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Non-sympathetic FRN responses to drops in others' stocks

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Previous neuroeconomic studies have observed that people display empathic neural responses to other's misfortunes. We argue that the reverse emotions, such as gloating or *schadenfreude*, may also emerge in certain circumstances. To examine this theory, we recorded feedback-related negativity (FRN) to other's large or small gains or losses in a stock market context. We adopted the framework of social distance, according to which people who hesitated to become others in the stock market are far away, identified, and indistinct, people would show less empathic or even *schadenfreude* to other's large losses. The results indicated that FRN and a significantly less negative deflection when observing larger decreases in others' stock, indicating that others' large losses are not perceived negatively even in the stock market and suggesting the existence of *schadenfreude*. Our research contributes to the understanding of social neurofinance by demonstrating the *schadenfreude* effect in relation to the stock market. This study also provides new information regarding the relationship between FRN and the social emotions that form the perceptions of gain and loss.

Keywords: Emotion-related potential; Feedback-related negativity; Sympathy; *Schadenfreude*; Social neurofinance.

The current body of work in neuroeconomics suggests that humans are highly empathic and even altruistic to other's negative feedback outcomes. For example, Yan and Zho (2006) observed similar feedback-related negativity (FRN) patterns when people are faced with their own gains and losses and the gains and losses of others. As FRN is generally elicited to unexpected negative outcomes, Yan and Zho concluded that such findings indicate an observational learning effect whereby similar neural mechanisms underlie the evaluation of one's own and others' feedback outcomes.

However, an investigation of the literature reveals that this may be far from the truth. When facing others' losses, human beings may either feel sympathy or feel negative, an empathic emotion such as *schadenfreude* (pleasure in others' misfortunes). The

feeling of *schadenfreude* has been demonstrated both in neural (Takahashi et al., 2009) and behavioral (Feather & Sherman, 2002) investigations. When, then, are negative reactions and emotions such as selfishness, envy, and *schadenfreude*, which are well documented in psychology, absent in current neuroeconomic work? We hope in investigating and understanding the negative emotions, we can know not only half of the story of the neural foundation of human economic behavior.

In some circumstances, human beings show less sympathy or more negative emotions. Imagine someone losing \$100; we may feel sympathy. However, if it is not \$100 but \$1,000,000, how would we feel? Thinking that greedy rich people deserve the loss, we may gloat rather than feel sympathy. Such a circumstance suggests the quality effect. If we see someone

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knowing over his loss, we feel sympathy; however, a loss suffered by a stranger lying far away makes less sympathy. This circumstance suggests the distance effect. In the current study, we identify a special situation where the stock market combines both the quantity effect and the distance effect. Studying the stock market offers a unique opportunity to examine people's negative reactions to others' losses. Based on theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence, we hypothesize that in the financial markets, people may show *schadenfreude* when others experience losses.

First, we argue that financial markets are quite different from previously studied empirical situations in economic games because the quantity of money involved in stock markets is so large. Slonim and Roth (1998) observed that players reduced the amount of their offers when they were high in an ultimatum game as they had no previous experience but did not change their offers when they were low. Such findings suggest that the quantity of outcomes plays some role in determining subjective responses to the outcomes of others.

Second and more important, we argue that financial markets are quite different from situations in economic games in prior studies because both physical and psychological distances between the self and other players are much greater in stock markets than in other economic games. The construal level effect (CLT) of physical distance (Fujita, Henderson, Eng, Trope, & Liberman, 2006; Trope & Liberman, 2010) demonstrates that people mentally represent construals and objects at different levels of abstraction. The CLT suggests that nearer objects are perceived as relatively more concrete (low level construal) and distant objects as relatively more abstract (high level construal). Because other players are anonymous and far away from the self, we argue that the level of sympathy may be low when seeing others' losses in the stock market for two reasons: (1) according to the CLT, the automatic high level construal process that is global, abstract, and concept-dependent. We may ponder the risk and uncertainty of unpredictable stock markets, and the consequence of our careful thinking helps us accept the fact that a loss is highly possible and a gain is unlikely for ourselves and may be even less likely for others. Therefore, the expectation of others' losses may maintain itself at a quite a high level, and we may perceive the loss as a common result rather than as a type of misfortune. (2) The large persons of whom we would like to show sympathy are not focused and identified. Lab studies demonstrate the relationship between physical closeness and interpersonal positivity, termed "positivity-closeness hypothesis",

and intimacy acts as a mediator between closeness and positivity, termed "positivity-intimacy hypothesis" (Aler & Balcells, 2011). Therefore, when large persons are anonymous, known players in the stock market rather than one or several distinguished players in empirical economic games, it is difficult for sympathy.

Some empirical evidence supports our arguments. First, meta-analysis shows that long-distance communication has no face-to-face interaction is generally more harmful to integrate agreements than face-to-face communication (Balcells, Dickson, Sherman, Barber, & LaGanke, 2002; Shmaler & Ciera, 2005), which implies that psychological and physical distance is greater, pro-social motivation and behavior may decrease. Second, studies have reported that increasing the number of competitors (N) can decrease competitive motivation, termed the " N -effect" (Garcia & Tor, 2009). Because the number of competitors is quite large in stock markets, the competitive motivation may decrease, which may further decrease the expectation of gain but increase the level of tolerance for loss both for our own and others' stocks. These results imply that the greater the distance, the less sympathy may be shown.

According to this evidence and arguments, we generate our hypothesis that in the financial markets, we may show sympathy for others' negative responses to others' losses.

The present study sought to capture the non-sympathetic and negative responses to large losses in others' portfolios using FRN. FRN is an event-related potential (ERP) component characterized as negative amplitude in brain activity following the presentation of feedback-related stimuli. Evidence from source localization suggests that FRN is generated in areas of the medial prefrontal cortex such as the anterior cingulate cortex (Gehring & Willoughby, 2002; Holroyd, Coles, & Nieuwenhuis, 2002). In terms of responses to outcome feedback, previous studies have observed that FRN is generally more pronounced for negative than for positive feedback (Miller, Braun, & Coles, 1997) and more negative for unexpected than for expected outcomes (Nieuwenhuis, Holroyd, Mol, & Coles, 2004).

Specifically, based on the above reasoning and the features of FRN, we infer that if the FRN response to others' loss is more negative than the response to others' gain, his response reveals the existence of sympathy; an FRN response to others' loss that is no different from the response to others' gain indicates less sympathy or non-sympathy. An FRN response to others' loss that is considerably less negative than the response to others' gain may suggest a negative emotion such as *schadenfreude* because his

response would indicate that they do not expect others' gain; instead, they predict others' loss.

The stock exchange in the financial market provides an excellent situation in which both the quantity and the distance effect may occur. A huge number of people are involved in the stock market, linking all over the world. Thus, even a small change in stock prices could lead to large-scale gains or losses.

Because of this possibility, the participants may show non-sympathetic or negative responses to larger losses in others' stocks, predicting that FRN should be less negative when one observes larger drops in the value of others' stock.

METHODS

Sample

The health university students (9 males, 11 females; mean age 21.55 ± 2.46 years) participated in the study. Participants were reimbursed for their time with USD16. The experiment is in accordance with The Code of Ethics of the World Medical Association (Declaration of Helsinki).

Design

The experiment adopted a 2 (stock outcome: increase vs. decrease) \times 2 (levels of price change: large [9%] vs. small [3%]), within-participant design. Generally, individual investors in the stock market believe that a 5% change in stock prices is a marginal index, a change lower than that indicates small gains or losses and a change higher than that indicates large gains or losses. Accordingly, we used 3% and 9% to represent small and large changes in stock prices, respectively.

Procedure

Participants were told that the experiment comprised three tasks: a training task, an observation task, and a question-answer task.

The training task

Participants completed a 5-minute training session prior to the observation task.

The observation task

Participants were asked to carefully observe the outcomes of three stocks (A1, A2, and A3) that belonged to others. To ensure that they paid close attention, participants were told that upon finishing, they would be prompted to answer questions relating to the stock's behavior. A total of 156 trials were divided into 4 different conditions, 2 (stock outcome: increase vs. decrease) \times 2 (levels of price change: large [9%] vs. small [3%]); each condition had 39 trials. The order of the four conditions was randomized. Each trial began with a fixed cross at the center of a black screen for 500 ms. Then, one of the three stock names was presented for 1000 ms. Then, an 800 ms feedback frame was displayed. The frame comprised an arrow representing the stock outcome (increase or decrease) and a percentage (3% or 9%) indicating the degree of change. Participants' electroencephalograph (EEG) signals from -200 ms to 800 ms of this screen were extracted for analysis. Then, the next trial was presented. We established a jittered interval of 200 ms, 300 ms, or 400 ms between each screen (see Figure 1). Participants were provided with a 3-minute break mid-session.

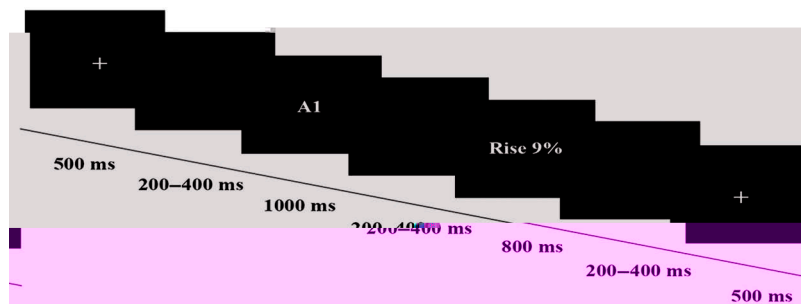


Figure 1. The procedure of the ERP experiment. Each trial began with a fixation cross at the center of a black screen for 500 ms (Slice 1). Then, one of three stock names was presented for 1000 ms (Slice 3). Then, an 800 ms feedback frame was displayed (Slice 5). Then, the next trial was presented. We set a jittered interval of 200 ms, 300 ms, or 400 ms between each screen (Slices 2, 4, 6). Participants were provided with a 3-minute break mid-session.

The questionnaire-answering task

After the observation task, participants completed a 7-item perspective-taking questionnaire taken from Davis's subscale of interpersonal reactivity index (IRI)

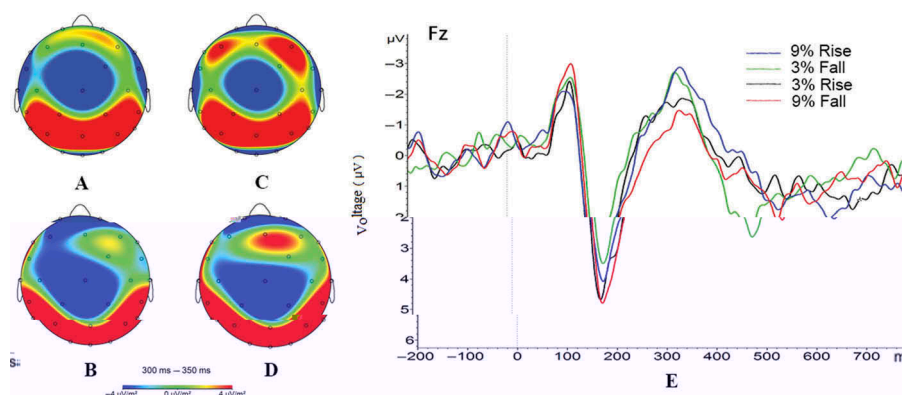


Figure 3. Grand-average event-related potentials (ERPs) recorded at Fz and showing the distribution of observed FRNs. The graphs of A, B, C, D show topographical maps for four different situations of others' stock performance: An increase of 3%, a decrease of 3%, an increase of 9%, and a decrease of 9%, respectively. The graph of E shows the different waves among these four situations. FRN was measured using a peak-decoding program approximately 320–360 ms after the onset of feedback.

Five Personalities ($r = -.453, p = .045$) scale, marginally correlated with their scores on the Emotional Stability of the Big Five Personalities ($r = -.420, p = .065$), but no significant correlation with perspective-taking of the IRI, $r = -.347, p = .134$. These results indicate that individuals scoring higher on agreeableness displayed greater FRN, suggesting a low level of *schadenfreude*.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we examined the neural activity of participants as they observed others' gains and losses at small and high stakes. At small levels of changes in stock prices, participants showed a trend toward more negative FRN when observing others' losses than when observing others' gains, although not statistically significant. This finding replicates results from previous neuroeconomic laboratory studies that have identified sympathy or indifference processes in participants when they observe others' losses (Fukushima & Hiraki, 2006). More notably, we observed that a high level of change in stock prices, participants demonstrated significantly less negative FRN toward others' losses than toward others' gains, reflecting *schadenfreude* toward others' losses. Moreover, individuals' agreeableness influenced responses to others' outcomes in a feedback setting, indicating that kind-hearted people are more likely to perceive others' financial problems as unexpected negative events. This finding supports previous research that FRN is influenced by individuals' characteristics. For example, Li and colleagues (2010) asked participants to perform a gambling task

individually in a high-responsibility and a low-responsibility scenario, and they observed that FRN was sensitive to the self-reported responsibility level. Similarly, Fukushima and Hiraki (2009) observed that self-reported measures of empathy were positively associated with the magnitude of the observed FRN.

Our findings are consistent with previous research by proposing the perspective of social distance. Previous studies have observed that FRN differences are displayed only when observing the outcomes of decisions made by humans but not those by computers (Fukushima & Hiraki, 2009). Using our perspective of social distance, the psychological distance between the self and inanimate computers is greater than the distance between the self and living human beings, which explains why FRN differences are displayed only when observing the outcomes of decisions made by humans.

To the best of our knowledge, our finding is a first in showing that FRN is less negative toward the feedback of others' losses than toward others' gains in the context of finances, indicating non-sympathetic negative reactions toward others' misfortunes in the stock market. The stock market is so large that there are too many investors from all over the world for investors to compete with one another, and even a few percentage points of change in stock prices indicate huge gains or losses. In this circumstance, the quantum effect and the distance effect would occur, leading investors to feel negative emotions toward others' losses.

One limitation of this study is that we did not measure perceived social distance. In addition, there could be some other explanations for our findings.

Future research may further identify which is the most dominant mechanism underlying the negative reactions to other's failures in a financial context.

First, unlike the more complex emotions (e.g., envy and the need for interpersonal contact) involved in gambling or the economic games upon which previous studies have been based, financial incentives in participants' relative performance comparisons of resource competition (Fukushima & Hiraki, 2009), which prevents people from showing sympathy. Similar findings were reported by another study (Marco-Pallares, Kramer, Srehl, Schroder, & Mene, 2010). Three different groups of "observers" were studied. The first (neutral) group simply observed the performer's action, which had no consequences for the observers. In the parallel group, wins/losses of the performer were paralleled by similar wins and losses by the observer. In the reverse group, wins of the performer led to a loss for the observer and vice versa. ERPs of the performers showed that the FRN occurred for wins of the performer, which translated to losses for the observer. To some extent, financial markets are a zero-sum game; therefore, they show *Schadenfreude* to other's losses.

Second, previous researchers have argued that individuals gain utility not only from monetary gains but also from fairness (Ochs & Roth, 1989). With smaller stakes, fairness may outweigh monetary gains, but with higher stakes, such monetary gains may outweigh the utility of fairness. We parallel our current findings with such notions by arguing that as resource competition dictates (Arnsperg & McGehee, 1976), resources are limited so that others' gains will, to an extent, reduce the pool of available resources. With smaller stakes, individuals' utility in socially desirable responses to other's may outweigh the utility of competition for resources. Conversely, when the stakes are high, individuals experience more utility in competition and thus may exhibit more self-serving responses. In such circumstances, it would be interesting to examine participants' responses to other's feedback outcomes when the responses belong to those with whom they are familiar, which arguably increases the utility of social desirability.

Third, the paradigm employed in the current study differs from the economic games used in previous research that presented observers with other's actions and the results of such actions (Fukushima & Hiraki, 2009; Yoon & Zhou, 2006). We argue that such paradigms elicit observers' observational learning whereby they form an action-outcome expectation (Bandura, 1977). As such, previous studies observed that FRN to other's outcomes mimics FRN to one's own outcomes. In contrast, in the

present study, masked participants observed outcomes of other's stock prices without providing information regarding the actions that caused such outcomes, hereby reducing the cues for social learning and resulting in patterns different from previous findings.

Fourth, former studies (Holroyd, Larsen, & Cohen, 2004) have observed that monetary loss may not necessarily lead to more negative FRN, depending on the allele of eliciting outcomes relative to the range of outcomes possible. Consistent with the findings of the present study, our results demonstrate that the relationship of FRN to gains and losses is more complicated, depending on which is expected and which is unexpected. For example, in an economic recession, most people consider large drops in stock prices unsurprising.

We believe that the present findings have implications for theory and future work. Previous studies have labeled FRN a component of brain response elicited in response to negative, unexpected outcomes. Although this likely occurs for one's own feedback outcomes, i.e., more negative FRN to one's own losses, our studies have here a fallible assumption being made because negative information may also go hand-in-hand with unexpectedness. For example, in our study, we observed that other's large losses attracted minimal FRN from observers. Because losses are intrinsically negative, it appears that the responses to such outcomes indicate observers' expectations of such losses and suggest that existing beliefs regarding FRN may not be generalizable in complex financial situations. In a wider context, we argue that at certain times, environmental cues such as economic crises may shift expectations from expectation of gains to expectation of losses. As such, observing large drops in other's stock prices may be expected (leading to less negative FRN) whereas observing large increases in other's stock prices may instead be unexpected. Our findings and other's findings suggest that FRN is moderated by social interaction factors and predicts subjective feelings of the pleasantness or unpleasantness of an outcome rather than the gain/loss of an outcome (Rigoni, Polei, Rumi, Garino, & Sarori, 2010). Based on these findings, our studies have more precision been directed toward a more definitive description of this brain component.

Although we believe that the current study is a first step toward uncovering the 'dark side' of social processes in neuroeconomic investigations, our study is not without limitations. First, in recent years, economic game experiments have been widely utilized to investigate mechanisms of human economic behavior such as fairness and equity (Barnham, 2007;

Koenigs & Tranel, 2007). The current research contributes to our understanding of brain responses to financial outcomes although the brain mechanism of financial decision-making remains unknown. Second, the participants in the current research were all students and thus may be inexperienced in financial markets. Future research should examine the current findings among actual stockholders or fund managers to increase external validity.

The present study contributes to the literature on social neurofinance. Moreover, our results have no ion of FRN as a reflector of negative surprise should be applied to research on social emotions because social emotions play important roles in determining economic behavior. We call for more research in this specific area of finance in future neuroeconomic investigations.

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