The Importance of Price Beliefs in Consumer Search

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Abstract

A consumer’s decision to engage in search depends on the beliefs the consumer has about an unknown product characteristic such as price. In this paper, we elicit the distribution of price beliefs and explicitly study their role in a consumer’s decision to search. We design an incentive-aligned online study where subjects search over the price of a homogeneous good, and provide prior price beliefs and updated beliefs after each search. Based on data collected from a nationally representative panel, we find substantial heterogeneity in prior price beliefs which is at odds with the rational expectations assumption. We explore the importance of accounting for price beliefs in two ways - first, we study the impact of assuming rational expectations on estimates of search costs. For both simultaneous and sequential search models, assuming rational expectations biases the search cost estimates; the direction of bias depends on the subject’s prior beliefs. Importantly, while accounting for expected price beliefs is crucial to consistently estimating search costs, assuming that the standard deviation of the subject’s beliefs coincides with the true price distribution does not substantially bias the distribution of search cost. Second, we explore the importance of price beliefs in inferring how consumers search. Assuming rational expectations, we find that subjects engage in simultaneous search which is consistent with previous research. However, the decision to engage in an additional search depends on the updated price beliefs pointing to sequential search. We discuss the managerial relevance of these results and the implications for researchers.

Keywords: consumer search, price beliefs, rational expectations, search costs, simultaneous search, sequential search

JEL codes: D83, C11
1 Introduction

Both online and offline markets are characterized by the prevalence of sizable price dispersion even for homogeneous products, which can be attributed to the presence of search frictions (Baye, Morgan, and Scholten (2006), Stigler (1961)). Consumers search, online and offline, over prices and other product characteristics in a large number of product markets such as hotels, grocery, automobiles etc.; hence, it is imperative to understand the underlying primitives which govern the search process and influence market outcomes. The search process is characterized by a trade-off between the expected benefit from searching and search frictions (costs). Any inference about search costs, thus, hinges on the assumed search process and beliefs consumers have about an unknown product characteristic such as price. Nonetheless, researchers often do not observe consumers’ beliefs and hence assume rational expectations i.e. consumers’ beliefs coincide with the true price distribution. In this paper, we study the importance of accounting for heterogeneous consumers’ beliefs about prices of a homogeneous good in a search paradigm.

We study the importance of price beliefs in two different ways. First, we study how different specifications (assumptions) of price beliefs influence search cost estimates conditional on an assumed search method. Specifically, we explore the implications of assuming rational expectations on search cost estimates. In the survey, we elicit the entire distribution of price beliefs (as opposed to only the expected price) which allows us to study the importance of accounting for standard deviation of the price distribution in estimating search costs. Second, we explore the role of elicited beliefs in inferring search method based on aggregate data patterns. In contrast to this study, previous research (see for example, De los Santos, Hortaçsu, and Wildenbeest (2012) (hereafter DHW12) and Honka and Chintagunta (2016) (hereafter HC16)) infers search method assuming that consumers know the true distribution of prices, which alleviates the need to elicit consumers’ beliefs.

1For example, researchers have studied the market for books (Hong and Shum (2006), De los Santos, Hortaçsu, and Wildenbeest (2012)), grocery (Mehta, Rajiv, and Srinivasan (2003), Seiler (2013), Seiler and Pinna (2017)), MP3 players and camera (De los Santos, Hortaçsu, and Wildenbeest (2017), Kim, Albuquerque, and Bronnenberg (2010), Bronnenberg, Kim, and Mela (2016)), insurance (Honka (2014)), mutual funds (Hortaçsu and Syverson (2004), Koulayev (2013)), hotel bookings (Chen and Yao (2016), Ursu (2018)), gasoline (Lewis (2011)), prescription drugs (Sorensen (2001)) etc.
beliefs. Accounting for beliefs is central to not only the literature on consumer search but also to the economics and marketing literature on dynamic discrete choice, consumer learning, risk and insurance, and investments. To the extent that beliefs about the construct of interest are not observed, researchers often assume rational expectations i.e. consumers’ beliefs are consistent with the observed data. Explicitly eliciting beliefs within the search framework alleviates the need to make this assumption. Our objective in this paper is not to critique the assumption of rational expectations; rather, we aim to understand how making this assumption influences estimates of search cost and our inference of search method.

We design an incentive-aligned online study which simulates consumer search for a homogeneous home appliance product (KitchenAid mixer). We elicit the prior price beliefs from each subject and then simulate search scenarios over prices for the mixer. After each search, we again elicit the price beliefs and let the subjects choose between searching more versus purchasing at the lowest observed price, i.e. a case of perfect recall. In our study, both belief elicitation and search tasks are made incentive-aligned by utilizing the binarized scoring rule (Hossain and Okui (2013)) and by introducing a trade-off between searching more versus choosing to purchase at the currently lowest price, respectively. We observe substantial heterogeneity in not only the mean but also the standard deviation of the prior price belief distribution across subjects. Further, subjects update both the mean and standard deviation of the price distribution in response to search outcomes. Together, these findings point to potential bias in search costs estimated assuming rational expectations.

We explore the magnitude of the bias in search cost estimates under different assumptions about prior beliefs. The study design allows us to directly infer bounds on each subject’s search cost from the data conditional on assuming whether subjects engage in simultaneous or sequential search. For either assumption of search method, we find that search cost estimates are biased if we assume that subjects know the true distribution of prices as is often assumed in the search literature. Consistent with theory, for both simultaneous and sequential search methods, the direction of bias depends on whether the prior beliefs are higher or lower than the true price distribution. For sequential
search, the magnitude of bias also depends on whether subjects update beliefs in an upward or downward direction, but belief updating explains less variation in the estimated bias as compared to heterogeneity in prior beliefs. Finally, while accounting for prior beliefs about expected prices is crucial to getting unbiased estimates of search costs, ignoring heterogeneity in standard deviation of prior price beliefs does not substantially influence the estimated distribution of search costs. Put differently, even though subjects differ in their beliefs about price dispersion and update these beliefs in response to search, ignoring individual-level differences in standard deviation does not have a substantial effect on the distribution of search costs. The estimated bias in search costs also has implications for how changes in search costs impact the number of searches. For example, assuming rational expectations underestimates the effect of a 10% decrease in search costs on the number of searches and the proportion of subjects who switch retailers. Notably, the effect of a reduction in search costs assuming rational expectations differs significantly depending on the assumed search method, thereby highlighting the importance of assuming how consumers search.

Next, we conduct reduced-form tests previously used in the literature (see DHW12 and HC16) to explore how knowledge of price beliefs influences the inference about the search method subjects engage in. Much like this literature, we study aggregate data patterns to infer whether consumers engage in simultaneous or sequential search, but additionally account for the role of price beliefs.\(^2\) Assuming rational expectations, we replicate the findings in DHW12 and HC16 utilizing our data, and consistent with these papers, conclude that subjects engage in simultaneous search. However, we find evidence that subjects account for updated beliefs in their decision to continue searching, thereby providing support to sequential search and pointing to the importance of accounting for belief updating. Consistent with the results on search costs, we do not find a significant effect of the standard deviation of updated price beliefs on the decision to search. Taken together, our findings suggest that eliciting beliefs is important not only to get unbiased estimates.

\(^2\)It is possible that consumers differ in the search method they use or search in some combination of simultaneous and sequential search methods (Morgan and Manning (1985) and Harrison and Morgan (1990)). While we acknowledge this possibility, our emphasis on understanding the importance of, and the effort involved in eliciting the standard deviation of price beliefs, limits the number of search tasks and belief elicitations we can include in our survey design. As a consequence, we do not have enough search outcomes to infer the search method at the individual-level. We believe this is an interesting research topic, but defer it to future research.
of search costs subject to an assumed search method, but also to correctly infer the search method used.

This paper makes several contributions to the marketing and economics literature on consumer search. First, to the best of our knowledge, this is the first paper to explicitly account for the distribution of beliefs in a search paradigm. Matsumoto and Spence (2016) study the heterogeneity in expected prices and how experience impacts consumer learning about the true distribution of prices. We elicit the entire distribution of price beliefs and show that accounting for the mean or expected price beliefs is more crucial than accounting for the standard deviation of beliefs in making inference about search costs and search method. Second, we quantify the magnitude and examine the drivers of bias induced in search cost estimates by assuming rational expectations, an assumption routinely made in the search literature. Third, previous literature, such as DHW12 and HC16, identifies search method using data patterns implied by theory and assuming rational expectations. We demonstrate how inference about search method may differ when consumer’s heterogeneous price beliefs are taken into account.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. The next section provides an overview of the search literature and generalizes it to account for heterogeneous price beliefs. Sections 3 and 4 detail the study design and provide data descriptives. We present the estimates of search costs in section 5 followed by the reduced form tests of search method in section 6. Section 7 includes robustness checks to our assumptions, and we then conclude with the managerial implications of our findings and suggest directions for future research.

2 Overview of Search Models

The theoretical and empirical literature typically characterizes and models search as either simultaneous (fixed sample) or sequential.\footnote{Notable exceptions include Morgan and Manning (1985) and Harrison and Morgan (1990) who propose a variable sample size (VSS) strategy where a consumer sequentially chooses the number of samples to take and the size of each sample. The VSS is a generalization of simultaneous and sequential models.} For homogeneous goods, starting with Stigler (1961), simult-
taneous search is characterized by the consumer choosing the number of searches to make before actually searching and then choosing the searched alternative with highest utility. By contrast, McCall (1970) and Mortensen (1970) characterize search as a sequential process where the outcome of each individual search determines whether the consumer chooses to search once more or purchase the searched alternative. Note that the actual search process is sequential under either search method; they differ in when the consumer decides how much to search and when to stop searching. Below, we provide a brief overview of both these models for a homogeneous good, but generalize them to account for heterogeneous prior beliefs and belief updating.

Consider consumer \( i \) searching for the lowest price of a homogeneous good across different retailers. The consumer faces a constant cost \( c_i \) for every single search. Let \( F_{ik}(p) \) denote the distribution of price beliefs the consumer has after making \( k \) searches. The \( i \) subscript in \( F_{ik}(p) \) allows for consumers to have heterogeneous beliefs, and the \( k \) subscript indexes learning about the price distribution. In the absence of learning, the beliefs will be independent of the number of searches. The special case, widely considered in the literature where consumers know the true distribution of prices (rational expectations), is represented by consumers having beliefs \( F(p) \) (no \( i \) or \( k \) subscript). Under the simultaneous search model in the context of homogeneous goods, consumers randomly sample retailers for the lowest price (Stigler (1961)). The expected utility associated with \( k \) searches is given by

\[
\mathbb{E}(U_{ik}) = -\mathbb{E}(P_{ik}) - kc_i = -\int_{0}^{\infty} kp (1 - F_{i0}(p))^{k-1} dF_{i0} - kc_i
\]

(1)

where \( F_{i0}(p) \) is the distribution function of the consumer’s prior price beliefs. The incremental gain from searching \( k \) times as opposed to \( k - 1 \) times is thus given by
\[ \mathbb{E}(U_{ik}) - \mathbb{E}(U_{ik-1}) = -\mathbb{E}(P_{ik}) - kc_i + \mathbb{E}(P_{ik-1}) + (k - 1)c_i \]
\[ = \Gamma_{ik}^{\text{sim}} - c_i \]  

where \( \Gamma_{ik}^{\text{sim}} = \mathbb{E}(P_{ik-1}) - \mathbb{E}(P_{ik}) \) is the expected benefit from one additional search net of the search cost. Thus, if the consumer searches \( k \) times, then for \( k \) searches to be optimal, the search cost \( c_i \) is such that \( c_i \in [\Gamma_{ik}^{\text{sim}}, \Gamma_{ik}^{\text{sim}} + 1] \), which can be inferred directly from the data.

Compared to the simultaneous search model, under the classical model of sequential search (McCall (1970)), consumers’ decision to continue searching is based on the last searched price. Same as the simultaneous model, the sequential model assumes that consumers know the true price distribution. This assumption gives rise to a search model where consumers will never recall an alternative searched earlier provided that they have not exhausted all search outcomes. In our application, we allow consumers to learn about the price distribution which implies that consumers may purchase at a recalled price, which may or may not be the last searched price. Lippman and McCall (1976) and Landsberger and Peled (1977) show that for a homogeneous good with a known distribution of prices, it is optimal to randomly search for the lowest price and stop searching when the lowest sampled price is lower than the reservation price. Rothschild (1974) extends this to account for belief learning and shows that with Dirichlet priors, the optimal search rule mirrors that in Weitzman (1979). Rosenfield and Shapiro (1981) and Bikhchandani and Sharma (1996) further generalize this and prove that if the beliefs follow a distribution which satisfies certain assumptions or if belief updating follows certain rules, then the optimal stopping rule is myopic such that if it is optimal to not search once more given current beliefs, then it will never be optimal to search in the future even though consumers learn about the true distribution of prices.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Specifically, the conditions put forth by Bikhchandani and Sharma (1996) are as follows: first, the updated belief distribution is a convex combination of the prior distribution and the empirical distribution. Second, the price distribution is such that the posterior probability of observing a low price, given that all previous draws have been high, decreases with the number of draws. Additionally, Bikhchandani and Sharma (1996) show that if the probability of observing a price lower than some threshold, given that all previous price draws have been above this threshold, depends only on the number of draws, then the optimal stopping (myopic) rule is characterized by the reservation
that the posterior distribution is a convex combination of the prior and empirical distributions, and consider a normal distribution which satisfies the assumptions in Bikhchandani and Sharma (1996), and thus, focus on a myopic search. Let the lowest price a consumer has sampled after $k$ random searches be given by $\bar{p}_{ik}$. Thus, the expected gain from searching once more (for the $k+1^{th}$ time) net of the search cost is given by

$$
\Gamma_{ik+1}^{seq} = \int_{0}^{\bar{p}_{ik}} (\bar{p}_{ik} - p) dF_{ik}
$$

If the consumer stops searching after $k$ searches, then we can use this information and knowledge of $F_{ik}$ to get bounds on the search costs such that $c_i \in [\Gamma_{ik+1}^{seq}, \Gamma_{ik}^{seq}]$. Thus, as with the simultaneous model, bounds on the search costs can be inferred directly from data.

Equations 1 and 3 show that even for a simple model of search over prices of a homogeneous good, knowledge of the prior beliefs (simultaneous search), and additionally, of updated beliefs (sequential search) is crucial to estimating the distribution of search costs. Beliefs, however, are not observed in field data and often not elicited in experiments forcing researchers to make assumptions about beliefs. In addition to the assumptions about beliefs, the literature often assumes a search method and estimates distribution of search costs subject to this assumption. For instance, Mehta, Rajiv, and Srinivasan (2003), Seiler (2013), and Moraga-González, Sándor, and Wildenbeest (2013) assume that consumers engage in simultaneous search and that they know the true distribution of prices. This not only imposes rational expectations but also that there is no learning about the distribution of prices. This not only imposes rational expectations but also that there is no learning about the distribution of prices. Zwick, Rapoport, Lo, and Muthukrishnan (2003), Kim, Albuquerque, and Bronnenberg (2010), Kim, Albuquerque, and Bronnenberg (2016), and Chen and Yao (2016) model sequential search and retain the assumption that consumers know the true price.

Beliefs are not only important in the search literature, but also play an integral role in the literature on dynamic discrete choice models (Rust (1987)), consumer learning (Erdem and Keane (1996)), reference prices (Winer (1986)), and risk (Kahneman and Tversky (1979)). While the majority of the literature infers beliefs conditional on assuming that consumers have rational expectations, and that they update beliefs in a Bayesian manner, recent literature in these areas has either studied behavior by providing subjects with beliefs in a lab setting (see for example, Dubé, Hitsch, and Jindal (2014) and Jindal (2015)) or accounting for the expectations consumers may have (Delavande (2008) and Erdem, Keane, Öncü, and Strebel (2005)).
distribution of prices and that there is no learning.

More recently, Koulayev (2013), De los Santos, Hortacsu, and Wildenbeest (2017), Spence (2015), Wu (2017) and Hu, Dang, and Chintagunta (2018) model consumer search as a sequential process and allow consumers to learn about product characteristics. These papers, however, assume that consumers update their beliefs in a Bayesian manner where beliefs are represented by Dirichlet priors (process). A subset of these papers (Koulayev (2013) and De los Santos, Hortacsu, and Wildenbeest (2017)) also assume that the consumer’s prior beliefs coincide with the true (observed) distribution. Finally, Hong and Shum (2006), DHW12 and HC16 use consumer search data to test whether consumers engage in simultaneous or sequential search subject to the assumption that they know the true distribution of beliefs. Thus, while the previous literature has estimated models consistent with simultaneous and sequential search, explored whether consumers engage in simultaneous or sequential search, and also allowed for learning about the price distribution under sequential search, all of these are subject to unverifiable assumptions about prior beliefs and how consumers update their beliefs in response to search outcomes. In this paper, we explicitly account for consumers’ heterogeneous beliefs, which requires us to conduct an experimental study in which we elicit beliefs from subjects.

3 Experimental Design

We designed an online incentive-aligned experiment in which we asked subjects to search for prices of a KitchenAid Artisan 5-Quart mixer. We conducted our experiment among subjects whom we recruited from a commercial online panel, Lightspeed Research. We controlled for age, gender and income distributions to reflect those of the general U.S. population.

Quality Control Procedures

To further ensure the qualification of the subjects, we screened them in such a way that they (i) have purchased or been actively involved in decision making surrounding kitchen appliances, and
(ii) have a basic understanding of probability - we asked them three questions pertaining to probability and distributions (Web Appendix A); correctly answering two out of the three questions was required to proceed. After passing the screening questions, we collected information about the subjects’ usage of and interest in purchasing the KitchenAid mixer, cooking behavior, and knowledge about prices of the KitchenAid mixer and appliances in general. Next, we provided subjects with an opportunity to familiarize themselves with belief elicitation tasks using the Nutri Ninja blender as the focal product. We asked them to perform a prior belief elicitation task and a posterior belief elicitation task after showing them a retail scenario in which a seller was selling the Nutri Ninja blender for $150. We describe these elicitation tasks in detail in the next section. We wrapped up the practice session by showing how much money the subjects would have made from the task though we did not actually pay them for the practice tasks. We allowed subjects to opt out from the experiment if they did not feel comfortable performing the belief elicitation tasks.

Belief Elicitation and Search Tasks

Once the subjects agreed to continue, we asked them to imagine that they were in the market for a KitchenAid mixer which was sold online on websites such as Amazon, eBay etc., and also in local stores. We asked them to assume that there were 100 sellers from which they could potentially purchase the mixer, and that these sellers may charge different prices, but the prices include all applicable taxes, handling/shipping charges and the warranty is provided by the manufacturer. The experimental flow is shown in Figure 1. We began by eliciting subjects’ prior beliefs about prices of the mixer. Unlike previous research that elicited expected prices (Erdem, Keane, Öncü, and Strebel (2005) and Delavande (2008)), we follow Manski (2004) and the elicitation routine outlined in other previous research (Dominitz and Manski (1996, 1997, 2004, 2005)) to elicit the entire distribution of price beliefs, which allows us to examine the role of the standard deviation (in addition to the mean) of the price beliefs.6 Note that while eliciting the expected price is rela-

6A potential concern with the belief elicitation task is that subjects may not assess beliefs numerically, and even if they do, they may not be able to provide their numerical assessment. Wallsten, Budescu, Rapoport, Zwick, and Forsyth (1986) show that subjects are willing to report their beliefs numerically, and Koriat, Lichtenstein, and Fischhoff (1980) and Ferrell and McGoey (1980) demonstrate that despite difficulty, elicitation of numerical probabilities is feasible.
tively straightforward, accounting for the standard deviation of the belief distribution substantially increases the complexity of the belief elicitation task, as we detail below. Eliciting beliefs requires proper scoring rules which ensure that subjects are incentivized to reveal their true beliefs. We use the binarized scoring rule proposed by Hossain and Okui (2013) which makes belief elicitation incentive aligned irrespective of the subjects’ risk preferences.

We first asked the subjects what they thought were the minimum and maximum prices of the KitchenAid mixer to establish the belief bounds (Dominitz and Manski (1997), Oakley and O’Hagan (2007)). With the price range obtained from each subject, we showed them four custom-designed price points \( p_d^*: d \in [1, 4] \) that were spread out evenly as follows: the minimum price plus the price range multiplied by .2, .4, .6 and .8.\(^7\) We then elicited a quantile, i.e. a value from the cumulative distribution function (CDF), associated with each price point by asking for the number of sellers (out of 100) who have a price below each of the price thresholds (the quantile scale is also shown in Web Appendix A). We designed our quantile elicitation task to resemble those used by Garthwaite, Kadane, and O’Hagan (2005) and Manski (2004).\(^8\) Next, we presented subjects with a retail scenario where they could potentially purchase the mixer and then asked them to report what they believed to be the median price (Dominitz and Manski (1996)). We created 20 blocks of prices for each of the four retail scenarios and randomly drew a block of prices to show to each subject in random order.

After the price exposure, we elicited the posterior (i.e., updated) price belief using a new set of custom-designed price points given by \( \text{median} \pm \kappa \left( \frac{p_H - p_L}{4} \right) \), where \( \text{median} \) is the median price

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\(^7\)We found that some subjects in the pre-test provided unrealistically tight price ranges and were concerned that such narrow price ranges may adversely affect their ability to indicate four quantiles for a set of prices that are too close to one another. To circumvent this problem, when subjects reported a price range smaller than $150, we prompted them whether they were confident about the reported price range and wished to provide a new price range. If they insisted on the original price range, we used a default minimum price range of $150.

\(^8\)If belief elicitation influences subsequent behavior, then eliciting beliefs will bias our inference of search costs. Previous research, however, has shown that belief elicitation does not alter subjects’ behavior (Nyarko and Schotter (2002) and Costa-Gomes and Weitzsäcker (2008)), thereby supporting to our experimental design.
elicited, $p_H - p_L$ is the price range calculated based on the lowest and highest price elicited earlier, and $\kappa$ takes on values 0.5 and 1.5, respectively. Note that we used the same price range reported by the subjects in the prior belief elicitation task to create custom-designed price points for subsequent posterior belief elicitation tasks. Similar to the prior beliefs, subjects provided us the quantiles associated with each of these price points. After the posterior belief elicitation task, we asked subjects whether they would be interested in purchasing the mixer at the lowest observed price. Subjects could either purchase or continue to search. We allow for search with recall, i.e. subjects can purchase the KitchenAid mixer at the lowest price they have observed once they decide to purchase. After each retail scenario, we elicited posterior beliefs and provided an opportunity for subjects to purchase.

In cases in which subjects decided to purchase before observing all four retail scenarios, we continued to show them price scenarios and elicited posterior beliefs after each retail scenario but without incurring search costs (to be described in the next section). This ensured that subjects did not stop searching early to avoid completing belief elicitation tasks, and also that the pay-off from the belief elicitation tasks did not depend on when subjects stop searching. We concluded our survey by collecting additional information about the subjects’ knowledge about the KitchenAid’s prices after the survey, attitude towards spending money on kitchen appliances, and demographics.

**Two-part Incentive-aligned Design**

We design both belief elicitation and search tasks to be incentive aligned. For the belief elicitation tasks, we informed the subjects that, in addition to the base compensation (as reward points), they could earn a monetary reward based on how accurate they were in estimating the number of sellers in the market that offered the mixer below a certain price point. We researched the market and found that prices of a KitchenAid mixer follow a normal distribution with a mean and standard deviation of $325 and $37, respectively. For each designed price point $p_d^*$, we calculated the probability $\left(q_{true}(p_d^*)\right)$ of observing a price below the design point based on the true price distribution, and derived a measure of loss as the square root of the absolute difference between the self-reported
quantile (probability) and its associated true quantile value \( \text{loss} = \sqrt{|q_{s Sel}(p^*) - q_{true}(p^*)|} \). Finally, we drew a random number \( r \) from a Uniform(0,1) distribution. If \( \text{loss} < r \), the subject earned $0.25 for that design point. Given four price points in each elicitation task, subjects could earn up to $1 per belief elicitation. This scoring rule is consistent with the binarized scoring rule (Hossain and Okui (2013)) which provides correct beliefs about a random variable independent of the subjects’ risk preferences and the expected utility hypothesis.9

For the search tasks, subjects pay-off is determined based on a trade-off between searching once more at a cost of $1 versus the potential benefit from finding a price lower than the currently available best price. Subjects are endowed with $3 at the beginning of the study, and barring the first search which is free, for each incremental search, subjects lose $1. Each incremental search also has a potential benefit wherein a $50 reduction in price as compared to the currently available best price results in a reward of $1. This induces a trade-off between searching more by paying $1 to get a possibly lower price versus purchasing at the current lowest price and saving $1 in search costs, which makes the search task (decision to purchase) incentive-aligned. Once subjects decide to purchase, we show them the remaining search scenarios (if any) without them incurring any additional search costs. As mentioned earlier, this ensures that the pay-off from belief elicitation tasks does not depend on the number of searches subjects chose to engage in before purchasing.

4 Data Description

The data for this study was collected using the online panel of Lightspeed Research, a national market research company. The panel is representative of the U.S. population. Three hundred subjects completed the survey out of which we dropped 19 subjects who provided invariant responses, thus, resulting in a sample of 281 subjects. The distribution of demographics in the sample is reported in Web Appendix B. Table 1 reports the statistics on the familiarity subjects have with prices and purchase decisions for kitchen appliances as well as the KitchenAid mixer. Before ta-
In the survey, over 80% of the subjects stated that they were familiar with the average prices (and possibly variation) of kitchen appliances, and over 90% of subjects have purchased a kitchen appliance in the past. Further, subjects in the study cooked on average 4 times a week, baked once a week, expressed interest in purchasing a stand mixer, and were somewhat knowledgeable about the prices of a KitchenAid mixer. Additionally, the subjects agreed that price was an important factor in their purchase decision, and that they searched extensively before buying a kitchen appliance. Finally, almost 90% of the subjects found the survey questions to be clear and over 80% found the prices shown to be realistic. Thus, the sampled subjects are not only representative of the U.S. population, but are also very relevant for this research.  

In the survey, each subject provided five belief distributions (one prior and one after each of the four search scenarios), each of which include four probabilities at different price thresholds. We first explore the variation in responses to the price thresholds both within and across subjects. The top left panel of Figure 2 shows the across subject variation in the average elicited probability corresponding to each price quantile. Each box plot corresponds to a price quantile with the distribution showing the variation in the average probability across subjects. Not only do we find significant variation in elicited probabilities across subjects, but the S-shaped pattern in probabilities across quantiles is also similar to the cumulative distribution function of a normal distribution. The top right panel of Figure 2 plots, by price quantile, the distribution of standard deviation of elicited probabilities across subjects. Values greater than zero indicate variation in responses within a subject to the same price quantile across belief elicitation tasks. While the standard deviation is slightly higher for the second and third price quantile, the standard deviation for the first and fourth quantiles is significantly different from zero pointing to substantial within subject variation in elicited probabilities for all price thresholds. This variation is crucial to studying whether subjects

10Web Appendix C shows a histogram of the bonuses subjects received based on their responses to the belief elicitation and search tasks. The average bonus is around $4 and is significant as compared to the fixed participation fee of around $6 we paid to the market research company. Thus, the payout subjects received is significant and economically meaningful pointing to their incentive to respond accurately.
update beliefs in response to search outcomes.

The bottom left panel of Figure 2 shows the distribution of number of searches (choices) across subjects. The last column indicates the number of subjects who chose to continue searching after the four search tasks. Overall, we find variation across subjects in when they decide to stop searching which, combined with the variation in price beliefs, allows for estimation of search costs. To understand how subjects respond to search outcomes, in the bottom right panel of Figure 2, we show a scatter plot between the search outcome and the elicited median price of the belief distribution. The positive relationship between the searched price and elicited median price provides preliminary evidence that consumers respond to search outcomes and positively (upwards) update price beliefs in response to higher price outcomes. We explore the updating process more formally in the subsequent sections.

4.1 Belief Estimation

Our belief elicitation and estimation follows the approach outlined in Manski (2004) and used in a series of previous papers (see for example, Dominitz and Manski (1996, 1997, 2004, 2005)). For expositional convenience, we ignore the subject specific subscript $i$, but note that each subject sees different thresholds based on responses to upper and lower bounds or the median price. For each price threshold (design point) $p^*_d$, let $F_d$ denote the probability that the price is below this threshold i.e. $F_d = \Pr(p \leq p^*_d)$. We thus collect the four points $F_d$ on the CDF describing the subject’s subjective beliefs about prices, and use these to recover the distribution of price $F(p)$ using the approach outlined in Dominitz and Manski (1996).

The estimation routine outlined above requires assuming a belief distribution. In this paper, we limit our attention to unimodal distributions.\(^{11}\) We first estimate the belief distribution subject to the assumption that beliefs follow a skew normal distribution. The skew normal

\(^{11}\)Oakley and O’Hagan (2007) outline a routine which non-parametrically estimates the distribution of beliefs and allows for multi-modal distributions. While we believe this is valuable, we defer accounting for non-parametric distributions to future research.
distribution is a generalization of the normal distribution and has a density function given by
\[ g(x) = \frac{2}{\omega} \phi \left( \frac{x - \zeta}{\omega} \right) \Phi \left( \alpha \frac{x - \zeta}{\omega} \right) \]
where \( \phi(.) \) and \( \Phi(.) \) are the density and distribution functions of a standard normal distribution, respectively, \( \zeta \) and \( \omega \) are the location and scale parameters, respectively, and \( \alpha \) measures the skewness of the distribution. The normal distribution is a special case of the skew normal distribution with \( \alpha = 0 \). Across all subjects and belief elicitation, over 65\% of estimated distributions have a value of \( \alpha \) between -2 and 2, which points to almost symmetric belief distributions. Further, none of the estimated \( \alpha \)'s are significantly different from 0. Together, this supports assuming that the beliefs follow a normal distribution, which has also been assumed in the previous literature (see for example, Dominitz and Manski (1996)).

Let \( (\mu, \sigma) \) denote the mean and standard deviation of the normally distributed belief distribution. The estimated parameters minimize the sum of the least squared errors between the price thresholds and the predicted prices given the elicited probabilities:

\[
(\hat{\mu}, \hat{\sigma}) = \arg\min_{\mu, \sigma} \sum_d \left( p_d^* - \Phi^{-1}(\mathcal{F}_d; \mu, \sigma) \right)^2
\]

where \( \hat{\mu} \) and \( \hat{\sigma} \) are the estimated mean and standard deviation of the subjects’ belief distribution. Thus, we capture the entire distribution of beliefs as opposed to only the expected value which has been utilized in the previous literature (Delavande (2008) and Erdem, Keane, Öncü, and Strebel (2005)).

### 4.2 Belief Heterogeneity and Updating

We now explore whether subjects differ in their prior beliefs and whether they update their beliefs in response to search outcomes. While heterogeneity in prior beliefs has implications for search costs estimated under simultaneous search, belief updating (in addition to prior beliefs) influences search cost estimates under sequential search. The top panel of Figure 3 plots the distribution of the estimated means of the prior distribution across all subjects (dotted green density) as well as

\[ \text{We replicated our analysis assuming that subject’s price beliefs follow a lognormal distribution and do not find any qualitative differences. These results are available from the authors upon request.} \]
the true price distribution (dashed blue density) based on prices at hundreds of online and offline stores. The prior distribution is elicited before providing subjects with any price information about the KitchenAid mixer. Overall, subjects underestimate the true prices of the KitchenAid mixer and there exists significant heterogeneity in the expected prices across subjects. The bottom panel of Figure 3 shows the distribution of the estimated standard deviations of the prior belief distributions along with the true standard deviation (dotted blue line). Again, we find that subjects differ substantially in their beliefs about the price dispersion in the market for the mixer. The majority of the subjects overestimate the degree of price dispersion which could have potential implications for how much subjects search.

The solid red density in the top panel of Figure 3 shows the distribution of estimated means of the posterior distribution across all subjects obtained at the end of all four search scenarios. As compared to the prior distribution (dotted green density), the posterior distribution is closer to the true distribution (dashed blue density), and also has a smaller standard deviation. Thus, it provides evidence that subjects update their beliefs and learn about the true price distribution. We explore this more formally by regressing the difference between the estimated mean for scenario $t$ and that for the scenario $t - 1$, $(\mu_t - \mu_{t-1})$, on the difference between price observed in scenario $t$ and the mean in scenario $t - 1$, $(p_t - \mu_{t-1})$. Notably, this model specification is consistent with the adaptive expectation model proposed by Nerlove (1958). Specifically, we run a regression of the form:

$$\mu_t - \mu_{t-1} = \alpha + \beta(p_t - \mu_{t-1}) + \epsilon$$

where if $\beta$ is estimated such that $0 \leq \beta \leq 1$, then the posterior belief is a convex combination of the prior belief and the empirical distribution. We estimate a positive and significant value of

---

The true price distribution is based on prices which include taxes and shipping for a specific zip code, as applicable. To compare this distribution with that from the survey, the subjects were informed that the prices shown include all applicable taxes and shipping. We admit that this may result in some differences across these distributions since subjects in the survey are located in cities with varying taxes and shipping charges while the true distribution is based on one particular zip code. However, we expect the bias induced due to this to be small and not drive the observed differences in the distributions.
\( \beta = 0.49 \) which implies that subjects update their price beliefs in response to search outcomes and the extent of updating depends on how much the observed price differs from the previously expected price. The belief elicitation also allows us to study how subjects update the standard deviation of belief distribution. A simple regression of the standard deviation of the price beliefs on linear and quadratic terms of the search task number (time trend) shows that the standard deviation of the price distribution decreases at a diminishing rate as the number of search increases.\(^{14}\) Thus, not only do we estimate substantial heterogeneity in the standard deviation of the subject’s prior belief distribution (lower panel of Figure 3), but also find that subjects update the standard deviation meaningfully in response to search outcomes. In the following section, we explore the implications of (not) accounting for the individual-specific standard deviation on search cost estimates.

5 Beliefs and Search Costs

We now explore the implications of assuming rational expectations on the search cost estimates. Specifically, we study how not accounting for (i) prior heterogeneity in subjects’ beliefs, and (ii) belief updating influences search cost estimates. Recall that while the actual searches are done sequentially, the survey itself does not impose any restriction on whether subjects should adopt a simultaneous or a sequential search strategy. Further, given our interest in understanding the implications of different assumptions, we designed the survey such that search costs can be estimated without imposing any parametric assumptions.

5.1 Simultaneous Search

In the survey, the first search is free for the subjects. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that a subject decides on the number of searches to conduct after realizing the outcome of the first search. Let \( \hat{p}_{i1} \) be the price realized by subject \( i \) from the first search. Given this observed price, the expected

\( ^{14}\)The results from both regressions are available from the authors upon request.
utility from making $k$ additional searches is given by

$$E(U_{ik}) = k \int_0^{\bar{p}_{i1}} (\bar{p}_{i1} - p) (1 - F_{i1}(p))^{k-1} f_{i1}(p) \, dp - kc_i$$  \hspace{1cm} (6)$$

where $F_{i1}(p)$ denotes the distribution function corresponding to the updated price beliefs the subject has after realizing the outcome of the first search. Following equation 2, we can compute the incremental benefit (net of search cost) from $k$ searches as opposed to $k-1$ searches as

$$\Gamma_{ik}^{sim} = k \int_0^{\bar{p}_{i1}} (\bar{p}_{i1} - p) (1 - F_{i1}(p))^{k-1} f_{i1}(p) \, dp$$

$$- (k-1) \int_0^{\bar{p}_{i1}} (\bar{p}_{i1} - p) (1 - F_{i1}(p))^{k-2} f_{i1}(p) \, dp$$  \hspace{1cm} (7)$$

which provides an upper bound on the search cost for a subject who searches $k$ times. Similarly, we can calculate a lower bound on the search cost estimate based on the expected gain from searching $k$ versus $k+1$ times. We focus on three different specifications about beliefs - (i) subjects have the belief distribution as estimated from the belief elicitation task, (ii) subjects’ belief distribution has a mean as estimated from the belief elicitation task, but the standard deviation of their beliefs coincides with the true standard deviation, and (iii) subjects’ beliefs coincide with the true distribution of prices as observed in practice. While the first scenario estimates the “correct” bounds on search costs, the second allows us to quantify the importance of accounting for the standard deviation of beliefs, and the third draws a direct comparison with the assumption of rational expectations which is commonly made in the empirical literature on search.

In each scenario, we infer the bounds on the search cost for each subject and then take the average of these bounds and plot a distribution of these estimated averages. Note that for simultaneous search, $\Gamma_{ik}^{sim}$ decreases with $k$, and thus, by construction, the lower bound ($\Gamma_{ik+1}^{sim}$) is always lower than the upper bound ($\Gamma_{ik}^{sim}$). We exclude subjects who do not search more than once, or continue searching after four search tasks, since for these subjects, we have only a lower or an upper
bound, respectively, on their search cost. The top panel of Figure 4 plots the distribution of search costs under different scenarios. For the elicited belief distribution, we estimate median search costs of $8, and do not find any qualitative difference in the distribution of search costs if we assume that the standard deviation of the belief distribution coincides with the true price distribution. This result is different from the previous literature which does not account for the standard deviation of the distribution, and thus, cannot comment on its relevance to search outcomes. By contrast, assuming rational expectations results in a median search cost of $12 which is 1.5 times more than the true search costs. Together, our findings not only highlight the importance of eliciting and accounting for heterogeneous expected prices, but also show that assuming that all subjects have the same standard deviation as that of the true price distribution provides qualitatively similar distribution of search costs. This is especially important given that estimating the standard deviation significantly increases the effort in belief elicitation. Notably, the specification of the search model does not constrain the relative importance of the mean and standard deviation of the belief distribution. Further, the relatively low importance of standard deviation is not driven by lack of variation in the elicited standard deviation of prior beliefs in our data. Thus, the relatively low importance of standard deviation of beliefs in influencing the distribution of search costs is neither an artifact of the model nor can be attributed to lack of variation in the data.

5.2 Sequential Search

As compared to simultaneous search, under sequential search, the decision to continue searching (with perfect recall) depends on the lowest price seen by the subject and the updated price beliefs. Recall from equation 3 that the expected benefit, net of search cost, of searching for the \((k+1)\)th time is given by

\[
\Gamma_{ik+1}^{seq} = \int_0^{\tilde{p}_{ik}} (\tilde{p}_{ik} - p) dF_{ik}
\]

where \(\tilde{p}_{ik}\) is the lowest price a subject has sampled after \(k\) searches and \(F_{ik}(p)\) denotes the updated distribution of price beliefs. As with simultaneous search, we calculate the bounds on search costs and take the average of these bounds to calculate each subject’s search cost. Unlike simultaneous search, however, the bounds on search costs are derived based on the distributions elicited at the end of \(k\) and \(k+1\) searches from the same subject.
Given that in this paper, we do not impose any restriction on the nature of belief updating, it is possible in practice, that the estimated lower bound is higher than the estimated upper bound. In the data, we find that for around 25% - 30% subjects, the estimated lower bound is greater than the upper bound. This number is small enough that it could be interpreted as mistakes made by subjects, or be attributable to the errors in belief estimation or to modeling assumptions. We do robustness checks to our modeling assumptions in Section 7 and do not find any qualitative differences in the search cost estimates.

We again treat the first search as free, and estimate search costs subject to the following assumptions about beliefs - (i) subjects have the prior and updated belief distributions as estimated based on the belief elicitation tasks, (ii) subjects’ prior and updated beliefs have a mean as estimated from the belief elicitation tasks, but the standard deviation corresponds to the true standard deviation, and (iii) subjects’ beliefs coincide with the true distribution of prices as observed in practice and they do not update beliefs. The bottom panel of Figure 4 plots the distribution of search costs from these different scenarios. For the elicited prior and updated beliefs (solid curve), we estimate a median search cost of $7, which is slightly lower than the search cost estimate under simultaneous search. Consistent with the simultaneous search scenario, allowing for the estimated mean price beliefs but assuming that the standard deviation coincides with the true price distribution (dotted curve) does not significantly bias the search cost estimates. Finally, assuming that subjects know the true distribution of beliefs and do not update price beliefs (dashed curve) results in median search cost of $15. This is consistent with Koulayev (2013) who overestimates search cost assuming rational expectations.

5.3 Bias in Search Cost Estimates

We now explore the bias in search cost estimates due to the rational expectations assumption. For both simultaneous and sequential search models, we define bias in search cost as the difference between the search cost estimated with elicited heterogeneous beliefs and that estimated assuming subjects know the true price distribution (rational expectations). We refer to a positive (negative)
difference as a downward (upward) bias in assuming rational expectations. We classify subjects into different groups based on whether the prior expected price is higher or lower than the expected price from the true distribution, and whether subjects updated their beliefs in a positive or negative direction. To classify subjects based on belief updating, we regress the expected price beliefs after each search task on a time trend (task number) and classify updating as positive or negative based on the sign of the time trend coefficient.

The left panel of Figure 5 shows the average bias for different groups of subjects based on prior beliefs under simultaneous search. We find that subjects with expected prior price belief lower (higher) than the expected price of the true price distribution have a downward (upward) bias in search cost estimates. Subjects with a lower expected prior as compared to the true price distribution have a higher incentive to search since the estimated benefit from searching is higher. This translates to higher search costs (relative to the estimates assuming rational expectations) which are required to rationalize the search and choice data. The first column of Table 2 reports estimates from a regression of the bias on whether the prior expected price and prior standard deviation are higher than the mean and standard deviation of the true price distribution, respectively. Consistent with the left panel of Figure 5, we estimate a negative effect of higher expected prior on the bias and a positive effect of higher prior standard deviation on the bias in search cost. Subjects with prior standard deviation which is higher than the true standard deviation have a lower incentive to search assuming rational expectations, which translates to lower search costs if we assume rational expectations. Lower search costs under rational expectations imply a higher magnitude of downward bias as we find. Thus, the bias in estimated search costs under simultaneous search depends on how the distribution of price beliefs (both mean and standard deviation) compares to the true price distribution.

Under sequential search, the bias in search costs from assuming rational expectations can stem from both heterogeneous prior beliefs and belief updating. The middle panel of Figure 5 presents the average bias for different groups of subjects based on how prior beliefs compare to the true
expected price, and the direction of belief updating. Consistent with the simultaneous search results, we find that subjects with lower (higher) expected prior beliefs (as compared to the true price distribution) have downward (upward) bias in search costs. Interestingly, the direction of bias in search cost is driven by the difference between the expected prior beliefs and the expected true price and not by the direction of belief updating (positive or negative), which provides preliminary evidence that the former is more influential than the latter. To explore this further, we conduct a simple analysis of variance (ANOVA) where we study how much of the variation in search cost bias is explained by whether the prior expected price and prior standard deviation are higher than the mean and standard deviation of the true price distribution, respectively, and whether subjects update the expected price and the standard deviation of the price beliefs in a positive direction or not. While the first two measures account for prior beliefs, the last two measures capture the role of belief updating. The first two measures account for 89% of the variation explained by all the four measures, thus, pointing to the importance of prior beliefs relative to the true distribution, as compared to the direction of belief updating. This not only emphasizes the importance of accounting for prior beliefs to obtain unbiased estimates of search costs, but also provides guidance to researchers on the relative importance of accounting for heterogeneous prior beliefs as compared to belief updating.

The second column of Table 2 reports estimates from a regression of the bias on the four measures discussed above. Consistent with Figure 5, we estimate a negative effect of high prior and a negative effect of positively updating the expected price on the bias in search cost. If subjects update beliefs in a positive direction, the marginal benefit from searching goes down which implies that inferred search cost should be lower. Consequently, we would estimate an upward bias in search cost as we find. Importantly, the differences in the standard deviation of the prior belief and that of the true price distribution, and the direction of updating of the standard deviation do not have significant effects on search cost bias. This is consistent with our previous findings (Figure 4) where ignoring heterogeneity in standard deviation of price beliefs does not qualitatively influence the estimated distribution of search costs.
Finally, we study how the direction of belief updating influences the difference in search cost estimates obtained under sequential and simultaneous search models. Based on the right panel of Figure 5 and the last column of Table 2, we find that if subjects update beliefs in a positive direction, the difference between sequential and simultaneous search cost estimates is lower as compared to when subjects update beliefs in a negative direction. Thus, the difference in the estimates of search cost under sequential and simultaneous search models depends on the direction in which subjects update prior beliefs.

5.4 Implications of Different Search Cost Estimates

We now comment on the magnitude of estimated search costs and the impact of changing search costs on the number of searches. In the survey, subjects lose $1 for every incremental search and receive $1 for every $50 reduction in the lowest searched price. Thus, assuming fungibility of money, we implicitly impose a search cost corresponding to 50 survey dollars, which is substantially higher than the estimated search cost. We believe this difference can be explained by differences in how a subject accounts for money from the different sources i.e. $1 paid to do an additional search is not the same as $1 gained from a lower price. This is consistent with the “house money effect” reported in Thaler and Johnson (1990) where subjects are more risk seeking in the presence of prior gain. To this end, the $3 we endowed the subjects with at the beginning is essentially a prior gain (house money) and is treated differently than the amount earned from a lower searched price.

While we find meaningful differences in search cost estimates subject to different belief specifications, as a researcher, we are interested in the implications of these differences for quantities such as elasticities, market shares and price distribution. In designing the survey, we faced a trade-off between (i) accounting for a heterogeneous product and having a more complicated design which would allow us to study implications for market shares and price dispersion subject to some parametric assumptions, and (ii) having a simple design which would allow us to estimate search costs with minimal assumptions but at the expense of studying market shares and price dispersion.
In this paper, we chose to focus on a simple design which allows us to non-parametrically infer the distribution of search costs and quantify the impact of reducing search costs on the number of searches under alternative assumptions about price beliefs.

Table 3 reports for each search method under different belief specifications, the average percentage increase in the number of searches per subject (top panel), the percentage subjects searching more (middle panel), and the percentage subjects purchasing from a different retailer (bottom panel), as search costs decrease. Note that since the survey allows for perfect price recall, the percentage of subjects purchasing from a different retailer (not a retailer previously observed) will be a subset of the percentage subjects searching more. Put differently, subjects searching more in response to lower search costs could result in either purchasing from one of the previously searched retailers or purchasing from a newly searched retailer. We calculate these statistics by lowering the estimated search costs by 10% and computing the increase in the number of searches due to the lower search costs. To compute the number of searches in the counterfactual scenario, we utilize the search outcomes and the reported price beliefs even after a subject decided to stop searching. Since the survey includes only four search scenarios, we do not know what prices subjects would have seen if they had continued searching beyond these four scenarios, and thus, estimate a lower bound on the increase in search activity.\textsuperscript{15}

We find that for simultaneous search, as compared to accounting for heterogeneous prior beliefs, assuming rational expectations (subjects know the true price distribution) significantly underestimates not only the percentage increase in the number of searches, but also the proportion of subjects who search more and the proportion who purchase from a different retailer. While directionally similar, these differences are not statistically significant for sequential search. Also, assuming that subjects know the standard deviation of the true price distribution does not have a significantly different effect on any of the computed statistics. Comparing simultaneous and

\textsuperscript{15}Under reduced search costs, if subjects were to continue searching beyond the four retail scenarios, we draw a random price from the true price distribution to determine whether subjects purchase from a different retailer or not.
sequential search, we find a significant difference in the proportion of subjects who search more irrespective of the assumption about belief distribution. A 10% reduction in search costs has, depending on the assumed search method, a significantly different effect on the proportion increase in number of searches and proportion of subjects who purchase from a different retailer. Thus, the effect of reducing search cost not only depends on the assumed belief distribution, but also the assumed search method. Next, we explore how knowledge about subjects’ price beliefs influences inference of search method.

6 Simultaneous vs Sequential Search?

DHW12 and HC16 use individual-level data on search sequences and consideration sets (in the absence of search sequences), respectively, to derive theoretically consistent reduced form tests for comparing different search methods. We follow these papers and replicate the tests in them in the absence of data on beliefs, i.e. assuming rational price expectations, and then compare the results with those we derive when subjects’ price beliefs are accounted for. In the same spirit as these papers, we pool data across subjects to study implied data patterns at the aggregate level, as opposed to inferring the search method separately for each subject.

6.1 Without Price Beliefs

The left panel of Figure 6 plots the distribution of the number of searches done by each subject along with a distribution of the number of subjects for whom the last searched price was the lowest price. Consistent with DHW12, we find that for around 35% of subjects, the last searched price is not the lowest price i.e. subjects purchase at a recalled price, which provides preliminary evidence that the observed search and choice patterns are inconsistent with the classic model of sequential search. This is not surprising since the classic models of search do not allow consumers to update beliefs which could result in product recall, as is the case in our study.

————— Insert Figure 6 here —————
The key empirical difference between simultaneous and sequential search is that under simultaneous search, the observed distribution of prices should be independent of the number of searches. In a sequential search model, however, the observed distribution of prices could either be increasing, decreasing or independent of the number of searches depending on whether or not consumers update price beliefs. Before replicating the tests from the previous literature, we explore this informally in the absence of any functional form assumptions about the distribution of beliefs. The right panel of Figure 6 shows the distribution of average search outcome (realized price) by the number of searches conducted. While we cannot comment on the nature of the first search since it is free to subjects, we do not find any difference in the average sampled price across subjects who searched two, three and four times, respectively, which does not rule out either search method.

We now use data on search and prices to test for the search method more formally by first conducting the test in HC16 which does not require knowledge of search sequence, and then conducting the test in DHW12 which requires information on the search sequence. Both these tests assume that consumers know the true distribution of prices. Our primary objective of doing these tests is to understand whether the inference of search method hinges on the knowledge of subjects’ prior price beliefs and how subjects update these beliefs. HC16 show that based on the true price distribution, if the probability of getting a below-expectation price is \( \lambda \) (e.g., for a normal distribution \( \lambda = 0.5 \)), then under simultaneous search, for any given number of searches, the proportion of below-expectation prices seen by the consumer should also be \( \lambda \). Intuitively, this is equivalent to testing the independence of the distribution of sampled prices (consideration set) and the number of searches undertaken by the consumer. By contrast, for the sequential search model, HC16 show that subject to the rational expectations assumption, the proportion of below expectation prices sampled should be greater than \( \lambda \), and test this among consumers who search once where they incur search costs.

We generalize this test beyond just the expected price, which for a normal distribution is the same as the median price. Specifically, let \( p_q \) represent the price corresponding to the \( q^{th} \) percentile
in the true price distribution. Following HC16, this implies that, under simultaneous search, the proportion of price draws below \( p_q \) should equal \( q \), i.e. \( \Pr ( p < p_q ) = q \), irrespective of the number of searches conducted. Table 4 reports the proportion of prices sampled below the different price quantiles (columns). The first column reports the results in HC16 (corresponding to the expected price) and the other columns report the proportions for the 25th and the 75th percentiles of the price distribution. Focusing on the first column, we find that the proportion of sampled prices which are below the expected price is higher than 50% for the first search which points to the first search being done sequentially, which is not surprising given that the first search was free. However, the proportion of sampled prices which are below the expected price is not significantly different from 50% for searches 2, 3 and 4, which subject to the rational expectations assumptions, implies that subjects are utilizing the simultaneous search method and is consistent with HC16. We find consistent results if instead of the expected price, we consider the 25th percentile or the 75th percentile of the price distribution (columns 2 and 3 of Table 4).

Finally, we utilize information on the search sequence to test whether, assuming rational expectations, the likelihood to continue searching depends on how the current sampled price compares to the expected price from one additional search. Specifically, we test whether the decision to continue searching hinges on how the current sampled price compares to the price the consumer would have seen in the subsequent search. While data limitations constrain DHW12 to focus only on the decision to engage in one versus two searches, we generalize this test to account for multiple searches. Table 5 reports the results from a logistic regression in which we regress the decision to continue searching (after the first, second and third search separately) on whether the current price is lower than the subsequent price or not. Consistent with DHW12, we find that the coefficient for the currently sampled price being lower than the subsequent price is negative but not significantly different from zero, which again rules out sequential search. Thus, subject to the rational expectations assumption, and in the absence of accounting for price beliefs, we conclude, similar to the previous literature, that subjects engage in simultaneous search.
6.2 The Role of Price Beliefs

To understand how knowledge of price beliefs might allow us to infer the search method, we estimate a logit model corresponding to the probability that subject \( i \) decides to buy the product after searching \( k \) times, i.e.,

\[
\Pr(\text{buy}_{ik}) = \frac{\exp(\alpha + \beta \tilde{p}_{ik} + \gamma \mathbb{E}(p_{ik+1}) + \delta \sigma_{ik+1})}{1 + \exp(\alpha + \beta \tilde{p}_{ik} + \gamma \mathbb{E}(p_{ik+1}) + \delta \sigma_{ik+1})}
\] (8)

where \( \tilde{p}_{ik} \) is the lowest sampled price after \( k \) searches, and \( \mathbb{E}(p_{ik+1}) \) and \( \sigma_{ik+1} \) are the mean and standard deviation of the updated posterior belief distribution as estimated based on the belief elicitation task. If subjects engage in simultaneous search, then the updated posterior price beliefs should not influence the subjects’ decision to search more. Table 6 reports the results from this model based on all searches and after excluding the first search since the first search is free. While we do not find a significant effect of the standard deviation, the mean of the updated posterior price belief distribution has a positive and significant effect on the decision to stop searching. Thus, after accounting for subjects’ updated beliefs, we conclude that subjects engage in sequential search, which highlights the importance of accounting for price beliefs when inferring the search method.

To understand how accounting for beliefs influences inference of the search method, we note that the tests for simultaneous or sequential search rely on rational expectations, which imply that any search outcome can be deemed as favorable (lower than the average price) or unfavorable (higher than the average price) by the subject. Specifically, the tests explore whether subjects’ decision to continue searching hinges on whether the searched outcomes are favorable or unfavorable. By contrast, if subjects learn about the true distribution of prices, then search outcomes cannot be classified as favorable or unfavorable unless the consumer has searched enough to realize the true distribution of prices. This lack of ability to classify a search outcome as favorable or unfavorable when the subject learns about the true price distribution results in differences in inferred search method. Let’s consider two scenarios. First, assume that subjects have prior beliefs significantly
lower than the true price distribution and on each successive search, subjects get monotonically increasing but favorable price draws from the true price distribution. The subjects update beliefs in response to the searched prices, but continue searching as they believe that these prices are “unfavorable”. In the absence of price beliefs, we would observe subjects making a large number of searches even when the search outcomes were favorable, which assuming rational expectations, would rule out sequential search. Similarly, let’s consider a scenario where subjects’ prior beliefs are significantly higher than the true price distribution and in each successive search, subjects get monotonically decreasing but unfavorable price draws from the true price distribution. Subjects again updates beliefs in response to the searched prices, but believe these prices to be a good “deal” and decide to purchase before searching extensively. In the absence of price beliefs, we would observe subjects purchasing with less favorable search outcomes, which assuming rational expectations, would again rule out sequential search. These examples provide intuition as to why assuming rational expectations could lead the researcher to infer that search is simultaneous, even though the underlying data generating process is consistent with sequential search.

7 Robustness to Alternative Specifications

The estimated search costs reported earlier rely solely on the theoretical predictions of the different search models and do not impose any parametric assumptions on the utility function. We assume that subjects are searching for the lowest price and have a constant search cost. As we discuss in Section 5, not imposing any structure or assumptions on belief updating results in about 25-30% subjects with the estimated lower bound higher than the estimated upper bound. This issue is specific to the sequential search model and can potentially be attributed to some random shocks subjects realize to their search costs in each period, idiosyncratic preferences for different retailers, or the assumption that the optimal stopping rule is myopic in nature.\(^\text{16}\) While our study does not allow us to estimate retailer preferences, we perform robustness checks to our base sequential

\(^{16}\)If search is not myopic, then not accounting for the option value from future searches will lead to an underestimation of search costs.
search model by estimating two different models - (i) allowing for random shocks to search costs, and (ii) accounting for potential dynamic search.

In the model which allows for random shocks to search costs, we assume that a subject realizes a shock before searching and that the shock is unobserved to the researcher. Let \( \varepsilon_{ik} \sim N(0,1) \) denote the shock to search cost for subject \( i \) on the \( k^{th} \) search. The subject’s decision to continue searching, thus, depends on the expected gain from searching \( \Gamma_{ik+1}^{seq} \) and the magnitude of search cost. As a researcher, we do not observe the shock to search cost so the probability of continuing to search is given by

\[
Pr(\text{search}) = Pr \left( \Gamma_{ik+1}^{seq} > c_i + \varepsilon_{ik} \right) = \Phi \left( \Gamma_{ik+1}^{seq} - c_i \right)
\]

where \( \Phi(.) \) is the cumulative distribution function of the normal distribution. This model, thus, allows for the possibility that, given the shock to search cost, the inferred upper bound (\( \Gamma_{ik+1}^{seq} \)) might be underestimated resulting in the observed inconsistency. Figure 7 plots the distribution of search costs from the base sequential search model (green dashed curve) along with the model which allows for random shocks to search costs (purple dashed curve). While we do find some differences in the estimated search costs, these differences are small as compared to the bias induced from assuming rational expectations (Figure 4).

Alternately, it is possible that the inconsistency in estimated bounds stems from our assumption that the optimal stopping rule, and hence the search, is myopic in nature. We now allow search to be dynamic i.e. we allow a subject’s decision to continue searching to be driven by the potential benefit in the future from updated beliefs about market prices. Recall that, if beliefs follow a normal distribution and the updated price belief is a convex combination of the prior belief and the searched outcome, then as Bikhchandani and Sharma (1996) show, optimal search is myopic in nature. We explicitly test this by estimating a dynamic search model which allows for the “option”
value of benefiting from future searches. To do so, we note that subjects were informed that they will see at most four search outcomes. Thus, the expected benefit from searching further in the last retail scenario only depends on the price beliefs at the beginning of the last scenario and not on how subjects update beliefs after the last scenario.\footnote{This is similar to dynamic discrete choice models with a terminal period in which the utility in the terminal period only depends on the terminal period state vector and not on the beliefs about future realizations of the state variables.}

We use the expected benefit in the last search scenario to backward deduce the expected benefit in the previous search scenario. Specifically, for each retail scenario before the last one, we compute the expected benefit from searching once, two times, three times etc. by integrating out over the distribution of prices in each period and allowing for a subject to learn about the true price distribution based on the observed prices.\footnote{Web Appendix D outlines the algorithm to compute the expected benefit from searching under dynamic search.} This requires us to integrate over the distribution of possible search outcomes (observed prices). A priori, it is not clear which distribution of prices should be used for drawing search outcomes. We consider two potential distributions: the true price distribution and the subjects’ current price beliefs. In either case, we follow our analysis on belief updating and write down a reduced form model of belief updating where the subjects’ updated mean and standard deviation are a function of the prior mean and standard deviation and the search outcome, respectively. Figure 7 also plots the distribution of search costs from the models which allow for dynamic search. The estimates under either assumption on the price distribution are almost identical to the estimates under the base model of myopic search with elicited belief distributions, which also validates our approach in which the optimal stopping rule is myopic in nature.

8 Discussion and Conclusion

The extant literature in marketing and economics adopts either a simultaneous or a sequential search method, estimates search costs (subject to the chosen method), and provides implications for pricing and market structure. The majority of these papers assume that consumers have rational
expectations in that they know the true distribution of prices. While we understand the need to make this assumption, ex ante, it is not clear whether consumers know the true price distribution for less frequently purchased big ticket items, especially given the frequent changes in market structure in different industries. In this paper we elicit price beliefs and study how the knowledge of price beliefs informs consumer search costs and method. We study this question in the context of a KitchenAid mixer which is typically sold for around $300 - $400 and is not purchased frequently by consumers. This, thus, provides an ideal setting to study the role of price beliefs and the implications of the assumptions routinely made in the search literature.

We find that subjects differ substantially in the prior beliefs about the prices of the mixer, and update these beliefs in response to search outcomes. Further, assuming rational expectations significantly biases the estimated search costs. For both simultaneous and sequential search models, assuming that subjects know the true price belief distribution upward biases the median estimate of search costs by at least 50% on average. For the sequential search model, the magnitude of bias is influenced by both - heterogeneous prior beliefs and direction of belief updating, but prior beliefs explain significantly more variation in the bias as compared to belief updating. Importantly, while there exists heterogeneity in the standard deviation of the price belief distribution and while subjects meaningfully update the standard deviation of this distribution based on search outcomes, assuming that all subjects have the same standard deviation as that of the true price distribution does not influence the distribution of search costs. Finally, assuming rational expectations and the underlying search method have implications for how a reduction in search cost affects the increase in the number of searches, the proportion of subjects who search more, and the proportion of subjects who purchase from a different retailer.

Accounting for heterogeneous price beliefs is also important for inferring the correct search method. Consistent with previous research, if we assume rational expectations, then patterns in the data suggest that subjects engage in simultaneous search. Accounting for price beliefs, however, rules out simultaneous search in favor of sequential search. HC16 show that an incorrect specification of the search process results in biases in predicted search, consideration sets, and market
shares. This has implications for the optimal prices a retailer may charge. In our context, we find similar results for the search cost elasticities where in addition to the assumption about search method, different assumptions about prior beliefs result in biased estimates of search cost elasticities with respect to number of searches, proportion of subjects searching more, and proportion of subjects purchasing from a different retailer.

These results have important implications for both, academics as well as managers. From an academic perspective, the findings further our understanding of the role of price beliefs in informing search costs and inference about search method. While some results, such as the relationship between the magnitude of bias and the prior beliefs, might appear intuitive, other results on the relative importance of standard deviation as compared to the mean of the prior beliefs, and the importance of prior beliefs relative to belief updating in explaining biases in search costs are theoretically ambiguous. To this end, this paper provides the intuition behind how prior beliefs and belief updating influence search cost estimates and inference about search method. These results are also relevant to managers who are interested in how consumers search and the implications of search on market shares and price dispersion. Specifically, the results herein emphasize the need to account for consumers’ prior beliefs to accurately estimate search costs, which can then be used to understand market structure. In the absence of prior beliefs, and assuming rational expectations, managers can recover search costs but will be unable to assess the magnitude and direction of bias in the estimated search costs, which crucially depends on how the consumers’ prior beliefs compare to the true price distribution.

While we believe the paper makes an important contribution to the search literature as well as the literature on belief elicitation and updating, we acknowledge several limitations of our study. First, under search with learning about prices, a consumer may decide to stop searching and not purchase the product if the updated price beliefs make purchase unattractive. In our study, we do not account for the option of stopping to search and not purchasing. Doing so would require us to make some parametric assumptions about the utility function to separate product and price preference from search costs. By contrast, our study design consistently estimates the bounds on search
costs in absence of any parametric assumptions. Second, as mentioned earlier, we consider search over prices of a homogeneous good. Extending the analysis to heterogeneous goods is of value but would require more parametric assumptions so we leave this to future research. Third, while our survey design allows us to use aggregate data patterns to comment on whether subjects engage in simultaneous or sequential search, subjects may differ in their search method. It is possible that some subjects engage in simultaneous search while others engage in sequential search. Further, subjects may also search in stages which combine simultaneous and sequential search methods (Morgan and Manning (1985) and Harrison and Morgan (1990)). Understanding the nature of search at an individual-level would require a longer search history for each subject. In this paper, our emphasis was on inferring the standard deviation of the belief distribution which is more time consuming and requires substantially more elicitation than required for inferring just the mean. Thus, we defer a formal treatment of inferring search at the individual level to future research. Finally, in our analysis we assume that the subjects’ beliefs follow a normal distribution. While this assumption is supported by the data, and we do a robustness check around this assumption, it is possible to extend the analysis to allow for more flexible (non-parametric) price belief distributions. Accounting for such non-parametric price distributions may result in non-myopic search, which, we believe is an interesting topic for future research.
References


SPENCE, F. (2015): “Consumer Experience and the Value of Search in the Online Textbook Mar-
ket,” *manuscript*.


Table 1: Survey Summary - Pre and post survey familiarity and purchase behavior for home appliances and KitchenAid mixer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Survey Measures</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current familiarity with the kitchen appliance prices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average price and variation</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average price but not variation</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not have a good sense</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have purchased kitchen appliance in the past</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own stand mixer</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often use stand mixer (per month)</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often cook at home (per week)</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often bake at home (per week)</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in purchasing mixer in near future (5-point scale)</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge about prices of KitchenAid mixer (7-point scale)</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post-Survey Measures</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extent of agreement (5-point scale)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase most home appliances online</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like to see the appliance in person before purchasing</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extensively search for the best price before purchasing</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase once I find the appliance with all the features I like</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stores are unable to match prices offered by websites</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can purchase home appliances at lower prices online</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great kitchen appliance is worth paying a lot of money for</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less willing to buy new appliances if they have a high price</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price of buying new appliances is important to me</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t mind spending a lot to buy a new appliance</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Involvement in purchasing home appliances</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I decide</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My spouse/partner and I together decide</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My spouse/partner decides</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else decides</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity with features of KitchenAid mixer (7-point scale)</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge about prices of KitchenAid mixer (7-point scale)</td>
<td>5.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clarity and Realistic?</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey questions were clear</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price thresholds were realistic</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The table summarizes the subjects familiarity and purchase intentions for home appliances and KitchenAid mixer both, pre and post belief elicitation and search tasks.
Table 2: Determinants of Bias in Search Cost Estimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simultaneous</th>
<th>Sequential</th>
<th>Seq. - Sim.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>8.17**</td>
<td>43.56**</td>
<td>21.68**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.48)</td>
<td>(8.03)</td>
<td>(5.56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Prior Mean</td>
<td>-21.82**</td>
<td>-43.32**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.69)</td>
<td>(5.63)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Prior St. Dev.</td>
<td>9.32**</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.65)</td>
<td>(5.76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive updating Mean</td>
<td>-18.46**</td>
<td>-18.79**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.81)</td>
<td>(6.41)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive updating St. Dev.</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.12)</td>
<td>(5.88)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The table reports results from regressions with bias in search costs as the dependent variable and whether subjects have higher prior beliefs (as measured by mean and standard deviation) and whether they update beliefs positively or not as the independent variables. The bias for both simultaneous (column 1) and sequential (column 2) models is computed as the difference between search costs estimated with elicited heterogeneous beliefs and those estimated assuming the subjects know the true price distribution (rational expectations). Additionally, column 3 reports results from the regression with difference in search costs estimated with elicited heterogeneous beliefs under the sequential and simultaneous search models, respectively. ** indicates coefficients which are significantly different from 0 at the 95% confidence level.

Table 3: Search Cost Elasticities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simultaneous Search</th>
<th>Sequential Search</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Increase in Number of Searches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicited Belief Distribution</td>
<td>17.30% (2.56%)</td>
<td>18.51% (1.73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicited Mean with True Std</td>
<td>21.94% (2.85%)</td>
<td>21.42% (1.99%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Distribution</td>
<td>5.64% (1.46%)**</td>
<td>17.34% (1.57%)++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Subjects Searching More</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicited Belief Distribution</td>
<td>34.23% (3.90%)</td>
<td>49.66% (4.11%)++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicited Mean with True Std</td>
<td>39.60% (4.02%)</td>
<td>51.68% (4.11%)++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Distribution</td>
<td>12.08% (2.68%)**</td>
<td>48.32% (4.11%)++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Subjects Purchasing from Different Retailer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicited Belief Distribution</td>
<td>12.08% (2.68%)</td>
<td>14.77% (2.92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicited Mean with True Std</td>
<td>18.80% (3.21%)</td>
<td>18.80% (3.31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Distribution</td>
<td>2.68% (1.33%)**</td>
<td>20.13% (3.30%)++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The table reports, for each search method, the average percentage increase in the number of searches per subject (top panel), percentage of subjects searching more (middle panel), and percentage of subjects purchasing from a different retailer (bottom panel), corresponding to a 10% decrease in the estimated search costs. Standard errors around the means are reported in parenthesis. ** indicates numbers which are significantly different (at the 95% confidence level) from those corresponding to the elicited belief distribution for the same search method in the same panel. +++ indicates numbers in the last column (sequential search) which are significantly different (at the 95% confidence level) from those corresponding to simultaneous search.
### Table 4: Proportion of Sampled Prices Below Different Quantiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># Searches</th>
<th>50%</th>
<th>25%</th>
<th>75%</th>
<th># Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.69*** (0.07)</td>
<td>0.56*** (0.08)</td>
<td>0.90*** (0.05)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.45 (0.07)</td>
<td>0.33 (0.06)</td>
<td>0.74 (0.06)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.52 (0.07)</td>
<td>0.26 (0.06)</td>
<td>0.74 (0.06)</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.43 (0.08)</td>
<td>0.21 (0.06)</td>
<td>0.73 (0.07)</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** The table reports for each quartile of the price distribution (columns), the proportion of sampled prices which are below the corresponding quartile conditional on the number of searches (rows). Standard errors are reported in parenthesis. The last column reports the number of subjects who engaged in the number of searches mentioned in the first column. The asterisk denote the following: ***: $p < 0.01$.

### Table 5: Search decision versus Current Price

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search No.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\mathbb{I}(p_{ik} &lt; p_{i,k+1})$</td>
<td>-0.68*</td>
<td>-0.48</td>
<td>-0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.38)</td>
<td>(0.32)</td>
<td>(0.33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** The table reports results from a logistic regression of decision to continue searching on a variable which takes the value 1 if the current searched price is lower than the subsequent searched price. Each column reports results from a different regression corresponding to the search number. The asterisk denote the following: *: $p < 0.1$.

### Table 6: Role of Price Beliefs in Search Decision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Searches</th>
<th>Excluding First Search</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>-2.35*** (0.29)</td>
<td>-2.19*** (0.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean - Price Belief</td>
<td>0.39*** (0.12)</td>
<td>0.35*** (0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Dev. - Price Belief</td>
<td>0.24 (0.18)</td>
<td>0.02 (0.18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** The table reports results from a logistic regression of decision to purchase on the current lowest price, the mean and the standard deviation of the distribution of market price beliefs. The table reports results separately for analysis including all searches, and that which excludes the first search. The asterisk denote the following: ***: $p < 0.01$. 

44
Figure 1: Survey Design (Flowchart)

Note. The figure shows the flow of the survey in terms of the sequence of different search tasks and the belief elicitation tasks. Along with the survey flow, the figure also shows the potential money earned and lost along each path.
Figure 2: Variation in subjects responses to price thresholds, price changes and search decisions

Note. The top left figure shows the box plot across subjects of the average probability (across different belief elicitations) plotted by each price quantile. The top right figure shows the distribution of the within subject standard deviation across these elicited probabilities plotted by price quantile. The bottom left scatter plot plots the relationship between the search outcome and the elicited median of the price belief distribution. Finally, the bottom right figure shows the distribution of number of searches incurred by each subject.
Figure 3: Subject’s Belief Distributions

Note. The top figure shows the distribution (across subjects) of the estimated means of the prior distribution as measured at the beginning of the study, the true price distribution, and the distribution of the posterior means across subjects as measured after the completion of all search tasks. The bottom figure shows the distribution (across subjects) of the estimated standard deviation of the prior belief distribution.
Figure 4: Distribution of Search Costs

Note. The top (bottom) figure shows the distribution of search costs estimated under simultaneous (sequential) search subject to different assumptions about the subject’s prior beliefs and belief updating process.
Figure 5: Bias in Search Cost Based on Direction of Prior Belief and Belief Updating

*Note.* The figure shows the average bias in search costs across different groups of subjects estimated under the simultaneous search model (left panel) and sequential search model (middle panel). Subject groups are defined based on whether the prior expected price is higher or lower than the average price of the observed distribution, and whether subjects update beliefs in a upward (positive) or downward (negative) direction. The right panel shows the average difference between the search costs estimated under sequential and simultaneous search models utilizing the elicted heterogeneous beliefs. The error bars show the 95% confidence interval around the average bias in search cost estimates.

Figure 6: Choice Distribution and Average Sampled Prices

*Note.* The left (right) figure shows the distribution of number of searches (average sampled price by number of searches) across subjects.
Figure 7: Search Cost distribution under Alternate Model Specifications

*Note.* The figure shows the distribution of search costs estimated under alternate models which either allow for shocks to search costs or model dynamic search with learning about the distribution of true prices.
A Web Appendix - Survey Screenshots

Figure 8: Math Screener Questions
In this study, we would like to know about your price expectations, search process, and interest in purchasing a KitchenAid Artisan KSM150PS 5-Quart mixer for food preparation (picture below). While shown in red, the mixer is available in over 20 colors to match your kitchen design. We will ask you questions about your ownership and interest in purchasing the mixer, and will follow this up with questions about price expectation and adoption.

Figure 9: KitchenAid Mixer Description
Figure 10: Prior Belief Elicitation
Figure 11: Posterior Belief Elicitation and Choice
## B Web Appendix - Summary of Demographics

Table 7: Survey Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 24 years</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 64</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 or more</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college, no degree</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s degree</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s degree or more</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $25,000</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $50,000</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 - $75,000</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$75,000 - $100,000</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000 - $125,000</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$125,000 - $150,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$150,000 - $175,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$175,000 - $200,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than $200,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The table summarizes the demographic characteristics of the subjects.
Figure 12: Histogram of the bonuses a subject received

Note. The figure shows the distribution of the bonuses (over and above the fixed participation fee) subjects received based on their responses to the belief elicitation and search task questions.
D Web Appendix - Dynamic Search Model

Below, we outline the steps to compute the search cost bounds under a dynamic search model where a subject’s decision to continue searching depends not only on the current period expected benefit from searching, but also on the expected benefit from searching in the future based on the updated price beliefs, which themselves are a function of the current period search outcome. As mentioned in the paper, the subjects know that they will see four retail scenarios. Thus, the decision to search further after the fourth scenario hinges only on the expected benefit from searching once i.e. future search outcomes are irrelevant in the fourth retail scenario. We focus on the scenario where the potential search outcomes are drawn from the subjects’ prior beliefs (step 2 below). For the scenario where potential search outcomes are drawn from the true distribution, step 2 changes such that the price draws, $p_t^{d_{t+1}}$, are from the true distribution and independent of the subject’s priors.

In our discussion below, we ignore the individual level $i$ subscript for brevity. Let $F_t(p) \sim N(\mu_t, \sigma_t)$ denote the updated distribution of the price beliefs at the end of $t$ searches (period $t$). Further, let $p_t$ be the search outcome in period $t$ and $\bar{p}_t$ be the lowest price observed so far such that $\bar{p}_t = \min(\bar{p}_{t-1}, p_t)$. Finally, let $g_m(.)$ and $g_s(.)$ be the updating functions for mean and standard deviation, respectively. Specifically, $\hat{\mu}_{t+1} = g_m(\mu_t, p_t)$ and $\hat{\sigma}_{t+1} = g_s(\sigma_t, p_t)$. Note that the estimated beliefs based on elicitation tasks are considered data and denoted by $\mu$ and $\sigma$. By contrast, the beliefs updated based on the updating rules are denoted by $\hat{\mu}$ and $\hat{\sigma}$, respectively. In period 4, the expected benefit from searching is given by

$$\Gamma_5 = \int_0^{\bar{p}_4} (\bar{p}_4 - p) dF_4(p) \quad (10)$$

Consider a subject’s decision to engage in search for the $t+1^{th}$ ($t < 4$) time after searching $t$ times.

1. The potential benefit in the current period from searching is given by $\Gamma_{t+1} = \int_0^{\bar{p}_t} (\bar{p}_t - p) dF_t(p)$.
2. We make $D = 100$ price draws $p_t^{d_{t+1}}$ from the subject’s belief distribution $F_t(p)$ correspon-
According to potential search outcomes in the next search. For each price draw $p_{t+1}^d$, we compute the lowest price observed $\bar{p}_{t+1}^d = \min \{ p_t, p_{t+1}^d \}$, the updated mean and standard deviation: $\hat{\mu}_t^{d+1} = g_m(\mu_t, p_{t+1}^d)$ and $\hat{\sigma}_t^{d+1} = g_s(\sigma_t, p_{t+1}^d)$, and the corresponding expected benefit from searching in the next period as

$$
\Gamma_t^{d+1} = \int_{0}^{\bar{p}_{t+1}^d} \left( \bar{p}_{t+1}^d - p \right) dF_{t+1}^d (p)
$$

The net expected benefit from $t + 2^{th}$ search is thus given by $\Gamma_{t+2} = \frac{1}{D} \sum D \left( \Gamma_t^{d+1} \bar{p}_{t+1}^d \right)$.

3. For each price draw $\bar{p}_{t+1}^d$, we make further $D$ price draws $p_{t+2}^{dd}$ from the subject’s updated belief distribution $F_{t+1}^d (p)$ and compute the expected benefit from search $\Gamma_{t+3}^{dd}$. The expected benefit from $t + 3^{th}$ search is then given by $\Gamma_{t+3} = \frac{1}{D} \sum D \left( \Gamma_t^{dd} \right)$.

4. To compute the expected benefit from searching, we account for the fact that the subject may stop searching after $t + 2$ search, or after $t + 3$ search etc. Thus, we calculate the expected gain conditional on searching $t + k$ times where

$$
\Gamma_{t+k} = \frac{1}{k} \sum_{l=1}^{k} \Gamma_{t+l}
$$

5. Finally, we compute the maximum expected benefit from all possible conditional benefits such that $\hat{\Gamma}_{t+1} = \max_k \Gamma_{t+k}$. The decision to search is based on whether the expected benefit $\hat{\Gamma}_{t+1}$ is higher or lower than the search cost.

6. The above computation assumes that the price draws $p_{t+1}^d$ come from the subject’s belief distribution $F_t (p)$. However, the actual search outcomes follow the true price distribution. Thus, we alternately, compute the search costs by repeating steps 1 through 5 but by assuming that the price draws come from the true price distribution.