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# The Effect of Communication Channels on Promise-Making and Promise-Keeping

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#### **ABSTRACT**

# The Effect of Communication Channels on Promise-Making and Promise-Keeping\*

This paper investigates the effect of different communication channels on promise-making and promise-keeping in a helping situation. Four treatments differ with respect to the communication channel employed to solicit unincentivized cooperation, i.e., face-to-face, phone call and two different sorts of computer-mediated communication. The less anonymous (face-to-face, phone) the interpersonal interaction is due to the different communication channels, the higher the propensity of an agent to make a promise. Treatment effects, however, vanish if we then look at the actual promise-keeping rates across treatments as more anonymous channels (computer-mediated) do not perform relatively worse than more direct channels.

JEL Classification: D02, D83, C91

Keywords: promises, communication, experimental economics, organizational behavior,

behavioral ethics

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#### 1 Introduction

In modern organizations, new communication channels are reshaping the way in which people get in touch and interact. Emails, doodle polls, chat rooms, and conference calls are replacing face-to-face interactions in many situations. At the same time, non-binding and spontaneous cooperation between members of the staff has become a key factor in dealing with the increasing complexity and of modern organizations (Walther, 2011). In addition to that, given the increasing size of corporations (e.g., in multinational companies), it is not infrequent to get spontaneous requests for help from staff members that are complete strangers, maybe sitting in the opposite corner of the world. Ellingsen and Johannesson (2004) found that just a simple indirect and anonymous written communication helps to reinforce promise-keeping in a stylized hold-up problem (gain-from-trade set-up). However, in their conclusions they asked themselves "How would behavior¹ be affected if interactions were oral and face-to-face rather than written and anonymous?" (pp. 417-418). With our experimental study we aim to address this specific question raised by Ellingsen and Johannesson (2004).

In other fields of social interactions the effects of different channels of communication have already been analyzed. Brosig, Weimann, and Ockenfels (2003), for example, examine the effects of different communication channels on cooperation in several standard public good games. The authors vary the communication channel applied in pre-play communication, e.g., auditory or visual channels, either bidirectional or unidirectional. They find that bidirectional face-to-face communication is crucial for enhancing cooperation (see also Bicchieri and Lev-On, 2007). Valley, Moag, and Bazerman (1998) study a bilateral negotiation game with asymmetric information, finding different degrees of trust, truth-telling and efficiency across communication channels. Higher levels of truth-telling allow subjects negotiating face-to-face to achieve higher joint benefits than those negotiating by telephone or in writing. Hoffman, McCabe, and Smith (1996) and Bohnet and Frey (1999) assume that decreasing social distance increases pro-social behavior in dictator games. The latter authors argue that identification of the "other" causes more prosociality (see also Charness and Gneezy, 2008; Gächter and Fehr, 1999).

We investigate the effects of alternative channels on promise-making and promise-keeping. While Ellingsen and Johannesson (2004) analyzed promises in a very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Here "behavior" refers to promise-keeping.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The same paper has inspired the most recent experimental research on promises, such as Charness and Dufwenberg (2006) and Vanberg (2008).

abstract environment, we opted for a less stylized set-up that better resembled a realistic organizational context where a broken promise can be a source of direct costs as well as delays or frictions in the organizational flow. Our laboratory experiment employs a simple promise-making/promise-keeping task, in which subjects are asked about their willingness to voluntarily commit to taking part in a short online survey for scientific purposes within the next 24 hours without monetary compensation. A baseline face-to-face interaction is compared to a phone call, a computer-mediated interaction "office", and a further computer-mediated interaction "remote", i.e., online. Under face-to-face and phone call conditions which are distinguished by a synchronous and non-anonymous interaction between the parties - promise-making rates proved to be significantly higher than under the two non-synchronous and anonymous computer-mediated conditions. Despite these differences in promise-making, no significant differences in promise-keeping rates were observed across treatments.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 introduces the experimental design; testable hypotheses are derived in section 3 in the light of the technical features of the different communication channels; results are presented in section 4 and final considerations are found in section 5.

#### 2 Experimental Design

The experiment employed a simple task such that both promise-making and promise-keeping could be tracked and matched. No fixed nor contingent incentive was at stake since we are interested in studying promise-making and promise-keeping not in a "contractual" setting but in a more genuine "helping" setting. After an unrelated experimental task (see Conrads, 2014), subjects were asked for their willingness to voluntarily commit or not in participating in a short online

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$ This treatment reproduces either a free lance working relationship or interaction with a colleague within the firm who is located in an overse as office.

 $<sup>^4\</sup>mathrm{E.g.}$  Ellingsen and Johannesson (2004), Charness and Dufwenberg (2006) and Vanberg (2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See Berger, Herbertz, and Sliwka (2011) on helping behavior at the workplace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Conrads (2014) focused on the effects of different communication channels on lying behavior. We operationalized this incentivized study and added our non-incentivized promise task in the same sessions, stressing to participants that two activities were independent of one another. The promise task was not announced in advance. In the data analysis we control for subjects' behavior in the incentivized task, which was conducted beforehand, and we do not observe any significant pattern, neither statistically nor in term of size. For further details see below.

survey for scientific purposes within the next 24 hours (starting every subsequent hour). In case a subject agreed take part in the survey, he/she received the information concerning the URL link needed to access to the online survey (see Script A.1 in the Appendix). Subjects then had one day of time to fill in the questionnaire. Thus, two variables of interest are at hand, i.e., first, whether or not a subject promises to take part in the online survey and, second, whether or not the promise is actually kept (see Figure 1 for the decision tree). We conducted this experiment directly after the independent experimental task mentioned above for two main reasons: (i) the task at hand was rather simple and quick, (ii) by design we wanted to exclude any ancillary incentive except the spontaneous propensity of the subjects to cooperate unconditionally.

Figure 1: Decision tree



Implementing a standard between-subjects design, we exogenously varied among the different treatments the communication channel used to approach the potential volunteers asking for their help. In the first treatment - Face-to-Face (henceforth: F-t-F) - subjects were approached in person by the same research assistant in their lab cabins and directly asked for cooperation in participation in the online survey. Subjects then had to report face-to-face to the research assistant about their positive or negative decision. In the second treatment - Phone - the very same research assistant approached the subjects through a call. Therefore each subject was equipped with a headset and headphone. By using Skype (with the video conference function turned off), subjects were called by the research assistant and asked whether they were willing to participate in the online survey. Subjects had to report via phone about their positive or negative decision. In the third treatment - PC-Lab - no direct verbal communication channel was adopted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The topic of the survey was about the individual perception of different NGOs in terms of trust and reputation. The content of the survey was not announced during the promise-making phase.

Subjects in this treatment were asked to state their willingness to participate in the online survey via an entry mask at their computer screens in the lab. In the forth treatment - PC-Online - subjects participated in an online experiment outside the lab. As in the PC-Lab treatment, subjects were asked (modeled after the online treatment in Conrads, 2014) to indicate their willingness to participate in the survey via an online entry mask at their computer screens but, different from PC-Lab, they never are present in person in the lab. A total of 242 subjects (with a mean age of 24 and 49% being female) participated in the experiment. The treatments F-t-F, Phone, and PC-Lab were conducted at the "elfe" laboratory of the University of Duisburg-Essen (5th, 6th, and 7th November 2013). The treatment PC-Online was entirely conducted online (see Table A.4 in the appendix for details on the sequence of the sessions). Subjects were recruited from a large pool of over 2,000 students of the University of Duisburg-Essen via ORSEE (Greiner, 2003).

In treatments F-t-F, Phone, and PC-Lab 60 subjects participated and in treatment PC-Online 62 subjects took part. The experiment was programmed by using the BoXS software (Seithe, 2010). Each laboratory session (F-t-F, Phone and PC-Lab) involved 12 participants. Approximately 30% of the participants were economics or business administration majors; the other 70% were enrolled in different fields, such as law and natural sciences. Participants in lab sessions were randomly allocated to fully-private and soundproof cabins. The content of communication was held constant in all the different treatments, i.e., independent of verbal (F-t-F and Phone) or non-verbal communication (PC-Lab and PC-Online) the same script was employed. In treatments with non-verbal communication, the identical text was applied in written form on computer screens. The exact wording adopted in all four treatments was constantly the following:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>This is a key technical feature of the "elfe" laboratory of the University of Duisburg-Essen. For this reason this venue is well suited to host studies focusing on communication channels.

"Independent of the previous experiment there is a five-minute online survey that you can fill in at home. You can participate in the survey within the next 24 hours. The count-down will start in 1 hour. Participation is voluntary and will not be paid. If you promise to participate, before leaving the laboratory you will receive a voucher with a link to get access to the survey. Do you want to participate in the online survey?"

In the treatments with verbal communication, i.e., F-t-F and Phone the same research assistant always communicated with the subjects. In case a subject agreed to take part in the online survey, a paper-based voucher with an individualized URL link to access to the survey platform was handed out before leaving the lab sessions (F-t-F, Phone, PC-Lab). For the PC-Online treatment, subjects were first approached via ORSEE to register in the online experiment by Conrads (2014). They then received the identical mask administrated under the PC-Lab condition in order to ask for their promise. Finally, after the online session, subjects who made the promise received the voucher via email including the individualized URL link in order to access to the survey platform (see Script A.1 in appendix). The format of the voucher was constant across treatments. In addition, on the voucher it was clearly stated that subjects could fill in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>In treatment *PC-Online*, subjects were informed that they would receive an email containing an URL link to get to the survey platform (see Script. A.1 in the Appendix). In this case, the following wording was adopted "[...] If you promise to participate, within five minutes you will receive a voucher via email with the link to access to the survey".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Note that a constant female research assistant (24 years old) was intentionally chosen to communicate with the subjects because the experimenters, males and seniors, might bias subjects' actions due to obedience or authority concerns, see Karakostas and Zizzo (2014). During the experimental sessions the subjects did not encounter any other research assistants or experimenters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The sender was the scientific society HEIRS - Happiness, Economics and Interpersonal Relations; University of Milan-Bicocca < http://www.heirs.it/ > < info@heirs.it >. This scientific society has no connection with the University of Duisburg-Essen. The object of the email was: "online survey access link".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>In order to minimize subjects' transaction costs, we provided shortened URLs (e.g., http://goo.gl/s3aCrd) that are quick and easy to type in all different internet browsers. This is also to keep the setting as constant as possible compared to the *PC-Online* treatment, where subjects received an already active URL link in the body of the emailed voucher and they just needed to click on it in order to get access to the (see Script A.1 in the appendix). Table A.3 in the appendix reports how the promptness in fulfilling the promise was not different under the alternative experimental conditions. In all the treatments it took on average 6 hour and 30 minutes before filling the survey. This result brings evidence about the fact that receiving an already "active link" (*PC-Online* treatment) does not represent and advantage in terms of promise-keeping.

online questionnaire within the next 24 hours.<sup>13</sup> Due to the individualized links, it could be tracked whether subjects actually kept the promise of filling in the online survey or not.

# 3 Features of Communication Channels and Behavioral Hypotheses

In this paragraph, the specific features of the applied communication channels will be elaborated. After this, behavioral hypotheses will be derived, which can be scrutinized by looking at the findings of the four experimental treatments.

Social distance arguments regarding communication channels have been the subject of many studies analyzing pro-social behavior. Hoffman, McCabe, and Smith (1996) and Bohnet and Frey (1999) assume that decreasing social distance increases pro-social behavior, e.g., making and keeping a promise. Three key aspects of social distance prominently discussed in the literature may explain this increase in pro-sociality: identification, anonymity, and social norm activation. Bohnet and Frey (1999) argue that the increase in pro-sociality is due to higher degrees of identification in socially close interactions. Gächter and Fehr (1999) apply the converse argument and define social distance as the degree of anonymity within a social interaction. Socially distant interactions are characterized by a higher degree of anonymity, which may lead to less pro-social behavior. Moreover, Bicchieri and Lev-On (2007) and Schram and Charness (2011) argue that the activation of social norms is influenced by the social distance of an interaction. In anonymous interactions, only intrinsic moral norms to behave pro-socially are active, whereas in closer interactions both intrinsic moral norms and social norms prevail. With respect to communication, these three aspects of social distance, i.e., identification, anonymity, and social norm activation, vary in the degree to which they are prevalent under specific channels of communication. Thus, the highest degree of social distance can be assumed under online communication, whereas face-to-face communication is characterized by a high degree of social closeness.

Secondly, several rather technical features of the applied communication channels might be important with for promise making and keeping. Following Hancock,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>We monitored the activity of the online survey platform both before and after the provided 24 hours time window. No one visited the survey platform before the actual start (1 hour buffer time after promise-making). The survey platform was monitored during the subsequent 3 days, no one filled in the survey after the deadline.

Table 1: Characteristics of the different communication channels

F- $t$ - $F$	Phone	$PC ext{-}Lab$	$PC ext{-}Online$
1	2	3	4
4	3	2	1
1	2	3	4
4	3	2	1
$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$		
		$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$		
	1 4 1	1 2 4 3 1 2	1     2     3       4     3     2       1     2     3

Notes: With respect to the aspects of social distance, 1 stands for the lowest degree and 4 for the highest degree of a respective aspect. Check marks represent the presence of a technical feature

Thom-Santelli, and Ritchie (2004), communication channels can be differentiated by their synchronicity and recordability. The synchronicity of an interaction relates to the question of whether messages can be exchanged instantaneously and in real time, as in face-to-face conversations. Recordability refers to the question of whether the content of an interaction is automatically documented, e.g., in email conversations (see also Table 1).

Thirdly, communications channels posses different degrees to which so called "tell tale clues" can be transmitted. Following Frank (1988), these clues refer to facial of verbal expressions, e.g., blushing or tone of voice, that may influence behavior. For instance, refusing a promise face-to-face might be harder since the counterpart may see the embarrassment of the refusing party. Table 1 summarizes the key features of the different communication channels with respect to the specific characteristics mentioned above.

Given the technical features of the different communication channels, two main testable hypotheses can be derived:

**Hypothesis** (1): More promises are made in treatments employing communication channels characterized by small social distance:

$$(F-t-F \ge Phone) > (PC-Lab \ge PC-Online)$$

**Hypothesis** (2): Promises are kept more often in treatments with recordable communication, since the promises made can be easily verified ex-post:

$$[(PC-Lab=PC-Online)>(Phone=F-t-F)]|Promise=1$$

#### 4 Results

Figure 2 depicts (see also Table 2), by treatment, the shares of subjects who made the promise to participate in the online survey and the share of subjects who actually kept the promise. Looking at the promise-making frequencies in the baseline condition F-t-F, 88% of the subjects made a positive promise. An almost similar share of 85% made the promise in the Phone condition. The proportions drop drastically to 67% and to 53% under PC-Lab and PC-Online, respectively. Despite these differences in the promise-making rates, the proportion of subjects who made the promise and actually kept it was rather constant across treatments.

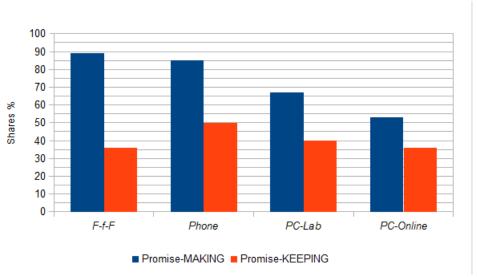


Figure 2: SUMMARY GRAPH

Table 2: Descriptives SUMMARY TABLE

Treatment	Obs.	Promise-making rate	Promise-keeping rate
F- $t$ - $F$	60	88%~(53/60)	$36\% \ (19/53)$
Phone	60	$85\% \ (51/60)$	$51\% \ (26/51)$
$PC ext{-}Lab$	60	$67\% \ (40/60)$	$40\% \ (16/40)$
$PC ext{-}Online$	62	$53\% \ (33/62)$	$36\% \ (12/33)$

Table 3: Probit regressions
TREATMENTS EFFECTS

	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)
Variable	Promise-Making	Promise-Making	Promise-Keeping	Promise-Keeping
	Mrg. Effects	Mrg. Effects	Mrg. Effects	Mrg. Effects
Constant $[F-t-F]$	[ 0.88*** ]	[ 0.88*** ]	[ 0.36** ]	[ 0.27** ]
Phone	-0.05	-0.04	0.15	0.15
$PC ext{-}Lab$	-0.26***	-0.26***	0.04	0.06
$PC ext{-}Online$	-0.39***	-0.39***	0.00	0.00
Male		0.01		-0.10
Age		0.01		0.00
$Reported\ Outcome$		-0.03		0.02
Obs.	242	242	177	177

Probit regression, marginal effects are reported. Significance levels: \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.10. Phone, PC-Lab, PC-Online treatment dummies; Male gender dummy=1 if male; Age discrete variable; Reported Outcome discrete variable ranging between 0 and 4. F-t-F treatment dummy omitted for collinearity reasons, reference level (constant) reported in square brackets.

**Result (1):** Promise-making is more frequent when the communication channel is characterized by smaller social distance:

$$(F-t-F=Phone) > (PC-Lab=PC-Online)$$

A probit model (Table 3, model: 1a) reveals that there is no statistical difference in promise-making (dependent variable: 1 if promise is made, 0 if promise is denied) between the F-t-F (constant, 88%) and the Phone treatments (treatment dummy; 5 percentage points, p=0.600). Having F-t-F as reference treatment, promise-making decreases significantly by 26 percentage points (p=0.007) under PC-Lab and 39 percentage points (p=0.001) under PC-Online (both treatment dummies), respectively. <sup>14</sup> Controls (Table 3, model: 1b) that refer to demographics and

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$ The coefficients for PC-Lab and PC-Online (both indirect computer-based channels) turn to be not statistically different from each other (Wald-test p=0.129). In Tab. A.2 in the appendix, we provide the same analysis pooling together direct voice-based communication channels (F-t-F and Phone) and indirect computer-based channels (PC-Lab and PC-Online). With this pooled specification, the same result is delivered.

the behavior in the previous experimental task<sup>15</sup> turn out to be not statistically significant and small in their sizes.

Result (2): Promise-keeping rates are not affected by recordability concerns:

$$[(PC-Lab=PC-Online)=(Phone=F-t-F)]|Promise=1$$

Moving to the promise-keeping margin, the shares of subjects who have made the promise and fully kept it  $^{16}$  do not show large variations across treatments (see Figure 2 and Table 2). Under F-t-F, 36% of the subjects keep the promise. A share of 50% is consistent under the Phone condition, while 40% and 36% of the committed subjects actually keep the promise under PC-Lab and PC-Online, respectively. A probit model (Table 3, model: 2a) reveals that the baseline probability of keeping the promise (1 if promise is kept, 0 if promise is not kept) observed under F-t-F (constant, 36%) does not vary significantly in the Phone treatment (treatment dummy; 15 percentage points, p=0.1209). In line with this, no significant differences can be observed if we consider the computer-mediated treatments featured by recordability property (4 percentage points, p=0.683 under PC-Lab, and 0 percentage point, p=0.961 under PC-Online). Also, in this case, all controls that refer to demographics, as well as to the behavior in the previous experimental task (Table 3, model: 2b), are not significant both in statistical terms and size.

#### 5 Conclusion

In this study we document that the less anonymous (e.g., F-t-F and Phone) a social interaction is, i.e., by experimentally varying the communication channel, the higher the propensity of an agent to make a promise when asked for that, compared to a more anonymous channel (e.g., PC-Lab and PC-Online). While around 90%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>It is the number of reported *tails* in the coin flip task by Conrads (2014). In this experimental task, subjects had to privately flip a coin four times. Each time tails is reported, a subject earned 1 Euro in addition to a fixed payment of 7 Euros for filling in a socio-demographic questionnaire. Thus, subjects had an incentive to over-report the true outcome of the four coin flips. The independent variable labeled 'Reported Outcome' in Table 3, 4, A.2 and A.3 captures the payoffs earned by subjects in the previous experimental task (this control variable varies between 0 and 4). 'Reported Outcome' can be interpreted both as behavioral outcome and, as a consequence, payoff earned in Conrads (2014) task, e.g., if a subject reported tails four times she would also earn 4 Euros.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>No subject started the survey without fully completing it. No one approached the survey platform before the starting time or after the deadline.

of the subjects made the promise when approached verbally in a more direct and non-anonymous way, only roughly 60% committed when the interpersonal communication was based on more anonymous and indirect computer-mediated channels. This pattern vanishes when we look at the actual promise-keeping rates across treatments. The average promise-keeping rate was constant (around 40%) and not influenced by the features of the communication channels employed to ask for unconditional cooperation. Thus, with of our simple experimental study we are able to shed more light on Ellingsen and Johannesson (2004) mentioned above: Oral and face-to-face interactions lead to higher promise-giving rates compared to written anonymous interaction, whereas promise-keeping rates turn out to be similar across communication channels.

From a practical perspective, our results suggest that if 10 unconditional cooperators are needed for a voluntary task, a manager should be aware that in order to actually receive this level of help she will have 30 direct conversations (face-to-face or by phone) or send around 40 emails asking for unconditional cooperation to potential volunteers. Our study confirms how direct human communication still represents the most effective modality for fostering fruitful cooperative interactions, and we also learn that less effective but time saving electronically mediated communications can be considered as good alternative tools.

Nevertheless, our results do not allow the identification of a conclusive reason for the observed behavior. The high promise-giving rates in face-to-face interactions may be due to a stronger activation of social norms in socially close interactions. An alternative explanation would be that subjects want to prevent their physical reactions of shame and guilt due to "tell tale clues", e.g., turning red, and therefore just make the promise. In addition, subjects who are asked to make a promise in written form may foresee that a given promise is recorded and might be reviewed in case the promise is not kept. Therefore, further research is needed in order to better understand the drivers generating the asymmetry in promise-making rates observed under anonymous vs. non-anonymous communication channels. The higher performance in terms of promise-making delivered by non-anonymous communication channels could be generated by the synchronicity of the communication and it could be positively influenced by the "tell tale clues" factor. A further experimental design centered around a computer-based channel featured by synchronicity, such a chat room device, could be helpful in order to deeper understand how the different technical features of the communication channels shape promise attitudes.

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### Appendix

#### Script A.1: VOUCHER

Further instructions after making the promise to access to the online survey

Thank you very much that you agreed to participate in the online survey.

Within the next 24 hours MM/DD/YY - HH/MM until MM/DD/YY - HH/MM

you reach the survey platform by using the following link:

< http://goo.gl/s3aCrd >

\_\_\_\_\_

Table A.2: Probit Regressions
POOLED TREATMENTS EFFECTS

	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)
Variable	Promise-Making	Promise-Making	Promise-Keeping	Promise-Keeping
	Mrg. Effects	Mrg. Effects	Mrg. Effects	Mrg. Effects
[Direct Com. ]	[ 0.86*** ]	[ 0.91** ]	[ 0.43*** ]	[ 0.40** ]
$Indirect\ Com.$	-0.26***	-0.27***	-0.05	-0.04
Male		-0.01		-0.09
Age		0.001		0.001
$Reported\ Outcome$		-0.03		0.01
Obs.	242	242	177	177

Probit regression, marginal effects are reported. Significance levels: \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.10. Direct Com.=(F-t-F & Phone); Indirect Com.=(PC-Lab & PC-Online).

Indirect Com. treatment dummy; Direct Com. treatment dummy omitted for collinearity reasons, reference level (constant) reported in square brackets; Male gender dummy =1 if male; Age discrete variable; Reported Outcome discrete variable ranging between 0 and 4.

Table A.3: Linear Regression PROMPTNESS IN KEEPING THE PROMISE

Variable	Promptness (minutes)
Constant [F-t-F]	385.41***
	(134.41)
Phone	36.46
	(92.38)
$PC ext{-}Lab$	92.27
	(104.61)
$PC ext{-}Online$	21.68
	(115.34)
Male	21.62
	(73.06)
Age -centerd-	20.03*
	(10.70)
Reported Outcome	-21.36
	(40.63)
Obs.	73
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.07

Outcome variable: minutes of procrastination in filling in the survey from the start of the survey time window. Significance levels: \*\*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.10.

Phone, PC-Lab, PC-Online treatment dummies; F-t-F treatment dummy ommited for collinearity reasons, reference level (constant) reported in square brackets; Male gender dummy =1 if male; Reported Outcome discrete variable ranging between 0 and 4; Age variable is centered around the mean  $(Age_i - \overline{Age})$  in order to allow for a more intuitive interpretation of the constant term estimate.

Tab. A.4: Sequence of experimental treatments and sessions

Session	Treatment	Date	Session time	Survey start	Survey end	Observations
1	F- $t$ - $F$	05/11/2013 (TUE)	10am – 11am	$12 \mathrm{pm} - 05/11/13$	$12 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	12
2	F- $t$ - $F$	$05/11/2013~(\mathrm{TUE})$	$11 \mathrm{pm} - 12 \mathrm{pm}$	$01 {\rm pm} - 05/11/13$	$01  \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	12
3	F- $t$ - $F$	$05/11/2013~(\mathrm{TUE})$	$01\mathrm{pm}-02\mathrm{pm}$	$03 \mathrm{pm} - 05/11/13$	$03 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	12
4	F- $t$ - $F$	$05/11/2013 \; (\mathrm{TUE})$	$02 \mathrm{pm} - 03 \mathrm{pm}$	$04 \mathrm{pm} - 05/11/13$	$04 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	12
2	F- $t$ - $F$	$05/11/2013~(\mathrm{TUE})$	$03 \mathrm{pm} - 04 \mathrm{pm}$	$05  \mathrm{pm} - 05 / 11 / 13$	$05 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	12
9	Phone	06/11/2013  (WED)	10am - 11am	$12 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	12pm - 07/11/13	12
7	Phone	06/11/2013  (WED)	$11 \mathrm{pm} - 12 \mathrm{pm}$	$01 {\rm pm} - 06/11/13$	01 pm - 07/11/13	12
∞	Phone	$06/11/2013 \; (WED)$	$01\mathrm{pm}-02\mathrm{pm}$	$03 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	$03\mathrm{pm}-07/11/13$	12
6	Phone	06/11/2013  (WED)	$02 \mathrm{pm} - 03 \mathrm{pm}$	$04 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	$04 \mathrm{pm} - 07/11/13$	12
10	Phone	$06/11/2013~(\mathrm{WED})$	$03 \mathrm{pm} - 04 \mathrm{pm}$	$05 \mathrm{pm} - 06/11/13$	$05 \mathrm{pm} - 07/11/13$	12
11	PC- $Lab$	$07/11/2013~(\mathrm{THU})$	10am - 11am	$12 \mathrm{pm} - 07/11/13$	12 pm - 08/11/13	12
12	PC- $Lab$	$07/11/2013~(\mathrm{THU})$	$11 \mathrm{pm} - 12 \mathrm{pm}$	$01\mathrm{pm}-07/11/13$	01 pm - 08/11/13	12
13	PC- $Lab$	$07/11/2013~(\mathrm{THU})$	$01\mathrm{pm}-02\mathrm{pm}$	$03\mathrm{pm}-07/11/13$	$03 \mathrm{pm} - 08/11/13$	12
14	PC- $Lab$	$07/11/2013 \; (\mathrm{THU})$	$02 \mathrm{pm} - 03 \mathrm{pm}$	$04 \mathrm{pm} - 07/11/13$	$04 \mathrm{pm} - 08/11/13$	12
15	PC- $Lab$	$07/11/2013~(\mathrm{THU})$	$03 \mathrm{pm} - 04 \mathrm{pm}$	$05 \mathrm{pm} - 07/11/13$	$05 \mathrm{pm} - 08/11/13$	12
16	$PC ext{-}Online$	$29/11/2013~(\mathrm{FRI})$	10am – 11am	$12 \mathrm{pm} - 29/11/13$	$12 \mathrm{pm} - 30/11/13$	62