The wisdom of networked crowds

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- Do they change directly from "believing X" to "believing not-X" directly, or do they first become undecided?
- Is the change of belief better modelled as a simple contagion or a complex contagion?
- Are threshold models appropriate?
- Which classes of diffusion models definitely don't work, and which are promising?

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- Independence of estimates (or even negative correlation) gives good results, but positively correlated estimates can give bad ones, in theory.
- When estimates can be revised and information about others' estimates is available, herding can occur.

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Decision-making in groups

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- Sometimes there are strategic incentives for conformity rather than correctness. We focus on the case where individual performance is incentivized and answers are objective.
- Group performance depends greatly on protocols used (for example, discussion can often hinder rather than help). The Delphi technique is a generally successful method for combining estimates allowing for iterative guesses based on feedback from the group, conveyed via a central controller.

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- We found little literature on this situation. Without the iteration and network, Condorcet's Jury Theorem and its descendants show that crowds are often wiser than their experts.
- We seek to investigate this experimentally with a view to developing more realistic models that we can analyse. In particular, we want to model undecidedness.

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What the subjects saw

Cuestion
1 out of 5
Remaining time to make your choice 14

This is iteration 2.

The percentages of your feeds who chose answers 1), 2) or 3) were 0%, 0%, 100%, respectively. Your previous answer to this question was 2. (Note: "0" means you did not answer).

Question

If it takes 5 machines 5 minutes to make 5 widgets, how long will it take 100 machines to make 100 widgets?

Options

At least 50 minutes
Less than 50 minutes
I am not sure

Novel topology creating heterogeneity in feed information



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- ► We chose a variety of questions. In particular:
 - Two were purely logical ("intellective") in nature (one from Frederick's Cognitive Reflection Test and a variant of the Wason task).
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 - One was essentially impossible without being given the correct answer (which we gave to a few subjects).

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 - Two required knowledge of facts about the world (movie actors, a common misconception about geography).
 - One was essentially impossible without being given the correct answer (which we gave to a few subjects).
- ▶ Let C, U, I be the fraction of correct, undecided, incorrect answers given at the first iteration, so 1 = C + U + I. A key property of questions seems to be trickiness, which we define as I. This is distinct from difficulty, which we define as U + I.
Difficulty and trickiness of questions



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Strong asymmetry between "I am not sure" and others



Empirical CDFs



Participants changed their answer rather often



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About 80% were tricked on some question



L The effect of question type

Finding — importance of question type

 There are large differences in answer patterns between questions.

└─ The effect of question type

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- There are large differences in answer patterns between questions.
- The higher the trickiness of the question, the worse the social learning.

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- The higher the trickiness of the question, the worse the social learning.
- Difficulty is not as important as trickiness. Learning can occur well on difficult questions.
- Logical questions elicit more changes but worse social learning.

- The effect of question type

Aggregate learning by question



Question number

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- The effect of question type

Aggregate learning by question type



Logical question indicator

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Where does the wisdom lie in the crowd?

Finding — self-awareness promotes learning

There is a clear difference in learning between those who are correct at the first iteration, those who answer wrongly, and those who admit to being undecided.

Where does the wisdom lie in the crowd?

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- This effect even occurred (to a lesser extent) in the complete topology, where everyone has the same information.
- It does not seem that the members of these groups are the same for each question, but more work is needed.

Where does the wisdom lie in the crowd?

Those who (know that they) know



Where does the wisdom lie in the crowd?

Those who know that they don't know



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Where does the wisdom lie in the crowd?

Those who don't know that they don't know



Wisdom of crowds

Our experiment

Where does the wisdom lie in the crowd?

Learning according to first answer



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- The interaction of question type and topology

Finding — effect of topology

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Let The interaction of question type and topology

Finding — effect of topology

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- Our results, in quite a different setting, seem to agree with those of Lazer & Friedman (2007) on exploration vs exploitation in optimization problems.
- Topologies promoting easy information-sharing tend to yield worse social learning for hard questions, as too little exploration occurs owing to herding.

Let The interaction of question type and topology

Learning by question and topology



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The interaction of question type and topology

Implications for modelling

 Condorcet Jury Theorem-type results where individual correctness probability is replaced by incorrectness.

The interaction of question type and topology

Implications for modelling

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- Threshold-type models for opinion change won't work directly: any model with zero weight on agent's own opinion is strongly refuted by our data.
- If p₁, p₂, p₃ are fractions of neighbours with opinions 1, 2 or "I am not sure", then threshold models use p₁ to predict answer 1 by agent. However we find that p₁ − p₂ and p₃ are much better predictors.

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- A standard setup with participants sitting at networked computers, no communication except via the experimenters. Subjects randomly assigned, topology determined by us (one of two types), nodes randomly permuted between questions.
- Standard software ORSEE used to recruit from a pool of students, zTree used to perform the experiment.

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- There are 3 possible answers: option 1, option 2 and "I am not sure". This we think is novel.
- Subjects are paid for answering correctly at the last iteration and a randomly chosen other one. They are paid 1 for correct, 0 for wrong, 0.6 for "I am not sure".
Data

Each data point is an answer to a fixed question at a specific iteration by a specific subject. We also measure time to answer and the summary of answers of the neighbours in the previous iteration.

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Data

- Each data point is an answer to a fixed question at a specific iteration by a specific subject. We also measure time to answer and the summary of answers of the neighbours in the previous iteration.
- We have 52 subjects over 4 sessions, so 2600 data points. In only 72 of these was no answer made. We discard those points for most of the analysis, leaving 2528.

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► How social influence can undermine the wisdom of crowd effect: Lorenz, Rauhut, Schweitzer, Helbing, PNAS 2011.

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Key references

- ► How social influence can undermine the wisdom of crowd effect: Lorenz, Rauhut, Schweitzer, Helbing, PNAS 2011.
- Analytical reasoning task reveals limits of social learning in networks: Rahwan, Krasnoshtan, Shariff, Bonnefon. J. R. Soc. Interface 2014.

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