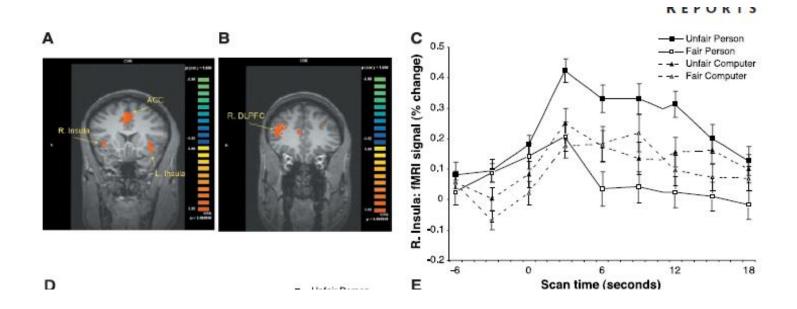


Figure 1. Survival Functions and Hazard Rates of Sellers' and Buyers' Rating Decisions

Diekmann et al. 2014

# Sanfey et al., 2003. The Neural Basis of Economic Decision Making in the Ultimatum Game.



"Hard wired" tendency of reciprocity in Humans?

Subjects playing the ultimatum game in an fMRI scanner

# "Monkeys reject unequal pay". Reciprocity and fairness. An Experiment with Capuchine Monkeys

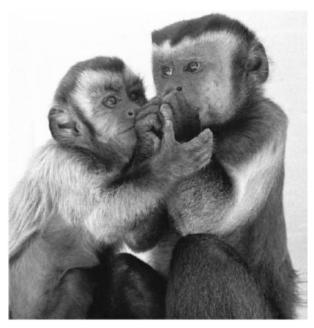
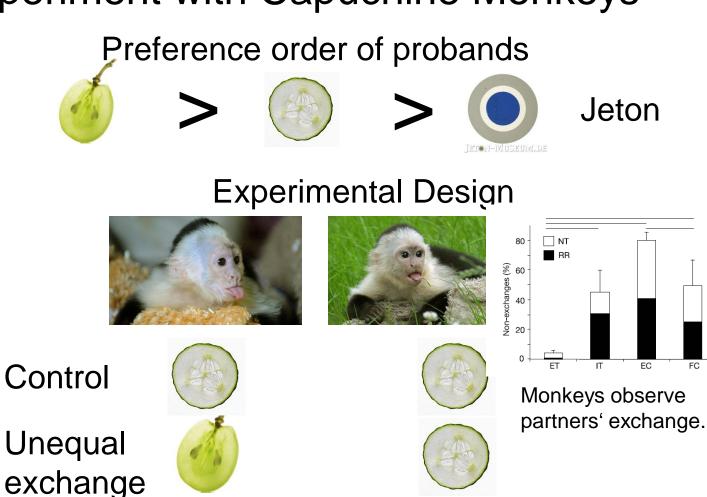


Figure 3 A juvenile capuchin monkey shows cheek-to-cheek begging to an eating adult male, cupping his hand next to the adult's food in solicitation. This primate is exceptionally tolerant and readily shares food, which may be a precondition for the reported reactions to reward division.

Brosnan & de Waal 2003



## **The Power of Reciprocity**

#### FAIRNESS, RECIPROCITY, AND STAKES IN VARIANTS OF THE DICTATOR GAME

#### ANDREAS DIEKMANN

Swiss Federal Institute of Technology

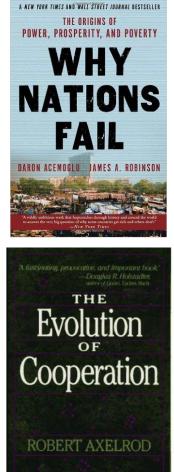
In two experiments, the existence and extent of altruistic reciprocity is explored in the context of a simple experimental game, "the sequential dictator." Findings show that altruistic reciprocity is frequent and robust, and the reciprocity norm does not erode if stakes are raised. Implications of the findings for social theory and further empirical research are discussed.

JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, Vol. 48 No. 4, August 2004 487-505

# Institutional regulations promote cooperation: Acemoglu & Robinson (2012): "Why Nations Fail"

Cooperative and prosperous societies have learnt to build "inclusive institutions"!

► But there is also the possibility that, under certain conditions, cooperation emerges under conditions of anarchy - even among selfish actors! (Axelrod 1984)



#### Bolton, Greiner, and Ockenfels: Engineering Trust Management Science 59(2), pp. 265–285, © 2013 INFORMS

	Feedback frequency			Problematic feedback given by (%)		Feedback-content correlation	Feedback-giving correlation	
	N	Buyer (%)	Seller (%)	Buyer	Seller	Kendall's tau	Kendall's tau	
eBay U.S.	10,169	74.8	76.7	1.4	1.2	0.720	0.595	
eBay Germany	14,297	77.3	76.9	1.9	1.1	0.621	0.623	
eBay China	2,011	9.3	19.7	5.0	6.7	0.576	0.652	
Verified buyers	1,062	15.0	13.6	5.0	4.9	0.576	0.682	
Unverified buyers	949	3.1	3.6		14.7		0.460	
MercadoLivre Brazil	1,958	71.1	87.9	18.7	29.2	0.785	0.175	

#### Table 2 Feedback Frequency, Content, and Correlation on MercadoLivre and eBay China, Compared to Other eBay Platforms

Note. All correlations are highly significant.

Bolton, Greiner, and	Ockenfe	ls: Engine	eering Trus	;
Management Science 59(2)	), pp. 265	-285, © 201	<b>3 INFORM</b>	S

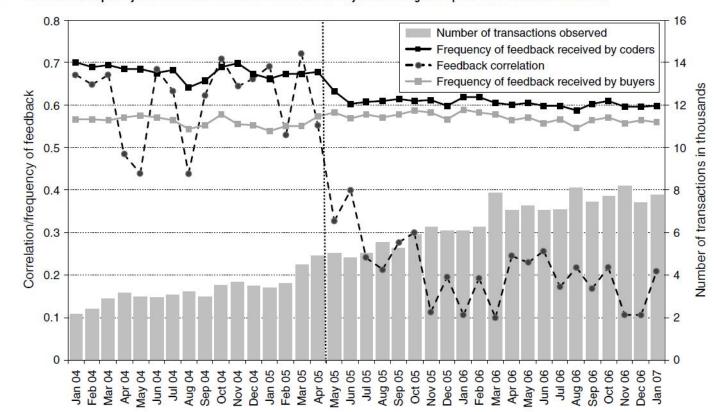


Figure 2 Feedback Frequency and Correlations Before and After the System Change in April 2005 on RentACoder.com

# How to achieve cooperation with trust problems

# Decentralized mechanisms sustaining the emergence of cooperation:

- 1. Moral norms, Kant: categorical imperative
- 2. Peer Punishment: Sanctioning norm violations (Fehr and Gächter 2001)
- 3. Costly signals of trustworthiness (Signaling theory), (Spence 1973, Zahavi 1975)
- 4. Commitments: Deposit, escrow service (Schelling 1960)
- 5. Repeated games: "The shadow of the future" (Axelrod 1984)
- 6. Reputation: "The shadow of the past"
- ► Trust building Institutions are based on these elements or combinations of it.

# Research program: Analysis of alternative reputation systems, its problems and the impact on society

Research question: Functioning and social cooperation on decentralized digital markets without state intervention.

Empirical research:

- Market regulation less important. Decentralized systems ("The Foxes")
- Collecting large ("big data") by web crawling (data from second-hand car market, dark net markets etc.)
- Refined statistical analysis of internet data
- Research with experimental markets in the lab

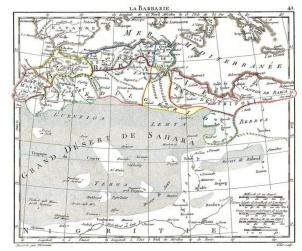
Market regulation is much more important concerning the big companies (Facebook, What's app, Credit Score, Google, Airbnb, Uber etc.) – "The Lions"

# **Reputation in Science**

- Bibliometric measures, citations, h-index etc?
- Various competetive systems: Web of Science (Thompson Reuters), Google Scholars, Research Gate, Academia Edu etc.
- Reputations scores set incentives (and sometimes wrong incentives) for research and publishing.
- Private companies' reputation scores are often not transparent and have an impact on scientists careers!

Historical study by Avner Greif (1989): Long distance trade of Mahgreb merchants in 11th century

- Actors are merchants and agents
- Agents had plenty of opportunities to commit fraud (e.g. reporting a lower price for the goods sold while keeping the difference).
- Asymmetric information and trust problem



Wikipedia Commons

 Mahgreb merchants solved the dilemma by forming a coalition and establishing a system of exchange of information, i.e. by establishing a decentralized reputation system.

## Law Merchant (Lex mercatoria)

- Long distance trade in medieval Europe
- Important trading place: Champagne Fairs in the 12th and 13th century.
- Solving the trust problem by private judges.

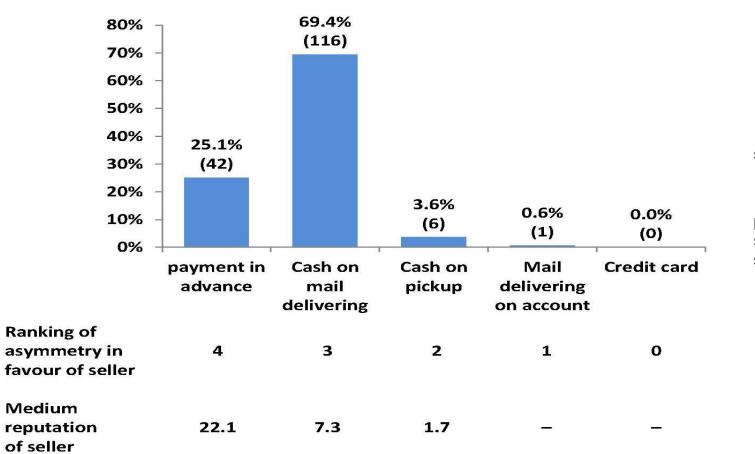


Champagne Fair, Wikimedia Commons

- Judges keep records on past behaviour of merchants, merchants pay a fee for access to information, and merchants can ask for a judgment in case a trading partner had been cheated.
- ► Law Merchant: Endogeneous evolution of institutions to establish a reputation system.
- ► Game theoretic analysis by Milgram, North, Weingast 1990, The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade. The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs.

### Seller's Trust Problem

- Asymmetry: Buyer chooses seller while seller has to accept buyer!
- Solution to seller's trust problem: Establish payment rules in favour of seller (advance payment, cash on delivery etc.)
- "Small Data" study with Ricardo.ch: 95 % of 165 transactions were in favour of seller (Diekmann & Wyder 2002)



Payment Rules by Power of Seller

Data from 2001/2002 Ricardo Switzerland auction of Nokia cell phones (Diekmann and Wyder 2002; Diekmann, Jann , Wyder 2009)

► Shift of power from buyer to seller

► Buyer pays in advance.

► The "strength" of advance payment (the power of the seller) increases with the sellers' reputation.

## Goldbarren bei eBay



Ende Januar ersteigerte ein Schnäppchenjäger im Internet auf der Handelsplattform Ebay einen solchen Perth-Mint-Barren vom Gewicht einer Feinunze (31,1 Gramm) für 367 Euro. Auf die Idee, dass daran etwas faul sein könnte, kam er nicht. Gemessen am aktuellen Goldkurs wäre ein echter Barren 1163 Euro wert gewesen - dreimal so viel.

Die Anbieter im Internet erfinden dazu gern Geschichten. Einer schrieb, er habe das Gold auf dem Dachboden einer verstorbenen Tante gefunden und wolle es loswerden, deshalb gebe er es billiger ab. "Gerade wenn sie im Internet kaufen, handeln manche nach dem Motto: Gier frisst Hirn", sagt Experte Meyer (Süddt. Zeitung, 18.2.2017).

# Reputation

Solution to the trust and cooperation problem:

- ► Repeated interactions, Axelrod's "Shadow of the future"
- ► However, many transactions are non-repeated, single transactions.
- ► Cooperation problem with encounters of strangers. Solution?
- ► Reputation: "The shadow of the past"!

# How to achieve cooperation with trust problems

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- 6. Reputation: "The shadow of the past"

### Market with uncertainty of the quality of goods

For sellers.—During each trading period you will have an opportunity to sell one shipment of "goods" to one of the buyers. The shipment you sell can vary in terms of its quality. There are three levels of quality (low, regular, super) and the higher the quality the more it will cost you to produce a shipment (a low costs 20 points, a regular costs 60 points, and a super costs 100 points). You will be asked at the beginning of each trading period what quality of goods you wish to produce. The higher the quality, the more the shipment is worth to a buyer. However, at the time you sell the shipment the buyer will not know the quality. After the purchase the buyer will be told the quality of the shipment he or she just bought from you.

For buyers.—During each trading period you will have an opportunity to buy one shipment of "goods" from one of the sellers. The value of a shipment to you depends on its quality. There are three levels of quality (low, regular, super) and the higher the quality, the higher its value to you (this value is known as the "redemption value"). A low is worth 40 points, a regular is worth 120 points, and a super is worth 200 points. At the time you buy the shipment you will not know the quality but after the purchase you will be told the quality of the shipment you bought.

Seller	Buyer
20	200 (40)
60	200 (120)
100	200 (200)

The Emergence of Exchange Structures: An Experimental Study of Uncertainty, Commitment, and Trust<sup>1</sup>

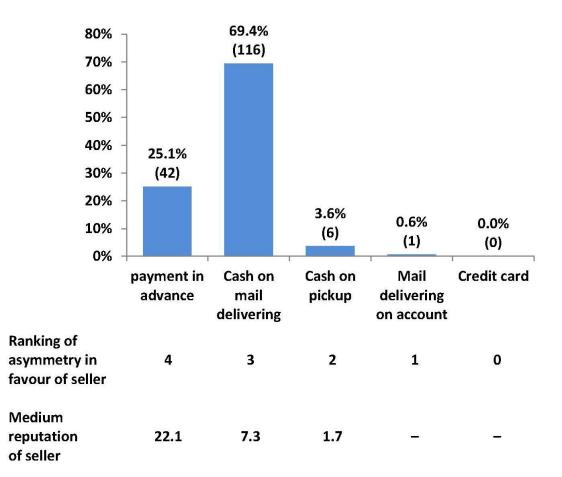
Peter Kollock University of California, Los Angeles

American Journal of Sociology 100, 1994: 313-345

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#### Payment Rules by Power of Seller

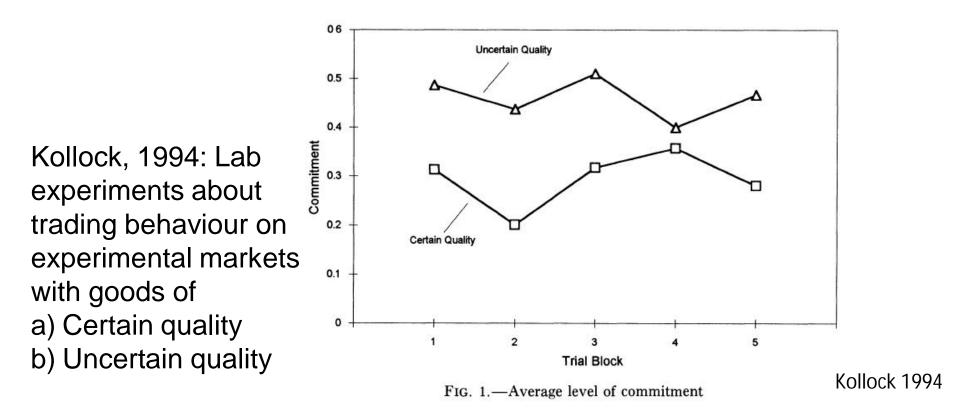


► Shift of power from buyer to seller

► Buyer pays in advance.

► The "strength" of advance payment (the power of the seller) increases with the sellers' reputation.

Data from 2001/2002 Ricardo Switzerland auction of Nokia cell phones (Diekmann and Wyder 2002; Diekmann, Jann , Wyder 2009)



Commitment measure = Standardized network index for the tendency to deal in dyads [0, 1]

### Illegal and completely anonymous markets:

- ► Ethical Rules of conduct!
- ► Seller deposit
- Seller's account may be revoked if in bad standing
- Mandatory escrow service
- Reputation system (informing about product prices of rated transactions)
- ► Forum

The mixture of institutional rules (escrow service etc.) and reputation ensures:





### Foto Max Weber, Bavarian Academy of Science

After attending a baptism ceremony of a Baptist congregation, Weber learned that "'… **once being baptized he will get the patronage of the whole region and he will outcompete everybody.**' Further questions of 'why' and 'by what means' led to the following conclusion: Admission to the local Baptist congregation follows only upon the most careful 'probation' and after closest inquiries into conduct going back to early childhood (Disorderly conduct? Frequenting taverns? Dance? Theatre? Card Playing? Untimely meeting of liability? Other Frivolities?) The congregation still adhered strictly to the religious tradition. Admission to the congregation is recognized as an absolute guarantee of the moral qualities of a gentleman, especially of those qualities required in business matters. Baptism secures to the individual the deposits of the whole region and unlimited credit without any competition. He is a 'made man'" (Weber 2002:129-130; also see Voss 1998).

Max Weber (1920)

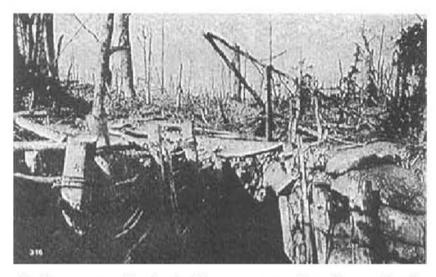
"The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism"

#### Reputation

- ► Evaluation of conduct
- ► Reliable ("careful ,probation' and after closest inquiries")
- ► Visible, easy to recognize

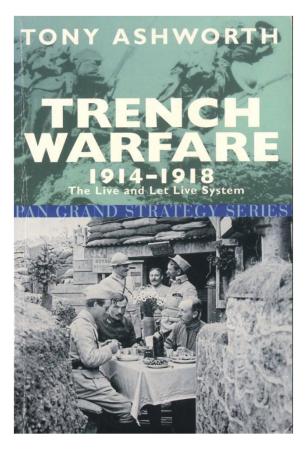
Diekmann, Jann, Wyder 2009; Voss 1998

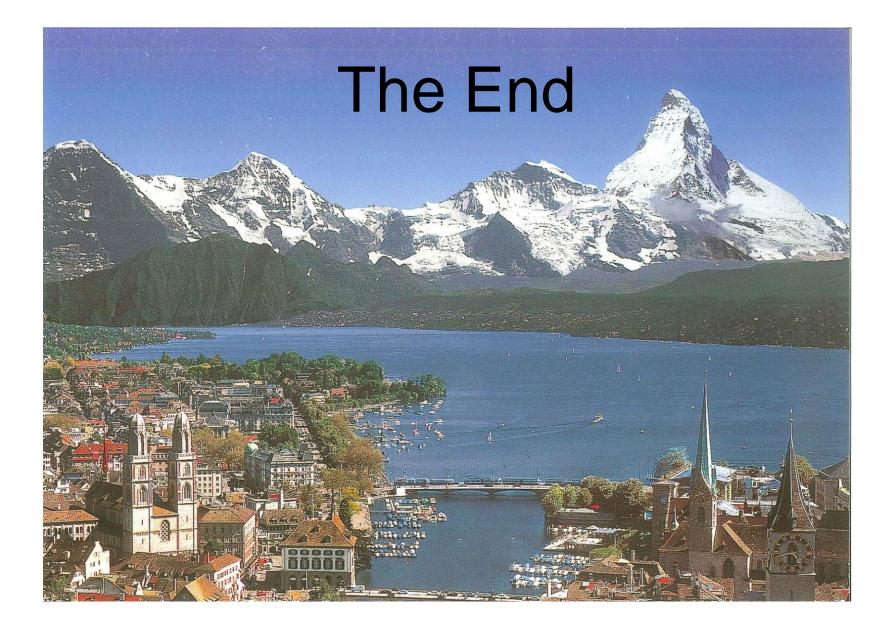
# WW I: Emergence of cooperation among German and French soldiers in repeated interactions



18. German trenches in the Vosges sector where live and let live prevailed for long periods throughout the war.

A system of cooperation emerged among soldiers. Trench warfare led to frequent interactions among the German, British and French soldiers. Soldiers started singing christmas carols, intentionally failed to shoot on each other, and even fraternized and engaged in soccer playing between the front lines in WW I. The "live and let live system" was explained by theorems of the theory of repeated games (Axelrod 1984, The Evolution of Cooperation)





# Othello

Cassio

"Reputation, reputation, reputation! O, I have lost my reputation! I have lost the immortal part of myself, and what remains is bestial. My reputation, lago, my reputation!

# Bertold Brecht, Life of Galileo

• ANDREA loudly: "Unhappy the land that has no heroes"

# Bertold Brecht, Life of Galileo

- ANDREA loudly: "Unhappy the land that has no heroes"
- GALILEO: "No. Unhappy the land that is in need of heroes."