Under the Neuroeconomics Umbrella: A Framework for Evaluating, Improving, and Modeling

## Nutrition Interventions

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Under the Neuroeconomics Umbrella:
A Framework for Evaluating,
Improving, and Modeling Nutrition Interventions

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## Outline:

I. Setting the Stage
II. Cognitive Resources, Dual Systems and Objectives Framework
III. Can Neuroeconomics and Behavioral Economics Help?
IV. Implications for Some Common Interventions/Policies and

Modeling
V. Conclusions

## The Problem



Source: Dietary Guidelines of America. 2015-2020. Chapter 2. Figure 2.1

What are some typical solutions?
(i.e., interventions, policies, programs)

What is common across all of these interventions?
There is some degree of information processing (and subsequent decision making)

Information Processing Degree

Low
High
II. Cognitive Resources, Dual Systems \& Objectives

A decision task can thought of as having a certain cognitive load.
(Standard) Cognitive load - The total amount of mental effort being used in working memory in an instructional context (Sweller 1984).
(General) Cognitive load - The weight or demands on executive control systems in the brain associated with any activity.

The muscle analogy (e.g., Muraven and Baumister 2000).

- Muscle endurance depends on weight (load) and strength of muscle.
- Muscle strengthening requires repetitions, load, and success.


## Key Concepts

- Cognitive resources at any given point in time are limited and can be depleted.
- Cognitive resources must be allocated to different tasks (cognitive resource allocation model)
(e.g., Alonso, Brocas, Carillo 2014; Kool and Botvinick 2014)
- Dual Systems Processing (e.g., Evans 1984; Kahneman 2011)
(i) System 1 - uses a fast, reflexive, automatic, and perhaps 'mindless' process that operates heuristically and expends little cognitive resources.
(ii) System 2 - uses a slow, reflective, analytical, and deliberate process that expends many cognitive resources.


## What types of food or evaluation decisions fall into each system?

- System 1
- Ex: candy bowl on your desk
- 'finishing off' the fries
- others?
- System 2
- Ex: comparing food labels for two different products
- calculating calories for a meal
- others?

Dual Objectives/Reasons for Food Consumption
(1) Hedonics - any immediate sensory effects.
(2) Health - any health effects.
(Antonides and Cramer 2013; Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999; Sullivan et al. 2015)

Three Major Implications of the Cognitive Resource Allocation Model and Dual Systems/Objectives

1. Cognitive effort is minimized implying a preference for system 1 (e.g, Kool, et al. 2010, 2014).
2. Resource depletion contributes to system 1 use (e.g., Pocheptsova, et al. 2009).

- As your cognitive budget goes down, you are more likely to choose system 1 types of decisions

3. Hedonic decisions are associated with system 1, longterm and health-related decisions are associated with
system 2 (e.g, Antonides and Cramer, 2013; Shiv and Fedorikhin, 1999).


Figure 10.1. Dual Systems - Dual Objectives Schematic of Food Choices Source: Davis and Serrano (2016)

THOUGHT EXPERIMENT \#1: MENU CHOICE

## Signature SALADS

heel mediterranean salmon 8.59 bbq chopped chicken $\quad 7.59$ chopped chicken cobb huwl salmon caesar 7.59 grilled chicken caesar asian sesame chicken fuji apple chicken

## Cabe SALADS

| greek salad | 5.69 |
| :--- | :--- |
| caesar salad | 5.29 |
| classic salad | 5.29 |

## SIDE CHOICES <br> WITH YOUR SOUP, SALAD, SANDWICH OR YOU PICK TWO*

french baguette slice
whole grain baguette slice potato chips
apple


## signature SALADS

Theel mediterranean salmon 8.59
bbq chopped chicken $\quad 7.59250 .500$
chopped chicken cobb 7.59250500
hrowl salmon caesar $\quad 7.99 \quad 240<80$
grilled chicken caesar $\quad 6.89 \quad 250 \quad 510$
asian sesame chicken 6.99200410
fuji apple chicken
$6.99260 \quad 520$

## Cafe SALADS

## greek salad <br> $5.69220 \quad 430$ <br> caesar salad <br> $5.29200 \quad 390$ <br> classic salad <br> $5.2980 \quad 170$ <br> SIDE CHOICES <br> WITH YOUR SOUP. SALAD, SANDWICH OR YOU PICK TWO*

french baguette slice
whole grain baguette slice 190
potato chips
160
apple
-You are participating in a university experiment about choosing healthy foods?
-Which one would you choose?

## Signature SALADS

hew mediterranean salmon 8.59 bbq chopped chicken
7.59
chopped chicken cobb
7.59
huwl salmon caesar
7.99
grilled chicken caesar
6.89
asian sesame chicken
6.99 fuji apple chicken
6.99

## Cabe SALADS

| greek salad | 5.69 |
| :--- | :--- |
| caesar salad | 5.29 |
| classic salad | 5.29 |


french baguette slice
whole grain baguette slice potato chips
apple

- You are attending a working meeting with your colleagues and are offered a box lunch with the signature salad selections to the left? -Which one would you choose?


## Signature SALADS

Theel mediterranean salmon 8.59 bbq chopped chicken
7.59
chopped chicken cobb
7.59
huwl salmon caesar
7.99
grilled chicken caesar
6.89
asian sesame chicken fuji apple chicken
6.99
6.99

## Cabe SALADS

$\begin{array}{ll}\text { greek salad } & 5.69 \\ \text { caesar salad } & 5.29 \\ \text { classic salad } & 5.29\end{array}$

## SIDE CHOICES <br> WITH YOUR SOUP, SALAD, SANDWICH OR YOU PICK TWO*

french baguette slice
whole grain baguette slice
potato chips
apple
-You are super hungry and eating alone.
-You can choose whatever you want, including side choice. -Which one would you choose?

## Signature SALADS

Wheel mediterranean salmon 8.59 bbq chopped chicken $\quad 7.59 \quad 250500$
chopped chicken cobb 7.59250500
hrowl salmon caesar $\quad 7.99 \quad 240<80$
grilled chicken caesar $\quad 6.89 \quad 250 \quad 510$
asian sesame chicken $\quad 6.99200410$
fuji apple chicken
$6.99260 \quad 520$

## Cabe SALADS

| greek salad | $5.69 \quad 220$ | 430 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| caesar salad | $5.29 \quad 200$ | 390 |
| classic salad | $5.29 \quad 80 \quad 170$ |  |

caesar salad
$5.29200 \quad 390$
classic salad
$5.2980 \quad 170$

## SIDE CHOICES <br> WITH YOUR SOUP, SALAD, SANDWICH OR YOU PICK TWO*

french baguette slice
whole grain baguette slice $\quad 190$
potato chips 16
apple
-You are super hungry.
-But you only have $\$ 7.50$ in cash and no credit card.

- You are also trying to manage your portion size and calories, so want to limit your main item and side choice to a total of 600 calories.
-Which one would you choose?


## Signature SALADS

Wheel mediterranean salmon 8.59 bbq chopped chicken $\quad 7.59 \quad 250500$
chopped chicken cobb 7.59250500
howl salmon caesar $\quad 7.99 \quad 240 \quad 480$
grilled chicken caesar $\quad 6.89 \quad 250 \quad 510$
asian sesame chicken $\quad 6.99200410$
fuji apple chicken
$6.99260 \quad 520$

## Cabe SALADS

| greek salad | $5.69 \quad 220$ | 430 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| caesar salad | $5.29 \quad 200$ | 390 |
| classic salad | $5.29 \quad 80 \quad 170$ |  |

SIDE CHOICES
WITH YOUR SOUP, SALAD, SANDWICH OR YOU PICK TWO*
french baguette slice
whole grain baguette slice potato chips
apple

- After sitting in the doctor's office for 1.5 hours and a 5 minute exam, he said your 2 yr. old just has a cold and the visit will cost you $\$ 75$.
- You now only have $\$ 25$.
- Your spouse said pick up dinner for 3.
-Which one would you choose?


## Food Consumption Decisions

- Wansink and Sobal (2007) estimate each day each person may be confronted with up to 200 -related food and beverage-related decisions, many unknowingly or 'mindless'
- But, food is not the only thing we make decisions about


## Thought Experiment \#2: Working Single Mom

- You have three kids, two in elementary school and one in middle school
- You are single and the sole financial provider and caregiver for your kids.
- The kids are involved in different after school activities.
- You don't own a reliable car. You work with other parents to carpool your kids to different activities, which are all at different times.
- Your elderly parents live in the area and one has been diagnosed with Alzheimer's.
- You did not finished high school and work at a retailer making $\$ 25,000$ per year.
- You have chronic foot pain.
- You did not learn to cook and given your schedule, you prefer to eat out.

What are the system 1 vs system 2 implications for food choices under this scenario?

What are the system 1 vs system 2 implications for interventions and policy?

## III. CAN NEURO ECONOMICS \& BEHAVIORAL ECONOMICS HELP?

Neuroeconomics is a relatively new field of economics that combines methods and theories from neuroscience, psychology, economics, and computer science to better understand the process of economic decision making and the resulting choices.
(Brocas and Carillo 2008; Camerer, Loewenstein, Prelec 2005; Fehr and Rangel 2011; Glichmer and Rustichini 2004).

A behavioral effect is a systematic and repeatable tendency toward a choice alternative resulting from the interaction of a choice environment attribute with a psychological attribute.

Four Behavioral Economic Effects Relevant for Food Choices

1. Environmental cue effect is a tendency to increase or decrease consumption in response to an environmental cue

- Most Wansink "mindless" type effects
- Examples: proximity of food, odor, serving size, noise, music, lighting, socialization
- Key: System 1 processing

2. Default effect - the tendency to accept the option made available, even when some apparently more preferable alternative is available

- Weak vs Strong Defaults
- Example: Combo meal with side of fries vs side of apple slices
- Key: System 1 processing

3. Ambiguity effect is the tendency for individuals to choose options where the probability of a favorable outcome (e.g., taste) is known over an option where the probability of the favorable outcome is unknown

- Hedonic known, Health is ambiguous
- Ex: future effects of an healthy unsavory meal; role of taste preference
- Key: System 2 processing required to evaluate

4. Decision fatigue effect is the tendency for the quality or consistency of decisions to erode as more decisions have to be made (e.g., multiple decisions or temptations)

- Ex: Eating when traveling with many unknowns; Being extremely tired; single, limited resource, mother example; weight management strategies.
- Key: System 2 processing leads to decision fatigue faster


## IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME COMMON INTERVENTIONS/POLICIES

| Intervention | Instrument/Behavioral <br> Effect | System | Likely <br> Effectiveness |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Soft Drink Tax | Price |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |



Figure 10.1. Dual Systems - Dual Objectives Schematic of Food Choices

Intervention
Intervention

Instrument/Behavioral System Effect
Soft Drink Tax Price 2 Low

Intervention
Intervention
Instrument/Behavioral System Effect

Soft Drink Tax Price 2 Low
Redesign Facts Panel

## Redesigned Facts Panel

| Nutrition Facts 8 servings per container |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | 230 |
| \%ove |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| \%\% Chans Statog |  |
|  |  |
|  | Toul Canss 379 |
|  | Dieatar fiber 49 |
|  |  |
|  | Addes Sugars 09 |
|  | rotein 39 |
| ${ }^{10 \% \%}$ Vilamin D mma |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| Fosmen |  |
|  |  |



Figure 10.1. Dual Systems - Dual Objectives Schematic of Food Choices

| Intervention | Instrument/Behavioral <br> Effect | System | Likely Effectiv |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Soft Drink Tax | Price | 2 | Low |
| Redesign Facts Panel | Knowledge/Ambiguity | 2 | Low |
| Nutrition Curriculum Knowledge/Ambiguity | 2 | Low |  |
| Smart Lunchroom   <br> Design Environmental Cues,  <br> Default Effects   |  |  |  |



Figure 10.1. Dual Systems - Dual Objectives Schematic of Food Choices

| Soft Drink Tax | Price | 2 | Low |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Redesign Facts Panel | Knowledge/Ambiguity | 2 | Low |
| Nutrition Curriculum Knowledge/Ambiguity | 2 | Low |  |
| Smart Lunchroom <br> Design | Environmental Cues, <br> Default Effects | 1 | Higher |

## Sketch of Random Utility Based Model

Key Components:

- Household production type utility function
- "Commodities" being produced with food choice are hedonic and health
- Hedonic effect is immediate, sensory based.
- Health effect is in the future and "discounted" because of time preferences and uncertainty of health effects
- The "full price" includes out-of-pocket cost, time cost, and cognitive cost.
- System I stimuli affect hedonic component, but also time preference weight and cognitive cost.
- System II stimuli affect Health component, but also time preference weight, certainty weight, and cognitive cost.


## Sketch of Random Utility Based Model

## Conceptual Structure:

- Mediators - Channels through which variables/stimuli operate. Opening the "Black Box".
- Moderators - Factors that accentuate or attenuate the effects of variables.
- Mediators in this model for food choices are

Commodities, Discount weight, Certainty weight, Income and time constraints - price and time cost

Cognitive resources - cognitive cost

- Moderators in this model for food choices are

Education, Age, Gender, etc

Direct Frischian Net Utility Function (O'Donohue and Rabin; Ruhm)

$$
U_{i j}=\left[h\left(F_{j}\right)+\beta_{j} \bullet \rho_{j} \bullet H\left(F_{j}\right)\right]-\left(p_{j}+w_{j} t_{j}+c_{j}\right) F_{j}
$$

With System I and II Stimuli

$$
U_{i j}=\left[h\left(F_{j} ; S_{j}^{I}\right)+\beta_{j}\left(S_{j}^{I}, S_{j}^{I I}\right) \bullet \rho_{j}\left(S_{j}^{I I}\right) \cdot H\left(F_{j} ; S_{j}^{I I}\right)\right]-\left[p_{j}+w_{j} t_{j}+c_{j}\left(S_{j}^{I}, S_{j}^{I I}\right)\right] F_{j}
$$

Indirect Utility Function for Estimation with Moderators with error

$$
V_{j}=\left(S_{j}^{I}, S_{j}^{I I}, p_{j}, w_{j}, t_{j}, c_{j} ; M\right)+\varepsilon_{j}
$$

## Standard Probit RUM Implementation

$$
\operatorname{Prob}\left(V_{j}>V_{k}\right)=\Phi\left(S^{I}, S^{I I}, p, w, t, c ; M\right)
$$

## Conclusions

- The neuroeconomics, cognitive resources, and dual systems and objectives approach to thinking about food decisions is a unifying framework for analyzing both traditional and behavioral economic factors.
- Progressive programs will not only consider the content of the information being provided, but will also considered ways to reduce its cognitive load in order to make them more effective.


## Conclusions

- While one can certainly look at "derived" reduced form RUM choice models, more progress is likely to be made by exploring to what extent factors and moderators affect the mediators as this will help us better understand the decision making process.

