

1 **Negotiating with the Future:**
2 **Incorporating Imaginary Future Generations into Negotiations**

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Abstract

12

13 People to be born in the future have no direct influence on current affairs. Given the disconnect
14 between people who are currently living and those that will inherit the planet left for them,
15 individuals who are currently alive tend to be more oriented toward the present, posing a
16 fundamental problem related to sustainability. In this study, we propose a new framework for
17 reconciling the disconnect between the present and the future whereby some individuals in the
18 current generation serve as an imaginary future generation that negotiates with individuals in the
19 real-world present. Through a laboratory-controlled intergenerational sustainability dilemma
20 game (ISDG), we show how the presence of negotiators for a future generation increases the
21 benefits of future generations. More specifically, we found that when faced with members of an
22 imaginary future generation, 60% of participants selected an option that promoted sustainability.
23 In contrast, when the imaginary future generation was not salient, only 28% of participants
24 chose the sustainable option.

25

26 Keywords: Intergenerational Sustainability Dilemma Game, Imaginary Future Generation,
27 Negotiation.

28

29 1. Introduction

30 One obvious, but important fact is that people to be born in the future are not present today.
31 Although this fact is clear to the point of being redundant, it is of critical importance when
32 considering its implications for the sustainability of communities, nations, and the world as a
33 whole. When individuals discuss important social issues, including pension reform, energy
34 policy, or environmental protection—all of which affect future generations—individuals in
35 those generations are (by nature) excluded from those discussions. This is problematic when
36 agreements struck by individuals in the present are biased to present circumstances; this
37 represents one of the fundamental problems facing issues related to sustainability (Saijo 2015).

38 To make a path towards sustainability, it is important to understand the global, social, and
39 human systems that support it, as well as the linkages between them (Komiya and Takeuchi
40 2006). Experimental studies are useful for gathering data on issues that influence the three
41 systems across generations, as collection of reliable data over a long period is difficult due to
42 changes in the social, political, and economic environments. For instance, Fisher et al. (2004)
43 performed an experiment in which a common-pool resource was managed across generations.
44 Fisher and colleagues argued that certain mechanisms, such as communication (Carpenter 2000,
45 Hackett et al. 1994), sanctions (Ostrom et al. 1992, Fehr and Gächter 2000, Yamagishi 1986),
46 and voting (Walker et al. 2000), known to promote the sustainability of the common-pool
47 resource in a single generation game, are difficult to implement across different generations.
48 Sherstyuk et al. (2016) observed that sustainability across generations poses a unique challenge
49 because it is difficult for one generation to care about subsequent generations, and decisions
50 made for future generations are laden with uncertainty about the future.

51 Hauser et al. (2014) also explored the problem of intergenerational resource allocation. The

52 authors highlighted that reciprocity tends not to occur across generations. They also explored
53 whether democratically produced decisions improve the sustainability of resources that are used
54 intergenerationally. They found that when group members vote for the extraction level of
55 resources and the median vote is extracted by all members, democratic decisions greatly reduce
56 the probability of source depletion. Hauser et al. (2014) noted, however, that this relationship
57 only holds if all members within a given generation join this institution. That is, if some
58 members of a generation are not required to adhere to a decision that was democratically
59 selected, the democratic rule's effectiveness in preventing resource depletion is mitigated.

60 Independent of Hauser et al.'s (2014) work, there exists another limitation of democratically
61 selected choices that exclude future generations from the political process. When there are
62 conflicts of interest between individuals in the present and individuals in the future, the
63 decisions made by the former (and the degree to which they benefit the latter) are strongly
64 contingent on the degree to which they are altruistic. Although Hauser et al. (2014) argued that
65 "voting can allow a majority of pro-social individuals to override a purely selfish minority" (p.
66 222), some studies have shown that the likelihood of this occurrence is situationally specific
67 (Croson and Gneezy 2009, Gintis 2014, Kamijo et al. 2015, Paxton and Glanville 2015). The
68 possibility of an individual to make prosocial decisions that benefit future generations is
69 uncertain at best. This uncertainty highlights the need for an instrument that prevents the
70 traditional democratic process from passing the debts (financial and otherwise) of current
71 generations to future generations.

72 To this end, we institute a new mechanism that allows members of the current generation to
73 virtually communicate and negotiate with members of future generations. In this communicative
74 mechanism, an individual from the present generation interacts and negotiates with others as if

75 he/she were doing so on behalf of a future generation. This approach has some practical
76 grounding; it has gained traction for local policy-making processes in Japan (Hara 2016). In this
77 paper, we examine this framework through a laboratory setting to determine how well it
78 reconciles the conflict of interest between present and future generations. More specifically, we
79 examine how the forced salience of an imaginary future generation during negotiations
80 improves benefits for that generation through an intergenerational sustainability dilemma game
81 (ISDG) that describes a tension between one generation and those that follow it. In the ISDG,
82 players adopt one of two sides. On one side, participants advocate positions that are beneficial
83 to the present generation, exclusively maximizing the benefits of the current generation. On the
84 other side, players advocate positions that are beneficial to future generations, supporting the
85 principle of utilitarianism (providing the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people),
86 the maximin principle (providing the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of
87 society), and the notion of sustainable development (World Commission on Environment and
88 Development, 1987). Each generation faces the tension between outcomes that maximize profits
89 versus those that adhere to sound ethical standards.

90 For the purposes of our analysis, we created two conditions for the ISDG. In the first
91 condition, negotiations take place without the “presence” of individuals who act on behalf of
92 future generations. This condition serves as a control condition that produces a baseline estimate
93 of how often negotiators consider future generations in their decision-making. The second
94 condition includes a negotiator who speaks for future generations.

95 Our analyses produced several notable findings. First, comparison of the two conditions
96 shows that players choose a sustainable option in the treatment condition (60% of the time) to a
97 significantly higher degree than the control condition (28% of the time). Results further show

98 that this significant effect persists even after controlling for a period effect and stake size.
99 Second, our analyses demonstrate that the number of prosocial players in a negotiation
100 significantly increases the likelihood that the players will choose a sustainable option in the
101 control condition, though not in the treatment condition. This result suggests that the presence
102 of an imaginary future generation influences decisions related to sustainability, independent of
103 the prosocial preferences of decision makers. Third, a content analysis of the negotiation
104 shows if a negotiator in the treatment condition supports a course of action that promotes
105 sustainability with a high degree of frequency. In addition, participants demonstrated a greater
106 tendency to support sustainable courses of action in sequences of generations that included a
107 negotiator who acts for a future (relative to sequences of generations that did not include an
108 negotiator for a future).

109 We discuss these results, and other issues surrounding them, in greater detail in the
110 subsequent sections. In Section 2, we explain the nature of the ISDG and describe the
111 experimental design and procedures we followed. We report the results of our experiment in
112 Section 3 and offer some concluding remarks in Section 4.

113

114 2. Experimental design and procedure

115 2.1 Intergenerational Sustainability Dilemma Game (ISDG)

116 Before describing the nature of our experiment and its results, we first describe in detail the
117 intergenerational sustainability dilemma game we used to derive our results. Each generation
118 was assigned three participants and was required to follow two steps. First, each set of
119 generation representatives was required to choose between two options (A or B). These options
120 entail the pie (money) for that generation and the size of the pie for Option A is larger than that

121 for Option B. Second, participants were required to redistribute the pie to the three individuals.
122 An essential feature of the ISDG is that the choice of some generation affects the size of the pies
123 the next generations obtain from the same two options. Option A brings a larger benefit to the
124 current generation, to the detriment of the next generations, and this is interpreted as exploiting
125 the future or refraining from investing in the future. In contrast, Option B involves such
126 investment, lowering the benefits of the current generation, and preserving the size of the pies in
127 the future.

128 In our experiment, Generation 1 obtains 3600 JPY by choosing Option A and 2700 JPY with
129 Option B. After Generation 1 has decided, Generation 2 faces the same decision problem, but
130 the stake size may be different, depending on the choice of Generation 1. When Generation 1
131 chooses Option A, the size of the pies decreases by 900 and Generation 2 obtains 2700 from
132 Option A and 1800 from Option B. In contrast, when Generation 1 chooses Option B, the stake
133 sizes of Generation 2 are the same that Generation 1 faces. The choice of Generation 2 affects
134 the stake sizes of next generations in the same manner and the next generations also face the
135 same decision problems (see Table 1). While Option A reduces the maximum possible payoffs
136 to future generations, Option B does not, making Option B a sustainable choice.

137

138 << Insert Table 1 Here >>

139

140 While the equality, utilitarian, and maximin principles suggest that all generations should
141 choose Option B, the self-interested choice of each generation is Option A. Thus, there is a
142 conflict between the intergenerational rationality and the single-generational rationality, like in
143 the well-known prisoner dilemma, where the collective rationality conflicts with the individual

144 rationality. However, the ISDG game differs from the prisoner dilemma on a number of key
145 aspects. First, in the ISGD game, the payoff for people in a given generation is fixed as a
146 function of their own decision; the decisions of future generations do not influence the payoff
147 obtained by the original generation. Consequently, direct reciprocal behavior of between present
148 and future generations is impossible; choosing the sustainable choice cannot be explained by
149 reciprocal altruism (Trivers 1971). Second, each generation can only select Option A or B one
150 time, and are therefore unable to exert influence the decisions of future generations beyond their
151 one selection. Consider that even if the current generation chooses Option B, there is no
152 guarantee that the next generation will also choose Option B, nor is there any way for the
153 current generation to intervene in the next generation's decision-making process. Although
154 individuals in the current generation may hope that subsequent generations replicate their
155 decision (i.e., that the sequence will be: B, B, ..., B), it may be difficult for them to do so if they
156 believe future generations will fail to replicate their decision (Sherstyuck et al. 2016).

157

158 2.2 Introducing an imaginary future generation

159 The difficulty associated with a generation's selection of Option B derives from the inability
160 of future generations to communicate and negotiate with the current generation. The absence of
161 voices from future generations makes it impossible for the current generation to consider their
162 hopes and preferences. The inclusion of an imaginary future generation in negotiations allows
163 individuals in the present generation to communicate and negotiate with individuals who act on
164 the future generation's behalf. However, the payoff of the imaginary future generation who acts
165 on behalf of the future generation is decided upon by members of the current generation,
166 including this person. Through this design, we can investigate how the presence of the

167 imaginary future generation affects the way members of the current generation take decisions,
168 in the context of an ISDG.

169

170 2.3 Experimental procedure

171 We performed this experiment in two waves, respectively occurring in February and June of
172 2014. We recruited subjects from a subject-pool based at Kochi University of Technology in
173 Japan. In total, we recruited 210 graduate and undergraduate students (90 in February and 120
174 in June) to participate in the study. Upon arriving at the reception desk, they drew a card that
175 indicated which sequence and group to which they belonged, as well as their identification
176 numbers. In each sequence, six groups correspond to six different (sequential) generations.
177 Subjects in the same sequence played the ISDG across generations. Each group (with the
178 exception of the sixth) consisted of three members. In the February wave, we assigned three
179 sequences as treatment conditions (i.e., they contained future generation negotiators) and two
180 sequences as control conditions. In June, we assigned four sequences as treatment conditions
181 and three sequences as control conditions. Whereas the first through fifth groups (i.e.,
182 generations) had to choose Option A or B in the ISDG, the sixth group did not need to make a
183 decision because they knew they were the final generation in the sequence. Given that the final
184 group did not provide data, all data were from the first through fifth groups. In total, there were
185 twelve groups from five generations (N = 180, 55 women, 125 men; mean age = 19.47).

186 Upon arriving to the experiment site, participants in the treatment and control conditions
187 were shown to separate rooms. In each room, a member of the research team distributed
188 instructions and explained the experimental procedures to participants. The instructions did not
189 refer to the context of the intergenerational resource allocation problem and did not allude to

190 salient research objectives. For instance, rather than use the word “generation” in the
191 instructions (which may have sensitized participants to our research objectives), we instead used
192 the word “group.” After receiving the experiment’s instructions, the first groups were led to
193 small rooms where they engaged in (recorded) discussions. After arriving at their decisions,
194 participants were moved out of the room and the next groups were invited in. The procedure
195 was repeated five times.

196 All groups’ decisions were written on a whiteboard in the experiment room, so subjects were
197 allowed to be aware of those decisions. After making their decisions related to resource
198 allocation, participants completed a final questionnaire that measured social value orientation
199 (Van Lange et al. 1997) and demographics (e.g., sex and age). Participants then received their
200 payouts and were dismissed.

201 The treatment and control treatments differ along several lines. In the treatment condition,
202 one of the three participants that comprised each generation was instructed to negotiate as if
203 he/she was a member of a later generation. Specifically, when drawing cards, one of the
204 participants drew a card marked with the α symbol.² The individual who drew this card was
205 instructed as follows: “If you are the subject with the α symbol on your card, please negotiate
206 with the other two subjects not according to your own benefits and preferences, but with an eye
207 towards maximizing the benefits of those that negotiate after your group. Keep in mind,
208 however, that you will receive a payout that is divided among members of your group,
209 regardless of the ultimate decision your group makes.” At the beginning of the discussion,
210 subject α had to inform the other two members of the group that he/she drew the α card.

211 On average, each experiment took approximately 90 minutes. For their participation, all

² α has no special meaning in Japan, and is considered neutral.

212 subjects received a flat rate of 900 JPY, plus the additional money they received as a function of
213 their decision-making.

214

215 2.4 Coding

216 To explore whether and the degree to which the presence of a member of an imaginary future
217 influenced the decision-making process, we transcribed all recordings of the negotiations. In
218 total, participants produced 3034 statements.³ We employed three coding types. The coding
219 schema is shown in Table 2. Specifically, the coding took into account whether a statement was
220 in support of or against Option A or Option B, neutral between the two, or about payout or not
221 (Coding 1), whether each participant's final, pre-decision opinion was in support of Option A or
222 Option B (Coding 2), and how the group decision was taken (Coding 3). For each statement
223 (Coding 1), each individual (Coding 2), or each group (Coding 3), two trained assistants applied
224 a code. When these two coders disagreed on or missed the code to be assigned, one of authors
225 made the determination.

226

227 < Insert Table 2 Here >>

228

229 3. Results

230 3.1 The influence to examine the effects of the treatment on the types of statements of future
231 generations on sustainability decisions

232 We first explored the main research objective of this study. Specifically, we tested whether
233 the introduction of an α participant (i.e., representative for a future generation) into negotiations

³ We defined a statement in terms of a speaking turn. We excluded conversations that took place between experimenters and subjects to clarify the procedures of the experiment.

234 affected a group's likelihood of selecting a more sustainable option (Option B). We regressed
235 the group's choice (Option A = 1, Option B = 0) on which condition the group was assigned to
236 (treatment condition = 1, control condition = 0; Table 3, Model 1). A Wald test revealed that the
237 95% confidence interval (CI_{95%}) surrounding the mean did not contain zero ($\chi^2 [1] = 5.74, p$
238 = .017). To explore the effects of contextual factors (like the position in the generational
239 sequence, or the size of rewards) on group decision-making, we added contextual factors to the
240 model, as controls (Table 3, Model 2). When contextual factors were introduced, the significant
241 CI_{95%} persisted ($\chi^2 [1] = 5.23, p = .022$), suggesting that the effect of a future generation's
242 presence in negotiations on the decision outcome was not moderated by which generation game
243 players belonged to, or by how large their potential payout was.

244

245 << Insert Table 3 Here >>

246

247

3.2 The moderating effect of pro-sociality

248 We also explored whether and how pro-sociality, that is, the orientation "to maximize
249 outcomes for both themselves and others (cooperation) and to minimize differences between
250 outcomes for themselves and others (equality) (Van Lange et al. 1997, p. 733)", moderates the
251 effect between the treatment condition and the groups' decision-making. It is possible that
252 introducing a member of an imaginary future generation primes group members' general social
253 concerns rather than concern for future generation specifically. If this is the case,
254 pro-socials—who tend to have a general concern for the outcomes of others—would be more
255 sensitive to the presence of members of the future generation than non-pro-socials. Results of
256 our analyses did not support this. The makeups of the groups that selected Option B (in terms of

257 pro-social members relative to other members) are outlined in Table 4. To test whether the
258 proportion of groups choosing Option B increases with the number of pro-socials, especially in
259 the treatment condition, we performed a Mantel-Haenszel test for trends (Agresti 2002), using
260 the IBM SPSS version 23.0 software. This test has been developed to examine differences in
261 proportions across groups, given linear-by-linear trends for the groups. The results showed that,
262 in the treatment condition, the number of pro-socials did not predict whether the group selected
263 Option B ($\chi^2 [1] = 0.48, p = .49$). However, in the control condition, groups comprised entirely
264 of pro-socials selected Option B significantly more than Option A ($\chi^2 [1] = 3.89, p = .049$).
265 These results suggest that the inclusion of a member of an imaginary future influenced
266 decision-making, independent of general pro-sociality.

267

268

<< Insert Table 4 Here >>

269

270 3.3 The effect of the presence of a future generation on decision-making processes

271 For this part of the analysis, we identified some indicators that may provide some insight as
272 to how the introduction of future generation representatives influenced discussions within
273 groups. Specifically, focusing on what individuals talked about (the contents of their statements),
274 what individuals chose (individual choices), and how the group decision was taken (discussion
275 rules and times), we showed the direct and indirect influence of a future generation on the
276 process of discussion.

277 *Statements.* The proportions of each type of statements over all statements are given in Table

278 2. To examine the effects of the treatment on the different types of statements made by groups,

279 we performed Chi-square tests on the proportions of statements in favor of Option A or Option

280 B, as a function of each condition. The results of this analysis suggested that subjects in the
281 treatment condition were less likely to voice positive attitudes towards Option A than subjects in
282 the control condition. Specifically, in the treatment condition, 15.34% of all statements voiced
283 positive attitudes towards Option A, versus 27.55% in the control condition ($\chi^2[1] = 63.61, p$
284 $< .001$). Moreover, participants in the treatment condition produced more positive statements
285 towards Option B (19.33% of all statements) relative to the control condition (14.49% of all
286 statements). This difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2[1] = 10.63, p = .001$). In addition,
287 when comparing attitudes voiced by the different types of participants (participants in the
288 control condition, non- α participants in the treatment condition, and α participants in the
289 treatment condition), the latter produced the largest number of statements in favor of Option B,
290 followed by non- α participants in the treatment condition, and by subjects in the control
291 condition (see Table 5). This rank order was reversed in terms of the proportion of statements in
292 favor of Option A. These results suggest that the presence of an individual talking on behalf of
293 an imaginary future exerted a positive influence on individuals, pushing them to take a decision
294 that benefits the future generations.

295

296

<< Insert Table 5 Here >>

297

298 *Individual choices.* Across all conditions, roughly half of participants expressed a preference
299 for Option A (54.3%), and the other half seemed to prefer Option B (45.7%, Table 2). This
300 difference was not significant ($z = 1.134, p = .257$). This non-significant difference disappears
301 when the statements are evaluated by condition. Whereas 59.0% of subjects in the treatment
302 condition expressed positions supportive of Option B, 72.0% of subjects in the control condition

303 supported Option A. A Chi-square test revealed this difference to be significant ($\chi^2 [1] = 16.60, p$
304 $< .001$). When comparing the final statements made by the different types of subjects in the
305 study (i.e., participants in the control condition, non- α participants in the treatment condition,
306 and α in the treatment condition) preferences for Option A differed significantly ($\chi^2 [2] = 18.87,$
307 $p < .001$). Whereas majority (72.0%) of the subjects in the control condition preferred Option A
308 to Option B ($z = 3.811, p < .001$), most of the α participants (69.7%) selected Option B rather
309 than Option A ($z = -2.263, p = .024$). Non- α participants in the treatment condition were
310 relatively split; 46.3% voiced a final opinion in preference for Option A, and 53.7% were in
311 support of Option B. This difference was not significant ($z = -0.611, p = .54$).

312 Individual positions varied based on group membership. Most groups (87.7%) arrived at
313 unanimous decisions. Particularly striking is that none of the groups in the control condition
314 experienced conflict prior to making their final decision (see Table 6). In the treatment condition,
315 however, 21.9% of groups experienced some form of disagreement (i.e., some members chose
316 Option A while others chose Option B). This result suggests that even at the last stage of the
317 discussion, conflict can emerge.⁴

318

319

<< Insert Table 6 Here >>

320

321 *Decision rules.* Reflecting the high level of agreement among most participants, about half
322 of the groups were coded as having reached a unanimous agreement without the emergence of

⁴ Three groups were excluded from this analysis due to missing values. Of the three, two groups had members that did not express their opinions during the final phase of the discussion. For the other group, we were unable to decipher the group members' decisional preferences during these last discussions.

323 an opposing position. About a quarter of groups reached a consensus through discussion, and
324 13.3% used some form of decision rule to choose an option (Table 2).

325 Introducing a representative for a future did not significantly influence the *type* of decision
326 rule the groups adopted, but a slightly greater number of treatment groups used a decision rule
327 than control groups (Table 7). This result was consistent with our findings related to individual
328 choice, which showed greater disagreement among treatment groups relative to control groups.

329

330 << Insert Table 7 Here >>

331

332 *Discussion time.* Across all conditions and groups, subjects spent nearly five minutes
333 engaging in discussion ($M = 292.71$ seconds, $SD = 171.68$ seconds). As with the other
334 moderators, however, discussion time was largely dependent on the condition to which the
335 group was assigned. Treatment groups ($M = 351.23$ seconds, $SD = 158.60$ seconds) tended to
336 discuss longer than control groups ($M_{ctl} = 210.80$ seconds, $SD_{ctl} = 157.60$). This difference was
337 significant ($t[58] = 3.39$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.88$). This result was unsurprising given the high level of
338 disagreement among individuals in the treatment groups. That level of disagreement takes a
339 longer amount of time to sort through.

340 *Relationships across indicators.* Finally, we calculated correlation coefficients relating the
341 group's choice ($A = 1$, $B = 0$) to (1) the number of members who supported A and (2) the ratios
342 of statements which were supportive of Option A to Option B (see Table 9). These correlations
343 were significant, suggesting that the indicators outlined above were the driving factors behind
344 the group's decisions.

345 << Insert Table 8 Here >>

346

347 In sum, the analysis of the contents of the discussions showed that the presence of an
348 negotiator for a future promoted direct and indirect support for Option B, both in terms of
349 statements and decisions, and increased the likelihood that the group would choose Option B.

350

351 4. Discussion

352 Without accounting for the voices of individuals from distant future generations, it is impossible
353 to move towards a sustainable society. To address this difficulty, we propose a new approach
354 through which some individuals from the current generation serve as representatives for
355 imaginary future generations during negotiations that lead to decisions that impact the future. In
356 this study, we have empirically explored how this approach works in the laboratory with respect
357 to resource allocation. Our analyses revealed that when members of an imaginary future
358 generation are present during negotiations, groups tend to select more sustainable options.

359 One explanation for this phenomenon is that participants who were assigned to be
360 representatives of future generations served as effective proxies for these imagined generations.
361 Relative to those from the current generation in the treatment condition, as well as those in the
362 control condition, future generation representatives tended to (1) be more supportive of
363 sustainable options, and (2) maintain their preferences for sustainable options at the end of the
364 discussion. Relative to the control condition, the treatment condition involved longer discussion
365 times and less unanimity among participants. Taken together, these results suggest that the
366 presence of an imaginary future generation in negotiations affected those negotiations.

367 These findings have several practical implications and are marked by some limitations. First,
368 we believe that the pursuit of a sustainable society cannot be exclusively reliant on the

369 pro-sociality of a generation's members. Pro-sociality and altruism have long-been known to
370 contribute to cooperation in prisoners' dilemmas (McClintock & Liebrand 1988, Van Lange
371 1992). In the control condition in this study, only groups comprised of three pro-social people
372 selected the sustainable option. In contrast, in the treatment condition, participants tended to
373 choose the sustainable option regardless of the number of pro-social members in the group.

374 Second, results suggest that individuals can effectively serve as proxies for other generations,
375 even without monetary incentive. We found that when people were designated representatives
376 of future generations, many actively supported the sustainable option. This result was consistent
377 with findings related to citizen participation in local districts in Japan. In these districts, some
378 people are asked to communicate and negotiate with others as a spokesman from the distant
379 future (Hara 2016). Future research in this domain would benefit from exploring characteristics
380 of future proxies that make them effective.

381 Finally, although we did not establish causality, we found that the inclusion of a future
382 generation representative positively influenced individuals from the current generation to
383 choose sustainable options. There are several possible explanations for this finding. For
384 example, if these current generation participants are aware that subsequent generations include
385 future generation representatives, they may be motivated to select the sustainable option
386 because the subsequent generations also receive the pressure to choose the sustainable option
387 from further future generations. It is also possible that participants from the current generation
388 simply conformed to the preferences of the participants who act for the future generation. Future
389 work with a more sophisticated methodological approach, including qualitative interpretation of
390 the transcriptions, would be useful to provide clarity in this domain.

391

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444

Coding	Coding schema	Proportions of all	Inter-coder reliability	
			Agreement ratio (%)	Cohen's kappa (k)
Coding 1 ^a	In support of Option A	19.3%	90.9%	.71
	In support of Option B	17.8%	91.3%	.71
“The statement was...”	Against of Option A	4.7%	94.6%	.42
	Against of Option B	2.0%	97.9%	.45
	Neutral	45.0%	78.5%	.57
	Discussion about how to share	13.4%	93.1%	.71
Coding 2 ^b	Participant's pre-decision opinion was in support of Option A	54.3%	98.3%	.97
Coding 3	A unanimous agreement without an opposing opinion	56.7%	66.7%	.42
“The group decision was made by...”	Using a decision-making device (e.g., majority voting, or a random-outcome mechanism like paper-rock-scissors)	13.3%		
	Reaching a consensus through discussion, though there is a conflict of opinion	26.7%		
	Miscellaneous/other methods ^c	3.3%		

447 Note. ^a A statement was defined by a speaking turn. This indicates that a statement can be
 448 classified into more than one category. Therefore, we treated types of statement as six
 449 independent categories, rather than mutually exclusive options of a single category. The
 450 percentages of types of statements did not sum up to 100%.

451 ^b Five subjects' final opinions could not be coded, as they did not express their opinion before
 452 the group's decision was made final.

453 ^c Two groups (3.3%) were rather unorthodox; they used a game of rock-paper-scissors to take
 454 their decisions, despite the absence of conflict among the group's members.

455 Table 2. Coding schema.

456

457

Explanatory Variables	Model 1				Model 2			
	Coef. (SE)	z	p	CI _{95%}	Coef. (SE)	z	p	CI _{95%}
Intercept	0.94 (0.45)	2.12	.034	[0.07, 1.82]	-0.20 (1.66)	0.12	.904	[-3.45, 3.05]
Condition (0 = control, 1 = treatment)	-1.35 (0.56)	-2.40	.017	[-2.45,-0.25]	-1.59 (0.69)	-2.30	.022	[-2.95, -0.23]

Generation no.	-	-	-	0.20 (0.28)	0.70	.481	[-0.35, 0.74]
Payoff for A	-	-	-	0.0003 (0.0004)	0.62	.538	[-0.001, 0.001]
Pseudo R ²	.0742			.0806			
AIC	80.76			84.23			
LR chi ²	6.15			6.68			
Prob > chi ²	.013			.083			
Log-likelihood value	-38.38			-38.11			

458

Table 3. Log-linear regression models of group decisions.

459

460

Condition	Number of pro-socials			
	0	1	2	3
Treatment (n=35)	-	80.0	56.3	57.1
Control (n=25)	0.0	0.0	0.0	43.8

461

Table 4. Ratio of groups choosing Option B.

462

Statements	Control	Treatment		$\chi^2 (2)$	<i>p</i>
		non- α	α		
Supportive statements for Option A	27.55%	18.04%	9.94%	82.78	< .001
Supportive statements for Option B	14.49%	17.08%	23.83%	24.86	< .001

463

Table 5. Proportion of statements in support of Option A or Option B, by condition.

464

Condition	Members who took the position of Option A				$\chi^2(3)$	<i>p</i>
	None	1 person	2 people	3 people (all)		
Control	28.00%	0.00%	0.00%	72.00%	12.86	.005
Treatment	50.00%	6.25%	15.63%	28.13%		

465 Table 6. Proportion of groups that chose Option A, based on the final position of their members.

466

467

Condition	Decision rule				$\chi^2(3)$	<i>p</i>
	Unanimity	Decision device	Consensus	Other		
Control	72.00%	4.00%	24.00%	0.00%	6.12	.011
Treatment	45.71%	20.00%	28.57%	5.71%		

468

Table 7. Proportion of groups that adopted decision rules of various types.

469

470

	Statements for B	No. members for A	Chose Option A
Ratio of statements for A in each group	-.682**	.775**	.779**
Ratio of statements for B in each group	-	-.782**	-.725**
Number of members who ultimately endorsed A	-	-	.949**
Chose Option A (A = 1, B = 0)	-	-	-

471 ** $p < .001$

472 Table 8. Correlation matrix (N = 57).

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