

The St Petersburg game: what our students actually paid¹

A classroom experiment, ACTL20004/ACTL90021 — Module 5 2026

Professor Benjamin Avanzi

2026-08-06

- 1 The experiment
- 2 The headline result
- 3 Why \$2?
- 4 What the free-text answers reveal
- 5 Two secondary findings
- 6 Caveats
- 7 Where this leads

The design

- Two lectures on the same day, undergraduate and postgraduate. Splitting a single room was impractical, so **each cohort answered both versions**, with the order counterbalanced:

Cohort	First question	Second question
UG	No limit	Capped at \$1,048,576
PG	Capped at \$1,048,576	No limit

- Anonymous, through Poll Everywhere, with results hidden from the room while each poll was open — so nobody could see the emerging distribution before committing to a figure.
- Pooling across cohorts was meant to balance out order and cohort effects. Unequal response rates undermined that in practice (see *Caveats*).

What students were asked

- A fair coin is tossed until it first comes up heads. A first head on toss n pays $\$2^n$. Students stated the most they would pay to play **once**.
- In the *capped* version the house pays at most $2^{20} = \$1,048,576$ — the prize for a first head on toss 20 — and keeps paying that amount if the first head takes longer.
- Nothing about expectation, fairness or the paradox was mentioned. The exercise ran **before** any utility material was delivered.

- 1 The experiment
- 2 The headline result**
- 3 Why \$2?
- 4 What the free-text answers reveal
- 5 Two secondary findings
- 6 Caveats
- 7 Where this leads

Willingness to pay

```
s <- do.call(rbind, lapply(split(dat, dat$game), function(g)
  ↪ data.frame(Game = g$game[1],
    n = nrow(g), Min = min(g$wtp), Median = median(g$wtp), Mean =
    ↪ round(mean(g$wtp),
      1), Max = max(g$wtp)))
knitr::kable(s, row.names = FALSE)
```

Table 2: Willingness to pay, pooled across cohorts.

Game	n	Min	Median	Mean	Max
No limit	41	0	2	15.6	100
Capped	42	0	2	10.7	128

- The median willingness to pay was **\$2 in both games**.
- Difference in medians: \$0, with a 95% bootstrap confidence interval of [\$-1, \$3]; a Mann–Whitney test gives $p = 0.74$.
- Removing the cap raises the expected payoff from \$21 to **infinity**. It moved the median response by **nothing at all**.

What the Mann–Whitney test is asking

- The Mann–Whitney (Wilcoxon rank-sum) test compares two independent samples using only the **ranks** of the observations, so it needs no assumption of normality — useful here, where the responses are heavily skewed with a few very large values.
- H_0 : the two sets of responses come from the **same distribution**. Equivalently, a response drawn at random from the *no limit* game is as likely to fall above a response from the *capped* game as below it:

$$H_0 : \Pr[X > Y] = \Pr[Y > X] = \frac{1}{2},$$

where X is a response to the uncapped question and Y one to the capped question.

- H_1 : one game tends to elicit systematically higher answers than the other.
- With $p = 0.74$ we have **no evidence against** H_0 — consistent with the medians, the bootstrap interval and the two distribution functions.
- Careful: this is *failure to reject*, not proof of equality. See *Caveats*.

Responses side by side

Plot R code (result on the next slide):

```
brk <- c(-0.01, 1.5, 3, 6, 12, 24, 48, 96, 200)
lab <- c("$0-1", "$2", "$4", "$5-8", "$10-16",
        "$20-32", "$50-64", "$97+")
d2 <- transform(dat, bin = cut(wtp, brk, labels = lab))

ggplot(d2, aes(bin, fill = game)) +
  geom_bar(aes(y = after_stat(count) /
    tapply(after_stat(count), after_stat(fill),
      sum)[after_stat(fill)]), position = "dodge") +
  scale_y_continuous(labels = scales::percent) +
  scale_fill_manual(values = c("No limit" = "#0b4f8a",
    "Capped" = "#c1440e")) +
  labs(x = NULL, y = "share of responses", fill = NULL) +
  theme_minimal(base_size = 12) +
  theme(legend.position = "top",
    panel.grid.major.x = element_blank())
```

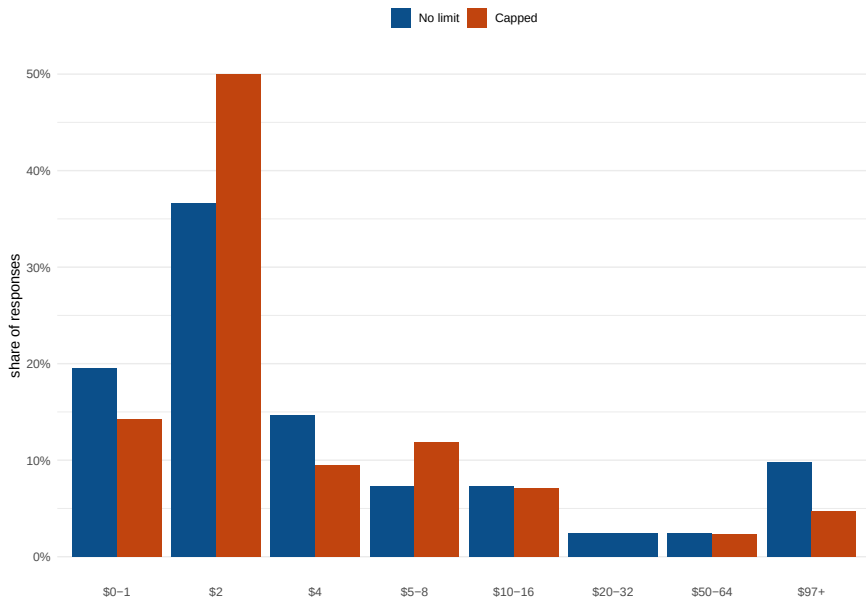


Figure 1: Distribution of stated willingness to pay.

The two distributions coincide

Plot R code (result on the next slide):

```
ggplot(subset(dat, wtp > 0), aes(wtp, colour = game)) +
  stat_ecdf(linewidth = 1) +
  geom_vline(xintercept = fair_cap, linetype = "dashed",
             colour = "grey40") +
  annotate("text", x = fair_cap * 1.1, y = 0.15, hjust = 0,
           size = 3.4, colour = "grey30",
           label = paste0("fair value of\ncapped game = $",
                          fair_cap)) +
  scale_x_continuous(trans = "log2", breaks = pow2,
                    labels = paste0("$", pow2)) +
  scale_y_continuous(labels = scales::percent) +
  scale_colour_manual(values = c("No limit" = "#0b4f8a",
                                "Capped" = "#c1440e")) +
  labs(x = "willingness to pay (log scale)",
       y = "share paying at most this", colour = NULL) +
  theme_minimal(base_size = 12) +
  theme(legend.position = "top")
```

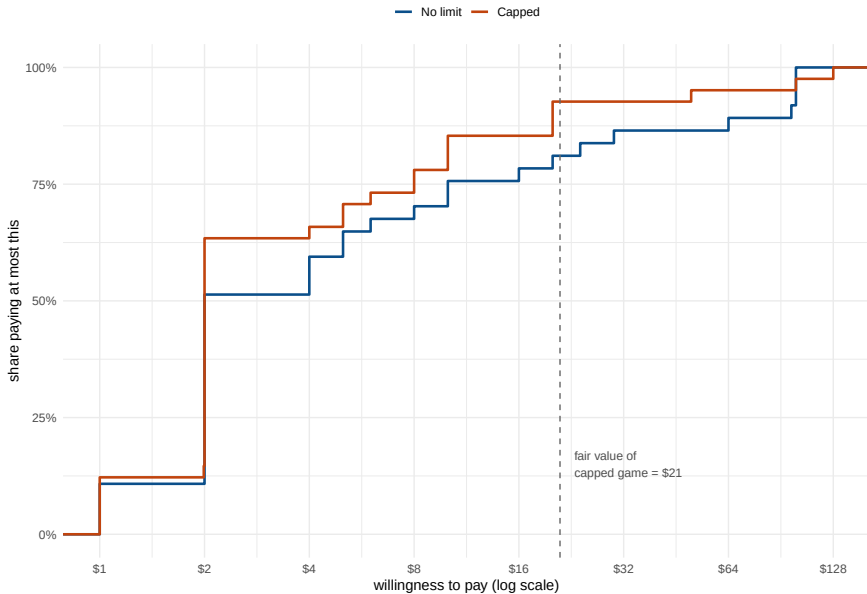


Figure 2: Empirical distribution functions. The cap is worth infinitely much in expectation, and nothing in behaviour.

- 1 The experiment
- 2 The headline result
- 3 Why \$2?**
- 4 What the free-text answers reveal
- 5 Two secondary findings
- 6 Caveats
- 7 Where this leads

\$2 is a structural answer, not a careless one

The obvious reading of the null result is that students simply ignore the tail. That is too harsh on them: \$2 is a structural number, in two distinct senses.

- **\$2 is the guaranteed minimum payout.** Pay it and you cannot lose money under any realisation of the game. It is the maximin answer.
- **\$2 is also the median *and* the mode** of the payoff distribution, since $\Pr(\text{payoff} = 2) = \frac{1}{2}$ exactly.

The second point is the one that matters, because of the following invariance.

An invariance that explains the null

```
knitr::kable(data.frame(Measure = c("Mean", "Median", "Mode"),
  `No limit` = c("$\\infty$", "\\$2", "\\$2"), Capped = c(paste0("\\$",
    fair_cap), "\\$2", "\\$2"), check.names = FALSE))
```

Table 3: Summary measures of the payoff distribution under each game.

Measure	No limit	Capped
Mean	∞	\$21
Median	\$2	\$2
Mode	\$2	\$2

- Truncation changes the **mean** from infinity to \$21. It leaves the **median** and the **mode** at exactly \$2, because half of all realisations end on the first toss regardless of the tail.
- So the answers are **internally consistent**: if you price the typical outcome rather than the average one, the cap genuinely is irrelevant.
- Utility theory tells us *which* functional of the payoff distribution to price — and the answer is neither the mean nor the mode.

- 1 The experiment
- 2 The headline result
- 3 Why \$2?
- 4 What the free-text answers reveal**
- 5 Two secondary findings
- 6 Caveats
- 7 Where this leads

Jensen's inequality, in the wild

Mean of this geometric distribution is 1, meaning the most willing to pay to get even is 2

- The student computed $\mathbb{E}[N]$ and substituted it into the payoff function, evaluating $2^{\mathbb{E}[N]}$ in place of $\mathbb{E}[2^N]$.
- For a convex payoff these are not equal — here they differ by an infinite amount:

$$2^{\mathbb{E}[N]} = 2 \quad \text{but} \quad \mathbb{E}[2^N] = \sum_{n \geq 1} 2^{-n} 2^n = \infty.$$

- Jensen's inequality, stated by a (forgetful) student!

The same cap, two statistics

$$2 - 0.5^{20}$$

- Submitted in the capped game: this student engaged seriously with the cap and adjusted their price downwards by about one part in a million, i.e. $\approx 10^{-6}$.
- That is right if you are pricing the **median**, and wrong by an infinite margin if you are pricing the **mean**, where the same cap is the difference between \$21 and infinity.
- One truncation, two risk measures, infinitely different conclusions — which is why the choice of risk measure is not a technicality.

The only tail pricer

Very very much, half to the maximum possible payout

- Roughly \$524,288 — the only response anywhere near the tail.
- Notably submitted in the **capped** game: the cap supplied a finite anchor that made the thought expressible.
- A fourth student answered simply “Infinity” in the uncapped game, which is the only literally correct expected value in the dataset.

- 1 The experiment
- 2 The headline result
- 3 Why \$2?
- 4 What the free-text answers reveal
- 5 Two secondary findings**
- 6 Caveats
- 7 Where this leads

Risk aversion needs no comparison

- The capped game has an ordinary, finite, computable fair value of \$21.
- Only 7% of students would pay more than that. That is, 93% declined a lottery offered at or below its expected value.
- **This stands entirely on its own:** no comparison between conditions, no counterbalancing, and none of the caveats below. If the experiment is repeated with limited time, the capped question alone delivers the Module 5 motivation.

The payoff ladder anchored the answers

- 65% of all numeric responses were exact powers of two, against only 17% at the round decimal figures one would otherwise expect people to reach for.
- The question displayed the prize schedule as \$2, \$4, \$8, \$16 — and students answered in the currency of that schedule.
- Less a flaw in the instrument than a demonstration that the presentation of a payoff schedule shapes the prices elicited against it.

- 1 The experiment
- 2 The headline result
- 3 Why \$2?
- 4 What the free-text answers reveal
- 5 Two secondary findings
- 6 Caveats**
- 7 Where this leads

Caveats I

- **The counterbalancing did not balance.** Response counts were 36 and 35 for UG, against 5 and 7 for PG. The pooled comparison is therefore the UG comparison with a small perturbation attached, and the cohort dimension is effectively lost.
- **The surviving comparison is within-subject.** UG students answered the capped question having already answered the uncapped one, so their second response may be anchored on their first. Given that the modal answer coincides with a structural constant of the game, anchoring seems unlikely to be doing much work — but it cannot be ruled out from these data.
- **A null result is not evidence of equivalence.** The confidence interval $[-1, 3]$ is tight enough to exclude any large shift, but with these sample sizes a modest one would not have been detected.
- **PG numbers are indicative only.** With 5 and 7 responses, the postgraduate cells should not be interpreted separately.

- 1 The experiment
- 2 The headline result
- 3 Why \$2?
- 4 What the free-text answers reveal
- 5 Two secondary findings
- 6 Caveats
- 7 Where this leads**

Where this leads

- 1 The paradox is not that the expectation is infinite. It is that **no reasonable person prices the expectation** — and our own cohort supplies the evidence, in their own numbers, before the theory is introduced.
- 2 Truncation is the standard textbook resolution, and our data suggest it resolves nothing behaviourally: the median is untouched because the median payoff is untouched.
- 3 What does change behaviour is the **shape of preferences** over outcomes — which is exactly what utility theory supplies, and the transition into the rest of Module 5.