

# **In favour of CSR as an extended corporate governance model: social contract, conformism and evolution**

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# CS(tk)R as an extended model of corporate governance

- **Definition:** who runs a firm (entrepreneurs, directors, managers) have responsibilities that range
  - from the fulfilment of **fiduciary duties** towards the owners
  - to the fulfilment of analogous **fiduciary duties** towards all the firm's stakeholders
- **The scope of CSR**

CSR extends the concept of fiduciary duty **from a mono-stakeholder** perspective (where the sole relevant stakeholder is the owner of the firm) **to a multi-stakeholder one** in which the firm owes fiduciary duties to *all* its stakeholders (the owners included

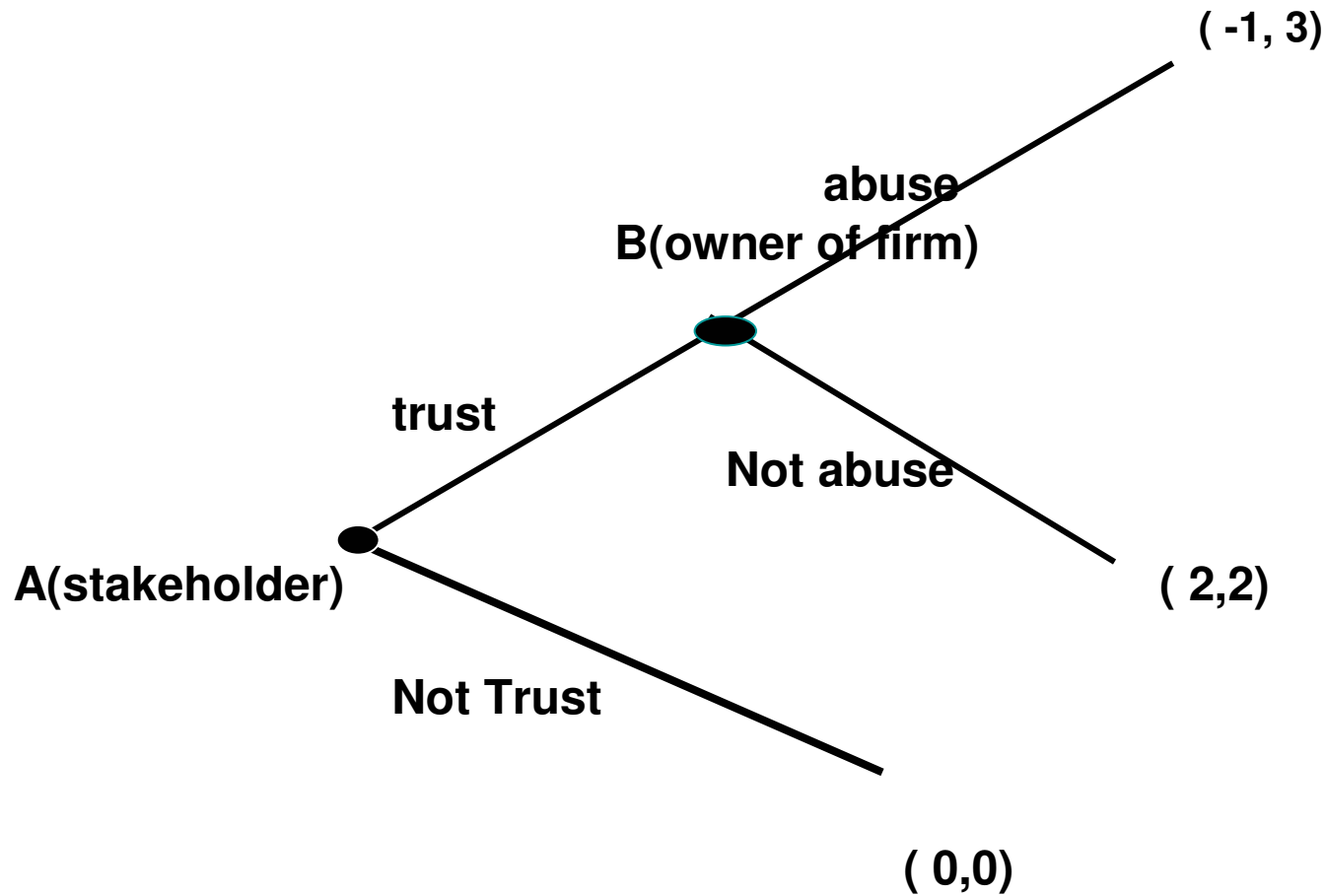
# **The economist's skeptics view: Please, do not care explicitly for CSR, ethical norms or management systems; simply enlightened self-interest will indirectly do the job in the long run**

- ❑ Caring directly for multiple objectives (and multiple fiduciary duties) would enlarge too much management discretion and reduce its accountability as a agents
- ❑ A single-argument objective-function (total shareholder value in the long run) is more manageable by limitedly rational managers and makes then more accountable
- ❑ Managing according TSV **in the long run** eventually implies to fulfill stakeholders' claims (instrumentally, not as right-holders )
- ❑ Enlightened self-interest **in the long run** provides the relevant incentive (motivation) for implicit (unintentional) CSR conduct

# *Why prof. Jensen is wrong*

- ❑ In any significant game representing the long run interaction between the firm and stakeholders **there are too many equilibria**,
- ❑ Some of these allow opportunist firms to gain higher payoffs than the perfectly fair equilibrium
- ❑ hence an enlightened self-interested firms in the long run would prefer those equilibria in which **it abuses substantially of its stakeholder trust**
- ❑ In order to select fair equilibria, an explicit normative principle (an objective function ) must be assumed
- ❑ An ex ante normative choice does not imply that there is also the ex post incentive to comply with the ex ante chosen equilibrium
  - ❑ Belief formation
  - ❑ Complex motivations

# The trust game



Only one Nash Equ  $(0, 0)$ , Trust is impossible in one-shot relationship

# Why does the trust game represent the interaction between the firm and its stakeholder?

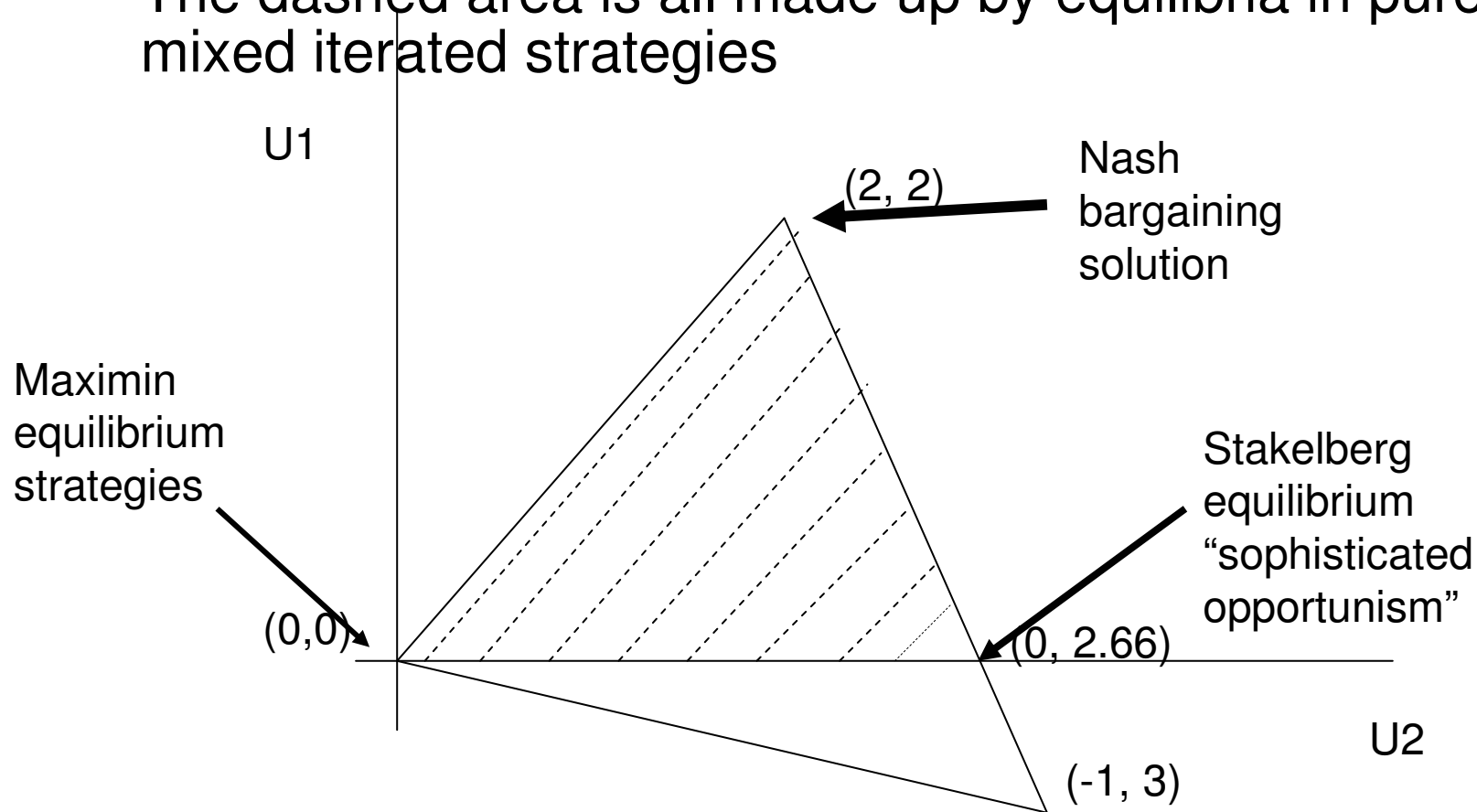
- The game represent a given control structure where the owner of the firm may exercise discretion
- By entering the stakeholder (call she Eve) make a specific investment
- the contract is incomplete , hence Eve may trust the owner of the firm (Adam)
- Adam may abuse or not of his authority
- By abusing Adam appropriates all the surplus produced by their joint specific investments

# The game of reputation

- Reputation effects are modeled by **repeating the game of trust** infinite times amongst a **long-run player (the firm)** a possibly **infinite short run players** who enter each time the game (**stakeholders**)
  - Short run players **update** their beliefs over the possible **“types”** of the long run player given an “a priori” probability
  - One (**just one**) of the long run player’s equilibrium strategies is **simulating the completely “honest” type** in order to support its reputation
  - From **some point on** the stakeholders **will trust** the firm and will start to enter, for this **expected utility exceeds not entering**
  - Then the best response of the firm is to **continue** supporting his reputation by **not abusing**

## BUT: the equilibrium set of the repeated trust game contains too many equilibria

- as in the repeated PD, if all the repeated strategies are permitted, many equilibria are possible
- The dashed area is all made up by equilibria in pure and mixed iterated strategies





# A repeated equilibrium of refined abuse

- Consider the player B-type that make a commitment on the mixed strategy  $(2/3-\varepsilon \mathbf{a}, 1/3+\varepsilon \mathbf{no-a})$  (with  $\varepsilon$  as small as possible, practically nil)
  - B may develop a reputation for being this type by playing the two pure strategies with the attached probability throughout all the repetitions of the game
- Hence player Ai necessarily enters (average positive payoff  $3\varepsilon =$  nearly zero )
  - this gives B an average expected payoff  $2.66-\varepsilon$ .
  - Then player B's best response is to stick to this type
- Hence the preferred (by B) mixed strategy equilibrium is that in which player B (the firm) abuses two third of times, appropriating the largest part of the surplus

# The normative problem

- Which justification can we give for agreeing ex ante on the fair outcome (equilibrium)?
- This would work as a Justification for the current control structure
- In order to choose (1,1) the firm must have a “stakeholder objective function” (mutual advantage not one-sided maximisation)

# The cognitive problem

- An ex ante agreement does not constraint behaviour
- Neither generate **common knowledge** about the ex post behaviour (this would require know actual ex post behaviour)
- But can give the basis for developing the relevant belief about the other player behaviour (Default reasoning)

# ***The motivation problem***

- Reputations can be of many kinds (types).
- A company may develop a reputation for abusing trust of its employees, customers, suppliers, and capital-lenders only to the extent that they are **indifferent** between maintaining their relations with the firm and withdrawing from them.
- Stakeholders activism refuses to give in to this conduct, and actively countervail hypocritical corporate conduct.
- May the recent behavioural turn in **behavioural microeconomics** help explaining these stakeholders' conducts?
- If the owner and the stakeholder agree on a principle do they develop motivations that explain that the stakeholder refuses to give in ?

# *Deduction of the “stakeholder balancing principle” from a theory of the constitutional contract*

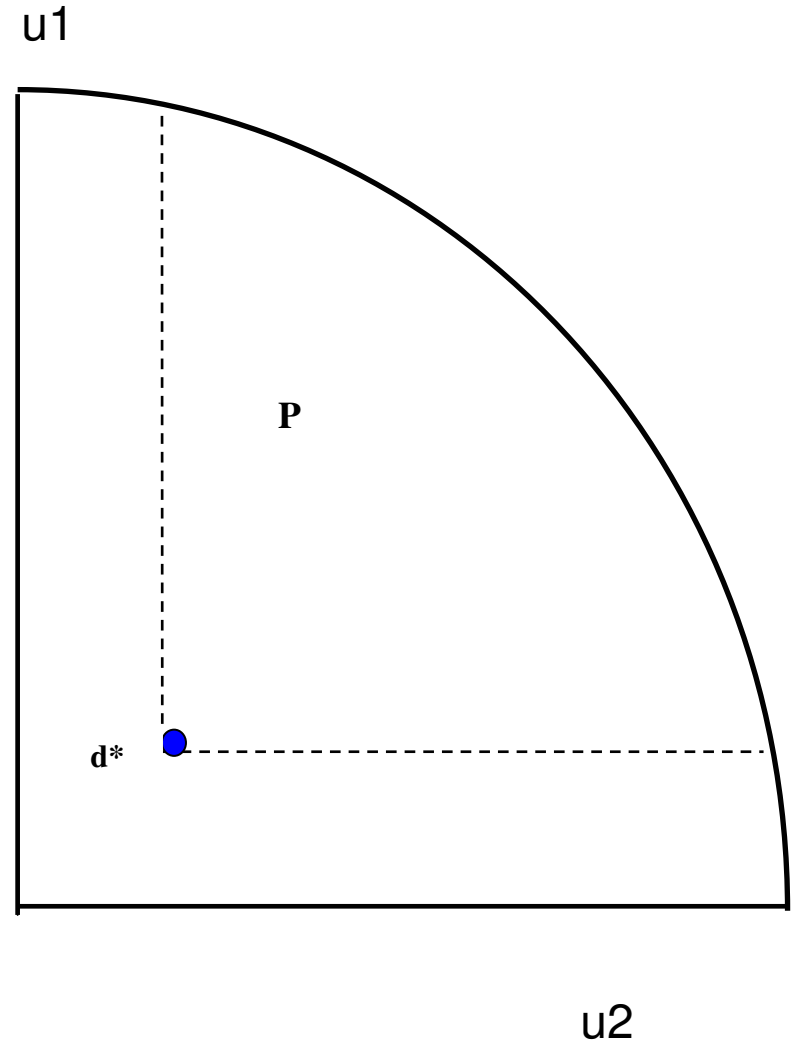
- **The model of constitutional contract of the firm rests on an analogy between**
  - **social contract theories** used to justify ‘by agreement’ both the ‘legal constitution’ (Buchanan 1979) and the mutually advantageous rules of morals (Gauthier 1986)
  - the **economic theory of efficient choice of the control structure of firms**, based on the idea of contractual incompleteness, (Williamson 1975, Grossman and Hart 1986, Hart and Moore 1990)

# *The model*

- **There is a two-step collective decision-making among potential members of the coalition S.**
  - At time  $t = 0$  the **allocation of rights** is decided (not only ownership and control but also **redress**), and this determines the control structure exerted over the productive coalition S
  - At time  $t = 1$  the right-holding individuals undertake **investment** decisions with a view to subsequent transactions
  - At time  $t = 2$  events occur which are **unforeseen** by the initial contract.
  - At time  $t = 3$  a **new bargaining** game begins, defined for each allocation of rights and for every set of investment decisions.
- **This problem is modelled as a compounded bargaining game Gc on the constitutional and post-constitutional decision,**
  - First: a **constitutional bargaining** game is carried out at time  $t = 0$ , where chosen is a set of strategies (rights) by means of which .....
  - second: a subsequent game can be played at time  $t = 3$  within the limits of the given constitution

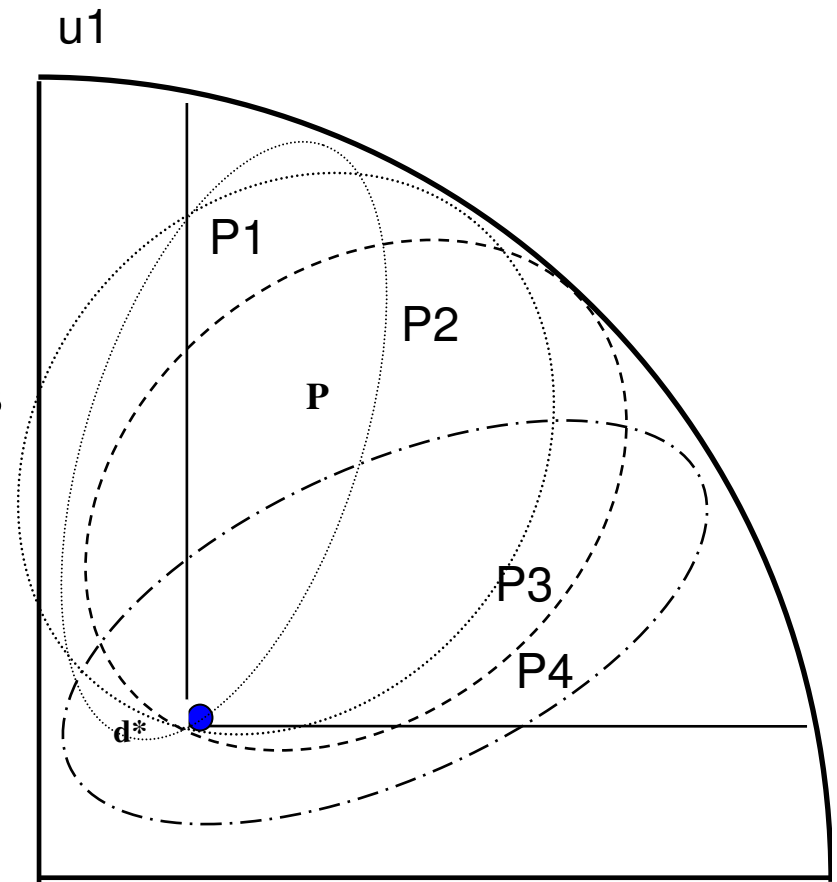
# The Gc game

- Gc outcome space  $P$  consists of the 'state of nature' equilibrium  $d^*$  + all the other 'state of nature', possible outcomes + their (linear) combinations
- Agreements over a constitutions can generate whatever outcome that were previously only virtually possible
- The state of nature is a *non-cooperative* game, whilst the Gc is a *cooperative* bargaining game
- It is a **thought experiment** the players may enter if they **want** to solve the sub-optimality of GN by agreement



# A distinctive feature of constitutional choice

- Players simply choose a **subset I** of the set of joint strategies admissible in **Gc**.
- Each subset of the Gc strategies space is a **limitation** on the players' freedom
- Thus the choice of any subset coincides with the choice of a **'constitution'**
- Each subset (constitution) in turn defines a **cooperative sub-game Gi** whose outcome space **Pi** is a subset of the outcome space P of Gc
- These are a coalition games in which the players negotiate on how **much they obtain** from cooperation according their **"constitutional rights"**



# The constitutional contract is worked out by backward induction

- As a whole the individuals take part in a sequential game
- **First:** they start by solving the post-constitutional games  $G_i$  defined for each constitution
- Given hypothetically each sub-game, the players calculate the payoff assigned to them by the *Shapley value*
- $$V_i = \sum_S [(s-1)!(n-s)! / n!] [v(S) - v(S-\{i\})]$$
- For each  $G_i$  there is a well defined solution of the coalition problem such that  $\sigma_i \geq d^*$



## Moving backwards to the initial phase of the constitutional choice....

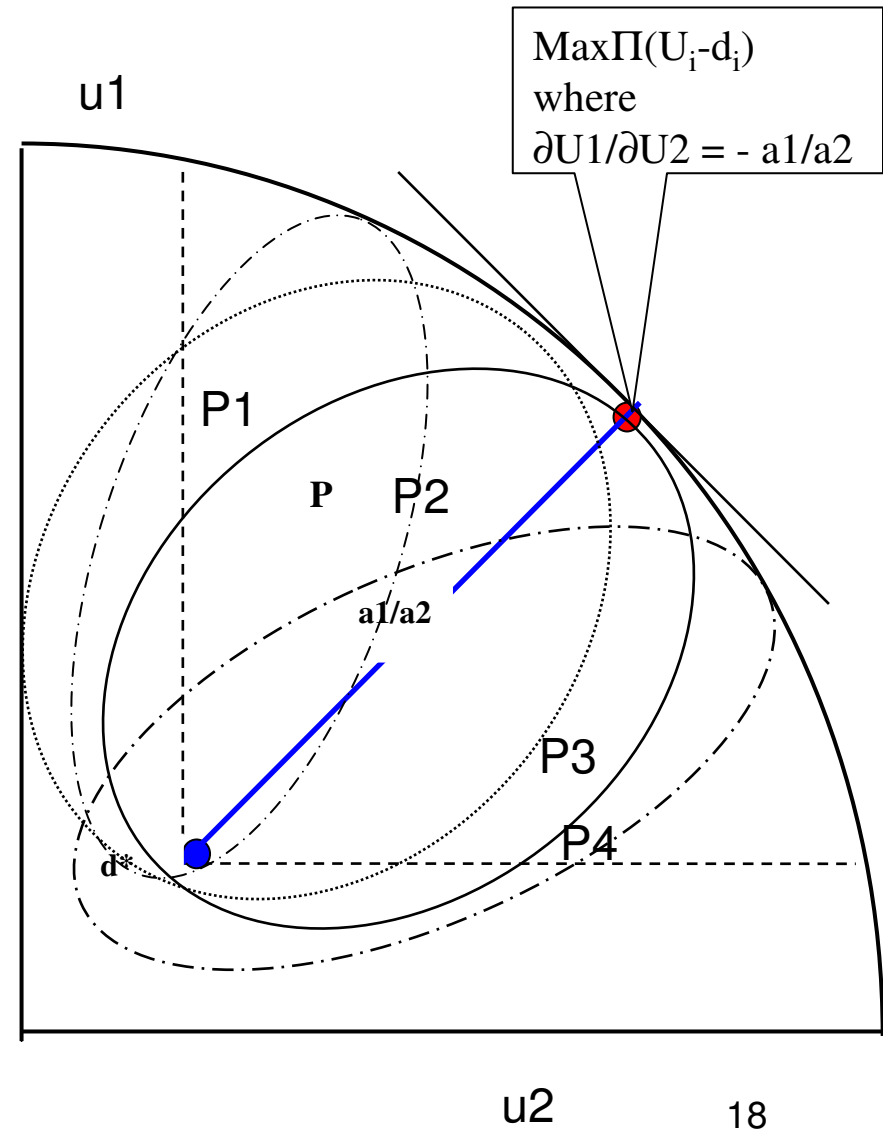
- **Second** : The Gc choice must be made unanimously by all the members of S.
- If this agreement is not reached players are doomed to play the unprofitable 'state of nature' game with solution  $d^*$
- Gc is the typical cooperative bargaining game
- The most accredited solution is Nash bargaining solution (N.B.S).

$$\text{Max} \Pi_i (U_i - d^*_i)$$

- It follows from different sets of very general postulates (Nash 1950, Harsanyi -Zeuthen 1977)

# Nash solution for the choice of the firm constitution

- In Gc the solution has to be reached within a **symmetrical** outcome space generated by all the *logically possible* subsets of the set of strategies of Gc itself
- All the points in this space are understood as **solutions for possible** post-constitutional games.
- The N.B.S selects a constitution such that the post-constitutional game will **distribute equal parts of the cooperative surplus** calculated with respect to the Gc outcome space

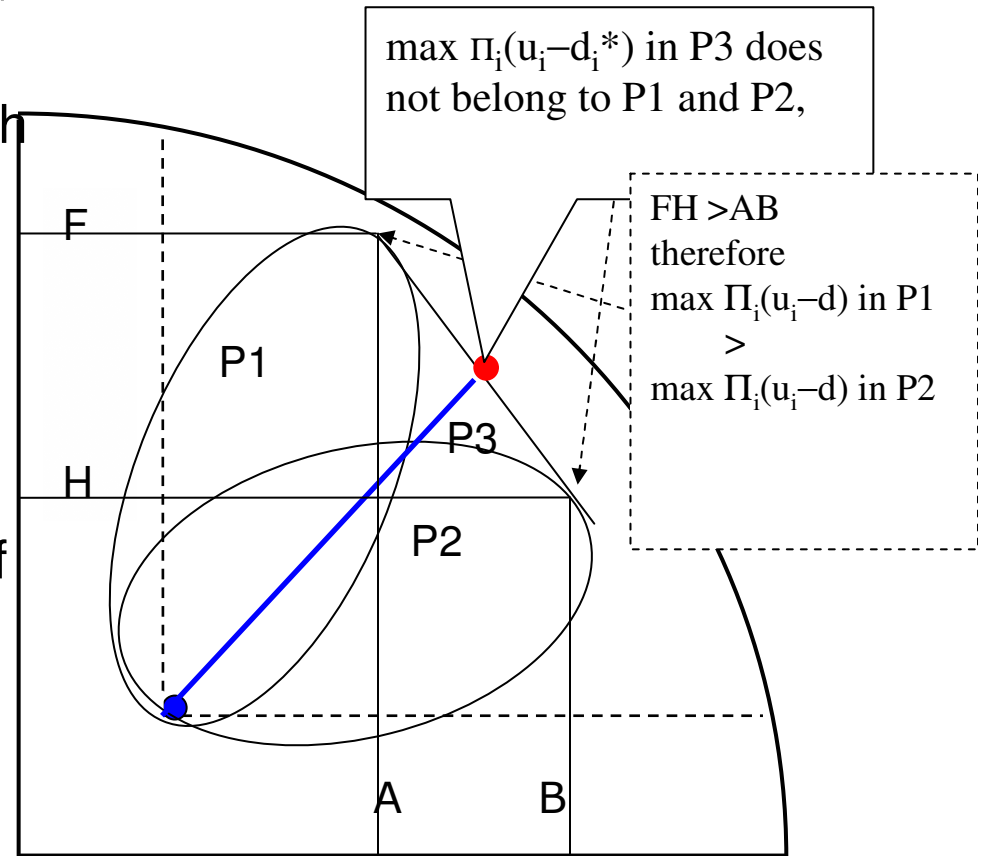


## ***Dealing with exclusive property rights***

- Thus far *every logically possible* constitution has been considered
- More *realistic* is the hypothesis that only a *certain* of restrictions on the set of all the strategies of Gc are institutionally feasible.
- Only *exclusive allocations* of property *rights* on all the physical assets of the firm are institutionally feasible.
  - **Control structures allow assigning all authority to some party, but not intermediate or equal degrees of authority,**
- the **N.B.S.** relative to the all-inclusive payoff space of **GC may not coincide** with the solution of any of the institutionally feasible sub-games, (the choice must fall within the set of *institutionally feasible solutions*)

# A two players case

- There is one feasible constitution G1 (which assigns ownership to 1) with payoff space P1, whose solution is **more efficient** than that of the alternative sub-game G2 with payoff space P2.
- Ownership **must be given to 1**
- However, 1 must still take account of 2's claims and **compensate** him.
- Hence the solution must be calculated **within the payoff space P3** generated as the **convex hull** of the combinations of outcomes associated with the feasible constitutions P1 and P2.
- This requires **utility side-payments** by which 1 compensates 2 until the cooperative surplus is distributed according to the criterion of NBS.

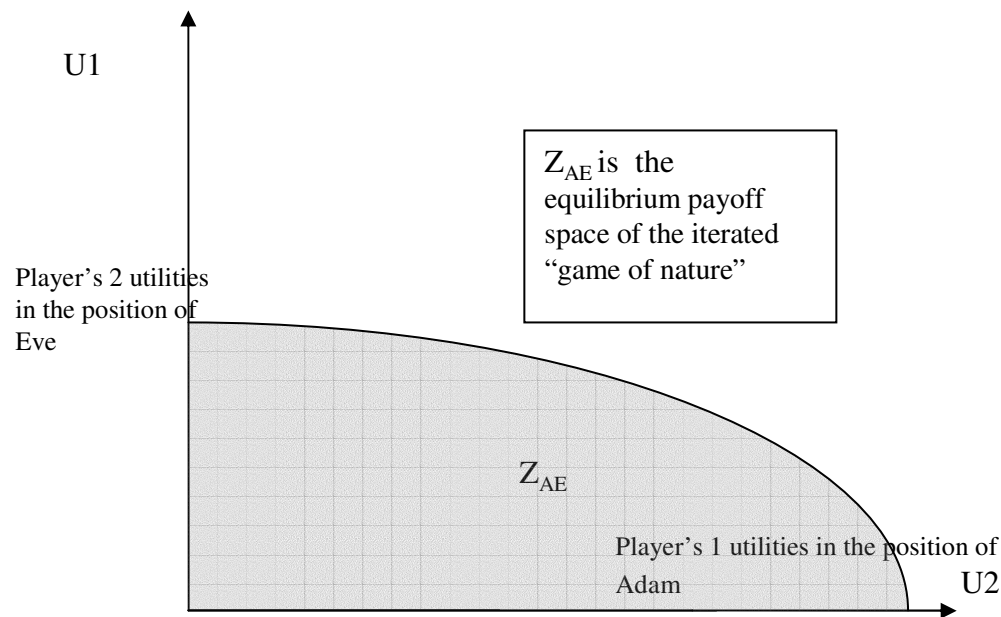


## Some difficulties in the constitutional contract of the firm

- Instability of the equitable solution based on utility side payments when only asymmetric outcome spaces are feasible (property rights)
- The convex combination of points in  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  may not correspond to any feasible outcome
- The utility side payment is an outcome corresponding to a point in the convex combination of  $P_1$  and  $P_2$ ,
- No implementation mechanisms may exist for it

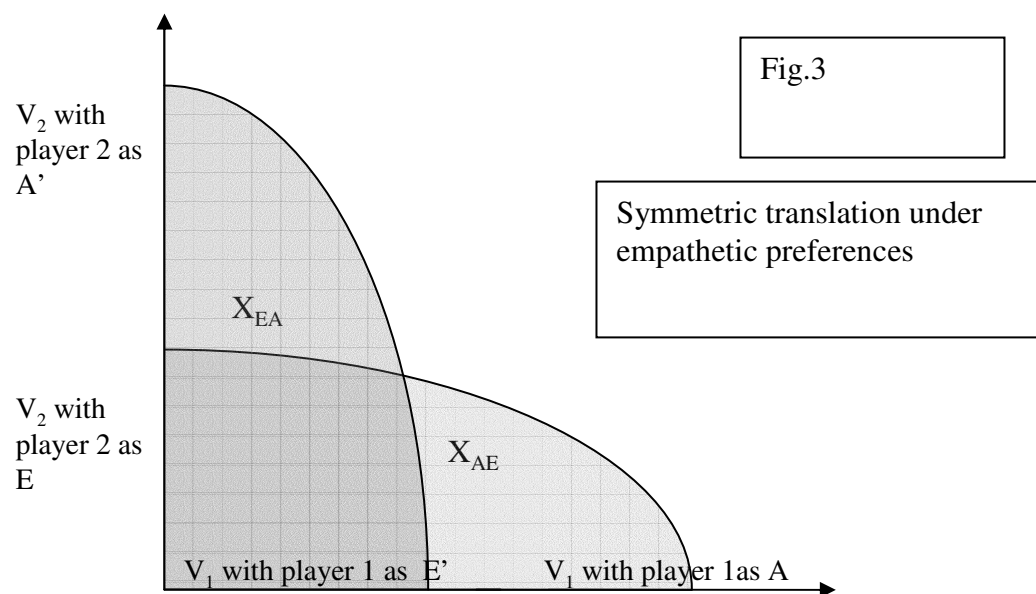
# Binmore's theory of social contract

- The Game of life is a repeated game with multiple equilibria
- “Original position” is thought experiment for stable (independent on random exchange of position) selection mechanism within the equilibrium set



# Binmore's theory :Original position and symmetry

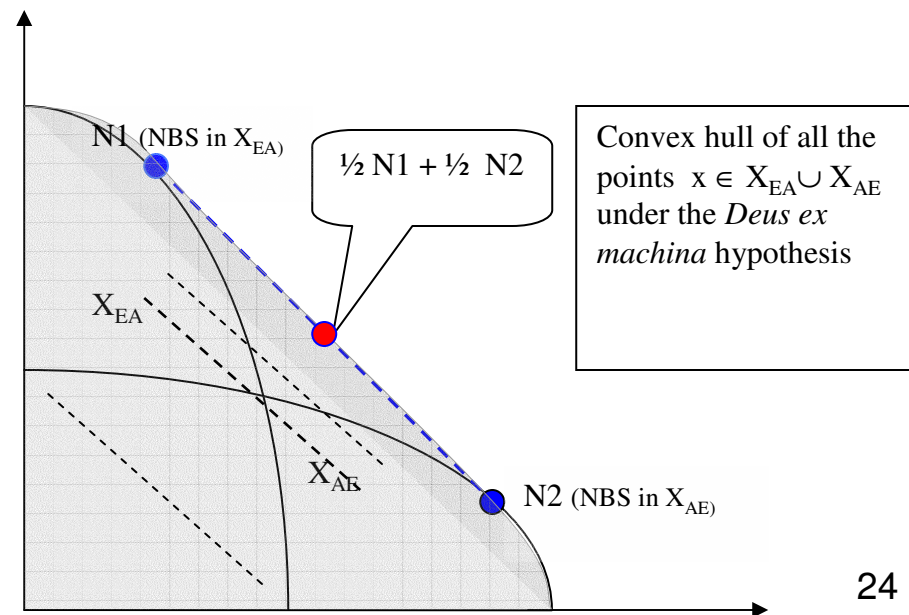
- each player consider the entire set of possible outcomes as if he/her were in the condition to occupy both the role of Adam and Eve
- translation of the payoff space XAE: For each “physical” outcome of the original game (XAE) there is a symmetric translation that generates a symmetric outcome (a point in XEA) with the players' position reversed,
- Empathetic preferences allow to use the same utility units under the translation



# Binmore's theory: God provides for a convexity

- “Veil of ignorance”: only equal probability combinations of any outcome with its symmetric translation can be considered
- **Deus ex machina hypothesis** : some external all encompassing mechanism guarantees that whichever agreement on a convex combination will be implemented
- **Results**: equal probability combinations of utilitarian solutions or NBS

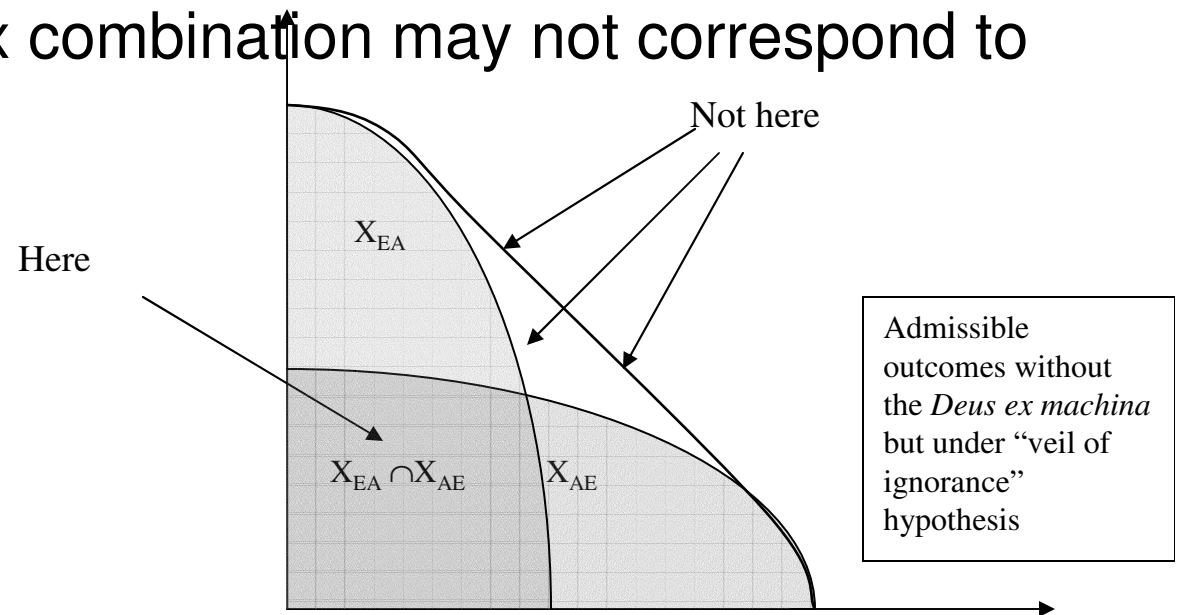
Fig.4





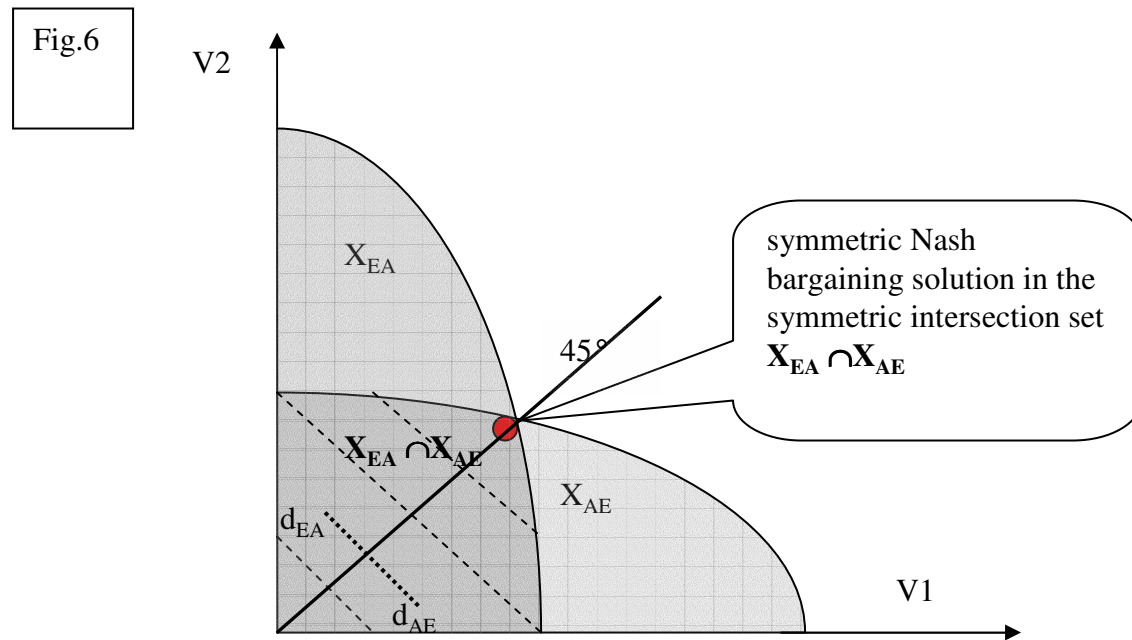
# Binmore's theory: No Deus ex machina

- Keep the veil of ignorance but skip the “Deus ex machina” : God not ready to enforce every ex ante agreement
- state of nature does not allow for an all encompassing enforcement mechanism
- need to consider of ex post stability (self-enforceability)
- Only ex post self-enforceable outcomes are feasible ex ante agreement
- What lie in the convex combination may not correspond to any feasible outcome



# Egalitarian solution

- Restriction to the symmetric intersection sets: only here convex combination corresponds to equilibria no matter the result of the lottery
- The solution must lie on the bisector
- In asymmetric space NBS predicts the egalitarian solution



## Rawls vindicated (also for non kantians)

- egalitarian solution corresponds to the Rawlsian maximin.
- Eve's payoffs are those attached to the disadvantaged player both as E or E', and they are maximised under the positions permutation,.
- egalitarianism basically depends on the requirement of *ex post stability* plus the ex ante requirement asking to make judgments under the veil of ignorance
- It is just because we cannot hypothesise an external enforcer, given empathetic preferences, that we are constrained to make an agreement within the basically symmetrical subset intersection  $XAE \cap XEA$

# Back to the constitutional choice amongst feasible governance structure of the firm

- If
  - the “veil of ignorance” hypothesis is introduced ,
  - but the *Dues ex machina* hypothesis is rejected,
  - given any set of feasible outcome spaces,

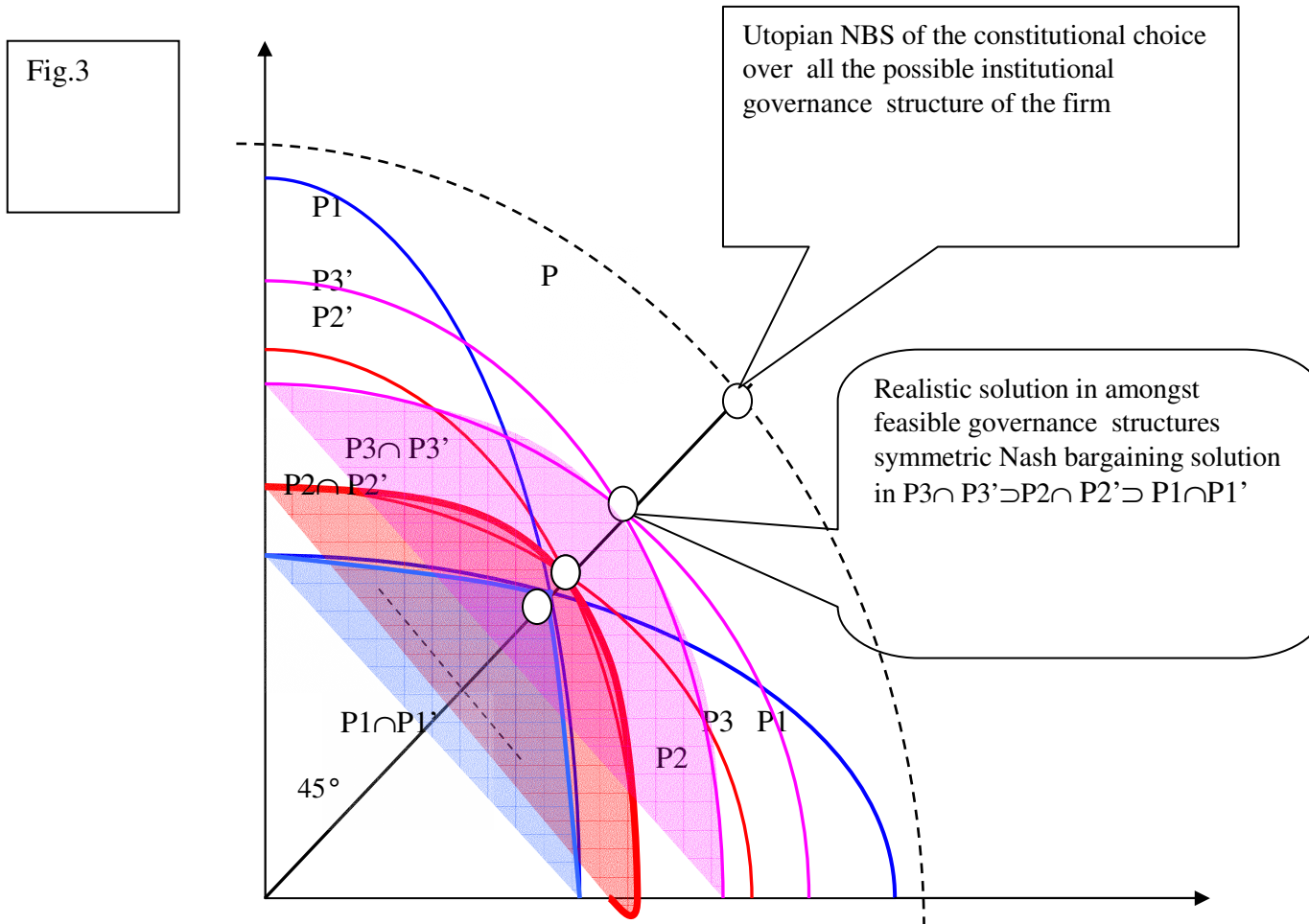
Constitutional Choice selects the firm governance structure corresponding to the bargaining sub-game with the feasible outcome space  $P^*$  such that the ***egalitarian solution*** in  $P^*$  *dominates* egalitarian solutions of the alternative feasible spaces.

Moreover

- given any two feasible outcome spaces  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  and their symmetric translations  $P_1'$  and  $P_2'$ ,
- no matter how any other characteristics of the spaces is specified,
- if  $P_1 \cap P_1' \supset P_2 \cap P_2'$

then  $\sigma_1 > \sigma_2$ , (where  $\sigma$  is the egalitarian solution within a given outcome space), and hence inclusiveness of the symmetric intersection is the only relevant characteristic

# Egalitarian NBS within symmetric intersection spaces are monotonic



# Corollaries: efficiency

- Consider the two feasible outcome spaces  $P_1$  and  $P_2$
- (i)  $P_1$  includes both the maximal utilitarian solution and the highest solution in terms of Kaldor- Hicks efficiency
- but nevertheless (ii)  $P_2$ , with its symmetric translation, generates an intersection set that includes the intersection of  $P_1$  and its own symmetric translation.
- Then any rational social contract must prefer the constitution of the firm corresponding to the outcome space  $P_2$  - no matter the efficiency properties of  $P_1$ .
- In fact under the “veil of ignorance” the Utilitarian and Kaldor-Hicks solutions are not feasible
- The feasible “intersection” of  $P_1$  and  $P_1$  is less efficient than  $P_2$ .
- Hence, equality constraints efficiency

## Corollaries: freedom of Choice and spontaneous order

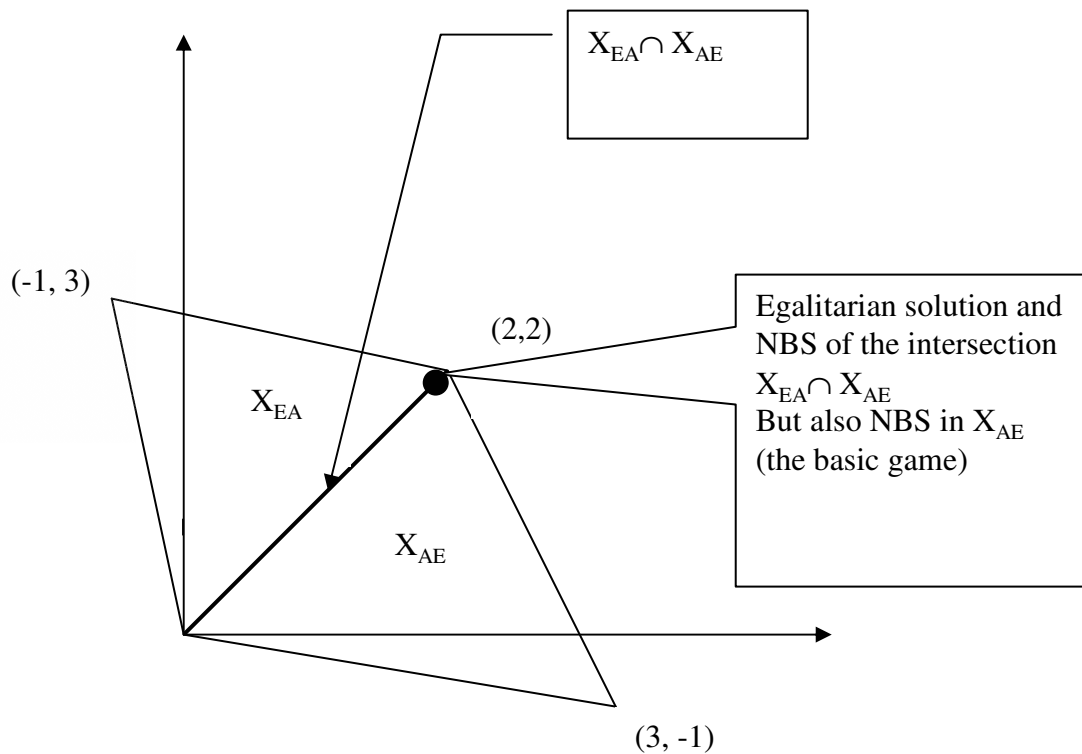
- Much new-institutional theorising about governance forms is based the implicit postulate that institution design cannot go further than prescribing outcomes interpretable as spontaneous orders.
  - normative presumption that freedom of choice must be respected
  - But also because only spontaneous orders are self-enforcing norms, such that they do not require the intervention of an external *Deus ex machina* who would constraint individual freedom
- But a mild libertarian would not reject that individual agents may enter the original position in order to make an assessment of possible spontaneous order outcomes

# Corollaries freedom of Choice and spontaneous order

- However constraining the moral point of view with care for freedom of choice and stability (no *Deus ex machina*) has dramatic consequence to the libertarian point of view:
- only governance structures allowing for egalitarian payoffs allocations are acceptable.
- Far from ostracizing the “mirage of social justice” in the small scale society constituted by stakeholders of a firm, a moderate libertarian **cannot be but egalitarian** in the selection of the firm governance structure.



# Back to the trust game: which equilibrium should be justified according to the contractarian theory?



# **Intuition: reputation would not work be without the reinforcement conformist preference and motivation**

- Many stakeholders have preferences not purely self-interested or valuing only material advantages (consequences).
  - These stakeholders also place importance on the firm's reciprocity in complying company's duties, especially if agreed upon in a public announced code.
  - any deviation from the CSR standard ( commitment), is punished more than would be the case if simple material interest were concerned.

## c) The theory of conformist preference and its formal model

### 1) General form of the overall utility function

$$V_i(\sigma) = U_i(\sigma) + \lambda_i F[T(\sigma)]$$

- $U_i$  is material utility for states  $\sigma$  (described as consequences)
- $\lambda_i$  is an **exogenous psychological** parameter (a **disposition**) that expresses how important the ideal component is within the motivational system of player  $i$
- $T$  is a fairness (to be specified) principles defined over states  $\sigma$
- $F$  is a function (to be specified) of the fairness principle expressing both the agent's conditioned conformity and other individuals' reciprocal conformity to  $T$

## 2) The exact form of the fairness-function $T$ ,

represents formally the ideal (the solution of the game under “original position” or ideal game)

=> **Contractarian characterization of the principle  $T$ : Nash bargaining solution, i.e. *Nash social welfare function  $N$***

$$T(\sigma) = N(U_1, \dots, U_N) = \prod_{i=1}^N (U_i - c_i)$$

- A contractarian principle reflects **non consequentialist** reasons to act
- the principle of fairness is impartially agreed on the basis of the different agent-relative reasons to act of each players

### 3) Definition of the two personal indexes of conformity (to specify $F$ )

a) Player  $i$  personal index of conditional conformity (varying from 0 to -1) :

$$f_i(\sigma_i, b_i^1) = \frac{T(\sigma_i, b_i^1) - T^{MAX}(b_i^1)}{T^{MAX}(b_i^1) - T^{MIN}(b_i^1)}$$

$b_{i\text{action}}^1$  = belief of player  $i$  over player  $j$ 's

$T^{MAX}(b_i^1)$  = maximum attainable by the function  $T$  given  $i$ 's belief over  $j$ 's strategy,

$T^{MIN}(b_i^1)$  = minimum attainable by the function  $T$  given  $i$ 's belief over  $j$ 's strategy,

b) Estimation function of player  $j$  index of reciprocal conformity to the ideal (varying from 0 to -1)

$$\tilde{f}_j(b_i^1, b_i^2) = \frac{T(b_i^1, b_i^2) - T^{MAX}(b_i^2)}{T^{MAX}(b_i^2) - T^{MIN}(b_i^2)}$$

$b_i^2$  = player  $i$ 's second order belief over the belief of player  $j$  over the choice of player  $i$

#### 4) The Ideal component of the utility function

- These indexes are compounded in the following **ideal component** of the utility function:

$$\lambda_i \left[ 1 + \tilde{f}_j (b_i^2, b_i^1) \right] \left[ 1 + f_i (\sigma_i, b_i^1) \right]$$

- Hence The level of j's adhesion to a moral principle, as estimated by  $i$ , represents the **marginal incentive** for  $i$  to act according to the conformist motivation

- if  $i$  completely conforms and expect that  $j$  conforms too, then the value of its ideal utility is

$$\lambda \times \mathbf{1} \times \mathbf{1} = \lambda$$

- If  $i$  not completely conform and expect not complete conformity on the part of  $j$ , then ideal utility is

$$(\mathbf{1-x}) (\mathbf{1-y}) \lambda < \lambda$$

- If conformity is nil at least for one player then ideal utility is

$$(\mathbf{1-1})(\mathbf{1-y}) \lambda = \mathbf{0}$$

# How conformist preferences prevent refined abuse

- To be parsimonious, assume that only stakeholders adhere to the ideal of the socially responsible firm
- This presupposes that the firm has at least signalled a commitment to such an ideal, but *not necessarily* that it has developed conformist preferences for reciprocal compliance with it.
- Hence set to 0 the  $\lambda_B$  parameter in the manager's or entrepreneur's utility functions (weight of conformity within player B utility function)
- Stakeholder A on his part has a positive weight  $\lambda_A$

# Beliefs

Player A's relevant first-order and second-order beliefs are:

$$b_A^1 = (2/3\mathbf{a}, 1/3 \mathbf{no-a}), \quad \text{in short } (2/3, 1/3)$$

$$b_A^2 = \mathbf{e}, \quad b_A^2 = \mathbf{no-e}$$

We define player A's overall utility function for two situations

- A) when she believes that player B will abuse with probability 2/3 and not abuse with probability 1/3, while she has the second-order belief that player B predicts that **she (player A) will enter**.
  
- B) *When she* believes that player B will play the mixed strategy (2/3, 1/3), but she will **not** play the entry strategy, so that her second-order belief is that she herself **does not enter** and the firm predicts that she will not enter (formally  $b_A^2 = \mathbf{no-e}$ ).



# Calculating player A conformity indexes

Case A\* : player A strategy  $\mathbf{e}$ , given beliefs  $(2/3, 1/3)$

$$\frac{T(\mathbf{e}, (2/3, 1/3)) - T^{MAX}(2/3, 1/3)}{T^{MAX}(2/3, 1/3) - T^{MIN}(2/3, 1/3)} = 0$$

Case A\*\* : player A strategy  $\mathbf{no-e}$ , given beliefs  $(2/3, 1/3)$

$$\frac{T(\mathbf{no-e}, (2/3, 1/3)) - T^{MAX}(2/3, 1/3)}{T^{MAX}(2/3, 1/3) - T^{MIN}(2/3, 1/3)} = 0$$

- these 0-levels of the conformity are better understood as degrees of deviation from complete compliance
- In both the A\* and A\*\* cases, player B's mixed strategy  $(2/3, 1/3)$  nullifies any effort that player A might make to enhance the level of ideal attainment. Whatever player A does, in fact, the level of  $T$  is always 0.
- Thus A has **no responsibility** for any deviation from the maximum feasible level of  $T$ , given B's choice.

## Calculating Player B expected conformity index

Case B\*: strategy  $(2/3, 1/3)$ , used by player B, given his belief that A chooses **e**

$$\frac{T((2/3, 1/3), \mathbf{e}) - T^{MAX}(\mathbf{no-a}, \mathbf{e})}{T^{MAX}(\mathbf{no-a}, \mathbf{e}) - T^{MIN}(\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{e})} = -\frac{4}{7} = -0.57$$

- Here B's strategy implies a marked deviation from maximal conformity conditional on A's behaviour of entering.
- The deviation can be *imputed entirely to player B's* decision to play his mixed strategy instead of his **no-a** strategy.
- In this case player B does not conform with the ideal at a significant level, and this results in the negative value assumed by his expected conformity index.

## Player B's (expected) conformity index (2)

Case B<sup>\*\*</sup>: strategy (2/3, 1/3) used by player B, when he believes that A chooses **no-e**, and player A believes that B believes it

$$\frac{T((2/3, 1/3), \mathbf{no-e}) - T^{MAX}(\mathbf{no-a}, \mathbf{no-e})}{T^{MAX}(\mathbf{no-a}, \mathbf{no-e}) - T^{MIN}(\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{no-e})} = 0$$

- Given his belief **no-e**, player B cannot significantly deviate from the ideal, hence he is not accountable for a deviation from the maximal ideal's value given **no entry** by player A.
- Comparing B<sup>\*</sup> and B<sup>\*\*</sup> shows that the *intention* to exploit player A's acquiescence *implies that B has a significant responsibility* for a deviation from (non-conformity with) the ideal **only conditional** on the expectation that in effect player A will give in

## Player A overall utility function

- Player A's overall utility values for the two alternative strategies **e** and **no-e** respectively, given that he predicts player B will use strategy  $(2/3, 1/3)$  :

- Paying “**enter**”: the material payoff is (practically) 0, whereas her conformist utility is based on indexes  $A^*$  and  $B^*$ .

- Thus player A's overall utility for strategy **e** is

$$V_A(\mathbf{e}, b_A^1, b_A^2) = 0 + \lambda_A(1+(-0.57))(1 + 0) = 0.43\lambda_A$$

- Playing “**no enter**” : her material payoff is again 0, whereas conformist utility is given by indexes  $A^{**}$  and  $B^{**}$ ,

- Thus player A's overall utility for strategy **e** is

$$V_A(\mathbf{no-e}, b_A^1, b_A^2) = 0 + \lambda_A(1+0)(1 + 0) = \lambda_A$$

# A straightforward conclusion

- Player A with conformist preferences refuses to give in to the mixed equilibrium strategy of the repeated trust game.
- Granted that  $\lambda_A$  is positive, this result typically follows from the opportunistic nature of player B's mixed strategy type
- the logic of strategic choice under conformist preferences reverses the result of standard strategic calculation

# A more complete picture

- a complete explanation of the endogenous observance of voluntary CSR norms would be based on the analysis of the equilibria emerging from an evolutionary trust game
- Hp1: the firms population, from which players are selected at random, is a mix of types:
  - **enlightened self-interested idiosyncratically committed to a code of ethics with  $\lambda = 0$**
  - **sophisticated opportunists (playing the mixed equilibrium strategy),  $\lambda = 0$**
  - **conformist ideology-driven firms (with  $\lambda \sim 1$ )**
- Hp 2: stakeholders are selected from a population also composed by a mix of types
  - **just endowed with materialistic preferences or**
  - **endowed with ideal - conformist preferences.**
- The result may be quite counterintuitive to the economists' wisdom that cooperation emerge from enlightened self-interest.

# An insight about evolution

- ❑ When there are just enlightened-egoist firms and consequentialist stakeholders:
  - **A cooperative evolutionary equilibrium emerges based on reputation**
- ❑ By mutation, sophisticated opportunist firms now enter:
  - **the equilibrium of refined abuse emerges (enlightened egoists are displaced by sophisticated opportunists)**
- ❑ By mutation, conformist stakeholders now enter:
  - **An equilibrium emerges whereby sophisticated opportunist simulate enlightened egoists**
- ❑ Last, by a new mutation, conformist firms enter:
  - They are more efficient in accumulating reputation
    - They give a more reliable initial signal about the the honest type
    - Their opportunity cost for cooperation are lower for, given internal expectations of reciprocal conformity, they gain psychological utility which countervails a lower discount rate for future payoffs (shadow of the future)
  - **A psychological equilibrium of reciprocity emerges**

# Economists may be wrong in predicting ethical behavior because it is profitable in the long run

- ❑ There are two main basins of attraction separating types
- ❑ In the region where materialist STKs prevail, sophisticated firm fare better than enlightened (equally well than the conformist)
- ❑ in the region where there is a sufficient number of conformist STKs, conformist firms displace both enlightened and sophisticated opportunists
- ❑ **Result:** those firm who gain intrinsic utility from reciprocal conformity are better utility maximiser, an then they occupy the ecological niche before retained by the enlightened
- ❑ Enlightened egoists would disappear in the long run.