# What do we mean by Analytical Sociology?

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# Queen Elisabeth' visit to the LSE in 2008

► 'Professor Luis Garicano, director of research at the LSE's management department, said: 'The Queen asked me, "If these things were so large, how come everyone missed them?".'

► Letter to the Queen, signed by LSE economist Tim Besley: *"Everyone* seemed to be doing their own job properly on its own merit. (...) The failure was to see how collectively this added up to a series of interconnected imbalances over which no single authority had jurisdiction."



Mail online, Nov. 6, 2008. Guardian, July 27, 2009,

Ex-ante description/explanation of complex systems is extremely difficult!

As always, there are explanations **after** the fact. These include:

- **1. Preferences** (trivial): Institutional and individual actors want to make money!
- 2. Beliefs: Mortgage will stay low; real estate prices will increase; assed backed securities are safe and profitable investments
- **3. Opportunities** (restrictions, the rules of the game.) New financial "institutions" as "collateralized debt obligations" (CDOs), including "toxic" subprime mortgages. Rating agencies (triple AAA) understating the risk; fragile banks with low capital endowment; lack of financial regulations.

► As often, the interplay of these elements and its macro-consequences were not well understood!

# Analytic Sociology starts with these elements Key elements of a theory of social action Desires, Beliefs, Opportunities (DBO, Hedström 2005) Beliefs, Preferences, Constraints (BPC, Gintis 2007)

**Preferences** (aims, goals, desires)

**Beliefs** (assumptions about "nature" and likely choices of other actors)

**Opportunities** (budget, technology, institutions, social context)







# Key elements of a theory of social action

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But note: DBO is NOT a theory! These are just concepts and concepts alone do not constitute a theory. Not falsifiable! Desires, Beliefs, Opportunities (DBO, Hedström 2007) Beliefs, Preferences, Constraints (BPC, Gintis 2007)

► Key elements of a theory of social action

Preferences (aims, goals, desires) Beliefs (assumptions about "nature" and likely choices of other actors) Opportunities (budget, technology, institutions, social context) Context Context

#### Decision and game theory combines the elements

- **1. Risk and uncertainty:** Subjective expected utility, maximin, regret theory, bounded rationality, heuristic principles
- **2. Strategic interaction:** Equilibrium strategies, refinement of eq. strategies, evolutionary stable strategies, learning, myopic behaviour, adaptation .

#### Toolbox of behavioural decision and game theory

- **P, B, O is an overarching "umbrella"**; all micro theories make use of these concepts.
- Rational Choice (RC) is a special but important case.
- I define RC by the axioms of von Neumann-Morgenstern and Savage. Rationality is consistency with (testable) axioms, e.g. transitivity.
- By this definition, RC includes all types of preferences.
- Classical RC does not assume egoistic preferences and is open for all types of preferences (also altruistic ones).
- In this respect, the concept of "wide" RC is misleading!
- We should stick to clearly defined concepts.
- RC does not incorporate, e.g. prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky) or many other decision theories (based on different sets of axioms or assumptions).

#### Analytical Sociology: three categories of micro theories

Rationality (Definition): Consistency with axioms, e.g. transitive choices



I. **Homo oeconomicus** = selfishness, material interests (time, money), axioms of rationality (i.e. transitive preferences etc.)

II. Rational choice: consistency with axioms of rationality (i.e. transitive preferences etc.) Note: no restriction on preferences!
By definition "wide version" concerning preferences

III. **Bounded rationality:** Learning, heuristic principles, evolution

"I suggest that we should avoid intentional explanations in all but the rare cases where we have access to reliable information on the mental states of the acting individuals». (Hedström 2022)

Ironically, sounds like economist Stigler & Becker, De gustibus non est distputandum!

# "Tocqueville Paradox"



"So it would appear that the French found their condition the more unsupportable in proportion to its improvement."

(Alexis de Tocqueville, 1856: 214)

# Boudon's Competition Model Explains the Paradox

Investment decision = participating in a costly competition



Boudon 1982 [1977], Raub 1984, Hedström 2007, Berger & Diekmann 2015

## Mixed Nash Equilibrium Strategy of **Boudon's Competition Game (RC-Model)**



The gain of investment depends on other players' decisions: It is not a dominant strategy!

N = number of actorsk = number of positions n = number of investors

p = probability to invest (decision variable)

$$E(Inv.) = (1-p)^{N-1} \cdot E(Inv., n-1 = 0) + \binom{N-1}{1} p(1-p)^{N-2} \cdot E(Inv., n-1 = 1) + \binom{N-1}{2} p^2(1-p)^{N-3} \cdot E(Inv., n-1 = 2) + \dots + p^{N-1} \cdot E(Inv., n-1 = N-1) = \beta$$

Three lab experiments with small groups (Berger & Diekmann 2015) In progress: Experiment with larger

group size using Amazon Mechanical Turk



Theoretical prediction of Tocqueville paradox (red line)

Raub 1984, Berger & Diekmann 2015



### Testing the theory: Experimental Results



Boudon's RC model is falsified!

Why? Possibly wrong assumptions about preferences/beliefs.

#### What is wrong with the assumptions?

 Preferences: Instead of absolute rewards (Boudon model): relative deprivation may be more realistic. Using the Gini index yields better approximations (Berger & Diekmann 2015).

Modify the model by assuming an alternative utility function! That means consider alternative intentions! There is an interesting proposal on the extension of the utility function by a relative deprivation term (will appear in ESR soon). Here assumptions about preferences are crucial!

► Type of preferences/desires/goals/intentions are key factors in explaining the macro outcomes!

**2.** Beliefs: We found a large degree of "underinvestment" when opportunities were relatively favorably. Is "mixed equilibrium" a good approximation?

**3. Opportunities**: Is given by experimental design and not a problem here (in other models/explanations assumptions on opportunities play a key role).

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«What Merton and likeminded analysts have failed to appreciate, however, is the considerable **heterogeneity that exists in individuals' motivations**. Some may do X because of belief B, while others may do X because of belief C or desire D, and the same individual may do X for entirely different reasons at different points of time." (Hedström 2022).

# Hedström's CODA (2022)

### Micro

# Macro



P Preferences/ Desires/ Goals



B Beliefs



#### O Opportunities



### Micro

# Macro



P Preferences/ Desires/ Goals



B Beliefs

#### O Opportunities



### Micro

# Macro



Imitation, contagion: analytical sociology as a kind of social epidemiology

#### Hedström's Coda (2022)

1) Gives up the DBO concept; in particular, gives up preferences and beliefs and keeps only "O" (opportunities)

- 2) Waives game theory (leaves it to economists)
- 3) Suggests a kind of social epidemiology
- 4) Extremely restrictive concept of Analytic Sociology in contrast "preferences, beliefs, opportunities" is an umbrella concept for explanatory social sciences.
- 5) BDO is interdisciplinary; a concept unifying the social sciences (Gintis); common in economics and social psychology. CODA would cut all links to e.g. behavioral economics and social psychology.



Hedström's Coda excludes all other types of AS research! And the link to other social science disciplines.

#### Coda—The past and future of analytical sociology<sup>1</sup> Peter Hedström

"Since the field has grown considerably during these years, my reflections will only cover a small subset of the issues that analytical sociologists are concerned with, and my set of priorities for the future may not necessarily be shared by everyone." (Hedström 20220)





### Micro

# Macro





We should not discard action theory. We need all three elements for the explanation of the "mechanism" and the explanation of macro effects!

#### Beliefs and opportunities are not exogenous Beliefs and opportunities are dependent on the structure of social interaction.



# **Strategic Interaction**

#### Fundamental problems of sociological research are of strategic character

Examples:

- The emergence of **cooperation and social order**
- The dynamics of **competition and conflict**
- Social norms and the problem of sanctioning
- The impact of signals and signs on beliefs and behaviour
- Inequality of power, status, resources
- The emergence of institutions
- Social exchange and the problem of trust
- The development of **protest movements**
- The dynamics of **segregation**, herding, "bubbles"
- Social dilemmas and collective goods