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Sustainability of common pool resources: A field-experimental approach

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Abstract

Sustainability has become a key issue in managing natural resources together with growing concerns for capitalism, environmental and resource problems. We hypothesize that ongoing modernization of competitive societies, which we call “capitalism,” affects human nature and preference in utilizing common pool resources, further endangering the sustainability. To test the hypothesis, this paper designs and implements a dynamic common pool resource game in the two types of Nepalese fields: (i) rural (non-capitalistic) and (ii) urban (capitalistic) areas. We find that a proportion of prosocial people in the urban is lower than that in the rural, and urban people deplete resources more quickly than rural people. The composition of proself and prosocial people in a group and the degree of capitalism (rural vs. urban) are crucial in the sense that an increase of prosocial members in a group and the rural dummy positively affect resource sustainability by approximately 65 % and by 45 %, respectively. Overall, this paper concludes that when societies move toward more capitalistic environments, sustainability of common pool resources tends to be lost through changes in people’s preferences, social norms, customs and assumptions for other people. It implies that people may gradually be losing their coordination abilities for social dilemmas of resource sustainability in capitalistic societies.

Key Words: sustainability, dynamic common pool resource, capitalism, field experiment

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Nomenclature

- CPR Common pool resource
- NPR Nepalese rupee
- SD Standard deviation
- SVO Social value orientation

1 Introduction

Capitalism has become a dominant social regime over the last several decades (Piketty, 2014). Economic theory claims that goods and services are “efficiently” produced, allocated and consumed through competitive markets in capitalism, and this efficiency property is a main engine for economic growth (Schumpeter, 1942). However, some issues appear not to work in reality as theory predicts. For instance, intra and intergenerational allocations of environmental goods and natural resources are proven to be inefficient under capitalism illustrated by climate change and depletion of world forests. Therefore, sustainability of natural resources has become a key issue with a growing concern for capitalism.

When natural resources are provided as commons, they are usually called common pool resources (hereafter, CPR). In the CPR allocations, people are known to face a coordination problem of social dilemmas and a sustainability problem of depletion (Gordon, 1954, Hardin, 1968). Ostrom (1990) states that people tend to lose their ability for coordination in social dilemmas unless they are facilitated by communications and monitoring. Interestingly, however, Fruteau et al. (2013) have recently demonstrated that animals such as vervet monkeys overcome social dilemma problems without any intervention. An open question to address in this paper is whether or not humans have coordination abilities to solve the dilemma and to manage CPRs in a sustainable manner.

Economists have long considered the CPR dilemmas using experimental methods. Walker and Gardner (1992) is a pioneering work to study CPRs in experimental settings, and further studies have been conducted by many other researchers. Walker and Gardner (1992), Keser and Gardner (1999), Cardenas and Ostrom (2004) and Janssen et al. (2011) have studied CPR games in laboratory experiments that mimic some environments observed in the field such as probabilistic destruction of commons and strategically asymmetric situations. Cardenas and Ostrom (2004), Velez et al. (2009) and Fehr and Leibbrandt (2011) examine decision-making processes and preferences of actual resource users for CPRs through field experiments. All these studies adopt static or repeated-game settings, and conclude that some external devices such as information provision

28 as well as other-regarding preferences are key to the solution of CPR dilemmas.

29 Another group of works considers dynamic evolution of resources in the CPR games. Herr
30 et al. (1997), Mason and Phillips (1997), Bru et al. (2003) and Kimbrough and Vostroknutov (2015)
31 explicitly incorporate resource dynamics in the CPR experiments, and analyze how the dynamic
32 nature of resources makes a difference with static or repeated cases. These studies demonstrate that
33 the regeneration processes of CPRs critically affect the sustainability of resource use. Built upon
34 these studies, Fisher et al. (2004) and Botelho et al. (2014) introduce intergenerational allocation
35 and process uncertainty of resource dynamics, respectively, demonstrating that the one-way nature
36 of intergenerations and process uncertainty deteriorate the sustainability.

37 Ostrom (2009) has claimed that people can self-organize sustainable resource use in specific
38 socio-ecological environments that enable interpersonal communication, monitoring and leader-
39 ship across resource users. She suggests an importance of identifying socio-ecological factors to
40 enhance self-organization rather than of imposing top-down rules. Accordingly, there have been
41 several recent works that report how socio-ecological environments influence people's preference
42 and actual behaviors in the field. Ockenfels and Weimann (1999) and Brosig-Koch et al. (2011)
43 study people's cooperative behavior in the Eastern and Western Germany, considering the different
44 economic and social histories. They find that subjects from the Eastern part act more selfishly
45 than that of the Western part. Leibbrandt et al. (2013) show that fishermen in individualistic lake-
46 based fishery are more competitive than those in collective sea-based fishery, suggesting that daily
47 practices with other people in workplace affect human behavior and preference.

48 Sustainability of natural resources has been claimed to be endangered all over the world, as
49 many countries are moving toward more competitive environments. Since socio-ecological envi-
50 ronments are established to affect human nature, it is very crucial to analyze how ongoing modern-
51 ization of competitive environments, i.e., "capitalism," characterizes human preference, behavior
52 and sustainability of natural resource use. Despite its importance, there have been no works to
53 address these issues and thus this paper tackles how the degree of capitalism in societies affects
54 people's prosociality, behavior and CPR sustainability. To this end, we design and institute dy-

55 namic CPR experiments in the two types of Nepalese fields, urban (capitalistic) and rural (non-
 56 capitalistic) areas. Nepalese fields were chosen as study sites, because the country possesses a
 57 wide gap in life style between the rural and the urban and is the most appropriate to control the
 58 degree of capitalism in the experiments.

59 **2 Experimental details**

60 **2.1 Dynamic CPR games**

61 Resource dynamics is incorporated in the field experiments of a CPR game in such a way that
 62 subjects with limited education understand.¹ A group of four subjects is formed where each subject
 63 knows the group size, but not the identity of members in a group. Subjects are also informed that
 64 group members remain the same with anonymity until the game ends. Suppose that the resource
 65 stock at the beginning of every period is denoted by x_t where the subscript indicates time periods
 66 of $t = 1, 2, \dots$, and an initial stock size, x_1 , of 120 is given. At the beginning of each period t ,
 67 subject i is asked to decide his/her individual harvest $y_{i,t}$. The escapement, s_t , is defined to be
 68 $s_t = x_t - \sum_{j=1}^4 y_{j,t}$ where $\sum_{j=1}^4 y_{j,t}$ is the total group harvest at period t . If $s_t \geq 0$, then the
 69 individual payoff is going to be $\pi_{i,t} = y_{i,t}$. If $s_t < 0$, the individual payoff, $\pi_{i,t}$, is assumed to
 70 become $y_{i,t} = \frac{x_t}{4}$ for simplicity.²

The escapement, s_t , is considered to be a remaining stock at every period t and determines the evolution of resource dynamics. The resource stock dynamics is represented by

$$x_{t+1} = \begin{cases} 1.5s_t = 1.5 \left(x_t - \sum_{j=1}^4 y_{j,t} \right) & s_t > 0 \\ 0 & s_t \leq 0. \end{cases}$$

¹Many subjects do not enter into junior-high or high schools, and their education is lower than those in developed countries.

²There may be other ways to split the resource when depletion takes place. However, this is the simplest way to let subjects understand the rule of games in the field based on pilot testing. That is to split the resource equally when depletion occurs.

71 In this model, the next-period stock x_{t+1} grows up to 50% increase of the escapement, and the
72 game continues to the next period if $s_t > 0$. Otherwise, it is terminated.

73 To reflect a realistic situation in managing resources, we incorporate time discounting in the
74 dynamic CPR games. We use total 20 chips in a box where 19 chips are white and 1 chip is red.
75 The game can move to the next period when a representative of members in each group picks one
76 chip and the chip turns out to be white. If a red chip is picked, the game is terminated for that
77 group. This situation resembles the discount factor of $\rho = 0.95$ in time preference. In summary,
78 our CPR games are terminated when a group depletes the resource, i.e., $s_t \leq 0$, or the red chip is
79 picked by a group representative. With this setup, we are interested to identify how many periods
80 each group can sustain the resource use in the games. The period at which each group terminates
81 the game by the chip or resource depletion is called the “terminal period” in this paper. Since
82 our main interest is to measure sustainability of CPR utilization in a dynamic setting, the terminal
83 period is considered a measurement for the degree of sustainability in this field experiment.

84 **2.2 Experimental procedure**

85 The dynamic CPR field experiments were conducted at two kinds of Nepalese fields. Kath-
86 mandu and Pokhara districts are urban, while Chitwan and Parbat districts are rural (figure 1).
87 Kathmandu and Pokhara districts are the first and second largest cities in Nepal, respectively, and
88 the most highly populated areas where a majority of people engage in businesses, service and gov-
89 ernment sectors. Chitwan and Parbat are rural areas consisting of many small villages and less
90 populated where most people engage in agriculture and forestry for their livelihood. To main-
91 tain random assignment of groups, subjects were chosen from different cities and villages within
92 each district with cooperation of local NGOs and offices for each session. With this approach, we
93 avoided the situations where participants in each session know each other since they come from
94 the same village or city.

95 [Figure 1 about here.]

96 A total of 528 subjects participated in this experiment.³ Accordingly, the 67 groups and 65
97 groups in the urban and rural areas were formed. In each session, 5 ~ 8 groups were gathered
98 together in one place of the fields, and subjects are asked to fill up pre- and post-questionnaires
99 for collecting socio-demographic information and social preference, and to go through the experi-
100 ments. On the average, one session took 3 hours. After subjects finish pre-questionnaires, exper-
101 imenters present the rule of the games. In the presentation, subjects were told that the CPR game
102 will continue to the next period as far as the resource is not depleted, and the red chip is not picked
103 by the group representative. We explain the resource and its dynamics using neutral terminologies.
104 For instance, the resource stock and escapement are expressed as “tokens” and “remaining tokens”
105 in that period, and the “next-period tokens” grow to 50 % increase of the remaining tokens. We
106 have double-checked whether each subject understands the fundamental rules of our CPR games.⁴
107 There were neither computers nor internet connections in the field. Therefore, everything was
108 managed manually by experimenters and hiring research assistants for each session.

109 [Table 1 about here.]

110 Subjects are told that they cannot communicate with each other during the period of experiment
111 and get initial 120 tokens in each group. At the beginning of each period, subjects are first asked
112 to make an individual decision of how many tokens they take. After the individual decisions, they
113 are informed of the group harvest of $\sum_{j=1}^4 y_{j,t}$ and the remaining tokens. However, they are not
114 informed of members’ individual harvests in the same group. Unless the remaining tokens are
115 zero, a representative in each group is randomly selected to pick one chip. When the chip is white,
116 the group moves to the next period with the information of the next-period tokens. To identify
117 social preferences of subjects, we conducted social value orientation (hereafter, SVO) experiments
118 called “Slider Method” in our questionnaires (Murphy et al., 2011). Subjects are paid real money
119 based on the cumulative payoffs of all their decisions in the experiments including SVO and CPR
120 games. Subjects are paid approximately US \$2 in the local currency as a show-up fee. At the end

³Given time, budget constraints and geographic nature, this is the maximum number of subjects we could collect.

⁴However, when the game continued more than 20 periods, we simply stopped the game due to time and money constraints.

121 of the session, experimental rupees were converted to real Nepalese rupee (hereafter, NPR) at the
122 rate of 1 experimental token = NPR 2, with each subject earning a minimum of NPR 300 and
123 a maximum of NPR 3000 for an average of NPR 500 which is equivalent to approximately \$5.
124 Finally, the experimental design is summarized in table 1.

125 This CPR game in the field experiments attempts to capture key factors of resource sustain-
126 ability in the simplest ways, reflecting some fundamental natures of renewable resource in a real
127 world. More specifically, they are (i) strategic uncertainty with anonymity, (ii) dynamic evolution
128 of resources and (iii) time preference. The game can be considered a resource utilization problem
129 of multiple players in an infinite horizon, and possesses the following predictions of Nash equilib-
130 rium and Pareto optimality. The Markov perfect Nash equilibrium is that each subject harvests the
131 resource up to exhaustion at an initial period. Pareto optimal allocation is that each subject waits
132 without any harvesting until the last period at which he/she supposes “the game is over.” Say, the
133 last period is $n \gg 0$. At last period n , each subject should harvest all at once after the resource
134 grows large enough.⁵

135 **3 Experimental results**

136 We report a series of the questionnaires and experimental results, focusing on the rural and
137 urban settings with 65 and 67 groups of 260 and 268 subjects, respectively. Table 2 provides
138 the summary statistics of subjects’ socio-demographic information and experimental results. In
139 the rural, 38 % of the participants are male with an average age of 34.5 years, while the urban
140 consists of 58 % male with an average age of 24.5 years. This reflects the fact that many young
141 males in the rural areas migrate to the urban areas or even to foreign countries for employment.
142 With respect to education, more than 50 % of subjects in the urban have undergraduate degree in
143 universities (16 years of schooling as the median in table 2), while subjects in the rural possess
144 10 years of schooling as the median. Regarding occupation, 90 % and 27 % of subjects in the

⁵This becomes Pareto optimal because the regeneration of the renewable resource ($= 1.5$) is higher than the discount factor ($= 0.95$) in the experiment.

145 rural and the urban engage in agriculture, respectively, implying that more than 60 % of urban
146 subjects work in non-agricultural sectors such as such as business, service and government sectors.
147 Household income is higher in the urban than in the rural. Overall, the summary statistics of socio-
148 demographic information in table 2 reflect the fact that urban areas are more capitalistic, providing
149 non-agricultural employment and opportunities such as education. On the other hand, in the rural
150 areas, people are less educated and engage in agriculture and forestry.

151 [Table 2 about here.]

152 Table 2 reveals subjects' social value orientations between the rural and the urban. First, a
153 significant difference in social value orientation can be seen in the summary statistics of the "SVO"
154 variable, showing that 76 % of subjects in the rural are prosocial, while only 39 % of subjects
155 are prosocial in the urban. Accordingly, this difference directly affects the group composition of
156 members based on SVOs between the rural and the urban. In the rural, an average number (median)
157 of prosocial members in a group is 3.03 (3), but it (median) is 1.57 (1) in the urban. Since one group
158 consists of 4 people, this difference may affect how rural and urban groups harvest the resources
159 in a different way. This SVO result seems to show that as the degree of capitalism in societies
160 increases, people tends to be more proself. Based on the SVO theory, urban subjects put more
161 weights on their own gains, whereas they do not care about others in a group. The SVO variable
162 should be a strong predictor for sustainability of our dynamic CPR games.

163 Table 2 also provides the summary statistics of the terminal periods across the treatments. The
164 most striking features rest on the measures of central locations (mean and median) and variability
165 (standard deviation) between the rural and the urban. The average (median) terminal period is
166 7.63 (6.00) in the rural, while 2.24 (1.00) in the urban, implying that more than 50 % of groups in
167 the urban exhaust the resource at an initial period and never proceed to the 2nd period. On other
168 other hand, most groups in the rural successfully continue the CPR game more than 6 periods, and
169 one group even reaches 20 periods of continuation. For the "longest" group, we asked the group
170 members to stop the game due to time and budget limitations. The standard deviation in the rural
171 (= 5.56) is much higher than that in the urban (= 2.19), and the total harvest per group in the rural

172 tends to be much higher than that in the urban (table 2). These statistical findings are in line with
173 the fact that the rural groups continue the game much longer than the urban groups.

174 [Table 3 about here.]

175 Table 3 summarizes the frequency distributions of the terminal periods across urban and rural
176 areas. Table 3 also shows frequencies of game termination by picking red chis as “red-chip termi-
177 nation.” As can be seen in table 3, red-chip terminations in the rural are more often than those in
178 the urban. More specifically, the percentage of red-chip in the rural is 33 %, while it is 15 % in the
179 urban. This is quite consistent with the facts that rural groups continue the game longer and proba-
180 bilities of red-chip termination increases with longer periods of the game. In fact, there is only one
181 red-chip incidence among 43 terminations for “Terminal period 1” of the urban in table 3, implying
182 that many urban groups (42 urban groups) terminate the game by exhausting the resources in the
183 1st period. On the other hand, the rural groups could have continued the game much longer if there
184 is no red-chip termination rule. Therefore, we believe that a significant gap of the terminal periods
185 between the rural and the urban shall exist, irrespective of the red-chip termination rule.

186 Figure 2 shows the corresponding histograms where the vertical axis is the frequency and the
187 horizontal axis is the terminal period. Consistently with the summary statistics of the terminal
188 periods in table 2, we see that the distribution in the rural is more widely spread than that in the
189 urban, and the two frequency distributions are very different each other. In particular, the highest
190 spike of the frequency distribution in the urban is found in period 1, confirming that more than
191 50 % of urban groups exhaust the resources at an initial period. At the post-questionnaires, we
192 have included a question “how did you want to play?” A considerable portion of urban subjects
193 answered to that question as follows: “I really wanted to continue the game longer, but I could not
194 think that other members in the group are motivated in the same way, or I could not trust other
195 members.” In fact, this type of answers among urban subjects reaches 51 %. It appears that many
196 urban subjects recognize some potential benefits by continuing the game longer. However, they did
197 not actually restrain their harvests for continuation even at an initial period in the game, because
198 they are worried that others would harvest to outright exhaustion.

[Figure 2 about here.]

200 To statistically confirm the difference of frequency distributions between the rural and the ur-
 201 ban, we have run a Mann-Whitney test. The result shows that the frequency distributions differ
 202 each other at 1 percent statistical significance. Provided that the statistical difference of the ter-
 203 minal periods, we characterize resource sustainability in the dynamic CPR games by running re-
 204 gression of the terminal periods. We specify the terminal periods as a dependent variable and rural
 205 vs. urban treatments, SVO and socio-demographic information as independent variables. Since
 206 the terminal periods take positive integers, we have chosen Poisson regression in our analysis.
 207 The Poisson regression allows us to test statistical significances of the independent variables and
 208 compute the marginal change of the terminal periods when an independent variable alters, holding
 209 other independent variables fixed (Wooldridge, 2008).

The Poisson regression model can be specified as

$$Y_j = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_j + \beta_2 R_j + \beta_3 \mathbf{Z}_j + \epsilon_j \quad (1)$$

210 where j is an index for groups from 1 to 528, Y_j is a variable of the terminal period for group j ,
 211 X_j is a number of prosocial members in group j , R_j is a regional dummy variable taking 1 in the
 212 rural, otherwise 0, and \mathbf{Z}_j is a vector of other socio-demographic independent variables that may
 213 be assumed to characterize the terminal periods Y_j . Finally, ϵ_j is an error term. The parameter β_i
 214 for $i = 0, 1, 2$ is a set of coefficients for intercepts, X_j and R_j . The β_3 is a vector of coefficients for
 215 other independent variables \mathbf{Z}_j . Recall that our main focus is on the estimated coefficients of β_1
 216 and β_2 . We hypothesize that these coefficients are statistically and economically significant with
 217 positive sign.

[Table 4 about here.]

219 Table 4 reports the estimated coefficients and their respective standard errors with statistical
 220 significance in the regression. Model 1 in table 4 contains the number of prosocial members in

221 a group and the regional dummy as independent variables. The result reveals that both indepen-
222 dent variables exhibit statistical significance of 1 percent and positively affect the terminal periods.
223 More specifically, the expected terminal period increases by 68 % with an increase of prosocial
224 members in a group, holding other factors fixed. In the same way, the expected terminal period
225 in the rural is interpreted to be about 45 % higher than in the urban, holding other factors fixed.⁶
226 These marginal effects are considered economically significant, illustrating the strong impacts of
227 members' social value orientations and the regional dummy variable. Since the regional dummy
228 variable in our analysis represents the degree of capitalism, the result can be interpreted that re-
229 source sustainability tends to be lost as societies become more capitalistic.

230 For robustness check, we run Poisson regression by including other variables as shown in
231 model 2 of table 4. The independent variables in model 2 are average income, a number of males,
232 average education and average age in a group. As can be seen from the result in model 2, the
233 qualitative results in model 2 do not change with model 1. Rather, the economic significance of
234 the estimated coefficient for the regional dummy increases in model 2, while it almost remains the
235 same for the number of prosocial members in a group. That is, the estimated coefficients on the
236 number of prosocial members in a group and the regional dummy are still statistically and econom-
237 ically significant in model 2. The expected terminal period is interpreted to increase by 65 % with
238 an increase of prosocial members in a group. Likewise, the expected terminal period in the rural is
239 estimated to be about 63 % higher than in the urban. We have tried some alternative specifications
240 of the Poisson regression. However, the results with respect to the number of prosocial members
241 in a group and the regional dummy have not changed significantly. We confirm that these two
242 variables remain statistically and economically significant, irrespective of the specifications in the
243 models. The result reflects the fact that the SVO and the degree of capitalism (regional dummy)
244 are key determinants for resource sustainability.

245 The SVO is a good proxy for people's social preferences, and our result on the SVO is intuitive

⁶The marginal effect of the regional dummy ($\approx 45\%$) comes from a simple formula introduced in Wooldridge (2008). The estimated coefficient of the regional dummy is $\hat{\beta}_2 = 0.37$ (see table 4). Then, the marginal effect of the regional dummy variable can be approximated with the following formula: $\exp(.37) - 1 \approx 0.448 \approx 45\%$.

246 in the sense that more prosocial subjects in a group lead to higher resource sustainability. On
247 the other hand, our result on the regional dummy leads to a following question: What does the
248 regional dummy truly capture in the regression? We define ongoing modernization of competitive
249 societies as capitalism in this paper. The urban areas such as Kathmandu in the field experiment
250 are considered capitalistic societies, rapidly developing in a competitive fashion. On the contrary,
251 the rural areas such as Chitwan district are still agrarian and traditional societies. Note that the
252 gap between the rural and the urban in Nepal is huge, compared to the situations in developed
253 countries.

254 People in the urban areas are required to compete with other people for survival in business,
255 service and government sectors through utilizing their skills and education. In the rural, most
256 people still engage in agriculture and natural resource management based on indigenous knowledge
257 and traditional practices. For instance, *Mela pat* and *Parma* are well known to be voluntary and
258 cooperative farming practices that prevail as rural Nepalese culture, exchanging hard labor among
259 rural farmers without any reward. Such voluntary cooperation is considered quite common for
260 many activities in rural areas, since rural people are still vulnerable to natural uncertainty and
261 calamities, and cannot sustain their life for survival without mutual cooperation. Such daily-life
262 style and culture in Nepal form rural people's preference, customs, norms, assumptions for other
263 people to sustainably manage resources. In contrast, recall that more than half of urban subjects
264 answer in questionnaire surveys "I really wanted to continue the game longer, but I was not sure
265 whether other members in a group think in the same way, or I could not trust other members."

266 In summary, the difference in daily practices of cooperation and competition for survival or for
267 earning incomes between the rural and the urban appears to nurture people's desire, custom, social
268 norm for resource use, assumptions about other people and so on in collective CPR settings. The
269 regional dummy is conjectured to capture such important factors other than the SVOs. Following
270 the previous arguments that social environment affects people's preference and behavior (North,
271 1990, Henrich et al., 2005, Dawkins, 2006, Richardson and Boyd, 2008, Wilson et al., 2009, Hen-
272 rich et al., 2010, Leibbrandt et al., 2013), our field experiment can be considered the first attempt

273 to demonstrate that both the SVO and the degree of capitalism (regional dummy) are important for
274 resource sustainability. A general message drawn from the analysis is that resource sustainability
275 shall be more endangered through changes in people's preferences, social norms, customs and as-
276 sumptions for other people, as societies develop in capitalistic ways. This also implies that people
277 may be losing their coordination abilities for solving social dilemmas of resource sustainability in
278 capitalistic societies.

279 **4 Conclusion**

280 This experiment has analyzed resource sustainability in a dynamic setting with respect to the
281 degree of capitalisms and social preferences. We find that a proportion of prosocial people in the
282 urban is lower than that in the rural, and urban people deplete resources more quickly than rural
283 people. The composition of proself and prosocial people in a group and the degree of capitalism
284 (rural vs. urban) are identified to be keys in the sense that an increase of prosocial members in
285 a group and the rural dummy raise resource sustainability by approximately 65 % and by 45 %,
286 respectively. Overall, this paper concludes that when societies move toward more capitalistic en-
287 vironments, sustainability of common pool resources tends to be lost through changes in people's
288 preferences, social norms, customs and assumptions for other people. More simply, people may
289 be losing their coordination abilities for social dilemmas of resource sustainability in capitalistic
290 societies.

291 Finally, we note some limitations of our study. We initially thought that different types of
292 dynamic CPR games with various settings would have been applied in the field. Unfortunately,
293 however, we realize that such complex CPR games do not work in Nepalese fields. In the future
294 research, however, the qualitative results in this paper should be established by trying different
295 types of dynamic CPR games including further investigation of social norms and other aspects of
296 behavioral issues. These caveats notwithstanding, it is our belief that this field experiment is an
297 important first step to characterize resource sustainability in relation to the degree of capitalism

298 and social preference. Our results clearly suggest that new institutions or devices are necessary
299 for urban people to sustainably manage CPRs. Whereas there are many researches that examine
300 social dilemmas of resource use in repeated settings, there are few researches in dynamic settings.
301 Since sustainability has been claimed to be a global concern, future research should address social
302 dilemmas by focusing more on both dynamic nature of common pool resource and its sustainabil-
303 ity.

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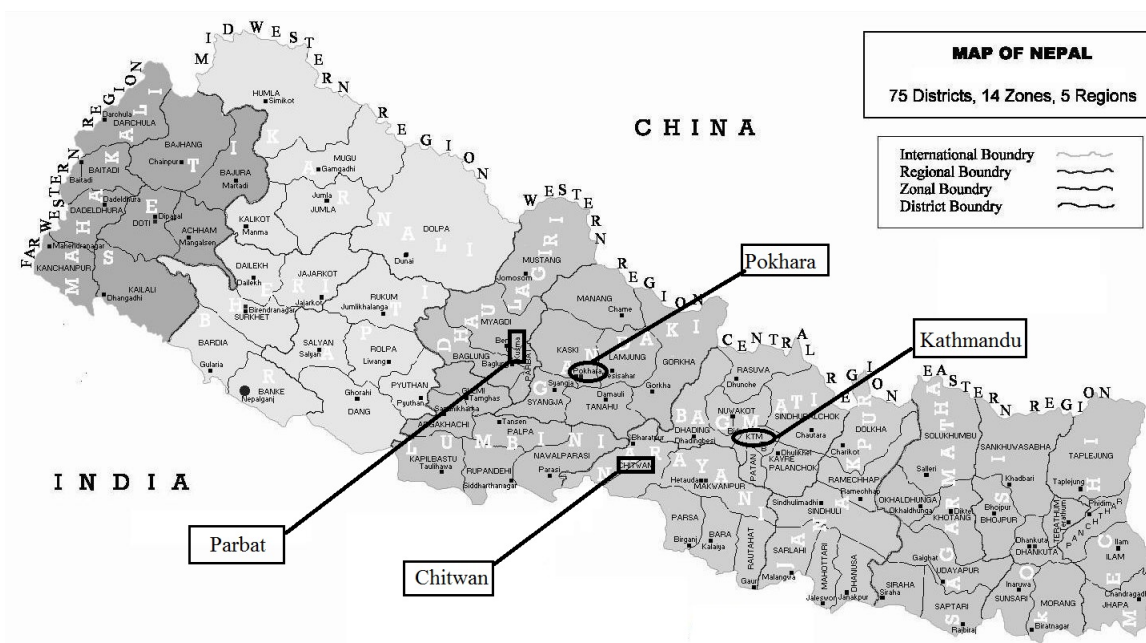
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Figure 1: The locations of fields: Kathmandu and Pokhara as urban areas and Parbat and Chitwan as rural areas



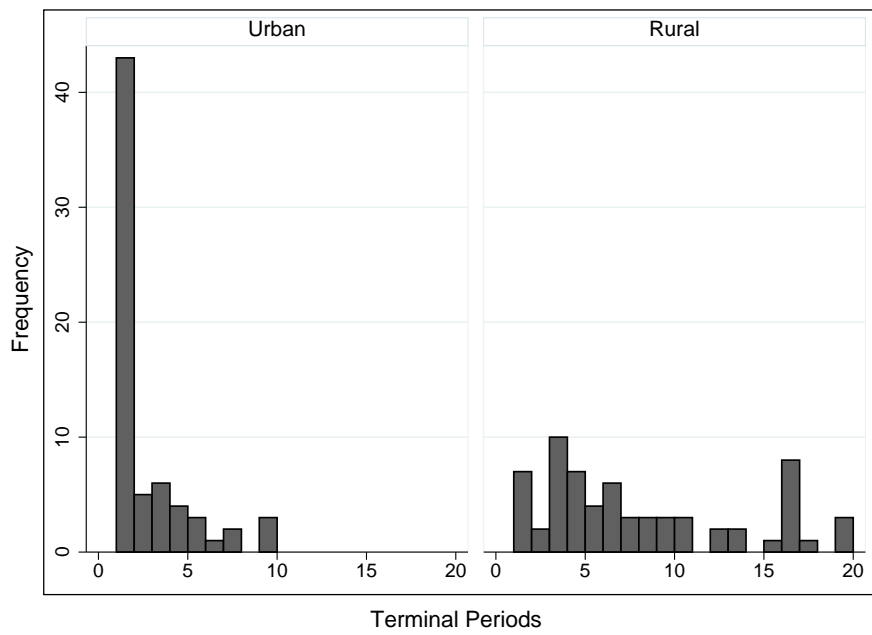


Figure 2: Terminal periods of each regions

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Factors	Experimental designs
Treatments	Urban and Rural areas
Game	Dynamic CPR
Subjects	Urban people and rural people
Location	Urban (Kathmandu and Pokhara) Rural (Chitwan and Parbhat)
Education of subjects	from university to elementary-school level
Group	4 subjects in a group
Time per session	Approximately 180 minutes

Table 1: Summary of the experimental design

Table 2: Summary statistics:

Variables	Rural (65 groups, 260 subjects)			Urban (67 groups, 268 subjects)						
	Mean	SD ¹	Median	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Median	Min	Max
Age ²	2.27	1.09	2.00	0.00	5.00	1.62	1.25	1.00	0.00	5.00
Gender ³	0.38	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.58	0.49	1.00	0.00	1.00
Education ⁴	9.58	3.40	10	1.00	16.00	13.07	3.57	16.00	1.00	16.00
Employment ⁵	0.90	0.27	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.63	0.48	1.00	0.00	1.00
Income ⁶	4.20	2.10	5.00	1.00	6.00	4.80	2.02	6.00	1.00	6.00
SVO ⁷	0.76	0.43	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.39	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.00
Pro-social people in a group	3.03	0.93	3.00	1.00	4.00	1.57	1.08	1.00	1.00	4.00
Terminal periods	7.63	5.56	6.00	1.00	20.00	2.24	2.19	1.00	1.00	10.00
Total harvest per group	143.14	443.54	47.50	12.00	3270.00	36.23	16.62	30.00	13.00	140.00

¹ The “SD” stands for standard deviation.

² Age is a categorical variable of $\{0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5\}$ where 0 is under 20, 1 between 20 and 30, 2 between 30 and 40, 3 between 40 and 50, 4 between 50 and 60. Finally, 5 is above 60 years old.

³ A dummy variable that takes 1 when the subject is male, otherwise 0.

⁴ Education represents years of schooling.

⁵ Employment is a dummy variable that takes 1 when a subject is stably employed or engage in agriculture/forestry as a main occupation. Otherwise 0.

⁶ It is a categorical variable of annual income measured by US dollar $\{1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6\}$: 1. $0 \sim 300$, 2. $300 \sim 600$, 3. $600 \sim 900$, 4. $900 \sim 1200$, 5. $1200 \sim 1500$ and 6. more than 600.

⁷ The “SVO” represents a dummy variable taking 1 (0) when a subject is prosocial (proself) based on SVO games.

Table 3: Terminal periods across the rural and urban areas

Terminal periods	Frequency	Red-chip termination	Percentage of red-chip termination
Urban areas			
1	43	1	2 %
2	5	2	40 %
3	6	2	50 %
4	4	2	50 %
5	3	2	67 %
6	1	0	0 %
7	2	0	0 %
8	0	0	0 %
9	2	0	0 %
10	1	0	0 %
Urban subtotal	67	10	15 %
Rural areas			
1	7	0	0 %
2	2	1	50 %
3	10	3	30 %
4	7	0	0 %
5	4	3	75 %
6	6	2	33 %
7	3	1	33 %
8	3	2	67 %
9	3	3	100 %
10	3	2	67 %
11	0	0	0 %
12	2	2	100 %
13	2	2	100 %
14	0	0	0 %
15	1	0	0 %
16	8	0	0 %
17	1	1	100 %
18	0	0	0 %
19	2	0	0 %
20	2	0	0 %
Rural subtotal	65	22	33 %

Table 4: Poisson regression for the terminal periods in the dynamic CPR games

	Model 1	Model 2
Number of prosocial members in a group	0.68*** (0.041)	0.65*** (0.044)
Regional dummy	0.37***	0.49*** (0.108)
Average income in a group		-0.29 (0.042)
Number of males in a group		0.077** (0.039)
Average education in a group		-0.0045 (0.021)
Average age in a group		-0.077 (0.070)
Constant	-0.55*** (0.13)	-0.37 (0.44)
Wald χ^2	333.08***	530.86***
Pseudo R^2	0.46	0.46

Numbers in parentheses are robust standard errors

***significant at the 1 percent level, **significant at the 5 percent level and *significant at the 10 percent level.